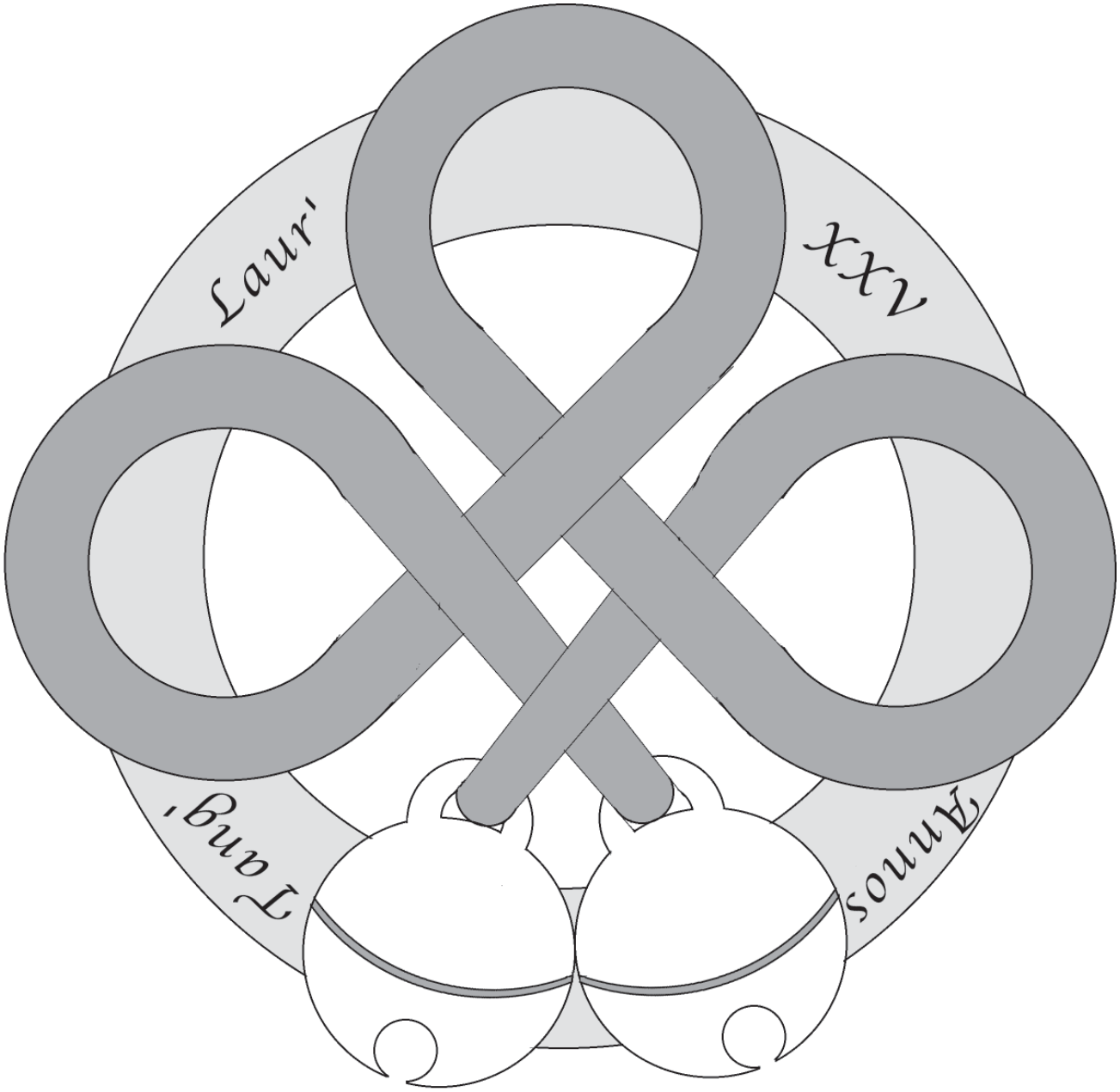
Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos



A Retrospective Collection of Work

June 21 AS XV - June 25 AS XXXX

To the Reader

On June 21, 1980, I was inducted into the Order of the Laurel of the Society for Creative Anachronism. I've had to take people's word for that because I didn't happen to be present. I don't know how much that quirk of fate has shaped what it means to me to be a Laurel. When your only notification of a peerage is a phone message scribbled down by a mundane roommate, it's hard to integrate it as part of your medieval experience. It took me half a year to believe that it wasn't a misunderstanding or an elaborate practical joke and to get up the nerve to ask whether maybe I could have a medallion or something.

I had been active in the SCA for just barely over two and a half years at that point – a rather unheard-of rapidity these days – which means that I have been a Laurel for approximately 90% of the time I've been in the SCA. That makes it a bit hard for me to separate out "being a Laurel" from "being in the SCA".

So my answer to "what being a Laurel means to me" comes out sounding a lot like "what being me means to me". What *does* it mean? Above all, it means setting a standard and being an exemplar. It means acting at all times mindful of the question, "What would society/Society be like if everybody did what I'm doing?" I don't mean that in a copy-cat sense. (Goodness knows, the world doesn't need much more than *one* dissertation on Medieval Welsh prepositions.) But every time I'm tempted to indulge in the instant over the Big Picture, I ask whether I'd enjoy living in a Society made up entirely of instants like that.

On the creative front, I don't think I can say that being a Laurel has led me to do anything I wouldn't already have been doing – but that isn't necessarily a bad thing. Being in the SCA, on the other hand, has massively shaped who I am and where I've ended up. What most excited me about the SCA when I first joined was finding a context in which about 80% of my interests and creative impulses could find a single, unified outlet – and where people actually valued those interests and impulses rather than (or perhaps, in addition to) finding them weird.

At nearly the same instant that I joined the SCA I began studying the Welsh language, and the two interests have been braided together ever since. When I became active in heraldry, I saw a vacuum of knowledge and understanding in the field of medieval Welsh personal names, and the desire to help people create more historically informed names drove me to dive more seriously into the medieval language and to move beyond the existing publications on Welsh names and begin my own scholarly research in the field. The desire to put this project onto a firmer foundation – as well as a growing love of pure research – was the direct inspiration for leaving the biotech lab for graduate school in linguistics. And after much dabbling and having fun along the way, in December 2003 I was created a Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics. In a peculiar yet fitting way, my PhD feels more like my "Laurel" than my Laurel did.

That a conspiracy of very disparate people would spend years planning a commemoration of these two bookends of my last quarter century has required a drastic revision in my self-image. I've long become accustomed to the notion of being a person that – as Willoughby says of Colonel Brandon in *Sense and Sensibility* – "everybody speaks well of ... and nobody remembers to talk to". It takes a bit of readjustment to become "the sort of person that people throw elaborate parties for".

In medieval Welsh heroic culture, the measure of a nobleman is not in what people give him, but in what he gives others. Therefore my noble station requires me to present a gift to those who have made this celebration possible, both by their work and by their presence. I spent days agonizing over what sort of gift of my hands I could produce for the crowd of people involved in this event before I had that "Doh!" moment. What is it I do best and most? I research, write, and publish.

This volume collects 25 pieces of my past work: not only items produced for the SCA, but some from academia and some from my real-world writing career. It would have been marvelously symmetric to select one piece from each of the last 25 years, but instead I have aimed to include items that I hope will be enjoyable to read as well as being informative. As I made the first cut, they began sorting themselves into five categories: names, language and linguistics, textiles and clothing, "creative" writing, and a miscellaneous group. Most have been published previously in some form. Some have been presented at conferences or as classes. Two have even earned me money.

I offer them up as thanks for the honor that has been done to me.

Tangwystyl verch Morgant Glasvryn

Heather Rose Jones

June 25, 2005

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If I could teach only one thing to every person who enters the SCA, it wouldn't be about history at all, but about the critical analysis of texts and evidence. Embracing the gap of uncertainty between the sketchy things we can "know" and the fleshed-out extrapolations we make doesn't have to ruin anybody's fun. This was one of the exercises that led to me developing the mantra: "If you don't know how *you know, then you don't really* know*." This originally appeared as a posting to rec.org.sca on 9/4/1999 and appeared in a slightly different form in* Tournaments Illuminated *139 (Summer 2001).*

Charlemagne's Cheese: A Study in the Un/Reliability of Sources

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Your first introduction to a historic field will often be a general-interest book: the sort with plenty of glossy pictures, a text that puts everything together into a coherent "story", and no intimidating footnotes — and this is often the best sort of book to give you the "big picture" in that field. But these general interest books (the kind you may hear referred to as "tertiary sources") may be less reliable for specific details, and when a book doesn't tell you where it got its information (the purpose of footnotes), it can be difficult or impossible to evaluate the details for yourself. Consider the following cautionary tale.

There was an interesting discussion on the rec.org.sca newsgroup on cheese in the medieval period: what varieties were used when and where, and what sort of evidence we have for this. In the course of this discussion, it was mentioned that Charlemagne was (according to his biographer Eginhard) fond of Brie and blue sheep's cheese, and was supplied with significant quantities of both. Further information was provided that the immediate source of this information was Anthea Bell's translation of Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat's History of Food. (This is far more information than one is often given for an assertion about period practice!)

The relevant quote from Toussaint-Samat is as follows:

> "After the fall of the Roman Empire ... the monks of the Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries, thanks to whom the population did not starve to death entirely during the Dark Ages, were the pioneers of the new cheese-making industry of medieval times. If the chronicles of Eginhard, Charlemagne's biographer, are to be believed, it was in one of these monasteries — probably the abbey of Vabres near Roquefort — that the Emperor, another lover of cheese, was given a sheep's milk cheese veined with mould. Much to his surprise, he liked it. He made the prior promise to send two crates of this cheese a year to Aix-la Chapelle, thus nearly ruining the poor community. Charlemagne was equally enthusiastic about the cheese of Reuil in Brie. A man of discernment, he pronounced it 'one of the most marvelous of foods', and requisitioned two crates of this cheese as well, to round off his dinners at Aix."

Toussaint-Samat is an entertaining and engaging writer, full of detailed anecdotes — the sort who enables you to enjoy yourself thoroughly while learning something. The problem is, you just learned something that ain't so: that's not what the biography says, and it wasn't Eginhard who said it.

There are two contemporary biographers of Charlemagne. Eginhard is the better known and was

a member of the emperor's circle. The other biography is by the anonymous "monk of Saint Gall", sometimes identified with Notker the Stammerer. Eginhard's work contains no mention of cheese (that I could find, but it's a fairly short work and I read through the whole of it). The monk of Saint Gall's work contains an anecdote about cheese that is clearly the source of Toussaint-Samat's assertions, but just as clearly overlaps them very little in content.

The anecdote makes up chapter 15 of the first book of the work. I here give A.J. Grant's translation, with relevant vocabulary from the original Latin included in brackets.

> "In the same journey [as mentioned in chapter 14 — the location and course of the journey are not specified] he [i.e., Charlemagne] came to a bishop who lived in a place through which he must needs pass. Now on that day, being the sixth day of the week, he was not willing to eat the flesh of beast or bird; and the bishop, being by reason of the nature of the place unable to procure fish upon the sudden, ordered some excellent cheese, rich and creamy [*optimum illi caseum et ex pinguedine canum* — a more literal translation might be 'excellent ... oily and whitish/grayish-white'], to be placed before him. And the most self-restrained Charles, with the readiness which he showed everywhere and on all occasions, spared the blushes of the bishop and required no better fare: but taking up his knife cut off the skin [*erugine* — apparently 'tarnish' in a literal sense], which he thought unsavoury [*abhominabili* — more literally 'abominable'], and fell to on the white of the cheese [*albore casei*]. Thereupon the bishop, who was standing near like a servant, drew closer and said, 'Why do you do that, lord emperor? You are throwing away the very best part." Then Charles, who deceived no one, and did not believe that anyone would deceive him, on the persuasion of the bishop put a piece of the skin [*eruginis illius partem* — lit. "that tarnished part"] in his mouth, and slowly ate it and swallowed it like butter [*in modum butyri*]. Then approving of the advice of the bishop, he said: 'Very true, my good host,' and he added: 'Be sure to send me every year to Aix two cart-loads [*duas carradas*] of just such cheeses." The bishop was alarmed at the impossibility of the task and, fearful of losing both his rank and his office, he rejoined: 'My lord, I can procure the cheeses, but I cannot tell which are of this quality and which of another. Much I fear lest I fall under your censure.' Then Charles from whose penetration and skill nothing could escape, however new or strange it might be, spoke thus to the bishop, who from childhood had known such cheeses and yet could not test them. 'Cut them in two [*incide ... per medium*],' he said, 'then fasten together with a skewer [*acuminato ligno* — 'a sharp stick'] those that you find to be of the right quality and keep them in your cellar for a time and then send them to me. The rest you may keep for yourself and your clergy and your family.' This was done for two years and the king ordered the present of cheeses to be taken in without remark: then in the third year the bishop brought in person his laboriously collected cheeses. But the most just Charles pitied his labour and anxiety and added to the bishopric an excellent estate whence he and his successors might provide themselves with corn and wine."

The immediately following chapter begins, "As we have shown how the most wise Charles exalted the humble, let us now show how he brought low the proud." This is pertinent in understanding the purpose of the telling of the cheese incident.

We can now compare the details of the original with the retelling in Toussaint-Samat. The first thing to note is that the single cheese incident in the biography has been multiplied (perhaps miraculously like the loaves and fishes) into two different, but parallel, cheese incidents.

Supplier of Cheese

> S. Gall: bishop of an unspecified region
>
> T-S #1: a monastery, probably abbey of Vabres near Roquefort
>
> T-S #2: Reuil in Brie (another monastery implied?)

Nature of Cheese

> S. Gall: oily (creamy?), whitish or grayish-white, with a white interior and a 'tarnished' exterior that at first appears 'abominable' but is judged to be the best part of the cheese
>
> T-S #1: a sheep's milk cheese veined with mould [sic]
>
> T-S #2: unspecified (but readers have clearly interpreted the passage as referring

to the type of cheese modernly known as Brie — and this may have been the author's intent

Other Aspects of the Cheese

S. Gall: the cheese is tested by being cut open, after which it is fastened back together with a sharp stick; the cheeses are collected during the course of the year and then shipped.

T-S #1: no mention of this aspect

T-S #2: no mention of this aspect

Charlemagne's Opinion of the Cheese

S. Gall: considers cheese a dispreferred alternate to fish for a fast day; after sampling, agrees with the bishop that the unsavory-looking rind is "the best part"

T-S #1: a lover of cheese, is surprised to like the moldy cheese

T-S #2: equally enthusiastic about this cheese; quoted as pronouncing it 'one of the most marvelous of foods'

Amount Supplied

S. Gall: two carts

T-S #1: two crates

T-S #2: two crates

Frequency of Supply

S. Gall: every year

T-S #1: every year

T-S #2: unspecified

Difficulty Involved in Procuring the Cheese

S. Gall: difficulty in identifying cheeses of the same type and quality, they must be "laboriously" tested and collected; fear of displeasing the emperor in this

T-S #1: provision of cheese nearly ruins the "poor community"

T-S #2: no difficulties mentioned

We cannot know if the interpretations are Toussaint-Samat's own or if she has taken them from intermediary sources — she remains silent on that point. (She appears to decline to provide citations for most of her material. We are lucky, in this case, that Eginhard's name gave us a clue to the actual source of the material.) To me, the most plausible (and generous) explanation would be that she has worked from two different intermediary sources, each of whom claimed Charlemagne's cheese as identical to their own local specialty and affixed details to that effect to the story (including a wholly-invented quote put in Charlemagne's mouth). On the one hand, it is hard to blame a general-interest author for not double-checking every single fact. It only took me an hour in a university library to discover the above information, but her book is full of thousands of such facts, and the research time involved in checking all of them would be prohibitive. But on the other hand, her uncritical repetition of information that turns out to be false puts the very usefulness of the book into question (outside of being an entertaining fiction).

But with that aside, what do we now know about Charlemagne's cheese?

From the description in the original, some cheese in the general brie/camembert family would certainly be consistent with what we know: i.e., a soft, "oily" white interior, and a "whitish or grayish-white" exterior that can be removed with a knife, appears distasteful, but is actually quite tasty.

The interpretation of the cheese as a blue sheep's milk type (e.g., a roquefort type) would appear to be inspired by the testing with the skewer. That is, some intermediate source may have fastened upon the process of cutting the cheese open and piercing it with a skewer, then storing it subsequently before consumption, as the origin of a bluing process. The major conceptual problem with this interpretation (setting aside that roquefort-type cheeses cannot really be described as "oily/creamy" and one might balk at describing their interior as "white") is that Charles ordered the bishop to supply "just such cheeses" [*talibus caseis*] as he had just eaten. The cheese he had just eaten had not undergone the cutting and skewering. If the cutting and skewering produced a blue cheese, then the bishop would be supplying cheeses radically different from what Charles had requested.

In summary, we see an original text, which actually supplies useful details about the nature of the cheese being described, but which has been rendered functionally useless in the secondary (and presumably tertiary) sources by over-zealous interpreters who (possibly in a spirit of local chauvinism) have added details and specifics to the bare facts until we cannot know truth from invention. Fortunately, in this case, the original is fairly easy to identify and access, but in all too many cases of this sort, we are left with intriguing assertions removed entirely from their contexts — assertions of the sort that fill Toussaint-Samat's book — which we have no way of

verifying. And we must be skeptical of bare assertions like this because inaccuracies like the above happen all the time in books of this sort.

It's an object lesson in why one should never stop at tertiary and secondary sources, and why one should be extremely wary of sources that don't tell you where they got their information. The information may be wrong, and you have no way to know it.

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When writing papers as a grad student, I went by the general principle that every term paper should serve at least two purposes. One of the required classes for the program was on the history of the study of linguistics, and one of the assigned papers was a biographical sketch of some linguist in history. I'd been rather fascinated by some of the language-related material in the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, and choosing him gave me a chance to re-use the paper in my SCA journal. I still think that, with only a little training in the comparative method, Giraldus might have discovered the relationships in the Indo-European language family centuries ahead of his time. The original paper was written for the Spring semester of 1996, and it appeared subsequently in Y Camamseriad volume 4 in the same year.

The Linguistic Writings of Gerald de Barri

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Gerald de Barri, better known today by his Latin pen-name Giraldus Cambrensis, was born ca. 1145 in the Pembroke region in south Wales. His family was powerful and influential in many fields of endeavor: his maternal grandfather, Gerald of Windsor, had been constable of Pembroke Castle, his FitzGerald uncles and cousins were instrumental in Norman activities in Ireland, and his maternal grandmother was the daughter of a Welsh prince. His uncle, David fitz Gerald, was bishop of St. Davids and was influential in guiding Gerald's education, once he had been marked for a clerical life at an early age. As a boy, he studied in Gloucester, but in his mid-teens moved to Paris where he spent a dozen years studying the liberal arts and both Roman and canon law. When he returned home, his uncle appointed him archdeacon of Brecon, and when Bishop David died a year or so afterward, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the bishopric.

After a few more years in Paris finishing his legal studies, he became a royal clerk and accompanied Prince John during various Irish expeditions. During this period he gathered material for his first two books, written shortly thereafter: the *Topographia Hibernica* and *Expugnatio Hibernica*. In 1188, he accompanied the archbishop of Canturbury on a tour through Wales preaching the crusade. The account of this journey became his *Itinerarium Kambriae*, and additional material collected not only on this trip but from other experiences went into the *Descriptio Kambriae*. In 1199 he was elected to the bishopric of St. Davids, but his attempts to revive an old claim of metropolitan jurisdiction for St. Davids put him at odds with both the crown and Canterbury who succeeded, four years later, in having him ousted from the position. Bitterness over this issue fills much of his subsequent writing, specifically the partially autobiographical trilogy *De Rebus a se Gestis* / *De Invectionibus* / *De Iure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesie*. He died ca. 1222 in his mid-70s. He was scarcely noted by contemporary historians and his fame rests entirely on his writings rather than his actions.

In addition to the above-mentioned works, he wrote a number of "Lives", both of his contemporaries (his uncle the Bishop David, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Archbishop of York, and Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln) and of the more usual sort of murkily-distant religious figures (St. David, St. Remigius, St. Ethelbert, St. Caradog). He wrote several instructional works for the clergy, including the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* and *Speculum Ecclesiae* as well as a work intended to be similarly instructional for princes: *Liber de Principis Instructione*. He collected a number of his personal letters under the title *Symbolum Electorum*. He looked high in dedicating his books; they are addressed to kings, princes, and archbishops. And although he complains, perhaps of these, "A number of famous men ... show such contempt for literature that they are in the habit of imeediately locking up in their cupboards the excellent works

which I present to them, condemning them, as it were, to perpetual imprisonment", there is also ample evidence that his works were circulated among his contemporaries and that he incorporated feedback from them in his perpetual revisions.

The religious works, as a rule, survive in very small numbers — often only one or two copies, and those contemporary or near-contemporary with him. The descriptive works on Ireland and Wales, however, seem to have enjoyed a certain amount of popularity. Dozens of manuscript copies of the Irish works survive, dating mostly from the 13th century, but with significant numbers from the 14th, 15th, and later. The Welsh works also survive in significant numbers, with half a dozen extant manuscripts of each from the 13-14th centuries and dozens of copies from the 16-17th centuries (which enjoyed a boom in antiquarianism). The *Description of Wales* was first published in 1585.

His Linguistic Writings

Gerald's observations and commentaries on language-related matters are overwhelmingly confined to the two works concerning Wales. The Irish books contain only a single etymology, and that simply parrots the standard "Irish legendary history". The *Life of Hugh of Avalon* contains one etymology and one socio-linguistic observation, but the Lives in general follow the very formulaic pattern of their genre. The *Gemma Ecclesiastica* contains no linguistic observations at all that I was able to find. (These were the only works I was able to study in this context.)

His linguistic observations fall into four general categories: 1) etymologies, mostly of place names; 2) observations on language use, dialectology, etc.; 3) discussions of lexical borrowing and/or cognates (he does not appear to distinguish between the two); and 4) discussions of sound-correspondences between various languages. Relevant passages may be found below. I have only given a selection of the etymologies, however the rest of the material is as complete as I could manage.

Etymologies

> *Aber* enim lingua Britannica dicitur locus omnis ubi fluvius in fluvium cadit. *Landu* vero Ecclesia Dei sonat.

[Aberllanddew] In the Welsh langauge 'aber' means where one river joins another. Llanddew means the Church of God.

> Unde et ab Hotheni Lanthotheni dictus: *Lan* enim locus ecclesiasticus sonat. Exquisitius tamen dici potest, quod propria loci illius noncupatio Kambrice est Nanthotheni. *Nant* etenim rivus dicitur aquæ decurrentis: unde et esque hodie ab accolis locus iste lingua Kambrica Landewi Nanthotheni vocatur, hoc est, ecclesia David super rivum Hotheni. Corrupte igitur Angli Lanthotheni dicunt: ubi vel Nanthotheni, per N et t, id est, rivus Hotheni, vel Lanhotheni, [scilicet] per L sine t, id est, ecclesia Hotheni, dici deberet.

It is from the Honddu that [the place] takes the name Llanhonddu, for 'llan' means a place dedicated to religion. This derivation may seem far-fetched, for the real name of the place in Welsh is Nant Honddu. 'Nant' means a stream of running water: and in the Welsh language the place is still today called Llanddewi Nant Honddu by the local inhabitants, that is the church of David on the River Honddu. The English have corrupted the name to Llanthony, whereas it ought to be called either Nant Honddu with an N and a t, that is the Honddu stream,or else Llanhonddu with an L but no t, that is the church on the Honddu.

> nomen Red Pencarn .... Sonat autem Latine, Vadum sub capite rupis. Red enim Britannice, vadum Latine; Pen caput; Carn rupis.

It was called Rhyd Pencarn, which in Latin means 'vadum sub capite rupis' (the ford beneath the overhanging rock). The Welsh word 'rhyd' means 'vadum', 'pen' means 'caput' and 'carn' means 'rupes'.

> In eois autem regionibus, cum canes narium sagacitate sequaces se nullatenus effugere posse præsentit, ut damno partis totum redimat, partem quam appeti naturali industria novit projiciendo in venatoris prospectu sepsam bestia castrat. Unde et a castrando Castor nomen accepit.

By some natural instinct [the beaver] knows which part of its body the hunter really wants. The creature castrates itself before the hunter's eyes and throws its tesicles down. It is because of this act of self-castration tha it is called 'castor' in Latin.

> nobiles qui Kambrice Hucheilwer, quasi superiores viri, vocantur

nobles, called Uchelwr in Welsh, that is higher men

> Hæc Britannice Haveren, a nomine puellæ, filiæ scilicet Locrini, ibi a noverca submersa, vocata est.

It [the Severn] took its Welsh name of Hafren from that of a girl, the daughter of Locrinus, who was drowned there by her stepmother.

> Kaermerdhin, ubi et Merlinus inventus fuerat, a quo et nomen accepit

Carmarthen is where Merlin was discovered, hence its name.

> Eorum autem qui Kembraec, linguam Kambricam, a Kam Græco, hoc est, distorto Græco, propter linguarum affinitatem, quæ ob diutinam in Grecia moram contracta est, dictam asserunt, probabilis quidem et verisimilis est, minus tamen vera relation.
>
> Wallia vero non a Walone duce, vel Wendoloena regina, sicut fabulosa Galfridi Arthuri mentitur historia; quia revera neutrum eorum apud Kambros invenies; sed a barbarica potius nuncupatione nomen istud inolevit. Saxones enim, occupation regno Britannico, quoniam lingua sua extraneum omne Wallicum vocant, et gentes has sibi extraneas Walenses vocabant. Et inde, usque in hodiernum, barbara nuncupatione et homines Walenses, et terra Wallia vocitatur.

Some say that their language is called Cymric, the 'lingua Kambrica', from 'cam Graecus', which means Crooked Greek because of the similarity of the two tongues, caused by their long stay in Greece. This is arguable and quite possible, but I do not think that it is the correct derivation.

The name Wales does not come from that of a leader called Walo, or from a queen called Gwendolen, as we are wrongly told in Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous History, for you will find neither of these among the Welsh who ever lived. It is derived from one of the barbarous words brought in by the Saxons when they seized the kingdom of Britain. In their language the Saxons apply the adjective 'vealh' to anything foreign, and, since the Welsh were certainly a people foreign to them, that is what the Saxons called them. To this day our country continues to be called Wales and our people Welsh, but these are barbarous terms.

> [Latin not available.]

The Hibernienses, according to some, take their name from the Heberus of whom we have been speaking. But others with greater probability say that they take their name from the Spanish river Hiberus whence they came. They are also called Gaideli and Scoti. As the old histories tell us, a certain Gaidelus, a descendant of Phenius, having, after the episode of the confusion of tongues at the tower of Nembrotica, become very skilled in various languages, was, on account of that skill, joined in marriage by king Pharao to his daughter Scotia. Since then the Hibernienses derive, as they say, their line from these two, Gaedelus and Scotia, they are called, as they are born, Gaideli and Scoti. This Gaidelus, they say, composed the Irish language, which is called Gaidelach, as much as to say that it was brought together from all languages.

> in australibus scilicet insule partibus, cui loco vel a candore "Witham" vel a sapiencia "Wittham", littera geminata, barbara quondam lingua nomen inposuit, prior eiusdem et preceptor est transmissus.

It was in the southern part of the island, at a place named in the people's tongue either "Witham" for whiteness or, doubling the letter, "Wittham" for wisdom.

Language Usage

> Ubi sermone statim super negotio crucis ab archipræsule publice facto, et per interpretem Walensibus exposito,

The Archbishop delivered a public sermon on the taking of the Cross, and this was explained to the Welsh by an interpreter.

> qui et regem in hæc verba quasi Teutonice convenit, "God holde the, cuning;" quod Latine sonat, Deus te custodiat, rex. Et postea in eadem lingua prosecutus est in hunc modum; "Salutat vos Cristus, [...]" Rex autem militi, cui nomen Philippus de Mercros, qui frenum equi tenebat, dixit lingua Gallica; "Quære a rustico, utrum hoc somniaverit." Et cum hoc Anglice miles exponeret, subjecit ille lingua priori; ... loquens regi, non interpreti ...

He spoke to the King in English, saying 'God holde thee, cuning', which in Latin means 'Deus te custodiat, rex'. Then he went on in the same language: 'Christ salutes you [various prophecies].' The King turned to a soldier called Philip de Mercros, who was holding his horse's rein, and said to him in French: 'Ask this bumpkin if he has been dreaming.' The soldier repeated the King's question to the man in English. He answered in the same language. ... He addressed these words to the King, not to the interpreter. ...

> dixit ille puerum quidem confirmatum esse, sed ut felicior et fortunatior esset, nomen ei per episcopum mutari vellet. Quod audiens episcopus, antiquum

> gentilitatis errorem necnon et sortilege vanitatis crimen abhorrens, quesivit ab eo quod nomen puer haberet. Et cum responsum accepisset quod Johannes, ait, "O vere villane, insipiens et vesane, qui melius ei nomen queris quam Johannes,

he [the peasant] said that the boy had been confirmed [one already], but that he wanted the bishop to change the boy's name so that he would be happier and luckier. When he heard this, the bishop, who hated both the old error of paganism and the crime of vain fortune-telling, asked what name the boy had. When he got the answer that it was John, he said, "Foolish and mad peasant, to want a better name for him than John

> Notandum etiam, quia in Nortwallia lingua Britannica delicatior, ornatior, et laudabilior, quanto alienigenis terra illa impermixtior, esse perhibetur. Kereticam tamen in Sudwallia regionem, tanquam in medio Kambriæ ac meditullio sitam, lingua præcipua uti et laudatissima plerique tesantur. Cornubia vero, et Armorica Britannia, lingua utuntur fere persimili; Kambris tamen, propter originalem convenientiam, in multis adhuc et fere cunctis intelligibili. Quæ, quanto delicata minus et incomposita magis, tanto antiquo linguæ Britannicæ idiomati magis, ut arbitror, appropriata. Sicut in australibus Angliæ finibus, et præcipue circa Devoniam, Anglica lingua hodie magis videtur incomposita: ea tamen, vetustatem longe plus redolens, borealibus insulæ partibus per crebras Dacorum et Norwagiensium irruptiones valde corruptis, originalis linguæ proprietatem, et antiquum loquendi modummagis observat. Cujus etiam rei non solum argumentum, sed et certitudinem inde habere potes, quod omnes libros Anglicos Bedæ, Rabani, regis Aeluredi, vel aliorum quorumlibet, sub hujus idiomatis proprietate scriptos invenies.

It is thought that the Welsh language is richer, more carefully pronounced and preferable in all respects in North Wales, for that area has far fewer foreigners. Others maintain that the speech of Cardiganshire in South Wales is better articulated and more to be admired, since it is in the middle and the heartland of Wales. In both Cornwall and Brittany they speak almost the same language as in Wales. It comes from the same root and is intelligible to the Welsh in many instances, and almost in all. It is rougher and less clearly pronounced, but probably closer to the original British speech, or so I think myself. In the same way, in the southern parts of England, and especially in Devon, the speech is nowadays purer than elsewhere. It may well be that it retains more features of the original language and the old ways of speaking English, whereas the northern regions have been greatly corrupted by the Danish and Norwegian invasions. You have some proof of this and, indeed, you can be quite sure about it, for you will find that, when Bede, Rhabanus Maurus, King Alfred and many other such people wrote in English, they used this paricular dialect.

> Tres etenim populi, Romani Enea duce, Franci Antenore, Britones Bruto, post Trojanum excidium ... Inter has autem gentes, quæ Trojani reliquiæ sunt excidii, soli Britones, quia multis forte post eversionem patriæ annorumcurriculis in Grecia detenti, tardius in occiduos hos Europæ fines advecti sunt, e primæva gentis suæ vocabula, et originalis linguæ proprietatem abundantius retinuerunt. Invenies etenim in his hæc nomina; Oeneus, Resus, Eneas, Hector, Achilles, Eliodorus,Theodorus, Ajax, Evander, Ulizes, Elena, Elissa, Wendoloena, et alia multa in hunc modum antiquitatem redolentia. Notandum etiam, quod verba linguæ Britannicæ omnia fere vel Græco conveniunt vel Latino.

After the fall of Troy three peoples managed to escape from Asia Minor to different parts of Europe ... the Romans under their leader Aeneas, the Franks under Antenor and the Britons under Brutus. ... Of the three peoples left alive after the fall of Troy, the Britons alone kept the vocabulary of their race and the grammatical properties of their original tongue. This is because they were held captive in Greece for many years after the destruction of their country and because they migrated much later to these western parts of Europe. You will still find the following names common among them: Oeneus, Rhesus, Aeneas, Hector, Achilles, Heliodorus, Theodorus, Ajax, Evander, Ulysses, Helena, Elissa, Gwendolena, and many others which make you think of ancient times. You must know, too, that all the words in Welsh bear agreement with either Greek or Latin.

> Adeo igitur hoc verborum ornatu duæ nationes, Angli scilicet et Kambri, in omni sermone exquisito utuntur, ut nihil ab his eleganter dictum, nullum egregium, nullum nisi rude et agreste censeatur eloquium, si non schematis hujus lima plene fuerit expolitum. Sicut Britannice in hunc modum;

Dychaun Dyu da dy unic.

Erbyn dibuilh puilh paraut.

Anglice vero sic;

Godis to gedere gamen and wisdom.

Ne halt nocht alsor isaid, ne al sorghe atwite.

Betere is red thene rap, and liste hene lither streingthe.

In Latino quoque haud dissimiliter eloquio, eandem exornationem frequens est invenire. In hunc modum Virgilius;

Tales casus Cassandra canebat.

Et illud ejusdem ad Augustum;

Dum dubitet natura marem faceretve puellam,

Natus es, O pulcher, pene puella, puer.

In nullis tamen linguis, quas novimus, hæc exornation adeo ut in prioribus duabus est usitata.

Mirum autem quod Gallica lingua, alias tam ornata, hunc verborum ornatum, ab aliis tam usitatum, prorsus ignorat. Nec ego tamen id crediderim, quod priores populi duo, tam diversi ab invicem et adversi, in hoc verborum ornatu ex arte conveniant, sed potius ex usu longo: qui, quia placuit solum, et facili similium ad similia transitu aures demulcet, per succedentia tempora inolevit.

More than any other rhetorical figure they delight in alliteration, and especially that which links together the initial letters or syllables of words. The two peoples, both English and Welsh, make such play with this literary device when they are trying to speak elegantly, that any pronouncement is condemned as rough and uncouth if it is not so polished and adorned. Here are two examples in Welsh:

Dychaun Dyu da dy unic.

[God can provide for the lonely.]

Erbyn dibuilh puilh paraut.

[Wisdom prepares against evil desire.]

Here are three in English:

God is togedere gamen and wisdom.

[Good is together merriment and wisdom.]

Ne halt nocht al sor isaid, ne al sorghe atwite.

[There is nothing to be gained by voicing every complaint, or blaming someone else for every misfortune.]

Betere is red thene rap, and liste thene lither streingthe.

[Deliberation is better than haste, and cunning than misapplied strength.]

It is much the same in Latin literature, where you often find this figure. Virgil wrote:

[Of such calamities Cassandra sang.]

It was Virgil again who addressed the following lines to Augustus:

[A boyish girl? Dame Nature is inscrutable! You're born, a girlish boy, a boy, but beautiful.]

In no other of the languages which I know is this device of alliteration used as much as in English and Welsh. It is remarkable, for instance, that French, which is so richly adorned with other figures, should never make use of this particular one, whereas other languages are full of it. I cannot believe that the Welsh and the English, so different from each other and so antagonistic, could ever consciously agree about the rhetorical device. It must be just habit: the facile jump from like to like has appealed to each of them separately. It pleases the ear and so it has been used more and more down the years.

Borrowings and Cognates

Invenies etenim in his hæc nomina; Oeneus, Resus, Eneas, Hector, Achilles, Eliodorus,Theodorus, Ajax, Evander, Ulizes, Elena, Elissa, Wendoloena, et alia multa in hunc modum antiquitatem redolentia.

Notandum etiam, quod verba linguæ Britannicæ omnia fere vel Græco conveniunt vel Latino. Græci Ydor aquam vocatn, Britones Duur; salem Hal, Britones Halein; Mis Tis, pro ego et tu, Britones autem Mi, Ti; Onoma, Enou; Penta, Deca, Pimp, Dec. Item Latini frenum dicunt, et tripodem, gladium, et loricam; Brtones froin, trebeth, cledhif et lhuric: unico unig, cane can, belua beleu.

You will still find the following names common among them: Oeneus, Rhesus, Aeneas, Hector,

Achilles, Heliodorus, Theodorus, Ajax, Evander, Ulysses, Helena, Elissa, Gwendolena, and many others which make you think of ancient times.

You must know, too, that all the words in Welsh bear agreement with either Greek or Latin. The Greeks say hudor for water, the Welsh 'dwfr'; hal for salt, the Welsh 'halen'; mis and tis for I and you, the Welsh 'mi' and 'ti'; onoma for name, the Welsh 'enw'; penta for five, the Welsh 'pump'; and deka for ten, the Welsh 'deg'. The Romans said 'frenum', 'tripos', 'gladius' and 'lorica', and the Welsh say 'ffrwyn', 'tribedd', 'cleddyf' and 'llurig'. The Romans said 'unicus', 'canis' and 'belua', and the Welsh say 'unig', 'ci', and 'beleu'.

Sound Correspondences

> ... tandem processu dierum in sacerdotii gradum est promotus. Cum autem Menevensis episcopus David secundus super hujus eventus inquisitione presbyterum jam senio confectum multoties slicitasset, nunquam ei negotii seriem potuit citra lacrimas replicare. Habuerat etiam gentis illius linguæ notitiam; cujus et verba recitare consueverat, quæ sibi puerilibus, ut moris est, annis repide comparaverat.
>
> Erant autem verba, sicut ab episcopo prædicto mihi sunt sæpe proposita, Græco idiomati valde conformia. Cum enim aquam requirebant, dicebant Ydor ydorum; quod Latine sonat, aquam offer. Ydor enim aqua eorum lingua, sicut et Græca, dicebatur: unde et vasa aquatica Ydriæ dicuntur: et Duur lingua Britannica similiter aqua dicitur. Item salem requirentes dicebant, Halgein ydorum, id est salem affer. Hal vero Græce sal dicitur, et haleyn Britannice. Lingua namque Britannica, propter diutinam quam Britones, qui tunc Trojani, et postea Britones a Bruto eorum duce sunt vocati, post Trojæ excidium moram in Græcia fecerant, in multis Græco idiomati conformis invenitur.
>
> Hic autem mihi notabile videtur, quod in uno verbo tot linguas convenire non invenio, sicut in isto. Hal enim Græce, Halein Britannice, Halein similiter Hibernice; Halgein, g interposita, lingua prædicta. Item sal Latine, — quia ut ait Priscianus, in quibusdam dictionibus pro aspiratione ponitur s; ut Hal Græce, sal Latine; hemi, semi; hepta, septem, — Sel Gallice, mutatione a vocalis in e, a Latino; additione t literæ, salt Anglice, sout Teutonice. Habetis ergo septem linguas, vel octo, in hac una dictione plurimum concordantes.

[a story of a boy who visits fairyland under the riverbank] In the process of time he became a priest. The years passed and he became an old man; but whenever David II, Bishop of St. David's, questioned him about what had happened, he would burst into tears as he told the story. He still remembered the langauge of the little folk and he could repeat quite a number of words which, as young people do, he had learnt very quickly.

The Bishop told me that these words were very like Greek. When they wanted water they said 'ydor ydorum', which means in Latin 'aquam offer'. In their language 'ydor' was the word for water, like Greek hudor and just as ydriæ means water-vessels. In Welsh the word for water is 'dwr'. When they wanted salt they said 'halgein ydorum', which means 'salem affer'. Salt is hal in Greek and 'halen' in Welsh. The Britons stayed a long time in Greece after the fall of Troy and then took their name from their leader Brutus, so that the early Welsh language is similar to Greek in many of its details.

It seems remarkable to me that I do not find so many languages agree as much over any other word as they do in this: hal in Greek, 'halen' in Welsh, 'halgein' in Irish, where g is inserted, and 'sal' in Latin, where, as Priscian tells us, s replaces the aspirate in some words. Just as hal in Greek corresponds to 'sal' in Latin, so hemi is 'semi' and hepta is 'septem'. In French the word becomes 'sel', the vowel a changing to e as it develops from Latin. In English a t is added to make 'salt' and in Teutonic the word is 'sout'. In short you have seven languages, or even eight, which agree completely over this word.

> quod et ab ejus quoque nomine Sabrinum mare nomen accepit. Hæc aqua, multis olim temporibus, inter Kambriam et Loegriam, hoc est inter Walliam et Angliam, marchia fuit. Hæc Britannice Haveren, a nomine puellæ, filiæ scilicet Locrini, ibi a noverca submersa, vocata est. Unde et Latine, mutatione aspirationis in S, ut in distortis a Græco in Latinum fieri solet, dicta est Sabrina. Sicut pro hal, sal; hemi, semi; hepta, septem.

It [the Severn] took its Welsh name of Hafren from that of a girl, the daughter of Locrinus, who was drowned there by her stepmother. The Latin aspirate has changed into S, just as happens when Greek words are borrowed by Latin,and so we now say Sabrina, or Severn. Other examples of this are 'sal'

for 'hal', 'semi' for 'hemi', 'septem' for 'hepta'.

Gerald's Attitudes Toward Evidence and Proof

Gerald's writings show many evidences of his attitude toward evidence, reliability, and the need for critical thinking. Literary thought at his time put a high premium on "authority" — on the certainty and reliability of literary predecessors. Gerald is not immune to this tendency, but he consistently places a high value on first-hand witness and the evidence of his own senses. He notes that Solinus claimed that Ireland had no bees, and points out his own personal experience that this is not so (but back-pedals by suggesting the perhaps the bees had been imported since Solinus' time). In other cases, he explicitly discards "authority" if it does not fit with his own experience.

From the point of view of his linguistic observations, his most troublesome acceptance of authority is a nearly whole-hearted adoption of the "legendary history" of the Welsh people, as compiled (and perhaps largely invented) by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the Historia Regum Britanniae, written a decade before Gerald's birth. He appears to have had a certain amount of scorn for Geoffrey himself, dismissing (quite correctly) his derivations of the name Wales from legendary figures: "The name Wales does not come from that of a leader called Walo, or from a queen called Gwendolen, as we are wrongly told in Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous History, for you will find neither of these among the Welsh who ever lived." (And yet, later he lists "Gwendolen" — a name Geoffrey invented by misreading an entirely different name — as among the names "common among the Welsh". His first observation is correct. There is no evidence that the name was ever in common use prior to modern times.) However elsewhere he cites information appearing in the Historia as accepted truth without comment, particularly the idea that the British were named after Brutus and descent from a group of refugess from the fall of Troy. It is possible that his acceptance of these ideas does not depend on Geoffrey alone — Geoffrey claimed to have based his work on a pre-existing book — but particular passages, such as the suggested derivation of "Kambrica" from "cam Graeca", are lifted nearly word for word from Geoffrey's work.

And yet, in general, and particularly when assessing the marvels and miracles that fill his descriptive books, he shows a healthy skepticism and preference for "natural" explanations rather than necessarily miraculous ones.

The following passages illustrate the value he placed on direct observation and examples of his relatively skeptical approach. In the first group, I have included a fairly lengthy first-hand account of what appears to be a stroke with resulting aphasia (although it is chalked up as divine retribution for sacrilege).

> Plurimis quoque, ut accolæ testantur, lacus iste miraculis pollet ... Sub bruma quoque glacie constrictus, et aquarum superficie in lubricam testam frigore concreta, sonum horribilem, tanquammultorum animalium in unum collectorum mugitum, emittit. Sed hoc forte, glaciali testudine deorsum residente, aeris inclusi, et per fenestras occultas sensim exhalantis, subita interdum et violenta facit eruptio.

The local inhabitants will assure you that the lake has many miraculous properties. ... In the winter months, when it is covered with ice, and when the surface is frozen over with a smooth and slippery coat, it emits a horrible groaning sound, like the lowing of a vast herd of cattle all driven together in one place. It is possible, of course, that this is caused by the cracking of the ice and the sudden violent eruption of enclosed pockets of air through vents imperceptible to the eye.

> Sin autem interpositæ relationis de veritate quid sentiam scrupulosus investigator inquiras, cum Augustino respondeo, admiranda fore divina miracula, non disputatione discutienda: nec ego negando divinæ potentiæ terminos pono, nec affirmando eam quæ extendi non potest insolenter extendo. Sed illud Ieronymi semper in talibus ad animum revoco: "Multa," inquit, "incredibilia reperies, nec verisimilia, quæ nihilominus tamen vera sunt. Nihil enim contra naturæ Dominum prævalet natura." Hæc igitur, et his similia, si quæ contigerint, juxta Augustini sententiam inter illa locaverim, quæ nec affirmanda plurimum, neque neganda decreverim.

If, careful reader, you should ask me if I think that his story of the little folk is really true, I can only answer with Augustine that 'miracles sent by Heaven are there to be wondered at, not argued about or discussed'. If I reject it, I place a limit on God's power, and that I will never do. If I say that I believe it, I have the audacity to move beyond the bounds of credibility, and that I will not do either. ... As Augustine implied, I would put this story, and others of a similar nature, should the circumstance arise, among those which cannot be rejected out of hand and yet

which I cannot accept with any real conviction.

> Sed quoniam multos, e diverso, thesauros per somnia constat inventos fuisse, mihi quidem verisimile videtur, sicut rumoribus sic et somniis credi oportere et non oportere locum communem esse.

[after a story about a man who dreamed that if he stuck his hand in a hole he would find a gold torque; he did so and was bitten by a viper and died] It seems to me that dreams are like rumours: you must use your common sense, and then accept some but refuse to believe others.

> Eorum autem qui Kembraec, linguam Kambricam, a Kam Græco, hoc est, distorto Græco, propter linguarum affinitatem, quæ ob diutinam in Grecia moram contracta est, dictam asserunt, probabilis quidem et verisimilis est, minus tamen vera relation.

> Wallia vero non a Walone duce, vel Wendoloena regina, sicut fabulosa Galfridi Arthuri mentitur historia; quia revera neutrum eorum apud Kambros invenies;

Some say that their language is called Cymric, the 'lingua Kambrica', from 'cam Graecus', which means Crooked Greek because of the similarity of the two tongues, caused by their long stay in Greece. This is arguable and quite possible, but I do not think that it is the correct derivation.

The name Wales does not come from that of a leader called Walo, or from a queen called Gwendolen, as we are wrongly told in Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous History, for you will find neither of these among the Welsh who ever lived.

> Vidimus eundem ... et transactis ætatum gradibus jam senem expuero factum ... sibi hæs accidisse certissima relatione confitentem.

I myself saw this same boy, then no longer young but become an old man ... and confirmed that these events really had occurred

> et oris apponens engulo, aeremque impellens, sonare c<oe>pit. Que et cademhora, multis astantibus, ore quidem aurentenus paralytice retorto, deplici passione percussus est. Cum enim torentis eloquii prius extitisset, et delatoris linguam detractor habuisset, sermonis cujuslibet usum statim amisit. Unde et in hac parte sic læsus est, ut semper hactenus linguæ fuerit impeditæ. Præterea, lethargum patiens, sic statim oblivioni cuncta tradiderat, ut vix etiam se nomen habuisse meminisset. Enimvero tam enormiter in memoria læsus fuerat, ut psalmos, quos antea cordetenus optime videremus: et literas etiam, quarum notitiam copiose satis habuerat, denuo mendicantem tanquam elementarium senem miraremur. Cui tandem in Hiberniam, ad Sanctum Patricium, excessus hujus causa peregre profecto, plenior valetudo rediit, sen non plena.

He placed the end of [St. Patrick's] horn in his mouth, blew into the metal and began to sound it. Immediately, with all those people watching him, the hornblower became paralysed in the mouth, and suffered a second affliction, too. Until then he had been remarkable for the ready flow of his eloquence and much given to disparaging and denouncing other people, but now he immediately lost all power of speaking. His organs of speech were damaged to such an extent that from this day forward he had a marked impediment. Secondly, he became so lethargic that he forgot everything he had ever known, and even had great difficulty in remembering what his name was. His memory deteriorated to such an extent that I have frequently seen him struggling to call to mind once more the psalms which he formerly knew so well by heart; and I have been amazed to watch him striving to remember his letters, with which he was once so familiar, as if he were some old schoolmaster in his dotage.

His Errors

Before judging Gerald's abilities as a "linguist", it is necessary to note where his observations and claims were in error, based on more complete knowledge.

While his Welsh etymologies are almost startlingly accurate (with the exception of those derived from legendary history), his other etymologies are only as accurate as the traditions he relied on. "Castor" as a name for beavers derives from a Hebrew word for "musk", not from a habit of self-castration. (Indeed, the story probably derives from a misunderstanding of the name.) "Caerfyrddin" has nothing to do with the legendary figure "Myrddin", deriving from the British name Maridunum. Again, the legend most likely derives from the name. His list of Greek personal names that Welsh allegedly inherited is a combination of direct borrowings (as Elena) and arbitrary "correspondences" of a sort frequently found in multilingual societies (as Theodoric/Tudur).

In his list of Latin > Welsh "borrowings", he is borne out by modern scholarship in the case of ffrwyn, llurig, trebeth (which three are, in fact, borrowings from Latin) cleddyf, halen, and cann — asuming that

he had confused the inflections of Latin canis and canus and meant the latter — which are cognates rather than borrowings. He missed the boat on beleu (cognate with Latin felis, not belua) and would probably not have been so quick to equate the Welsh word for "water" with Greek hudor, if the dialect he was familiar with included the uncontracted dwfr rather than dwr. In his listing of examples of the word for "salt" he has repeated the form attributed to the "fairy language" (halgein) mis-calling it Irish, whereas the actual form was salann.

The listing of mis and tis as allegedly Greek pronouns appears to be a misremembering or misreading of Priscian's reference to them as obsolete Latin genitives, which are cognate with Welsh "mi" and "ti", in point of fact.

His Linguistic Background

Gerald's linguistic interests — and certainly his ability to act on those interests — were no doubt stimulated by the multi-lingual environment in which he grew up. Certainly, French was his native tongue and Latin his professional one. He would also have had contact with Welsh, English, Flemish (there was a sizable Flemish colony in Pembroke and, in fact, his "Teutonic" in the set of salt cognates is probably medieval Flemish), and Irish. His brother Philip could understand (if not speak) Flemish, and his nephew and protege, also named Gerald, he accuses at one point of being more comfortable in Welsh than in French or Latin.

Opinions differ greatly as to Gerald's probable competence in Welsh. We have his own statement that he preached in Latin and French, with someone else translating the sermons into Welsh, and the use of Welsh in his writings is limited to individual words and a couple of proverbs. On the other hand, the familiarity he shows in translating Welsh placenames, discussing the corruption of the name Nanthonddu, and simply the volume of Welsh material (as compared, for instance, with the absense of similar Irish material) suggests more than a passing acquaintance. The letter in which Gerald chides his nephew for not improving his French and Latin suggests an alternate explanation — he may have viewed the use of Welsh as an issue of class, rather than simple ability, and refrained from using it professionally as a matter of code-switching.

For all of the Greek examples in his work, Gerald seems to have had no real knowledge of the language. His references all appear to have been filtered through Latin versions of the relevant texts (all of his vocabulary examples are available in Priscian) and he makes errors (as with mis/tis) that would be surprising in one conversant with the language.

Linguistic Theories Inherent in His Work

From Gerald's writings, we can extract his opinions on the nature of language. For all of his etymologies, the most we can conclude is that he considered words and names to have clear, direct, decomposable meanings. He makes little consideration of the effects of sound or meaning change on these etymologies, except to offer alternative interpretations on occasion.

He had a fairly clear idea of the ways in which a language could influence its neighbors, from lexical borrowing to phonetic change, even hinting at grammatical effects. He tended to couch this in terms of "corruption" (as with the influence of English upon Welsh, or of Norse upon English) unless the influencing language was accorded high status (as with the alleged influence of Greek upon British). The "corruption" of sound could lead to a corruption (or at least confusion) of meaning, as in the case of Nanthonddu/Lanthony. These influences depended on social interaction and could be blocked by a hostile state between neighbors, as in his allegation that the use of alliteration in both English and Welsh must be coincidence because of the antipathy between the two nations. And, although in this case his reasoning is somewhat wrong-headed, the last admits of purely coincidental resemblences between even neighboring languages.

He considered that languages evolved and diverged from a common "root", and that similarity and mutual intelligibility were indications that languages had diverged more recently. The original source of all civilized languages was, of course, Greek, and contemporary languages showed greater or lesser amounts of "corruption" based on the amount of time they had spent out of contact with the parent tongue. The vocabulary of related languages corresponded to each other (although he does not clearly distinguish between cognate and borrowed items) and, in some cases, languages showed regular sound correspondences with each other (as in the general s/h phenomenon). Sound change was part of what produced language change. In contradiction to the general decline from the perfection of Greek, he considered that contemporary languages showed a move from older, "unformed" states to more evolved, elegant and polished states, and that these changes could take place at different rates in different regions. He pointed to writings from earlier ages to demonstrate these changes.

Contemporary Linguistic Thought

The question arises as to how much of Gerald's linguistic thought came to him as part of his intellectual training and which parts could be original thinking. His studies in Paris would certainly have included a great deal of study in grammar and rhetoric. It is clear that he was very familiar with some version of Priscian's grammar — his Greek examples are taken from it, and it contains an observation regarding the correspondence of Greek h to Latin s that probably sparked Gerald's data-collection on the subject. Neither Priscian nor the other major classical grammatical work available, Donatus, were descriptive grammars in a modern sense. They assumed a knowledge of Latin and discussed linguistic structure and topics such as etymology from the context of that assumption.

Discussions of syntax, such as found in Boethius, do not seem to have formed a basis for Gerald's interests. On the other hand, in-depth discussions in the field of etymology, such as the conflict between motivation and arbitrariness, do not seem to play much part either. Gerald's etymologies are largely simple translations of meaning, not attempts to find deeper, internal origins, such as drive the often-fanciful etymologies of Isidore of Seville. (On the other hand, Isidore felt that transparency of etymology was a sign of linguistic conservatism and purity, so perhaps Gerald simply felt that Welsh was so "pure" that deeper explanations were not necessary.) With regard to linguistic change, the standard view was that language was gradually degenerating from a state of perfection and purity to one of corruption and imperfection. Gerald reflects this view in discussing the relation of contemporary languages to Greek, but his views on the evolution of those languages from rougher to more elegant forms was probably motivated by the common phenomenon of considering those language forms most familiar to us as "normal" and all other dialects or languages as "uncouth".

The coming movement in 12th century linguistics was the beginning of the study of theoretical grammar, begun by William of Conches and his student Petrus Helias in Paris. Petrus was teaching there in the mid-12th century, so it is possible that Gerald might have studied with him. But, if so, Petrus' interests didn't stick. Conversely, Gerald's interests in comparing languages is not found in other linguistic writings of the time with the exception of the classical preoccupation with the relationship of Greek and Latin. (A salient example of this disinterest is seen in some Old Irish glosses on Priscian in the St. Gall manuscripts, where it is discussed how to render the Greek equative into Latin without noting, or even making use of, the fact that Irish also uses an equative degree.)

Conclusion

Gerald's strengths as a linguistic observer were his restless curiosity, his (relative) skepticism, the value he placed on direct observation, and the rich, multilingual environment in which he moved. His weaknesses were largely a product of the times. He begins a fascinating description of sound correspondences ... and then accepts a popular mythic history of national origin as the "explanation". His interests were out of step with the developing movement of creative work in linguistics in the 12th century. If comparative linguistics, rather than theoretical grammar, had become the hot new topic in the 13th and 14th centuries, Gerald might have been honored alongside (or instead of) Petrus as a founding father. Gerald's political conflicts with both the spiritual and temporal authorities in the latter part of his life not only preoccupied his later writings, but may have led to a certain amount of academic isolation and perhaps even suppression.

But not all of Gerald's "failure" (from a modern point of view) can be blamed on others. The breadth of interest that brought him to describe such a range of linguistic phenomena also prevented him from following up on any of the questions he raised in great detail. After noting the "salt" cognates, he failed to follow it up with enough similar sets to make analysis possible. To a large extent, he contented himself with pointing out "curiosities", and either failed to persue a deeper analysis or accepted the superficial explanations presented by authority. It is certainly possible that those active at the beginning of modern comparative linguistics might have been familiar with his work. Sir William Jones was a member of the Cymmrodorion, one of the explosion of Welsh literary and antiquarian societies in the mid to late 18th century, and noted in a letter that he was "keenly interested in the antiquities and literature of Wales" although he had little time to spare from his other activities. But whatever influence Gerald might have had there goes unrecorded, and I will close with Bartlett's comment on the subject of Gerald as an early father of comparative linguistics that "a father should have children".

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I really enjoy writing "data dump" articles, where I try to dig up every scrap of information that I can find on some very narrow topic and then put it together in an organized fashion so that others can use it as a starting point for their own interpretations. This article grew out of a message I posted on rec.org.sca on 6/16/95 in response to a question about what we might know about the tents used by the medieval Welsh. Those original notes were expanded into the present article in Y Camamseriad *volume 4 in 1996.*

Some Data on the Use and Nature of Tents in Medieval Wales

A question about Welsh tents on the internet spurred me to see what sort of information might be available on the subject. One response to the question suggested that the Welsh would have no use for tents, given that travelers would be given hospitality at private houses. However this assumes that tents would have been used as we use them in our events: as a home-away-from-home in an ordinary living situation. Literary references in Welsh to tents suggest a different picture: that they were used when large numbers of people had to be sheltered and when the travelers could expect to be met with hostility — specifically during wartime.

As far as I am aware, there are no physical artifacts or even period artistic representations that could shed light on the subject of Welsh tents. However there are a good number of literary references that can provide a context for discussion. The following are mostly taken from the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, a historical dictionary of the Welsh language. Those citations are by no means exhaustive, however, and I have added other examples where I can find them. Translations are primarily mine, except for the Biblical material, for which I have given the corresponding passage from the King James Version.

Vocabulary

The primary words which can refer to tents and related activities are as follow.

Pabell/pebyll — Noun. From the Latin *papilio*; (a) "tent, (temporary) dwelling, portable shelter, camp, pavilion, tabernacle, booth, canopy, arbour, bower, sanctuary"; (b) "mantle, cloak"

Pabellu/Pebyllu/Pebyllio — Verb. From *pabell*; to pitch a tent or tents; to camp, to encamp (esp. of troops), to cover with a tent.

Pabellfa/Pebyllfa — Noun. From *pabell*; camp-site, encampment.

Pabellog — Adjective. From *pabell*; held in a tent?, tent-like? pertaining to a tent?, having a tent?, full of tents? [There is only one example and the context isn't very clear.]

Pall — Noun. From Latin *palla* "mantle, cloak"; cloak, curtain, covering, pall (eccl.), tent, tabernacle, throne, bed of state.

Lluest — Noun. Possibly from *llu+gwest* (army+lodging); temporary dwelling hurriedly erected (esp. formerly for soldiers during campaign, also for shepherds on the mountains), bivouac, portable shelter of canvas, cloth, etc., tent, tabernacle, camp, encampment, (shepherd's) booth, shieling, lodge, cottage, cabin, hut, cot(e), also fig.; upland summer dwelling; barracks, quarters (for soldiers, workmen, etc.), billet, hostel.

Lluestu — Verb. From *lluest*; to lodge temporarily in the open, in a tent or in tents, live under canvas,

bivouac, settle in camp, encamp (esp. of troops), also fig.; accommodate (person), billet, quarter; pitch tent(s), set up or erect a camp.

Lluestfa — Noun. From *lluest*; temporary dwelling, camp, encampment; military quarters, barracks.

Lluestwr — Noun. From *lluest*; one who lives in a cot, tent, or camp, pitcher of tents, camper, (military) quartermaster.

Lluesty — Noun. From *lluest+ty* (house); temporary or movable dwelling, tent, tabernacle, booth, shieling, cottage, lodge, cabin, hut, cot(e), also fig., soldier's, workmen's etc. quarters, billet, barracks, hostel.

Pafiliwn — Noun. From the English "pavilion"; pavilion, also in heraldry.

The Texts

Non-Welsh References

Tent-related references can be broken down into a number of categories for analysis. The first one I will consider is that of Biblical translations and other religious writings. These are, of course, useless for commentary on the artifacts and habits of the medieval Welsh, but they are quite useful in determining the use and meaning of the words we are considering. Bible translators generally worked very conscientiously to keep the meaning of the original passages, so we have a relatively objective landmark to interpret the words that were chosen. First, let's look at references which are to tents as dwelling places.

> 14th c. (*Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* 7) *lluesteu* symudedic. "movable encampments (*lluest*)"
>
> 1567 (*Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ* 201b) ei celfyddytt ytoedd gwneythyr *pebyllion*. "his craft was making tents (*pebyll*)"
>
> 1588 (Deut xvi. 7) yr ei i'th *babellau*. "go unto thy tents (*pabell*)"
>
> 1588 (Eseia xiii 20) ni *phabella* Arabiad yno. "neither shall the Arabian pitch tent (*pabellu*) there"
>
> 1588 (Gen xiii.12) Lot ... a *luestodd* hyd Sodoma. "Lot [dwelled in the cities of the plain, and] pitched his tent (*lluestu*) toward Sodom." [*Lluestu* translates the entire phrase "pitched his tent".]
>
> 1567 (*Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* 45a) ef a dannellawdd y *lluestuy* [:-*papell*] a gwaet. "he pitched the shelter (*lluesty*) [tent (*pabell*)] and <unknown>"
>
> 1567 (*Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* Sall 38a) na bo nep a breswilio ei pebyll [:-*lluestai*]. "no one shall inhabit his tent (*pebyll*) [*lluesty* pl.]"
>
> 1588 (2 Cron. xiv. 15) *Lluestai* ... yr anifeiliaid. "the tents of cattle"

These references use *pebyll*, *lluest*, and their derivatives to refer to everyday dwellings under normal conditions. Another group uses the same words to refer to shelters or fortifications used in wartime. In two of these, alternate glosses are given using words connected with more permanent military sites.

> 1567 (*Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ* 396b) ymgylchynesont *pebyll* [:-c[a]stra.i. [*sic*] cestyll, *lluestai*] y Saint. "they encircled the Saint's tent (*pebyll*) [castra i.e., castles, encampments (*lluesty*)]"
>
> 1588 (Job xi. 18) pan gloddit *luestfa* y gorweddit mewn diogelwch "thou shalt dig about thee, and thou shalt take thy rest in safety" [The Welsh is more literally: "and you will dig an encampment (*lluestfa*) and lie down in safety".]
>
> 1567 (*Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ* 396b) *pebyll* [:-c[a]stra.i. cestyll, *lluestai*] y Saint. "tents (*pebyll*) / *castra* / castles / shelters (*lluesty*) of the Saints"

Another group of references uses the words metaphorically to mean "shelter".

> 1567 (*Testament Newydd* 267b) Can ys gwyddam pe a's ein dayarol duy y *pebyll* [:-*lluest*, trigva] hyn a ddinistrir, vot i ni adailat wedy roddi gan Duw. "Since we know that it is our earthly <unknown> this tent (*pebyll*) [encampment (*lluest*), dwelling place] that is destroyed, which is for us a building given by God"
>
> 1588 (2 Sam xxii 12) Efe a osododd y tywyllwch yn *bebyll* oi amgylch. "He made darkness [into] pavillions (*pebyll*) round about him"
>
> 1567 (*Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* Sall 14b) yn-dirgelfa ei *luest* [:-drigfa] y cudd ef vi. "in the secret-place of his shelter (*lluest*) he hides me" [The source is a Welsh version of the Book of Common Prayer.]
>
> 1551 (W. Salesbury: *Kynniver Llith a Ban* lviiib) oni dderbyniant chwchwi yr *lluestai* tragyvytha(w)l. "unless they receive you

into the eternal shelters (*lluesty*)"

A more specialized use of both *pebyll* and *lluest* is for the word found in English as "tabernacle".

1346 (*The Elucidarium ... from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi* 32) yn lle ycarchar wynt yma. yderbynnir wyntev y*bepyllev* tragywyd. "instead of them being imprisoned here, they will be received into eternal tents (pebyll) [?the tabernacle of the Lord?]"

1567 (*Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ* 27a) gwnawn yma dri *phebyll* (1588 Marc ix.5 dair *Pabell*). "let us make three tabernacles (*pebyll*)"

1588 (Salm lxxxiv 1) Mor hawddgar yw dy *bebyll* di. "How amiable are thy tabernacles (*pebyll*)"

1567 (*Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* Sall 14b) aberthaf yn ei *luest* [:-bepyll] ef ebyrth gorfoledd. "I will sacrifice in his tabernacle(?) (*lluest*) (or *pebyll*) joyful sacrifices."

1567 (*Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ* 390a) Tabernacl [:-*lluest*, tent, tyley] y tustolaeth. "Tabernacle (*lluest*, tent, bed?) of the testament [covenant?]"

1567 (*Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Jesu Christ* 181b) tabernacl [:-*pepyll lluesty*] Moloch. "the tabernacle [*pebyll*, *lluesty*] of Moloch"

Pall is found in a context that is probably more closely related to its primary meaning of "cloak, covering".

1588 (Eseia xxx 22) Yna'r halogwch *ball*dy [*sic*] gerf-ddelw arian. "Ye shall defile also the covering (*pall*) of thy graven images of silver"

There are two other references that explicitly describe non-Welsh artifacts.

15th c. (*Ffordd y Brawd Odrig* 54) Gwyr y wlat honno [Tibet] a bresswylant mywn *pebylleu* o felt du. "Men of that land [Tibet] dwell in tents (*pebyll*) of black felt"

c. 1400 (*Delw y Byd* 33) [m]alwot ... oc eu kogyrneu y gwneir *lluesteu* (*hospitia*) didos y dynyon. "snails ... from their shells are made watertight shelters (*lluest*) (hostels) for the people" [The source is called "A Picture of the World" and I suspect that it may be a "tales of strange lands" type of book.]

It is worth noting that *pebyll* is used for a fabric structure, while *lluest* is used for a structure of other (highly improbable) material.

Welsh References

The remainder of the references either purport to describe activities and artifacts used in Wales (or, in the case of some with early settings, in Britain), or appear in non-Welsh stories which have been adapted into Welsh form. When discussing tales such as the three later Arthurian romances, we seem not to be dealing with direct translations (as we are with the Bible) but certainly with adaptations of non-Welsh material. They cannot tell us what the Welsh were doing, but they *can* tell us what would have made sense to their Welsh audience. Unless there is clear evidence that a description in a story is meant to be "strange and wonderful", we can assume that it corresponds to something in the audience's experience.

Military Contexts

The larger part of the references including our target words are connected with armies and military activities.

The first group of references comes from clearly fictional sources: legendary chronicles and tales. The *Brut Dingestow* and *Brut y Brenhinedd* are both Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. The *Ystorya de Carolo Magno* is a Welsh version of part of the French Charlemagne cycle, while *Owein* and the *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal* are Welsh adaptations of later French romances. The *Dream of Maxen Wledig* is a native Welsh tale with a very early setting but trappings of the high Middle Ages. Another "dream" tale, *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, contains traditional characters such as Arthur but was composed not much earlier than the date of its manuscript. (See my previous article "Medieval Welsh Clothing to 1300" for a detailed discussion of interpreting this source.)

13th c. (*Brut Dingestow* 73) Norhamtvn yn yd oed *pebylleu* Maxen a'e lu. "Northampton, where the tents (*pebyll*) of Maxen and his army were"

13th c. (*Brut Dingestow* 171) dywetpvt idav bot yr amheravdyr yn *llustu* yn agos ... A *phebyllav* a wnaeth ynteu ar glan yr auon. "it was told to him that the emperor was camping (*lluestu*) nearby ... and he tented (*pebyllio*) on the bank of the river"

13th c. (*Brut Dingestow* 52) Ac ual yd oed yn dyuot parth a Cheint, nachaf gvyr Ruuein

yn *pebyllau* yn y lle honno. "And while he was coming toward Kent, behold the men of Rome tenting (*pebyllio*) in that place."

14th c. (*WBM — The Dream of Maxen Wledig* 187. 33-7) aeth hyt ym pen yfreni uawr. Athynnu *pebyll* a oruc yr amherawdyr yno. Achadeir vaxen y gelwir y *pebyllua* honno. "he went as far as the top of 'The Big Prow' [a place name]. And there the emperor pitched a tent (*pebyll*). And that tent-site (*pebyllfa*) was called 'Maxen's Chair'."

14th c. (*Breudwyt Ronabwy* 11.3) Ac ymchoelut o'r Iarll y'r *pebyll*. "And the earl returned to the tent (*pebyll*)."

14th c. (*Breudwyt Ronabwy* 11.31) nachaf y gwelynt o *pebbyll* gwynn penngoch a delw sarf purdu ar penn y *pebyll*, a llygeit rudgoch gwenwynic yn penn y sarf, a'e dauawt yn fflamgoch "behold, they saw [a squire coming] from a white red-topped tent (*pebyll*), with the image of a pure black serpent on the top of the tent, and bright red venomous eyes in the serpent's head, and its tongue flame-red"

14th c. (*Breudwyt Ronabwy* 12.29) Ac yna yd ymchoeles y mackwy tu a'e *bebyll*. "And then the squire returned towards his tent (*pebyll*)."

14th c. (*Breudwyt Ronabwy* 13.3) yn dyuot o *pebyll* puruelyn. A delw llew purgoch ar penn y *pebyll*. "coming from a pure yellow tent (*pebyll*), with the image of a pure red lion on the top of the tent"

14th c. (*Breudwyt Ronabwy* 13.27) sef y gwelynt ruthur y wrthunt *pebyll* brychuelyn mwyhaf o'r a welas neb, a delw eryr o eur arnaw, a maen gwerthuawr ym penn yr eryr. Yn dyuot o'r *pebyll* y gwelynt vackwy ... "this is what they could see: some distance away from them a spotted yellow tent (*pebyll*), the largest that any one had seen, and the image of a golden eagle on it, and a precious stone in the eagle's head. Coming from the tent they could see a squire ..."

14th c. (*Breudwyt Ronabwy* 7.21) A'r vydin honno yn *pebyllyaw* uch y Ryt. "And that troop pitching its tents (*pebyllio*) above the ford."

14th c. (*Owein* 654) A'r llu a *bebyllywys* yg kylch y castell "[after the battle] And the host pitched its tents (*pebyllio*) around the castle."

14th c. (*Ystorya de Carolo Magno* 178) nyt gwedus ... bot gwraged ymplith y lluoed yn ev *lluesteu*. "not suitable ... for women to be in the midst of the armies in their encampments (*lluest*)"

14th c. (*Ystorya de Carolo Magno* 7) Pan yttoed Charlys yn *lluestu* yg Kaer Baion a'e lu. "When Charlemagne was encamped (*lluestu*) in Caer Baion with his army."

14th c. (*Ystorya de Carolo Magno* 67) y mywn gweirglawd y tannyssant eu *pebylleu* ac y *lluestyssant*. "within a meadow they pitched their tents (*pebyll*) and they camped (*lluestu*)"

ca. 1400 (*Ystorya de Carolo Magno* 34) yno y tannwys y Cristonogyon eu *pebylleu* hyt trannoeth. "then the Christians spread their tents (pebyll) until the morrow"

c. 1400 (*Ystoryaeu Seint Greal* i. 114) ysgraff ... gwedy y *phebyllu* a llenneu o sidan oll, ac yn y *pebyll* yd oed gwely da digawn y adurnyat o lenneu goreureit. "a barge ... tented (*pebyllu*) with sheets wholely of silk, and in the tent (*pebyll*) there was a good bed ornamented abundantly with gilded sheets" [*Llen* "sheet" is as ambiguous in Welsh as it is in English — it could be that the bed had cloth-of-gold bedclothes, but it could also be that the bed frame was plated with sheet-gold.]

c. 1400 (*Ystoryaeu Seint Greal* i. 127) ef a beris gwneuthur *pall* y'r ysgraff o syndal. "He caused to be made a tent (*pall*) of sendal for the barge."

15th c. (*Brut y Brenhinedd* line 260) Ac ena o kytdvundep kyghor pavb, wynt a kyrchassant e traethev en e lle ed oed Wl Kessar a'e lw en ev *pebyllyev*. "And then, by the unanimous advide of all, they sought the beaches in the place where Wl Kessar and his army were in their tents (*pebyll*)."

15th c. (*Brut y Brenhinedd* line 299) Ac eyssyoes gwedy llythrav er rann wuyhaf o'r dyd, e Brytanyeyt o kywarssanghedygyon vydynoed a dygynt rvthrev glew kalet, a Dwu en ev kanhvrthwyav, e wudvgolyaeth a demweynnyvs vdvnt, ac Wl Kessar a kymyrth y longhev a'e *pebyllyev* a'e *lvestev* en kedernyt ydav, ac gwedy dyvot e nos ef a kyweyrvs y longhev ac a aeth endvnt ac a

> wu lawen kanthav kaffael e mor en lle kastell ydav. "And already, after the greatest part of the day had slipped away, the Britons with a trampling of armies made a strong, hard rush and, God helping them, the victory was theirs, and Wl Kessar seized for himself their ships and their tents (*pebyll*) and their encampments (*lluest*) by strength, and after coming during the night, he prepared the ships and went in them and he was glad to have the sea in the place of a castle for him."

> 15th c. (*Brut y Brenhinedd* line 494) Ac gwedy dyvot ohonav hyt ger llaw glyn oed en agos y Kaer Keynt, ef a gweles en e lle honno llw gwyr Rvueyn ac ev *pebyllyev* ac ev *llvestev* gwedy ry dyskynnv en e glynn hvnnv, kanys Awarwy vap llvd a'e dvgassey hyt e lle honno wynt y keyssyav dwyn kyrch nos en dyrrebvd am penn Kasswallavn. "And after he came to beside the valley that was near Caer Ceint, he saw in that place an army of the men of Rome and their tents (*pebyll*) and their encampments (*lluesty*), they having descended upon that valley, since Afarwy ap Lludd had brought them to that place, they sought to rush upon Caswallon without warning."

> 15th c. (*Brut y Brenhinedd* line 674) Ac gwedy na chaffey fford arall en e byt, eyllyav a orvc y penn a'e varyf a chymryt telyn en y law ac en ryth eresdyn ac gwareyd dyvot em plyth e llw a'r *llvestev*, a'r klymev a ganey ar e telyn a dangosynt y vot en telynyavr. "And after he found no other way in the world, he barbered his head and his beard and took a harp in his hand and in the guise of a jester and player he came in the midst of the army and the encampments (*lluest*), and the modes he played on the harp showed that he was a harper."

> 15th c. (*Brut y Brenhinedd* 180) ar lan yr avon honno y *lluestws* arthur y nos honno. "on the bank of that river, Arthur camped (*lluestu*) that night"

We find armies using tents or less-specified "temporary shelters" when on the move and when besieging a fortress. The French-derived romances (and *Bredwyt Ronabwy* in addition) give us a picture of brightly-colored pavilions made from costly fabrics, decorated with bright, heraldic emblems. The use of *pebyll* and *lluest* (or *pebyllio* and *lluestu*) in the same passage should not necessarily be taken as indicating a contrast between the two items. The use of such doublets is a very common literary device in Medieval Welsh. We find phrases such as *tir a daear* "land and earth", *bryd a meddwl* "mind and thought" often enough to caution against interpreting similar pairs as contrastive.

The next group of citations come from sources one step closer to reality. These include biographies and chronicles written fairly close to the events in question (although the copies we have may be later) and intended to be historical records. The *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* is the biography of an early 12th century prince, probably composed (first in Latin) around the middle of that century. While some of the events in the biography may have been modified to fit the writer's political agenda, there is no reason to suppose that everyday details such as the equipment of an army would not be accurate for that period. The *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Brenhinedd y Saesson* are historical annals and, again, while they may not be completely reliable for large events (especially in the early sections) there is no reason to believe that the everyday details that are included would have been invented or imaginary — at least in the context of the time they were written (which isn't always the same as the putative date of the entry). I am not familiar with the Ellis Gruffyth manuscript but have guessed that it falls in this category.

> 13th c. (*Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* 22 History of Gruffudd ap Cynan) urth henne e *lluestws* ac y *pebyllyus* ... em Mur Castell "because of that, he camped (*lluestu*) and tented (*pebyllio*) ... in Mur Castell"

> 13th c. (*Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* 15, the History of Gruffudd ap Cynan) *lluesteu* y dywededigyon vrenhined "encampments (*luest*) of the aforementioned kings"

> 13th c. (*Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* 13 History of Gruffudd ap Cynan) - en e cantref hvnnv y *lluestassant* wythnos "in that cantref they camped (*lluestu*) for a week"

> 13th c. (*Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* 1641 29) Gruffudd ... a *luestws* yn y erbyn ynteu. "Gruffudd ... encamped (*lluestu*) against him.

> 14th c. (*Brut y Tywysogion* 92, a Welsh chronicle) - y kyuodes ... Maredud ac Ywein ... yn anssynhwyrus oc eu *pebyll* heb gyweiraw eu bydin "Maredudd and Owein arose insensibly(?) from their tents (*pebyll*) without readying their army"

14th c. (*Brut y Tywysogyon* Pen 20. 102) ac yno ytynawd ef *bebylleu* "[A year after that, Henry, king of England, led a mighty host to Chester, in order to subdue Gwynedd.] And there he pitched tents (*pebyll*)"

14th c. (*Brut y Tywysogyon* (RB) 134) yna y *pebyllawd* Ywein yNhal Llwynn Pina. "then Owein tented (*pebyllio*) at Tal Llwyn Pennant"

14th c. (*Brenhinedd y Saesson* 166) yna *pebyllu* a dyuot glaw arnadunt. "then they tented (*pebyllu*) and rain came on them"

16th c. (*Llawysgrif Ellis Gruffyth* Mos 158. 35a) gosodassantt twy I *pebyll* ai *lluesdi* ynn y man a elwir glasgrug. "they placed their tent (*pebyll*) or shelter (*lluesty*) in the place that was called Glasgrug"

Just as in the fictional tales, we find armies using tents (*pebyll*) and temporary shelters (*lluest*) while on the move. In the Ellis Gruffyth ms. the item in question is specifically called "a *pebyll* or *lluest*".

References to military tents/camps in poetry can also be assumed to reflect contemporary practice, at least when the subject of the poem is "real-life" events and people. The following are taken from a variety of poems with military subjects.

1160 (*The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* 155b. 13-14) - Pei byw llary lleissiawn / Ni *luestai* wyned ym mherfed edeirniawn (Cynddelw) "While Llary Lleission lives, Gwynedd shall not camp (*lluestu*) in the middle of Edeirnion"

12th c. (*The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* 237a. 23-4) Rhys rhos gyffro, Rhag pyrth Penfro yn *pebylliaw* (Seisyll Bryffwrch). "Rhys Rhos Gyffro, tenting (*pebyllio*) before the gates of Penfro."

13th c. (*The Book of Aneirin* I. 14-15, a poem in the Book of Aneirin) - rac *pebyll* madawc "in front of Madog's tent (pebyll)"

c.1300 (*Llawysgrif Hendregadredd* 83b. 12) Am hafren am orten wrt *luestu* (Gwynfardd Brycheiniog). "about the Severn concerning visiting while camping (*lluestu*)"

14th c. (*Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest* 1043. 21 a poem from the Red Book of Hergest) *lluest* gadwallawn "Cadwallon's encampment (*lluest*)"

14th c. (*The Book of Taliesin* 77. 15) *Pebyllyawnt* ar tren atharanhon. "they tented (*pebyllio*) on <unknown>"

c. 1400 (*Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest* 1404. 31) *Pebyllwys* fy llyw yn llu hyfryt praff. "My leader tented (*pebyllio*) with a great, pleasant army"

One of my favorite places to look for real-life confirmation of events and artifacts described in fiction are the law tracts. It would be ideal to find a passage along the lines of "the poles of a king's tent are worth four-pence and the fabric is worth six-pence". But, alas, no such mentions can be found. We *do* find the word *lluest* (temporary-shelter) used in connection with military activities, however this word alone does not specify the nature of the structures involved. In one version of the laws, the parallel section uses the word *cestyll* (castles) instead of *lluesteu* (temporary-shelters) suggesting that the activity of the "man with an axe" may be more along the lines of making pallisades rather than cutting tent poles.

c.1200 (*Y Llyvyr Du or Weun, Facsimile of the Chirk Codex of the Welsh Laws* 30. 5-7, the Chirk Codex of the Welsh laws) ebrenyn adely opob myleyntref dyn amarch abuyall ygueneuthur *lluesteu* "the king is entitled to have from each villein-town a person and a horse and an axe to make encampments (*lluest*)"

13th c. (*Llyfr Iorwerth* 43.12) E brenhyn a dele o pob byleyntref den a march a bueall e wneythur *lluest* e'r brenhyn, ac vynteu a deleant bot ar e cost ef. "The king is entitled to have from each villein-town a person and a horse and an axe to make an encampment (*lluest*) for the king, and they are entitled to be at his expense."

13th c. (*Llyfr Iorwerth* 93.22) E brenhyn a dele o pob byleyntref gur a buyall y wneythur *lluesteu* ydau en e lluyd. "The king is entitled to have from each villein-town a man and an axe to make encampments (*lluest*) for him when on campaign."

14th c. (*Llyfr Blegywryd* 47.15 - for contrast) Y gan y tayogeu y keiff y brenhin pynueirch yn y luyd, ac o pob tayawctref y keiff gwr a march a bwell y wneuthur y gestyll, ac ar treul y brenhin y bydant. "From the villeins the king gets packhorses for his campaign, and from each villein-town he gets a man and a horse and an axe to make his castles (fortifications?), and they will be at the expense of the king."

13th c. (*Llyfr Colan* 40, Llyfr Colan - one of the law tracts) E brennyn a dyly o pob tayauctref ban el y lluyd gur a buyall y *lluestu* ydau. "The king is entitled to have from each villein-town, when he would go to battle, a man with an axe to make camp (*lluestu*) for him"

Non-Military Contexts

Tents are commonly found in medieval fiction in non-military contexts as well. A very common motif in the French-derived Arthurian romances is of the hero riding along and coming across a tent pitched in the middle of nowhere, often inhabited by a lady, and often belonging to a man with whom the hero subsequently jousts. "Peaceful" jousts (as contrasted with "wars") are another context in which tents appear, being used for changing armor and clothes and for sleeping in during multi-day events. These pavilions are well furnished with tables, chairs, delicious food, and even windows. A very different context is found in the native tale of Branwen, where the reason given for using a tent as a "great hall" when hosting foreign visitors is that the host (Bran) was so large that he could not fit into a house. It is possible that originally there was some sort of supernatural prohibition at work rather than a simple size constraint, but for our purposes the actual size dynamics of tents versus permanent halls are less important than the concept that ordinary peace-time entertaining could be done in a tent.

c. 1400 (*Ystoryaeu Seint Greal* i. 66) Y mae yma y *pebyll* teckaf o'r a weleist di eirioet. Ac os mynny di, mi a baraf y dynnv allan ual y gallom eisted yndaw rac gwres yr heul. "Here is the fairest tent (pebyll) that you have ever seen. And if you wish, I will arrange to spread it out so that we can sit in it against the opression of the sun"

14th c. (*WBM Branwen* 40. 34-5) Nyt ymywn ty ydoydynt namyn ymywn *palleu* "They were not within a house, but within tents (*pall*)." [The reason given is that Bran was so large he could not be contained within a house.]

14th c. (*WBM Branwen* 44. 13-16) achyweiraw y *pebyllau* ar *palleu* awnaethant udunt ar ureint kyweirdeb yneuad "and they prepared the pavillions (*pebyll*) and the tents (*pall*) for them in the manner of preparing a hall." [See the previous for the context of using tents.]

14th c. (*Owein* 500) Ac ny bu hir yr ymwan; Kei a vyrywyt. Ac yna pebyllyaw a oric y marchawc a phebyllyaw a oruc Arthur a'e lu y nos honno. A phan gyfodant y bore trannoeth y vynyd yd oed arwyd ymwan ar waew y marchawc. "And not long was the jousting ere Cei was thrown. And then the knight pitched his tent, and Arthur and his host pitched their tents that night. And next day when they arose in the morning there was the signal for combat upon the knight's lance."

14th c. (*Owein* 547) A'r nos honno yd aeth pawb y eu pebylleu. "[after the jousting] And that night all went to their tents."

14th c. (*WBM Peredur* col.120) Ac yn y llanerch y gwelei pebyll. Ac yn rith eglwys ef a gant y pater wrth y pebyll. A pharth ar pebyll y daw. A drws y pebyll a oed yn agoret. A chadeir eur yn agos yr drws. A morwyn wineu telediw yn eisted yn y gadeir a ractal eureit am y thal. A mein damllywychedic yn y ractal. A modrwy eur vras ar y llaw. "and in the clearing he could see a pavilion, and taking it to be a church he recited his pater to the pavilion. And he came towards the pavilion. And the doorway of the pavilion was open, and a chair of gold near the doorway, and a handsome auburn-haired maiden sitting in the chair, and a frontlet of gold about her forehead, and sparkling stones in the frontlet, and a thick gold ring on her hand."

14th c. (*WBM Peredur* col.120) A disgynnu a oruc peredur. A dyuot ymywn. Llawen uu y vorwyn wrthaw a chyfarch gwell idaw a wnaeth. Ac ar tal y pebyll y gwelei bwrd. Adwy gostrel yn llawn owin. A dwy torth o vara can a golwython o gic mel voch. "And Peredur dismounted and came inside. The maiden made him welcome and greeted him, and at the end of the pavilion he could see a table and two flagons full of wine, and two loaves of white bread, and chops of the flesh of sucking pigs."

14th c. (*WBM Peredur* col.144) a myet a wnaeth Pedur a Gwalchmei hyt yn lluest walchmei y diot eu harueu. A chymryt a wnaeth Pedur vn ryw wisc a oed y walchmei. A mynet awnaethant lla ynllaw ynyd oed Arthr. "[they] went to Gwalchmei's tent to take off their armour. And Peredur took just such a garment as was on Gwalchmei, and they went hand in hand to where Arthur was,"

14th c. (*WBM Peredur* col.162) Ac ef a welei bebyll ym plith y pebylleu ereill teccaf or a welsei eiroet. A morwyn tec a welei yn ystynnu y phen trwy ffenestyr ar y pebyll. "[he goes to a tournament] And he could see a pavilion amongst the other pavilions, the fairest he had ever seen. And he could see a fair maiden craning her head through a window of the pavilion."

14th c. (*WBM Peredur* col. 164) A phan deuth yr pebyll nyt oed gyfeir ar y pebyll a uei waeth y gyweirdeb noe gilyd. kany wydynt wy py le yd eistedei ef. "[at the tournament] and when he came to the pavilion there was no part of the pavilion which was in poorer state than the rest, for they knew not where he would sit."

14th c. (*WBM Gereint* col.449) A llanerch a welei yny berllan a febyll o bali pengoch a welei yny llannerch. a drws y pebyll a welei yn agored. Ac yuallen a oed yghyueir drws y pebyll. Ac ar yscwr or auallen y doed corn canu mawr. A diskynnu a oruc ynteu yna a dyuot yr pebyll y mywn. Ac nyd oed yny pebyll namyn un uorwyn yn eiste y mywn cadeir eureit. Achadeir arall gyuerbyn a hi yn waac. "[Gereint encounters some people in an enchanted mist] and he could see a clearing in the orchard, and a pavilion of brocaded silk with a red canopy he could see in the clearing, and the entrance of the pavilion he could see open. And there was an apple tree over against the entrance of the pavilion, and on a branch of the apple tree was a big hunting-horn; and with that he dismounted and came inside the pavilion. And there was no one inside the pavilion save a solitary maiden sitting in a golden chair, and another chair over against her, empty."

There are several references from 16th century chronicles to royal pavilions, however only the chronicler is Welsh, not the participants. What is relevant is that the same terminology (*lluestu*, *pebyll*) is being used for artifacts whose nature we can determine from other sources. (From the context, it's possible that at least some of the references are to the Field of the Cloth of Gold.) There is no guarantee, however, that the item that a Welsh army might use and call a *pebyll* would necessarily bear anthing more than a functional resemblence to the English royal pavilion so called here. (Recall that the Tibetan tents were called by the same word and we can probably assume that it was due to the function rather than appearance.) I don't have the context for the last citation of this group and it is possible that it belongs in the "fiction" category instead.

16th c. (*Llawysgrif Ellis Gruffyth* Mos 158, 244b) gosodasant twy ddau *Bauiliwn* o liw gwyrdd y dail i seuyll ar y maes ... A char bron y ddau *bauiliwns* yma I daruoedd gossod prenn hir. "they placed two pavillions (*pafiliwn*) of the color of green leaves to stand on the field ... And in front of these two pavillions (*pafiliwn*) they had placed a tall tree"

16th c. (*Llawysgrif Ellis Gruffyth* Mos 158, 169b) Ir ydoedd y brenin ynn *lluesdu* ac ynn aros ynni *Bebyll* or tu gorllewin I galeis. "The king was camping (*lluestu*) and waiting for us in a tent (*pebyll*) on the western side of Calais."

16th c. (*Llawysgrif Ellis Gruffyth* 254a) gosod *pauiliwn* brenin ffraink ac or tu arall I gossoded *pauiliwn* brenin lloygyr. "placing the pavillion (*pafiliwn*) of the French king and on the other side was placed the English king's pavillion (*pafiliwn*)"

16th c. (*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* xviii. 324) *tent* ne *bauiliwn* kywaethog o vrethynn aur a sidan. "a rich tent (*tent*) or pavillion (*pafiliwn*) of cloth of gold and silk"

There are a number of passing references in poetry and other non-fictional sources to non-martial tents, but in general there is not enough context for them to be truly useful beyond confirming them as existing artifacts. One exception is the passage I translate as "a trestle [i.e. table] before me and a white sheet on it, and a tent above it against the falling of specks from the heavens", which seems to refer to the use of a sunshade-type tent used to protect an *al fresco* meal.

1201 (*Collections Historical & Archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire* li. 173) [thence straight to] Red *bebellua* [on] clawedauc [drll.]. This appears to be some sort of boundary description involing a landmark called *Red bebellua* "ford of the tent-site (*pebyllfa*)".

c.1300 (*Llawysgrif Hendregadredd* 48a. 20) Gordawc *pall* eurawc pell nas gwelwyf (Cynddelw). "a lively golden *pall* so far away I could not see it"

c.1300 (*Llawysgrif Hendregadredd* 54b, 17) y *bebyll* y byll y *ball* coch (Cynddelw). "the tent (*pebyll*) the mantle the red 'pall' (*pall*)" [The available context doesn't let us

distinguish whether this is *pall* / tent or *pall* / cloak.]

c.1300 (*Llawysgrif Hendregadredd* 120b. 16-17) Eil ywr llall or *pall* pell uy min y wrthi y am orthorch eurin (Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd). "Second is the one from the far tent (*pall*), my lip against her, about a golden collar"

1300-25 (*Cylchgrawn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru* vi. 174) Eua a dechreavd kerdet ... yno y gwnaeth idi *luest*. "Eve began to walk ... there she made for herself a shelter (*lluest*)." [Or possibly "he made for her". Without the full context there is no way to know.]

15th c. (*Y Cymmrodor* xxiii. 226) *lluest* o dderw a llvain / llemhysten fantellwen fain [Robin Ddu i long]. "an encampment (*lluest*) of oak and <unknown>, a slim white-mantled sparrowhawk" [It is tempting to interpret *llvain* as a spelling variant of *lliain*, thus reading "an encampment of oak and linen", but I can find no evidence that this would be reasonable.]

16th c. (*Yr Areithiau Pros* 7) trestel gar vy mron a lliain gwyn arno, a *phebyll* uwch i benn rhac ssyrthio brychau or nenn. "a trestle before me and a white sheet on it, and a tent (*pebyll*) above it against the falling of specks from the heavens"

16th c. (W. Salesbury: *Llysieulyfr Meddyginiaethol* 193) gwden y coed ... yr haf y gwasanetha hi yn *lluest* ne y[n] arber. "Great Bindweed ... in the summer it serves as a shelter (*lluest*) or arbor"

1590 (*Collections Historical & Archaeological relating to Montgomeryshire* xxvi. 25) two Deryhouses and all the lands, etc., belonging ... commonly known by the name of *Lyestith*-yn [*sic*] y dole gwinnon. [I.e., *lluesty* appears in place names.]

?16th c. (*Ll yng nghasgliad Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru* 1560, 550) *lluest*, hafotty ['geirie ... sathredig yn Sir Drefaldwyn']. [I.e., *lluest* is an alternate term for a summer dwelling.]

In a strange way, it is the use of "tent" words metaphorically, referring to other things entirely, that best establishes the tent as an everyday object that would be familiar to the general populace.

14th c. (OBWV 91) Trwst y bobl tros dy *bebyll* [Gruffudd ab Adda i'r fedwen yn bawl haf]. "The noise of the people over your tent (*pebyll*)" [about a birch tree]

14th c. (*Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* 158) *Pebyll* uwch didywyll d,l [i'r het fedw]. "a tent (*pebyll*) over your dark brow" [about a hat]

14th c. (*Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* 187) Pan ddı́l ar Ùl rhyfel rhyw, Pill doldir, y *pall* deildew. "When comes, after frost's battle, the fastness of meadowland, the *pall* of thick leaves"

15th c. (*Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill* 198) Yn drwsa dail da dien, Yn dywyll *bebyll* uwch ben [Llywelyn ab y Moel i Goed y Graig Lwyd]. "a bunch of good, pleasant leaves as a dark tent (*pebyll*) overhead" [about a forest]

15th c. (OBWV 112) *Pebyll* Naf o'r ffurfafen, Brethyn aur, brith yw ei nen [i'r llwyn banadl]. "The Lord's tent (*pebyll*) from the heavens, cloth of gold, its sky is speckled" [about a broom thicket]

16th c. (Pen 76, 97) *pebyll* melwas o draserch [i wallt gwraig weddw]. "the tent (*pebyll*) of Melwas' infatuation" [about a widow's hair — Melwas was supposed to have kidnapped Gwenhwyfar because of his passion for her]

16th c. (*A Welsh Leech Book* 4) Rhag .. [c]aethiwed *ymhebyll* y galon. "enslaved in the tent (*pebyll*) of the heart"

Discussion

So what can we know about tents in medieval Wales? We know that medieval Welsh armies used items that they called by the same word they used for identifiable fabric tents. We know that medieval Welsh armies also used items that the called by the same word they used for temporary summer dwellings which might be something other than a fabric tent. We know that the majority of non-fictional references to tents are to military uses, but that fictional uses included housing while travelling or at tournaments (the French-derived romances), serving as a great hall, and as protection against the sun, the weather, or "specks falling from the heavens". And we know that tents would be familiar enough to the average person that they could be used metaphorically to describe other objects.

We know that fictional tents could be made of costly fabrics and be furnished with the same sorts of ojects as might be found in a more permanent chamber.

They would be of bright colors, often with a different-colored roof and perhaps with representations of animals on them.

What we don't know, from this information, is what shape the tents would take. How would they be supported? Would special fabric be used or would they be made of fabric designed for other purposes? Would poles by cut on site or carried along? Or would living trees be bent and tied and covered in some fashion? At this point, the construction of native Welsh tents can be nothing but speculation. And in so far as the SCA re-creates actual medieval activities, no one can claim to have an "authentic medieval Welsh tent" without access to sources other than those I have found.

But in so far as the SCA re-creates the world of the medieval chivalric romances, then we have more useful material. We have evidence that the medieval Welsh not only knew about this romantic tradition (via the adaptations of French material) but participated in creating it themselves (see especially the "Dream of Rhonabwy"). We have visual representations of tents in the original French manuscripts and we have descriptions in the native Welsh tales of their colorful interpretations of these.

In addition, I have run across one early 15th century reference that gives us good, practical primary evidence for what one Welsh nobleman was using as his military tents. It comes from the Chronicle of Adam of Usk who was writing about contemporary events.

> Item, isto autumpno, Oweynus de Glendor, cum tota Northewalia, Cardikan, et Poysia sibi adherentibus, Anglicos in illis partibus habitantes, cum eorum villis et presertim vila de Pola, ferro et flamma multum infestabat. ... Dictus tamen Oenus non modicum Anglicis nocuit, plures eorum interimendo, arma, equos, et tentoria primogeniti regis et principis Walie ac aliorum dominorum hostiliter auferendo, et eadem pro usu ad montana sua et tutamina de Snowdon secum transferendo.

"In this autumn [1401], Owen Glendower, all North Wales and Cardigan and Powis siding with him, sorely harried with fire and sword the English who dwelt in those parts, and their towns, and specially the town of Pool ... Yet did the same Owen do no small hurt to the English, slaying many of them, and carrying off the arms, horses, and tents of the king's eldest son, the prince of Wales, and of other lords, which he bare away for his own behoof to the mountain fastnesses of Snowdon."

This was written for a "research paper" competition as part of the West Kingdom's A&S championship in 1996. (I believe that was the second year I won the A&S championship, but since I already had a Poppy, the event isn't recorded in the order of precedence.) The topic is another instance of my grad-school philosophy that any term paper should be able to be turned towards one's own particular interests. The topic of the competition was "guilds", but medieval Wales didn't really have guilds, in the strict sense. There was, however, a phenomenon that lent itself to a "compare and contrast" approach quite nicely. I republished the paper in Y Camamseriad *volume 5 (2004).*

Craft "Lordships":

Guild-Equivalents in Medieval Welsh Law

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The medieval craft guild is firmly associated with urban life and, while having its own hierarchical structures, is seen as a different framework entirely than that of the ruling nobility. It served the function of regulating who could practice a craft, setting quality standards, and punishing transgressors of the foregoing. Medieval Wales — Welsh medieval Wales — was overwhelmingly non-urban. Beyond a few seaports, towns in Wales were a function of the Norman encroachment, and indeed a calculated part of that encroachment. And yet, medieval Welsh law describes some structures that appeared to serve similar purposes of regulating the practitioners of particular trades. What is particularly interesting is that these structures are set up as parallels to the ruling nobility, rather than with separate paradigms.

The 13th century Welsh laws begin with a detailed description of various officers and functionaries of a court. Each one has elaborately detailed rights and obligations, including duties, lodging, clothing, sources of income, insult-price, and the circumstances under which each may give protection to a wrong-doer. In two cases, these rights include some sort of power to authorize other practitioners of their job class, a function traditionally associated with guilds.

The first of these is the Court Justice (the class for whom the law books were primarily designed). The introduction to one version of the laws begins, "Whosoever wants to take up justiceship ... it is for the Court Justice to test him; and if he finds him worthy, it is for him to send him to the lord and it is for the lord to grant him justiceship, so that the judgment which he judges from then on shall be accepted as properly judged. And it is for him to give twenty-four pence to the Court Justice as his fee."

It is significant that the "initiation fee" that a new Justice pays is paid to the Court Justice of his lord. Revenues in Welsh law are rarely simply a source of income; their nature is most often symbolically bound up in the nature of the job. Thus, for example, the lord's mead brewer is entitled to get, as part of his income, a third of the wax from the honey he uses to make mead. The fueller, who supplies the court with firewood, is "entitled to the necks of the livestock slaughtered in the court; the reason he is so entitled is that they are cut up with his axe.

The second officer who appears to have some power to authorize other practitioners is the "Pencerdd", probably best translated as "Chief Poet". It is implied in the laws (although not stated as explicitly as for the Justice) that it is his business to judge "the young cerddorion [i.e. poets/musicians] who want to give up the horsehair harp and be competent cerddorion and to solicit [gifts in exchange for poems]". From each poet who graduates from his instruction to become a Pencerdd and travel and solicit, the lord's Pencerdd receives twenty-four

pence. And no one but a Pencerdd has the right to perform such solicitations.

In addition to this revenue and that obtained in exchange for his works, the lord's Pencerdd has another symbolically significant source of income. "He is entitled to the 'amobr' of the daughters of the cerddorion." The "amobr" is probably best translated "maiden-fee"; a fine due to a woman's overlord at the loss of her virginity (or in certain other equivalent situations). The exact rationale behind it is not important here — what is, is that in default of other specific arrangements, it was due to the lord. Those other specific arrangements primarily involve being the daughter of a member of a particular occupation. The other officers of the court who were entitled to the amobr of the daughters of their counterparts in the general population are: the Chief Falconer, the Chief Groom, the Chief Huntsman, the Court Smith, and the man who was the overseer of the common laborers of the court (who was entitled to the amobr of the daughters of those who worked under him).

The named officers who do not have similar rights are largely those that are peculiar to a court — e.g., steward, captain of the guard, chamberlain — and thus would not have a population of "counterparts"; or those whose function would not be expected to be a separate "profession" in the general population, such as cook, mead-brewer, candle-maker, etc.

In every case except the Smith and the Pencerdd, the officers who are entitled to amobr are also entitled to collect fines called "camlwrw" and "dirwy" in case of the wrongdoing of their counterparts. These fines would, again, normally be payable to the lord, and represented compensation for the "injury" done to him in breaking his peace. (Separate compensation would be due to any parties more directly injured by the crime.)

The Chief Huntsman is also entitled to a fee from every new huntsman who takes office, similarly to that of the Justice and Pencerdd, except that there is no mention that he has power over whether they take office.

The professions of smithing and bard-craft (along with the church) were forbidden to a villein's son unless he had his lord's permission.

What we appear to see here are fragments of a system whereby members of an identifiable craft or profession were viewed for some purposes as a parallel "lordship", with certain duties, rights, and privileges devolving, not on the lord directly, but on a "craft-lord" who stood in for him symbolically, but in turn was responsible directly to him. (Compare, for a slightly different system, with heraldic associations and the institution of "King of Arms" beginning as early as the 12th century.)

It is unfortunate that there is not enough early material to get a clearer picture of this institution before the end of Welsh rule in the 13th century. Traces of the Pencerdd's functions remained, however, and a 15th century treatise (purporting to be much older by its title, "The Statue of Gruffudd ap Cynan") not only proclaims the right of established bards/pencerdds to admit new members to their ranks, but sets forth standard "prices" for gift compositions, as well as regulations concerning the instruction of bardic pupils. Here we see an institution growing closer, in many ways, to the more common urban craft-guild model.

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Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

Two purposes drove me to put this lecture/article together. One was a desire to spread some primary information about how the concept of "bard" was used in actual medieval cultures (as opposed to the modern pop-culture archetype, which owes a bit more to D&D and fantasy literature than to history). The other purpose was to have an excuse to do a translation of some of the 15th century Welsh "bardic grammars". These fascinating texts – a combination of grammar book and poetic manual – fell outside the bounds I'd set for my dissertation research (because they are largely translations from Latin originals, rather then being originally composed in Welsh). So in order to justify having spent the time transcribing and translating them, I included parts in this lecture. Large chunks of the grammatical descriptions were edited out of lecture version of the material. I may be a pedant, but I'm not a sadist. The oral version of this lecture was given in 1996 at the SCA's 30th anniversary event, with the full version appearing in Y Camamseriad *volume 4 that same year.*

The Education of a Medieval Welsh Bard

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This was originally prepared as an in–persona lecture given at the SCA's 30–year celebration. This written version is much less edited from the original materials than the oral version was (when I had to worry about the glazed–over factor). My purpose was to bring together much of the material concerning bards and their craft that is available in primary documents. The material is taken from a span of several centuries, and so the picture it presents as a whole will not be entirely accurate for any one period. The legal material is fairly early; the descriptions of the bardic ranks and their requirements are relatively late. In this written version, I will do what I could not do orally and note the source for each section.

In addition to the legal and other commentaries on the social position and responsibilities of bards, I have included a great deal of material from the so–called "bardic grammars", a genre of collections of grammar manuals, metrical rules, long lists of "faults" of poetry, and discussions of appropriate subject matter and behavior for the different types of bard. While much of the other material helps explain what a bard was and did, this shows what a bard was expected to know and apply in his craft.

Note: One of the difficulties in translating the bardic grammars is the non–correspondence of the English and Welsh terms, and the "baggage" that possible translations must bear. The bardic grammars rarely speak of "bards" at all, but give the three grades as *prydydd* "maker", *teuliwr* "householder", and *clerwr* "minstrel". I have generally translated *prydydd* as either "poet" or simply "bard", where the latter would not be confused with a more technical usage. *Teuliwr* I have translated as "court–bard", the same as I have for *bardd teulu*. I suspect that there is a lineal connection between the two terms, but this is not discussed in any of my sources.

The lecture is taken from the following materials.

APDG Bromwich, Rachel. "Tradition and Innovation in the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym" in *Aspects of the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1986.

BWP Williams, Ifor. *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980.

BYT Jones, Thomas trans. *Brut y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952.

CA Williams, Ifor. *Canu Aneirin*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1978.

GP Williams, G. J. & Jones, E. J. *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid.* Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1934.

LHD Jenkins, Dafydd. *The Law of Hywel Dda.* Llandysul: The Gomer Press, 1986. ISBN 0–86383–277–6

PT Williams, Ifor & Williams J.E. Carwyn. *The Poems of Taliesin*. Oxford: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975.

SGC Parry, Thomas. "Statud Gruffudd ap Cynan" in *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 1929: 25–33.

YT Ford, Patrick K. *Ystoria Taliesin* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992.

The Lecture

I understand that you have come here today because you wish to know about Welsh bards: of their training, and their compositions, and all the things appropriate to them.

First you must know that what you are wont to call a "bard" is not one thing but several things. They are all concerned primarily with the making of verse and music. By "verse" I mean not only those songs which are set to music, but also those which are not. But if I said "poetry" you would think only of those that are not, and not those that are. And neither can I use the words "poet" or "singer", for the meaning will not be correct. Such is the lack in the English language that is made clear in Welsh when I say "*cerdd*" and "*cerddwr*". So for today, I will speak of "verses" and "bards", although these are not entirely correct, and you must needs follow my meaning.

There are three sorts of bard: a minstrel, a court–bard, and a poet. A minstrel is of a lower sort, and to him belong satires and begging verses. To a court–bard belongs generous entertainment and verses that request gifts, but in a seemly manner. To a poet belongs praise and entertainment, and refusing to perform shameful songs. [GP]

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The ancient laws do not speak of minstrels at all. But of court–bards (*bardd teulu*) they say this. The court bard is the eighth of the officers of the court. He is entitled to hold his land freely and have a horse for his use, and he is to have his woolen clothing from his lord and his linen clothing from his lady, as do the other high officers. He is entitled to sit next to the captain of the household at the three special feasts, so that the harp can be put into his hand. He is entitled to the steward's clothing at the three special feasts.

When a song is needed, he waits until the chaired bard has sung, first of God, and second of the lord to whom the court belongs. (And if he has nothing prepared to sing of him, let him sing of another worthy lord.) And after that, the court–bard is to sing three songs of some other kind. And if it happens that the lady wants a song, he should go and sing for her without stinting, but quietly so that the hall is not disturbed.

The court–bard is entitled to a cow or ox from the booty when his lord goes raiding, and it is his duty, while they are sharing out the booty, to sing the song called "The Sovereignty of Britain" to them. He is entitled to an ivory gameboard from his lord, and to a gold ring from his lady. He lodges in the same place as the captain of the household and he may grant protection to a miscreant to take him to the captain.

When he goes on circuit with other bards, he is entitled to two men's share of what they are given, although some say that it is not right for him to leave his lord's side to go on circuit at all. His insult–price is six cattle and six–score pence; and his blood–price is six–score and six cattle.

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The laws also speak of the "*pencerdd*", that is to say, a chaired bard. He, too, is entitled to hold his land freely, and he sits in the hall beside the court justice. As I have said, it is his right to sing first in the hall, of God and of his lord.

The *pencerdd* may be thought of as the "lord over the bards" in his district. No other bard may solicit gifts in his district without his permission, unless he is a bard from a foreign country. And when he makes a circuit with his companions, he is to have two shares of what they are given. He is entitled to the maiden–fee of the daughters of the bards in his district when they marry. And he is to have a fee of 24 pence from every maiden in the district when she marries, because it is right that there should be bards at a wedding as witnesses.

He lodges in the same place as the lord's heir, and he may grant protection from when he begins the first song in the court until he ends the last. His insult–price is six cattle and six–score pence, and his blood–price is six–score and six cattle.

The *pencerdd's* harp has a legal value of six score pence, plus 24 pence for the tuning key — the same value as a king's harp. [LHD]

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But now that I have spoken of the ancient laws, it is right to speak of how one can distinguish a minstrel, and a court–bard, and a poet.

Three things are appropriate for a minstrel: satire and begging– songs and shaming–songs. For the skill of a minstrel is buffoonery and dispraise and making disgrace for those who deserve it. But one cannot set a rank upon minstrelsy, because it is not a judgable

song form. Some say that a minstrel is entitled to make a circuit once every three years.

Three things are appropriate for a court–bard: generosity and entertainment and requesting goods in a seemly fashion without any sort of begging for them. And it is right for a court–bard to praise his lord and to be at his disposal.

Three things are appropriate for a poet: praise and entertainment and refusing to perform satires. To a poet belongs praise and eulogy, and making fame and joy and glory. A poet should shun minstrelsy, because it is not a judgable song form and cannot be ranked. It is appropriate, however, for a poet to concern himself with court poetry, and to judge it, since it is a judgable song form. When a poet would compose, he should not be disposed toward a minstrel's satires, since a poet's praise–poetry ought to be stronger than a minstrel's satire–songs. Nor is it appropriate for a poet to concern himself with charms or divination or playing at enchantment, nor to practice them, since they are not part of his service. A poet should know the Old Songs and the written stories and questions of honor and excellent answers to them according to his skill and wisdom. A poet who knows these things may converse with wise men and amuse maidens and entertain noble men and women. The poetic art is the prince of natural wisdom and originates from the Holy Spirit, and inspiration is obtained from talent and practice of the craft. [GP]

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Now that I have spoken of the bards themselves, it is right to speak of what a bard should know and understand.

First, a bard must understand language, and the sounds that form it, and the parts of speech, and the faults of speech that would be errors in poetry.

There are twenty–four letters in Welsh, *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, v, x, y, w, ll*. And of these, some are vowels, all the others are consonants. There are seven vowels, i.e., *a, e, i, o, v, y, w*. The other letters are all consonants, because they "sound together" with the vowels.

Some of the consonants are molten, the others are mute letters. There are seven molten letters, i.e., *d, f, l, m, n, r, s*, and this is the reason they are called molten letters: because they melt in a verse. This is how they melt: making one falling syllable from two rising syllables, e.g. *mydyr*. If one writes *y* between *d* and *r* thus, it is two rising syllables. And because of that, you leave *y* out of the writing or out of the syllable–counting when you write or when you count syllables in verse, and you write it like this, *mydr*, and each of that sort of syllable will be one falling syllable in verse.

There are nine mute letters, i.e., *b, c, g, h, k, p, q, t, x*. And this is why they are called mute letters, because their sound is small compared to the sound of the other letters. And when there are two of them, as in *bratt*, at the end of a syllable, or one of them at the end with a molten letter before it, as in *tant*, each of those syllables is called a "deaf" [*byddar*] syllable or a mute syllable.

Ll has the strength of two *l*s. *Z* is a Greek letter and there is no place for it in Welsh. *&* has the strength of two letters. The letter *h* is not according to meter, rather a sign of sighing, however it is necessary in Welsh, and one cannot be without it.

Because one makes syllables from the letters, it is necessary to know what a syllable is, and in what manner one makes syllables. A syllable is a numerous collection of letters together, although there can also be a syllable or word of one letter. Some of the syllables are of one letter, e.g. *a*; and some of two, e.g. *af*; some of three, e.g. *eur*; some of four, e.g. *kerd*; some of five, e.g. *gwnaf*; some of six, e.g. *gwnawn*; some of seven, e.g. *gwnaeth*; and there are never more letters in one syllable than that.

Some of the syllables are heavy, others are light. A light syllable has one of the consonants by itself at the end, e.g. *gwen*, *llen*. A heavy syllable has two of the consonants of the same type at the end, e.g. *gwenn*, *llenn*.

Also, some of the syllables are falling, others are rising. A rising syllable has one vowel by itself in it, whatever there may be of consonants after or before the vowel, e.g. *glan*, *glut*. A falling syllable can occur three ways. One is when there are two vowels together in the syllable, and one leans against the other, e.g. *glwys*. And certain syllables of those are called head– bending–falling because one of the vowels bends toward the other. However, it is necessary to see in what manner the two vowels occur in the syllable, whether together or separately. If they are pronounced together, e.g. *gwy^r*, it is a rising syllable. If they are separate, and there is a little softening in speaking them, e.g. *gw^yr*, it is a falling syllable. The second type of falling syllable is called "strong–falling" e.g. *toryf*, *taryf*, *kerd*, *mygyr*, *mydr*. And this is why it is called strong–falling: falling because of the molten letters in the syllable, strong because there are two consonants together in it. The third type of falling syllable is when there is *y* or *w* after the molten letter, and a vowel at the beginning of the word; *y*, e.g. *eiry*, *w*, e.g. *berw*, then you omit *y* or *w* from the syllable when syllable–

counting verse. And certain of those syllables are called "molten–falling", because of the molten letters that are in the syllable.

A diphthong syllable comes from the conjunction of two vowels together in the same syllable, e.g. *llaw*, *llew*. There are two sorts of diphthongs, i.e., rising diphthongs and falling diphthongs. There are five rising diphthongs, i.e., *aw, ew, iw, yw, vw*; *aw*, e.g. *llaw*, *ew*, e.g., *llew*, *iw*, e.g., *lliw*, *yw*, e.g. *llyw*, *vw*, e.g. *duw*. *Eu* is also a rising diphthong, e.g. *kleu*, and that one is the diphthong you cannot use in *proest* rhyme; and because of that it is called a "quick" diphthong, because it cannot be answered in *proest–rhyme*.

There are four falling diphthongs: i.e., *ae*, *oe*, *ei*, *wy*; *ae*, e.g. *kae*, *oe*, e.g., *doe*, *ei*, e.g., *trei*, *wy*, e.g., *mwy*. However, you must look at those two falling diphthongs – – *ae*, *oe* — and how they are distinguished, and how they are conjoined in one syllable. And to do that, you look at when they occur in a multi–syllable word; then it is necessary to distinguish them in various syllables, and each one of them is a rising syllable, e.g. *Kymraec*. And if they occur in a single–syllable word, then it is necessary to press them together into one syllable as a falling diphthong, e.g. *gwaet*, *Groec*. *Ey*, is never a diphthong, because it doesn't occur without *h* between the vowels.

A syllable that ends in three of the vowels together, or which contains three vowels together, with the end finishing in a rising diphthong, and the beginning in a falling diphthong, that is called a rising–falling diphthong, e.g. *gloew*, *hoew*, and that sort of syllable.

The other syllables that have a conjunction of vowels together are not diphthongs, e.g. when there would be *i* or *y* before another vowel, e.g. *yor*, *iwrch* and similar syllables as that, are called "strange diphthongs". When there is a word with two vowels in the middle, and the first vowel is long according to accent, i.e., according to the pronunciation of the word, e.g. *Gwenlliant*, that is called a vowel before a vowel in the meter.

When there is a syllable with its end strong–falling, and its beginning crooked–headed–falling, e.g. *brwydr*, *beird*, that is called a strong–falling diphthong. When there is a syllable with its end molten–falling, and its beginning crooked–headed–falling, e.g. *keidw*, that is called a molten–falling diphthong. When there is a syllable with its end molten–falling, and its beginning "deaf", e.g. *kwlldr*, that is called deaf–falling. When there is *i* or *y* before a diphthong, either rising or falling, one judges them together as one syllable, and that is called a "tailed" diphthong, e.g. *dioer*, *diawl*, and similar syllables.

Some of the syllables are long, the others are short. A long syllable is two times and a short syllable one, because there is longer time in saying a long syllable than in saying a short [one]. When *n* is after *r*, e.g. *barn*, or *s* after *r*, e.g. *kors*, or a dumb letter after *r*, e.g. *kwrt*, that is called heavy–falling. Every falling syllable is long and it has two times. Every rising syllable is short, and it has one time, whether it is a rising diphthong or another, although a rising diphthong would be longer than another rising syllable. And thus, some of the faling syllables are longer than others, according to the measure of letters and times that are in them.

From the syllables, you make complete words. For that, it is necessary to know further what words are. And since words are perfect parts of speech, for that, it is necessary to know how many parts of speech there are, and what each one of them is.

There are two parts of speech i.e., nouns and verbs. A noun is everything that signifies strength, or quality of occurance to the strength. Strength is signified by everything that one can see, or hear, or perceive: see, e.g. *dyn*, *prenn*, *maen*, and similar sorts of those physical, composable things; hear, e.g. *gwynt*, or *trwst*, or *llef*, or similar things; perceive, e.g. *awyr* or *lliw*. Strength is also signified by everything spiritual, although one cannot see it or hear it or perceive it, e.g. *eneit*, or *agel*, or *uedwl*. A quality of occurance to the strength is signified by everything that cannot stand by itself without the maintenance of strength to it, e.g. *gwynn*, *du*, *doeth*, *kryf*, since those similar sorts of things do not suffice to stand by themselves in speech without being maintained by strength.

A verb is everything that signifies doing or enduring with time and person; doing, e.g. *karaf*, *dysgaf*; enduring, e.g. *ef a'm kerir*, *ef a'm dysgir*.

There are two sorts of nouns, one proper and one named. A proper noun is this which corresponds to a particular thing, e.g. *Madawc*, or *Ieuan*. A named noun is this which corresponds to many things, e.g. *dyn* or *agel*. There are two sorts of proper nouns, baptismal names and nicknames; baptismal names, e.g. *Madawc*; nicknames, e.g. *Madyn*.

There are two types of named nouns, simple named nouns and compound nouns. A simple noun is that which has not been compounded, e.g. *lliw*. A compound noun is this which is compounded from two words, e.g. *gwynlliw*. There are two sorts of simple nouns, root nouns and derived nouns. A root noun is this which is not derived from anything, e.g. *llathyr*. A derived noun is that which is derived from the root word, e.g. *llathreit*. And thus the derived compound word comes from a root compound word, e.g.

gwynnllathreit from *gwynllathyr*.

There are also two types of noun, weak nouns and strong nouns. A weak noun is that which would not stand by itself in speech, e.g. *gwynn*, *du*, *doeth*. A strong noun is that which would stand by itself in speech, e.g. *gwr*, *gwreic*, *dyn*. Weak words take comparison, and strong words don't take it. This is taking comparison, increasing or lessening the primary sense of the word. There are three ranks of comparison, positive, and comparative, and superlative. Positive is that which has the primary sense of the word in it, e.g. *da*, *drwc*. Comparative is that which increases or lessens the sense of the positive, e.g. *gwell*, or *gwaeth*. Superlative is that in which the sense is greatest or least, and one cannot go beyond it, e.g. *goreu oll* or *gwaethaf oll*.

There are three classes/genders of noun, masculine and feminine and common between them. Masculine is that which pertains to a man, e.g. *gwynn*. Feminine is that which pertains to a woman, e.g. *gwenn*. Common is that which pertins to every one of them, to masculine and to feminine, e.g. *doeth*, since one says *gwr doeth* and *gwreic doeth*, and because of that, *doeth* is common between them. It is a fault of speech, moreover, to say *gwr gwenn*, *gwreic gwynn*, because a weak word and a strong word ought to be together in the same sort of class/gender and in the same sort of number.

There are two numbers of noun, singular and plural. Singular is one thing, e.g. *dyn*; plural is many things, e.g. *dynyon*. There are two types of singular noun, a noun singular by itself and a collective singular noun. A noun singular by itself is that which does not have in it a collection according to sense, e.g. *dyn*. A collective singular noun is that which has in it a collection according to sense, e.g. *llu*, *pobyl*, *toryf*, and the same sort of words. There are two types of collective nouns, singular collective nouns and plural collective nouns; singular collective nouns, e.g. *llu*, *toryf*; plural collective nouns, e.g. *lluoed*, *toruoed*.

There are two types of verb, free verbs and transitive verbs. A free verb is that in which is sufficient of speech by itself, without an object of any sort after it, e.g. *kerdaf*, *eistedaf*. A transitive verb is that which has something as object after it, e.g. *gwelaf*, *klywaf*. There is an object is in the phrase *beth a welir*, and *peth a glywir*.

There are five modes of verb, i.e., spoken [managedig = indicative], when one says something, e.g. *mi a garaf*; and demanding [archedig = imperative], when one asks something, e.g. *yf diawt*; and wished [damunedig = optative], when one desires something, e.g. *mynnwn vy mot yn gyuoethawc*; and conditional [amodedig = subjunctive] when one would condition something, e.g. *pan delych attaf, ti a gefy beis* or *or gwney ym gyllell, ti a geffy geinyawc*; and unfinished [anterfynedig = un–ended, i.e. infinitive], when there would not be number or person in it, e.g. *karv*, *kanu*, *dysgu*. And there is one other mode one calls supplicative [gweddiedig], when one prays for something, e.g. *Duw, trugarhaa wrthyf*. And that mode one collects under imperative. And concerning these modes, one judges best when they would be in speech.

There are two classes of verb, active and enduring [passive]. Active is that which signifies going some deed, e.g. *karaf*, *dysgaf*. Passive is that which signifies enduring some deed, e.g. *a'm kerir*, *a'm disgir*. There are two types of number of verb, as of noun.

There are two types of verb, root, e.g. *gwnaf*, and derived, e.g. *perffeithwnaf*. There are three tenses of verb, present, and perfect, and future. Present is that which is now, e.g. *karaf*. Perfect is that which went past, e.g. *kereis*. Future is that which comes before hand, e.g. *karwyf*. With these is imperfect, that which has not gone past completely, e.g. *karwn*, and more than perfect, that which went past many days ago, e.g. *karasswn*.

There are three verb persons, the first, and the second, and the third. The first is that with which one speaks about oneself, e.g. *mi* in one singular number, and *ni* in one plural number. The second is that with which one speaks to another, e.g. *ti* in one singular number, and *chwi* in one plural number. The third is that with which one speaks of others, e.g. *y llall* in the singular and *yr lleill* in the plural. Noun and verb ought to have the same type of number and the same type of person, and unless they are thus, it is a fault of speech.

Another part of speech is what one puts in place of a noun, and that is called a pronoun. This is a pronoun: anything that signifies personality, or possession, or inquiry; personality, e.g. *mi*, *ti*, *y llall*; possession, e.g. *meu*, *teu*, *eidaw*; inquiry, e.g. *pwy*, *pa beth*. There are twenty–four pronouns, twelve in the singular number and twelve in the plural number. The singular number are *mi*, *ti*, *y llall*, *hwnn*, *honn*, *hwnnw*, *honno*, *pwy*, *pa beth*, *meu*, *teu*, *eidaw*. The plural number are *ni*, *chwi*, *y lleill*, *y rei hynn*, *y rei hynny*, *y enill rei*, *y rei ereill*, *pa rei*, *pa betheu*, *einym*, *einwch*, *eidunt*. The first seven singular number and plural number signify personality. The last three singular and plural signify possession. The middle four, i.e. *pwy*, *pa beth*, *pa rei*, *pa betheu*, signify inquiry.

Other words, that don't come from those two parts of speech, nouns or pronouns and verbs, signify sadness, e.g. *och* or happiness, e.g. *oi*; they aren't precisely parts of speech, and they don't do anything

except augment speech.

Because it is from words — those that are called parts of speech — that one makes speech, therefore it is necessary to know what speech is, and in how one distinguishes speech. Speech is a numerous collection of words together.

There are two types of speech, perfect speech and imperfect speech. Perfect speech is when a noun and verb are combined suitably, e.g. *Ieuan a gar Gwenlliant*. Imperfect speech is when there are two or three nouns without a verb, e.g. *gwr gwreic march*, or two or three verbs together without a noun, e.g. *kanu karu dysgu*.

There are two types of perfect speech, complete perfect speech and incomplete perfect speech. Complete perfect speech is when a noun and verb are combined with the same number and the same person, without mixing singular nor plural in it, nor "presence and absence" [gwydd ac absen], nor masculine and feminine, and if a weak word and strong word are together they have the same number and the same class, and unless in is thus, it is a fault of speech and incomplete. Two singular nouns are worth one plural, e.g. *Rys ac Einawn a garant Oleudyd*. One collective singular noun is worth two singular by itself, e.g., *y bobyl a volant Dydgu*. And in this fashion, one plural collective noun is worth two nouns by itself.

There are three figures of speech that distinguish speech and that excuse a fault of speech. One of them is called assembling part and whole, and that is when there is a part and whole in speech, and a weak word between them signifying praise or shame, and that ought to bear on the whole and not on the part, e.g. *gwr gwynn y law*, *gwreic wenn y throet*. Although the *llaw* would be feminine and *gwynn* masculine, that *gwynn*, however, does not bear on the *llaw* that is part of the *gwr*, but on the *gwr* that is the whole. And thus, although the *troet* is masculine and *gwenn* feminine, it does not bear on the *troet*, but on the *wreic*. And thus one excuses masculine and feminine together in speech. The other figure is called demonstrating praise or shame, and that is when there the whole singular is and the part plural, and a weak word between them demonstrating praise or shame, and that moreover ought to bear on the whole and not on the part, e.g. *gwr du y lygeit*, *gwreic wenn y dwylaw*. And that figure excuses singular and plural in the same speech.

Because it is from complete perfect speeches that one makes meter and poetry, it is necessary to know what meter and poetry are, and in what manner one distinguishes them, and measures them, and composes them. Meter or poetry is the composition of complete speeches from words of wonderful adornment. Beauty is made from fine, suitable adjectives that signify praise or satire, and that is in praiseworthy "tongue–song" or verse. There are three branches of verse, not other than minstrelsy, court poetry, and poetic composition. [GP]

There are three branches of poetics: *englyns*, *odls*, and *cywydds*, and it is not easy to perform or to compose them.

There are there types of *englyn*: the single–rhymed *englyn*, the *englyn* with "*proest*" rhyme, and the old–style *englyn*. There are three types of single–rhymed *englyn*: straight, crooked, and "*cyrch*" [attacking or seeking].

The measure of the single–rhymed *englyn* is thirty syllables: seven in each of the short lines and sixteen in the long stanza. An there the main rhyme is sometimes in the seventh syllable — followed by a three–syllable "molten–word" [*gair toddaid*], since the molten syllable must be the tenth syllable — but other times the main rhyme is in the eighth syllable, and then the "molten– word" has two syllables; and sometimes it is in the ninth syllable, and then the molten–word has only one syllable.

The straight, one–rhymed *englyn* begins with a long stanza and ends with two short stanzas, and this sort of *englyn* sometimes terminates in a vowel, sometimes in a consonant. When it terminates in a vowel, it is the same vowel throughout, as here:

Pei kawn o gylfwr gyfle broui — rin,
Kyt bei ron vyngkrogi,
Vy neges oed vynegi
Vyngouec, dyn tec, y ti.

Other times it terminates in a diphthong, either a rising diphthong as here:

Dylyneis, klwyueis, val y'm klyw — dekant,
Y dekaf o dyn byw;
Dolur gormod a'm dodyw,
Dylyn pryt ewyn, prit yw.

Or with a falling diphthong, as here:

Vn dwyll wyt o bwyll, o ball dramwy — hoed,
A hud mab Mathonwy;
Vnwed y'th wneir a Chreirwy,
Enwir vryt, ryhir vrat rwy.

When this form terminates in a consonant, then either it will always have the same vowel and same consonant as here:

Prit yw dy dilit, deuliw ewyn — gloyw,
Arglwydes vro Gynuyn,
Keryd a dyuyd y dyn.
Kur wyth dolur o'th dylyn.

Or it may have the same diphthong, either rising or falling, with the same consonant. Every verse may have these distinctions, but I will give you only one example after this, for I think that such fine distinctions are lost on those of you who have no Welsh.

The crooked *englyn* has the long stanza last and the two short lines first, as here:

Kyt ymwnel kywyt, bryt brys,
Yn llawen llewych ystlys,
Lledryt kalonn donn ef a'y dengys — grud
Lliw blaen gruc Enerys.

The seeking *englyn* has the two short lines first and the long stanza last, and the "seeking word" is in the latter. And the seeking–syllable is the seventh of the stanza, and the syllable it seeks is the eleventh, as here:

Hunyd hirloyw y hystlys,
Gwymp y llun yn y llaesgrys,
Gwynlliw ewyn gwenndonn yawn
O dwfn eigawn pan dyurys.

And that sort of *englyn* is not appropriate for a poet to perform, but rather for a court–bard, because of its easiness and its shortness.

There are three sorts of "*proest*"–rhymed *englyn*: rising *proest*, falling *proest*, and chained *proest*. The *proest englyn* contains twenty-eight syllables, seven in each of the four lines. And the "seeking" *englyn* also has twenty-eight syllables, seven in the two short lines and fourteen in the long stanza that has the seeking word in it.

In rising *proest*, the lines may either terminate in a vowel — and it can either be the same vowel or different vowels in each line — or with a rising diphthong. The first way is seen here:

Doeth y veird heird hard westi,
Hael Ruffud o'y rud a'y ra;
Kymraw pan delit Kymro,
Kymreisc adwyndawt Kymry.

A falling–*proest englyn* ends each line with a falling diphthong or another falling syllable, as when it ends with a molten letter, as we see here:

Pei byw vy llyw, llew flamdur,
Ysgwyt vriwgalch, valch vilwr,
Ny ladei gat goet a ber,
Ny bydym geith na gweithwyr.

The chained–*proest englyn* is when the first rhyme of the verse answers the third and the second to the fourth; that is, those pairs have full rhyme, while all together have *proest*–rhyme. And this can be either rising or falling.

Mynwn, kyt yt gahwn gwc,
Meu dy gael, rin adael rec,
Yngobant yngobell mwc,
Yngobeith tywynnweith tec.

The old–style *englyn* sometimes has three short lines of seven syllables each, as here:

Chwerdit mwyalch mywn kelli;
Nyt ard, nyt erdir ydi;
Nyt llawenach neb no hi.

Other times the old–style *englyn* has a long stanza of sixteen syllables and a short line of seven, as here:

Namyn ynat a darlleat — llyfreu
A'y eiryeu yn wastat,
Areith yng kyfreith ny at.

And the first is sometimes called the "soldier's *englyn*".

Up to now, I have spoken of the *englyn* and its meter and its rhyme. Now I will speak further on the *odl* and the *cywydd*, and their meters and rhymes.

There are five ordinary meters that are *odls*: *toddaid*, and *gwaywdoddin*, and long *cyhydedd*, and short *cyhydedd*, and *rhupynt*.

The *toddaid* is made entirely of long couplets, and each one of them measures nineteen syllables, as here:

Nyt digeryd Duw, neut digarat — kyrd,
Neut llei gwyrd y vyrd o veird yn rat;
Neut llyaws vrwyn kwyn kannwlat — yng kystud,
O'th attal, Ruffud, waywrud rodyat.

The *gwaywdoddin* contains two short lines of nine syllables each and a long couplet of nineteen, as here:

Morwyn a weleis mor drybelit,
Mireingall o ball a bell glywit,
Mawredus veinus ven y bernit — kreir,
Mor wenn y hesgeir vwch y hesgit.

The long *cyhydedd* is composed entirely of long stanzas of nineteen syllables each, and each one is made up of three short lines of five syllables each that answer each other in rhyme, and a fourth of four syllables, and that one supports the main rhyme, as

here:

Llauaru a wnaf — llywyawdr nef a'y naf,
Llary nerth y galwaf, — geluyd aruer;
Llyna vy namwein, — llym voli riein,
Llaryeid bryt mirein, — llun mein muner.

The short *cyhydedd* is entirely composed of short lines of eight syllables each, as here:

Gwann wyf o glwyf yn glaf trymeint,
Gwenn fraeth a'm gwnaeth gne goueilyeint,
Gwennyeith yw gweith y gwythlawn deint,
Gwynder lleufer lloer am lygeint.

Rhupynt is composed entirely of long stanzas of twelve syllables each, and each of those contains three short lines, two of four syllables that answer each other in rhyme, and the third of four syllables with a different rhyme than those, and that one is the main rhyme, as here:

Trindawt fawt fer,
Tref nef niuer, gwarder gwirdat;
Trech wyt no neb,
Trwy dawn atteb, treidywn attat.

To those, we add four other meters, the long *gwaywdoddin*, the *cyhydedd* of nine, the short–and–molten verse, and the *clogyrnach*.

The long *gwaywdoddin* is like the other *gwaywdoddin*, but has as many short lines as you will, whether four or eight or six, before the long stanza, as here:

Gwann yawn wyf o glwyf yr gloyw vorwyn,
Gwae a vaeth hiraeth, brif aruaeth brwyn,
Gwyr vy nghalonn donn defnyd vy nghwyn,
Gwnn ar vyrr y tyrr kyt bo terrwyn,
Am na daw y law y lwyn — a bwyllaf
A garaf attaf, atteb adwyn.

The *cyhydedd* of nine is composed entirely of short lines of nine syllables and is like the short *cyhydedd* otherwise:

Wrthyt, greawdr byt, bit vy ngobeith,
Wrthyf byd drugar hywar hyweith,
Yrth argae neut gwae, nyt gwael y gweith,
Wrth dynyon gwylyon y bo goleith,
Wrth hynny, Duw vry, vrenhin pob yeith,
Y'th archaf dangnef, keinllef kannleith.

The "short–and–molten" verse is composed of a long stanza of sixteen syllables, like a piece of a single–rhymed *englyn*, and then as many short lines of eight syllables as you wish, and then a long stanza of sixteen syllables like the first, as here:

Y gwr a'm rodes rinyeu — ar dauot,
Ac arot a geiryeu,
A'm trosses y gyffes nyt geu,
A'm trosso y'r trossed goreu,
Y guryaw gorwisc vy ngrudyeu,
Y garu mab Duw diameu;
Y gymryt penyt rac poeneu — vffern
Ac affeith pechodeu.

The *clogyrnach* contains two short lines of eight syllables each, and a long stanza of sixteen syllables; and the long stanza contains three short lines, two of five syllables each that rhyme with each other, as in the long *cyhydedd*, and another line of six syllables, and the third syllable of that rhymes with the two short lines of five syllables, and the final rhyme of the other rhymes with the two eight–syllable lines at the beginning, and that bears the main rhyme. And this type of *odl* is sometimes called "the style of Cynddelw", like this:

Y bareu arueu aruoloch,
Y bebyll, y byll, y ball koch,
Aml ywch veird y vyd, — emyrth llys nyw llud,
Emys rud, — ruthr gwyduoch.

After these, the scholar Dafydd Du adds three other meters: "short and seeking" [*kyrch a chwta*], "long and molten" [*hir a thodaid*], and "chained molten–seeking" [*tawdgyrch cadwynog*].

"*Cyrch a chwta*" contains six short lines of seven syllables each and a long stanza of fourteen syllables containing the seeking– word [*gair cyrch*], like a part of a seeking–*englyn*, like so:

Llithrawd, ys rynnawd, ys rat,
Llathrgof ynof anynat;
Lloer Gymry, gymreisc dyat,
Llwyr y gwnaeth, mygr aruaeth mat,
Lleas gwas, gwys nas diwat,
Llyaws geir hynaws garyat,
Lledfgein riein llun meinwar,
Lliw llewychgar Angharat.

The long–and–molten verse contains four short lines of ten syllables each and a long stanza of twenty syllables like this:

Gwynnuyt gwyr y byt oed bot Angharat,
Gwennvyn yn gyfun a'y gwiwuawr garyat;
Gwannllun a'm llud hun, hoendwc barablat;
Gwynnlliw eiry diuriw diurisc ymdeithyat;
Gwenn dan eur wiwlenn, ledf edrychyat —
gwyl,
Yw v'annwyl yn y hwyl, heul gymharyat.

The chained *todgyrch* is composed of long verses of

sixty–four syllables each; and this long verse contains four long stanzas of sixteen syllables each. And in each of these long stanzas there are four short lines of four syllables each. And in the first two long stanzas, the first short line of each rhymes with the first short line of the second long stanza, and the second with the second, and the third with the third; and similarly in the last two long stanzas; and the final rhyme of each of the four long stanzas rhymes with the others. And there is no need to have more than the four–stanza long verse with the same rhyme, if you wish, and in the chain the end of the verse should rhyme with the start of the next, like this:

Budyant y veird, vyrdeu dramwy,
Dramawr ofwy, ofec hael Nud;
Hoywon a heird gan hard vacwy
Vydant hwy rwy o'e ra a'e rud.
Arueu bybyr, eruei dymyr,
Aruawc vrehir arf gwyr waywrud;
Aryal milwyr, eireu myuyr,
Eryr ryswyr, Rys ap Gruffud.

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At this point, I have spoken of two branches of meter, englyns and odls. Now I will speak of the third branch, the *cywydd*. There are three types of *cywydd*: the *cywydd deuair*, the "*odl*" *cywydd*, and the "tailed" *cywydd*. There are two types of *cywydd deuair*: the long and the short.

The long *cywydd deuair* contains seven syllables in each line, as in this one:

Breichfyrf, archgrwnn, byrr y vlew,
Llyfn, llygatrwth, pedreindew,
Kyflwyd, kofleit, kyrch amkaff,
Kyflym kefnvyrr, karn geugraff,
Kyflawn o galonn a chic,
Kyfliw blodeu'r banadlvric.

The short *cywydd deuair* contains four syllables in each line, like this:

Hard–dec riein,
Hoywdwf, glwysgein,
Huan debic,
Hoywne gwenic;
Hawd dy garu,
Heul yn llathru.

The *awdl gywydd* is composed of long stanzas of fourteen syllables, with a seeking–word in each stanza, like a piece of a seeking–englyn, like this:

Hirwenn, na vyd drahaus,
Na ry ysgeulus eiryeu,
Na watwar am dy serchawl
A'th ganmawl ar gywydeu.
O gwrthody, liw ewyn,
Wa diuelyn gudynneu,
Kael ytt vilein aradrgaeth
Yn waethwaeth y gynnedueu.

The "tailed" *cywydd* contains two, or three, or four lines of eight syllabes each, and a "tail" after that of seven syllables; and that carries the main rhyme for the whole *cywydd*, like this: [note: rhyme of 8–syllable lines echoed in middle of tail]

Lluwch eiry manot mynyd Mynneu,
Lluoed a'th vawl, gwawl gwawr deheu,
Llathrlun goleu Oleudyd;
Llifawd vy hoen o boen benyt,
Lludyawd ym hun llun byn lloer byt,
Lledryt, nyt bywyt, a'm byd.

And those are the three branches of verse, and their meters and their rhymes. And I could speak further on the faults that can occur in verse, but I shall leave that for now. [GP]

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And when you know the forms of the meters and their rules, it is right to know what subjects it is proper to compose verse about.

Praise is the most proper subject of a poet. And therefore it is necessary necessary to know how to praise each sort of thing for which you wish to compose. There are two sorts of thing for which you might compose: spiritual things, such as God and the saints, and mortal things, such as a person or an animal or a place or occasion.

God ought to be praised for Godliness and strength and almightiness and all–wisdom and all–goodness and all–mercy and truth and righteousness of judgments and generosity and majesty and glory and heavenliness and the love of right and holiness and saintliness and for being the creator and father and for spirituality and honor and heavenly beauty and every other honorable spiritual thing.

Mary the mother is praised on account of her virginity and her chastity and purity and her holiness and saintliness and her heavenly beauty and her mercy and her glory and her generosity and her honor and her conduct and her mildness and for her being the mother of mercy and queen of heaven and earth and hell and her deserving to bear in her virginal womb the almighty creator of all creation, and her being virgin before giving birth and after giving birth.

One praises saints for their purity and their saintliness and their spiritual strengths and their miracles

and their fair speech and their heavenly deeds and their divine glory and for other honorable spiritual things.

There are two sorts of people that ought to be praised: men and women. There are two sorts of men: men of faith and worldly men. There are two sorts of worldly men: laymen and clerics. There are two sorts of clerics: prelates and lesser orders. Prelates, such as bishops and archbishops, one praises for their discretion and their solemnity and their wisdom in ecclesiastical government and their strength in maintaining the laws of the church and their mercy to the poor and their alms and their prayers and their spiritual deeds and their proper generosity and their support of the courts and their gentleness and other honorable ecclesiastical things.

Two sorts of lesser orders are praised: parsons and scholars. Parsons are praised for discretion and wisdom and generosity and nobility and noble birth and beauty and gentleness and nobility of habits and merciful deeds and other honorable things.

There are two sorts of scholars: not other than teachers and disciples. Teachers are praised for their skills and their knowledge and their elevated nature and their knowledge of law, and for victory in competitions and wisdom in questioning and answering according to their talents and skills and rank.

Disciples are praised for their study and their talent and their knowledge and their meekness and for having the makings of noblemen.

Two sorts of laymen are praised: great lords and noblemen. Lords, such as a king or emperor or prince or earl or baron or other ruler, are praised for their strength and valor and military prowess and their power over men and horses and arms and wealth and resources and their descretion and their wisdom in ruling the land and realm and ruthlessness to their enemies and gentleness and amiability toward their men and their friends and generosity with gifts and feasts and grand deeds and pleasantness and noble birth and beauty of form and face and the splendor of their clothes and arms and jewels and for splendid thoughts and other honorable noble things.

Noblemen are praised for their valor and their prowess and their form and their noble birth and their gentleness and their generosity and their pleasantness and their discretion and their wisdom and their nobility and their support and their wealth and their splendid deeds and their correctness in word and deed and thought toward their noble lord.

Men of faith are praised for faith and saintliness and a holy life and Godly thoughts and spiritual strengths and merciful deeds and generous charities for the sake of God and for other heavenly spiritual things that pertain to God and the saints.

Three sorts of women are praised: noblewomen and maidens and women of faith. Noblewomen are praised for discretion and wisdom and chastity and generosity and beauty of form and face and appearance and nobility of speech and deeds. But one does not praise noblewomen for their love and passion since love–songs are not appropriate for her.

One praises a maiden for her form and beauty and wisdom and nobility and brightness of manner and habits and generosity and chastity and praiseworthiness and noble birth and modesty and kindness, and to her belong passion and love. And in the same manner as that, you would praise a young man.

A woman of faith is praised for saintliness and chastity and holiness of life and other Godly things, as are men of faith. [GP]

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Now it is right to speak of how one may become a bard, and how the various ranks are graded. First, it is necessary that one should be of free birth, for the son of a villein is not entitled to learn the bardic craft without his lord's leave any more than he is entitled to learn smithing or to become a clerk. [LHD]

Here are the ranks of student and what pertains to them.

First is the "*ysbas*"–student. He ought to know five of the *englyn* meters, and the *cywydd deuair hirion*, and be able to recite, according to the judgment of a *pencerdd*. And he need know nothing beyond that except five of the "knot"–airs.

Second is the disciple–student. He ought to know twelve of the *englyn* meters, and four of the *cywydd* meters, and besides that the *toddaid*, the two *gwawdodyn* meters, and know to avoid the common faults, and produce a verse of his own making in each of the meters he knows. And he must know ten of the "knot"–airs, and ten tunes, and two of the principal classes of the meters, and the musical measures and in what key each is sung, and to which meter or class of meters it corresponds.

Third is the poetic–student. He ought to know all the meters, and their rules, and all the rules of speech and grammar, and the rules of *cynghanedd*, and how to avoid all the faults, and be able to sing his verses in 21 meters in parallel and in harmony. He should know twenty "knot"–airs and twenty tunes and four of the principal classes of meters, and 24 accompani-

ments, and the 24 meters and their rules, and be able to perform verse. And he has the same talent as a *pencerdd*, but he ought not to compete with pencerdds while he is in this rank.

To be a *pencerdd*, one ought to know all 24 meters, and sing parallel and cross–*cynghanedd*, and keep the alliterations and repetitions, and be eager and productive and skillful in his wits, craft, poetic authority, and imagination, so that his art would be most soothing, and pleasant for listening or reading, and longest remembered for praising the nobility. A *pencerdd* should know thirty assorted airs and all of the principal classes of meters with their tunes and keys, and the pauses and the answers to them. And beyond that, if more is learned, one can earn a silver harp. [SGC]

And the ancient laws say that when a young bard wants to give up the horsehair harp and become a competent bard and solicit gifts, he must pay 24 pence to the *pencerdd* of his district. [LHD]

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Beyond this knowledge, there are many things that can increase or decrease a bard's gift, and some of them are set forth in triads.

Three things bring praise to a bard: imaginative meaning and excellence of craft and clear recitation.

The three indispensables of a bard are: ardentness of speech when reciting verses, and careful contemplation on his compositions lest they be flawed, and boldness in answering what he is asked.

Three things strengthen verse: depth of meaning, and excellence of imagination, and fluency in the language.

Three things weaken verse: shallowness of meaning, and clichéd imagination, and a lack of fluency in the language.

Three things a bard ought to perform skillfully when he is asked: teaching and truth and his judgment on verse.

Three things a bard ought to avoid: performing a minstrel's satire–song in place of a poet's composition, since a poet's praise song should be stronger than the satire–song of a minstrel; the second thing he ought to avoid is performing incorrectly the verses of a praiseworthy poet who has authority, since it is proper to recite a verse as the poet would recite it; the third thing one ought to avoid, according to wise men, is bathing on Friday, or washing the head on Wednesday.

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Three things are the source of inspiration for a bard: talent and practice and craft.

Three things increase a bard's inspiration: learning the Old Songs and bardic lore and histories.

Three things sharpen a singer's inspiration: competition and joyfulness and giving praise.

Three things dull a singer's inspiration: bad composition and bad musicianship and giving dispraise.

Three things completely corrupt a singer's inspiration: excessive drunkenness and excessive adultery and excessive cursing.

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Three things dignify a performance: boldness of speech, and talent in recitation, and the poet's authority and knowledge in judging music.

Three things undignify a performance: reciting at an inappropriate time without being asked, and performing for an inappropriate listener, and performing when there is no one present who knows how to judge its worth.

Three things honor a performance and give it merit: ardentness of speech, and skillfulness, and an innate understanding of the recitation.

Three things dishonor a performance: a dull recitation, and unskillfulness, and thoughtless mistakes by the reciter.

Three things make a performance completely unenjoyable: a weak recitation and a lack of imagination and a lack of dignity in the poet.

Three things make a performance unpleasant: drollery, and unmetricality, and unmusicality.

Three things a singer ought to perform frequently: the telling of stories and poetry and the Old Songs. [GP]

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I have mentioned above that striving in bardic competitions and performing verses before those who are knowledgeable and competent to judge them sharpen the skills of a bard and bring him fame. And so let no one tell you that there is any wrong in such competitions, for in such a way the *pencerdds* may judge who is a competent bard; and in such a way the noblemen who hold such competitions bring fame both to themselves and to the bards who compete.

In the chronicles of the princes, the following is told:

"At Christmas in that year (1176) the Lord Rhys ap

Gruffudd held court splendidly in Aberteifi in the castle. And he arranged two kinds of contests there: one between bards and poets, another between harpers and crwth–players and pipers and various classes of musical craft. And he caused two chairs to be set for the victors. And he honored those with ample gifts. And of the harpers, a young lad of Rhys's court received the victory. Among the bards, those of Gwynedd prevailed. Each of the suitors received from Rhys that which he sought such that no one was refused. And that feast, before it was held, was proclaimed for a year through the entirety of Wales and England and Scotland and Ireland and the other islands." [BYT]

So it is right to consider what a bard should bring to a competition. Above all, a bard must know the *Hengerdd* — the old verses, written by Aneirin and Taliessin and Llywarch Hen. For does it not say in the book of Aneirin:

"Singing each verse of the *Gododdin* is worth a whole song in a song competition because of its status. Each *Gwarchan* is worth three–hundred and three–score and three singings. This is the reason: because the *Gwarchaneu* commemorate and enumerate the men who went to Catraeth. Nor more than a man should go to battle without arms, should a bard go to a competition without this song. The three *Gwarchans* are worth as much as the verses of the entire Gododdin in a song competition." [CA]

And similarly, we know the value of the songs of Taliessin in a competition, for they are so marked and valued in the books in which they are written. [PT]

And when judging the verses that a bard has composed himself, we may know their value by his skillfulness in the use of meters, and his avoidance of faults. [My own extrapolation]

It may be that a competition will be held to reward merit with gifts; and it may be that a competition will judge who is competent to be awarded a chair and become a *pencerdd*; but we also know that a great nobleman may hold a competition to determine who would be worthy to serve him as court–bard.

When Madog ap Maredudd was the prince of Powys, he held a competition to choose his *pencerdd*, and Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr and Seisyll Bryffwrch were among those who competed for the post. And the old tales tell how Taliessin contended with Heinin Fardd and the other bards of Maelgwn Gwynedd and so won the chair of Caer Deganwy. So, too, did Phyllip Brydydd contend with the inferior poets that hung about the court of Rhys Ieuanc. [BWP]

Now some say that the satiric duels indulged in by poets such as Dafydd ap Gwilym and Gruffudd Gryg are also bardic competitions, but I do not see how this could be so — although they are called "*ymryson*" — for dispraise is not a judgable verse form, so how could such a thing be judged? [APDG]

And so it comes that we should consider the character and behavior of a bard, and what things bring him fame and what bring him unfame.

Three things a bard ought to cultivate: generosity and entertainment and musicianship. [GP]

And this is how a bard shows generosity: that the worth of the song to him should match the worth of the gift to the giver. And so as the laws say, when a bard solicits a gift from a monarch, let him sing one song; when he solicits a gift from a nobleman, let him sing three songs; but when he solicits a gift from a villein, let him sing until he is tired. [LHD]

Three things a bard ought to shun: drunkenness and whoring and minstrelsy.

Three things make a bard great: fine clothes and recognition and praise.

Three things make a bard despicable: nakedness and being ignored and dispraise.

Three things make glory for a bard: respect for him and praise of his song and the gifts of noblemen.

Three things disgrace a bard: disrespect for him and dispraise of his song and refusing him gifts.

Three things bring love and honor to a bard: generosity and entertainment and praising worthy people.

Three things bring hate to a bard: stinginess and insincerity and satirizing good people.

Three things are prohibited to a bard: false judgment concerning music and telling lies in his teaching and bad temper. [GP]

And so, by all this you may know the duties and the privileges of a bard; and the ranks and how they are obtained; and what a bard should know, and how he should compose, and how he should behave. And if there are flaws in my telling or in my understanding, let them be upon my head and not that of the wise scholars from whom I may have learned imperfectly.

Most requests that I get for name research are fairly straightforward: discuss when various name elements were used, how they were written and pronounced, and whether the way the questioner wants to use them matches historic practice. Every once in a while, there's a question that's intriguing, open-ended, and timed when I have a chance to really dig into the material, that turns into a bit more than a few pages of documentation. The most notorious example is my article on Pictish names (not included in this volume) that I describe as saying, "We know essentially nothing about Pictish personal names, and I'm going to spend the next fifty pages explaining in excruciating detail the nothing that we know." This article was sparked by a question to the Academy of St. Gabriel asking about women's names among Brythonic-speaking cultures of the north of Britain (e.g., the kingdom of Strathclyde). Some day I plan to add a section on men's names, which will be more extensive, since we have all the lists of warriors from the poem Y Gododdin *to include. I've often focused more strongly on women's names, simply because the evidence is harder to find (as well as being a personal interest). The St. Gabriel report for which this was written was sent in April 2003, and the article was posted in the Medieval Names Archive at the same time. It has since been republished in* Y Camamseriad *volume 5 (2004).*

Women's Names of the Brythonic North in the 5-7th Centuries

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This is a mini-article exploring the question of what we know about the names of people living in the Brythonic-speaking kingdoms in the north of Britain between the end of the Roman period and the final political absorption of those kingdoms by non-Brythonic-speaking dynasties.

(Throughout this article I have used the word "Brythonic" to refer to the language family as a whole, and "Brittonic" to refer to the language that was, loosely speaking, the common ancestor of that family. "Brittonic" was spoken roughly contemporarily with the Roman period in Britain, while "Brythonic" languages cover that time to the present. The Brythonic language spoken in the north of Britain is often called "Cumbric" after the point when it has diverged from the other branches, but because much of my linguistic evidence and discussion has come to us via Welsh, it seems misleading in this context to speak of particular linguistic forms as "Cumbric".)

In principle, the scope of this article would cover the period from ca. 400 (when direct Roman rule and support officially ended in Britain) until the absorption of Strathclyde around the early 11th century, but for practical purposes the data is drawn from the first three centuries of that period and dips slightly earlier in two cases. The chief political entities involved here are the kingdoms of Elmet (the southernmost of the group, roughly centering around modern Leeds) which maintained independent existence until 617; Rheged (roughly equivalent to modern Dumfries) whose absorption by Northumbria may coincide with the marriage of Rhieinfellt to Oswy ca. 635; Strathclyde (roughly equivalent to the modern region of that name) which may have retained independent political existence until the early 11th century; and Gododdin (extending roughly south from its capital at Edinburgh) which fell to the Anglians around 638, a generation after the defeat commemorated in the Aneirin's poem *Y Gododdin*. (For general historical background, see e.g. Jarman 1990, Snyder 1998, Duncan 1975.)

Our information sources for this period focus on two classes of people: the ruling nobility, and prominent religious figures. And contemporary evidence, in the strongest sense of the term, is virtually non-existent. For the most part, we must rely on materials composed centuries after the lives of the individuals in question and surviving only in manuscripts of even later date — often after multiple layers of transmission, at each of which errors, modernizations, or even deliberate alterations may be introduced. The following are the major types of sources:

Annals, Histories, and Chronicles — These include the *Historia Brittonem* of Nennius (written probably in the 9th century, from unknown older materials), historical annals from various traditions (the Latin *Annales Cambriae* and Welsh *Brut y Tywysogion* of the Welsh tradition, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, there is

even some material in the various Irish annals).

Saints' Biographies and Other Hagiographic Material — These have typically been composed, at the earliest, several centuries after the lifetime of the saint, and their reliability in many details can be undermined by the formulaic nature of the genre and by the tendency of unrelated stories to accrue to the saints. An example of this genre would be the two 12th century Lives of the 6th century Saint Kentigern.

Genealogical Material — P.C. Bartrum has conveniently collected and edited all the early genealogical material relevant to Wales (which includes much material relevant to the Brythonic North, due to intermarriage). To get a sense of the difficulties in reliability, the very earliest surviving material of this type survives in manuscripts of perhaps the 11th century, representing compositions of perhaps a century earlier. While these later manuscripts may certainly preserve a great deal of older tradition accurately, they also involve significant opportunity for corruption and alteration in the transmission — including alterations deliberately done to advance or undermine the dynastic claims of particular families. At the very least, the long gap between the lifetime of the individuals in question and the date of the manuscript composition makes it difficult to reconstruct the probable original forms of the names involved. Genealogies are the single largest source of women's names for our current purpose.

Poetry and Literature — The single largest source of male names from these cultures is heroic poetry, particularly the bodies of work associated with Aneirin, Taliesin, and Llywarch Hen (although much later material has been retroactively attributed to these poets, and must be sorted out from the genuine early works). Given the subject matter of this poetry, however, women's names are much scarcer.

The Data and the Reconstructions

In the following discussions, I've provided all the known (to me) mentions of the women by name (at least in medieval material), as well as contextual information about who they are and how they were related. If there is significant doubt about the historic existence of the woman (or about the accuracy of the name as recorded) I have discussed that. On a much more speculative level, I have then attempted to offer linguistic reconstructions of how these women's names might have been written and pronounced during their own lifetimes. For these reconstructions I have been forced to treat the names as if they followed Welsh practice for the same period, as the independent evidence for Cumbric at the same period is too scanty to be useful. I have also taken the (lazy) short-cut of relying almost entirely on Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain* for these reconstructions, even knowing that a number of his conclusions have been debated and revised by more recent work. (When John Koch's forthcoming book on Old Welsh comes out, I'll cheerfully switch to over-relying on him instead!) The reconstructed pronunciations are given in a common version of "ASCII-IPA" and also using a more English-based system with annotations.

I would like to emphasize that the reconstructions (both written and spoken) are EXTREMELY speculative, and that they are intended as a "better than nothing" offering for those who have reasons to want to use contemporary forms of these women's names, and not as works of strict scholarship. I'm working slightly out of my depth here, and if any of these names have been treated in a more rigorous fashion elsewhere, I would be delighted to be directed to relevant publications so that I can revise this article.

Who Are These Women? And What Kinds of Names Do They Have?

As noted above, the people we know about from this era tend to be drawn from important nobility and their immediate families, or saints and their immediate families. In defining "women of the Brythonic north", I've cast the net over both those born into families associated with the northern Brythonic kingdoms and those who married into those families (typically women originating in Wales). These are the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of kings. And, in one case, we have the remnant of an ancient goddess who has been turned into a "fairy-wife" and inserted into a historic genealogy. (In this case her name is a dead giveaway, but it raises the question of how many other names in the early genealogies are fictitious additions from legend.) The relationship of their names to those of non-noble women can only be guessed at. To the extent that we can answer the question, the Brythonic-speaking nobility of the north seem to have drawn from the same general name-pool as their contemporaries in Wales. In many cases, this impression is distorted by the fact that their names have been transmitted through Welsh-language sources, and we could expect any minor dialectal differences to have been normalized away in the process of transmission.

Although the Brythonic-speaking kingdoms in the immediately sub-Roman period (both in the north and in Wales) tended to view themselves as the heirs of Roman culture, very few linguistically Roman names seem to have made their way into the name pool. What evidence there is suggests that by 500 CE, the Roman influence on names lingering from

the imperial period had pretty much faded away. The late 4th century (semi-legendary) Cunedda, who is said to have migrated from Manaw Gododdin to Gwynedd with a passel of sons (who all got kingdoms named after them) comes from a line of ancestors who all bear clearly Latin-origin names. But when you get to the multiple dozens of warriors mentioned in the Gododdin poem (ca. 600) only the personal name Rhufon is identifiable as of Latin origin — the rest are all linguistically Brythonic. So, while it is extremely likely that the people in question here would have had their names *written* in a Latin format, it doesn't appear to be the case that they would have been using names of Latin origin. [Note: this last consideration is relevant to the client whose question inspired this article.]

Given that the surviving information about individuals from this region and time focuses almost exclusively on the ruling families (even the early saints that we know about tended to be born into ruling families), and given that these families tended to intermarry, it shouldn't come entirely as a surprise that the seventeen women discussed here can all be located on two pedigrees, and those two are linked via the biography of Saint Kentigern. (A little digging could probably turn up a genetic relationship as well.) The following genealogic tables (drawn almost entirely from Bartrum 1993) show these relationships as they are set out in the sometimes-contradictory literature.

The Pedigrees

Pedigree one (p.1) shows the lineage of Coel Hen, a northern king on the very edge of reliability. In addition to having a wife and daughter whose names are recorded, his descendants connect two of the other main family groups.

Pedigree two (p.2) shows the line centering around the prominent early 6th century figures Urien Rheged (king of Rheged) and his double-first-cousin Llywarch Hen. Both of these individuals figure in the earliest surviving "Welsh" poetry. "Welsh" is in scare-quotes here because, although the poems have come down to us via the Welsh language, if the northern associations are accurate, they may have been originally composed in an early version of Cumbric, a cousin of Welsh. Urien Rheged was a patron of the poet Taliesin and is mentioned in several of the poems considered to belong to the historic poet (as opposed to the mythic figure who took over his name). There is an entire poetic cycle associated with the name of Llywarch Hen, although it is now considered doubtful that Llywarch himself was the actual author of any of the material.

Pedigree three (p.3) shows the relationship of three women, said to be daughters of Brychan (king of Brycheiniog in south Wales). Two of them married into the line of Rheged. A third married a man who appears to be associated with the region of Roxburgh in Scotland, however her date associations are about a century too late to be a sister to the other two. A vast and variable number of men and women appear in various lists of Brychan's children and it is certain that many of them were not actually his biological sons and daughters (simply based on dating problems) and some of these can be reliably identified as later inventions, scribal errors or doublets (one name turning into two people in slightly different variants), or unrelated individuals who have been given more genealogical cachet by being attached after the fact to Brychan's lineage.

Pedigree four (p.4) shows part of the royal family of Strathclyde, again centering around a prominent historic figure of the 6th century, Rhydderch Hael. He was a contemporary of Urien Rheged, and connects even more closely in the literature to Saint Kentigern who, according to some sources, was a grandson of Urien.

Pedigree five (p.5) shows part of the royal family of Elmet. According to the traditional genealogies, this line connects with pedigree #1 because Lleenog is a great-grandson of Coel Hen Gwodebog. This may, of course, be a political fiction.

(In the following pedigrees all women's names are in bold-face; women married, but not born, into the northern families are also in italics. Dates are, virtually always, approximate calculations based on assumptions about average generation-length, and correlated with known historic events.)

Pedigree 1 (p.1) — the lineage of Coel Hen

Coel Hen
m.
Ystradwel d.o. Gadeon (ca. 360)

Cenau (ca. 400) **Gwawl** (ca. 380)

Gwrgwst Maeswig Gloff

Meirchion Gul (see p.2) Lleenog (see p.5)

Pedigree 2 (p.2) — the dynasty of Rheged

Meirchion Gul (ca. 460)

Cynfarch Oer (ca. 480) Elidir Llydanwyn
m. m.
Nyfain (d.o. Brychan see p.3) ***Gwawr*** (d.o. Brychan see p.3)

(poss. diff. mother?) Llywarch Hen (ca. 520)

(Peniarth 50)
twins

Urien Rheged (ca. 510) **Efrddyl** m. Eliffer Gosgorddfawr **Enynny**
m.

Modron **Ceindrech (or Arddun)** + 2 brothers (triplets)
(d.o. Afallach — these two are legendary "otherworld" figures)

(poss. by a different mother)

(twins)

Owein (ca. (530) **Morfudd** Rhun (ca. 550)
m.
Denw (d.o. Lleuddun Luyddog)

Cyndeyrn Garthwys (S. Kentigern) ca. 550 (see also p.4 for contemporaries)

Rhwyth

Rhieinfellt (ca. 615)

Pedigree 3 (p.3) — the children of Brychan

Brychan Brycheiniog (either ca. 400 or ca. 470 — these work with the later date), king of Brycheiniog in South Wales

Nyfain ***Gwawr*** ***Gwrygon***
m. m.
Cynfarch Oer (see p.2) Elidir Llydanwyn (see p.2)

Pedigree 4 (p.4) — the dynasty of Strathclyde

Rhydderch and Languoreth are contemporaries of S. Kentigern (see p.2) and appear in his biography.

Rhydderch Hael (king of Strathclyde)
(ca. 540)
m.
Languoreth

Gwladus **Angharad Tonfelen**

Pedigree 5 (p.5) — the dynasty of Elmet

Lleenog

Gwallog (ca. 500) **Dwywai** (ca. 500)

Onnen Grec

The Women and Their Names

(I've presented them roughly in generational order, but grouping mothers and daughters together.)

YSTRADWEL (standardized modern form)

Ystradwel is said to be the wife of Coel Hen and mother of Gwawl (see following). She has a calculated date of ca. 360, which places her linguistically in the Brittonic period rather than anything that could yet be called Cumbric. The single source for her existence (although her name occurs in several manuscripts, in a variety of spellings) and the late date of the surviving mentions of her make any interpretation of her name very difficult.

Textual Sources

She is mentioned in a text known as "Bonedd yr Arwyr" (see Bartrum EWGT), which occurs in a number of manuscript copies of the late 15th century and later.

Ystradwel — several manuscripts dating from the late 15th c. and later
Stradweul — ms. of the early 16th c.
Stratweul — several mss. dating from the early 16th c. and later
Ystrawavl — ms. of the mid 16th c.

Linguistic Analysis

I am hesitant to connect the name with a transparent reading of its elements. Welsh <ystrad> "valley" is a borrowing of Latin <strata> "road", and the presumed deuterotheme in the form <-wel> is reminiscent of that of names such as Gweirfyl (e.g., 13th c. <Wervel>, Morfyl (e.g. 13th c. <Moruel>), Erdudfyl. But these all resolved to an <-fy-> form, arguing against this interpretation in the present case. It's also hard to balance the arguments for <-wel> as the earliest surviving version, with <-weul> as the more widely spread version. The name appears to be a compound of <ystrad+wel> and as will be discussed for several names, a deuterotheme beginning with "w" has several possible origins. Combining these several uncertainties I'm not comfortable trying to project an early form. (If the protheme is, in fact, the same as the place-name element <ystrad>, it's also possible that this is a misinterpretation or reinterpretation of a place-name as a personal name — see the discussion under Gwrygon below.)

GWAWL (standardized modern form)

Gwawl is given as a daughter of the 4th century northern king Coel Hen. Mention of her survives primarily because she is also said to be the wife (or, less reliably, the mother) of Cunedda Wledig. Since two daughters are attributed to Cunedda, this link might add more names to the list (even though Cunedda's children all have their associations with Wales proper). His children are problematic as a group, however. Each is linked to a major regional place-name in Wales (e.g. Meirion > Meirionydd) and, while the names themselves may be valid, the associations with Cunedda may be a political fiction, designed to tie together a wide variety of local traditions. One of the supposed daughters, Tegeingl, is demonstrably fictitious, as the region allegedly named for her can be traced instead to the Brittonic tribal name Deceangli. This makes the northern connection doubtful enough that I've left them out.

Textual Sources

Wawl - JC MS 20 written late 14th c., copied from ms ca. 1200 (the name occurs in a context calling for lenition, so this can be read as <Gwawl>)
Gwawl verch Goel - Bonedd yr Arwyr (see Bartrum EWGT), 15th c. and later mss

The name Gwawl also occurs as a masculine name in the Mabinogi.

Linguistic Analysis

There is no reason not to interpret her name as identical to the common noun <gwawl> "light, brightness, radiance, splendor". This would derive it from a Brittonic *uál- (GPC). The 4th century date places this name before the loss of final, inflectional syllables in Brittonic, so in addition to proposing a Latinized written form along the lines of <Vala>, we can suggest a spoken form along the lines of ['wa-la] (assuming an a-stem noun declension), or in English syllables "WAH-lah".

GWAWR (standardized modern form)

Gwawr, and her supposed sister Nyfain, are listed as daughters of Brychan, king of Brycheiniog, in the earliest (and presumably most reliable) lists of his children. However for all of Brychan's alleged children, even if the individual is historic, the specific relationship may have been invented for later dynastic purposes. Bartrum (WCD) gives the two women an approximate calculated date in the late 5th century (these calculated dates are based on standard generation-lengths from individuals who can be more solidly dated). Both appear in all the early lists of Brychan's children, although in one Nyfain's name is badly (and oddly) corrupted. Gwawr is said to have married Elidir Llydanwyn ap Meirchion Gul, and was the mother of Llywarch Hen. Her citations (Bartrum EWGT) are as follows. (In all of the following discussions, if I have failed to note my immediate source for a manuscript citation, it can be assumed to come from one or the other of Bartrum's works, as listed in the References section.)

Textual Sources

<Guaur> - De Situ Brecheniauc (Cotton ms. Vespasian A xiv, fos. 10v-11v (ca. 1200) text perhaps a century earlier
<Gwawr> - Cognacio Brychan (Cotton MS. Domitian I, fox. 157v-158v) ms. dated 1502-55, copied from a ms poss of the 13th c.
<Gwawr> - JC MS 20 written late 14th c., copied from ms ca. 1200
<Gwawr> - Plant Brychan

Other early examples of Gwawr as a personal name can be found in genealogical material and other sources, with variable levels of reliability.

Linguistic Analysis

There seems no reason not to accept that the personal name is linguistically identical to the common noun <gwawr> meaning "dawn". Given this, we can reconstruct a late Brittonic *uori- (based on GPC), and a probable Latinized written form <Voria>. A 5th century date places this before the complete loss of inflectional endings, but after their severe reduction. So the pronunciation might be something like: ['wor-j@]. Or, approximated by English syllables, "WOHR-yeh"

NYFAIN (standardized modern form)

For general background, see the comments on her supposed sister Gwawr above. Nyfain is said to have married Cynfarch Oer ap Meirchion Gul, and was the mother of the twins Urien Rheged and Efrddyl. (Cynfarch has other attributed children — see e.g. Enynny below — but Nyfain is not explicitly given as their mother.) Her name appears in early lists of Brychan's children in the following forms (Bartrum EWGT).

Textual Sources

<Neuein> - De Situ Brecheniauc (Cotton ms. Vespasian A xiv, fos. 10v-11v (ca. 1200) text perhaps a century earlier
<Nyuen> - Cognacio Brychan (Cotton MS. Domitian I, fox. 157v-158v) ms. dated 1502-55, copied from a ms poss of the 13th c.
<Drynwin> - JC MS 20 written late 14th c., copied from ms ca. 1200, although the family relationships given for this person match those for Nyfain, it's hard to see how the name could be corrupted in this way
<Nevyn> - Plant Brychan

Another possible example of the name in South Wales (although there is no indication that it is for the same person) is the dedicatory saint of a place mentioned in the Book of Llandav as <Villam Sancti Nuvien> and <Lann Uvien> (presumably a reanalysis of <Lan Nuvien>?) (Bartrum WCD). The latter is from a charter given a tentative date in the late 8th century (Davies EWM). The same location is given in a 1336 document as <Sancti Nyveyn al. Niveyn> (Bartrum WCD).

Linguistic Analysis

Despite the variant form of the diphthong in the second syllable in some of the Llandav material, the

evidence as a whole suggests a standardized form of <Nyfain> (Medieval Welsh standardized form <Nyvein>), with occasional reduction of the diphthong. None of the citations are early enough to reveal whether the radical underlying the <f> is <m> or <b>. It is tempting to try to connect the first syllable with *nem "heaven, sky" (GPC). It is tempting to try to connect this name with the second part of the masculine given name Ednywain. There are occasional examples of conversion between v/w (in both directions — see further under Morfudd below), and the initial part of this name appears to derive from *Iud-, similarly to the names Idnerth/Iudnerth, Ithel/Iudhael, Iudnimet/Ednyfed et al. (Morgan & Morgan tentatively suggest that Ednywain derives instead from a cut-and-paste of Ednyfed and Owain, but this sort of recombination that cuts across known thematic elements is a very unsatisfactory hypothesis.) This connection, however, doesn't help in reconstructing an early form, as the masculine name survives only in medieval examples.

The <n>s may be taken as original, being astonishingly stable among all the changes of the language. If we take the original of the middle consonant as <m> without assuming a particular derivation, then the first syllable reconstructs as either *nem or *nim (Jackson p.278ff), but if the latter, then we would expect a change to <nem> by the 5th century. While the <m> would have begun lenition at this date, it was still strongly bilabial and nasal, but moving from being a stop to a fricative. The diphthong in the final syllable must arise from a simple vowel via some sort of vowel affection. The most likely candidate for this particular result appears to be something like <-ani->. Inscriptional evidence suggests that this vowel affection was at work in pronunciation by the end of the 5th century, although it is only very rarely indicated in written forms at that time (Jackson p.579ff). If so, this would presumably derive originally from a feminine ia-stem declension, although Latinized written forms of this period appear to treat all feminine names as regular a-stem nouns. This woman lived roughly during the period when syllable loss was occurring, so we can assume that the inflectional ending would be much reduced, but perhaps still pronounced.

We can then suggest a Latinized written form of <Nemania> and a pronunciation something like ['neB~-ajn-j@]. Or, approximated by English syllables, "NEV-ine-yeh" but where the "v" is made with both lips and is nasalized.

GWRYGON GODDAU (standardized modern form)

Most of the lists of the children of Brychan Brycheiniog include a daughter Gwrygon, said to have married Cadrodd Calchfynydd, who is thought to be associated with the region around Roxburgh in what is now Scotland, placing her in our northern context. The dates calculated for her husband place him ca. 550, nearly a century later than the dates for the other two daughters of Brychan mentioned here. In general, the "core group" of Brychan's children fall in an early group and a late group, each of which could plausibly be contemporaries, but which are incompatible with each other.

Textual Sources

<Gurycon Codheu> - De Situ Brecheniauc (Cotton ms. Vespasian A xiv, fos. 10v-11v (ca. 1200) text perhaps a century earlier
<Grucon Guedu> vxor Cradauc Calchuenit - Cognacio Brychan (Cotton MS. Domitian I, fox. 157v-158v) ms. dated 1502-55, copied from a ms poss of the 13th c.
<[G]rugon> - JC MS 20 written late 14th c., copied from ms ca. 1200
<Gwrgon> - Plant Brychan

Linguistic Analysis

Several of the sources for her name seem to confuse it somewhat with the masculine given name <Gwrgan>, and we should probably take the DSB form as the best base to work from. However the best linguistic connections for it cast some doubt on the historicity of this woman. <Gwrygon> is the Medieval Welsh evolution of the Romano-British place-name <Viriconium> (modern Wroxeter). The Old Welsh forms <Guricon> (Nennius) and <Gureconn> (in the poetry attributed to Llywarch Hen) are attested for the place. Jackson (LHEB p.601f) offers the Brittonic reconstruction *Uricono- for the place-name.

It is not at all unheard of for place-names to be transformed into personal names in the early Welsh tradition, either by inventing an eponym for which the place is said to have been named, or by misinterpreting a reference to a place as a reference to a person. One of the most familiar examples of this is the creation of the name <Myrddin> (=Merlin) as a back-formation from the place-name Caerfyrddin, where we have clear evidence that the place-name derives from the Romano-British <Moridunum> "sea-fort". On the other hand, we also have rare examples where a name that clearly originates as a place-name somehow came into use as a personal name. A good example of this is the place-name Tegeingl, traceable to the British tribal name Deceangli, which Giraldus Cambrensis mentions as occurring as a woman's name (in fact, he offers a pun

based on the name being both a woman's name and a place-name), and may also appear in the 1292 Lay Subsidy Roll for Skenefrith. So while co-existence as a place-name weakens the case for this as a valid personal name, it doesn't eliminate it entirely.

Following Jackson's derivation for the place-name, we can suggest a mid 6th century Latinized written form along the lines of <Vricona>, or following the earlier Latin forms of the place-name <Viricona>. This would correspond to a pronunciation along the lines of ['wrï-gon] or in English syllables "OORIH-gohn" but treating the first part as a single syllable, and where the "ih" vowel is more of a high schwa than the usual pronunciation of this sound.

I am uncertain enough about the possible derivation of the byname to hesitate to offer suggestions (since this is a side issue to the main thrust of the article). It may derive from the root <cawdd> (with variant <codd> depending on stress) with a meaning "anger, vexation, affliction", but while <-au> is a possible plural suffix, it is not the one normally found for this word.

EFRDDYL (standardized modern form)

While Nyfain and Gwawr married into the Rheged aristocracy, and so we can at best say that their names are ones that may have been used in that context, the two women in the next generation were born into that family, so we can postulate that their names represent ones current in that culture.

Efrddyl is said to be the twin sister of Urien Rheged, giving her a calculated date in the early 6th century. While it's true that twins sometimes run in families, enough pairs of twins are attributed to this particular royal line that some skepticism may be called for — especially when other mythic elements appear. Efrddyl's three children are said to be triplets, including a daughter Ceindrech (or in one source, Arddun).

Textual Sources

<Euerdil> - De Situ Brecheniauc (Cotton ms. Vespasian A xiv, fos. 10v-11v (ca. 1200) text perhaps a century earlier
<Erduduyl> - JC MS 20 written late 14th c., copied from ms ca. 1200; this is not so much a corruption of the name as a substitution of a similar-sounding name — there are several examples of the feminine name Erdudfyl in legal records of the late 13th century (e.g., the 1292 Lay Subsidy Roll for Meirioneth and Cilgerran)
<Evrddyl> - Plant Brychan

She is mentioned in the triads (Bromwich TYP no. 70) as having one of the "three fair womb-burdens" of Britain. In various versions, her name is given as:

<[...]dyl> — (the text is evidently incomplete) Peniarth Ms. 47 (15th c.)
<Eurddel> — Peniarth Ms. 50 (first half of the 15th c.)

As Urien's sister, she also rates two mentions as mourning her brother's death in the poetry associated with Llywarch Hen (Williams CLH, Ford PLH). The text is from the Red Book of Hergest, created ca. 1375 but with material copied from earlier sources. Her name appears there as <Euyrdyl> and <Eu[y]rdyl> (i.e., in the text as <Eurdyl> for the second), which are consistent with the date of composition or the couple centuries previous.

This personal name also occurs for the mother of Saint Dubricius (second half of the 5th century). The Book of Llandav (Bartrum WCD) mentions several places named presumably after her, in documents tentatively dated around the 8th century:

<insulam ebrdil> (island p.76, charter 76a, dated ca. 575 but of questionable historicity)
<Euirdil> (river p.78, charter 77, dated ca. 625 but of questionable historicity)
<euyrdil> (river p.78, charter 77)

(as marginalia in charter 77, we also see <Eurdila'> with a <t> erased over the <a>, and <Eurdila> with a macron over the <a> where we might expect a Latin accusative ending in -m)

the life of Dubricius is in a 15th c. hand

<Ebrdil> (dau. of Pepiau p.78-9, life of Dubricius, the <b> was later altered to <u>)
<inis ebrdil> (island p.79, 80, life of Dubricius)

(as marginalia on p.79 we also have <ynys evrddyl>)

<Lann Efrdil> (church p.159, charter 159a, dated ca. 685 but of questionable historicity)

(as marginalia on p.159 we also have <llann eurdyl>)

<finnaun efrdil> (river p.173, charter 171b, dated ca. 860)
<Lann Ebrdil> (church p.192, charter 192, dated ca. 745 but of questionable historicity)
<aperfinnaun emrdil> (river p.264, charter 264a, dated ca. 1030)
<aper finnaun efrdil> (river p.264, charter 264a, dated ca. 1030)

Linguistic Analysis

Here we have some nicely useful early forms. Despite the conflict between the <b> and <m> forms,

the <b> strikes me as being the more reliable. The second syllable in the tri-syllabic forms is epenthetic and may be discounted when reconstructing. Furthermore, the <r>, <dd>, and <l> are relatively unproblematic in reconstruction. The initial vowel has several possible originals, partly dependent on the lost vowel in the first half of the name. (The existence of such a vowel is much more likely than that the cluster <-brd-> was original, although in theory it could occur either after the <b> or <r>.) If the lost vowel caused i-affection (Jackson p.579ff), then the initial vowel could have been any of <a, e, u>. If the lost vowel caused a-affection, then the initial could have been <i> (Jackson p.573ff). If the lost vowel caused no affection, then the original initial was presumably <e>. The only remotely similar Brittonic name that comes to mind is the Romano-British <Eburacum> (York), but there is no positive basis for assuming any sort of connection between the two names.

We can't dodge the question, because in this woman's lifetime, vowel loss would not have occurred yet in written forms (although it was likely well progressed in speech). So we're left with offering a number of incomplete possibilities for written forms (assuming the standard Latinate feminine ending <-a>):

*abirdila
*abridila
*ebirdila
*ebridila
*ubirdila
*ubridila
*ibardila
*ibradila
*ebVrdila (where V=e, o, u)
*ebrVdila (where V=e, o, u)

For a spoken form, if we take an optimistic view of the earliness of syllable loss, and taking into account lenition, then the only real uncertainty is the initial vowel. Using, just as an example, the "e" possibility, we would get something like: ['EBr-DIl] or, in English syllables, "EVR-dhill" but where the "v" is made with both lips and the "dh" represents the initial sound of "then".

As it happens, there is also a common noun in Medieval Welsh of the form <efrddyl>, the irregular plural of an apparently rare word <afrddwl> meaning "sad, unfortunate", or as a noun "disappointment, misfortune" (GPC). It would be precipitate to conclude that the personal name actually derives from this word, however it offers a way of resolving some of the multiple possibilities. The derivation offered for <afrddwl> suggests a Brittonic *ab(a)r-dall- and for the plural *ab(a)r-dalli. There are some problems with this reconstruction if the (a) is included, so we shall omit it. This would give us a 5th c. written form of <Abrdalli> and a pronunciation along the lines of ['aBr-Dɨl], or in English syllables "AHVR-dhɨl" where <ɨ> represents a vowel like schwa but higher in the mouth, and <v> as above.

CEINDRECH (standardized modern form)

In the triads, Efrddyl (q.v.) is said to have borne triplets (one of the "three fair womb-burdens"), given a calculated date ca. 530, that included the sons Gwrgi and Peredur (who figure in the poem *Y Gododdin*) and a daughter Ceindrech.

Textual Sources

Ceindrech's name is given in Peniarth Ms. 50 as <Ceindrech Pen Askell> "C. wing-headed" but in one case as <Ardun> (in Peniarth Ms. 47, probably due to confusion with a woman bearing the same byname in the previous century) (Bromwich TYP).

Bartrum (WCD) lists several other women of a similar era, of variable levels of historic reliability, named Ceindrech, although in one case this name has been erroneously substituted for another.

Linguistic Analysis

A straightforward linguistic interpretation of the name would understand it as <cain> "beautiful" + <drych> "appearance, image". (In all cases, the forms of the name available reflect medieval-era spellings.) If this is so, then the reconstructions of these words found in the GPC and in Falileyev can be greatly helpful, suggesting a Brittonic *kanio-drikk-. In the early 6th century, this would be expected to give us a Latinized written form <Caniodricca> with a pronunciation along the lines of ['kan-I-DrIx], or in English syllables "KAHN-ih-dhrikh", where "dh" represents the initial sound of "this" and "kh" the "hard" ch of Scottish "loch".

ENYNNY (standardized modern form)

In the same generation as Urien and Efrddyl, also described as a daughter of Cynfarch Oer, but with no identification of the mother, is Enynny, the mother of Meurig, who figures in the Life of Saint Cadog. There is a certain amount of difficulty in reconciling the dates and geography involved. The events involving Cadog are located around Gwynllwg in the south-east of Wales — although the re-location from the North might reasonably be explained by a marriage. Bartrum (WCD) assigns Cadog a date ca. 495 (and his Life mentions enough historic personages that he may be considered reasonably pinned down) and Meurig a questionable date ca. 470

although it isn't at all clear what this calculation is based on. Assuming Enynny is accurately identified as a sister of Urien Rheged, that gives her a date ca. 500, and while Meurig's father is mysteriously absent from most references to him, in at least one place he is identified as Caradog Freichfras, who is assigned a calculated date ca. 470. The most likely explanation is that multiple people have been conflated in some fashion here, but sorting them out is probably impossible. It appears that all the information about the name Enynny comes via the S. Cadog connection, so even if this is a different woman than the possible northern woman, it is the evidence we must examine. (Bartrum WCD & EWGT)

Textual Sources

<Enhinti> Life of S. Cadog (Cotton Ms. Vespasian A xiv (ca. 1200), written ca. 1100)
<Henninni> (ibid)
<Enynny> (Peniarth Ms. 131, ca. 1475; other versions of this text have less reliable forms such as <Efynny> Cardiff Ms. 25 1640; <Enyni> Peniarth Ms. 131 before 1547)

a mis-copied form can be seen in:

<Emminni> JC Ms. 20 written late 14th c., copied from ms ca. 1200

and we can safely ignore the very corrupt, later forms:

<Henfyn> (Harleian Ms. 2414 fo. 59v; Mostyn 212b p.59, both late 16th c.)

With the exception of the possible conflation of more than one woman of the name here, I know of no other examples of this name.

Linguistic Analysis

The profusion of forms for this name is less of a problem for reconstruction than some inherent ambiguities. Both <nh> and <nt> appear in Old and Medieval Welsh for original *nt (the precise nature of the sound could depend on various positional factors, so the appearance of both in <Enhinti> need not be a problem). Borrowings into English in the 6th century show that the pronunciation of *nt was still firmly [nt] at this time. However <nh> could also derive from <nVs> if the <s> began the second element of a compound (Jackson p.514), and this <h> would have been lost by late Medieval Welsh, just as one deriving from <nt> would. So we can set up two avenues to explore:

_nt_nt_ (with the underscores filled in by vowels)
_n_-S_nt_ (ditto)

This <s> at the beginning of second elements shifted to being pronounced [h] and written <h> probably some time during the first half of the 6th century, and direct evidence is lacking for the date of this woman's life. So even if we lean towards that explanation, we're still left with uncertainty about the expected forms at our desired date.

The initial vowel has many of the same problems as that of Efrddyl — by the 7th century we could assume that it has assumed the form <e>, but before that we have a number of possible origins. The other vowels seem likely to be original, but there must have been some entire syllable lost at the end in order to preserve the final vowel (i.e., we aren't dealing with an original <-ntia> losing an inflectional ending, but rather with an original <-nti_a> with the space filled with a consonant or semi-vowel). One possibility here would be <-ntiga>, and another might be <-ntiia> (= [-ntija]), but there may be other possibilities as well.

If etymological connections could be made with other names, it might be possible to narrow down the suggestions here, but as it stands, they multiply too rapidly to be manageable. After the syllable loss and sound-shifts leading up to the 7th century, it would be reasonable to suggest <Entintia> or <Enhintia> as a Latinate written form, and ['En-hIn-hi] as a pronunciation (or, in English syllables, "EN-hinn-hee"), whatever the origins. But I will decline to try a form earlier than the 7th century.

MODRON (standardized modern form)

Of the women discussed here, only Modron is clearly a mythological addition to an otherwise historic context. Peniarth Ms. 147 (1556) includes a legend that Urien Rheged had twins by "the daughter of the king of Annwn" (the Welsh underworld), and this mother is specifically identified in the triads as Modron verch Afallach (Bromwich TYP no. 70). Elsewhere in medieval Welsh literature, Modron appears as the mother of Mabon, a pair generally considered to preserve a divine mother and child (the names Modron and Mabon derive from roots meaning "mother" and "son" with the suffix <-on> typically found in divine or semi-divine names). Afallach generally appears as a son of the legendary Beli Mawr, and the namesake of Ynys Afallach, an alternate name for the island of Avallon. The story of Urien's encounter with Modron further enhances the other-worldly aspects: Modron has a destiny laid on her that she must wash at a ford until she has a son by a Christian. (The otherworldly woman washing at the ford is a repeating motif in both Welsh and Irish legend.)

The children of this encounter were Owein and

Morfudd, and while we must exempt Modron from our list of plausible women's names for this period, the children have names that are otherwise unexceptionable in this context, and there is no reason to assume that they are spurious.

Textual Sources

In relation to this specific figure, the name appears as:

<[M]odron merch Auallach> - Peniarth Ms. 47
<Modron ferch Avallach> - Peniarth Ms. 50

The mythological figure of Modron can be found in many other contexts, presumably going even as far back as Gallo-Latin references to the <matrones> in dedicatory inscriptions.

Linguistic Analysis

Because this name is not being recommended as a plausible human name, no reconstructed written and spoken forms are offered.

MORFUDD (standardized modern form)

Morfudd is the twin sister of Owein ap Urien Rheged, both said to be children of the otherworld-mother Modron. This would give her the same calculated date of ca. 530. Morfudd also makes a walk-on appearance in the tale of Culhwch and Olwen, while her brother Owein, in addition to numerous reasonably historic references, is inserted by Geoffrey of Monmouth into the Matter of Britain and eventually gets his own Arthurian romance, as Yvain.

Textual Sources

<Morud> - JC MS 20 written late 14th c., copied from ms ca. 1200 (this is a slightly corrupted form)
<Moruud> - Peniarth Ms. 47
<Morwyd> - Peniarth Ms. 50
<Moruyd> - White Book of Rhydderch (fictional) (from Bromwich TYP)
<Moruud> - Red Book of Hergest (fictional) (from Bromwich TYP)

While this woman appears to be the only reliable early Morfudd (Bartrum WCD lists another who is purely legendary), the name is reasonably common in the later medieval period. The lack of early examples, however, makes historic reconstruction difficult.

Linguistic Analysis

If this name is understood as a typical dithematic compound, then the first element can be isolated fairly confidently as <Mor->, an element that has two possible origins in Brythonic names: *Mori- "sea" and *Maro- "large, great". But by the mid 6th century, both of these would appear as <Mor->.

Despite the appearance of <f> at the beginning of the second element in the standardized form of the name, early medieval examples alternate the more conservative <u>/<v> and the slightly later <w>, arguing for an underlying second element beginning with <gw>. (There are several names that show this same ambiguity, with apparent shifts in both directions from <w> to <f> and the reverse. See e.g. the discussion by Williams (1930) "Anawfedd, Blodeuwedd, -medd".)

This interpretation takes us back to an Old Welsh *guid for the second element, probably from Brittonic *ued-, for which we'd expect a mid 6th c. form <vid>. So for a mid 6th century Latinized written form, we can postulate <Morvida>, and a pronunciation along the lines of ['mor-wïD] or, in English syllables, "MOHR-wïdh" where <ï> represents a vowel like schwa but higher in the mouth, and "dh" represents the initial sound of "this".

DEN(Y)W (standardized modern form)

Morfudd's brother Owein married a woman named Den(y)w (as we shall see, her name is recorded in a vast variety of forms) for whom we have a fair amount of data since her son was Cyndeyrn Garthwys, better known as Saint Kentigern, a prominent early saint of the north of Britain. Her family connections, especially her son, place her in the early-mid 6th century. Trying to pin her name down must begin with assembling the wildly varying evidence. (All citations from Bartrum EWGT unless otherwise noted.)

Textual Sources

The genealogical tract *Bonedd y Seint* (lineage of the saints) appears in several manuscripts and includes her in the following forms:

<Denw> Peniarth Ms. 16, third quarter of the 13th c.
<Denyw> Peniarth Ms. 45, late 13th c.
<Dyfuyr> Peniarth Ms. 12, ca. 1320 (this may be a substitution of a different name, or influenced by some other word, rather than a simple corruption)
<Dinw> Hafod Ms. 2, second half of the 14th c.
<Dynw> Llanstephan Ms. 28 ca. 1475
<Dwywai> Peniarth Ms. 27 last quarter of the 15th c. & Peniarth Ms. 182 ca. 1510 (this is a substitution of an entirely different name with northern associations, see below)

<Dunwl> Peniarth Ms. 182, 1514 (this appears to be largely a scribal corruption)

She is given as <Taneu> and <Tannu> in the two manuscripts of Jocelin's Life of Kentigern (ca. 1185) and <Thaney> in an anonymous life of the saint (ca. 1150) (Forbes 1874). In the Aberdeen Breviary (whose precise date I have not yet been able to track down) she is mentioned twice, as <Teneuu> and <Theneuu> (although Bartrum has used different editions of this manuscript in his entries for Denw and Cyndeyrn, and in the latter the name is transcribed as <Tenew>).

Just to tie things together neatly, Languoreth (q.v.) and her husband Rhydderch Hael feature in the Life of Saint Kentigern.

Linguistic Analysis

Reconciling the forms of this name found in Welsh sources with those in the Scottish biographies might appear to be impossible, but if we assume that the name is of Brythonic origin (which the context of the story implies) then some of the variation can be dealt with. Initial <Th> in a Latin context is a relatively free variant of <T> with the same sound quality as the latter. Furthermore, certain aspects of the Brythonic pronunciation of initial voiced stops tended to cause them to be interpreted as voiceless by speakers of other languages, and so an interpretation of underlying <d> as <t> seems likely. A final <w> after a consonant tended to attract epenthetic vowels in Welsh, and would have enough of a vocalic quality in speech that non-Brythonic speakers would tend to interpret it as a vowel, albeit one of uncertain quality. One example from the medieval period is the name Goronwy, which appears in variants such as Gronw and Grono; or the group Cadwy/Cadw/Cado (Bartrum EWGT) found in forms such as <Catovii>, <Cado>, <Cattw>, <Gadw>, <Gadwy>. The majority of forms of the name under consideration seem more consistent with a final <-nw>. Final <w> after a consonant most commonly derives from a consonantal <u> (i.e. [w]), less commonly from <m>. Following the more common possibility, we would expect to find this written with <u> in the mid 6th century.

This leaves us with the question of the vowel in the first syllable. The earliest Welsh sources seem to agree on <e>, while the Scottish Lives of Kentigern agree on <a>. The other northern source, the Aberdeen Breviary, agrees with the Welsh sources, having <e>. (The later Welsh sources with <y> and <i> may be overcompensating for the tendency in some medieval Welsh texts to spell the sound of "y" with <e>, and may be "correcting" an earlier <Denw> to <Dynw>.) I'm inclined to follow the majority here. If this is correct, it's tempting to try to connect the name with the root <den-> meaning "to attract, allure", but this is pure speculation.

At any rate, we can now suggest reconstructing a mid 6th c. Latinized written form <Denua>, pronounced something like ['dEn-w@] or, in English syllables, "DEN-weh".

Having already written the above, I discovered that Koch (1997) discusses the name briefly and prioritizes the hagiographical material over the later Welsh genealogical tradition. He equates the name with the common adjective <teneu> "thin, slender" and suggests a reconstructed pronunciation that, in the 6th century, would be ['tan-ey], or in English syllables something like "TAH-nayw". A corresponding Latinized written form would presumably be something like <Taneua>. (I could wish that Koch had explicitly discussed the Welsh genealogical material in offering this derivation. Given that the adjective <teneu> was in common use, and given that the same element was transmitted without significant distortion in the byname <Gwrtheneu> attributed to Vortigern, the significant changes resulting in the form <Den(y)w> seem to require a major disruption in the Brythonic transmission of the name.)

RHIEINFELLT (standardized modern form)

Urien Rheged is credited with a large number of other sons besides Owein, mentioned above. One of these lines gave rise to the latest woman in our list. The contexts in which she is mentioned give a relatively high confidence-level for her historic existence. She was probably the daughter of the last Brythonic king of Rheged (Rhwyth son of Rhun son of Urien Rheged), and she is said to have married Oswy of Bernicia, possibly signaling a relatively peaceable absorption of Rheged into the English kingdom of Bernicia. Oswy was born ca. 613 (Bartrum WCD) and P.C. Bartrum suggests an approximately similar birth date for Rhieinfellt ca. 615 (ibid). She may also be mentioned in a list of queens in the Durham *Liber Vitae* (see below).

Textual Sources

Nennius, wrote in Latin, roughly around 800, but he was almost certainly fluent in a Brythonic language and not only records Brythonic names in spellings that reflect familiarity with literate spelling traditions, but he sometimes records English names with Brythonic-style spellings. (For example, he writes Oswy as <Osguid>, and Oswald as <Osguald>, treating the word-internal <w> as if it followed

Brythonic historical phonology.) He records the woman's name as <Rieinmelth filia Royth filii Rum>. Her grandfather's name was most likely actually Rhun (if the final nasal had, at some point in transmission, been written with a nasal suspension mark, the substitution would be understandable), and he most likely was the Rhun mentioned elsewhere by Nennius who was the son of the Urien Rheged who is honored by several poems in the Book of Taliesin (and who also figures in the context for Nyfain, Efrddyl, and Modron elsewhere in this list, q.v.) (Bartrum WCD).

The Durham *Liber Vitae* lists a queen named <Rægnmæld> (following a more English spelling system) who is likely the same woman (the identification is suggested by H.M. and N.K. Chadwick, as cited in Bartrum WCD). Jackson (LHEB p.59) dates the *Liber Vitae* to ca. 840, and says of some Welsh names recorded in it, "They were clearly written down for the most part by an English scribe as he heard them pronounced, and not by the owners of the names themselves as they would have spelt them." This description seems apt for <Rægnmæld> as well, although we must assume that both the *Liber Vitae* scribe and Nennius were working from existing written records, to some extent.

Linguistic Analysis

The name is almost certainly dithematic, with the first element equivalent to modern <rhiain> "maiden, queen" — a prototheme that appears in other early feminine names, such as Rhieinwylydd (which is explicitly glossed, in a medieval text, with the Latin <regina> "queen"). This element originates from *riganti- (Jackson LHEB p.453). During the late 5th century lenitions, the <g> became a fricative (but would not be entirely lost in this context until around the 9th century). Nennius's spelling reflects its eventual loss, but this would have happened after the woman's lifetime, and in the 7th century, the <g> would still have been written, as we see in stone inscriptions from this period.

Similarly, we see that by the time of both written forms, the original <nt> had reduced completely to <n>. The pronunciation of this combination shifted to [nh] (or, in some contexts, a voiceless [n]) somewhere around the 8th century (Jackson LHEB p.506), but written forms in Welsh may retain <nt> even later. A 7th century form, however, would be expected to be written <nt> and quite probably to retain the full pronunciation as well.

The 7th century is roughly when we start seeing syncope (the loss of unstressed syllables) reflected in written forms (the syllables had been lost in pronunciation earlier). So we can propose a 7th century written form <Rigant-> and pronunciation ['ri-Gant] for the prototheme.

The deuterotheme is not as obviously identifiable, but there is a strong resemblance to the common noun <mellt> "lightning".

When the word-internal lenitions took place in the later part of the 5th century, <m> first changed to a nasalized bilabial fricative — and was still regularly perceived as a nasal by English speakers as late as the 10th or 11th century (although it was also rendered as <v> starting around the 7th century), so the use of "m" in <Rægnmæld> doesn't undermine understanding the sound as having changed from [m]. (Similarly, Brythonic spelling traditions retained the radical when it began a distinct morpheme until a similar date.)

Both records indicate an alveolar stop at the end of the deuterotheme. Nennius's use of <lth> may even be an attempt to include a fricative nature to the L in some way, but if so it would be among the earliest attempts to do so. This sound is more commonly believed to have developed relatively late, perhaps as late as the 10-11th century, so we need not consider it here. So we can propose a 7th century written form <-melt> and pronunciation roughly [B~Elt].

Thus we can suggest a Latinized written form <Rigantmelta> although at this point we sometimes see non-Latin names written without inflectional endings in Latin documents, so <Rigantmelt> is also possible. The pronunciation would be something like ['ri-Gant-'B~Elt]. Describing this in terms of English sounds is relatively difficult. Starting with something like "REE-ghahnt-VELT", the "gh" is a voiced version of the "hard ch" of Scottish "loch", the V in this case should be made with both lips and nasalized.

Koch (1997) briefly discusses this name and suggests the alternate possibility that the final <-lth>, rather than being a mere orthographic variant, may represent a particularly Cumbric sound-change to [lT].

LANGUORETH (this is not a modernized form)

As mentioned above in the discussion on Den(y)w, her son S. Kentigern interacted (according to his biographers) with Rhydderch Hael, king of Strathclyde, and his wife Languoreth. Rhydderch is given a calculated date of ca. 540.

Textual Sources

As far as I have been able to discover, the only mention of this woman by name is in Jocelyn's Life of

S. Kentigern (written ca. 1185) — the fragmentary anonymous Life of Kentigern does not include this episode. Jocelyn's work survives in two early manuscripts and the name appears in slightly different forms (Forbes 1874).

<Languoreth> - British Museum Ms. Cotton Vitellius C. viii.
<Languueth>, <Langueth> - Archbishop Marsh Ms. V.3.4.16 (Dublin)

An unscientific survey indicates that <Languoreth> is preferred by most modern scholars.

Linguistic Analysis

The linguistic forms found in Jocelyn's work preserve certain spelling features that suggest a source around the 7-8th century. Assuming the name here is a typical dithematic compound, we may separate it into <Lan + guoreth>. The first element is not easy to find parallels for in personal names. For the second element, it is strongly tempting to read the final <th> as an orthographic variant for <t> as in Thaney/Taneu, and then to connect <guoret> with the second element of the masculine given name Tegwared, and possibly also to a word meaning "deliverance, redemption, help". The first part of the name is unlikely to be identical to the common noun <llan> "enclosure, esp. a church" unless the name is somehow an allegorical phrase "the redemption of the church". But the phonetics of the first element don't present any significant ambiguities. In the mid 6th century, we'd expect a Latinized written form along the lines of <Lanuoret> and a pronunciation along the lines of ['lan-wor-Ed] or, using English syllables, "LAHN-wohr-ed".

ANGHARAD (standardized modern form)

According to the triads (Bromwich TYP no. 79), Rhydderch Hael had a daughter Angharad Tonfelen (the byname appears to mean "yellow wave", possibly in reference to hair); whether she was the daughter of Languoreth is not mentioned specifically (although a son is specifically attributed to her). Based on Rhydderch's assigned date, she would presumably belong roughly to the late-mid 6th century.

Excluding individuals with purely legendary connections, she appears to be the earliest known instance of the name Angharad, although Bartrum (WCD) lists a near explosion of women with the name in the 9-10th century, and it was extremely popular in the later medieval period.

Textual Sources

Angharat Ton Velen — Peniarth Ms. 47
The earliest example of the name itself that I can locate is:
hancarate (a Latin genitive — the root would be <hancarat>) — in a ca. 9th c. marginal note in the Book of Chad (Jackson LHEB)

Linguistic Analysis

This name is generally agreed to derive from an intensive prefix <an> plus an element based on the root <car> "love", with a composite meaning "well-loved". Taking this derivation as accurate, the 9th c. form in the Book of Chad seems likely to be good for the late-mid 6th c. as well: <Ancarata>, pronounced something like [aN-'kar-ad] or, in English syllables, "ang-KAHR-ahd". (Normally, we'd expect the accent at this date to fall on the first syllable, but here the first syllable is a grammatical prefix that would likely not take the primary accent.

GWLADUS (standardized modern form)

A late addition to the "Hanesyn Hen" genealogical tract, appearing in only a few versions of it, mentions another daughter of Rhydderch Hael named Gwladus, who presumably would have a similar calculated date to her sister, i.e. late-mid 6th c.

Textual Sources

<Gladus> - Cardiff Ms. 25, 1640
<Wladvs> - Peniarth Ms. 129, ca. 1500 (and other mss. of later date)

Given the late date at which this was inserted into an existing tract, the historic reliability is uncertain. Bartrum (WCD), however, lists other women with this name of a similar era. Among the "core group" of Brychan Brycheiniog's children (ca. late 5th c.) is a Gwladus, mentioned variously as:

<Gladus> - De Situ Brecheniauc (Cotton ms. Vespasian A xiv, fos. 10v-11v (ca. 1200) text perhaps a century earlier
<Gluadus> - Cognacio Brychan (Cotton MS. Domitian I, fox. 157v-158v) ms. dated 1502-55, copied from a ms poss of the 13th c. (presumably a scribal error for <Guladus>
<Gwladus> - JC MS 20 written late 14th c., copied from ms ca. 1200
<Gwladvs> - Plant Brychan

In addition, Llywarch Hen is said to have had a daughter by this name, but she appears only in a late addition to his material (ca. 1600) (Bartrum EWGT).

Linguistic Analysis

Although the name Gwladus is sometimes equated with Latin Claudia, there is unlikely to be any linguistic connection. Rather we should look for connections with the element <gwlad> "land, country" in other personal names, perhaps including the feminine name <Gwledyr>, as well as common nouns such as <gwledig> "ruler" etc. The most simple analysis of Gwladus would suffix this root with an adjectival ending <-us> (originally occurring in borrowings from Latin with <-osus>, but then reanalyzed as a productive suffix in Welsh), alternatively there is later evidence for <-ws> as a diminutive suffix and the early forms with <u> would be consistent with this, although later retention of <u> argues against it.

If we accept the derivation from <gwlad> and the adjectival suffix, then we can postulate a mid 6th century Latinized written form <Vlatusa> and a spoken form something like ['ul-ad-us] or, in English syllables, "OOL-ahd-oos".

DWYWAI (standardized modern form)

The poem *Y Gododdin* includes a reference to "the son of Dwywai" in a context where it has been interpreted as a metronym for the poet Aneirin (Williams 1990, Koch 1997). This Dwywai has also been associated with Dwywai, daughter of Lleenog, mother of Saint Deiniol, and sister of Gwallog the king of Elmet. On a chronological basis, this equation is certainly plausible, with both women having a calculated date ca. 500. Whether or not it is historically true, both women clearly have northern associations.

Textual Sources

<Dwywei> — the B1 text of the Book of Aneirin (while the text itself was probably composed around the 7th century, the spellings reflect a more recent revision, perhaps as late as the 11th century)

<Dwywei> — Bonedd y Seint (Bartrum EWGT), mss. dating to the 13th c. and later

Linguistic Analysis

Koch (1997) discusses this name in detail, deriving it from a Brittonic root meaning "god", although he notes that the name could have arisen either in the context of a pre-Christian tradition (from *Deweia "Goddess-like") or a Christian tradition (with a meaning along the lines of "belonging to God"). He reconstructs a Primitive Welsh form <Deue>, representing a pronunciation ['de-we]. This would suggest a plausible 6th c. Latinized written form along the lines of <Deuea>. In English syllables, the pronunciation would be something like "DAY-way".

ONNEN GREG (standardized modern form)

In one genealogical source, Gwallog ap Lleenog (the brother of Dwywai above) is given a daughter Onnen Greg. This would presumably give her a calculated date ca. 520. Some modern writers have interpreted the two elements as a single name "Onnengreg" while others have interpreted it as a given name and byname.

Textual Sources

<Onnen grec uerch Wallawc> - Bonedd y Seint (Bartrum EWGT), from one 14th c. and some later mss (plus other, more corrupt, variants)

Linguistic Analysis

If the second part is taken as a byname and interpreted straightforwardly, it would be a lenited form of <creg>, the feminine form of <cryg>, an adjective meaning "hoarse, stammering". This is found as a byname in various records of the 13-15th century. The GPC doesn't offer a derivation of the word, but a straightforward interpretation based on the vowel alternation in the masculine and feminine forms would derive it from Brittonic *cricos / *crica. This would produce an early 6th century *crec. In the radical form, this would likely show up as a Latinized written form <Creca> with a pronunciation along the lines of ['krEg-@], or in English syllbles, "KREG-eh". At this period, the word would be lenited as a feminine byname, but this lenition would not normally be reflected in the written form. So, used as a woman's byname, the written form would still be <Creca> but the pronunciation would be ['grEg-@], or "GREG-eh".

The transparent interpretation of the given name as being identical to the common noun <onnen> "ash tree" seems a bit less likely on a logical basis, but provides the only avenue for pursuing a reconstructed form. The tree name derives from the Celtic root *onno- (found, for example, as Gaulish <onno>) which occurs in Welsh as a plural <onn> "ash trees". The suffix <-en> creates a singular form. I haven't yet been able to track down a discussion of the historic derivation of the singulative suffixes <-en> (feminine) and <-yn> (masculine), but their forms suggest evolution from Brittonic *-ina and *-inos respectively. This would suggest reconstructing a Latinized written form <Onnena> and a pronuncia-

tion along the lines of ['on-En-@], or in English syllables "OHN-en-eh" (although the final syllable would be nearly entirely lost at this point).

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Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

The idea for this paper gelled when there was a discussion on the medieval historians' mailing list, Mediev-L, about differences in how men's and women's names were recorded in a particular English tax roll. I added some similar evidence I'd noticed in Welsh records and filed the discussion away for future reference. Then I attended my first medieval studies conference at Kalamazoo in 2001 and fell in with the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship (as well as falling in with the clothing and textiles scholars of DISTAFF, but that's another story). And when they organized a session for 2002 entitled "Chicks in Charters" (a deliberate take-off on Esther Friesner's fantasy "Chicks" anthologies – don't anybody tell you that feminists have no sense of humor!) focusing on the lives of women as recorded in legal documents, I sent off a proposal for this paper and was accepted. Since that time, I included it in Y Camamseriad *volume 5 (2004).*

Filiae & Meibion

Differential Latinization of women's and men's relationships in medieval Welsh legal records

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Legal records from Wales dating from the 13th through 15th centuries are primarily in Latin, but the personal names and identifications in the documents include varying amounts of vernacular languages, primarily Welsh. Certain overall patterns are seen in the distribution of vernacular elements. One of the most striking of these is the differential use of Welsh and Latin words to identify relationships in personal names and identifying phrases — and the most common relationship indicated is patronymic: that is, who the individual's father was.. In these records, men's patronyms are overwhelmingly marked by the Welsh word for "son" (*ap*) while, even more overwhelmingly, women's patronyms are marked by the Latin word for "daughter" (*filia*). Having observed this pattern, the question is: why? Are there enough clues in these documents in the use of language to propose some reasonable interpretation for this difference?

Table 1 shows some typical data of the type I am working with.

The data for my analysis is taken from a variety of name-rich legal documents of the 13 through15th centuries, including tax rolls such as the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1292-3, various rental surveys, and records of court cases. The full list of sources is found in the bibliography in the handout.

Although I had noticed this pattern of differential Latinization previously, the idea for this paper came from a discussion on the MEDIEV-L e-mail list sparked by some similar data from the Yorkshire Poll Tax of 1379 that David Postles was examining. This same pattern appeared, only with English as the vernacular instead of Welsh: women's relationships appear significantly more commonly in Latin, men's relationships in the vernacular. (Unfortunately, I wasn't able to check with Dr. Postles about using his numbers, but his chi-square test results were very impressive.) I've drawn some comparative material from the Yorkshire Poll Tax — specifically from the Strafford data — and have used it to help explore some of the possible explanations.

Table 1 - Sample data from Abergavenny Las Subsidy Roll 1292

Eua uxor David ap Rosser	UXOR Latin "wife"
Anable Wreyg Louarch	WREIG Welsh "wife"
Perwere fil[ia] Willim ap Wast[eilo]	FILIA Latin "daughter"
Morenueyr ver[ch] Willim	VERCH Welsh "daughter"
Adam fil[ius] John	FILIUS Latin "son"
Lewelin ap Wilim	AP Welsh "son"

One of the key factors in the question at hand is the perennial tension between proper names and personal descriptions. Welsh names at this time stand far closer to the "description" end of the scale than modern names. It is a valid generalization that Welsh society at this period used nothing resembling fixed surnames, nor is there any concept that would correspond to married surnames for women. The ways in which people are identified are, in a real sense, individual and ad hoc, even though they operate within a regular system of identification strategies. These personal identifications consist of some combination of relatively arbitrary labels, relatively descriptive elements, and elements falling somewhere between the two. On the arbitrary end, we have forenames — which have no analyzable descriptive meaning. On the descriptive end, we have patronyms, descriptions of the place of residence and so forth. Falling in between we might have nicknames describing some personal quirk or characteristic — bynames that are understood as meaningful, but have become associated with a particular individual by a relatively arbitrary process.

One problem with analyzing the pattern of Latin and vernacular relationships on more than an anecdotal basis is the relatively small number of women who appear in these records. The raw numbers can be found in table 2, with percentages calculated for various types of relationships in table 3. As you can see, individual male and female populations may break the overall pattern, but both in terms of individual populations, and in terms of the overall summary, the pattern is clear.

Table 2 - Raw Data on Relationship Markers

	SON		DAUGHTER		BROTHER		SISTER	WIFE				SERVANT	
Document	AP	FILIUS	VERCH	FILIA	BRAWD	FRATER	SOROR*	GWRAIG	UXOR	RELICTA	VIDUA	m.*	f.*
Abergavenny 1256	57	5	-	4	-	-	-	1	8	-	-	-	-
Bonds/Peace 1283	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abergavenny 1292	362	20	27	3	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-
Cilgerran 1292	91	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Grossmont 1292	55	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Lleyn 1292	105	2	-	6	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
Merioneth 1292	1385	48	-	143	1	3	2	-	74	11	3	-	-
Monmouth 1292	92	51	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Nevyn 1292	43	2	-	7	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
Skenefrith 1292	50	12	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Whitecastle 1292	86	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Bonds/Peace 1295	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhuthin 1295	109	7	1	4	-	7	1	-	21	2	-	1	4
Bromfield 1315	709	13	-	6	-	96	-	-	5	-	-	2	-
Lleyn 1318	42	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-
Ardudwy 1325	114	3	-	6	-	1	2	-	3	-	-	-	-
Mawddwy 1415	171	1	9	3	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Broniarth 1429	566	2	-	9	-	9	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
All	4083	232	37	214	1	117	6	2	132	25	3	4	4

* No Welsh forms occur

Table 3 - Percentage Welsh vs. Latin

□	SON	□	DAUGHTER		BROTHER		SISTER	WIFE/WIDOW		SERVANT:	
Document	Welsh	Latin	Welsh	Latin	Welsh	Latin	Latin*	Welsh	Latin	Male*	Female*
Abergavenny 1256	92	8	-	*100*	-	-	-	*11*	*89*	-	-
Bonds/Peace 1283	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abergavenny 1292	95	5	90	10	-	-	-	*17*	*83*	-	-
Cilgerran 1292	100	-	-	*100*	-	-	-	-	*100*	-	-
Grossmont 1292	69	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	*100*	-	-
Lleyn 1292	98	2	-	*100*	-	-	-	-	*100*	-	-
Merioneth 1292	97	3	-	100	*25*	*75*	*100*	-	*100*	-	-
Monmouth 1292	64	36	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	*100*	-
Nevyn 1292	96	4	-	*100*	-	-	-	-	*100*	-	-
Skenefrith 1292	81	19	-	***100***	-	-	-	-	*100*	-	-
Whitecastle 1292	99	1	-	***100***	-	-	-	-	*100*	-	-
Bonds/Peace 1295	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhuthin 1295	94	6	20	*80*	-	*100*	*100*	-	*100*	*100*	*100*
Bromfield 1315	98	2	-	*100*	-	100	-	-	*100*	*100*	-
Lleyn 1318	100	-	-	*100*	-	-	-	-	*100*	-	-
Ardudwy 1325	97	3	-	*100*	-	*100*	*100*	-	*100*	-	-
Mawddwy 1415	99	1	75	25	-	*100*	*100*	-	*100*	-	-
Broniarth 1429	99.6	0.4	-	*100*	-	*100*	-	-	*100*	-	-
□		□		□		□	□		□		
All	95	5	11	89	1	99	100	1	99	*100*	*100*

* No Welsh forms occur

Italicized numbers indicate N < 10

Of the 18 populations studied, all contained at least 10 men's names with patronyms. Only one of these had a majority of Latin markers, and in that document all patronyms were marked with Latin. In the rest of the populations, the majority of patronyms were marked with Welsh, and, in fact, in all but three populations, Welsh was used in 90% or more of the patronyms. The three exceptions (with 64 to 81% Welsh patronyms) were towns associated with Anglo-Norman fortifications in the south-east of Wales, and had significant non-Welsh populations, who would not be expected to use Welsh forms in patronyms. Overall, 95% of male patronyms were Welsh.

Fifteen of the populations included women's names with patronyms, with Latin predominating in thirteen of them. Twelve of these use only Latin, although most of them involve fairly small samples. Only three populations involve any Welsh markers at all, and in two of these Welsh predominates (although to a lesser degree than their respective male populations). This suggests that, when the vernacular is used at all for women's relationships, there may be as much pressure to use it extensively as for men's names, and that the overall pattern of Latin derives from an avoidance of the vernacular altogether, not simply a relative dispreference for it. Overall, 89% of women's patronyms are in Latin.

Only two other types of relationships have any vernacular examples. The examples of "brother" are too few for serious analysis. Marital relationships occur only for women (whether meaning "wife" or "widow"). Vernacular forms are extremely rare — only 1% of the total for all populations. And the only populations that have significant numbers of marital relationships use Latin in all cases. The other two types of relationships present — sisters and servants — are extremely rare and are found only in Latin.

So, while the latinization of daughters and wives is not an absolute rule, there is a clear pattern present that begs for explanation.

Context of the problem

A variety of factors affect the relative proportions of Latin and Welsh in documents of this period. The most significant is the genre: legal and administrative records lean heavily to the Latin side, chronicles and

religious literature use both languages, secular literature leans more heavily to the vernacular side. In the legal material studied here, we might then expect Latin relationship markers to be the default, and the presence of Welsh markers at all to be the factor that needs explanation.

Within a particular genre, the personal preference of some key individual in the recording process may result in one choice of language or another. For example, the Bonds for Peace records consist of two separate lists of the same individuals: one dated in 1283 and the other 1295. In the first, all relationship markers are given in Latin, in the second, all are in Welsh.

Several factors involve considerations about the context in which the data was collected: in what form were the names presented to the recorder? What proportion of the information depended on self-reporting and what proportion makes reference to common community knowledge (for example, about parentage, occupation, and so forth)? How comfortable were the recorders with the Welsh language? How accessible would the meanings of self-reported name elements be for potential translation? How would the linguistic background of the bearer affect how the name was reported?

Most of these factors would apply equally, in any given situation, to men and women. One potential exception is the possibility of different access to self-reporting of names — for example, whether one gender might be more likely to have intermediaries in the reporting process. Some of the common factors that can lead to differential naming practices between men and women are not relevant here. One member of a married couple does not assume the other's name. Both men and women are identified extremely commonly in terms of familial relationships to other individuals, even when their appearance in the record indicates a distinct legal existence (for example, that they are taxed separately, or named as a tenant). And while these relationships primarily refer to male relatives, there seems to be no logical reason why having a same-sex versus opposite-sex referent would affect the choice of language.

Non-relationships language issues

Given the problem — that men's relationships tend to be marked in Welsh and women's relationships in Latin — the most straightforward approach would be to ask if there are other places in the texts where Latin and Welsh are used differentially.

One such circumstance is so common that the significance may be overlooked. In a Latin document, when the referent of a relationship is grammatical — for example if it is pronominal or includes references such as "the aforesaid so-and-so", rather than consisting solely of a personal name, the relationship marker is in Latin. When you have a reference such as "Efa his wife" or "David his son", the relationship is much more clearly in the realm of ordinary language rather than arbitrary naming, and the expression would naturally be expected to be in the language of the text. This may appear to be obvious, but it relates back to the question of names as opposed to descriptions. The relationships with grammatical referents are more clearly in the realm of descriptions.

While these more grammatical linguistic constructions are relatively rare in the type of Welsh document I studied, the phenomenon can be seen more clearly in the Strafford Poll Tax material from Yorkshire. Roughly 500 people are identified with a relationship marker referring to a personal name and both Latin and English markers are used in these (two-fifths using Latin, three-fifths using English). Over 2700 people have a relationship marker referring to some grammatical form, and all are in Latin.

In the Welsh records, we also find differential use of language choice in non-relationship bynames. These can be grouped roughly into locative bynames, occupational bynames, and personal nicknames, which consist primarily of adjectives and of compound nouns describing features of the body — although other types are present in small amounts. To re-emphasize, these are all "personal" bynames rather than something fixed and inherited or transferred from another individual. Table 4 shows the language distribution of these three types of bynames in five sample populations (the populations were chosen for size and, where possible, for the presence of significant numbers of women in the record). This analysis is complicated slightly by the presence of two different vernaculars, both Welsh and a combination of English and Norman French.

Table 4 - Non-patronymic Bynames, Raw Data

	Ruthin court records			Merioneth 1292			Bromfield (rural)			Bromfield (urban)			Abergavenny 1292			All		
Type of name	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W
Locative	159	23	-	12	-	6	1	-	-	72	2	-	21	-	-	265	25	6
Occupational	118	78	5	118	6	92	-	-	2	7	27	-	24	19	9	267	130	108
Personal Nicknames	5	61	78	2	4	777	-	1	45	1	13	3	2	28	111	10	107	1024□
Total all bynames	282	161	83	132	10	875	1	1	47	80	42	3	47	47	120	542	262	1138

Table 5 shows what percentage of each type of byname is found in each language.

Table 5 - Non-patronymic Bynames, Percentage by Language

	Ruthin court records			Merioneth 1292			Bromfield (rural)			Bromfield (urban)			Abergavenny 1292			All		
Type of name	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W	L	E/F	W
Locative	87	13	-	67	-	33	*100*	-	-	97	3	-	100	-	-	90	8	2
Occupational	59	39	2	55	3	43	-	-	*100*	31	79	-	46	37	17	53	26	21
Personal Nicknames	4	42	54	<1	1	99	-	2	98	6	76	18	1	20	79	1	9	90
Total all bynames	54	31	16	13	1	86	2	2	96	64	34	2	22	22	56	28	13	59

Italicized numbers indicate N < 10

Normalized

	Latin	E/F	Welsh
Locative	3.2	0.6	0.03
Occupational	1.2	2	0.4
Nicknames	0.04	0.7	1.5

Looking at the locative bynames, it is only possible to identify a clear language context when the byname occurs as a prepositional phrase, as the form of the name of the place itself typically remains stable across languages. (This loses us some of our distinction between Latin and French forms — which are distinguished primarily when a definite article is present.) Compared to the overall distributions of non-relational bynames between the languages, locative bynames are disproportionately non-Welsh and, across populations, are disproportionately non-vernacular (that is, in Latin).

Occupational bynames are also disproportionately non-Welsh, although to a smaller degree, but here the two vernaculars behave differently, and Anglo-French patterns with Latin, being disproportionately represented.

Personal nicknames, on the other hand, are disproportionately Welsh and very much non-Latin (with Anglo-French somewhat represented, but nowhere near as strongly as Welsh).

Considering only the Latin and Welsh ends of the scale, we see a cline from locative bynames on the Latin end, through occupational bynames, to personal nicknames on the Welsh end. This can be seen most easily in the coda to table 5 showing cumulative proportions, normalized to the total proportion of bynames in each language.

So relationship bynames are not the only type of element to show differences in language selection, but here gender is not the relevant factor. (Only 2% of the bynames occur for women and they follow the overall pattern set by men's bynames.)

These three types of bynames show another interesting pattern. When more than one type of byname occurs for the same person, the normal pattern is the order: <personal nickname> <occupational byname> <locative byname>. Table 6 shows the examples of multiple types of bynames in the populations for which bynames were studied. Although multiple non-patronymic bynames are relatively rare, there are enough examples to define a "typical" and a "non-typical" pattern for each pair of types — with they "typical" pattern appearing ten to twenty times more often than the alternative.

Table 6 - Ordering of different types of bynames

□	Typical pattern				Non-typical pattern	
□	NO	NL	OL	NOL	ON	LO
Merioneth 1292	2	4	2	-	-	-
Abergavenny 1292	1	-	-	-	-	-
Rhuthin 1295	-	8	11	-	-	1
Anglesey 1406	8	39	9	1	1	-
Bromfield 1315 (no multiple bynames)				□		

L = Locative Byname
O = Occupational Byname
N = Personal Nickname

Einion	goch	dailiwr	de	Eglwysayl
forename	Welsh:RED	Welsh:TAILOR	Latin: of	placename

Both of these patterns — choice of language and byname order — are demonstrated in the one name that uses all three types of bynames.

What significance might there be in a clear pattern of ordering for different types of name elements? It is a cross-linguistic pattern that the ordering of related lexical elements is iconic and that the proximity of one element to another reflects the semantic relationship between the elements. In the case of modifiers, all other things being equal, the closer a modifier stands to the word being modified, the more it indicates an inherent, defining property of the thing, rather than a superficial, temporary, or distinguishing property. For example, in the English phrase "three long red silk dresses", the specifications "silk" and only to a slightly lesster degree "red" are not mutable properties of the items being described, while the specification "three" is completely unrelated to the nature of the item (except that it's something countable) and "long", while descriptive, is a property that has only contextual understanding — unlike "red" or "silk" — and can be altered without changing the defined nature of the object. (This is the short version of a very complex topic.)

Applied to bynames, this principle suggests that properties such as size, coloring, or bodily features are more intrinsic to a person than occupation, and that occupation is more intrinsic in turn to place of residence. (Such an interpretation sounds logical, as well, but logic is often a dangerous guide to naming practices.)

Turning this interpretation around, bynames of location and occupation are more objectively descriptive and accessible: these attributes will be known in a community without the need for self-reporting.

The nature of the descriptive nicknames is more arbitrary — while each is presumably accurate in some fashion in description, the choice of what attribute to describe is arbitrary and unpredictable. Furthermore, if difficulties of language fluency entered into the recording process, the underlying meanings producing locative and occupational bynames would be more accessible to a non-Welsh-speaking recorder, while personal nicknames would be more opaque and more subject to being recorded phonetically as self-reported. (And — given the peculiar forms in which many of the Welsh personal nicknames were recorded — it is not unreasonable to believe that some of the recorders had very little knowledge of the Welsh language.)

This parallels the language issue. The more intrinsic and arbitrary an attribute is, the more likely it is to be recorded in the vernacular and to be located close to the forename; the less intrinsic it is, the more likely it is to be recorded in Latin and to be located further from the forename. The more potentially available an attribute is as common knowledge, the more likely it is to be in Latin; the less accessible it is, the more likely it is to be in Welsh.

In this context, forenames can be seen as the extreme in arbitrariness, intrinsicness, and inaccessibility. The forename is the element that most clearly defines the identity of the bearer, and is also the least likely to have any functional lexical meaning. One cannot know a person's forename without being told, while attributes such as occupation and residence can be determined, if necessary, by observation. Given this, it would be interesting to add an analysis of the Latinization of forenames to the mix, however the conditions in which given names may be partially or

wholy Latinized are more complex and cannot be considered here.

Can the preceding analysis be applied to relationship markers? It would be useful to be able to compare how more, and less, intrinsic relationships are treated: for example, genetic relationships versus employment relationships. Unfortunately, employment relationships are extremely rarely indicated in the Welsh data. In my data, only eight employment relationships are indicated — however all are marked with Latin. The Yorkshire data provides more scope for this question. In the Strafford data, 164 women and 190 men are identified as the servant of another individual (whether that individual is identified with a proper name or a grammatical reference). Female servants are marked in Latin in roughly the same proportion as daughters are: roughly 9 to 10 times more often than in the vernacular. Male servants, in contrast, are significantly more likely to be marked in Latin than sons are: servants 3.5 times as often as in the vernacular, and sons 1.3 times as often. The evidence is not uniform, then, but it lends support to the association of non-intrinsicness and Latin.

Summary

What, then, is the overall explanation? Consider the issue of accessibility, language fluency and self-reporting of names. Is it possible that women's relationships were more often given in Latin because a non-fluent recorder was less able to interpret the Welsh "ap" as meaning "son" than the Welsh "verch" as meaning "daughter"? The seems unlikely — furthermore, this would require an entirely different explanation for the Latinization of women's relationships in the Yorkshire records.

Is it possible, then, that men's identifications were more likely to be self-reported and recorded phonetically while women's identifications were more likely to be recorded from available community knowledge rather than from self-reporting? Possibly, but then we would require an entirely different explanation for the Latin forms of locative and occupational bynames. Were women's patronyms considered inherently less arbitrary and intrinsic than men's? On a linguistic level, this would appear to be a senseless question. Patronyms are, by nature, transparent rather than arbitrary, and this wouldn't change with gender, but would be expected in both cases to be marked in Latin. Conversely, parentage seems to be a relatively intrisic characteristic — but again, equally for men and women — and by the above analysis would be expected on that basis to be marked with the vernacular. On the basis of accessibility, we would again expect relationship markers to be in Latin.

In other words, based on a majority of criteria, women's patronyms are behaving "normally", and it is men's patronyms that are the marked case and require explanation. That explanation cannot be strictly linguistic — the linguistic factors would require Latin markers for men. Nor can it be strictly semantic. The distinction *may* derive from differences in how the names were collected, but if so there was also some conscious choice *not* to translate the reported forms of men's patronyms into Latin, when their meaning as patronyms was certainly accessible for translation. This brings us back to the conclusion that, in some essential way, men's patronyms were understood as belonging more to the class of arbitrary, intrinsic labels, while women's relationships belonged more to the class of accessible, transparent background information. Or, put another way, women were described while men were named.

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Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

I originally put this together in 1993 for a class and article when I was helping with the names submissions process for the West Kingdom College of Heralds. (The article was first published in the 1994 Heraldic Symposium proceedings.) The idea was to lay out some basic principles for how to structure name documentation: both in terms of supplying the relevant facts, and in how to present arguments that extrapolated from those facts. One heraldic friend of mine has claimed that this article was a major life-changing experience for him, but I think he exaggerates. The basic principles can be expanded to any sort of documentation with a little work.

How to Document a Name

(to within an inch of its life)

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This article attempts to present in text form the subject of a class that I have given on several occasions. It is still very much in the developmental stages and I anticipate putting out seriously revised editions of it at some point in the future. The only excuse I have for publishing it in this rough form at this time is that people have asked for it.

The contents of this book are solely the opinions of the author. It presents the approach to the contents and formatting of name documentation that I have attempted to implement as the name-documentation coordinator for the West Kingdom letters of intent.

I have tried, in this guide, to make as little reference as possible to the Rules for Submission in current, past, or potential future form. This system sets up a continuum of documentability from the names that could have been plucked out of a period document to those that are simply a string of random words or sounds. Where the Rules have chosen to place the acceptability cut-off has varied considerably over the years, and individual kingdoms may choose to adjust it for their own uses. Unless we decide to throw out the requirement that names strive for medieval authenticity altogether, this system should not go out of date.

THE THEORY

This system is meant to be an approach rather than a set of hard and fast rules. For some names this approach will work easily, leading you quickly and efficiently through the various aspects of documentation. For other names this approach will constantly lead you into apparent brick walls. You will find yourself incapable of fulfilling the questions it wants you to answer. The first major factor in whether the documentation is easy or impossible is your available resources. Even the most authentic name cannot be documented in a vacuum. The second major factor is the inherent authenticity of the name. Given sufficient books of the right type, a period name will be easy to document while a non-period name will still be next to impossible. One of the advantages to using an approach that documents the "pattern" of the name is that it leads the researcher into a study of those patterns and does not depend on a (usually untutored) "instinct" for which names are authentic in structure and which are not.

Some Terminology

In the process of constructing this system, I have had to invent some new terminology, and even invent (or at least introduce) some new concepts. In my own usage I have not always been entirely consistent in the past (although not, I hope, to the point of unclarity), and may not be so in the future. The following definitions will be consistent throughout this guide but cannot be assumed to have a validity outside of it.

Name - This may refer to the entire submission or to a specific element within it. The difference should be fairly obvious, but when the latter needs to be clearly specified I will use "name element". In this latter sense, a name refers to any word or set of words that forms a complete and independent concept. **Theodoric** is a name (element), **Theo-** is not. A very important part of this definition is that by "name (element)" I do not mean a specific spelling of the item, but rather an abstract "name-as-a-concept". By this definition, **Ellen**, **Elen**, **Elene**, **Elena**, **Ellyn**, and **Ellin** are all considered the same "name". Any one of them could be used when referring to "the name **Ellen**", although my usual practice is to use either the submitted spelling or the "standard" spelling when referring to a name.

Name Form or Name Spelling - This refers to the exact spelling in which a name is being considered.

Standard (Modern) Form or Spelling - This will be the form that is considered "correct" in modern usage. Usually an entry heading in a name book will use this form. There may be more than one standard form, as with **Anne** and **Ann**. Frequently the standard modern form of a name is also documentable as period. The only time this phrase should be invoked is when you have not been able to find a dated period example. (In some reference books, the standard modern form is all that will be available, see below in the discussion of sources.)

Name Pattern - This refers to the way in which the different name elements are put together, both the types of elements and how they are combined, and the use of non-name words: prepositions, articles, etc. "Pattern" can also be applied to a subunit of a name when discussing its internal structure especially in relation to a parallel example. E.g., **at Ashwood** has the same *pattern* as **at Oakley**, both sharing the general structure **at** <tree type> <geographical feature>.

Document vs. Justify - When I use the word "document", I mean that you can find the actual name, spelling, or construction that is under consideration. When I say "justify" I mean that you can logically argue that it fits into an existing pattern of documentable examples.

What you want to say

The actual text of the documentation involves a simple five-point questionnaire. The rest of the system involves the ways by which you can answer those questions.

What is the nature of each name element?

Start by coming up with a broad, generic definition of each element. **John Smith** might be <given name> <occupational byname>. **Ian MacDonald** could be <given name> <patronymic byname>. **Richard D'Acre** could be either <given name> <locative byname> or at a deeper level <given name> **de** <city name>. Start with a broad category. You will need a more detailed definition or formula only if you can't document the name element itself and need to justify it on the basis of parallel examples.

The "nature" of the element also involves language, nationality, and gender. Gender is particularly relevant to given names and to relational terms (**-son**, **Mac-**, **ferch**, etc.). It can also be relevant if a language has gendered forms of adjectives or occupational terms. Language and nationality are related but not identical concepts. Nationality is often a function of the specific spelling of a name. The name **John** occurs throughout Europe, but the spelling **John** is specifically English. (Note again our defined use of "name".) The spelling of a name may belong to more than one culture, in which case it is valid to call it either one. Pick the one that is most relevant to the whole name. The spelling **Isabella** was used in both Spain and Scotland but if you're going to document it as Spanish for **Isabella MacDonald** then you'll have to go through the further effort to demonstrate the use of Spanish given names with Scottish surnames.

Is the name (element) period?

Once you have a working definition of each name element, then you can start looking for documentation. The definition comes first because it guides you in your search. For each element, determine whether the name (or word) is period *in some form*. This first step doesn't require that you pin it down too closely, just that you discover how successful your documentation is likely to be. This and the previous stage of documentation are when even awful baby-name books can be useful. At the very least they may give you a culture, a language, and perhaps say things like "invented in the 1940's". Don't stop here, but it doesn't always hurt to start here. The name-as-a-concept idea is essential at this stage because we aren't worrying yet about matching the exact spelling. Figure out what the "standard form" is likely to be and look there.

Is the spelling period?

Now we worry about specific spellings. Can you find your spelling in the target culture? With what dates? (Don't just pick one date at random if there are several. Get an idea of the whole range of time when this spelling was used.) If you can't find what you

want in your target culture, can you find it in a related culture - one you have a hope of demonstrating compatibility with? (It doesn't do any good to document **Kira** as Russian if you plan to use it with a Basque byname.) Or can you interpolate the desired spelling from examples in the right time and place? (The techniques of interpolation are described below.)

Is the way that the parts are put together period?

Start with any name elements that consist of more than one word (**ap Rhys**, **von Falkenstein**, **with the Sword**). Do your examples document the *whole* phrase or only the primary word? If the latter, can you find parallel examples with the same underlying structure in an appropriate time and place? You needn't find **von Falkenstein** if you can find **von** <German castle name>. You needn't find **with the Sword** if you can find **with the** <tool or other everyday physical object>. This becomes particularly important when the element mixes languages or cultures. You won't likely have trouble documenting the phrase **ap Rhys**, but what if you want to use **ap Ælfred**? It might be considerably easier to find **ap** <Anglo-Saxon given name> than to hold out for finding **ap Ælfred** itself.

Finish by looking at the whole name; the types of elements, their combinations, their ordering. For example, all the elements of the name **Regenweald Acleah Beorhthram** are documentable as Anglo-Saxon. I can demonstrate the use of locative bynames (even with no preposition used) and of unmarked patronymics (i.e., using only a given name, such as **Beorhthram**). I can even demonstrate the use of the two types of bynames in combination. What I couldn't demonstrate was this particular order; every example followed the order <given name> <patronymic> <locative>. Again, culture can be an important consideration. If you have documented your given name as English and your surname as French, find an example for the appropriate time period with a similar combination. Ideally at this stage you will find an example of a whole name that is exactly parallel to the submission you are considering, only with different names and words plugged in. Less ideally you may have to settle for documenting various subsets without finding the whole pattern. For **John ap Dafydd Smith** you might have to settle for finding <English given name> **ap** <Welsh given name>; <Welsh given name> **ap** <Welsh given name> <Welsh occupational byname>; and <Welsh given name> <English occupational byname>.

Extra Credit: Can you postulate a time and a place where this name could have existed?

This is the acid test of a truly period name. From the documentation you have found, can you say, "This name *could* have existed in 15th century France." Or even more precisely, "This name *could* have existed in London in the first half of the 13th century." This is the goal we should be aiming for, although it can only occasionally be obtained (unless you're working backwards, constructing a name from elements that are documented from a particular time and place). This is the reason that you want to keep in mind the full range of times and places in which an element occurs, so that you can chose the ones that are most compatible with each other.

How you want to say it

As important as the information that you have discovered about the name is the manner in which you present it. Too often, valuable data is obscured by an unclear presentation. One common example of this problem is when documentation states, "X is a variant of Y which can be found in source Z." Now is X found in Z or is only Y found in Z? Or if you say, "According to Smith, a 6th century English king bore the name **Alfred**" the usefulness of this reference for dating the spelling **Alfred** to the 6th century can only be judged if we know what sort of book Smith is. A history book? A baby-name book? A transcript of 6th century English charters? It is also important to give *all* the relevant information you have found. If Withycombe says of X "the name of an Italian martyr of the 5th century, it did not come into use in England until the 19th century", then it would be extremely misleading to write as your documentation "Withycombe dates the name to the 5th century" thereby implying that Withycombe dates its use *in England* to that time. The three essential components to conveying information about a name are: say what you know; say what you don't know; say what you think.

Say what you know

What kind of book did you get your information from? What is the nature of its name examples? Does the book date specific spellings or only the name in general? How reliable is the book known to be? What exactly does it say about the name? What is the full context of the name example (if relevant)? This isn't the place for interpretations and opinions, just the facts.

Say what you <u>don't</u> know

What information does your source omit? Does it lack dates for specific spellings? Does it give only

standard modern forms? Does it neglect to note clearly the culture of a name form? Does it give a variety of dated spellings but fail to present any with some essential element that your submission contains? Are you using a modern dictionary to document a non-English word rather than one with dated examples? (This will, of course, be the norm.)

Say what you think

When you are unable to document the exact spelling or pattern of a name element or the name as a whole, then you need to present evidence why you believe it fits with period practice. The two major techniques for this are interpolation (postulating an item that falls within a demonstrated set of facts) and extrapolation (postulating an item that follows a demonstrated trend but falls outside of the demonstrated examples). Interpolation is most often applied to spelling variation. If the name **Bork** is found as **Borkk**, **Bork** and **Borcc**, then it is reasonable to postulate **Borc**. It falls within the demonstrated range of variation. Remember to pay attention to the dates of your examples. If **Borcc** is found in the 9th century, **Borkk** in the 12th century and **Bork** in the 16th, then it is entirely possible that there is a rule operating that says "c" changes to "k" sometime in the 10th century but double letters don't change to single ones until the Renaissance. In this case, **Borc** would not be particularly likely. My personal rule of thumb is to aim for a one-century span, both in this sort of analysis and in demonstrating compatibility of elements.

Extrapolation is most useful in doing pattern-matching exercises. Suppose you want to use **Stevenston** in a surname but can't find it as an actual place? If you can find town names such as **Johnston** and **Walterston** in period, then we can extrapolate to a general pattern of <post-Norman English given name>+**s**+**ton**. Beware of false etymologies when engaged in this exercise. What is important here is not what a name *looks* like it means but what it was originally *derived* from. **Coneythorpe** and **Congerston** might appear to support the use of animal names at the first element in place names but the first element in both cases was originally a word meaning "king". Extrapolation is a vitally important technique when documenting the pattern of a whole name. It would be silly to think that the only way to justify the pattern of **John Weaver of London** would be to find an example of the combination **John Weaver of London**! Instead we can substitute the name types from our original analysis and look for any name that fits the pattern <given name> <occupational byname> **of** <place name>, or even more specifically, <masculine English given name> <English occupation> **of** <English city name>.

THE PRACTICE

Sources and References

There is a large range of possible references for names, both the individual elements and the overall patterns. Different types have advantages and disadvantages. Often you find that the purpose of an author runs contrary to what you need from the book, as in history books where names have been carefully modernized and standardized. Transcripts of medieval documents can be the most reliable sources for specific spellings and name patterns ... and next to impossible to use due to problems of organization, indexing, and ignorance of the language.

Name books are the best organized for our purposes, needless to say. Not all name books are created equal, as we all know well. Very few books are of no use whatsoever. The only unredeemable books are those that give *mis*information. But it is vitally important to keep in mind a hierarchy of source usefulness. I have developed a classification system that has vague similarities to the nomenclature of "primary", "secondary", and "tertiary" sources. Because it doesn't correspond exactly to these notions, I have instead called them "Types I, II, and III".

Type I sources are those in which dated examples are presented as an exact transcription of the period source. The dated citations in Withycombe fall in this category as to those in Reaney's *Dictionary of British Surnames*. Ideally, this type of source gives you the whole name in which the element under consideration appears. Slightly less useful are those which list a source document rather than a date, forcing you to look up the era of the source. A number of the citations in Morgan & Morgan's *Welsh Surnames* are of this type.

Beware of documents that give a precise date but attach it to a standard modern form of the name. " Corrain & Maguire's *Irish Names* has a lot of this type of citation. History books are rife with it. These sources I call Type II. They can give you documentation for the historicity of the name-as-a-concept, but are useless for documenting a specific spelling. Into this category also fall discussions of culture-specific or other variants of names that do not have actual verbatim examples attached. The text discussions in Withycombe fall into this category. (There is no rule that says a book will have only one type of information in it.)

Type III books are those that do not discuss the historical usage of the name at all (or perhaps only by noting a language or culture). Most "baby-name"

books are of this type. These books can sometimes give you useful information, such as pointing toward a language to search, but should only be used as "documentation" if absolutely nothing else is available. The nature of the book should be clearly noted when citing it. For some obscure languages this may be the only type of book available, but there is rarely any excuse for using them for English names.

If your name has non-name words or phrases in it, then you will most likely need the assistance of a dictionary. The ideal dictionary is one that, like the *Oxford English Dictionary* has dated examples of usage and spelling. For languages other than English, however, references of this sort may be impossible to find. If you are using a modern dictionary, note that fact. Remember that a dictionary in the hands of an amateur can be a disaster. At the very least, have one that goes both ways. When you look up the English word X and find A, B, and C as possible translations, go look up A, B, and C and see what they translate back as. See how related words are translated. No matter what you come up with, include a description of what the submitter *wants* it to say or *thinks* it says. For most languages, you'll need a grammar as well as a dictionary. The best kind is what is called a descriptive grammar; it arranges information in a systematic format and is intended as a reference. Slightly less useful are instruction books that are intended to teach the language to beginners. Often it is hard to track down specific information in these. The aspects of grammar that most often need adjustment have to do with the gender and number of nouns and their associated adjectives and articles, the case required by prepositions or by the function of a word (such as a possessive), and the order in which various elements normally occur. As with dictionaries, a historical grammar is better than a modern one, but as with dictionaries it is often impossible to find. Don't forget extrapolation as a tool: if you can find a parallel example already as part of a name, half your work is done. If you aren't up to dealing with foreign languages yourself, it is imperative that you include the intended meaning, the intended language (be specific - "Gaelic" could be any one of three languages), and all the information you have been given on the parts that you have. Then cross your fingers and hope that someone further up the line can deal with it. Remember: *say what you don't know!*

History books are the classic Type II source. Names have almost always been modernized and nicknames are usually translated into the language of the book. They are useful for placing a name in a general era but very unreliable for dating specific spellings of elements. Beware also of nicknames that may be of later invention.

Period literature and documents cover a whole range of types. They may be fictional tales written in period or legal documents. They may be scholarly, precise transcripts of the original document complete with abbreviations and original corrections or modern translations complete with modernized names. A scholarly treatment will generally tell you in the introduction what sort of editing has been done. A version that has no explanatory introduction - especially if it isn't in the original language - should be treated as a Type II source. Unless documents of this sort are very well indexed, they are generally not helpful when documenting a submitted name. They are, however, a treasure trove of material for pure research.

Types of Name Elements and How to Document Them

Different types of name elements have different documentation needs and the same books will not serve for all of them. As with the hierarchy of source types, I have developed a hierarchy of likely sources for particular types of elements.

Given Names - The obvious place to start looking for a given name is in a book specializing in given names. For early examples of given names, general surname books can also be useful. Entries for a patronymic surname often show examples of the root as a given name. Type I surname books also often have citations of whole names, although this is not particularly useful unless someone has indexed the given names that appear. History and literature are generally most useful if you recognize the name or have been given a clue where it appears. While given names often appear as part of place names, this is a rather bad place to try to document given names. The names have generally been altered seriously in the process of compounding and the best you are likely to find is the author's stab at what the standard form of the original would be.

Descriptive bynames - For descriptive bynames, the first place to look is a book generally specializing in surnames. This will be most useful for epithets that were popular enough to survive as hereditary surnames. These tended to be short and fairly simple. But many types of epithets never settled into permanent respectability and will not appear in a book that is working backward from modern surnames. You won't find **Outwitheswerd** in your average surname book and will need to look in one of the more specialized books that trace the development of particular types of surnames. Medieval literature often has examples of "non-typical" descriptive bynames, although these do not always show everyday practice. When all else fails, pull out your dictionary and

try to demonstrate that the word or words you are using are period in the sense you mean.

Occupational bynames - Many occupational bynames will be found in the general surname books. The technique of extrapolation works well on these too, for the existence of so many surnames derived from occupations suggests that almost any occupation *could* produce a surname. The trick is to find what that occupation would have been called *in period* and not be tripped up by modern constructions and idioms.

Locative bynames - The documentation of locative bynames is usually a two-step process. First, find a pattern for the structure of the locative phrase in your target language: does it use a preposition? a definite article? does the place have a proper name or is it a generic description? Second, document the place name itself or the words used to describe it. Surname books that show historical development will often show early forms before the prepositions were dropped. *Be very wary of selecting your prepositions from a dictionary!* The structure of locative bynames is often idiomatic and by far the best method is to find an existing byname to use as a pattern. A language might well never use a byname of the form **from X** and instead use something like **X-er**. When documenting the name of the place itself you are, as usual, concerned with placing both the name and the spelling in a particular period. Atlases and history books are useful, but they don't always remark on the changes that a name has undergone. You might find a book that says "the city of Chester dates to the time of the Roman occupation" and never mentions that it was called **Deva** at that time, **Legaceaster** for several more centuries, and didn't become anything resembling **Chester** until at least the 11th century. Stick to type I sources if you want to discuss spelling. Books studying the placenames of a particular region are perhaps the most common of the specialized name books.

Patronymic (or "relational") bynames - As with locative bynames, the documentation of patronymics is often a two-step process, first demonstrating the structure and then documenting the elements. Surname books are a good place to find structures. After that use the same sources mentioned above for given names.

Name "patterns" or The Whole Shebang

About the only kind of book that is useful for documenting whole-name patterns is a type I source with whole-name examples. Type I surname books are very useful, but mostly for names with only one byname. The author usually has a great many examples of a particular name from which to select, and picks those with the least extraneous "noise". Transcripts of period documents are often a better source, when available. The information you want is equally hard to find in all sources, and the period documents tend to have a greater range of name patterns demonstrated. (Tax and court rolls are especially useful.) It would be nice if any of the easily available name books actually considered the question of name patterns, but it seems to be a relatively unexplored field. Not every language or culture has whole-name examples easily available.

Here's a checklist for looking at the name pattern:

* Have you documented or justified the "little words", the articles and prepositions and whatnot?
* Have you documented them from *names* or from the dictionary?
* Have you demonstrated that they are used in a grammatically correct fashion?
* Is each phrase internally consistent as to language (or of a documentable combination of languages) and correct for that language?
* Can you document or justify each of the elements as appearing in a name?
* Can you document or justify all of them appearing in the same name?
* Can you document the order in which the elements are arranged?

"Temporal Consistency"

The question of temporal consistency - locating the elements of a name within a particular time span as well as within a particular culture - is one that many people find daunting. I maintain that people find it daunting only because the question is given so little consideration by submitters when they compose their names. It is very hard to fault them when most available books consider the subject of little importance. A submitter will read that Alfred was a 9th century Anglo-Saxon king and that Shrewsbury was an important Anglo-Saxon town in the 9th century and he will be justified in concluding that **Alfred of Shrewsbury** is a reasonable 9th century Anglo-Saxon name. And it's a name he and his friends can get their mouths around fairly easily. Then some herald comes along and says that it wasn't spelled **Shrewsbury** until the 15th century by which time **Alfred** had passed entirely out of favor not to return until the 18th century, and by the way, what does he think of ***Ælfræd æt Scropesbyri***?

But as with any other aspect of this system of name documentation, the more "real" a name is, the easier it is to document or justify temporal consistency. The

bane of consistency is submitters who pull elements from wildly varying cultures - thereby forcing you to postulate a fairly late date when cultural mixing was greatest - and yet want fairly freeform descriptive bynames, ones incompatible with an era when fixed surnames were the rule. Submitters who are stuck on a particular "exotic" spelling of a name also make the job harder, for often a minor adjustment to spelling can pull the elements of a name into the same decade, to say nothing of our rule-of-thumb century. Often the best you can do is to date the different elements as close to each other as possible, and if the gap is still fairly large, acknowledge that you are aware of the fact.

Our ability to demonstrate temporal consistency either of the elements in a name or of their spellings is entirely dependent upon the books available. For English names we have good enough resources available that we could probably get away with *requiring* complete temporal consistency. For, let's say, Turkish names we'd be lucky to be able to prove that they are correct modern Turkish.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND PHOTOCOPIED DOCUMENTATION

Once you have assessed your references and found your citations, you need to convey that information to whoever reads your documentation. The absolutely basic-basic level of citation is a page number and a bibliographic reference. There are a number of "correct" formats for bibliographies, but it needs to include at a minimum the title, author, publisher, place of publication, and date of publication (*not* date of copyright, if they are different). Sometimes an edition number is also helpful. I've started including ISBN numbers in some of my bibliographies in case my readers want to try to track down and buy a copy of the book.

If the book is one of the references commonly used in the College, the previous information is all you should need to give. If you think that others may not be familiar with the book - and especially if the title doesn't give a clear indication of its contents - that some sort of brief description can help your readers assess its reliability. A statement such as "Although no dates are specifically mentioned, Gnrrz is a study of the nicknames borne by red-heads in 13th and 14th century Moscow and environs" is a lot more helpful than "p.26 Gnrrz, *Reds in Russia*".

If your bibliographical information is complete, you should not need to include a photocopy of the title page of the book in your documentation (in fact, the title page is usually missing vital information), but if you are uncertain how to interpret the information (Which one of these things in Finnish is the publisher?) then include both the title page *and* the following page - where the printing information is usually found. When you photocopy a page for documentation, *write the author and/or title on the photocopy*. Not all books have this information on headers or footers and the interpretation of documentation should not be a guessing game.

Ideally, any page of any book that is mentioned in your documentation should be photocopied. I will freely admit that I don't go to this length. Conversely, some will argue that it is unnecessary photocopy anything as long as it has been cited properly. And if people were careful and rigorous in their citations this would be true, but I can give you hundreds of examples of citations of documentation where the original didn't really say what the citation implied. A middle ground is to say that it's unnecessary to copy from books that the Laurel office owns, on the assumption that Laurel can look it up if so inclined. I look from a different angle, considering that if I were Laurel I couldn't afford to run off to the bookshelf every time I wanted to double-check documentation from Withycombe.

I try to include the following three types of information. 1) Copies of the citations for all elements that are directly documented, i.e, where I found exactly what I was looking for. 2) Copies of the citation for the *closest* form when I have had to interpolate or extrapolate the submitted form. 3) Copies of everything that is even remotely relevant when I believe that I am out of my depth on an interpretation, or when I am dealing with an unfamiliar language.

At this time, I photocopy documentation for the name elements, but do not do so for whole-name patterns. If at some time in the future the documentation of name patterns becomes a required element, then I would include photocopies of this also. The one book that I *never* photocopy documentation from is the OED. I use the compact edition and have not found a photocopier with the resolution to make it worth while.

Following are some examples of actual name documentation that I have prepared (with the help of other researchers) for West Kingdom letters of intent. They show how I have handled names of varying levels of documentability and authenticity.

Examples

AN ALMOST PERFECT EXAMPLE

Theophania Hathaway of Sutton in the Elms

New name.

Theophania is a feminine English given name. The submitted spelling is dated in Withycombe (p.278 under Theophania) to 1205.

Hathaway is an English patronymic surname (deriving originally from an Anglo-Saxon given name). Reaney (DES) (p.220) lists the submitted spelling as the main heading although the closest dated form is *Hathewy* (1294).

Sutton in the Elms is a town in Leicestershire (Ekwall p.454). Although the dated examples there have it only as *Sutton* (1220), another similarly modified town, *Sutton in le Colfeld* is dated to 1289 showing the pattern to be period.

Although in the Middle English period locatives most often used French *de*, occasional examples with *of* can be found, such *as John Elwrun of Antyngham* (Selten v.II p.19) dated to 1302, which documents the whole pattern of the name as *Elwrun* is also a patronymic surname derived from a simple given name.

ANALYSIS

What you want to say ...

What is the nature of each name element?

Theophania is a feminine English given name. ... Withycombe ... p.278

Hathaway is an English patronymic surname (deriving originally from an Anglo-Saxon given name). ... Reaney (DES) (p.220)

Sutton in the Elms is a town in Leicestershire (Ekwall p.454).

Are the names and spellings period?

The submitted spelling [of **Theophania**] is dated in Withycombe (p.278 under **Theophania**) to 1205.

Reaney (DES) (p.220) lists the submitted spelling [of **Hathaway**] as the main heading although the closest dated form is **Hathewy** (1294).

Although the dated examples there [of **Sutton in the Elms**] have it only as **Sutton** (1220), another similarly modified town, **Sutton in le Colfeld** is dated to 1289 showing the pattern to be period.

Is the way that the parts are put together period?

Although the dated examples there [of **Sutton in the Elms**] have it only as **Sutton** (1220), another similarly modified town, **Sutton in le Colfeld** is dated to 1289 showing the pattern to be period.

Although in the Middle English period locatives most often used French **de**, occasional examples with **of** can be found, such as **John Elwrun of Antyngham** (Selten v.II p.19) dated to 1302, which documents the whole pattern of the name as **Elwrun** is also a patronymic surname derived from a simple given name.

Extra Credit: Can you postulate a time and a place where this name could have existed?

Theophania is ... English ... dated ... to 1205.

Hathaway is ... English ... the closest dated form is **Hathewy** (1294).

Sutton in the Elms is a town in Leicestershire [England] ... dated ... as **Sutton** [in] 1220 ... [and is similar to] **Sutton in le Colfeld** ... dated to 1289 ....

How you want to say it

Say what you know.

Sutton in the Elms is a town in Leicestershire (Ekwall p.454).

Another similarly modified town, **Sutton in le Colfeld** is dated to 1289.

Say what you don't know.

The dated examples there have it only as **Sutton** (1220). [I.e., there is no dated example of the submitted form.]

Say what you think.

Another similarly modified town shows the pattern to be period.

A BIT MORE WORK

Angus Ian McDougel

Name resubmission to kingdom. The previous submission, **Angus MacDougel**, was returned at kingdom (5/10/92) for conflict with the registered **Angus MacDougall**.

Angus is an Anglicized form of a masculine Gaelic given name. Black (pp.23-4 under **Angus** and **Angusson**) dates the submitted spelling to 1204 and 1630 (which presumably makes it reasonable for the entire period between).

Ian is an Anglicized form of the masculine Gaelic given name **Iain** (= **John**). The closest dated form in Black is in the patronymic surname **M'Ean** (=**MacIan**

1538 p.510 under **MacIan**) however the submitted spelling is a standard modern form.

McDougel is a Scottish Gaelic patronymic surname (standard modern form **MacDhughaill**). The submitted form may be interpolated from the following examples in Black (pp.487-8 under **MacDoual** and **MacDougal**, variants of the same name): **Mcduwell** (1515), **M'Douell** (1547), **M'Dougall** (1647).

The pattern of the name is justifiable if you consider **Ian** to be acting as a patronymic surname. Rarely, a bare given name may be found as a surname as in **Thomas Nevin** (1538), Black p.630. Although the second generation of patronymics usually aspirates (to **Mhic**), contrary examples may be found, such as **Ferquhardus McOwne McArchare** (1537) on p.490 of Black.

THE ANALYSIS

What you want to say.

What is the nature of each name element?

Angus is an Anglicized form of a masculine Gaelic given name.

Ian is an Anglicized form of the masculine Gaelic given name **Iain** (= **John**).

McDougel is a Scottish Gaelic patronymic surname.

Is the name period?

Black (pp.23-4 under **Angus** and **Angusson**) dates the submitted spelling to 1204 and 1630 (which presumably makes it reasonable for the entire period between).

The closest dated form [to **Ian**] in Black is in the patronymic surname **M'Ean** (=**MacIan** 1538 p.510 under **MacIan**).

... the following examples in Black (pp.487-8 under **MacDoual** and **MacDougal**, variants of the same name): **Mcduwell** (1515), **M'Douell** (1547), **M'Dougall** (1647).

Is the spelling period?

Black (pp.23-4 under **Angus** and **Angusson**) dates the submitted spelling to 1204 and 1630 (which presumably makes it reasonable for the entire period between). [I.e., yes.]

The closest dated form in Black is in the patronymic surname **M'Ean** (=**MacIan** 1538 p.510 under **MacIan**) however the submitted spelling is a standard modern form. [I.e., not as far as I can tell.]

The submitted form may be interpolated from the following examples in Black (pp.487-8 under **MacDoual** and **MacDougal**, variants of the same name): **Mcduwell** (1515), **M'Douell** (1547), **M'Dougall** (1647). [I.e., possibly.]

Is the way that the parts are put together period?

The pattern of the name is justifiable if you consider **Ian** to be acting as a patronymic surname. Rarely, a bare given name may be found as a surname as in **Thomas Nevin** (1538), Black p.630. Although the second generation of patronymics usually aspirates (to **Mhic**), contrary examples may be found, such as **Ferquhardus McOwne McArchare** (1537) on p.490 of Black. [I.e., I can't demonstrate this actual pattern, but parallel examples suggest it may be plausible.]

Extra Credit: Can you postulate a time and a place where this name could have existed?

Not without a dated example of **Ian**.

How you want to say it.

Say what you know.

McDougel is a Scottish Gaelic patronymic surname (standard modern form **MacDhughaill**).

The following examples occur in Black (pp.487-8 under **MacDoual** and **MacDougal**, variants of the same name): **Mcduwell** (1515), **M'Douell** (1547), **M'Dougall** (1647).

Say what you don't know.

[Although not explicitly stated, I imply that I have no dated period example of the submitted spelling.]

Say what you think.

The submitted form may be interpolated from the examples in Black.

The Interpolation

You want the various points from which you interpolate to occur in the same culture and roughly the same time period - say within the same 100-150 year span. Break your names/elements down into several variable regions.

Mc	duw	-	**e**	ll	1515
M'	**Dou**	-	**e**	ll	1547
M'	**Dou**	**G**	a	ll	1647
Mac	Dou	-	a	**l**	modern
Mac	Dou	G	a	**l**	modern

There are three imperfections in this interpolation:

* We have no examples within our pre-1650 grace period ending in a single "l".
* The only examples with the "g" are post-1600, acceptable, but non-ideal.
* Our first and last dated examples are fairly far apart - less than a century would be better.

SOMETIMES YOU JUST HAVE TO SHRUG ...

Aoibheann O'Gowan

New name.

Aoibheann is the standard modern spelling of a feminine Irish given name. Woulfe (p.207) notes that it was borne by the mother of an early saint.

O'Gowan is a modern Anglicized spelling of an Irish patronymic derived from the occupation of smith. Woulfe (p.542) lists the submitted spelling and mentions a 16th century family that bore the surname.

The use of a Gaelic given name with an Anglicized Gaelic surname may be demonstrated by the late 16th century example of **Grana O'Malley** (Chambers p.55).

[Author's note: This last statement is false. <Grana> is an Anglicized form of the Irish name Grainne. Therefore the general conclusion is also false.]

The Analysis

What you want to say.

What is the nature of each name element?

Aoibheann is ... a feminine Irish given name.

O'Gowan is ... an Irish patronymic derived from the occupation of smith.

Is the name period?

Woulfe (p.207) notes that [**Aoibheann**] was borne by the mother of an early saint.

Woulfe (p.542) ... mentions a 16th century family that bore the surname [**O'Gowan**].

Is the spelling period?

Aoibheann is the standard modern spelling.

O'Gowan is a modern Anglicized spelling.

[Note that I'm not saying that these spellings <u>couldn't</u> be period, only that I don't know that they are. And I <u>do</u> know that they are standard modern forms.]

Is the way that the parts are put together period?

The use of a Gaelic given name with an Anglicized Gaelic surname may be demonstrated by the late 16th century example of **Grana O'Malley** (Chambers p.55).

Extra Credit: Can you postulate a time and a place where this name could have existed?

Insufficient information.

How you want to say it.

Say what you know.

Woulfe (p.542) lists the submitted spelling [of **O'Gowan**] and mentions a 16th century family that bore the surname.

Say what you don't know.

[Again, the absence of any dated information should be interpreted as saying "I couldn't find any dated examples of the submitted form."]

Say what you think.

[There is an implication of "I think that the standard modern form of a name should be acceptable for registration" although it shouldn't be necessary to state this as a matter of course. This is the sort of subject that comes up in commentary.]

Like the paper "Meibion & Filiae", this was written for an academic audience, but drawing on the onomastics research I've done for the SCA. I presented this originally at the University of California Celtic Studies Conference in Los Angeles in 1996. It may have been the only paper ever presented at one of the U.C. Celtic Studies Conferences that invoked a chi-square test for correlation. This will be the article's first appearance in print.

The Statistics of Identity

Naming Practices in 15th Century Anglesey

By Heather Rose Jones, copyright © 1996, all rights reserved

The study of onomastics has traditionally concentrated on the analysis of name elements themselves and their composition. My particular interest has tended to be in the composition of whole names as found in formal records — the selection and arrangement of elements, and the ways in which these, as well as the nature of the individual name elements, change over time.

In a paper this short I will have to confine myself to examining one particular aspect of name structure in 15th century Wales. The question is one that I was not able to pose until I had a data sample of sufficient size to overcome the effects of random variation. The question I will be examining is the deliberate use of a flexible name structure for the purpose of disambiguating personal identity. (I'll be explaining exactly what I mean by that as I go along.)

The document referred to as "The Anglesey Submissions of 1406" (edited by Glyn Roberts in BBCS 15) provides a list of fines levied in connection with the Glyndwr rebellion. Based on sociological and demographic studies, the names in this document appear to represent every head of household in Anglesey at that time (outside of the English boroughs). There are several reasons why this data set is very useful for certain types of analysis. The size of the set is relatively large — slightly over 2100 individuals. The selection method for inclusion in the list can be considered relatively random, at least with respect to names. In addition, the self-contained nature of the region involved means that any proximity influences are more likely to have been internal than external, and that members of the sample were likely to have most of their social interactions with other members. All these factors make it possible to examine certain anecdotal observations by more rigorous statistical methods. I should point out that in order for my analysis to have validity, I need to assume that the names recorded here accurately reflect the ways that people identified themselves, or were identified by their associates.

The core data in this document consists of the names of slightly over 2100 individuals (together with their assessed fines). They are grouped according to the six regional subdivisions of the island. There were a small handful of women in the list, but for simplicity's sake, I have eliminated them from this analysis. Each name element has been coded as to its nature (given name, locative, occupation, descriptive byname, etc.) and given a normalized form. And for each name entry, I have created a structural description based on these codes, and assigned a "structural-complexity" score based on the number of substantial elements appearing in it. (I actually have a great deal more information than this in my database, but it isn't relevant to this talk.)

Table 1 shows a sample of the data with the preliminary coding and interpretation.

Table 1: Sample Data with Coding

Entry	Coding	Pattern	Complexity Score
David ap Jor ddu	David, Iorwerth, Du,	gagb	3
Madog ap lln Vaughan	Madog, Llywelyn, Bychan	gagb	3
Gruffith ap Kynvrig ap Gron	Gruffudd, Cynwrig, Gronw	gagag	3
Ednyved ap llni ap Gruff	Ednyfed, Llywelyn, Gruffudd	gagag	3
Jor ap Ho[ll] ap Mad	Iorwerth, Hywel, Madog	gagag	3
Deia ap tuddr	David, Tudur	gag	2
Tuddr ap Tuddr	Tuder, Tudur	gag	2
Dickus ap Jor bach	David, Iorwerth, Bach	gagb	3
Gruff ap Jor baz	Gruffudd, Iorwerth, Bach	gagb	3
Jem lloyd ap Jem goz	John, Llwyd, John, Coch	gbagb	4

To understand why I am asking the particular question I present here, you need to understand a few things about the history of Welsh naming practices. Throw out the idea of "first name, middle name, surname" — in fact, throw out the idea of fixed surnames altogether. During the period in question, name structure was very fluid, employing a combination of personal nicknames (descriptive nicknames, occupations, locatives) and patronyms (which themselves might include the parent's bynames as well as given name). Although not all names include patronyms, those might reasonably be considered the basic structure, with the various bynames being optional elaborations at each generation.

Yet, though name structure was potentially quite variable, in actual use, only a restricted set of the theoretical possibilities are found. I'm interested in the motivation behind why certain structures are found and not others, or how certain structues appear to correlate with other aspects of naming.

In some cases, a "natural" explanation offers itself for a phenomenon. For example, it has been my observation that when multiple non-patronymic bynames are found for an individual, there is a strong trend toward the order: descriptive byname, occupation, locative. A possible motivation for this could be found in proximity to the given name correlating with "inherentness" in the attribute. And yet, multiple non-patronymic bynames are infrequent enough that this apparent ordering could be produced by chance factors.

Similarly, I had observed anecdotally in previous studies that very simple name structures seemed to correlate with relatively rare given names. Intuition suggested that very common given names might require the use of more name elements to avoid duplication, and thus potential ambiguity of reference. But this presupposes that the people using and recording the names care about avoiding ambiguity in this fashion. Short of contemporary commentary on the subject, there is no way to *know* whether they felt this motivation, however, it might be possible to know whether the correlation itself is significant enough to *need* explanation.

This, then, was the question I wanted to test. Were my anecdotal observations about name complexity statistically significant? If not, there would hardly be a point in speculating about possible motivations.

The first part of my analysis involved looking at the nature and distribution of name structures in the sample. Table 2.1 shows the raw data for the name patterns present in the data while 2.2 gives a synopsis. (Although my full analysis distinguishes between several categories of bynames, I have not distinguished them here.) Note in particular the "complexity score" as it relates to name structure.

What we see here is a fairly bell-shaped distribution of complexity, with both the mode and mean falling approximately at three. What is somewhat unexpected is the hard limit of five elements, no matter what the type. (It's possible that this was a conscious limit imposed during the recording process. I have no way of knowing.) For practical purposes, we are dealing primarily with three possibilities for complexity: two, three, or four elements. And of these, there is a very strong concentration at three.

Table 2.1: The Name Patterns

Key: g = given name; b = byname; a = patronymic marker (ap); CS = complexity score

	1 gen.	2 gen.	3 gen.	4 gen.
no bynames	1 g	239 gag	765 gagag	36 gagagag
		4 gg	24 gagg	3 gagagg
			10 ggag	3 gaggag
				2 ggagag
CS:subtotal	*1:1*	*2:243*	*3:799*	*4:44*
one byname	158 gb	492 gagb	78 gagagb	5 gagagagb
		59 gbag	37 gagab	3 gagagab
		36 gab	30 gbagag	
		4 ggb	8 gagbag	
			2 gaggb	
			1 gbagg	
CS:subtotal	*2:158*	*3:591*	*4:156*	*5:8*
two bynames	49 gbb	22 gbagb	2 gbagagb	
		18 gagbb	1 gagbagb	
		4 gbab	1 gagbab	
		2 gabb	1 gbagab	
			1 gbaggb	
CS:subtotal	*3:49*	*4:46*	*5:6*	
three bynames	2 gbbb	1 gagbbb		
CS:subtotal	*4:2*	*5:1*		

Table 2.2: Summary of Name Patterns

Summary	1 gen.	2 gen.	3 gen.	4 gen.
0 byname	1:1	2:243	3:799	4:44
1 byname	2:158	3:591	4:156	5:8
2 byname	3:49	4:46	5:6	
3 byname	4:2	5:1		

CS	N	%
1	1	<.1%
2	401	19%
3	1439	68%
4	248	12%
5	15	1%
Total	2104	
Mean CS	2.94	

If name elements themselves were randomly distributed in the population, we would have little need to worry about complex structures to avoid duplication. With 85 different given names in use (not counting established diminutives of these) there are over 7,000 possible combinations using only a single patronym. But names are rarely chosen at random. Both the number of available names and the distribution of relative popularity will affect the potential for duplication of a particular construction. If I may, I'd like to digress for a moment on this subject.

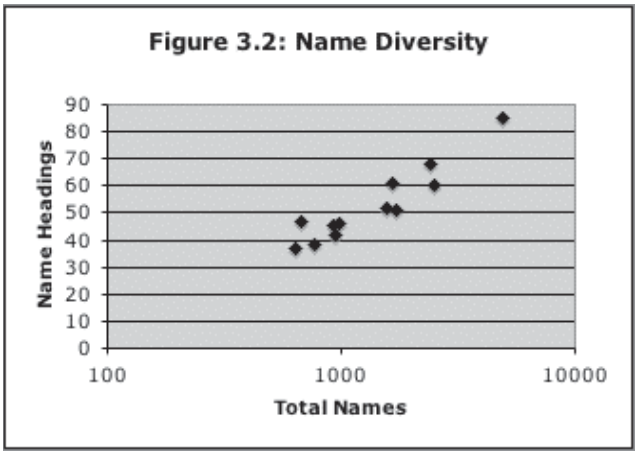
It seems to be common wisdom that the pool of available names in Wales shrank significantly through the medieval period and on into the Early Modern Period. The problem I have had in assessing this hypothesis comes from difficulties in comparing data sets of different sizes. The Anglesey data provided me with an opportunity to investigate this problem further, because the division of the names into smaller subgroups enabled me to examine easily the name variability in natural, differently-sized subsets of the same population. Table 3.1 shows the results of this, giving sample size and the number of different given names occurring in the sample. In order to provide a range of sample sizes, I have used the six divisions listed in the original document, three groupings corresponding to the traditional

three cantrefs on the island (although this terminology is not used in the document), two groupings based on a north-south orientation, and the full data set.

Table 3.1: Size of Name Pool

Data Set	N		Names
Names/100			
All	4912	85	1.73
North	2514	60	2.39
South	2398	68	2.84
Aberffraw (Li/Ma)	1717	51	2.97
Rhosyr (Me/Ti)	1645	61	3.71
Cemais (Ta/Tw)	1560	52	3.33
Tindaethwy	975	46	4.72
Llifon	954	42	4.40
Talybolion	920	45	4.89
Maltraeth	763	38	4.98
Menai	670	47	7.01
Twrcelyn	640	37	5.78

It's obvious from this that simply looking at the variability in a particular sample is of little use. However, we get something approaching a linear relationship when the sample size is plotted on a logarithmic scale and number of different given



names on a linear scale, as shown in figure 3.2.

This method, then provides an approach to comparing the variability of populations of significantly different size, as the other points on the graph show — representing data-sets from 1292 and 1600 respectively.

This analysis belies the common wisdom about the size of the available name pool. But a calculation of the size of the pool of available names doesn't tell us about the distribution of those names — another facet of name diversity. Table 4 shows the proportion of the total name pool taken up by the ten and twenty most popular names in three samples I have worked with. Here again, the common wisdom is invalidated. The sample from 1406 shows a smaller number of available names and a greater concentration on the most popular names than the sample from two centuries later. (It should be noted that the sample from 1600 is from Pembroke, while the other two are from the north, a factor for which I can't control at this time.)

Table 4: Skewing of Most Common Names

Data	Total	Top 10 (%)	Top 20 (%)
1292	3809	2405 (63%)	3096 (81%)
1406	4912	3936 (80%)	4581 (93%)
1600	1464	1020 (70%)	1296 (89%)

This has been something of a digression, but the factor I am exploring is how great the expected duplication of given names, and of father/son name combinations will be in a sample of this size. In the current study, ten names comprise 80% of the pool. For that matter, the two most popular names each comprises approximately a fifth of the total.

Now we can get a better sense of whether there is an active process of avoiding name duplication. Working from this distribution, if names and naming patterns were distributed completely randomly, we would expect to find nine men named something meaning "John son of John", nine named "John son of David", nine named "David son of David", etc. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show the expected and actual numbers for combinations of two or three generations of the most popular two names (David and John) when appearing with no bynames. (This prediction is based on a simple calculation of the frequencies of the elements and patterns involved.)

Table 5.1: Two-generation Combinations of John & David

	Expected	Actual
David/David	9	1
David/John	9	4
John/David	9	2
John/John	9	0

Table 5.2: Three-generation Combinations of John & David

David/David/David	5	0
David/David/John	5	4
David/John/David	5	6
David/John/John	5	3
John/David/David	5	1
John/David/John	5	5
John/John/David	5	0
John/John/John	5	2

Note that the predicted duplication would not necessarily be an insurmountable problem as far as ambiguity of identity goes. If the expected dupli-

cates were, themselves, distributed randomly geographically, the chances are that neither they nor their associates would have severe problems with mistaken reference. But as we see, the level of expected duplication of these most popular combinations simply does not occur.

Another approach I took in evaluating whether a correlation was worth testing for, was to chart name popularity versus mean complexity both for the given name alone and for given name plus patronym combinations.

The first is seen in figure 6 where I have plotted name frequency versus mean complexity for names using that element. (Name frequency is shown on a logarithmic scale simply to display things more clearly.)

Based on a distribution like this, it is hard to conclude that the proposed correlation clearly exists, but neither is it possible to rule it out.

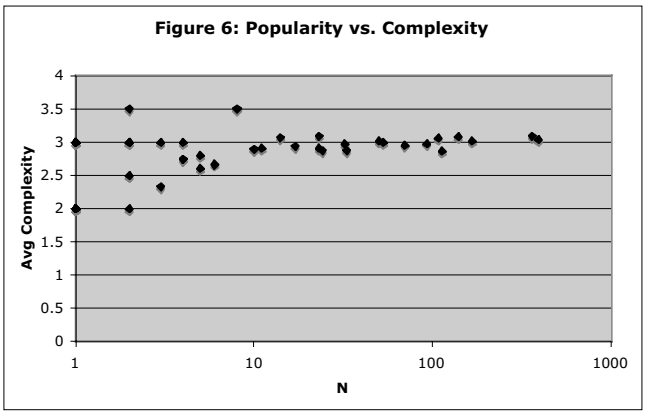
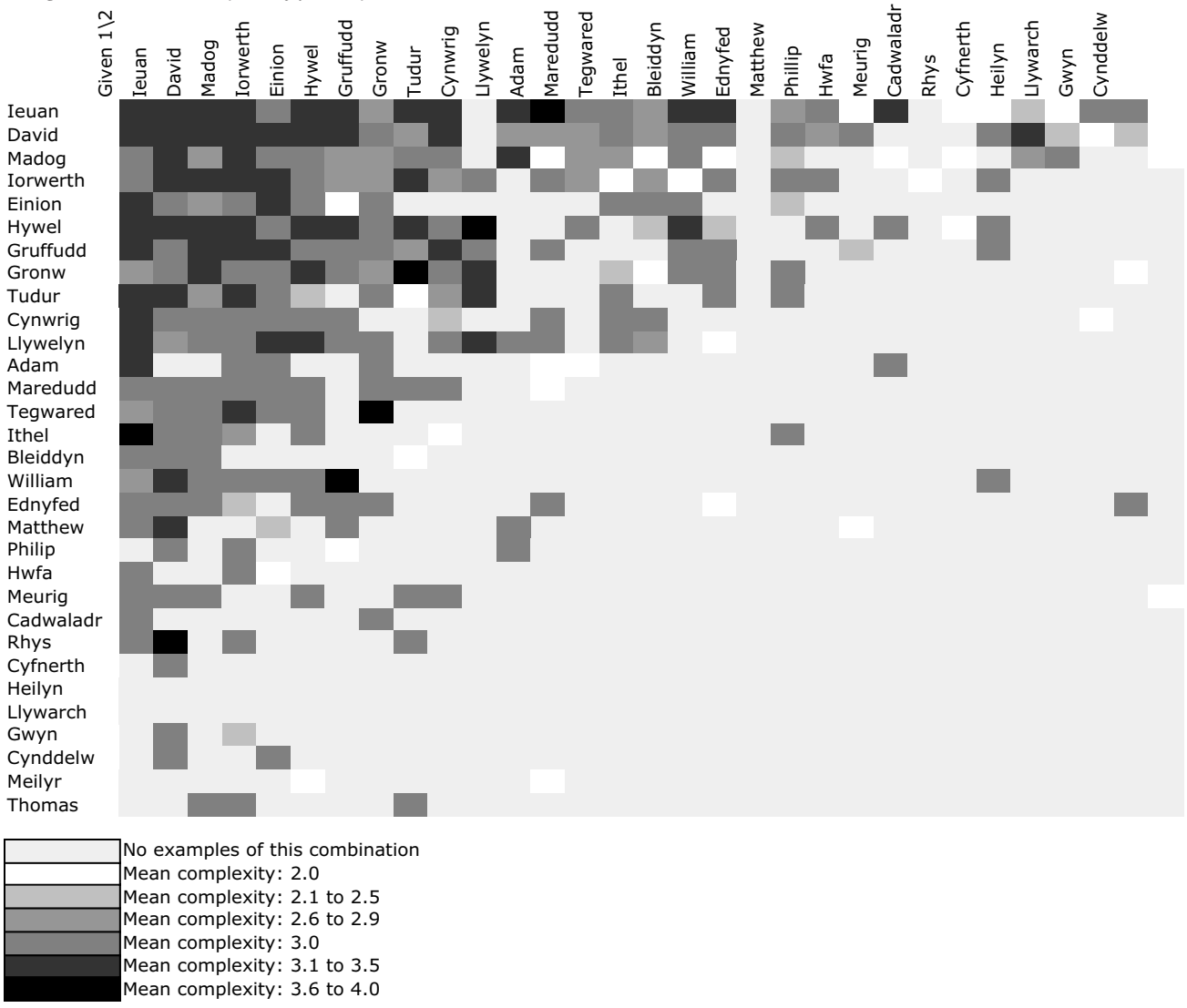


Figure 7 shows a grey-scale representation of mean complexity charted with given names (in descending order of popularity) in the columns and first patronym similarly in the rows. (This data represents only that subset that had at least one patronym.) The most reliable part of the chart is the upper left quarter. Here we see a slight trend toward higher complexity among the most popular combina-

Figure 7: Mean Complexity for Popular Combinations



tions. Again, any trend is fairly subtle. On the basis of these sorts of preliminary views, I concluded that it was worthwhile to apply a formal statistical test.

After consultation with advisors in the U.C. Berkeley statistics department, I chose a simple chi-square test. For those who may not be familiar with it, this is a means of testing the proposition that some factor is randomly distributed with respect to another. That is, if you get the desired result, the test enables you to eliminate the possibility of random distribution — although it says nothing about the nature of the non-randomness. (That is what the preliminary work was for.)

For the two analyses, I ordered the names, or name combinations, according to frequency of appearance, and grouped them into approximately equal groups. The chi-square test was applied to these groups with the following results.

Figure 8.2 shows the mean complexity score of the popularity groupings based on the given name alone. There *does* appear to be a slight correlation visually, however the chi-square test (shown in table 8.1) shows that we cannot rule out random variation as the cause of this.

Figure 9.2 shows the same analysis for combinations of given name and first patronym. Here again, we can see a definite — if subtle — visual trend in mean complexity. In this case, the chi-square test confirms the correlation, giving a confidence level of greater than 99.5% that the variation is *not* due to random factors. That is, that the correlation between name frequency and name complexity is real and meaningful.

Table 8.1: Chi-square Test - Based on given name only

Freq.	N	Sum(CS)	Mean CS	Exp. Sum(CS)	Chi-Square Factor
459	459	1343	2.92	1331	0.11
430	430	1273	2.96	1247	0.54
154-191	345	1014	2.94	1000	0.20
78-136	447	1276	2.85	1296	0.31
1-55	415	1172	2.82	1203	0.80

4 degrees of freedom
Chi-square sum = 1.96
Confidence level of 0.25

Table 9.1: Chi-square Test - Based on given name and first patronym

Freq.	N	Sum(CS)	Mean CS	Exp. Sum(CS)	Chi-Square Factor
51-89	215	680	3.16	649	1.48
39-45	210	667	3.17	634	1.72
27-34	214	657	3.07	646	0.19
15-26	176	534	3.03	531	0.02
11-14	198	612	3.09	598	0.33
7-10	196	594	3.03	591	0.02
4-6	215	562	2.61	649	11.66
2-3	200	588	2.94	604	0.42
1	172	450	2.61	519	9.17

8 degrees of freedom
Chi-square sum = 25.01
Confidence level of > .995

Conclusion

The usual procedure when we get a result such as that in table 8.1 above — where statistical evidence fails to confirm a trend that can be seen visually — is to try for a larger sample size. In this case, that would be impractical. Not only is the data simply not available, but a larger sample size would mean a larger territory involved. There is little support for my hypothesis of deliberate disambiguation by means of name complexity if I am required to postulate that men in Anglesey were habitually being confused with others in, say, Cardiganshire. The only way I can think of to test that level of the hypothesis further would be to find a similarly sized population with even less variability in the name pool involved, thus concentrating the supposed effect.

The second analysis, however, does appear to support my hypothesis — that there is some significant correlation between name popularity and name complexity. It must be assumed that this correlation derives from some deliberate (although not necessarily conscious) process on the part of the people involved. Disambiguation of identity would seem to be the most obvious motivation, although I am open to alternative explanations of the observed effect.

Perhaps 50% of my total article output (in terms of page-count) has been articles of this type: catalogs of the names in a particular historic document, with enough analysis to enable people to create new names and combinations that would be consistent with the known evidence. Because this collection is focusing on articles that are fun to read (I hope), this is the only name-catalog article that I've included. I picked the Cornish material because my Welsh articles all feel like small bits of a much larger picture now (and the larger picture is still in progress). The article was originally published in the 1998 Heraldic Symposium proceedings. If I may preen for a moment, after this article was posted on the web as part of the Medieval Names Archive, I was contacted by Professor Oliver Padel – pretty much THE name in historic Cornish onomastics – who wanted to know whether I was planning to go further with the project with a goal to publication. He explained that he'd been thinking of something along the same lines but didn't want to step on any toes. Oh, and if I wasn't *planning to turn it into a book, would it be all right if he used my research as a starting point for his own project? I was able to meet Professor Padel in person when he was a guest speaker at the 2003 Univerisity of California Celtic Studies Conference in Berkeley and would be more than delighted to find that he'd been able to use this article for any of his own research.*

Cornish (and Other) Personal Names

from the 10th Century Bodmin Manumissions

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Cornish is a Celtic language in the Brythonic family, a close relative of Welsh and Breton, spoken on the Cornish peninsula in the south-west of Britain — separated from Wales by the Bristol Channel and from Brittany by the English Channel. The various Brythonic languages are considered to begin diverging around the 6th century, but their close relationship can be seen in the similarity of the personal names found in them over the next several centuries. Unlike the case in Wales, the Anglo-Saxon advance in the Cornish peninsula was steady and eventually complete, reaching the eastern parts of Devon in the 7th century, the eastern part of Cornwall proper by the early 8th, and probably becoming complete in the mid 9th century. This advance should not necessarily be viewed as a "conquest"; native Cornish kings appear to have continued ruling in some areas as late as the early 10th century, and members of the two cultures appear to have lived together amicably, for the most part. (Wakelin 1975)

The Bodmin Manumissions

The most prolific sources of personal names for the various Brythonic languages in the post-Roman/pre-Norman period tend to be legal records kept by the church for various purposes. In the cases of Welsh and Breton, we have collections of charters — grants of land made to some religious institution. For Welsh, for example, there is the Book of Llandav, with records from the 8-10th century (Sims-Williams 1991); for Breton, the Cartulary of Redon, among others, with records primarily of the 9th century. (de Courson 1863, Jackson 1953) In the case of Cornish, the best and virtually only source of personal names from this general period is a collection of marginal notes in a gospel book written in Bodmin, recording the manumission of slaves during the 9th or 10th century. (Ellis 1974, Wakelin 1975) The general format of the entries is, "Here are the names of the people that so-and-so frees for the sake of his soul: A, B, C, etc." There are three functions in which people appear in these entries: the owners, the freed slaves, and the witnesses. The names of the owners are primarily English, with a few Cornish, and some of Biblical origin. The names of the slaves are overwhelmingly Cornish — even more so than the owners are English, but with some English and again some Biblical. About half of the names of the witnesses are Cornish, and the vast majority of them are identified as holding religious office.

There is a great deal of repetition among the witnesses: out of 219 witness listings, there are perhaps 100 different people with the two most common appearing 13 times, although the exact number cannot be determined with certainty, since assumptions have to be made about the likelihood of different people bearing duplicate names, or of the same person appearing with different office titles.

The Texts and the Transcriptions

The text of these manumissions have been tran-

scribed and published a number of times. (Earle 1888, Förster 1930, Haddan & Stubbs 1869, Kemble 1846, Thorpe 1865) Of these, Earle is a sampling only. The others agree for the most part with a few differences in convention: Förster transcribes the manuscript's half-uncial "g" as yogh (3), while the others use the more usual letter. Kemble renders both edh and thorn as edh, while the others distinguish them. [Editorial note: due to font issues, both have been rendered as ð in the present version of this article.] More substantial differences of reading that involve the interpretation of difficult letters, the interpretation of spaces or the lack thereof, and in some cases the flow of the text on the page, are given in full below, although I usually prefer one reading over the others. For reference, I have numbered the names in the sequence in which they appear in Thorpe.

The Languages and Other Context

The manumissions appear in two languages: Latin and Old English, although the separation is not complete. For example, the Old English form *bisceop* appears in a Latin entry where one would expect Latin *episcopus*. Similarly, Latin forms such as *S[anctu]s Petrocus* appear in Old English entries. There is also evidence, in the spelling of some of the Cornish names, that at least some of the scribes involved were familiar with a Cornish tradition of literacy. This shows particularly in the use of "gu" where a phonetic rendering under Old English spelling conventions would have "w". The language of the entry is noted with L or E for each name. By my count, there are 397 different name entries, of which 88 appear in Old English texts, 300 appear in Latin texts, and 9 appear in a list of names with no other context.

Interpreting the gender of the names is not always easy, and some of the published sources have drawn erroneous conclusions on this topic. The names of the freed slaves are usually given in lists, rather than individually, and the language introducing them is not always gender-specific. In Latin, they may be *[nomina] illarum feminarum* "[names] of these females", *[nomina] mulierum* "of women", *[nomen] illius viri* "of this man" — but more often as *[nomina] illorum hominum* "of these people", sometimes for a clearly mixed-gender group (e.g. *Huna et soror illius Dolo* "Huna and his sister Dolo"), but sometimes for a single-sex group, or in the singular for one gender or the other. Similarly, in Old English records, one woman is identified specifically as *wif* (woman), but mostly we find *mann* (plural *menn*) used either specifically for men or generically for both genders. In interpreting the genders of the names appearing here, I have interpreted *mulieris*, *femina*, *vir*, and *wif* as indicating gender clearly. Similarly, where the surrounding context provides gender information (as with the above *soror* "sister" and similar cases in Old English), I have interpreted the gender with confidence. When any of the other terms are used, or no relevant language is present at all, I have first attempted to find cognates of the name in Welsh or Breton where the gender is clear, or other examples of the elements in the name, particularly the deuterotheme, that are specifically associated with one gender or the other, either in Cornish or in the other Brythonic languages (although it is not entirely impossible that this method would produce errors). In some cases, we simply have no clue. In the case of the Old English names present in the text, we can generally be on much surer ground, based on the large amount of comparative material that exists.

Although this article is inspired primarily by an interest in the Cornish names, all the names are listed and discussed (although the non-Cornish ones only briefly).

The Names

Name Formats

The freed slaves are mostly identified simply by a given name. Two bear patronyms while in other cases family relationships are indicated, but in ways that cannot be interpreted as functioning as a byname. One of the former bears a second byname in addition to the patronym. About half of those identified as owners bear some sort of byname, primarily high-ranking titles, either secular (king, duke) or religious (bishop), but in a few occasions, patronyms. The witnesses overwhelmingly bear bynames indicating a religious office (priest, deacon, etc.) but sometimes a secular occupation or title (steward), or patronym. With one exception, this group is the only one where non-occupational, non-patronymic bynames appear, but they are very few and difficult to interpret with certainty. Among the owners and freed slaves, bynames appear in both Latin and Old English entries roughly in proportion to the total number, but among the witnesses, individuals appearing in Old English records disproportionately do not have bynames, while individuals appearing in Latin records disproportionately do. (Remember that these bynames are overwhelmingly religious offices.)

Owners

Among the slave-owners, the only people with bynames bear Old English given names. In all, eleven individuals (in 18 separate entries) fall in this group. (Some also appear as witnesses.)

King

Æðalræd rex (L 101)
Eadryde cyninge [oblique case]] (E 171)
Eadmund rex (L 68)
Eadgar rex (L 162)

Duke

Æðelwærd dux (L 148)
Ordgar dux (L 95)

Hundreds-man

Maccosi centurionis [genitive] (L 211) [Kemble has *Maccesi*; this individual appears as a witness in an Old English text as a "hundreds-man"]

Bishop

Wulfsige byscop, Wulfsige episcopus (E 353, L 311)
Æðelgeard biscop (E 172)

Patronym

Ælfric Ælfwines sunu (E 232)
Ordulf filius Brun (L 125)

Slaves

Only two of the freed slaves bear something that could be interpreted as a byname — both including patronyms. One is a Cornish name appearing in a Latin entry, the other an Old English name in an Old English entry and also includes an unidentified non-patronymic byname. Förster suggests interpreting *hate* as "hight" (is called).

Aedoc filiam Catgustel [accusative] (L 294)
Byhstan Hate Bluntan sunu (E 53)

Witnesses

There are 176 witness entries that include a byname. For bynames that appear more than a few times, only representative examples are given and the full number noted in the text.

Religious Occupations

The vast majority of witnesses' bynames are religious offices, whether in Latin or in Old English. In many cases, the same individual appears with both versions of the same position; in others, the same individual appears with different designations, perhaps because one is less specific, perhaps because of a change of position.

Latin *presbiter* is the element that most often alternates with other titles for what appears to be the same individual, in four cases alternating with Latin *diaconus*, four more times with Old English *messepreost* (in one of these also alternating with Latin *clericus* and *sacerdos*), twice with Latin *clericus* only, and twice with Latin *episcopus* (one of whom also appears as *pravost* and one as *diaconus*), and once with Latin *sacerdos* only. Other alternations include Old English *messepreost* with *diaconus*, Latin *monachus* with *clericus*, Latin *diaconus* with *discipulus*, Latin *praeside* and *diacon* with Old English *portgereva*, and the previously mentioned Latin *centurion* with Old English *hundredesmann*.

Abbot: Lat. abbas

Germanus abbas (L 150)
Bishop: Lat. episcopus, Eng. bisceop
Wulfsige episcopus (L 96)
Comoere episcopus (L 320) appears three times
Buruhwold bisceop (L 149)

Clerk: Lat. clericus

In all, 29 entries include this byname, representing at a minimum 11 different individuals, the majority Cornish, but representing all three classes. Four of the records, all from the same passage, spell the word with "-os" instead of the usual "-us". All examples are in Latin records.

Leucum clericus (L 122)
Beniamen clericus (L 257)
Bryhsige clericus (L 147)
Adoyre Milian clericus (L 72)

Förster inserts a comma after the first element, making this two names. The other editors interpret it as a single entry, perhaps "Adoyre, Milo's clerk"?

Consul

Teðion consul (L 155)

Deacon: Lat. diaconus, Eng. diacon

35 records include this byname, representing at least 13 different individuals approximately half with Cornish names and half English. Two occur in Old English texts and use the form *diacon*, the remainder in Latin texts with *diaconus*.

Godric diaconus (L 217)
Cantgueithen diaconus (L 291)
Godric diacon (E 239)

Disciple: Lat. discipulus

Boia discipulus (L 265)

Reader: Lat. lector

Agustinus lector (L 44) — This person appears in

total three times.

Minister: Lat. minister

Goda minister (L 139)

Monk: Lat. monachus

Leucum monachus (L 317)

Priest: Lat. presbiter, sacerdos, Eng. preost (Tengvik considers presbiter and preost equivalent. p.266), messepreost

All the examples using *preost* are in English texts. There are 13 entries in all, representing at least 9 individuals bearing all three types of given names. There is a certain amount of spelling variation: *masseprost* appears 3 times, *mæsseprost* once, *messepreost* 8 times, and genitive *mæsepreostas* once.

Cynsie preost (E 60)
Mermen masseprost (E 363)
Byrhsige mæsseprost (E 362)
Isaac messepreost (E 195)

In all there are 58 examples of some form of *presbiter*, probably representing 30 individuals. Other than two of the abbreviated forms, the following all occur in Latin records. The primary spelling of the full form is *presbiter*, with 37 examples, followed by nine of *prespiter* and four of *presbyter*. The element often occurs in abbreviated form, as *pr~* six times, *pb~* once, and *pres~* once.

Byrhsige presbiter (L 32)
Grifiu∂ presbiter (L 98)
Prudens presbiter (L 144)
Byrhtsie presbyter (L 42)
Leofric prespiter (L4)

Both of those identified as *sacerdos* appear elsewhere with *presbiter*.

Osian sacerdos (L 334)
Byrhsie sacerdos (L322)
Scribe: Lat. scriptor
Eadsige scriptor (L 143)

Secular Occupations

Duke: Lat. dux

Æ∂elwerd dux testis (L 102)

Hundredsman: Lat. centurion, Eng. hundredesmann

Maccosse hundredesmann (E 194)

Lay: Lat. laicus

Note that no English given names appear in this group.

Custentin laicus (L 9)
Elie laicus (L 167)
Wurlowen laycus (L 10)

Reeve: Lat. praepositus, Eng. gereva, pravost

Æilsige portgereua (E 193) — chief officer of a town
Cufure prauost (E 24) = praepositus
Ylcær∂on præpositus (L 154)
Osulf prepositus testis

Steward: Eng. stiwerd

Gestin ∂es bisceopes stiwerd (E 243)

(unknown):

Ælfsie præside teste (L 386)

Witness: Lat. testis

Dofagan teste (L387)
March teste (L 388)
Ælfno∂ teste (L 389)

Cilifri

Very probably a place-name

Ungost Cilifri (L 117) — Förster considers these to be two separte given names, but the others treat *Cilifri* as a byname, and this seems likely to me.

Map

Uncertain, possibly brythonic map "son", but perhaps instead an OE given name Mappa.

Godric Map (E 246) (see Tengvik p.378)

Muf

Uncertain, but Tengvik (p.352) suggests "simpleton, fool"

Æ∂ælwine Muf (L 141)

Sherlock: "bright hair"

Ælfwerd Scirlocc (L 140)

Lyscerruyt

In addition to the one possible locative byname above (Cilifri), another linguistically Cornish place-name is mentioned in one entry. For completeness' sake, it is given here.

Lyscerruyt (L 135 villa)

Patronyms: Lat. filius, Eng. sunu

Wurgent filius Samuel (L 153)
Te∂ion filius Wasso (L 116)
... filius Mor (L 156)

Teðion Modredis sunu (E 204)

Given Names

Old English (and other Germanic) Names

There are a total of 144 names identifiable as of Old English or other Germanic origin. I include here a few that are probably actually of Norse origin, but would have entered the region with the same population. Also included are names that appear to be from continental Germanic, rather than Old English.

These names are fairly easy to identify as to gender, even when none is clearly mentioned in the text itself, due to the amount of comparative material available, and the association of particular name elements or grammatical endings with a specific gender. For this reason, I have only mentioned the evidence for gender when the form of the name makes it questionable. The names fall into two general classes: those composed on a "dithematic" pattern, and "uncompounded" names. The first type is composed by a "one from column A, one from column B" formula from a set of possible first elements (protothemes) and possible second elements (deuterothemes). The deuterothemes are normally specific to a particular gender. The uncompounded names are usually based on a prototheme (often with the last consonant doubled), with some sort of vowel suffixed. The type of vowel usually identifies the gender of the name fairly clearly.

The names are listed under a standardized form, after which I give the actually spellings that occur in the documents (with codes for the language of the entry and for what role the bearer had) and the entry numbers in which that spelling occurred. Keep in mind that, particularly in the case of the witnesses, the same person may be occur multiple times. For this reason, I haven't done an analysis of the relative frequency of the names. For reference I have noted the page in Searle where the name can be found.

Masculine Names

Ælfgar (Searle p.7ff) m.

Ælger (E 281 witness)

Ælfnoð (Searle p.14f) m.

Ælfnoð (L 389 witness)

Ælfric (Searle p.16ff) m.

Ælfric (E 232 owner)

Ælfsige (Searle p.19f) m.

Æilsige (E 193 witness)
Æilsig (E 189, 202 owner, witness)
Ælfsie (L 38, 49, 248, 386 owner, witness)

Ælfweald (Searle p.24f) m.

Ælwold (E 279 owner)

Ælfweard (Searle p.25f) m.

Ælfwerd (L 140 witness)
Elwerdus (L 221 witness)

Ælfwine (Searle p.27ff) m.

Ælfwines (genitive) (E 232, 235 owner, witness)

Æðelbeorht (Searle p.34f) m.

Aðalberð (L 112 witness)
Adaberd (L 128 witness)

Æðelgeard (Searle p.38) m.

The various transcribers have different levels of confidence as to the transcription.

Æðelgeard (E 172 owner)

Æðelræd (Searle p.46ff) m.

Æðelræd (L 101 owner)

Æðelstan (Searle p.51ff) m.

Æðælstan (L 136 witness) — two of the transcribers have omitted the "l".

Æðelweard (Searle p.56ff) m.

Æðelwærd (L 148 owner) — Thorpe reads the "e" as"æ" instead.
Æðelwerd (L 102 witness)

Æðelwine (Searle p.58ff) m.

Æðælwine (L 141 witness)

Adalgisus? (Morlet vol. I p.16) m.

I cannot identify this name as Old English, however some of the continental forms of *Adalgisus* are similar in appearance (e.g., Adalcis).

Adelces (L 175 witness)

Beorhthelm (Searle p.89f) m.

Byrchtylym (L 271 slave)

Beorhtlaf (Searle p.91) m.

Beorlaf (E 206 witness)

Beorhtsige (Searle p.94f) m.

Byrehtsige (L 166 witness)
Byrhisiys [genitive] (E 55 witness)
Byrhsiys [genitive] (E 371 witness)
Byrhsie (L, E 18, 52, 76, 90, 322 owner, witness)
Byrhsige (L, E 32, 362 witness)
Byrhtsie (L 42, 253, 390 witness)
Bryhsige (L 147 witness)

Beorhtstan (Searle p.95) m.

Byhstan (E 53 slave)

Beorhtweald (Searle p.95ff) m.

Buruhwold (L 149 witness)

Boia (Searle p.110) m.

Boia (E, L 131, 145, 212, 234, 265 witness)

Brun (Searle p.117) m.

Brun (L 125 owner)

Budda (Searle p.119) m.

Budda (L 5, 113, 130 witness)

Coenhelm (Searle p.139) m.

Kynilm (E 205 witness)
Kinilm (E 245 witness)

Cynsige (Searle p.157) m.

Cynsie (E 60 witness)

Derling? (Searle p.165) m.

Dirling (E 207 witness)

Dolo (Searle p.168) m?

Searle lists *Dola* and the vowel alternation is found in other uncompounded names.

Dolo (L 2 slave)

Dunstan (Searle p.173) m.

Dunstan (L 138 witness)

Eadgar (Searle p.178) m.

Eadgar (L 162 owner)

Eadmund (Searle p.183f) m.

Eadmund (L 68 owner)
Eadmunt (L 63 owner)

Eadred (Searle p.185f) m.

Eadryde (E 171 owner)

Eadric (Searle p.186ff) m.

Edricus (L 219 witness) — Two transcriptions have *Eadricus*.

Eadsige (Searle p.188) m.

Eadsige (L 143 witness)

Ealdred (Searle p.198ff) m.

Ealdred (L 142 witness)

Ealhhun? (Searle p.204) m?

Searle has a citation of *Alchun* under this heading. I can find nothing more similar.

Æulcen (L 346 ?)
Ælchon (L 338 ?)

Ealhwine (Searle p.207) m.

At a later date, these forms might represent an original Ælfwine or Æðelwine, but at this period it seems unlikely.

Elwinus (L 220 witness)
Elwine (L 218 witness)

Goda (Searle p.260) m.

Goda (L 139 witness)

Godric (Searle p.263) m.

Godric (E 239, 246, 282 witness)
Godricus (L 217 witness)
Gedricus (L 213 witness)

Huna (Searle p.305) m.

Húna (L 1 slave)

Irmen (Searle p.320) m.

Searle has examples of this as a prototheme, but not as an uncompounded name. In the book of Llandav, there is a reference to *Ermint & Catharuc filios Cremic*, but the cultural context of these three names in not obvious.

Ermen (L 118, 312 owner)

Leof (Searle p.326) m

Searle does list this, but has even more examples of *Leofa*. It may also be a short form of the following, given that they share the same occupational byname and are both witnesses.

Leof (L 395 witness)

Leofric (Searle p.330f) m.

Leofric (L 4, 126 witness)

Leofstan (Searle p.332) m.

Leofstan (L 17 slave)

Lucco (Searle p.340) m.

What Searle lists is *Luca*, but this would be a regular masculine formation from the same stem.

Lucco (L 351 ?)

Maccos (Searle p.344) m.

What Searle lists are *Macco*, *Macca*, *Maccus*, and *Macus*. It seems most likely that the name here is related to, if not a variant of, one of these.

Maccos (E 203 witness)
Maccosse (E 194 witness)
Maccosi [genitive] (L 211 owner)

Ordgar (Searle p.367f) m.

Ordgar (L 95 owner)

Ordulf (Searle p.369f) m.

Ordulf (L 48, 125 owner)

Osfrith (Searle p.373) m.

Searle's citations include the spellings *Osferth*, *Offerdus*.

Osferd (L 318 owner) — Kemble transcribes the last letter as *ð*.

Osulf (Searle p.380f) m.

Osulf (L 103 witness)

Othgaer (Searle p.382) m.

One of Searle's citations is for *Odgerus*.

Otcer (L 183, 329 witness)

Sæwine (Searle p.408) m.

Sewinus (L 214 witness)

Sæwulf (Searle p.408) m.

Sewulf (E 238 witness)

Sihtric (Searle p.425) m.

Originally a Norse name, *Sigtrygr*.

Sictricus (L 222 witness) — Several of the transciptions have *Sicteicus* but this is unlikely.

Thiothard? (Morlet vol. I p.68) m.

Variants listed in Morlet include *Tetardus*, *Tiddardus*, *Thiathart*. Searle p.444 lists a *Theodardus* but the individual is from the continent.

Tithert (L 51, 67, 278, 292 witness)
Tittherd (L 111, 129, 151 witness)
Tidherd (L 256 witness)

Ulfræd (Searle p.514f) m.

Ullfrit (L 81 owner) — Kemble transcribes it as *Ullfric*, which would be a possible, but different, name.

Unweald? (Searle p.469) m?

Searle lists a number of names with the prototheme "Un-", but not this particular combination. Perhaps instead *Hunweald* (Searle p.308).

Unwalt (E 356 slave)

Wallath? (Searle p.477) m?

Searle lists *Wallath*, but it doesn't actually look like an Old English name.

Wallo*ð* (E 283 witness)

Waso (Searle p.478) m.

The appearance of uncompounded names in doublets with and without doubling of the second consonant is common.

Waso (L 223 witness)
Wasso (L 116 witness)

Wine (Searle p.499f) m.

Wine (L 137 witness)

Wulfgar (Searle p.507f) m.

Wulfger (E 198, 247 witness)
Wulgarus (L 216 witness)

Wulfsige (Searle p.517f) m.

Wulfsie (L 71, 85, 293 owner, witness)
Wulfsige (L, E 30, 96, 146, 152, 163, 311, 353, 370 owner, witness)
Wulsige (L 22 owner)
Wunsie (E 58, 375 witness, owner) — Förster transcribes one of these as *Wulfsie*.
Uulfsie (L 15 owner)

Wulfstan? (Searle p.518f) m.

Wunstan (? 178 ?)

Wulfweard (Searle p.520f) m.

Wulwerdus (L 224 witness)
Wulfwerd (E 242 witness)

***ð*urcild (Searle p.447 as Thurcytel) m.**

A Norse name in origin.

ðurcilde (E 192 owner)

Feminine Names

Ælfgyð (Searle p.10) f.

Ælfgyð (L 133 slave)

Æðelburgh (Searle p.35f) f.

Addalburg (L 25 slave)

Æðelflæd (Searle p.36f) f.

Æðælflæd (L 134 owner)

Æðelhild (Searle p.41f) f.

Æðelhide [genitive] (E 54 witness)

Adalgundis? (Morlet vol. I p.16) f.

Again, this does not appear to be an Old English name, but does have continental parallels. The text clearly identifies the bearer as female.

Adlgun (L 62 slave)

Beorhtflæd (Searle p.88) f.

Byrhtflæd (L 3 owner)

Beorhtgifu (Searle p.88) f.

Byrhtgyuo (L 393 owner)

Godgifu (Searle p.261) f.

Codgivo (L 210 slave)

Leodhild (Searle p.326) f.

Leðelt (E 188 slave)

Names of Unclear Gender

Blunt? — Unclear.

It occurs in a patronym. Perhaps the byname *blund* (blonde)?

Bluntan [genitive] (E 53 slave)

Cynegelt?

Possibly a continental name, but Morlet has nothing obviously similar. The gender is not specified in the context.

Cyngelt (L 295 slave)

Hwátú (Searle p.309) ?

What Searle lists are a number of dithematic names with this as a prototheme. According to Searle's examples, uncompounded names ending in "-u" are more often feminine than masculine, but either is possible.

Hwátú (E 280 slave)

Wunning (Searle p.522) ?

What Searle lists are several examples of "Wun-" as a prototheme. This specific name is not listed. Possibly a diminutive? The "-ing" ending is often used to create collective "family" names, but this is clearly the name of an individual.

Wunning (E 197, 237 witness)

Names of Latin or Biblical Origin

There are 36 entries with names of either Latin or Biblical origin — names that would have come into use via the Catholic Church. Here I have made note of whether the name appears in contemporary Welsh records (Llandav), contemporary Breton records (Redon), or Anglo-Saxon records (Searle — note that some, although not all, of the Bodmin records are listed in Searle). Appearance in Morlet (French sources) is mentioned only if the name appears in none of these. Otherwise, the format of the entries is as above. The gender, if not apparent in the text or the grammatical form of the name, is assumed to be that normally associated with the name.

Masculine Names

Abel (Llandav) m

Abel (L 34, 392 witness)

Augustine (Llandav mentions the saint of this name, Searle) m.

Agustinus (L 44, 321 witness)
Austius (L 78 witness)
Agustin (L 337 ?)

Benedict (Llandav, Redon, Searle) m.

Benedic (L 158, 181 slave)

Benjamin (Llandav) m.

Beniammen (L 267 witness)
Beniamen (L 257 witness)

Constantine (Llandav, Searle) m.

Custentin (L 9, 287 witness, owner) — Note that the first syllable shows the same vowel change found in Welsh forms, such as *Custennhinn*.

David (Llandav, Redon, Searle) m.

Dauid (L 251 slave)

Deui (L 7 witness) — This is the same variant of the name by which the Welsh Saint David is commonly known.

Electus m.

No examples in the usual sources, although several can be found in France in Morlet vol. II p.45.

Electus (L 33 witness)

Eli (Llandav, Redon, Searle) m.

Eli (L 215 witness)
Elie (L 167 witness) — Kemble transcribes this as *Selie* but the others agree on this form, and I cannot confirm Kemble's form in any of my sources.

Eusebius? m.

Llandav mentions a Saint Eusebius, Morlet vol. II p.48 has multiple examples of the name.

Eusebi (L 323 owner) — The grammatical form is inexplicable as the context calls for a nominative.

Germanus (Llandav) m.

Germanus (L 150 witness)

Isaac (Llandav, Redon, Searle) m.

Isaac (E 195, 236 witness)

Jesus? m.

Not found in any comparative material as a personal name, although this is the usual form in Medieval Welsh sources for Jesus — a name not normally in ordinary use in northern Europe.

Iesu (L 41 slave)

Johannes (Llandav as *Iouan*, Redon, Searle) m.

Iohann (L 21 witness)

Joseph (Redon, Searle) m.

Iosep (L, E 332, 358, 369 witness, slave)

Justin m.

Llandav has both *Jestin* and *Gistin(us)* used for the same man. My guess would be that this is a hard "g", perhaps a hypercorrected "reverse lenition" of the initial consonantal "y"? Redon also lists both *Gestin* and *Jestinus* as masculine names. The Bodmin entry is identified as someone's steward, so the masculine identification is quite firm.

Gestin (E 243 witness)

Justus (Llandav and Redon both list *Iust*, Searle has *Iustus*) m.

Iustus (L 298 slave)

Magnus (Redon, Searle) m.

All of Searle's examples are of Norse kings.

Magnus (L 296 slave)

Noe (Llandav) m.

The forms in Llandav are *Noe*, *Nouy*, *Nogui*, and *Nougui*. *Noe* is found in Bartrum for the Biblical Noah — the other forms appear to be an unrelated Welsh name that eventually became conflated with it. This example seems more likely to be the Biblical name than a native Brythonic one, as we would expect a form more similar to *No(g)ui* here if it were the latter.

Noe (E 200 witness)

Prudens m.

There's nothing in the usual comparative sources, but Morlet vol. II p.94 lists it.

Prudens (L 127, 144 witness)

Puer (no comparative examples) m.

Puer is the usual Latin word for "boy, child" and ordinarily one wouldn't interpret it as a personal name, however it appears here in a list of witnesses where the usual interpretation seems unlikely.

Puer (E 367 witness)

Samuel (Llandav, Redon) m.

Samuel (L 153 witness)

Solomon (Llandav, Redon, Searle) m.

Salaman (E 286 witness)

Feminine Names

Elisabeth? (not in any of my comparative sources) f.

This name presents a slight puzzle. It appears on the continent (in France, see Morlet vol. II p.46) in records of the 10th century and earlier, but always with a "b" at the beginning of the last syllable. The form found here suggests that the name has been in continuous use in Cornish since before the Brythonic languages split around the 6th century, because it shows evidence of sound changes that occurred around that time (i.e., b>v). (Normally, one would expect the name to be normalized to the usual form found in Latin documents anyway, but compare with *Deui* under *David* above.) And yet I can find no other evidence of the name in use in Brythonic-speaking cultures of this period or earlier.

Elisaued (L 120, 314 slave)

Cornish (and other Celtic) Names

During this period, it is difficult to distinguish between names in the various Brythonic languages on purely linguistic grounds. While it is possible that certain individuals appearing in this record are Welsh or Breton rather than Cornish, there would really be no way to demonstrate this. Therefore, all Brythonic names are simply included with the Cornish. There are, however, several names that appear to be of Goedelic rather than Brythonic origin and these are noted specifically below. In addition to the the types of information given in the above sections, I provide more discussion of the particular spellings found in comparative material. The gender of names is much less certain in this section when the text does not make it clear and the evidence for gender interpretation is discussed more fully here. I have not separated the genders out in the main listing, but have a separate index listed by gender "confidence level" following. The "standardized" forms used as headings are an attempt to follow "standard" Old Welsh spelling should not be taken as anything other than a reference.

Aedan m.

Llandav lists *Aidan*, Redon has nothing similar. Although versions of this name are not uncommon in Old and Medieval Welsh records, it is most likely originally Irish *Aodhán* rather than a Brythonic cognate.

Aeðan (L 381 slave?)

Aedoc f.

Bartrum has rare examples of the suffix "-og" in feminine names, although it is far more characteristic of masculine ones. The prototheme "Aed-" is rare, if not unknown, in Brythonic names, although the unrelated (but somewhat similar sounding) "Ad-" is found. Compare Llandav's masculine *Atoc*.

Aedoc (L 294 slave)

Anaguistl ?

Kemble alone transcribes this as *Anaguiftl* but this is clearly an error. See *Anauprost* for the prototheme. The deuterotheme is found in three other names in this source: *Medguistel* (clearly identified as feminine), *Tancwuestel* (found elsewhere as feminine), and probably *Catgustel* (no explicit gender). Bartrum has examples of the deuterotheme in feminine *Tangwystl* and *Tudwystl*, and masculine *Arwystl*. Llandav has several examples of masculine *Gurguistil*. The temptation is to treat the deuterotheme as "more often feminine than masculine" and interpret this entry as feminine, but there is no conclusive basis for one interpretation or the other.

Anaguistl (L 161 slave)

Anaoc m.

Llandav has *Anauoc* although this is probably a slightly different prototheme. Redon has *Anaoc*. Both appear to be masculine. One of the Bodmin examples is a clerical witness and so is almost certainly masculine. The others have no explicit indication of gender.

Anaoc (L 66, 255, 328 owner, witness)

Anaudat ?

The prototheme is found in both Redon and Llandav (see Anauprost) but the remainder is hard to connect with any other examples. Thorne & Hadden transcribe the name as *Anauclat* instead, which, if correct, might possibly be related to the element *clot* "fame", but there aren't supporting examples for this explanation either. There is no explicit indication of gender.

Anaudat (L 345 ?)

Anauprost f.?

None of the sources have this exact name. Redon has many examples of "Anau-" as a prototheme, all in masculine names. Llandav has it in the feminine name *Anauved*. All the examples of the deuterotheme "-prost" that are found in Llandav and Bartrum are in feminine names (Onbraust, Rhybrawst, Eurbrawst, Tudbrawst). This entry in Bodmin is identified only as one of several "homines", but it seems reasonable to believe it may be feminine for the preceding reason.

Anauprost (L 252 slave)

Aniud m.?

Thorne and Hadden interpret this as *Æniucl*, but this is unlikely for phonological reasons. None of my other sources have this name specifically, but names involving "An-" and "-iud" are common in both Redon and Llandav. As far as I am aware, "-iud" appears only in masculine names, although this entry has no explicit gender reference.

Æniud (L 349 ?)

Argantbri m.?

See *Argantmoet* regarding the prototheme. I haven't been able to do an exhaustive search on the deuterotheme, but Llandav includes a masculine *Ilbri*. On this basis alone, I have tentatively listed this

name as masculine, there being no explicit gender information in the Bodmin record.

Arganbri (L 227 slave)

Arganteilin f.

See *Argantmoet* regarding the prototheme. This name may have the same root as Llandav's (feminine) *Arganhell* or Redon's (masculine) *Arganthael* with a diminutive ending.

Arganteilin (L 73 slave)

Argantmoet m.?

None of my comparative sources have this name specifically. In Welsh sources, "Ariant-" is a relatively rare prototheme and always in feminine names that I can find (Llandav: *Arganhell*, Bartrum *Arianwen*). In Redon, it is more common and appears in names of both genders (although feminine names are disproportionately represented): *Argantan* (f), *Argantlon* (f), *Argant* (m), *Arganthael* (?), *Argantlouuen* (?), *Argantmonoc* (?). The only other possible example I can find of this deuterotheme is in Bartrum's (masculine) *Gwaithfoed*. On that basis, I have tentatively identified this name as masculine.

Argantmoet (? 185 ?)

Beli m.

Llandav has one masculine *Beli*, Redon has nothing. The (Old English) entry identifies the individual as one of a group of "menn", but this is not necessarily a clear gender identifier.

Beli (E 357 slave)

Bledros m.?

Possibly the same as Llandav's masculine *Bledruis*, but there is no explicit gender information in Bodmin. Redon has nothing similar. The use of edh and thorn reflect an Old English spelling of the pronunciation rather than a Brythonic or Latin spelling tradition (even though they appear in Latin entries).

Bleðros (L 108, 264 witness)
Bleðros (? 179 ?)

Bleidcum ?

Llandav lists a lay witness *Bleidcu*, Redon has nothing similar. See the following several names for the same prototheme. The deuterotheme is found elsewhere in the Bodmin material in *Wincuf*, *Illcum*, *Leucum*, *Oncum*, et al., including names of both genders. Llandav's *Bleidcu* is probably masculine (although it may be an error to assume that legal witnesses will most likely be male, given that some of those in Bodmin are clearly female), and one of the examples here is clearly masculine (being a priest), and on this basis, the name is tentatively classified as masculine. However see the discussion under *Leucum*.

Bleyðcuf (E 285 witness)
Bleðcuf (E 196 witness)

Bleidiud m.

Llandav has a lay witness *Bledud*, and Bartrum has many masculine examples of this name. (The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender reference.) Redon has nothing closely similar.

Bleidiud (L 269 slave)

Brenci m.?

The name does not appear in the comparative material. *Names for the Cornish* identifies the name as male (on unknown evidence) and notes that it appears in several placenames.

Brenci (L 307 slave)

Brethoc ?

The name does not appear in the comparative material. In general, names ending in "-oc" are masculine, but rare feminine examples are found. There is no explicit gender reference in the text.

Brethoc (L 228 slave)

Brithael m.

Redon has two masculine examples of *Brithael*. One of the Bodmin entries is a clerical witness, and so male. The other may be the same individual.

Britail (L 20 witness)
Brytthael (L 114 witness)

Budic m.?

Redon has multiple examples of masculine *Budic(us)*, while Llandav has one masculine *Budic*. There is no explicit gender information in the text.

Búdic (L 13 slave)

Cantgueithen m.

Llandav has both lay and clerical witnesses named *Catgueithen*. Redon has a probably masculine *Cantuueten* as well as several masculine *Catuueten*. It isn't clear whether there are two different names involved here, or only one. The three Bodmin entries strongly agree in having an "n" in the prototheme ("Cant-" not "Cat-"), but there is little other evidence

for this prototheme (essentially, only Redon's *Cantuueten*, and possibly *Canthoe(an)* in the same source). "Cant" does, however, appear as a deuterotheme, e.g., in *Morcant*. All three Bodmin entries are clerical witnesses, quite probably the same individual.

Cangueden (L 64 witness)
Cantgethen (L 28 witness)
Cantgueithen (L 291 witness)

Catguistl ?

Llandav lists a place-name *nant Catguistil* that contains this name, but doesn't indicate its gender. There is no gender information in the Bodmin text. See *Anaguistl* for a discussion of the deuterotheme.

Catgustel (L 294 slave)

Catgutic? m.?

The name does not appear in the comparative material and there is no explicit gender information. Names in Bartrum ending in "-ig" are, as a rule, masculine.

Catuutic (E 365 witness)

Ceinguled f.?

The comparative material has nothing precisely like this, although Bartrum has multiple examples of "Cein-" as a prototheme (primarily in feminine names) and one of "-gulid" as a feminine deuterotheme. The Bodmin text provides no explicit gender information, however it seems plausible to interpret the name tentatively as feminine.

Ceenguled (L 324 slave)

Cenmin m.

Probably identical to Llandav's *Cinmin*. The Bodmin examples are clerical witnesses.

Cenmyn (L 115, 266 witness)

Cingur m.?

Compare with Llandav's *Congur* and more specifically *Cingur* (both masculine). The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Cengor (L 305 slave)

Cinhoedl m.?

This appears to contain the same deuterotheme as Bartrum's masculine *Gwenhoedl*, but this name does not appear in the comparative material. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information, and the interpretation as masculine is based on this one other example of the deuterotheme.

Cenhuiðel (L 250 slave)

Comoere? m.

I can find nothing closely similar to this in the comparative material, unless possibly Llandav's *Conmor*, but the resemblance is not particularly close linguistically. While the name doesn't entirely look Brythonic, it doesn't look like anything else more. The only really similar name is *Adoyre* in Bodmin (discussed below in the "unknown language" section). All but one of the entries for this name occur with clerical or other assumedly-masculine occupations. The other entry is treated variably in the different transcriptions: one includes it in a group of *feminarum*, others treat it as a separate, contextless entry. Based on the other examples, the latter treatment may be preferable.

Cemoere (L 333 witness)
Cemoyre (L 23 slave?)
Comoere (L 320, 385 witness)
Comuyre (L 272 witness)
Cufure (E 240 witness)

Conmonoc m.?

Redon has examples of masculine *Cenmonoc* and *Cenmunoc*. There is no explicit gender information in the Bodmin material.

Cenmenoc (L 157 owner)
Conmonoc (E 376 slave)

Conredeu m.

I can find nothing closely similar in the comparative material. The name has a slight similarity to Searle's *Coenred* but the final syllable is problematic in an Old English name. Both Bodmin entries are clerical witnesses.

Canreðeo (L 36 witness)
Conredeu (L 165 witness)

Dengel ?

The closest I can find in the comparative material is *Degol* in Redon, which might conceivably stand for *Dengol*, but not with much confidence. There is no explicit gender information in Bodmin (and the gender of the Redon entry isn't clear either).

Dengel (E 359 slave)

Dofagan m.?

Kemble transcribes this as *Dostigan*, but the others agree on the form below. The "-agan" ending looks

suspiciously Irish. The closest Old Irish candidate would be *Dubucan* (also found occasionally as *Dubacan*), as in O'Brien, although the substitution of "o" for "u" in the first syllable would be rather odd. If this is, indeed, the origin, then the name would be masculine. Bodmin has no explicit gender information on the entry.

Dofagan (L 387 witness)

Duihon ?

I can find nothing similar in the comparative material, although Llandav may contain the same prototheme in *Duinerth*. There is no explicit gender information in the Bodmin entry.

Duihon (L 16 owner)

Frioc m.

Llandav has examples of masculine *Friauc*, *Frioc*, and Redon of masculine *Freoc*. The Bodmin entry is identified as a priest, confirming the gender as masculine.

Freoc (L 315 witness)

Fuandrec f.?

Bartrum has a number of feminine names with similar deuterothemes: *Avandreg*, *Eurdre(g)*, *Keindrec*, *Tandreg*. The prototheme is unfamiliar. The Bodmin entry is one of a group of *homines* and *feminae*, but the specific gender is not identified.

Fuandrec (L 302 slave)

Gest? m.?

The identification is uncertain, but Searle (p.257) lists a masculine *Gest* from Domesday Book (although the name does not appear to be Old English), and a few other entries are written with devoiced initial sounds. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Cest (L 348 ?)

Gloiucen f.

The prototheme appears to be identical to "Gleu-" in Redon, *Gloiu* in Llandav. The examples of the deuterotheme in Bartrum are all masculine, but see *Ourcen* below for a feminine example, and this entry in Bodmin is clearly identified as female. The comparative material does not have this precise combination.

Gluiucen (L 47 slave)

Gloiumed f.?

See the previous for the prototheme. In Bartrum, the deuterotheme "-medd" appears to be appears to be exclusively feminine (*Eiliwedd*, *Archfedd*, *Banadlwedd*, *Blodeuwedd*, *Llenwedd*, *Tegfedd*), although the Bodmin entry has no explicit gender context.

Glowmæð (L 14 slave)

Gratcant m.?

Redon appears to have the same prototheme in *Gratlon*, *Greduuoret*. The deuterotheme is presumably the same as in *Morcant* et al. in Llandav. The deuterotheme appears to be consistently masculine, although there is no explicit gender context in the Bodmin entry.

Gratcant (L, E 208, 258 witness, owner)

Grifiud m.

The name appears in Llandav as *Grufud* and *Grifidus*. In Welsh sources the name is always masculine, and several of the Bodmin entries are for church officials and therefore masculine.

Grifiud (L 229, 273, 325 witness)
Grifiuð (L, E 98, 164, 199 witness)
Gryfyið (E 284 witness)

Guelet? ?

No closely similar name appears in the comparative material. Redon lists a *Guelec* and in certain manuscript hands "t" and "c" are easy to confuse, but the Bodmin hand does not appear to fall in this category. No certain gender identification appears in the Bodmin entry.

Welet (E 355 slave)

Guenbrith? f.?

The closest parallel I can find is feminine *Guenuureth* in Redon, which there appears to be a variant of *Uuenbrit*. In the majority of names in Bodmin where the deuterotheme begins with "b" or "m" in the radical, it retains this spelling in the form that appears in the document. However in occasional examples, it appears in spellings that reflect the expected lenition (as "v" or "f"). Therefore it is not impossible that this entry may reflect a phonetic rendering of the lenited pronunciation of "-brit(h)". However there must remain some level of uncertainty. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Wenerieð (L 70 slave)

Guencen f.

One of the entries included here is clearly identified as female in Bodmin.

Wuencen (L 87 slave)

The other is more difficult to interpret, except as compared to the preceding. The transcribers universally render it with a space between *Guene* and *cen*, but Förster suggests reading it as one and the previous example supports this possibility. "Guen-" is a relatively common prototheme (see the note under *Guentanet*) and see *Gloiucen* and *Ourcen* for the deuterotheme. If *Guene* is to be read as the complete name, it would be feminine, but then some explanation for *Cen* would be needed. This entry has no explicit gender information.

Guene cen (L 225/226 slave)

Guencenedl f.

The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as female. The deuterotheme may be the same as appears in Bartrum's feminine *Enghenedl*, but otherwise is unfamiliar.

Wenceneðel (L 94 slave)

Guencor? ?

The most closely similar name is Redon's *Uincar*, but it isn't clear whether the name here has "g" or "c" as the radical beginning the deuterotheme. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Wengor (L 300 slave)

Guenguerthlon? ?

This name is hard to identify. In medieval and later English sources, the combination "thl" is sometimes used to try to represent the Welsh "ll" sound, however I don't know that anything of the sort appears this early. Alternately, the name may be composed of the elements "Guen-" (see multiple examples above) "-guerth" (as in *Iorwerth*) and some other element. Another possibility might be "-guallon" as in "Iarnguallon" below, but this leaves the "r" unexplained.) There is no explicit gender information on this entry.

Wenværðlon (E 378 slave)

Guenguiu f.

Two of the Bodmin examples are clearly identified as female. I can find no precise parallels to this name in the comparative material. Bartrum has examples of a masculine *Gwynvyw*, but this is most likely to correspond to an Old Welsh *Guinbiu*. While the two deuterothemes might be expected to fall together as "-vyw" in the medieval period, the Bodmin example is clearly distinct.

Guenguiu (L 119, 313 slave)

Wenwiu (E 366 witness)

Guenmon? f.

Kemble and Thorne transcribe the name as *Wuenumon*, but the form below seems more likely. The name may appear in Redon's *Uuinmonoc*, which may be a place-name rather than a given name. Otherwise I can find no parallel. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as female.

Wuennmon (E 168 slave)

Guenneret ?

This precise name does not appear in the comparative material, but the prototheme is probably identical to that in Redon's *Uuenerdon* and *Uuenermonoc*. However I can find no clear gender pattern for the ending and there is no explicit gender information in Bodmin.

Guenneret (L 342 ?)

Guentanet m.?

This is a very uncertain entry. Hadden, Kemble, and Earle transcribe it as *Guenttinet*. I follow Förster here, who suggests the deuterotheme is identical to that in Redon's *Eutanet*, *Ristanet*, and also appears as a prototheme in several names there. *Eutanet*, at least, is clearly masculine — the Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information. I have tentatively identified the name as masculine on this basis. (Note that, as a prototheme, alternation between "Guin-" and "Guen-" is not meaningful with respect to gender.)

Guentanet (L 249 slave)

Guentigirn m.?

This precise name does not appear in the comparative material, but the deuterotheme appears in Llandav in *Eutigirn* among others, and seems to appear only in masculine names. There is no explicit gender information in the Bodmin entry.

Wendeern (L 303 slave)

Guincum m.?

Llandav has a lay witness *Guincum* who is probably masculine. There is no explicit gender information in Bodmin.

Wincuf (E 241 witness)

Guithrit? m.

Probably the same name as Llandav's *Guithrit*. (Compare the prototheme with Bartrum's *Gweithfoed*.) All the Bodmin entries are identified as

clericus, so the identification as masculine is solid.

Guaedret (L 177, 336 witness)
Guaiðrit (L 84 witness)
Wuaðrit (L 93 witness)
Wudryt (L 276 witness)
Gaudreit (L 231 witness)

This seems most likely to be a variant (or misreading) of this name.

Gurbodu m.

Llandav has a listing for *Gurbodu*, almost certainly the same name. The Bodmin entry is identified as one of a group of *filiorum*, i.e., masculine.

Wurfoðu (L 383 slave?)

Gurcant m.

Identical to Llandav's *Gurcant* and present in an extended form in Redon's *Uuorcantoe*. One of the Bodmin entries is identified as someone's *filius*, i.e., masculine.

Gurcant (L 347 ?)
Wurcant (? 182 ?)
Wurgent (L 153 witness)

Gurcencor m.?

I can find no direct parallels for the name as a whole or for the deuterotheme. The prototheme "Gur-" is quite common in both Redon and Llandav, and seems to appear only in masculine names — which would be unsurprising since it is identical with the common noun meaning "man" (i.e., male human being).

Gurcencor (L 343 ?)

Gurci m.

The name appears several times in Llandav as *Gurci*. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as masculine.

Wurci (L 260 slave)

Gurcon m.

Llandav has several masculine examples of *Gurcon*. In Redon it appears in the further compound *Uurcondelu*. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as masculine.

Wurcon (L 380 slave)

Gurdilic m.?

Redon has *Gurdilec* and Llandav *Gurdilic*, both more likely masculine than not since they appear as charter witnesses, but I have no explicit gender information on any of the examples.

Wurðylic (L 304 slave)

Gurguaret m.

Redon has examples of the name as *Guruuoret* and *Uuruuoret*. Llandav may have the same name with a variant or error as *Gurguare*. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as male.

Guruaret (L 384 slave)

Gurguistl m.

Llandav has two examples of the name as *Guguistil* that appear to be masculine (since they are witnesses). Names with the prototheme "Gur-" seem invariably to be masculine, although all the other examples I can find of the deuterotheme "-guistl" that come with a clear gender identification are feminine. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as masculine. If anything, this is a clear example of the danger of making too firm an assumption of gender based on the known distribution of an element.

Wurgustel (E 170 slave)

Gurheter m.?

Llandav lists a lay witness *Gurhitir* who is probably masculine. There is no explicit gender information in Redon.

Gurheter (L 319 slave)

Guriant? m.?

Redon lists a *Gurian* (gender unspecified but probably masculine as it is a witness) which is probably the same name. There is no explicit gender information in Bodmin.

Gurient (L 174 slave)

Gurlouen m.?

Redon has masculine or probably-masculine examples of the same name as *Gurloen* and *Uu(o)rlouuen.* The Bodmin entry is identified as *laycus*, but it is uncertain whether this provides a gender identification.

Wurlowen (L 10 witness)

Gurthcid? m.

I'm guessing at a standardized form for this name as I can find nothing closely similar in the comparative material. The bearer is a priest, and so male.

Wurðicið (E 201 witness)

Halbiu? ?

I can find no close parallel of this name. The deuterotheme may be a lenited form of either (nor-

mally masculine) "-biu" or (feminine, in the example of *Guenguiu* above) "-guiu". There is little, if any, solid evidence for "Hal-" as a prototheme, in which case it may be relevant to note Redon's *Albeu*.

Haluiu (L 12 slave?/owner?) — The format of the entry makes it unclear what role this person plays.

Hedyn m.

Possibly the same as Redon's masculine *Heden*. The Bodmin entry is a priest and so male.

Hedyn (L 261 witness)

Hincomhal ?

This precise name does not appear in the comparative material, however parallels to its construction can be found. The first element is probably identical to that in Llandav's *Hindec*, *Hinbiu*. Even more relevant may be Redon's examples of "Hin-" prefixed to elements that also appear as independent names, such as *Hinconan*, *Hincunnan*, and examples of *Comhael* as a separate name, which may be identical to the second part of the Bodmin entry. (It may be the same as the prototheme appearing in Redon's *Comal(t)car, Comalton*.)

Hincomhal (? 180 ?)

Iarnguallon m.?

Redon has this name as *Iarnuuallon* in a probably masculine example. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Iarnwallon (E 377 slave)

Ilcarthon? m.

I can find no parallel to this name in the comparative material. There may be a prototheme identical to that of Llandav's *Ilud*, *Iliuc*, *Illtut*, *Ilbri* and Redon's *Illoc*. If so, the deuterotheme is unfamiliar. One of the Bodmin entries is identified as a *praepositus* and so is almost certainly male.

Ylcærðon (L 154 witness)
Ylcerthon (L 270 slave)

Ilcum f.

This specific name does not appear in the comparative material, but see the preceding for the prototheme, and *Bleidcum* for the deuterotheme. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as female.

Illcum (L 89 slave)

Iliud m.?

Llandav includes the same name as a masculine *Iliud*. There is no specific gender information in the Bodmin entry.

Iliuð (L 100 slave)

Inisian m.?

The closest parallel is Redon's masculine *Inisan(us)*, however it's possible that Llandav's *Nissien* or *Yssan* may be variants of the same name. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Inisian (L 306 slave)

Iofa ?

I can find no parallels to this name in the comparative material.

Iofa (L 110 owner)

Iudhent ?

I can find no close parallels for this name, or for the deuterotheme. See the previous entry for the prototheme. There is no explicit gender information in the Bodmin entry.

Iudhent (L 352 ?)

Iudicael m.

Redon has this name as masculine *Judicael*. Llandav has many examples of the stem *Judic* as an independent name. See *Justin* above for the appearance of initial "g" for "j".

Gyðiccael (E 191 slave)

Iudnerth m.

Llandav has several masculine examples of this name as *Judnerth*. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as male.

Iudnerð (L 382 slave)

Iudprost f.?

Haddan, Kemble, and Thorpe all transcribe this as *Ina prost*, but I have followed Förster, whose version has better precedent among other names. This specific name is not found in the comparative material, but the prototheme appears as "Jud-" in many names in Redon, and as "Iud-" and "Id-" in Llandav. In names where the gender is identified (in Bodmin, Llandav, and Bartrum), the deuterotheme "-prost" appears in feminine names, and on this basis the name has been tentatively identified as feminine. There is no explicit gender information in the Bodmin entry.

Iudprost (L 31 slave)

Leucum m.

This appears to be the same as Llandav's feminine *Leucu* — a popular feminine name in the medieval period and later. Most of the Bodmin entries are clearly male, identified with clerical occupations. One has no explicit gender information and so could be feminine. The deuterotheme appears elsewhere in both masculine and feminine names, but I believe this is the only example I have of the same name containing this element used for both men and women.

Lecem (L 107 witness)
Leucum (L 29, 122, 263, 317, 335 witness)
Loucum (L 277 witness)
Lywci (L 310 slave)

Loi m.?

Possibly the same as Llandav's masculine *Le(g)ui*, Redon's masculine *Lui*. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Loi (L 340 ?)

Louenan? m.

Possibly the same as Redon's masculine *Louuenan*. The Bodmin entry is identified as male via a clerical occupation.

Lowenan (L 262 witness)

Louhelic ?

Possibly the same as in Llandav's place-name *nant Louhelic*. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Leuhelec (E 354 slave)

Loumarch m.

The name appears in Llandav as masculine *Loumarch*. This is the same as Medieval Welsh *Llywarch*. Most of the Bodmin entries are identified clearly as male by means of clerical occupations.

Leumarh (L 97, 326 witness)
Loumarch (L 230, 275 witness)

Luncen ?

Llandav appears to have the same prototheme in *Lunberth*, *Lunbiu*, *Lunbrit*. See *Guencen* above for possibly the same deuterotheme. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Luncen (L 301 slave)

Maeloc m.?

Redon lists this name as masculine *Maeloc* and *Maelhoc*; Bartrum has examples as well. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Mæiloc (E 379 slave)

MaelPatraic m.?

This is an Irish name, as seen in O'Brien. It seems more likely that this individual is Irish in origin, than that the name was in common use in Cornwall. In Irish records, this name is masculine, but the Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Muelpatrec (L 331 slave)

March m.?

Llandav has one masculine *March*. Redon has several examples of it as a prototheme, but not as a simple name. One of the Bodmin entries is identified as *teste*, but this is not a certain indicator of gender.

Marh (E 187, 364 owner, witness)
March (L 388 witness)

Matuid m.

This name may appear as a root in Redon's *Matuedo*, *Matuuidoe*, *Matuedoi*. The prototheme is that appearing in *Madog*, et al. The deuterotheme is difficult to identify with certainty, since it appears here in lenited form, but it could be "-guid" or "-bid". One of the Bodmin entries bears a clerical byname, so I have identified the name as masculine.

Madfuð (L 109 slave)
Matuið (L 391 witness)

Medguistl f.

See the preceding for the deuterotheme and *Anaguistl* above for the deuterotheme, but this precise combination does not appear in the comparative material. One of the Bodmin entries is clearly identified as female.

Medguistyl (L 268 slave)
Medwuistel (E 368 witness)

Medrod m.

Bartrum has two examples of the name as *Medrod*. It may be the same as Redon's *Modrot*. (This is the name that became the Arthurian *Mordred*.) The Bodmin entry is identified as someone's son, so the gender identification is clear.

Modredis [genitive] (E 204 witness)

Meduil f.

Bartrum lists a feminine *Meduyl*, which is probably the same name. The Bodmin entry is clearly identi-

fied as female.

Medhuil (L 61 slave)

Mermin m.

Llandav has masculine examples of *Mervin*, *Meruin*; Redon has nothing similar. The Bodmin entries are mostly identified with clerical occupations (and so are male), and most likely represent a single individual.

Mermen (L, E 43, 82, 104, 289, 363, 372 witness)
Myrmen (E 57 witness)

Milcenoc ?

The only vaguely similar name in the comparative material is Llandav's *Melgen*. Other possibilities from Irish sources (O'Brien) include *MÌlchonach* or possibly some name beginning in "Mael-". The Bodmin entry has no clear gender information.

Milcenoc (L 341 ?)

Mor m.?

Llandav has a masculine example of this name. The Bodmin entry has the name in *filius Mor* and while a patronym seems more probable than a metronym, the entry itself is not conclusive. (Note that in Irish sources, *Mor* is more often feminine, though it can be either.)

Mór (L 156 witness)

Morcant m.?

There are multiple masculine examples of *Morcant* in Llandav, only one in Redon. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Morcant (L 397 witness)

Morhaetho? m.

I have not been able to identify the name precisely. The variability of spellings in the Bodmin records points to a name less familiar to the (Anglo-Saxon?) scribes. The most similar name I was able to find in the comparative material is Llandav's *Morhed* but the similarity is tenuous. The majority of the Bodmin entries bear clerical bynames, so the gender is certain. (It is likely that all the entries represent a single individual.)

Morhaðo (L 19, 35, 50, 92 witness)
Morhaedo (L 176 witness)
Morhaiðo (L 83, 99 witness)
Morhaitho (L 160 witness)
Morhaiðo (L 45 witness)
Morhayðo (L 6 witness)
Morhæððo (E 59 witness)
Morayðo (L 132 witness)
Morhið<o> (E 373 witness) — The reading is not completely certain.

Moruith? f.

The sources disagree about the transcription of the last letter. Kemble, Thorpe, and one other source mentioned in Förster (which I didn't obtain) have the letter as a thorn while the others interpret it as "w". Either is plausible. See *Guenguiu* above for support for the latter possibility. If the former, the name should be identified with Welsh *Morfudd* (see Bartrum), which may be the same as the name of the lay witness *Morguid* in Llandav. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as female.

Moruið or Moruiw (E 169 slave)

Oncenedl f.

For the deuterotheme, compare with Bartrum's *Enghenedl*. One of the Bodmin entries is clearly identified as female.

Oncenedl (L 350 ?)
Ongyneðel (E 190 slave)

Oncum f.

For the prototheme, see the preceding and Llandav's *Onbraust*, both of which are feminine. For the deuterotheme, see *Bleidcum*. This deuterotheme appears in names of both genders, but this entry is clearly identified as female.

Onncum (L 88 slave)

Onguen f?

See the preceding two for the prototheme. Presumably the deuterotheme is feminine "-guen", although none of the Bodmin entries is explicitly marked as to gender.

Onwean (L 308 slave)
Onwen (L 39 slave)
Onnwuen (? 184 ?)

Ordguydel? ?

I can find nothing particularly similar to this in the comparative material. The deuterotheme may be related to that of Bartrum's *Morwyddel* or of *Proswetel* below, but if so, the prototheme is completely unknown. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Ourduyðal (L 75 slave)

Ossíne? m.

The only parallel I can find is the Irish masculine

Ossíne, a rare name found in O'Brien, or possibly the somewhat more common *Ossán* from the same source. The Bodmin entries all appear with a clerical title, and are most likely all the same man.

Osian (L 27, 77, 121, 159, 316, 334, 396 witness)
Oysian (L 274 witness)

Ourcen f.

Probably the same as Redon's feminine *Ourken*, *Aourken*. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as female.

Ogurcen (L 26 slave)

Ourdilic? f.

I can find nothing exactly similar, but compare Llandav's feminine *Ourdilat* and another feminine name appearing in several variants, *Ebrdil*, *Evrdil*, *Eurdila*. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as female.

Ourdylyc (L 259 slave)

Perem? ?

No precise parallel appears in the comparative material. Possibly compare Bartrum's feminine *Peren* (perhaps identical to the *Perenn* appearing in Llandav in the place-name *Trev Perenn*), but see also Bartrum's masculine *Perum*. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Perem (L 173 owner)

Proscen f.

The prototheme may be the same as appears in Redon's feminine *Prostlon* and *Prostuuoret*, as well as Bartrum's feminine *Prawst*, and as a deuterotheme in Bartrum's feminine *Eurbrawst*, *Rhibrawst*. For the deuterotheme, see *Gloiucen*, *Guencen*, and *Ourcen* above, all of which are feminine. One of the Bodmin entries is clearly identified as female.

Proscen (L 86, 288 slave)

Prosguetel? ?

For the prototheme, see the preceding for possibilities. For the deuterotheme, see *Ordwydel* above for possibilities. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Proswetel (E 360 slave)

Putrael m.

No precise parallel can be found in the comparative material. There may be a deuterotheme "-hael" here, as in *Iudicael* above. Bartrum has a single example of an uncompounded *Puter*, but it appears in a rather obscure and corrupt text and should not be relied on. The name appears several times in the context of a fairly elaborate entry that makes it clear that the individual is male.

Putrael (E 233 slave)

Rannoeu ?

Possibly see Redon's *Ranhoiarn*, if only for the prototheme. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender reference.

Rannoeu (L 330 slave)

Resmen? m.

Possibly compare with Redon's *Resmunuc*, but the name may not even be Celtic. The individual appears with a clerical occupation and so must be male.

Hresman (L 8 witness)

Rinduran m.?

Redon has a presumably masculine *Rinduran* as a witness. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Rinduran (L 309 slave)

Riol m.

Possibly compare with Llandav's *Riaval*, *Rioval*, *Riual*; Redon's masculine *Rio*, *Riuelen*. The majority of the Bodmin entries include clerical occupations, and they may all represent a single individual.

Riol (L, E 37, 46, 56, 79, 91, 105, 254, 290, 327, 344 witness)

Rum f.

See the preceding, but Redon lists masculine *Rume*, and Searle lists *Ruma* and *Rumo*, so even the language identification is not certain. The Bodmin entry is clearly identified as female.

Rum (L 24 slave)

Rumun ?

Quite possibly a name derived from Latin *Romanus* (compare Bartrum's *Rumaun*), although Redon appears to have "Rum-" as a prototheme in *Rumgual*. Neither of the Bodmin entries has explicit gender information, but see the following entry.

Rumun (L 11, 299 slave)

Ryd? m.

Redon has multiple examples of "Ret(h)-", "Rid-", "Riet(h)-" and "Rit-" as a prototheme, but no ex-

amples of it uncompounded. The Bodmin entries are all identified with clerical occupations, and likely represent the same individual.

Ret (L 106, 123 witness)
Ryt (L 65 witness)

Sulcen? ?

Unlikely to be identified with Llandav's masculine *Sulgen*, but possibly the same prototheme with the deuterotheme of Bartrum's *Cincen*. But see also feminine *Guencen*, *Ourcen*, etc. above. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Sulcæn (L 339 ?)

Sulleisoc ?

Redon and Llandav list a number of names with "Sul-" as a prototheme, but not this precise name. The remainder is not familiar. There is no explicit gender context in the Bodmin entry.

Sulleisoc (L 74 slave)

Sulmed? ?

Same comments as for Sulleisoc.

Sulmeað (L 297 slave)

Talan m.?

Llandav lists a clerical witness and Redon a lay witness by this name. The Bodmin entry has no specific gender information.

Talan (E 209 witness)

Tanguistl f.?

The name does not appear in Redon or Llandav, but there are multiple feminine examples in Bartrum. The Bodmin entries have no explicit gender information.

Tancwoystel (L 69 slave)
Tancwuestel (E 361 slave)

Telent m.?

Redon has three masculine or probably masculine examples of this name. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Telent (? 186 ?)

Terithien m.?

Redon has a probably masculine *Terithien* listed. The Bodmin entry has no explicity gender information.

Teriðian (L 124 slave)

Tethion m.

Redon has multiple examples of masculine *Tethion* and other examples of "Teth-" as a prototheme. All three examples in Bodmin are clearly identified as masculine (and appear to be different individuals).

Teðion (E 204 witness)
Teðion (L 116, 155 witness)

Ungust m.?

Llandav has a clerical witness (masculine) by this name. The name is cognate with Irish *Aengus*. The Bodmin entry has no explicit gender information.

Ungost (L 117 witness)

Names of Uncertain Language

Adoyre m.?

Compare possibly with *Comoere* above. The full entry here is *Adoyre Milian clericus*. Förster inserts a comma after *Adoyre*, interpreting the phrase as two different names, or perhaps as "Adoyre, Milian's clerk". If the latter, then the name is likely masculine, but all in all there isn't much certainty involved.

Adoyre (L 72 witness)

Artaca ?

I can find no parallels for this name. There is no context for the gender.

Artaca (E 244 witness)

Diuset f.

The context indicates the name is clearly feminine, but I can find no parallels for it.

Diuset (E 374 slave)

Ewsannec ?

There is no context for the gender and I can find no parallels for the name.

Ewsannec (L 40 slave)

Meonre f.

The context clearly identifies the individual as female, but I know of no parallels for the name.

Meonre (L 80 slave)

Milian ?

See the discussion under *Adoyre* above. If this is a given name, it appears to be Latin, or at least Latinized, but I can find no parallels in that context.

Milian (L 72 witness)

Salenn m.

The context clearly identifies the individual as male. Redon has some vaguely similar names appearing as witnesses, *Salon* and *Salun*, however the names are not close enough to assume identity.

Salenn (L 394 slave)

Index of Celtic and Uncertain Names

The following index includes all the non-Germanic, non-Latin/Biblical names, arranged according to the evidence for the gender. The form indexed here is for reference only and does not necessarily appear in the data. The following categories are used.

Group 1: names where the gender is explicit in the Bodmin text.

Group 2: names not in group 1 that appear in the comparative material (where there is gender evidence).

Group 3: names not in the previous groups where the deuterotheme is clearly associated with a particular gender, either in the Bodmin material or elsewhere.

Group 4: names not in the previous groups where the evidence suggests one gender is more likely than the other, but either is potentially possible.

Group 5: names where there is no basis for even making an educated guess as to gender.

Male Names

Group 1

Anaoc
Bleidcum
Brithael
Cantgueithen
Cenmin
Comoere
Conredeu
Frioc
Grifiud
Guithrit
Gurbodu
Gurcant
Gurci
Gurcon
Gurguaret
Gurguistl
Gurthcid
Hedyn
Hincomhal
Ilcarthon
Iudicael
Iudnerth
Leucum
Louenan
Loumarch
Matuid
Medrod
Mermin
Morhaetho
Ossìne
Putrael
Resmen
Riol
Ryd
Salenn
Tethion

Group 2

Aedan
Beli
Bleidiud
Budic
Cingur
Conmonoc
Gest
Guincum
Gurdilic
Gurheter
Guriant
Gurlouen
Iarnguallon
Iliud
Inisian
Loi
Maeloc
MaelPatraic
March
Morcant
Rinduran
Talan
Telent
Terithien
Ungust

Group 3

Adoyre
Aniud
Argantbri
Argantmoet
Cinhoedl
Gratcant
Guentanet
Guentigirn
Gurcencor

Group 4

Bledros
Brenci
Brethoc
Catgutic
Dofagan
Milcenoc
Mor

Female Names

Group 1

Aedoc
Arganteilin
Diuset
Gloiucen
Guencen
Guencenedl
Guenguiu
Guenmon
Ilcum
Medguistl
Meduil
Meonre
Moruith
Oncenedl
Oncum
Ourcen
Ourdilic
Proscen
Rum

Group 2

Guenbrith
Tanguistl

Group 3

Anauprost
Ceinguled
Fuandrec
Gloiumed
Iudprost
Onguen

Group 4

Anaguistl
Catguistl
Ordguydel
Prosguetel

Unknown Gender (Group 5)

Anaudat
Artaca
Dengel
Duihon
Ewsannec
Guelet
Guencor
Guenguerthlon
Guenneret
Halbiu
Iofa
Iudhent
Louhelic
Luncen
Milian
Perem
Rannoeu
Rumun
Sulcen
Sulleisoc
Sulmed

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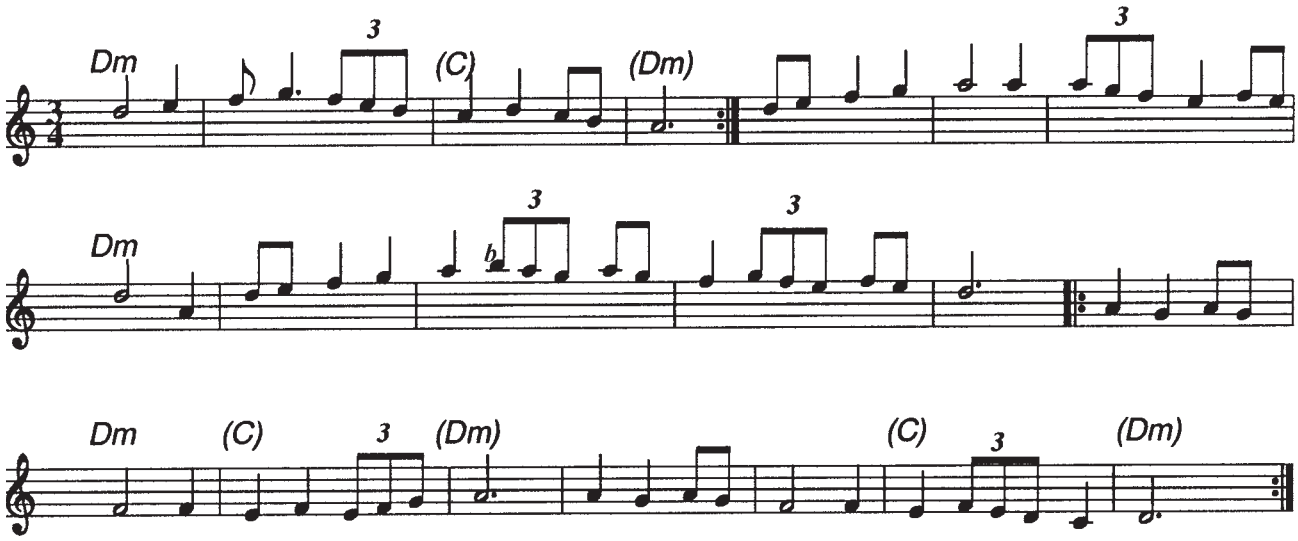
Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

I've long made a practice of writing harp tunes as presents for friends on their weddings. (This habit is not unrelated to my friends' habit of asking me to play harp at their weddings.) I think this is the only non-wedding gift tune I've written, presented to Tyne when she was Princess of the Mists in 1992. I'd been trying to immerse myself in 14-15th century tunes in hopes that some of the style would rub off when I was composing. I confess I've never had the patience to study historical music theory properly, but I can imitate things that I've listened to enough.

Tyne's Tune



While it may be the case that martial activities get the majority of the good songs, heralds seem to come in for a goodly share. I think a lot of it has to do with collegiality – SCA heralds have a real sense of identity not simply as an organization but as a sub-culture with its own lore, in-jokes, and archetypes. I no longer remember exactly what the inspiration was for this song. Back in 1985 I was in the middle of a bit of a sappy-heroic phase of writing and it turned out the perfect sort of song to sing around a campfire at 2 am when people are getting a little maudlin. The song has no pretensions to following medieval meters or melodies, although I hope to have captured at least a possible historic point of view.

The Herald's Farewell

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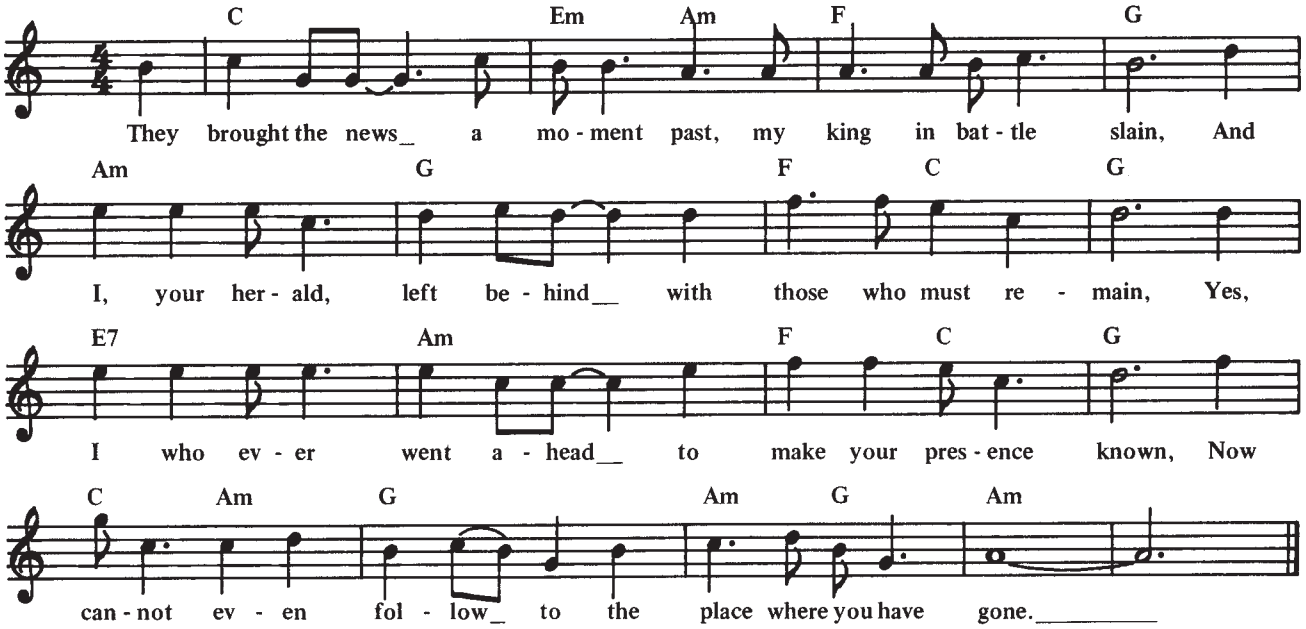

C Em Am F G
They brought the news a moment past — my king, in battle slain,
Am G F C G
And I, your herald, left behind, with those who must remain,
E7 Am F C G
Yes, I who ever went ahead, to make your presence known,
C Am G Am G Am
Now cannot even follow to the place where you have gone.

Since you were crowned, I was your voice — in times both good and ill,
Before this battle, I it was who told them of your will,
I spoke your words to friend and foe, upon this bloody plain,
And now they bring me bitter news — my king, in battle slain.

And when you come to judgement now, who will announce your name?
Who will recall your titles there, and all your deeds of fame?
In court and hall, and far-off lands — in times of peace and war,
This is the first time of them all, I have not gone before.

Perhaps this one last service is nought but a waste of breath,
They say, the honors of this life mean nothing after death,
But I, on earth, will raise a shout to make the heavens ring,
And let God know he comes before the presence of my king.

Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

For a number of years, there has been a fairly regular get-together in the Mists for people working on literary compositions to share their work and get feedback. One year, this group (with additions) was inspired to create verses for the Western royalty to take as gifts to the Estrella War: one verse for each kingdom represented at the war. At that time, Caid had royalty with Welsh personas, so I called dibs. (Based on the location of the piece in my notebook, I believe this was for Estrella 1996, and since the Caidan royalty for that date have Welsh names, I think it must be correct.)

This poem is written in the style of the Gododdin*, an early heroic poem written as a collection of stanzas commemorating particular warriors. The Welsh traditional verse forms use a lot of internal rhyme and patterns of repeated consonants – exactly the sort of word game I enjoy.*

Hwn yw y Caidoddin Tangwystyl a'e cant

(This is the "Caidoddin", Tangwystyl sang it.)

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Cadwyr, Caidwyr, cydwerth a'm cerddi;
Gwyr a aeth Ystrel, ystyriol am fri.
Gwelygordd wyliog caer waliog y weilgi,
Rhuthro ar faes, gorllaes eu lleni;
Dewred a derw, cywired a chi.
Llad di-llawgaead caer lleuad yn llenwi;
Talant y teulu tlysieu eleni.
Mil o ymladdwyr, melys eu moli.

Warriors, Caidans, worthy of my songs;
Men went to Estrella, mindful of honor.
The watchful kindred of the walled sea-castle,
Charging on the plain, their cloaks trailing;
Mighty as an oak, faithful as a hound.
Unstingy gifts fill the crescent-fortress;
They will repay the last year's treasures.
A thousand warriors, it is sweet to praise them.

The Verse Form

The structure of this poem is taken from the major type of verse found in the Gododdin, a collection of verses in the language of 9th or 10th century Wales commemorating events of the 6th century. The verse is stress-metered, rather than counting syllables. A stanza will be a collection of lines with three or four main stresses, each terminating in the same main rhyme. The number of lines can vary from four to a dozen, although six to eight predominates. Within each line, the stressed words will be tied together as much as possible by one of a number of methods. They may carry a secondary rhyme:

Gwyr a aeth gatraeth oed fraeth eu llu
^^^^ ^^^^ ^^^^

They may alliterate:

Kaeawc kynnivyat kywlat e rwyt
^ ^ ^

They may use an extended form of alliteration known as "cynghanedd" in which strings of consonants in the word, not simply the initial one(s), are repeated:

Ef gwrthodes gwrys gwyar dis grein
^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

They may use a combination of these features:

A dyngwt y dutvwlch a chyvwlch hir
^^^^^ ^^^^^

Not all lines will have _all_ the stressed words "tied" in this fashion, but normally at least one pair will show it.

I have composed the poem in the vocabulary and grammar of Medieval Welsh (the language of the 12th-14th century approximately), although I have followed Modern Welsh spelling conventions to aid in its proper performance.

The Annotated Version

Alliteration and cynghanedd structure are noted with "#", internal rhyme by "^". (The main rhymes should be obvious.)

Cadwyr, Caidwyr, cydwerth a'm cerddi,
# # # # # # # # #
Warriors, Caidans, of equal value to my songs/arts,

"Cerddi" can mean either "songs" or more generally "arts, crafts, skills".

Gwyr a aeth Ystrel, ystyriol am fri.
#
Men went to Estrella, mindful of honor.

This line echoes the most famous refrain of the Gododdin, "Gwyr a aeth Gatraeth" — "Men went to Catraeth". I have attempted to adapt "Estrella" to the Medieval Welsh sound system.

Gwelygordd wyliog caer waliog y weilgi,
##
The watchful kindred of the walled castle of the sea,

"Gwaliog" can also mean "embattled" in the heraldic sense, referring of course to the Caidan arms. This line uses an unusual form of cynghanedd. "Wyliog", "waliog", and "weilgi" are all "mutated" forms, due to various grammatical reasons. The full cynghanedd is with the underlying, unmutated words "gwyliog", "gwaliog", and "gweilgi".

Rhuthro ar faes, gorllaes eu lleni,
^^^ ##^^^ ##
Charging on the plain, their cloaks trailing;

Dewred a derw, cywired a chi.
#^^ # # # ^^
Mighty as an oak, faithful as a hound.

Once again, the underlying, unmutated form of "chi" is "ci", and it is this which alliterates with "cywired". Hounds are often used as images of warriors in Welsh poetry.

Llad di-llawgaead caer lleuad yn llenwi.
##^^ ## ^^ ## ^^ ##
Unstingy gifts fill the crescent-fortress;

"Llad" can mean either "gift" or "drink, beer" which seemed not inappropriate. One of the recurring themes in the Gododdin is how the warriors had been feasted on mead for a year before the battle and their participation was payment for it. (More on this below.) The cresent, of course, is another reference to the Caidan arms.

Talant y teulu tlysieu eleni.
##
They will repay the last year's treasures.

As noted above, one common theme in the poetry I am drawing from is of warriors "repaying" what they have received from their lord by their service. Here "tlysieu", literally "jewels", represents the support that a ruler gives his/her people. The word often appears in connection with a lord or lady's expected role as supporter and benefactor in medieval Welsh literature.

Mil o ymladdwyr, melys eu moli.
#
A thousand warriors, it is sweet to praise them.

A Very Rough Pronunciation Guide

(In this guide, I use "ai" to stand for the sound in English "eye", and "ei" to stand for the sound in

English “day”. I have transcribed both “dd” and “th” as “th”, but a careful pronunciation should note that the former is as in “this” and the latter as in “thistle”. “Ll” is a peculiarly Welsh sound. If you don’t know how to pronounce it, fake it with “hl” or “thl”. “Kh” stands for hard “ch” as in German or Scottish. Stressed syllables are in upper case.)

Cadwyr, Caidwyr, cydwerth a’m cerddi;

KAHD-weer KAID-weer KUHD-werth ahm KERTH-ee

Gwyr a aeth Ystrel, ystyriol am fri.

GWEER ah AITH UH-strel uh-STEER-yohl ahm VREE

Gwelygordd wyliog caer waliog y weilgi,

GWEL-ee-GORTH WIL-yohg cair WAHL-yohg uh WEIL-gee

Rhuthro ar faes, gorllaes eu lleni;

REETH-roh ahr VAIS GOR-llais ee LLEN-ee

Dewred a derw, cywired a chi.

DEH-oo-red ah DER-oo kuh-WEER-ed ah KHEE

Llad di-llawgaead caer lleuad yn llenwi;

LLAHD dee-llow-GAI-ahd cair LLAI-ahd un LLEN-wee

Talant y teulu tlysieu eleni.

TAHL-ant uh TEI-lee T(uh)LUS-yeh eh-LEN-ee

Mil o ymladdwyr, melys eu moli.

MEEL oh um-LATH-weer MEL-ees ee MOHL-ee

Back in 1991, one category in the West Kingdom A&S championship was for a "master-book" – interpreted as a book detailing how to do a particular craft. I came up with the idea of writing instructions in how to compose particular verse forms done as the relevant verse form. This is the only one of the lot that I've liked enough to continue performing. That has a lot to do with being enamored of the complex requirements of the villanelle and the way it cries out for playing with different readings of the repeated phrases. I don't remember how this particular entry did, but that was the year I won the Golden Poppy.

The Villanelle

The Villanelle: a hard thing to compose.
Begin with what will principally constrain:
Repeated lines that alternate to close

Each stanza. But if carefully you chose
You may not find (though art should have its pain)
The Villanelle a hard thing to compose.

As meter you may choose whatever flows
In three line stanzas, bearing as refrain
Repeated lines that alternate to close

And, chain-like, link by rhyme the first of those
Within the next set. Further to explain
The Villanelle (a hard thing to compose),

The second line of ev'ry stanza knows
A different rhyme, contrasting with the main
Repeated lines that alternate. To close

We need a four-line stanza, and it shows
The difficulty by which some complain
The Villanelle a hard thing: to compose
Repeated lines that alternate to close.

Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

So one day I was working there in the office at Marion Zimmer Bradley's Fantasy Magazine *(my part-time grad school job) and Lisa turns from a phone call to say, "Mike Ashley's doing an anthology of Holy Grail stories and he's looking for something with an older Welsh flavor for balance. I told him you could write one – can you get him a manuscript by the end of the week?" Urk. What answer is there but yes? At the time I was deeply immersed in translating Medieval Welsh literature as data for my dissertation, so working with those themes and styles was relatively easy. In fact, I keep thinking I should translate this story into it's "original" Medieval Welsh version. In addition to being my first fiction sale to someone other than Marion, this story has spawned, as far as I know, my only brush with being the subject of literary analysis. (I ran into the essay on-line and downloaded it but have never been able to track down the author.) The story was originally published in* The Chronicles of the Holy Grail*, ed. Mike Ashley, Carroll & Graf, 1996*

The Treasures of Britain

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Gwenhwyfar looked out over the hall and muttered, "If it's not one thing it's another!" But it never failed. No sooner had knife gone into meat and drink into horn than some lack-wit came knocking on the gate. That business with Culhwch and the boar hunt had taken *years* to clean up after, but had Arthur learned his lesson? No. Now he was convinced that anyone who showed up in the middle of dinner was a Destiny to be dealt with. The queen sighed as the porter was sent scurrying back to the gate to escort the travelers in with a proper semblance of reluctance and trepidation.

All through the hall, heads craned forward to see the visitors as they were led within. The man was tall and noble-looking, with dark curly hair that held just a hint of gray. He bore before him in both hands a golden cup of wondrous workmanship, set with pearls and precious stones and polished until it seemed to glow of its own accord. The woman who followed him had skin as white as sea-foam and hair like a raven's wing. Her lips curled in some secret smile. From her shoulders hung a mantle of shining gold-brocaded silk that fell to sweep the ground about her feet. But few in the hall spared a glance for the two travelers; their eyes were riveted to the golden chalice.

"Can it be?" Arthur muttered under his breath.

"Is our search ended at last?" Bedwyr asked of Cei.

"Is there no purpose left to the quest?" Owein sighed with just a hint of petulance.

The stranger bowed when he felt all eyes upon him and advanced to stand before Arthur. "I am Caradog Strong-arm, and I have come to your court because I have heard that you are fond of wonders," he began. (*Fond to the point of an entire barn-full*, Gwenhwyfar thought.) "That is why I have brought you this ... chalice," he continued. "The vessel has a peculiarity: it cannot abide impurity and faithlessness. And I thought, only here at Arthur's court would I find men who would dare to be tested, who would set it to their lips and see if the drink it contains is for them."

Owein was the first to step forward. "I am the chief of Arthur's warband. Let no man question my faith to him. I will drink."

Then Bedwyr pushed forth, saying, "I will hold my purity against any man's — I too will drink." And Cei, who never lagged where Bedwyr led, demanded his turn. Then the others, Gereint, and Gwalchmei, and all of Arthur's men were shouting and demanding that they be allowed to test themselves.

When the noise had quieted some little bit, Caradog spoke again. "I think you have mistaken my meaning. This vessel cannot abide impurity and faithlessness — it will not contain the drink of a man whose lady has violated her marriage or her virginity. For such a man, the contents would spill to the ground."

The men were quiet then for a moment, but once again Owein was the first to speak. He laughed and held out his hand to the lady at his side. "Then I have nothing to fear. Denw has always borne true faith to me. Yet will I drink." He did not see the whiteness of her face nor the anger in her eyes.

"And I," Gereint echoed him. "My Enid kept true to me no matter how I tested her. I will drink." Enid drew a fold of her headdress over her face and turned away.

One by one, the bold boasts were repeated, until the men were nearly coming to blows for the right to drink from the cup first and prove their ladies' worth.

But then Gwenhwyfar came and stood before her lord, the king, and said, "Will it come to bloodshed before the meal is even begun? This is no fit welcome for guests." (*Though it seems what the guest intended*, she thought.) "Let us set the cup aside for now and wait for a more fitting time." *'Never' seems good*. She turned to the stranger and spoke more sharply. "It seems your test is one-sided. What of the ladies?"

He smiled craftily and beckoned his companion forward. "My lady, Tegeu Gold-breast, wears a garment with wondrous qualities." Tegeu bowed her head modestly and slipped the mantle from her shoulders to hold it before her. Her husband continued, "The peculiarity of her mantle is that its length will change according to the qualities of its wearer."

"Ah," Gwenhwyfar said. "It will be ill-fitting on a woman whose man has broken faith with her?"

"Not ... precisely," he answered. "It will be ill-fitting if she has broken faith with him."

Delightful, Gwenhwyfar muttered. She turned back to Arthur. "Surely such a marvel as this deserves a better setting, a grand feast, perhaps. And there are those who are absent from your court today; should they not be called back to participate?"

The king frowned slightly. "Will the ladies of the court be more virtuous tomorrow than they are today? We have just held our Easter banquet but days past. Where will you find provisions for a great feast now?"

"Though you think it is difficult, I will not find it so," Gwenhwyfar answered.

"And what of sufficient drink?" Arthur asked. "The brewers' vats are but dregs after our recent feasting. Where will you find enough mead and wine to fill Caradog's chalice for the testing?"

"Though you think it is difficult, I will not find it so," she said. "There will be enough wine for all who choose to drink it from this man's cup."

"Many of my men have already left after my Easter court," Arthur said. "How will you bring them back?"

"Though you think it is difficult, I will not find it so," Gwenhwyfar said. "All will be in readiness in three days time, if you will consent."

And so Arthur gave his consent and they set a date for the feast and the test.

The next morning, Gwenhwyfar was sitting with her ladies by the windows, sewing on embroidered garments, when Denw, the Countess of the Fountain, came and asked for speech with her. Gwenhwyfar drew her aside so that they might speak freely.

"O, queen," Denw began. "You must not let this test go forward. It will only bring shame and ruin to this court."

Gwenhwyfar smiled a thin-lipped smile and nodded for her to continue.

"You know that I have been faithful to Owein, my husband, since first I pledged myself to him. And that despite his own faithlessness when he left me behind for three years and forgot that he had ever loved me." A hard look came into Denw's eyes. "But which marriage will this cup test? Will it brand me faithless to my first husband because I wed his slayer? Will I be blamed for the way Owein deceived me at the first? I have asked him to refuse the test but he told me he dared not, after what he said before the others yesterday."

Gwenhwyfar placed her hand on the other lady's and said, "Have no fear. I will arrange matters so that it will not come to that. Meet me in my chambers this evening when dusk has fallen." And then they went back and joined the others at their sewing.

And after a time, Enid came to the queen and asked for speech with her. And again, Gwenhwyfar drew her aside so that they might talk freely.

"Do you recall," Enid asked, "the tale of that time when my husband so despised me? How he feared I would betray him and so he abused me and reviled me and tried to drive me away and yet through it all I followed him and never ceased to love him?"

The queen nodded silently, though she shook with anger at the memory.

"And do you recall the tale of how he bade me

entertain the Dun Earl, and how that one set his heart on me and tried to win me first by promises and then by threats?"

Again Gwenhwyfar nodded.

Enid's voice dropped to the barest whisper. "The tale does not tell how he forced me." She looked pleadingly into Gwenhwyfar's face. "How could I admit it? Gereint already thought me faithless, he would never believe I had not ...." She paused a moment to regain her composure. "For three years now he has loved me again as he did at the first. If this test betrays me, that love will turn to gall within him. I have begged him to refuse the test but he says he will not, for then the other men would think I had something to hide."

The queen drew Enid into an embrace and comforted her. "Have no fear; it will not come to that. I will arrange matters otherwise. Come to my chambers tonight when dusk has fallen."

And then they went back to join the other ladies and took up their sewing again.

In the afternoon, when the light was beginning to wane, Morfudd came to the queen and asked to have speech with her, and the two drew away from the others so that they might converse freely.

"This test will bring only sorrow," Morfudd said bitterly. "I have gone to beg Cynon, my betrothed, to refuse it and he says that he dares not be the only one to refuse."

"But what have you to fear?" Gwenhwyfar asked. "I have never seen two who loved each other more completely and wholeheartedly than you and Cynon."

"Completely, in truth," she answered, "for he has taken me to his bed, though we have not yet been married. Will the chalice make allowances for that? Or will it know only that I have violated my virginity and will not go a maid to my wedding? And will Cynon admit that it was he who had me, or will he repudiate me for fear of being mocked? O, queen, you must prevent this!"

And Gwenhwyfar took her by the hand and answered, "You must rest easy. I will arrange matters so that it will not come to that. But come to my chamber later this evening when dusk is falling."

And then they went back to the other ladies and Gwenhwyfar told them the time for sewing was done.

And when the evening meal had been eaten, and the boards taken up, and dusk was falling, four women met in the queen's chamber. Gwenhwyfar drew out a shining cloth that she had kept bundled in her arms. "Arthur's cloak, Gwen," she explained. "It will keep us from being seen while we are at our business, for that is one of its peculiarities. Although," she added, half to herself, "I'm more fond of the property whereby it will not abide having any other color on it. It saves a great deal of grief for the laundresses, for he *will* use it as a carpet and set his chair on it and all manner of idiotic things." Then she wrapped the cloak about the four of them and led them down to Arthur's treasure-house and past the treasurer who stood there on guard.

Once inside, she lit a small lamp and set it on a chest while she contemplated the jumbled heaps of wonders surrounding them. There were swords and spears of cunning workmanship, horse-harness and harps, cauldrons and collars, gameboards and gold rings, chariots and chests of gems. All the spoils of Annwn — and several mortal lands besides. Gifts received and gifts to be granted. Gwenhwyfar went to one corner and began pulling things off of a dusty wheeled cart.

"The Chariot of Morgan Mwynfawr," she explained briefly, coughing a little at the dust that was raised. "I knew it would come in handy eventually. You have but to stand in it and wish where you want to be and you will come there quickly. Denw, you will take it and go collect those who have left the court. They will listen to you because you are a countess and have authority."

The Countess of the Fountain helped pull the vehicle free of its encumbrances and turned questioningly to Gwenhwyfar. "How will this prevent the testing?"

"Leave that to me," the queen answered, "and I will arrange it."

Then Gwenhwyfar pulled a large basket from under a pile of embroidered tapestries. She handed it to Enid. "The Hamper of Gwyddno Garanhir — I don't think we've used it since Culhwch's wedding feast. I don't know why. It's such a practical thing: put food for one man in it and you will find food for a hundred when you open it again. That should solve most of the problem with provisions, though we may have to start with food for three men to get the right amount."

She pulled a silver-banded horn from the next pile, frowned, then tossed it back. "The Horn of Gwyn ap Nudd that he blows to summon the Wild Hunt is a fine horn indeed, but not the one I want. Ah!" She pulled a second horn from the pile, this one banded

in gold and set with red gems. "The Horn of Bran Galed: it will pour out whatever drink you might wish for. That should keep our little company from thirsting." That too she handed to Enid, who tucked it under one arm as she wrestled with the hamper.

"But I thought you meant to prevent the feast and the test," Enid protested.

"Leave that to me," the queen answered. "I will arrange everything."

She turned then to the far corner of the room, where the treasures were heaped up the highest. And though the lamp was flickering, she could see well enough, for a glow seemed to come from somewhere in the heap. "We'll need this, for certain," she said, rolling a large bronze cauldron toward Morfudd who caught it before it could clang on the floor and alert the guard. "And this, as well," she added, taking a large whetstone from where it hung on the wall and tucking it into Morfudd's girdle. Gwenhwyfar frowned and looked around until she spied a bit of scarlet cloth tucked inside a pitcher. "And here is the last of it," she said triumphantly, shaking out a finely embroidered tunic. She laid the garment over Morfudd's shoulder and then whisked Arthur's cloak about them all once more — chariot, hamper, cauldron, and all — and took them out under the blind eyes of the treasurer.

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In three days, all had been prepared, with the stragglers gathered in, and piles of food pulled from the hamper and set out on tables in the courtyard, and the fires burning under the cauldron in readiness for boiling the meat, and Bran's horn pouring out a steady stream of mead and wine into the waiting casks and tubs. Gwenhwyfar gathered her ladies about her for their instructions.

"Have you done as I told you?" she asked Enid.

The woman nodded. "I've made certain that Gereint's knife is as dull as I could make it — and I will have the whetstone close at hand."

And Morfudd added, "I've made certain that Cynon is wearing only a thin shirt — and I will have the red tunic close at hand."

Then Denw said, "And I will see that Owein is standing close by when it is time to put the meat into the cauldron."

"Then it is time to announce the feast," said the queen.

It was announced, and all the people of Arthur's court gathered around the tables in the yard (for they were too many to fit in the hall at a single sitting). And when they were assembled, Arthur called forth Caradog Strong-arm with his chalice and asked if he would begin his test.

"Indeed, I will," he answered. "And it would not be fitting for any other to take it unless I tried it first." And then Caradog filled his golden cup from the wine that flowed unceasingly from Bran Galed's horn and emptied it in a single draught without spilling a drop. He looked over at Tegeu Gold-breast then and she smiled proudly and looked around at the ladies of the court. "Who will be next?" he asked.

"I will," Owein said.

But the Countess of the Fountain laid her hand on his arm and said, "If the drinking begins before the meat is even cooked you can be sure this day will end in quarrelling. Come, help us lift the joints of meat into the cauldron and let us have it served before the drinking starts."

So Owein heaved the meat into the bubbling cauldron and they settled down to wait for it to cook. But however long they waited, and though the water boiled and bubbled merrily, the meat remained as raw as ever.

Then Gereint stood up and said, "Enough of this waiting — I will drink from the chalice."

But Enid laid her hand on his arm and said, "We can wait a while yet. And you will need to be ready to carve the joint when it is done. I thought your knife seemed dull when last I saw it. Here is a whetstone you can use to sharpen it while we wait."

So Gereint took some oil and the stone and began whetting his knife. But however long he scraped it across the stone, it remained as dull as it had been before, so that he could not even have cut butter with it.

A shiver ran through the crowd, for they knew that there was some form of magic at work. And Cynon turned to Morfudd and said, "Run to my chamber and fetch me warmer clothes. It seems to me the day has turned cold of a sudden."

But Morfudd said, "If that is all the problem, I have a fine tunic here that you can put on. I thought it was foolish of you to wear such a thin garment." She held out the scarlet tunic to him, but though it seemed of a large enough size when he held it before him, no matter how he tugged and pulled it would not fit.

Gwenhwyfar smiled behind her hand to see Owein prodding and swearing at the joint of meat, and Gereint scraping and swearing at the whetstone, and

Cynon swearing and tugging at the garment. But Caradog Strong-arm was not smiling and finally he turned to Arthur and asked, "When will you put an end to this? Shall your men be tested with the chalice or not?"

Arthur frowned, and called to the countess, saying, "What ails your cauldron?"

"My lord king, I do not know," she answered, "unless it could be that this is the Cauldron of Dyrnwch the Giant which will not cook meat for a coward. But if a brave man's meat is put in it, it will be cooked on the instant."

When Owein heard that, he turned pale.

Then Arthur called to Enid, saying, "What ails your whetstone?"

"My lord king, I do not know," she answered, "unless it could be that this is the whetstone of Tudwal Tudglyd which will not sharpen the blade of a coward. But if a brave man uses it, his blade will be sharp enough to draw blood from the wind."

When Gereint heard that, there came a roaring in his ears.

Then Arthur called to Morfudd, saying, "What ails your tunic?"

"My lord king, I do not know," she answered, "unless it could be that this is the tunic of Padarn Peisrudd which will never be the right size for a coward. But if a brave man wears it, it will fit perfectly."

When Cynon hear that, a weakness came over him and he shook like a leaf.

But Caradog Strong-arm became angry and shouted, "Enough of this foolishness. Will none of you dare to test your ladies' faith by drinking from my chalice?"

Owein looked at Denw, and remembered all she had borne for his sake when he had abandoned her. Then he turned to Caradog and said, "My lady's faith needs none of your testing. I will not drink."

And Gereint looked at Enid, and remembered with shame the time that he had doubted her and the ill-fame it had brought him. Then he turned to Caradog and said, "If anyone here doubts my lady's chastity, it is my sword that will answer his doubts, not your cup."

And Cynon looked at Morfudd, and his heart was filled with more love for her than even before. And he turned to Caradog and said, "Take your cup and mantle elsewhere. We neither want nor need them here."

Caradog Strong-arm looked around the court, but now no one would step forward to drink from the cup or admit that he had doubted his lady's faithfulness. He thrust the cup into a pouch at his belt and took Tegeu Gold-breast by the hand and led her from Arthur's court.

And as they left through the gate, they might have heard the Countess of the Fountain calling out, "Dinner's ready!" And if they had looked back, they might have seen Gereint carving the joints so fast you would think his knife went through air, while Cynon served the first platter to the king, wearing his fine, well-fitting red tunic.

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When dusk fell that evening, Gwenhwyfar gathered the three ladies once more, and the treasures with them, and cast Arthur's cloak about them so that the treasure-keeper would not see them. They carried everything back into the treasure-house and set it all more or less in order — though who could really tell.

"But what if Caradog's chalice really was ... what they all have been looking for?" Enid asked, as she passed the items to Gwenhwyfar one at a time to return to their places. "Perhaps such a marvel *would* test us and find us wanting. Have we truly done right?"

"There are some things that are better in the seeking than the having," Gwenhwyfar answered as she took the scarlet tunic and leaned over the stack of treasures in the farthest corner of the room. "Trust me — it wasn't," she said, carefully dropping the garment over a small cup in the back of the pile. A cup that shone softly of its own accord.

Reading through Medieval Welsh literature, it's striking how real *a lot of the dialogue sounds. This isn't just a matter of good translators – the original language has the same feel. And there are some really great lines in there. Relatively few people in the SCA add medieval languages to their persona play, but a big reason for that is a lack of accessibility. This is a condensed version of a larger project that's still in progress. The first version appeared in issue #1 of my Welsh research journal,* Y Camamseriad *in 1992. The version published here was edited for a class presented at Collegium Caidis in the Spring of 2004.*

Conversational Medieval Welsh

By Heather Rose Jones,

Most people do not go to the extreme of learning the language that their persona would have spoken, and even if they did, there would be few opportunities to use it in conversation. But it is well within the realm of practicality to learn a few phrases - greetings, interjections, etc. - that can add color to your persona and perhaps whet your appetite for exploring the language further. That is the purpose of this article: not to try to teach Welsh, but to provide some useful and entertaining phrases.

The majority of phrases presented here are taken directly from quoted conversations in the medieval Welsh tales collectively known as the Mabinogi. These are followed by a code in parentheses indicating which story each is taken from. (See the bibliography for the key.) In a few cases, I have supplemented these with parallel constructions presenting slightly different meanings. The spelling of the examples has been edited somewhat so that the correct pronunciation can be obtained using the pronunciation rules of Modern Welsh – it isn't within the scope of this article to teach pronunciation. In some cases, particular words may not be consistent throughout the text — think of it as dialectal variation. It should be noted that many of these phrases would sound rather funny to a speaker of Modern Welsh.

A Note on Yes and No: Conversations will often include yes/no questions so it is worth discussing a peculiarity of Welsh: it has no exact translations for these words. An affirmative answer is normally made by using the appropriate form of the verb used in the question, a negative one by prefacing this with na/nag (na before consonants, nag before vowels and "h"). Thus the answer to "Oes llys heddiw?" (Is there a court today?) is either "Oes." (There is.) or "Nag oes." (There is not.) and then proceeding into other details of the situation. It is generally not proper to omit this and plunge right into "Ym mhen dau awr." (In two hours.) for example. Another example would be: "Gweli ti'r arglwyddes racco?" (Do you see the lady yonder?) "Gwelaf" (I see.) or "Na welaf." (I don't see.) The tales, however, also use the interjection ie similarly to "yes" in some cases (other times it might be better translated as "well" and is something of a meaningless conversational filler). An example is "Ie, mi a tebygaf." (Yes, I suppose so.) where the verb of the question is not repeated in the answer.

Lesson One: Greetings, Introductions, and Politeness

Vocative Address

These are just examples. One could substitute any appropriate title, relationship or name.

A unben.

O chieftain/lord! (to one of unknown rank) (PPD)

A unbennes.
O lady! (to one of unknown rank)

Arglwydd.
O Lord! (to one of known rank) (PPD)

Arglwyddes.
O Lady! (PPD)

A wyrda.
O goodmen/nobles! (PPD)

A forwyn.
O maiden! (PPD)

A facwy.
O lad/squire!

Arglwydd frawd.
(My) lord brother (MFM)

A Dduw!
O God!

A frenin.
O king!

A frenhines.
O queen!

A dywysog(es).
O prince(ss)!

A farwn(es).
O baron(ess)!

A was.
O lad/boy!

A enaid.
O friend!

Greetings

These run the gamut from simple hellos to formal welcomes. It is worth noting that a simple *croeso* is still "welcome" in modern Welsh.

Dydd da iti.
Good day to you (singular). (PPD)

Bore da iti.
Good morning to you.

Nos da iti.
Good night to you.

Dydd da iwch.
Good day to you (plural). [and similarly]

Dydd da iti, Arglwyd.
Good day to you, Lord. (MFM)

Henpych gwell.
May you be well. (BFL)

Da yw gennyf dy weled ti.
I'm glad to see you (singular). (PPD)

Da yw gennyf eich gweled chwi.
I'm glad to see you (plural).

Croeso wrthyt y gennyf i.
You are welcome with me. (PPD)

Croeso Duw wrthyt, enaid.
God's welcome to you, friend. (PPD)

Duw a ro da it, a chroeso wrthyt.
God give you good, and welcome to you (singular). (MFM)

Duw a roddo da iwch, a chroeso wrthywch.
God give you good, and welcome to you (plural). (BFL)

Croeso Duw wrthunt. Gellwng y mywn wy.
God's greeting to them. Let them come in. (MFM)

Introductions and Inquiries

Of course, unless the person you are speaking to also knows a smattering of Welsh, the questions won't be particularly productive ....

Ny wn i pwy wyt ti.
I don't know who you are. (PPD)

A dywedy di imi pwy wyt?
Will you tell me who you are? (PPD)

Dywedaf.
I will tell [you]. (PPD)

Pwy eu henw wy?
What is their name? (MFM)

Pwy dy enw di?
What is your name?

<name> wyf i.
I am <name>. (PPD)

Mae yr enw?
What is the (i.e. his/her) name? (PPD)

<name> mae ef.
He is <name>.

<name> mae hi.
She is <name>.

Pan doi di?
Whence come you? (PPD)

A pha wlad yd hanwyt titheu ohoni?
And from what land do you come? (PPD)

O <place - lenited>.
From <place>. (PPD)

Beth a fynnho ef?
What does he wish/want? (BFL)

Beth a fynnhych ti?
What do you (singular) want?

Beth a fynnhoch chwi?
What do you (plural) want?

Pa chwedlau yssydd yma?
What news is this? What's up? (MFM)

Pa derw yti?
What has befallen you? (MFM)

A wyt iach di?
Are you well? (MFM)

Leave Takings

Various goodbyes and parting statements.

Duw a rwyddhao rhagot.
God speed you. (PPD)

Trig yn iach.
Stay well. (PPD)

Dilestair fyd dy hynt, ac ni rusia ddim rhagot.
May your path be unhindered and may nothing hinder you. (PPD)

Y ymdeith yd af i.
I will leave. (PPD)

Y ymdeith yd af i, gan dy ganniad ti.
I will go, with your permission. (PPD)

Minheu a af yn llawen
I will go gladly. (BFL)

If You Please

Several of these work best as introductions to another phrase.

Os da genhyt ti.
If you please (singular). (BFL)

Os da genhwch chwi.
If you please (plural).

Ponyd oedd da i ti ...
Would it not be well for you [to ...] (PPD)

Ponyd oedd iawn inni ...
Would it not be better for us [to ...] (MFM)

Yr mwyn y gwr mwyhaf a geri ...
For the sake of the man you love the most ... (PPD)

Er mwyn y wraig mwyhaf a geri ...
For the sake of the woman you love most ...

Er mwyn beth mwyhaf a geri ...
For the sake of what you love most ...

Gan dy ganiad ti.
With your permission. (PPD)

Diolwch y Duw.
Thanks to God. (PPD)

Diolwch.
Thanks.

Y mynnych ti.
As you desire (PPD)

Digon yw gennyf i.
It is enough for me. (PPD)

Miscellaneous Polite Phrases

Iawn yw it y warando.
It is proper [for you] to hear him. (PPD)

Moes yw genhym ni, Arglwydd.
It is a custom with us, Lord. (MFM)

Yr hyn a allaf i, mi a'e gwnaf.
What I am able to do, I will do. (MFM)

Arglwydd, i'th ewyllus yd ydym.
Lord, we are at your will. (MFM)

Ny wn i amgen no'm bod.
I don't know but that I am. (As far as I know I am.) (MFM)

Lesson Two: Commands and Business

Commands

A few phrases in the imperative.

Llyna.
Behold there. (PPD)

Llyma.
Behold here.

Weldi racco.
Look yonder! (BFL)

Weldi yma.
Look here!

Edrych beth yssyd allan.
See what is outside. (MFM)

Ymwerendewch yn dda.
Listen well. (PPD)

Gofynnwch iddi.
Ask her. (BFL)

Gofynnwch iddo.
Ask him.

Gofynnwch imi.
Ask me.

Taw di bellach.
Be silent a little longer. (MFM)

Dos y eistedd.
Go and sit down. (PPD)

Arho fi!
Wait for me! (PPD)

Gwna oed a mi.
Make an appointment/date with me. (PPD)

Gwna yn llawen.
Do it gladly. (PPD)

Canys dechreueist, gorffen!
Since you started, finish it! (PPD)

Moes fy march!
Fetch me my horse! (PPD)

Cerdda rhagod.
Go forth! (MFM)

Getting Advice

A oes cynghor o'r byd am hynn?
Is there any advice in the world about this? (PPD)

Mae ych cynghor chwi?
What is your (plural) advice? (BFL)

Mae dy gynghor di?
What is your (singular) advice?

Ni a gymerwn gynghor.
We will take counsel. (BFL)

Mi a wn gynghor da.
I know good advice. (PPD)

Cynghor iawn yw hwnnw.
That is proper advice. (PPD)

Iawnhaf yw hynny.
That is most fitting. (PPD)

Errands

Pa gerdded yssydd arnat ti?
What errand do you have? (PPD)

Negessawl wyf wrthyt.
I have a request of you. (PPD)

Eirchad wyf a'm neges a wnaf.
I am a suitor and I will do my errand. (PPD)

Gwna yn llawen.
Do it gladly. (PPD)

Croeso wrth dy neges.
Welcome to your errand. (PPD)

Beth yw dy arch di?
What is your request? (PPD)

By ryw neges yw yr eiddaw ef?
What sort of errand is his? (BFL)

By ryw neges yw yr eiddot ti?
What sort of errand is yours? (singular)

Wrthyt ti y mae fy neges i.
My errand is with you. (singular) (PPD)

I erchi iti y dodwyf.
I have come to beseech you. (singular) (PPD)

I erchi arch iti y dodwyf.
I have come to beg a boon of you.

Arglwydd, ae gwell y gwna neb fy neges i wrthyt ti no mi fy hun?
Lord, would anyone perform my errand to you as well as I myself? (MFM)

Pa arch bynnog a erchych di imi, hyd y gallwyf y gaffael, iti y bydd.
Whatever boon you ask of me, so far as I can get it, it shall be yours. (PPD)

Cymeint ac a ercheist, o'r a fo i'm meddiant iti a'y ceffi.
As much of what you asked as is at my command you shall have. (PPD)

Os arch gyfartal a erchi imi, yn llawen ti a'e ceffi.
If you ask of me a reasonable boon, gladly shall you have it. (PPD)

Arch didraha yw honno.
That is a modest request. (PPD)

Ti a'e ceffi.
You shall have it. (CO)

Ti nas ceffi.
You shall not have it.

Hawdd yw genhyf gaffel hynny, cyd tybycych na bo hawdd.
It is easy for me to get/accomplish that, though you would think it is not easy. (CO)

Hawdd yw genhyf.
It is easy for me. (CO)

Mi a baraf.
I will arrange [it]. (PPD)

Minheu a baraf.
I myself will arrange [it]. (MFM)

Minnheu a wnaf hynny yn llawen.
I will do that gladly. (PPD)

A chwari di wyddbwyll?
Will you play 'gwyddbwyll'? (BR)

A chwari di chwarae?
Will you play a game?

Chwariaf.
Yes, I will play. (BR)

Chware, os mynni.
Play, if you wish. (BR)

Fighting

Teg oedd i'r gwr a wnaeth y cam, dodi y gorff yn fy erbyn.
It is right for the man who did the wrong to fight me. (adapted from MFM)

Ni chymellaf inheu ar neb fyned i ymladd.
I will not compell anyone to fight. (MFM)

Mi a dodaf fy nghorff yn erbyn yr eiddo yn llawen.
I will fight him gladly. (Lit. "pit my body against his") (MFM)

Mi a dodaf fy nghorff yn erbyn yr eiddot yn llawen.
I will fight you gladly. (MFM)

Y rhwng yll deu y mae yr oed hwnn.
This meeting is between you two. (adapted from PPD)

A segur y digon pawb ohonoch fod.
And let all (the rest) of you stand back. (PPD)

Y deuthum i i chwarae a'th teulu.
I have come to play with your war-band. (PE)

Gwaharddd dy wyr, os da gennyt!
Call off your men, if you please! (BR)

Och arglwydd, dy nawdd! A thi a geffi a fynnych.
Alas, lord, mercy! And you shall have what you wish. (GE)

Ti a geffi nawdd.
You will get mercy (literally "protection"). (GE)

Arho, mi a diosglaf yr arfeu.
Stay, I will take off the armor. (PE)

Briwedig wyf.
I am bruised. (PPD)

Enain ysydd raid imi.
I need a bath. (PPD)

Lesson Three: Interjections and General Questions

Interjections

Some of these are fairly content-free, swear-to-God types of phrases. Characters are constantly prefacing statements with "For my sake and God's" for emphasis.

Dioer.
God knows! (PPD)

Y rof i a Duw.
For my sake and God's (PPD)

Oy a duw.
Oh God. (PPD)

I Duw y dygaf fy gnhyffes.
I make my confession to God. (I confess to God.) (PPD)

Diolwch y Duw.
Thanks to God. (PPD)

Oi a fab Duw.
Oh, Son of God. (BFL)

Dial Duw arnaf.
God's vengeance on me. (PPD)

Duw a dalho it dy gydymdeithas.
God will repay you for your friendship. (PPD)

Duw a dalho it dy ymgeledd.
God repay you for your loving care. (MFM)

Duw a fo nerth it.
May God be your strength. (PPD)

And a few that don't take the name of God in vain ....

Yn llawen.
Gladly. (PPD)

Na chapla di fyfi.
Don't blame me. (PPD)

Llawer damwein a digawn bod.
Many a chance may yet befall. (PPD)

Diryfedd oedd hynny.
That wasn't strange. (PPD)

Meuyl im.
Shame upon me. (PPD)

Gwae fi o'm ganedigaeth.
Woe that I was born. (BFL)

Mefyl ar fy maryf i.
Shame on my beard. (BFL)

General Questions

Many of these questions may be used rhetorically.

Paham?
Why? (PPD)

Pa ystyr yw hynny?
What does that mean? (MFM)

Ae diogel hynny?
Is that certain? (MFM)

Beth ysydd yma?
What is this/here? (PPD)

Beth ysydd yna?
What is that/there?

Beth yw hynn?
What is this?

Beth yw hynny?
What is that? (BFL)

Beth a ellir wrth hynny?
What can be done in the matter? (PPD)

Pa gyfranc fu hynny?
What tale was that? (What was the story behind that?) (PPD)

Beth a wnant wy yna?
What are they doing there? (BFL)

Beth dybygi di yw hynny?
What do you suppose that is? (BFL)

Beth ysydd yn y boly hwnn?
What is in this bag? (BFL)

Beth ysydd yn a cawl hwn?
What is in this stew?

Beth ysydd yn y diod hon?
What is in this drink?

Pwy biewynt wy?
Whose are they? (MFM)

Pwy bieu hynn?
Whose is this?

A oes gennwch chwi chwedleu?
Do you (pl.) have news? (BFL)

A chwedleu genhwch?
Do you (pl.) have news? (BFL)

Mae genhym ni chwedleu ryfedd.
We have strange news. (BFL)

A welewch chwi ddim namyn hynny?
And did you see anything besides that? (BFL)

And General Answers

Llyma oll.
Here is the whole (of it). (PPD)

Llyma fy atteb i iti.
Behold my answer to you. (PPD) [A preface to a longer tale.]

Mynagaf.
I will tell (you). (PPD)

Ie, mi a dybygaf.
Yes, I suppose so. (BFL)

Llyna beth eres.
That is something marvellous. (BFL)

Mi a baraf.
I will arrange [it]. (PPD)

Minheu a baraf.
I myself will arrange [it]. (MFM)

Minnheu a wnaf hynny yn llawen.
I will do that gladly. (PPD)

Nag ef.
Not so. (PPD)

Naddo.
No. (only for past tense questions)

Na wn.
I don't know. (GE)

More Specific Questions and Answers

Pa achaws na ddywedy di wrthyf i?
Why aren't you speaking to me? (PPD)

(Possibly because you're asking the question in Welsh!)

Ae felly y mynnu di, arglwyd?
Is that your wish, lord? (PPD)

Ae cyscu yd wyt ti?
Are you asleep? (PPD)

(I take no responsibility for the result if you actually use this.)

Nac ef, mi a gyskeis, a phan doethost ti i mewn mi a deffroeis.
Not so, I was asleep, but when you came in I awoke. (PPD)

A was, pa deryw iti?
Lad, what happened to you? (What's wrong?) (MFM)

Paham? Beth a weli di arnaf i?
Why? What do you see on me? (What seems

wrong?) (MFM)

Meddylio yd wyf.
I am thinking. (MFM)

Mi a wn dy feddwl di.
I know your thought. (I know what you're thinking.) (MFM)

Exasperation

Taw, enaid, a'th ucheneidaw.
Be silent, friend, with your sighing. (MFM)

Nyt o hynny y gorfyddir.
It may not be overcome that way. (That won't do any good.) (MFM)

Mi a dynghaf dynghed iddaw.
I will swear a destiny/curse on him. (MFM)

Aed a'i mynho, nyd af i.
Let him go who will, I will not go. (PPD)

Bibliography

Abbreviations

PPD = Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed
BFL = Branwen ferch Llyr
MFL = Manawydan fab Llyr
MFM = Math fab Mathonwy
BR = Breuddwyd Rhonabwy
CO = Culhwch ac Olwen
GE = Gereint fab Erbin
PE = Peredur fab Efrog

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There's nothing like humor to help a dry subject slide down easily. Not that linguistics is a dry subject by any means! We ask name heralds to deal with a lot of fairly tricky and subtle concepts across all manner of languages and mostly by learning a few rules by rote. Understanding even a few key concepts can make the process much less painful. These lessons grew out of some explanations I'd found myself making multiple times in on-line groups that seemed worth putting into a more coherent form. It's still a work in progress. I haven't kept track of when I originally wrote this. In fact, I had to retrieve the pieces from cached versions on the web, since I'd lost my own e-mail archives at some point. The first webbed versions seem to have appeared in 1999, so that's a good approximation for the year it was written.

Grammar Tangwystyl's Linguistics for Heralds

By Heather Rose Jones,

Part 1 — Making Funny Sounds, and How to Talk About It (Phonetics)

As sounds are the building blocks of language, so talking about sounds is one of the building blocks of the study of language. Particularly when discussing sounds in writing, a clear and unambiguous way of describing them is necessary. In the ordinary course of events, linguists use a specially defined set of symbols — based largely on the Roman alphabet — to do this: the International Phonetic Alphabet, or IPA. However, this is not practical on the internet, where many of the special symbols are not available — and others may display differently on different people's systems. Therefore I will be relying more on verbal descriptions of sounds than on the symbols themselves, with some approximation of IPA symbols when possible.

The essential principle of vocal sounds is the same as that for all musical wind instruments: interrupt an air-stream in such a way that it causes vibrations, then modify the size and shape of the resonating chamber to vary the nature of the sound quality.

We interrupt the air stream either by vibrating the vocal cords (open your mouth and say "Ah") or by closing, or nearly closing, some part of the mouth by using the tongue and/or lips. We modify the size and shape of the chamber again by the movements of the tongue and lips, but also by minor movements of the jaw and throat. While a great many combinations of these actions are possible, they can actually be described with a relatively small number of words — there *is* a limit to human physiology, after all!

Leaving vowels aside for the moment, consonants are described by noting: the two mouth-parts which are involved in interrupting the air (referred to as "place of articulation"); the nature of the interruption, how close they are, etc.; whether the vocal cords are vibrating at the time (the last two collectively called "manner of articulation"); and in some cases other details air pressure, direction of air flow, etc.

Place of Articulation

Think about your mouth. There's a top part and a bottom part. The bottom part consists of your lower lip, your lower teeth, and your tongue. Some people further break the tongue down into more specific parts, but for the most part you can assume you're going to use whatever part of your tongue is most convenient to the *upper* mouth-part you're using.

Being scientists, we can't just refer to this as "lips", "teeth", and "tongue" — noooooo! We have to use Greek and Latin words to prove we're serious scientists. So stuff having to do with the lips is "labial", stuff having to do with the teeth is "dental" and stuff having to do with the tongue is "lingual". These aren't hard words to remember. Everyone

knows what "dental" stuff has to do with. "Lingual" is just like "linguistics" (the study of tongues) or "linguini" (which is Italian for "little tongues" — did you really need to know that?). And "labial" — well, let's just keep track of which labia we're talking about, ok?

On the top part of your mouth, you've got your upper lip, your upper teeth, a little ridge behind the base of your teeth (follow along on this with your tongue — explore that mouth!) called the "alveolar ridge", the hard palate (you can tell this because when you push on it, it's hard), the soft palate (ditto, but it's soft) which we call the "velum" which is Latin for "veil" and you can remember that plates are hard and veils are soft, and that funny little dangly thing in the back of your mouth that you've always wondered what to call — well, it's an "uvula". You're probably just going to have to remember that last one (even though it comes from a Latin word for "little grape) but the usefulness of being able to use the word "uvula" in casual conversation is well worth the minor trouble.

So starting from front to back, the upper-mouth contributions to sounds can be "labial", "dental", "alveolar", "palatal", "velar", and "uvular".

When we describe a sound, we identify the lower mouth-part first (if we identify it at all) and use a "combining" form of the descripter ending in "-o", e.g., "labio-".

So let's think about what sorts of things you can do with your lower lip. (Not not *those* things. Keep your mind out of the gutter.) You can touch it to your upper lip. You *could* call this "labio-labial" but that's kind of silly, so we just call it "bi-labial" using the Greek word for two (bi). Ok, that's not really the Greek word for two, but it *comes* from the Greek word for two. Doing this, you can make sounds like in "pop", "bob", "mom".

Getting on with it, you can touch your lower lip to your upper teeth. This is "labio-dental". (See how easy the terminology is?) Now you can make sounds like in "foof", "valve".

Now, *some* very creative people can touch their lower lip to the alveolar ridge, or further back, but languages tend to use sounds that *everyone* can make, not just a few very acrobatic individuals, so that's the end of the labial sounds.

There aren't any sounds in human languages where the lower teeth are an important actor. There *could* be, but there just aren't. Maybe this is because languages developed when receding jawlines were all the rage. Maybe there's a cosmic significance.

Let's go on to the sorts of things you can do with your tongue. (You two! In the back! You wanna get a hotel room for that?) You can touch it to your upper lip. Strangely enough, I don't know of any language that uses this position to make sounds. So we don't have to come up with a name for it.

You can touch your tongue to the upper teeth. These sounds are called "dental". (We don't bother calling them "linguo-dental". One of the important things to notice is that you can't really cut off all the air-flow in this position — it will always leak through your teeth. But you can make sounds like in "thigh" and "thy".

You can touch your tongue to the alveolar ridge to make "alveolar" sounds, as in "ta-ta" or "Dad". You can also touch it just behind this ridge to get "post-alveolar" sounds. For many people the difference between "s" and "sh" is alveolar versus post-alveolar. To examine this difference, think very carefully about what your mouth does when you recite, "She sells sea-shells by the sea-shore." Do this out loud at work until your cube-mates complain.

Now, you can also, at this point, curl the tip of your tongue backwards and touch the underside of it to the post-alveolar area. This is called "retroflex" (which is fake-Latin for "bent backwards"). This is how people speaking American media- pronunciation English (not you New Englanders!) make "r" sounds. In Sanskrit, they make a whole duplicate series of t/d/n sounds this way — consider yourselves lucky. There's a whole complex set of sounds that are loosely associated with the letter "r". It is something of a mystery how people are able to interpret a Parisian gargling at the back of his throat as being thematically linked to an American folding his tongue back, but we do and that's that. In fact, the problem can be in explaining to people that they are *different* not in convincing people that they're similar.

Continuing backward, you can touch the tongue to the hard palate to make palatal sounds. Now, you *could* to this with the tip of your tongue (sort of an *extreme* retroflex), but it's really rather awkward, so don't. Use the handiest part of the tongue available. Say words like "church" and "judge".

Touching the soft palate — again with the handiest part of the tongue available — we get velar sounds, as in "cook" and "gag".

If you go even *further* back and touch the uvula with the back of the tongue (remember, *don't* gag — "gag" was velar) then you can get uvular sounds. English doesn't have any of these, but Arabic does. See if you know anyone who speaks Arabic (like that cube-mate who's off in HR complaining about you) and get

them to make it. Lacking a convenient Arabic-speaker, listen carfully the next time your cat has a hair-ball. Try to imitate it. (Licking your cat is not a necessary prerequisite.)

Now, there are a couple of ways you can affect the air-flow that don't involve mouth parts at all. You can close your glottis (the same thing you do at the beginning of a cough) to make glottal sounds. We do this all the time in English — we just don't think about it as a sound. Say "uh-uh" repeatedly. You can also constrict your throat above the glottis. Doctors call this part of the throat the "pharynx", so linguists call these sounds "pharyngeal". English does not have these sounds. I can't think of any European language that does. Don't worry about it for now.

Manner of Articulation

There are four major "manners" in which consonants are made, and a number of minor ones.

The major ones are: stopping air-flow entirely (called "stops" conveniently enough); stopping air-flow through the mouth, but letting it escape through the nose (called "nasals" — if you can't remember what "nasal" refers to, ask a fighter what the nasal of his helm protects); letting air hiss through a very narrow opening (called "fricatives" because there's so much "friction"); and bringing the mouth-parts near each other but not really interfering with the air-flow significantly (called "approximants" because the articulators are only coming together approximately).

How many "stops" can you think of in English? How about: p, b, t, d, k, g, and that glottal stop thingie. The IPA uses a question mark without the dot for a glottal stop. [Historic Digression: when the modern wave of linguists doing field work began, they were all using typewriters. They came up with ingenious ways of getting the most symbolic variety out of a standard typewriter, and one of those ways was to file the dot off the bottom of the question mark, because you could always make a *real* question mark by typing over the spot with a period.]

Nasals can be made for just about any combination of articulatory mouth-parts. The only ones that don't work really well are labio- dental and dental, since you can't really stop the air-flow from the mouth entirely — but there are languages that have labio-dental nasals. We have more nasals in English than we normally think of, since nasals tend to be "attracted" towards neighboring sounds. So we all know about "m" as in "Mom" or "n" as in "nine" or "ng" as in "sing". But think about how you say "infamous" if you're not being hyper-careful. Is that a labio-dental nasal? And most people pronounce the Spanish borrowing "canyon" with a palatal nasal. Try making them with all the place-of-articulation combinations described above. Can you make pharyngeal or glottal nasals? If not, why not?

Fricatives will always sound a little "hissy". How many fricatives can you think of off the top of your head? How about: f, v, th (both kinds), s, z, sh. How about that "hard 'ch'" thing that you keep running into in German and Scottish? Did you know "h" is a fricative as well? Now try to describe all these by both *place* as well as manner. Which one is a labio-dental fricative. Is there more than one? How about a dental fricative? Can you make a bi-labial fricative?

"Approximants" are also commonly known as "semi-vowels" because they can act very vowel-like while still behaving as consonants in other ways. "W" is a bilabial approximant, as in "wow". "Y" is a palatal approximant, as in "you". [The palatal approximant is the place where phonetic notation systems tend to disagree most. The "American" tradition uses the letter "y" for it. However the IPA follows the "Continental" tradition and uses "j" for it, while using "y" for a vowel sound. If you have some notion of what pronunciation is being represented, it will rarely be completely ambiguous, but if it's a completely foreign word, or you don't have a context, then the combination of different symbols and different interpretations can be the difference between "you", "Jew" and "eew!".] American "r" is a retroflex approximant.

Sometimes, combinations of the above manners of producing sounds have developed their own terminology. For example, a stop, followed immediately by a fricative in the same position can be called an "affricate". Note the alveolar affricates in "church" and "judge" and the labial affricate in German "Pferd".

The two other manners of articulation that you most need to know about are trills and laterals. (The football fan in the back row just woke up.) Trills are ... well, like "rolling" your "r"s (get someone else to do it if you can't). Trills can only be done in certain positions because one of the articulators needs to be able vibrate rather freely. This can be done with the lips (a bi- labial trill is also known as a "Bronx cheer"), the tip of the tongue (a "rolled r"), or the uvula (a "Parisian" rolled-r, also used in Russian). You cannot, for example, have a "palatal trill" because neither the hard palate nor the middle of the tongue is capable of the necessary motion.

Laterals involve placing the tongue in any of its possible configurations but letting air escape around the sides, rather than through the center, as in English "lull", which uses alveolar lateral approximants. In English, we *use* laterals in different

positions in the mouth, based on what other sounds they occur with, but don't normally think about them as different. Think about the "l" in "English". It's going to be more like a velar lateral approximant, or maybe a palatal one. Ah! You notice that the "lateral" manner of articulation is combined with another "manner" term. As well as lateral approximants, you can have lateral fricatives — and this is what that (in)famous "Welsh double-l" sound is. Instead of leaving a fair amount of space for the air to escape around the sides of the tongue, and thus forming an approximant, you leave only a little space and make it "hiss". *Now* say "Llanelli". (If your annoyed cube-mate is Welsh rather than Middle-Eastern, ask her to check your pronunciation.) In theory, you could have lateral stops, and in a very strict analysis, this is probably what you actually use at the beginning of a word like "close": a velar lateral stop. A number of native New World languages have an alveolar lateral stop: languages like "Tlingit". I am not aware of special symbols for these, though — you just use the regular stop symbol followed by the lateral.

For right now, I'm going to skip other methods of articulation, like ejectives, implosives, and clicks. If these sound really fascinating, go back to that linguistics textbook that you found so boring and look them up in the index.

But consonants don't get you very far all by themselves, so in the next lesson, we're going to learn about ... VOWELS! In the mean time, keep practicing those funny noises, and make sure that when your annoyed cube-mate asks what the hell you're doing, you can describe exactly what it was in the correct, intellectual- sounding, technical terminology.

Part 2: Deep in the Vowels of the Earth

Consonants are all very well, but unless you want to sound like a spluttering teapot, you're going to need vowels as well. A good general definition is that a vowel is a sound made by vibrating the vocal cords (which requires passing air over them) without interfering much with the passage of air otherwise.

The traditional description of vowels talks about them as if they were being produced in a particular part of the mouth: "high front", "mid back", etc. This perception is not entirely accurate, but it's *useful*, so we'll keep it. So we'll talk about vowels as being "high", "mid", or "low"; being "front", "central", or "back"; and, in addition, being "rounded" or "unrounded" (more on which later).

To get a sense for what we mean by these terms, try saying the following words in sequence:

beet
bit
bait
bet
bat
bot [fly]
bought
boat
boot

Now try saying only the *vowels* of these words in sequence. You should have a sense of the sound "moving" in your mouth, starting from the upper front, gradually lowering, moving to the back, then rising again. That's what we mean by "high/low" and "front/back". Ignoring, for the moment, the fact that some of the vowels here are really diphthongs (more on which later), a chart of the "location" of these sounds (with a couple more added) would look something like this:

Front	**Central**	**Back**	
beet		boot	**High**
bit		book	
bait	but	boat	**Mid**
bet		bought	
bat		bot	**Low**

Although not everyone will have the same exact vowels in these words (or make all these distinctions — for example, younger Californians will usually make no distinction between "bot" and "bought") it should be possible to see the general shape of the system. And given that not everyone will have the same vowels in the same word, one can easily see the advantage of being able to describe a sound as "a mid front unrounded vowel" rather than "the vowel in 'day'" — particularly when dealing simultaneously with speakers of dialects as different as Bostonian and Australian! Or — to use an example I've encountered several times — our friends in Lochac wouldn't need the misleading expedient of assuring us that the second syllable of their land's name is identical to the word "ark" (which it *is* in their pronunciation) and could simply point out that it has a low back unrounded vowel.

Now, I said I'd get back to this "roundness" business. Say the vowels of "beet" and "boot" in succession several times. What are you doing with your lips? (Assuming that you're really paying attention and your sweetie didn't just hang over your shoulder asking what in the world you're doing.) In addition to the vowel "moving" forward and backward, you

should be pursing your lips for "oo" and unpursing them for "ee". In English, it happens that all the front vowels are unrounded and all the back vowels are rounded. But life doesn't have to be this way.

Make the sound of "beet" and — without moving any other part of your mouth — round your lips as you would for "oo". If you're familiar with German, you should recognize this as u-umlaut. Here's a harder one: make an "oo" sound and — without moving any other part of your mouth — *un*round your lips. There are languages which use this sound (Vietnamese, for example). And the same can be done for any vowel "position" whatsoever — it can be pronounced rounded or unrounded (or variations in between, but language generally don't more than a binary contrast).

Languages vary considerably in how many vowels they consider necessary. The smallest number I've ever heard of is three, the largest ... well let's just say that English is definitely in the running (but only if you count diphthongs).

Diphthongs ... oh yeah ... I said I'd get back to them.

Sometimes, instead of staying in one place in the mouth and getting a "pure" vowel sound (no moral judgement is implied!) the shape of the mouth is changing as the sound is made — beginning at one vowel and ending at another. This is a "diphthong" (from the Greek — remember what I said about all the technical terms being in Latin and Greek? — "di" two + "phthong" sound). English as she is spoke has very few "pure" vowels. Particularly among those vowels that we were once upon a time taught to call "long", diphthongs rule. The sound of "bite" starts at "a" and ends at "i"; that of "bait" (contrary to my use as an example above) starts around "e" and ends at "i"; if "boit" were a word (just to stick to minimal pairs), the vowel would start around "o" and end up at "i".

Another feature that vowels can have is length — that is, how long you linger on the vowel before moving to the next sound. If you remember back to your grade school English lessons, you *think* you know what vowel length is all about. Well, I'm deeply sorry, but you're wrong. The difference between "bite" and "bit" isn't length — you can pronounce them spending exactly the same amount of time on the vowels and still tell them apart easily. Try it — you'll see. Drag out the pronunciation of "bit" for a second or two. It's still recognizable as the same sound. Length has nothing to do with it. Now, English *does* have pairs of words where the length of the vowel is the only way we tell the difference bewteen them. Say the words "writer" and "rider" as you ordinarily would — without being abnormally careful about enunciation. What's the difference? The length of the vowel. We fool ourselves into thinking that one has "t" and the other "d", but in ordinary speech, the "t" and "d" are pronounced identically in these words and only the vowel length tells us which is which. In many languages, *any* vowel can be pronounced long or short — sometimes depending on the sounds around it, sometimes being the only difference between two otherwise identical words. For example, in Welsh, "gwen" with a short "e" is the feminine form of the adjective "white", while "gwen" with a long "e" is the noun "smile".

A Digression on the Great English Vowel Movemen... uh, Shift

So why are English vowels so completely messed up? Why is it that it's so hard to talk about vowels using English examples? Why is it that, when you learn just about any other language, the first thing you have to do is unlearn everything you know about the relation between letter and vowel sound? Anglo-Saxon vowels were perfectly straightforward, after all: three front unrounded vowels, three back rounded vowels, and then a high front rounded just for fun — all present in both long and short varieties (and a fair assortment of diphthongs as well). Where did we go wrong?

Well, we can take a perverse sort of pride, because one of the main sources of confusion in what letters go with which sounds is the strong tradition of literacy in English, dating from a relatively early period. That tradition made it almost impossible for English spelling to get reformed to something more logical (although goodness knows people have tried). The other main source is the Great English Vowel Shift. (It always comes in capitals like that — it should probably have a (tm) sign, too.)

Round about the time of Chaucer, the vowels had slightly re- adjusted themselves from Anglo-Saxon days, but there were still seven. The short versions of them can still be seen (more or less) in the following words (pay attention to the *sound* not the spelling):

bit
slept
said
last
gone
doth
h*u*sband

They mapped out on the vowel chart something like this:

Front	Center	Back	
			High
bit		husband	
slept		doth	**Mid**
	said gone		
	last		**Low**

Each of these had a long version, too. But round about the 15- 16th century, those long vowels did a sort of English Country Dance maneuver — you know the one where the ladies break off into a ring and circle round and end up offset by a partner? Well, the front vowels did that in their own little ring, and ended up partnered by a different short vowel, and the back vowels did it in a different little ring. So if the following stand for the short vowels (i e E ae a o u) and we mark the long vowels by putting a colon after them (which is one of the standard methods of marking vowel length) We start off partnered like this:

Front	Center	Back	
			High
i i:		u u:	
e e:		o o:	**Mid**
	E E: a a:		
	Ê Ê:		**Low**

And everybody moves up a step in pronunciation, except for the head ... I mean "high" ... vowel, who goes back to the end of the line ... uh, I mean bottom. And then *everybody* becomes a diphthong — followed by the high vowel for your set ... uh, I mean back/front group (which we will symbolize with "y" and "w" just so as to keep them clear).

Front	Center	Back	
			High
i i:>a(e)y		u u:>aw	
e e:>iy		o o:>u(w)	**Mid**
	E E:>ey a a:>ow		
	ae ae:>Ey		**Low**

In real words (and now you'll see how I picked the examples carefully — so that I'd have pairs that worked) this shows up as:

Front	Center	Back	
			High
bit > bite		husband > house	
slept > sleep		doth > do	**Mid**
	said > say gone > go		
	last > late		**Low**

But here's the real kicker: they changed the pronunciation, BUT THEY KEPT THE OLD SPELLING!

And *that's* why English spelling is so screwed up.

Now I see the fire is dying down, and it's time for all the little budding linguists to scamper off to bed, but come back next time and we'll crack open a nice case of nouns.

Part 3: Parts is Parts (of Speech)

So you put a bunch of sounds together and what do you get? A word, if you're lucky. (If you're not lucky, you get a bunch of sounds strung together.) There are a number of other features of phonology (that's "making sounds" — what the last two lessons were about) that we could look at, but I'd rather plunge us into the Big Picture and leave the fiddly bits for later.

So we've got a word. What kind of word?

There are several possible ways of putting words into categories — meaning, form, function in a sentence, and so forth. In English, we aren't really big on getting an obvious relationship between the form of a word and its grammatical category. I mean, any language that can turn "lunch" and "out" into verbs isn't exactly tied down to firm definitions! So in English we tend to stick more to classifying words by functions. Can it act as the subject of a sentence, or the agent of a verb? Then it's a noun (at least for right now). Does it identify what action is going on? Then it's a verb (at least on alternate Tuesdays). Does it serve to describe or further specify a noun (as defined above)? Then it's an adjective — or at least it's behaving as one.

So a word like "dancing" is hopelessly schizophrenic about what part of speech it is: "Dancing the galliard was dancing through the dancing fool's mind."

But, for the most part, we don't have serious problems with this. And in many languages, you get a lot more cues to the part of speech from the shape of the words (the fancy word for this is "morphology" — from the root "morph" meaning "shape"). So, for example, verbs will always have characteristic

endings that only appear in verbs; nouns will have characteristic endings that only appear in nouns; etc. etc. But that's for the next lesson. Let's look at a number of different parts of speech, what they're called, and how they're used.

The word "noun" originally meant simply "name". It's easy to think of it as a word that names something.

A noun can be simple (bird) or compound (blackbird). The fancy word for "simple" is mono-morphemic (for "mono" think "monorail" rather than "mononucleosis" — even though it means the same thing in both).

It can be singular (bird) or plural (birds) or, in some languages, dual (two-birds).

It can be definite (the bird, this bird, David's bird — anything where it is clear you have some particular bird in mind) or indefinite (a bird, birds in general).

Another useful contrast for nouns is whether it is a "count noun" — that is, it refers to something that normally occurs and is interacted with in discrete units (bird, house, bottle); or whether it is a "mass noun" — that is, something that refers to stuff you normally interact with as an undifferentiated mass (air, grass, beer).

In many languages, nouns are further classified in groups that behave the same way (i.e., take the same endings, get referred to with the same pronoun, etc.). One major type of noun class is commonly called "gender", because the linguists who were making up the rules were most familiar with languages where these classes corresponded fairly neatly to "masculine things", "feminine things", and "neuter things". In the original sense, "gender" was a pretty good description (it simply means "class, group, tribe", from Latin "gens" meaning "family") but if you think of it as meaning specifically *sexual* gender, then you'll have a hard time coping when you run into a language that has four, or seven, or some other large number of noun "genders" (which is when the linguists turn chicken and start referring to "noun *classes*").

Another type of classification according to noun morphology has to do with what *declension* the word takes. That is, which pattern of endings or changes it uses to indicate changes of meaning (such as number, case, etc.). More about this in a future lesson.

A subset of nouns are "pronouns", which are somewhat generic words that can be used in place of a noun when it's clear what you're referring to. Pronouns can be the familiar "I", "it", "we" sorts of words, which generally come in the same numbers that nouns can come in (singular and plural, and very occasionally dual), and are also identified as "first person" (indicating the speaker), "second person" (indicating the listener), or third person (indicating someone else). But pronouns can also be words like "this", "that", "some", "all", etc.

The word "adjective" is a bad Latin translation of a Greek word that made perfect sense for the category in Greek but isn't really relevant here. Adjectives modify nouns — that is, they tell you more about the noun, or more clearly identify which item the noun is referring to. Mind you, not *all* modifiers are adjectives. You can have entire phrases that modify nouns, but that doesn't mean that the phrase is "an adjective". Let's save the term for single words that act as modifiers.

Given that adjectives are very closely tied (conceptually) to nouns, it isn't at all surprising that in many languages they take similar shapes to nouns. So, you can find singular, plural (and occasionally dual) adjectives, masculine, feminine, and neuter (as required) adjectives, and so forth. English doesn't do this, but you've probably seen it in a Romance language, e.g. French "le bon homme" (the good man), "les bons hommes" (the good men), "la bonne femme" (the good woman), "les bonnes femmes" (the good women). (Ok, so French wasn't the best example to pick, because I've never actually studied French, and it took me over half an hour to figure out that I wasn't saying something outrageously wrong, mostly because the only French grammars I have in the house are facsimiles of 16th and 17th c. books that include useful phrases for the traveller, like, "J'ay besoin d'une Perruque, montrez m'en de vos plus belles. — I want a Periwig, show me some of your finest." but fail to give useful things like full adj.+noun paradigms. But I digress ....)

Another category that's useful to talk about in connection with nouns and adjectives is "articles". Articles, from a functional point of view, are words that indicate the definiteness or indefiniteness of the noun. English has the definite article "the" and the indefinite "a(n)". Not all languages have articles, or use them the same way English does. For example, definite articles in the Romance languages come from Latin words that are closer in meaning to "that". Many languages don't have an indefinite article, as such. (In the Germanic languages, the indefinite article is simply a special form of the word "one".) Articles generally come in the same flavors (of morphology) that adjectives do.

The word "verb" simply means "word" (Latin "verbum"), which probably means that early grammarians thought of the verb as the "prototypical

word". (It isn't just ancient Greek and Latin grammarians who thought this — even earlier Sanskrit grammarians were firmly convinced that *every* word derived originally from a verb, even if you had to do some awfully fast talking to explain things.)

Verbs can be described functionally as words that indicate what action or state is taking place — but in very many languages they can also simply be described as "words that take verbal inflections". So, for example, in English, if you can substitute a word for X in "She X-(e)s, she is X-ing" and have it make sense, you've got a good candidate for verb-hood. It is quite common in languages for the morphology of a verb to tell you things about who is doing the action of a verb, when it is being done, whether it's an ongoing action or a finished one. The form of the verb can also (in some languages) tell you whether you're talking about a habitual action or only one instance of it, whether it's a real action or a hypothetical one, who or what else is being affected by the verb (i.e., the "object" of the verb), and even things like what evidence the speaker has that the action actually took place. (Imagine, if you will, being able to distinguish just in the verb form between "The cat is in the bag (and I know because I saw it)" and "The cat is in the bag (I suppose, because the bag is moving in a cat-like fashion)".)

"Adverbs" (Latin for "next to the verb") are really a catchall category. If you think about your "reporter" questions (who, what, when, where, how, etc.), after the noun takes care of who and the verb takes care of what, a lot of the rest of the answers are adverbs. When? "Today", "soon", "never". Where? "Here", "away", "above". How? "Quickly", "well", "nervously".

And we must never forget prepositions! Actually, the more general term for this class is "adposition". Functionally, the class includes words that indicate relationships in space or time between two (or more) items. "UNDER the boardwalk, DOWN BY the sea, ON a blanket WITH my baby" ... well, you know the rest of the song. You call them "prepositions" when they come *before* (pre) the thing you're indicating relationship to, and "postpositions" when they come *after* (post) that thing. If you don't want to specify (or want to talk about both) you use "adposition" (which literally means "placed next to", which is fairly meaningless out of context since it doesn't say anything about placed next to *what*).

Adpositions are one of the trickiest parts of speech to learn in a language, because each language cuts up the territory assigned to them differently. Unlike things like verbs and nouns, you don't have pretty much a one-to-one correspondence in meaning between languages. In languages that have noun cases, adpositions usually require them in the associated noun phrase — and there may be differences in meaning depending on which case you use with the same adposition. Adpositions are tricky. That's why they're fun to do PhD dissertations on.

"Conjunctions" are a small, but important class. They connect together similar elements, whether words, phrases, or entire sentences. And besides connecting them, they tell you a little about how the things they connect relate to each other. "And" just sticks things together; "or" gives you options; "but" warns you that the train of thought is changing tracks; "so" implies a causal connection; and so forth.

Sometimes, you get little words that serve a grammatical function but don't really *mean* anything in and of themselves. If linguists can't figure out what else to call them, they can get called "particles". Don't call something a particle if there's a more specific term available for it. Calling something a particle is a sign of desperation or laziness.

There are a few other categories, like "interjections" (yikes! oh!) but we're starting to scrape the bottom of the barrel here and it's time to quit. Last time I promised you a case of nouns, and I *swear* that the next lesson will provide them. It just occurred to me that we needed to be clear on what a noun *was* before talking about how to mess with them.

Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

My most fun projects usually come from a random person asking me an odd question at exactly the right moment. In this case, a friend in An Tir wrote on behalf of a friend with a 12th century Welsh persona who was to be Laurelled and would be appreciative of a historically-based scroll text. I had a little spare time and poked around to see what sorts of textual models I might have available. And I finally took a good look at a delightfully early piece of Welsh legal prose that looked like just what the doctor ordered. I was hooked. Not only could I help with the project, I had the fun of translating a piece of Welsh that I'd never looked at before. Since I wrote up the whole translation and analysis anyway, to accompany the scroll, it was only a very small amount of work to fill it out into the present article, which was published by Tournaments Illuminated in issue 130 (Spring 1999). Timing is everything – if the request had come six months earlier or later, I might never have researched this.

The Privilege of Peerage:

Adapting the 11/12th Century Welsh 'Breint Teilo' as an SCA Scroll Text

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On a number of occasions I have been asked to create scroll texts in Medieval Welsh. Usually, this has been a matter of translating an existing or standard SCA award text [1], however a recent request for a Pelican text for a lady with a 12th century Welsh persona gave me the opportunity to explore the topic of historic Welsh legal texts and how they could be adapted to SCA purposes. In this article, I show not only the end result of this exploration, but the details of the process of adapting a medieval legal text for an SCA award.

Finding examples of legalistic texts in Medieval Welsh is difficult from the start. The majority of legal documents created in Wales at this period were written in Latin. [2] A Latin scroll text might be more authentic for a medieval Welsh persona than a Welsh-language one, but it doesn't feed the soul in quite the same way. And while the fairly extensive body of Medieval Welsh legal texts [3] can provide inspiration for vocabulary and phrasing, it takes some creative manipulation to turn it into the sorts of texts required by SCA awards.

In addition to the problem of the scarcity of Welsh language legal documents, there is also the problem (from an SCA context) that, in medieval Wales, status and rank were inextricably tied to land-holding. And so, the language and legal structures that are available tend to emphasize an aspect that — no matter how historically authentic — the SCA has chosen to eliminate from its rank and title system.

With these considerations in mind, I searched among the existing Medieval Welsh texts — and particularly early ones, more suited to a 12th century persona than the bulk of the Medieval Welsh material, which dates from the late 13th and 14th centuries. I was delighted to discover a text that would take relatively little adaptation for SCA purposes: the "Privilege of Teilo". [4]

Included in a compilation of charters collected sometime between 1120 and 1129, the document purports to be a copy of a charter given in the 6th century to Saint Teilo when he was the Bishop of Llan Dav (in south-eastern Wales) by the kings of Morgannwg (i.e., Glamorgan, the surrounding region), essentially setting the See of Llan Dav up as the legal equivalent of an independent kingdom. The legal privilege itself may or may not date to Saint Teilo's day — that is somewhat difficult to establish, and the appearance of the document at a time when Llan Dav was engaged in a territorial dispute with the bishopric of Saint David's is, at best, suspicious. As Wendy Davies points out [5], while many of the legal concepts included in the document are consistent with an older Welsh legal tradition, at least an equal number are more characteristic of Anglo-Norman law. From various evidence, she concludes that the privilege consists of two distinct parts: the first (lines 1-27 below) reflects Anglo-Norman law and probably dates to the early 12th century; the second (lines 28 to the end) reflects older, native

Welsh legal traditions and concerns, and probably dates to the early or mid 11th century.

The basic structure of the text begins with the statement of who the contract involves, then details the responsibilities that an ordinary landholder would owe the king but that Llan Dav will be free of, followed by a listing of the rights over land that any landholder would normally expect to have along with a few special privileges (such as the right to a mint). The second section then follows with a passage emphasizing the equal status of Llan Dav's bishop to the king, and how disputes between them are to be handled. It then concludes with a formula blessing those who keep the contract and cursing those who break it.

The original text required two major conceptual modifications and one minor grammatical one for SCA purposes. The original emphasizes that the Bishop and the Bishopric are not subject to the king, and that the king is granting them an equal rank to himself. I needed a text that turned this around and implied that the recipient was subject to the crown and that, although rank was being granted, it was lower than the equivalent of royalty. The original also, as mentioned above, frames many of the rights and privileges in terms of land holding, and of functions associated with that. Removing all of the language associated with this concept would gut the text and leave me little to work with. One approach would be to treat the references to land as standing symbolically for the peer's "estate" in the sense of rank. I chose a slightly safer path and, when the reference to land is introduced, I prefaced it with "weasel words" along the lines of "should it be according to the custom of the country, lands and their associated functions are granted". Since it is not according to SCA custom for lands to be granted with a peerage, the legal force of the reference is made moot, without the need to remove most of the original text.

Since the original grant was made to the Bishop and the institution of the Bishopric, any references to these needed to be changed to the recipient, and occasionally to the Order the recipient was being inducted into. In addition, since the recipient I designed the text for was female, some of the references needed to be adjusted, although since several of the words used to refer to Llan Dav itself are grammatically feminine, not all of the references needed to be changed. (In the modified version of the text that I suggest below, I have included options for both male and female recipients, as well as for the Orders of the Pelican, Laurel, Chivalry, and Rose. The text could be adapted for other awards as well, but the version here is specifically for a Peerage Order.)

The Original Text

Here I present the original text, with a fairly literal translation and some explanation of the legal concepts involved. I have added line numbers for reference and have added hyphens between words that are written as one in the original text, in order to make it easier to follow the translation. (In the period of this text, unstressed "function words", such as definite articles, were frequently prefixed to the following word rather than being written separately, although this is inconsistent.) I have retained the punctuation and (lack of) capitalization of the original.

1

Lymma y-cymreith ha-bryein

Behold the rights and privileges

2

eccluys Teliau o-lanntaf

[of the] church of Teilo of Llan Dav,

3

a-rodes breenhined hinn ha-touyssocion cymry

which these kings and princes of Wales granted

4

yn-trycyguidaul dy eccluys teliau

for ever to [the] church [of] Teilo

5

hac di-r escip oll gueti ef

and to all bishops after him,

6

amcytarnedic o-audurdaut papou rumein

confirmed by authority [of the] popes [of] Rome;

7

y-holl cyfreith didi hac dy thir hac di dair

To it (i.e. the church) [belong] all its rights and to its lands and to its territories,

The phrase "land and territory" does not imply two different types of holding — Welsh legal language was fond of synonymous doublets of this type. Note that the structure is "the rights of the church and its lands" not "the rights and lands of the church".

8

ryd o pop guasanaith breennin bydaul

[are granted] free from every service [to a] secular king,

Normally, when a king gave the lordship of a territory to someone, it was as his vassal. In exchange for the land, certain services and goods were due at specified times.

9

heb mair heb cyghellaur

without steward, without chancellor,

The "steward and chancellor" would be the king's administrators in land that had free tenants, but was not held by a vassal lord.

10

heb cyhoith dadlma y meun gulat hac n-y-dieithyr

without public court, within or without its lordship,

This is "court" in the legal rather than royal sense. That is, the bishopric was not required to serve on the king's courts or be subject to their judgements — more about which below.

11

heb luyd heb gauayl heb guylma

without hosting without seizure, without watch and ward;

These would be some of the duties that would normally be owed to one's overlord: raising an army, maintaining watch-stations. The "seizure" referred to here is not random seizure of property but rather refers to the custom of pledging possessions as a surety of keeping oaths or bargains. If the contract was not kept, the possession could be "seized" by the overlord.

12

y-cyfreith idi yn-hollaul

Its rights [are granted] to it [i.e., the church] fully

The following list concerns the operation of legal courts in medieval Wales. When a crime was committed, not only was the culprit required to compensate the victim, but there would be a fine due to the lord to make up for having insulted him by breaking his peace. This passage makes it clear that these fines for any of the listed crimes, if committed within the Bishopric, would be due to the Bishop's court, not to the king's.

13

o-leityr o-latrat o-treis o-dynnyorn o-cynluyn hac o-losc

[in respect] of thief, of theft, of rapine, of homicide, of conspiracy and of arson,

14

o-amryson can-guayt a-heb-guayt

of brawling with bloodshed or without bloodshed;

15

y diruy ha-y-camcul yndi didi yn hollaul

the fines and penalties [for these offences] therein [i.e., in the church's territory] to it entirely,

16

o-dorri naud ynn-lann hac yn-dieythyr lann

[in respect] of violation [of] sanctuary within [the] enclosure or without [the] enclosure,

Note that, while the term *naud* can refer to "sanctuary" in the church-related sense, under medieval Welsh law, just about anybody with any status at all had the right to offer a carefully specified "protection" (*naud*) to a fugitive, and violating this right was a crime against the person offering it.

17

o-rachot ynn luhyn hac dieithyr luhyn

of waylaying within a forest or outside a forest,

18

o-cyrch y-pop-mynnic ar-tir teliau

of assault in every place whatsoever on [the] land [of] Teilo;

19

ha-y guir ha-y braut

both right and judgement [of] them [i.e., of these crimes]

20

dy lytu yr-ecluys

[belong] to [the] community [of] the church

21

y-gundy teliau ynn-lan taf hac n-y lys

in [the] 'Gwndy' [of] Teilo in Llan Dav and in its court;

It isn't entirely certain what *gundy* refers to, but the

context implies that is may be the physical residence of the Bishop, or perhaps something like a chapter-house.

22

dufyr ha guell hac choyt ha mays

[with] water and herbage and wood and field

While line 22 notes privileges that a landowner normally expected, the ones following are the sort that a king might well *not* grant to a vassal to whom he had given land. That is, they are special privileges. In this context, listing them re-emphasizes the independence of Llan Dav from the kingdom, but granting them might, in a different context, simply be a sign of greater status of the vassal.

23

yn-cyfrytin dy lytu teliau

in common to [the] community [of] Teilo;

24

cyfnofut ha-bathoriayth ynn lanntaf

[with] market and mint in Llan Dav,

25

hac aperua ar-dir teliau

and [a] harbourage on [the] land [of] Teilo

26

dy-r loggou a-discynno n-y-thir

for the ships which may touch on its land

27

y-pop mynnic yt uoy

wheresoever it may be,

28

ryd rac brennin a-rac-paup namyn dy teliau

[this right is] free in respect of king or any other except Teilo,

29

a-y-eccluys lantam

and the church of Llan Dav,

30

ha dy escyp

and its bishops;

31

ha-r-mesyl ha-r-sarhayt ha-r-cam ha-r ennuet

And [in respect of] the disgrace and the insult and the wrong and the injury

This section is basically saying, "If the king or his guys commit crimes against the bishop or his guys, it gets judged in the *bishop's* court, not in the king's." This goes beyond simply setting the bishop up as the equal of the king and implies that he has higher rank.

32

a-gunech brennhin morcannhuc

which the King of Morgannwg might do,

33

ha-y gwr ha-y guas

or his man, or his vassal

34

dy escop teliau hac dy-gur hac dy-guas

unto Bishop Teilo, or his man, or his vassal,

35

dyuot brennhin morcannhuc

[the] King of Morgannwg shall come

36

y-gundy teliau yn-lann taf

to [the] 'Gwndy' [of] Teilo in Llan Dav

37

dy-gunethur guir ha cyfreith

to do justice and right,

38

ha-diguadef braut

and to undergo judgment

39

di-am y cam a-diconher dy escop teliau

for the wrong which might be done unto bishop Teilo,

40

ha dy gur ha dy guas

or his man, or his vassal;

41

y-thir ha-y dayr dy luyd dy uuner di-gauayl

To it [i.e., the Bishopric] its lands and its territories [exempt] from hosting, from burdens, from seizure;

This simply repeats earlier specifications.

42

ha pop cyfreith a-uo dy brennin morcannhuc yn lys

And all the rights which belong to [the] King [of] Morgannwg in [his] court

This section re-emphasizes that the bishop is the functional equivalent of a king.

43

ou-bot oll yn-holaul dy escop teliau n-y-lys yntou

shall all belong fully to bishop Teilo in his own court;

44

ha-y-bot yn-emelldicetic hac yn yscymunetic

and let him be accursed and excommunicated

The closing section is a standard formula in medieval charters, particularly ones involving land granted to the church.

45

yr neb a-i-torro hac a-y-dimanuo y bryeint hunn

whosoever shall break or diminish this privilege

46

hac ef ha-y plant guety ef

both he and his children after him.

47

Hynn bendicetic hac ef ha-y plant

He shall be blessed, both he and his children,

48

a-y enrydedocao y-breint hynn hac a-y cattuo amen

who shall respect this privilege and keep it. Amen.

The Modified Text

This section describes and explains the modifications I made in adapting the text. Where the gender of the recipient makes a difference in the grammar, both versions have been supplied. "Blanks" to be filled in as required (i.e., names of the individuals, kingdom, and order) are in curly braces.

1 Left as is.

Lymma y-cymreith ha-bryein

Behold the rights and privileges

2 Substitute the candidate's name. Naturally, if the recipient's persona and name are Welsh (and one assumes that those are the people who would be interested in this sort of text) then it would be ideal if the name were modified to an appropriate 11th century form, however this is not always possible and it is impossible to give concise directions for doing so.

{name}

[of] {name}

3 Substitute the names of royalty and name of kingdom. Stylistically, either Early Medieval Welsh forms of the names or Latinized forms would work best. Just about any period European given name can be Latinized, so this would be one angle to take for the names of the royalty. Some kingdom names translate easily to either Welsh or Latin, but others are more problematic. See the appendix for suggestions. The original text makes reference throughout only to the "king" or "kings", due to the nature of the institution of the time. There are several ways of approaching the different nature of SCA royalty. In Medieval Welsh, "king" and "queen" are formed from the same root (*breenhin* in this text) with "queen" simply adding a feminine suffix (*-es*). From this, it does not seem entirely unreasonable to use the simple plural *breenhined* as a shorthand for "king and queen, royalty", rather than the awkwardness of constructing a more explicit phrase. Therefore, I have substituted this plural for other references to singular "king" in the original text (and translated it succinctly, although loosely, as "Crown").

a-rodes {sovereign's name} ha {consort's name} breenhined {kingdom}

which {name} and {name}, monarchs of {kingdom} granted

4 Substitute the candidate's name.

yn-trycyguidaul dy {name}

for ever to {name}

5 Omit entirely.

6 Rather than invoking "the authority of the Pope" I've used this opportunity to make reference to "letters patent", even though the concept itself doesn't show up quite this early in Welsh. The earliest Welsh reference to the term appears ca. 1300 in the form *llythyreu agoret* which is a literal transla-

tion of "patent" as "open (to view)". If, for some reason, the actual word "patent" is desired instead, the form *llythyrau patent* is the idiomatic Modern Welsh, and "patent", as a borrowed word, would appear in that form in this text.

amcytarnedic o-audurdaut llythyreu agoret

confirmed by the authority [of] letters patent

7 The whole section from 7-30 in the original is emphasizing that the Bishop of Llan Dav is to be equal in rank and privilege to a king — not what the SCA award text should be implying. But since this is done by negating the expected conditions of vassalhood, the necessary modifications largely consist of reversing the phrasing from negative to positive. The modification to line 7 is the key to the text as Peerage Scroll. For "To it [i.e., Llan Dav] all its rights and to its lands and to its territories" I have substituted "To her all her rights, and the status of a peer of the Pelican. And such as would be according to the custom of the kingdom, her lands and her territories ..." Since the "lands and territories" are not specified, they may be understood to stand metaphorically for her "estate". See the discussion in the preceding section for the reasoning here.

7a

y-holl cyfreith didi hac breint dylyedauc y-{order}

All her/his rights to her/him and [the] status [of a] peer [of] {order}

7b

[fem.] *Hac mal y-bo yn-ol arver y-wlat y thir ha-y dair*

[male] *Hac mal y-bo yn-ol arver y-wlat y tir ha-y dair*

And as it would be according to the custom of the land, her/his lands and her/his territories,

8 Reverse the intent from negative to positive.

yn-guasanaith y-breenhined

in service to the Crown,

9 Since the peerage is being set up symbolically as equivalent to a vassal lordship, the land would not be administered by the king's "steward and chancellor" at any event. However, since leaving the line in as an exemption would break the flow of the prose, I have simply omitted it.

10 Here I've substituted "subject to" for "exempt from". The sense is that she liable to answer to the crown for her actions, whether within her jurisdiction or not.

adan gyhoith dadlma y meun gulat hac n-y-dieithyr

subject to public court within or without her/his lordship,

11 Simple reversal.

[fem.] *idi luyd hac gauayl hac guylma*

[male] *itau luyd hac gauayl hac guylma*

[there is obligation] for her/him [of] hosting and seizure and watch and ward;

12 Lines 12-21 have to do with the bishopric's right to hold its own courts and to be paid the fines resulting from judgements in them. One angle would be to keep the text as is, understanding it as confirming her right to judge matters within her own household, but that felt awkward in the context of SCA practice. Instead I've turned it back to the crown-peer relationship and used it to affirm her right to the crown's protection *from* the listed offenses.

[fem.] *naud y-breenhined idi yn-hollaul*

[male] *naud y-breenhined itau yn-hollaul*

The protection of the Crown to her/him fully in respect

13 As is.

o-leityr o-latrat o-treis o-dynnyorn o-cynluyn hac o-losc

of thief, of theft, of rapine, and of homicide, of conspiracy and of arson,

14 As is.

o-amryson can-guayt a-heb-guayt

of brawling with bloodshed or without bloodshed;

15 The *diruy* and *camcul* in the original text were the fines paid to the court and the lord who had jurisdiction over it. Since I've turned this around to focus on the right to protection, I've substituted the legal terms *sarhayt* and *guerth*, which refer to the restitution due to a wronged party.

y sarhayt ha-y-guerth didi/didau yn hollaul

Her/his 'sarhayt' and her/his 'guerth' to her/him entirely

16 Substitute "court" for "[church] enclosure".

o-dorri naud ynn-lys hac yn-dieythyr lys

in respect of violation of protection within [the] court or without [the] court,

17 As is.

o-rachot ynn luhyn hac dieithyr luhyn

of waylaying within a forest or outside a forest,

18 Continuing with the modification of the angle of the text, I've substituted "land of <kingdom>" for "land of Teilo" as the scope of the above clause.

o-cyrch y-pop-mynnic ar-tir {kingdom}.

of assault in every place whatsoever on [the] land [of] {kingdom};

19 Minor modifications setting up for the following.

[fem.] *idi guir hac braut*

[male] *itau guir hac braut*

for her/him, right and judgement [are due]

20 Since *lytu* simply means "community, people, company", I've kept it, but used it as an alternate for "Order" and substituted the order name for "the church".

dy lytu y-{order}

in respect of the Community of the {order}

21 Shorten and change reference.

ynn-lys {kingdom}

in the court of {kingdom}.

22 Lines 22-30 are more privileges which seem fairly innocuous in an SCA context and need little modification.

dufyr ha guell hac choyt ha mays

[with] water and herbage and wood and field

23 This line can simply be omitted without harm.

24 Omit "at Llan Dav".

cyfnofut ha-bathoriayth

[with] market and mint

25 Change "on the land of Teilo" to "on her land".

[fem.] *hac aperua ar-y-thir*

[male] *hac aperua ar-y-tir*

and a harbourage on her/his land

26 As is.

[fem.] *dy-r loggou a-discynno n-y-thir*

[male] *dy-r loggou a-discynno n-y-tir*

for the ships which may touch on her/his land

27 As is.

y-pop mynnic yt uoy

wheresoever it may be,

28 Substitute <candidate's name> for "Teilo (and lines 29-30)".

ryd rac brennin a-rac-paup namyn dy {name}.

free in respect of king or any other except {name},

29 Omitted.

30 Omitted.

31 Rather than emphasizing that inter-group lawsuits would be judged in the bishop's court, this section is modified to emphasize the Crown's responsibility toward the recipient and her household.

ha-r-mesyl ha-r-sarhayt ha-r-cam ha-r ennuet

And in respect of any disgrace, insult, wrong, or injury

32-33 The suggestion that the king might commit offences against one of his peers not only seemed impolitic to retain but is less relevant when the two parties are not being represented as equals, so that reference has been omitted.

a-gunech ha-gwr ha-guas {kingdom}

which either a man or vassal of {kingdom} may do,

34 Substitute the recipient's name for Teilo. I have also substituted *teylu* and *niuer* — essentially "household and retinue" — for *gur* and *guas*, to make the scope more inclusive. The *teylu* and *niuer* are a standard formula in medieval Welsh literature and law.

[fem.] *dy {name} hac d-y-theylu hac d-y-niuer*

[male] *dy {name} hac d-y-teylu hac d-y-niuer*

unto {name}, or to her/his household, or to her/his retinue,

35 Substitute the kingdom name.

dyuot brennhined {kingdom}

the Crown [of] {kingdom} shall come

36 Omit this line, as we aren't concerned with jurisdiction.

37 As is.

dy-gunethur guir ha cyfreith

to do justice and right,

38 Omit, since the Crown is presumably dispensing, rather than undergoing, justice.

39 Substitute the recipient's name for Teilo.

di-am y cam a-diconher dy {name}

for the wrong done unto {name},

40 As in line 34.

[fem.] *ha d-y theylu ha d-y niuer*

[male] *ha d-y teylu ha d-y niuer*

or to her/his household or to her/his retinue.

41-3 Line 41 repeats earlier material, and lines 42-3 set up Bishop Teilo with "all the rights which belong to the King of Morgannwg" which isn't appropriate in this case. These have been omitted.

44 The original has violators "accursed and excommunicated", but since SCA royalty don't have the power to excommunicate, I've left it at "accursed".

ha-y-bot yn-emelldicetic

and let him be accursed

45 As is.

yr neb a-i-torro hac a-y-dimanuo y bryeint hunn

whosoever shall break or diminish this privilege

46 As is.

hac ef ha-y plant guety ef

both he and his children after him.

47 As is.

Hynn bendicetic hac ef ha-y plant

He shall be blessed, both he and his children,

48 As is (except I left off the "Amen").

a-y enrydedocao y-breint hynn hac a-y cattuo

who shall respect this privilege and keep it.

The Welsh Text

Here follows the text as a whole, with the original word-(non)-spacing restored. Slots to be filled are still in curly braces. The basic text is the one for a female recipient, substitutions for a male recipient are presented in square brackets following the female form.

Lymma ycymreith habryein {name} arodes {sovereign's name} ha {consort's name} breenhined {kingdom} yntrycyguidaul dy {name} amcytarnedic oaudurdaut llythyreu agoret yholl cyfreith didi hac breint dylyedauc y{order} Hac mal ybo ynol arver ywlat y thir [tir] hay dair ynguasanaith ybreenhined adan gyhoith dadlma y meun gulat hac nydieithyr idi [itau] luyd hac gauayl hac guylma naud ybreenhined idi [itau] ynhollaul oleityr olatrat otreis odynnyorn ocynluyn hac olosc oamryson canguayt ahebguayt y sarhayt hayguerth didi [didau] yn hollaul odorri naud ynnlys hac yndieythyr lys orachot ynn luhyn hac dieithyr luhyn ocyrch ypopmynnic artir {kingdom}. idi [itau] guir hac braut dy lytu y{order} ynnlys {kingdom} dufyr ha guell hac choyt ha mays cyfnofut habathoriayth hac aperua arythir [arytir] dyr loggou adiscynno nythir [nytir] ypop mynnic yt uoy ryd rac brennin aracpaup namyn dy {name}. harmesyl harsarhayt harcam har ennuet agunech hagwr haguas {kingdom} dy {name} hac dytheylu [dyteylu] hac dyniuer dyuot brennhined {kingdom} dygunethur guir ha cyfreith diam y cam adiconher dy {name} ha dy theylu [teylu] ha dy niuer haybot ynemelldicetic yr neb aitorro hac aydimanuo y bryeint hunn hac ef hay plant guety ef Hynn bendicetic hac ef hay plant ay enrydedocao ybreint hynn hac ay cattuo.

The Translation

The whole translation — smoothed out from the rather overly-literal version above — reads as follows:

These are the rights and privileges of {candidate} which {king} and {queen} monarchs of {kingdom} granted for ever to {candidate} confirmed by the authority of letters patent. To her are given all her rights and the status of a peer of the Pelican. And, should it be according to the custom of the land, her lands and her territories, in service to the king, subject to public court within or without her lordship. For this, she is obligated for hosting and her pledges, and for watch and ward. She has the full protection of the king in respect of a thief, of theft, of rapine, and of homicide, of conspiracy and of arson, of brawling with or without bloodshed. She is completely entitled to her face-price and value, if her protection is violated within or without the court, or she is waylaid within or without a forest, or assaulted in any place whatsoever in the land of {kingdom}. Right and judgement are due to her in the court of {kingdom} because of her membership in

the Order of the Pelican. She has the right to water and herbage, wood and field, with market and mint, and a harbourage on her land for ships which may touch on her land, wheresoever it may be, freely with respect to the king or any other except {candidate} herself. And in respect of any disgrace, insult, wrong, or injury which either a man or a vassal of {kingdom} may do to {candidate}, or to her household, or to her retinue; the King of {kingdom} shall come to do justice and right for the wrong done to {candidate}, or to her household or to her retinue. And let him be accursed, whosoever shall violate or diminish this privilege: both he and his children after him. He shall be blessed, both he and his children, who shall respect this privilege and keep it.

Appendices

When available, the following words (or the elements forming them) are taken from Welsh manuscripts of the early 13th century. When actual early forms are not available, I have put them into spellings that are compatible with the period of the text.

Dating

The original text made no reference to the date on which it was issued, however this is an important piece of information on SCA scrolls. The numbers for dates and years would normally be written in roman numerals in texts of this type which saves a great deal of trouble. The basic format for a "date stamp" statement would be:

guneir {date} {month} a.s. {year}

[It] was done {date} [of] {month} A.S. {year}.

Appropriate forms for the names of the months are given in the appendix.

Armory

SCA peerage texts often (perhaps normally) include explicit confirmation of the recipient's right to arms, however the original for this text predates the use of heraldry. In addition, the topic of how to blazon arms in Welsh is a subject for another entire article. [6] For those reasons, I have omitted the matter entirely from this article.

Kingdom names

As noted above, Latinized forms of kingdom names would be compatible with the general style of the text. For those who might be interested in using Early Medieval Welsh translations of the meanings of the kingdom names, the following list is a suggestion only.

AEthelmearc: edylmers

Since the Welsh were in regular contact with Anglo Saxon culture, it is possible to have a good idea how this name would have appeared in 11th century Welsh. The Welsh name for "the Marches" is *Y Mers*, although the concept is a bit early for the 11th century. Welsh borrowed the Anglo-Saxon word *aetheling* as (12th century) *edlyg*.

Ansteorra: unseryn

A direct translation of "single star".

An Tir: y tir

Since the name An Tir simply means "the land" in Gaelic, the translation loses the sense that it is being used as a proper name.

Artemesia

Essentially impossible to translate, whether from the original sense of "land dedicated to Artemis", or in the more immediate motivation as the genus name for sagebrush. However, since the name is already Latin in construction, it can be used as is.

Atenveldt: heulvaes

Again, difficult to translate literally, due to the nature of the first element, but possible in a looser understanding as "sun-field".

Atlantia

As with Artemisia, the root itself doesn't translate, but the existing form is compatible with the style of the text.

Caid

Since the name has no meaning, it cannot be translated. Games could be played with the spelling, treating "Caid" as if it were a modern Welsh word, but this seems pointless.

Calontir

The name is already Welsh and the existing form is actually more understandable as an Early Medieval Welsh spelling than as a modern one.

Drachenwald: coytydreic

A straightforward translation of "dragon-wood".

East: y duyrein

Literally "the east".

Meridies: y deheu

The existing name is Latin, and so could be used as is. For translation purposes, one suspects that it was not the primary meaning of "noon" that was intended, but the secondary one of "south". The medieval name for South Wales was *y Deheubarth* "the south-part".

Middle: y canaul, y pervedgulat

The first is a fairly straightforward translation of "the Middle", while the second means "the middle-land" and is the name given to several regions in medieval Wales.

Outlands: y tir dieithyr

The word *dieithyr*, which we find in the original text in the sense of "outside, beyond", has many of the same connotations as English "outlandish" as well as the literal sense.

Trimaris: trimor

A straightforward translation of "three-seas".

West: y guolleuin

Literally "the west".

Order names

Pelican: pelican

The borrowed word *pelican* does not actually appear in Welsh until the 15th century — which is not particularly surprising given that pelicans do not naturally occur north of the Mediterranean area in Europe. Had the word been borrowed in the 11th century, this is the form it would be expected to take.

Laurel: llaur

The Welsh for "laurel tree" is *llawrwydd*, combining *llawr* (borrowed from Latin *laur(us)*) with Welsh *gwydd* (tree). Normally, such a construction would imply that the root word *llawr* would be applied to products of the tree (e.g., *afalwydd* "apple-tree" versus *afal* "apple"), although when a separate word for "laurel (wreath)" appears in the 16th century, it is the derived *llawryf* instead. However Celtic scholar John Koch [7] provides support for the early use of the simple *llawr* as a borrowing of Latin *laureatus*, i.e., "laureled".

Chivalry: marchocaet

It is impossible to translate the concept "chivalry" into Medieval Welsh in a way that distinguishes it from "knighthood" or simply "horsemanship". Rather than attempting to create a new word to cater to SCA distinctions, I have used the ordinary word.

Rose: fion, ros

The original native Welsh word for "rose" seems to have been *fion*, which later came to mean "foxglove" when the borrowed word *ros* became more popular. *Fion* is found as early as the 9th century.

Months

January: ionaur
February: chuefraur
March: maurth
April: ebryll
May: mey
June: mehevyn
July: gorffennaf
August: ahust, aust
September: medi
October: heduref
November: tacuet
December: racfyr

Notes

1. Jones, Heather Rose. 1993. "Medieval Welsh Scroll Texts for the SCA" in *Y Camamseriad* 2:102-124.

2. See, for example, Patrick Sims-Williams. 1998. "The Uses of Writing in Early Medieval Wales" in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* ed. Huw Pryce. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

3. A good introduction to the genre is provided by Dafydd Jenkins. 1986. *The Law of Hywel Dda.* Llandysul: Gomer Press.

4. Evans, J. Gwenogvryn ed. 1979. *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav*. Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales. (Facsimile reprint of the 1893 Oxord edition.)

5. Davies, Wendy. 1976. "Braint Teilo" in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26:123-137.

6. Jones, Heather Rose. 1993. "On Blazoning Armory in Medieval Welsh" in *The Proceedings of the Known World Heraldic Symposium*.

7. Koch, John T. 1987. "'llawr en assed' The Laureate Hero in the War-chariot" in *Études Celtiques* 24:253-78.

Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

Like the weather, the SCA's alternate titles lists are something that everyone complains about but nobody does anything about. Well, nobody much, anyway. Of course I had an ulterior motive in doing the research to suggest revisions to the SCA's alternate Welsh titles: I wanted to use something a bit cooler than what had been available. But I also wanted to set up a model of how a large-scale review and revision of a set of alternate titles could be done. In the end, most of my suggestions were accepted. This is one of my "catalog" projects – largely just a matter of accumulating and organizing large amounts of data into a useful form. I have much better language resources now than I did at the time and it might be interesting to review some of my conclusions again, but I believe that the major ones would still stand. The article originally appeared in the Known World Heraldic Symposium proceedings in 1990 and was reprinted in Y Camamseriad *volume 1 (1992).*

Medieval Welsh Titles and Terms of Rank

My aim in this article is to consider not only the standard dictionary translations of titles and associated terms but also their use in context in medieval Welsh literature and their functional relationship to titles as used in the SCA. There are two major difficulties in setting up a parallel title structure in Welsh. One is the differences between the way titles were used in medieval Wales and the English system on which ours is based. The native Welsh system leaned toward a fair number of petty kings but had few, if any, layers of sub-rulers between those kings and the people. When the Welsh system was replaced forcibly by the English system, the respective English titles were adopted with only minor spelling changes. Thus there is rarely a direct correlation between the early native titles and the various English ranks.

The second difficulty involves the differences between the English title system and the ways those titles are used in the SCA. For instance, historically "duke" was a landed title and a duchy could in essence be a petty kingdom. In the SCA those with the title are expected to strictly avoid the appearance of territorial claims. So if I find a title that has a tenuous equivalence with "duke" and has strong connotations of territoriality I am in a quandary as to which interest is stronger.

At the end of this article, I present a table of my recommendations for titles to use in the SCA along with associated territorial or adjectival forms.

In the process of researching titles I gathered information on a number of other useful subjects: names of offices, territorial designations, words for various non-reserved or informal titles. I have presented these in separate sections on the chance that someone may find them useful.

I drew from two main types of sources for this article. The first was the *Geiriadur Mawr*, the most commonly available Welsh-English English-Welsh dictionary. It lists a large number of archaic or obsolete words but unfortunately is not completely cross-indexed, and to extract all the Welsh words that I wanted to study I was forced to scan through the entirety of the Welsh-English section. The second major type of source was translations of medieval Welsh literature: the *Mabinogi* and other tales, poetry and historical records. These were supplemented with an excellent book on the medieval Welsh law codes and several other articles on the subject of titles and social structure in medieval Wales.

The information was analysed with the help of a computer database (dBase 3+), taking note of the standard form (i.e., modern spelling, no mutations), root word, English translation, general rank of the English translation (e.g., king, lord, officer, etc.), grammatical function and source for each occurence, with an additional field for extra comments regarding context.

An annotated list of my sources follows, including the abbreviations I have used throughout the text.

Unfootnoted terms are from the *Geiriadur Mawr* (hereafter referred to as "the dictionary"). Words have been normalized to modern spelling in the text where possible, but the original reference has been given verbatim in the notes, including mutations if any. (While I'm on the subject of spelling, medieval Welsh occasionally used a symbol for "w" which is most closely approximated by "6" and I have retained this in a number of the examples.) An asterisk (*) indicates that the *Geiriadur Mawr* considers the word archaic. My system of page references is occasionally arcane. I have noted below where the references differ from the format (source:page).

Bibliography

[AOW] Jones, R. Brinley ed. *Anatomy of Wales*. (unknown): Gwerin, (unknown).

[BB] Roberts, Brynley. *Brut y Brenhinedd*. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1984.

I acquired this very recently and wish I'd had time to use it more fully in this article. It's a medieval Welsh translation of the Latin version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain. (BB:verse:line)

[CA] Williams, Ifor. *Canu Aneirin*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1978.

6th century poems in a probably 14th century manuscript. Copious notes, but largely in Welsh. (CA:line)

[CR] Rejhon, Annalee. *C,n Rolant: The Medieval Welsh Version of the Song of Roland*. Berkeley: University of California Press, (no date).

Full English translation and copious notes. (CR:verse:line)

[Evans] Evans, D. Simon. *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*. Oxford: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976.

[GM] Evans, H. Meurig & Thomas W.O. *Y Geiriadur Mawr*. Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1987.

[Jenkins] Jenkins, Dafydd. "Kings, Lords, and Princes: the Nomenclature of Authority in Thirteenth-century Wales." *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* Vol.XXVI Part IV: 451-462.

Not as useful as I thought it would be from the title. Mostly a discussion of the transition from *arglwydd* to *brenin*.

[LH] Ford, Patrick K. *The Poetry of Llywarch Hen*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Heroic poetry probably from the 9th century. Full English translation and notes. (LH:page:line)

[LHD] Jenkins, Dafydd. *The Law of Hywel Dda*. Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1986.

[LHEB] Jackson, Kenneth. *Language and History in Early Britain.* Edinburgh: The University Press, 1953.

Mostly a study of phonetic changes, but very useful for tracking down etymologies.

[M] Evans, J. Gwenogvryn. *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1973.

A transcription of the text of the "White Book of Rhydderch", a collection of the Mabinogi and other tales written down in the early 14th century. No translation, no notes. I used this by comparing the Welsh text to MP and MJ. (References to MJ and MP refer to the column number of the Welsh text in M.)

[MJ] Jones Gwyn & Jones Thomas. *The Mabinogion*. London: Everyman's Library, 1986.

Considered to be the definitive translation of the White Book of Rhydderch. My brief excursions into the two texts confirm that this is the closest, most literal translation that I have found - and I've read a fair number of them. Accordingly I have considered this the primary translation of M and have referenced other versions only when they disagreed. No notes.

[MP] Gantz, Jeffrey. *The Mabinogion*. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.

A less literal translation than MJ, doing more conversion to standard English prose. A few notes.

[Morgan2] Morgan, T. J., & Morgan, Prys. *Welsh Surnames.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1985.

[PC] Rowlands, Eurys. *Poems of the Cywyddwyr.* Oxford: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976.

Another recent acquisition that I wish I had time to use more fully. Poetry from the late 14th to early 16th centuries, some of it addressed to English patrons. Copious notes. (PC:verse:line)

[PKM] Williams, Ifor. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi.* Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1982.

The text of the White Book of Rhydderch with copious notes - virtually all in Welsh. I used this less than the other versions but was able to scan some useful information from it.

[PT] Williams, Ifor & Williams J.E. Carwyn. *The Poems of Taliesin*. Oxford: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975.

The poems date from the late 6th century although the manuscript in which they are found is probably from the 13th. Copious notes. (PT:verse:line)

The Titles

The first section discusses the structure of Welsh medieval society and the traditional terms associated with it. The second section takes the English forms of the titles (more or less in order of precedence) and discusses all the Welsh terms that were at some point translated as that title (or related terms). The third section re-analyzes the titles from the point of the Welsh root words, considering all the possible translations of words derived from the same origin. There I discuss the reasoning behind my choices between several possible translations for SCA purposes.

Rank in Medieval Welsh Society

This is a brief and no doubt flawed overview of the structure of early Welsh society, intended to serve as a framework for evaluating some of the ranks and titles that applied to it.

At the time that the structures of medieval Welsh society were first written about there were two separate but coexistent systems in place. The first, and no doubt the oldest by far, is that of the tribe or clan, *cenedl* in Welsh. Within this kinship group and smaller subgroups within it each person had certain specified rights and obligations with respect to such things as legal penalties and inheritance. Within the *cenedl* all were considered "noble" much as we in the SCA consider everyone to be of basically noble rank (unless they choose otherwise). Their rank was that of *bonheddig*[1], indicating someone of freeborn lineage. A person could rise beyond this rank through gaining a royal office or coming into possession of land and the rights and responsibilities associated with that state (generally through the death of their father although the right to land could also pass through the mother). LHD[2] has these land holders acquiring the rank of *breyr* and gives *uchelwr* as equivalent (AOW makes no distinction between *bonheddig* and *uchelwr* but the reference is in passing and may not be concerned with such distinctions). Those who were not *bonheddig* might be *aillt* or *taeog* "villein" (not of noble lineage, but still free men), *alltud* "foreigner" (even a man of high birth in his own country who took service with a Welsh lord would fall into this legal classification) or *caeth* "slave, bondservant".[3]

Superimposed on this was the system of lordship. LHD[4] defines the term *arglwydd* as 1) a patron of a client; or 2) a territorial ruler (*brenin*). Jenkins[5] concurs, noting the two most common meanings to be "the personal lord or patron of a man or woman" or "a territorial ruler". In the first sense the personal status of the *arglwydd* is irrelevant - he need not even be *bonheddig*, and land is not necessarily involved. The second sense no doubt implied the first as it would be unlikely for a lord to rule any sizable amount of territory without the support of clients or vassals. The exact status varies throughout the centuries. Lands that supported a *brenin* in the 11th century are found in the 13th ruled by an *arglwydd*.[6] The change was due, not to any change in the lands or responsibilities, but to the political inadvisability of calling oneself a king in Wales when the English kings were asserting their own claim to the title. At about the same time *tywysog* came into use to designate the most powerful of these Welsh rulers. (It was also occasionally applied to foreigners of the rank of "duke" as when William was referred to as *tywysog* of the Normans.) But at no time does there seem to be an organized hierarchy of subordinate rulers.

Thus Welsh is rich with terms implying gentle birth and is absolutely rife with titles that could be applied to a small landholder with a handful of followers, but is seriously lacking in words to describe the layers of a structured hierarchy.

The English Titles

Emperor

Although the imperial terms are not used in the SCA (except in snide references to the BOD), completeness requires their presence. The majority of the terms are based on the borrowed form *ymherodr*: ymerawdwr "emperor", *ymerodres* "empress", *ymerodraeth* or *amherodraeth* "empire" and *ymerodraidd* "imperial". Other borrowed forms are: **ampir* "emperor" and **emer* "emperor".

In CR *ymherodr*[7] is used in referring to the emperor Charlemagne. Various tales in M use *ymherodr*[8] in referring to Arthur and to the emperor of Rome, and *ymerodres*[9] in referring to empresses of Constantinople and Rome. A note in PT mentions that an early 17th century Welsh/Latin dictionary translates *ffelaig*[10] as "imperator" and "dux".

King

The dictionary has fully twelve different words that are translated as "king". (That's nothing - wait till we get down to "lord".) The one that spawns the most derivatives is *brenin*. From this we find *brenin* "king", *brenhines* "queen", *brenhiniaeth* "kingdom", *brenhinaidd* "kingly", *brenhiniaeth* "reign", *brenhinllin* or *brenhinllwyth* "dynasty" and *brenhinfraint* "royal prerogative or right".

Brenin (also found as *brenhin*) is common in medieval Welsh literature. It shows up in CR referring to the king of France (*brenhin Freinc*[11]) and the Spanish king Marsli (*Marsli Frenin*[12]). In M it is found referring to the kings of the underworld[13], Ireland[14] and France[15] as well as the homegrown ones. Kings are often called "crowned kings" (*brenin coronog*[16] - although I'm not sure what the difference is since I find no reference to "uncrowned kings"). *Brenhiniaeth* "kingdom" is found in both M[17] and CR[18]. *Brenhines* "queen" is also found in the literature, in CR referring to the queen of Spain[19] and in M to the queen of Annwn.[20]

But Welsh is rich in words for kings and degrees of kingship. (Which makes sense as they were formerly rather rich in kings. Time was when you could be a king with only a single cantref to your name.) The dictionary lists **cyfri*, **gwawr*, **gwerlin(g)*, **gwledig*, **meidrad*, **mynawg* or *mynog*, **arbenigol*, **rhi*, *mechdeyrn* and **emer*, all with a possible translation of "king" (although other translations are often possible). Note that most of these are archaic. Some may be poetic allusion and only used in this sense a few times. The ones that gave rise to other words may be considered more established.

Gwledig is derived from *gwlad*. (*Gwlad* is literally "land", but it generally referred to a particular size and condition of territory. Certain political divisions of Wales were traditionally referred to as *gwlad*, such as Brycheiniog, Ceredigion and Morganwg. Strictly speaking, a *gwledig* is a ruler of a *gwlad*, although the term is used more loosely historically.) It also gives rise to *gwledychu*[21] "to rule or govern territory" and **gwledichian* "ruler".

**Arbenigol*, derived originally from *pen* "head" means "royal" as well as "king".

Mechdeyrn (literally "overlord") derives from *teyrn* which translates to, among other things "monarch" (which is why *teyrn* didn't show up on the list above - I'm being a bit strict). For a full list of words formed on *teyrn* see below in the section discussing some of the Welsh roots. The ones of interest here are: *teyrn* "monarch", *teyrnas* or *tyrnas* "kingdom", *teyrnaidd* "kingly", *teyrnasiad* or *teyrnasiaeth* "reign", *teyrnasu* "to reign" and such assorted paraphernalia as *teyrnolion* "regalia" and *teyrnwialen* "scepter". *Mechteyrned*[22] is found in PT for "high king" or "mighty king". *Teyrnas*[23] (in various spellings) is found in M and CR for a variety of regions, not all corresponding to a "kingdom". LHD has *teyrn*[24] as "monarch" and *mechdeyrn*[25] as "overlord or sovereign" but implies that the latter would be a subordinate ruler (to a king presumably). M uses *teyrnaidd*[26] "royal-looking".

Additionally *cyfoeth* "realm" is often translated "kingdom" in M. *Rhi*[27] "king" is found in PT. "Majesty" is translated in the dictionary by *mawredd*, *mawrhydi* (both more or less "greatness"), *treisiaeth* and **cynnoes*. I am uncertain, however, if the idiom "your majesty" translates into Welsh. (In the tales everyone just addresses the kings as *Arglwydd*, "Lord".) Majestic is given by *aruchel* (literally "very high").

Surprisingly, "queen" has a few translations that don't have cognates for "king": *banon* or **manon* (the latter possibly an incorrect back-formation from the mutated form *fanon*) which I suspect may be borrowed from or cognate with the Irish *ban* "woman". *Gwawr* translates as queen as well as king (and a host of other things). And there are also **unbennes* "queen" and **unbenesaidd* "queenly", derived originally from *pen*. The masculine cognate, *unben* is used for a whole range of ranks but is nowhere translated as "king" (although it is used in reference to kings). A questionable term is *modrydaf* which has as its primary meaning "queen bee", although it also appears as a poetic form for "chieftain" due to early entomological ignorance. The phrase *prif rieni*[28] in M is translated in one version as "great queens" although the Jones translation gives it perhaps more closely as "chief Matriarchs".

Crown prince

The Welsh early borrowed the Anglo-Saxon aetheling as *edling* to refer to a lord's designated heir. (This wasn't necessarily a direct descendant, but would be chosen from among the kindred.) The dictionary gives *edling* specifically as "crown prince", although it would be equally correct at any level. LHD has it more generally as "heir apparent"[29]. The feminine construction would be *edlinges* although for social reasons this position did not occur historically. **Gwrthrychiad* is also found meaning "heir" both in a general sense and specifically applied to royal succession.[30]

Prince

There is a good handful of words translated as "prince", but fewer than for "king" and far fewer than for "lord". We find **cyngran*/**cynran* which means "prince" or "leader". Two of the sources translate it in the former sense[31] but PT allows for more generic meanings. PT[32] translates *glyw* as "prince" in addition to "lord". *Gwledig* fits the concept of "prince" in the sense of "ruler of a piece of land of lesser importance than a kingdom" and is so translated in two sources[33] although not in the dictionary. LH[34] translates *iolydd* as "prince" although the dictionary lists it as "suppliant, wor-

shipper". *Pendefig*[35] is the title given to Pwyll in reference to the land of Dyfed which is translated "prince". The most widely used term appears to be *tywysog*, from *tywysu*, "to lead, guide". It is translated as "prince" in a wide variety of places in the literature.[36] In conjunction with a personal name as a title it is found as *Naym Dwyssawc*,[37] "Prince Naym". Related terms are *tywysoges*, "princess", *tywysogaidd*, "princely" and *tywysogaeth*, "principality". *Teyrn*[38] is found once as "prince" and several words are found as "prince" only in the dictionary: **gwaladr*, **gwanar*, **mael*, **modur* and **unben*. As in other examples these may have other primary meanings or be isolated, poetic examples. The concept "highness" is translated as *uchelder* but I have found no examples of a phrase equivalent to "your highness". (Also, see *uch* in the section on Welsh roots.)

Viceroy

**Rhagfrenin*, from *rhag-* "before, pre-, pro-" + *brenin* "king". The hypothetical feminine form would be *rhagfrenhines*.

Duke

All the terms I found are based on the borrowed form *dug*. They are: *dug* or **duc* "duke", *dugiaeth* "duchy". One may also construct from existing parallels *duges* or **duces* "duchess" and *dugol* or *dugiol* "ducal".

An interesting note in PT[39] regarding *gwledig* discusses the theory that this term may have been an early Welsh equivalent for the Roman ranks of *dux* and *comes* (i.e. duke and count). Another note in the same book mentions that an early 17th century Welsh/Latin dictionary translates *ffelaig*[40] as "dux" and "imperator". Both of these also have a number of other possible translations.

Count/Earl

The set of terms in the dictionary are all based on *iarll*, a borrowing of "earl". They are: *iarll* or **iwrl* "earl" and *iarllaeth* "earldom". *Iarlles*[41] "countess" is found in several Arthurian tales in M, most notably for the "Countess of the Fountain" in the tale of Owein. *Iarll*[42] and *iarllaeth*[43] are also found in several of the tales, again the french-derived Arthurian ones. The modern geographical designation "county" is given as *swydd* in the dictionary (also found as a root meaning "office"). See also the note under "duke" regarding *gwledig*.

Viscount

Derived from *iarll* we get *isiarll*, literally "under-earl". The hypothetical feminine form would be *isiarlles*.

Baron

The title of baron has no real cognate within the native Welsh system. One of the sets of terms used to translate it is based on the direct borrowing *barwn*. This produces *barwn*

"baron", *barwniaeth* "baronage" (the collective group), *barwniaeth* "barony" and *barwnol* "baronial". Presumably it would also produce *barwnes* "baroness"; although this is not found in my sources it would be a standard parallel construction to many others that are.

The other set of baronial terms are based on the native term *breyr*. This seems to be a modern correlation as the original function of the *breyr* does not correspond to that of a baron, and several other translations are also found. The set of derivations from *breyr* are: **breyr* or *brehyr* "baron", **breyres* or **brehyres* "baroness", **brehyriaeth* "baronage", **brehyrdir* "baron-land" and *brehyrol* or *brehyriol* "baronial".

In the literature the title is not common, but two terms are found translated as baron. *Barwniaid*[44] is found as "barons" in M in the tale of Peredur vab Efrawc, one of the frenchified Arthurian tales. The Welsh translator of CR regularly uses *gwrda*[45] to translate "baron" in referring to Charlemagne's circle of nobles. However, *Gwrda* is strongly established in other sources as a more or less generic term for "noble" (see under *gwrda*).

Baronet

Again, this has no native cognate. The dictionary has two words with this translation: *barwnig* and **banred* (although the latter sounds more like a borrowing of "baneret").

Peerage

The dictionary has "peer" as *cydwedd* or *pendefig*. CR uses *gogyfurdd*[46] when referring to the "Twelve Peers" of Charlemagne's court (the word derives from *go* (intensifier) + *cyfurdd* "of equal rank") in addition to *cymhariad*[47] (from *cymharu*, "to compare"). PT has "peer" for *cystedlydd*[48] (from *cystal*, "equal", "as good"). Similarly CA translates *cad gyhafal*[49] as "battle peers".

Outside the SCA "Master" and "Mistress" are not normally associated with the peerage, but the former is found as *arglwydd*, *meistr* and **prifai* and the latter as *arglwyddes* and *meistres*. Additionally M translates *pennaf*[50] "principal, chief" as "master of the hall", but this seems to be more of a situational description.

Knight

As in many languages, the Welsh knight is identified primarily as a horseman, and the predominant term is *marchog* (from *march*, horse). The converse, however, is not always true: *marchog* does not invariably translate as "knight". Various translations of M and LH all translate the term both as "knight" and simply as "horseman" or "rider"[51]. (For more on this see below under *march*.) The term is also found as **marchydd*. Banred is also translated as knight (probably a borrowing of "baneret"). And *urddol* has the meaning of "knightly". (But see below under *urdd* for the derivation.) *Gwrda*[52] is at least once translated from M as "Sir", and *ceimiad*[53] as "Brave Sir", both in vocative forms, but both of these have other primary meanings. The standard translation of "Sir" is *Syr*.[54]

Laurel

There are three sets of terms found in the dictionary for the laurel tree. Two are based on borrowings respectively of "laurel" and "bay". The first generates *lawrus*, *lawryf* and *llawryf* "laurel"; *llorwydd* "laurel trees"; and *llawrwydd* "laurels". The second produces *bae* and *baewydd* "laurel" and "laurels" respectively. The third term, *diodwydd* "laurels" is probably derived from *diod* "drink" but the connection is obscure. (*Gwydd* means "woods, trees" so those terms using it are referring specifically to the tree.) From the first set also derive *llawryfog* and *llawryfol* "laureate". (These are also standard adjectival forms of *llawryf*.) I have found no references to laurels in the metaphorical sense in the literature that I studied. There is, however, an amusing coincidence of homophony in *llawr* which is translated as "champion" in the dictionary, CA and PT[55] (the root meaning seems to be "alone" with an implied extension of "one who fights alone, or engages in single combat".)

Pelican

The Welsh for "pelican" is ... *pelican*.

Lord/Lady

I have found in the neighborhood of fifty different words in Welsh that have at some time been translated as "lord". "Lady" weighs in at only ten. Some of these are undoubtedly poetic allusion and may be found only once in this sense. Others may have different or more specific primary meanings but can be translated more loosely as "lord/lady". For the purposes of untangling the mess, I will begin by eliminating those terms that would not have been in common usage.

There are a handful of terms translated as "lord" that seem to refer primarily to God. The dictionary has *Ion*, *Ior*, **Naf* and *Ner*; LH has *Dofydd*[56], *Rhen*[57] (also found in PT) and *Peryf*[58]; PT additionally has *gwledig nef*[59] ("lord of heaven") but this is simple description. Of these, I could find for *Ion*, *Naf* and *Rhen* no citations with a more general meaning (although the dictionary entry for rhen equates it simply with *arglwydd*). *Dofydd* itself is found only as "God" but the related *dofydd(i)ad* is equated with *arglywydd* and *brenin* in addition to "God". *Ior* appears in reference to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth as *Ior Aberffraw*[60] "Lord of Aberffraw" (although this may simply point out a streak of idolatry in connection with the Llywelyn known as "the Great"). *Ner* may be cognate with *nar*, which is translated simply as "lord" in the forms **nar* and **naredd* in the dictionary and *nar* in PT[61]. *Peryf* is translated simply as "lord" and the related **perging* is translated as "lord" or "defender" (in addition to "spear" - both seem to be related to **peri*, "spears").

The words translated as "lord" that seem to be of limited poetic usage, rather than being standard terms, include the following.

**ymandaw* - From **andaw*, "to listen".

ardwyad[62] - From *ardwy*, protection.

**bual* - Also means "lady", "drinking horn" and "bison"!

**casnar* - Also a personal name, probably from *cad* "battle" + *nar* "lord".

**culwydd* - With a secondary meaning of "god" or "Christ".

**cun* and **cuniad* - A secondary meaning for **cun* is "pack of dogs" or "host (of men)" - so this may have the connotation of "leader of the pack", so to speak.

**cyfrben* - *cyfr-* "Very, completely" + *pen* "head, chief".

dar - Probably related to *derw* as both also have the meaning "oak tree".

draig - Literally "dragon". This shows up four times in PT[63]. It will be familiar to all from the epithet *pendragon*, "chief dragon".

**eiddigor* - Also translated as "shelter of a palace".

**ffelaig* - The primary translation is "bright". It shows up in PT[64] translated also as "chieftain", "leader", "sovereign" or as an equivalent of the Roman titles dux or imperator.

**gwaladr* - Also translated as "leader, prince", possibly derived from *gwlad*, similarly to *gwledig*. PT[65] translates it as "chief, leader, lord".

**gwanar* - "Leader, prince, lord; ardent, fierce, strong". It shows up twice in CA, once as a byname *Pybyr Wanar*[66], and once in the phrase *gwyr gwanar*[67], translated as "soldiers" or "strong men".

**gwawr* - One of the most all-purpose terms so far; the dictionary translates it as "lord, hero, king, lady, heroine, queen" in addition to the modern meanings of "dawn; hue or color". It is also a personal name.

hawg - The primary translation is "hawk".

**llwydner* - Translated as "venerable lord", no doubt derived from *llwyd*, "grey".

macwy - The more common translation has connotations of "page" or "squire".

**mael* - Also translated as "prince", and LH[68] has it as "chief". A personal name and an element in many compound personal names.

marro - This is found only in CA[69], which notes that it may instead be a personal name.

modur - Possibly related to **modrydaf* "queen-bee", chieftain". A modern homophone means "motor".

nen - Additional meanings of "heaven" or "roof".

**penrhaith* - The first meaning is "chief judge", deriving from *rhaith*, "oath, body of compurgators, law, right". (See under "Officers - Judge" for more details.)

**por* (pl. *pyr*) - Possibly related to *per* (see above).

prif - Found in LH[70] in the phrase *prif Nuchain* translated as "the lord of (the land of) Nuchain". The word alone means "chief" or "major" (as in *prifysgol*, "university", literally "chief school"). This would seem to be simple description (as when Pwyll, in the Mabinogi, is described as *pen Annwn*, "the head of Annwn") rather than a title, per se.

**rhiawdr* - The dictionary has this as "lord" and the similar **rheawdr* as "ruler", but LH[71] has it specifically as "warlord". The probable derivation is from *rhodd*, "gift", by way of *rheodig*, "generous".

**rhebydd* - Derivation unknown.

rhwysgwr - Related to **rhwysg*, "pomp, authority, rule", and *rhwysgo*, "to rule, to live in pomp".

There is another category of terms that have "lord" as one of their translations but have a different primary connotation. These are:

brehyr/**breyr* (fem. **breyres*/**brehyres*) - One of the social ranks in early Welsh society. For a detailed discussion see under breyr below.

**gwledig* - Primarily the ruler of a *gwlad*, which see below.

mynog*/mynawg* - Translated as "lord, king, noble". Probably related to *mynogi*, "courtesy", and *mwyn*, "gentle".

pendefig - Translated in MP[72] and PKM[73] as "lord" but both of these are in reference to Pwyll as *pendefig Dyfed* "lord of Dyfed" and he is more commonly referred to as prince of that land. Additional forms give this word the connotation of "peerage" or "aristocracy" (see below under *pendefig*).

rhi*[74] (and related terms **rhiydd*, **rhiallu*) - all derived from the Old Welsh *rig* (cognate with Latin *rex*) which has the strong connotation of "king". (Rhiallu* may come by way of the probably borrowed **rhial*, "royal", but the root is the same.)

So what is left? By far and away, *arglwydd* corresponds most closely to the English usage of "lord" and is almost invariably translated that way. LHD[75] defines it as "a) patron of a client; b) territorial ruler" and translates the feminine form, *arglwyddes*, among other things as "female lord" meaning a woman who ruled a territory (a rare occurrence in Welsh society, but significant enough to be mentioned in the laws). In the literature it is used regularly, especially in the vocative, to refer to people ranging from minor landholders through princes, kings and emperors. Macsen Wledig is addressed as *Arglwydd ymerawdwr*[76], "my lord emperor", and *arglwydd*/*arglwyddes* is used to address or refer to such varying people as Pwyll[77], Arawn's queen[78], Rhiannon[79], Bran[80] and Charlemagne[81]. The emperor Macsen is referred to as "lord[82] over kings". In CR, *arglwyddiaeth*, "lordship", is used to refer to Charlemagne's lordship over his lands and to the lordship of Spain[83], and is also translated "domain" (the dictionary has it as "dominion"). The same word is used in referring to Pwyll's rule over Dyfed[84].

A possibly related term is **glyw*, translated as "lord, leader, chieftain" and found in CA and PT as "lord"[85]. PT has it in the phrase *glyw Reget* "the lord of Rheged" but notes that *glyw* can also mean "battle, war; warriors, soldiers".

Dylyedog*/dyledog* is translated as "lord, nobleman, noble". It is closely related to *dyled*, "debt, due, obligation", and **dlyed*, "right, privilege, debt". MP and MJ translate it variously as "nobleman"[86], "highborn"[87] and "a true possessor (of land)"[88]. CR has the related *dyledogaf*[89] translated as "noblest".

Another all-purpose term that corresponds closely to

the English use of "lord" is *gwrda*. The derivation is from *gwr*, "man" + *da* "good(s)". As in English, the second word refers both to the moral quality of goodness and to goods as property. So *gwrda* could be seen either as "goodman" or as "a man of property". The connotation is always of a man of the nobility but not a ruler. M consistently uses *gwrda* and *gwreigdda* (the feminine form based on *gwraig*, "woman") to refer to the noble inhabitants of a court, translating the first variously as "follower"[90], "gentleman[91]/gentle[92]", "man[93]/chief man[94]", "nobleman[95]/noble[96]", "sir[97]/good sir (voc.)[98]" and the latter as "lady[99]/noble lady[100]". Related forms are **gwrdaaeth* "nobility" and the adjective **gwrdaaidd* "noble".

PT[101] derives the terms based on **rhwyf* "lord, ruler; pride, excess, satisfaction" from *rhwyf* meaning "oar" (presumably in the sense of "one who steers" as in *llyw*, "rudder, helm; leader", and its derivatives) although the second set of meanings may indicate a connection with **rhwys*, "host, luxuriance". PT translates *rhwyf* as "leader" and **rhwyfiadur* as either "chieftain", "leader" or "king"[102]. LH has *rhwyf*[103] as "lord".

Unben "lord" or "chieftain" is also a favorite in the literature for addressing persons of unknown but noble rank. Pwyll and Arawn use it to each other when they first meet[104], but afterward use *arglwydd*. Manawyddan uses it to Pryderi[105] and many of the people that Peredur runs into on his travels use it to address him[106]. *Unbennes* is used to refer to Rhiannon when she is still an anonymous rider[107], but *arglwyddes* is normal thereafter. The dictionary translates **unbennes* specifically as "queen" and **unben* as "lord, nobleman, monarch, prince" with the modern meaning of "dictator, despot", but the medieval meaning of both seems to lean more toward "generic noble".

*Udd (which is found in a number of compound given names in this form or the earlier iud) is translated only as "lord". It seems to have gone out of use fairly early, being found in LH and PT[108] but not in M.

Many of the terms translated as "lady" have been mentioned above in parallel with related forms for "lord". Those which have not previously been mentioned include:

Boneddiges/Bonesig - This did not appear under "lord" only because the masculine form, *boneddig/bonheddwr*, is translated as "gentleman" or "nobleman" rather than "lord". The words translated as "lord" in general seem to imply territoriality, whereas *boneddig* implies noble birth but not necessarily the possession of lands. The plural, *boneddigion* is translated as "the gentry". LHD[109] notes that the root, *bonedd* means "stock, (high) lineage, gentility". CR[110] translates *bonedd* as "(the virtue of) nobility" and *bonheddig*[111] as "noble" in the phrase *brenin bonheddig*, "noble king".

Gwraig, literally "woman", is translated as "lady" at times in M, either by itself or in the phrase *gwragedd y llys*, "ladies of the court".[112]

Morwyn is translated as "lady" in MP[113] while the dictionary has it as "maid, girl, virgin" with an emphasis on the last. MJ concurs in translating it "maiden".[114]

Welsh Roots and their Derivatives

This section will discuss many of the terms given above from the opposite direction - the root-words in Welsh from which they are derived. I will compare the various possible translations for a term based on connotations and related terms in an attempt to decide on the best and most useful one for the SCA. In general I will be concentrating on potentially reserved titles, although others will creep into the discussion. The roots are arranged in more or less alphabetical order. I have omitted full notation of the sources here, but the references can be found in the above sections. My recommendations for SCA use come in various strengths and are noted as such in the tabular summary at the end of this article.

Arglwydd

arglwydd - lord, man of noble rank, master
arglwyddes - lady, female lord, mistress
arglwyddiaeth - domain, dominion, lordship, rule

Despite the fact that *arglwydd* is invariably translated "lord", it implies a very different status than that term carries in the SCA. The fault, however, is not in the imprecision of Welsh terminology but in the misusage of terms in the SCA. (Recall that in England a Lord is of decidedly higher rank than a Knight.) It not being my business here to correct such deep-rooted traditions, I strongly recommend that the *arglwydd*-based terms be reserved for the SCA award of arms level. I will point out though that *arglwydd* is a correct form of address for any rank. (What's good enough for Arthur and Charlemagne should be good enough for our kings!)

Bae

bae - laurel (trees), bay (of water)
baewydd - laurel, bay trees

Despite the translation of *bae* "bay" as "laurel", I do not recommend restriction of the use of this word

due to its primary, and far more common, geographic usage (i.e., "an inlet of the sea").

Baner

banred - baronet, knight
banerwr - banner bearer

Technically this isn't a Welsh root, being borrowed from the English "banner". **Banred* is translated both as "baronet" and "knight baneret". Given that we (to the best of my knowledge) do not use the former term in the SCA and that some kingdoms do use the latter, joined with the closer linguistic connection to "baneret", I would advise selecting the second translation for our use.

Barwn

barwn - baron
barwniaeth - baronage, barony
barwnol - baronial
barwnig - baronet

Again, a borrowed root, from "baron". There is little or no ambiguity in meaning here. All the derivations are related to "baron" with the only exception of *barwnig* which is "baronet". But *barwnig* has no other possible translations itself, so this would not be a problem. I advise using the *barwn*-derived terms for their "baron"-derived equivalents. *Barwnig* could be used for "baronet" should any kingdom ever choose to use that title.

Bonedd

bonedd - descent, gentility, (the) nobility
bonheddwr/bonheddig - gentleman, nobleman
bonhedig - gentle, noble
boneddigion - gentry
boneddiges - lady
bonesig - lady
boneddigeidd - gentle, noble
boneddigeiddrwydd - gentleness, nobility
boneddigrwydd - nobility

The terms deriving from this root all have general connotations of nobility or gentle birth. The rank derived from this root in early Welsh society was, I believe, psychologically equivalent to the SCA's Award of Arms, i.e., the basic level of well-born society. I recommend using this equivalence in the SCA.

Brenin

brenin - king
brenhines - queen
brenhiniaeth - kingdom, reign, sovereignty
brenhinllin/brenhinllwyth - dynasty
brenhinaidd - kingly, regal
brenhinfraint - royal prerogative
breinlys/breinllys - royal court
brenhindy - royal palace
brenhinol - royal
brenhinfainc - throne
rhagfrenin - viceroy

The original Celtic stem for this word is **brig-*/**brigant-*, meaning "high", which also shows up in such words as *Brigantia*, *bryn* (hill), *braint* (status, privilege) and even the given name *Brendan*. The terms derived from *brenin* are almost invariably translated into "king"-related terms in English and there is no reason not to retain this association in the SCA. (**Rhagfrenin*, "viceroy", is also unambiguous in this context.)

Breyr

breyr/brehyr - baron, lord, uchelwr
breyres/brehyres - baroness, lady
brehyrdir - baron-land
brehyriaeth - baronage
brehyrol/brehyriol - baronial, lordly
brehyrllin - noble

Now we come to the first root with conflicting translations. The dictionary translates the derivatives of *breyr* into parallel "lord" and "baron" constructions. (The original derivation of the word from **brogo-rix* "king of a region"[115] shows how it had come down in the world by the time the laws were written down.) In early Welsh society, the *breyr* was a nobleman (bonheddig) who had inherited his share of the kindred's land. The term does not show up in any of the literature that I studied so I lack a full context. The rank is higher than a *bonheddig* but does not necessarily imply lordship over other people. To my mind, this leaves three possibilities for SCA equivalence: "baron" (taking a cue from the possible translations) or, considering the ranks that lie between the award of arms level and royal peerage (which involves lordship over other people), the grant or patent of arms level. In this case I think the dictionary must prevail over a functional analysis: people looking up *breyr* and finding "baron" would be confused if we used it in a different sense. I give it a medium to strong recommendation for "baron" versus a weak recommendation for "peer".

Dug

duc/dug - duke, leader
dugiaeth - duchy

All the derivatives from the borrowed term *dug* are

related to the English "duke" and I recommend the equivalence.

Dyled

dyledog/dylyedog - lord, "true possessor", highborn, noble, nobleman
dyledogaf - noblest

This root means "debt, due, obligation", but in medieval Welsh the connotation was two-way: that of simultaneous obligation and entitlement.[116] LHD translates *dyledog* as "entitled person" usually in relation to landownership. Although the translations of the derivatives center around the concept of the "noble", the sense is of someone of higher rank than the average courtier. The dictionary equates *dyledog* with *bonheddig* or *urddasol* in the adjectival sense and with *arglwydd* or *uchelwr* as a noun, but the interpretation in LHD supports equivalence with *uchelwr* or *breyr*. This leads me to recommend reserving it to the peerage on the theory that it represents a similar elevation above *bonheddig* "lord".

Edling

edling - crown prince, heir apparent

This is always found as meaning a "designated heir", however no particular rank is associated. It would be appropriate for the heir to a crown, coronet or even the designated successor to a baron or baroness.

Ffelaig

ffelaig - "dux", "imperator", chieftain, leader, lord, sovereign

This is only found in one source other than the dictionary and is translated in that source as "sovereign, lord, leader, chieftain" or as a possible equivalent to the Latin "dux" or "imperator". Although there is a temptation to offer it up for the use of those Welsh dukes who would prefer not to be a *dug*, the recommendation is weak.

Gwaladr

gwaladr - chief, leader, lord, prince

While the dictionary gives "prince" and "lord" as two of the possible translations for this term, I have found no evidence to support widespread use in a particular sense and so do not recommend reserving it to a particular rank.

Gwanar

gwanar - leader, lord, prince, warrior

Despite its occurrence in a titular form in CA (*Pybyr Wanar*), I don't feel that there is enough evidence to support a recommendation as an equivalent of "lord".

Gwawr

gwawr - king, queen, lady, lord, hero, heroine, dawn, hue

This term has a quite promising array of meanings listed in the dictionary however none of these actually appeared anywhere else. Toss in on top of that the fact that *Gwawr* is a documented given name (both masculine and feminine) and I feel I must recommend that it not be reserved for any particular rank. It's a nice one to know about, though.

Gwlad

gwlad - country
gwledig - "comes, "dux", chieftain, king, lord, prince, ruler
gwledychian - ruler
gwledychu - to govern, to rule, rule

The title *gwledig*, derived from *gwlad* "land" is most often met with in the early tales (e.g. Macsen Wledig). The note in PT[117] is worth quoting in full. "According to Lloyd ... the term `gwledic' means no more than `prince, ruler', and is so employed in medieval Welsh literature. It does not seem, however, to be applied to any historical figure of later date than the middle of the sixth century, and thus Sir John Rhys's conjecture that it is, in the names in which it occurs, a Brythonic rendering of `dux' and `comes', has much to recommend it." It is certainly tempting to offer the royal peerage a native, rather than borrowed, title but there is no way to choose between the potential meanings. Nor am I entirely comfortable with ignoring the connotation of "ruler" (although mundanely "duke" and "count" carry a similar connotation). Certainly *gwledig* would not be appropriate for general use. I give it a luke-warm recommendation for offering it to those of either ducal or county rank or to the royalty. The feminine form would be something like *gwlediges*. I wish I could be more definite because it's just too nice a title to leave lying around.

Gwrda

gwrda - baron, follower, man, chief man, sir, lord, gentleman, gentle, nobleman, noble
gwraigdda - lady, noble lady
gwrdaaeth - nobility
gwrdaaidd - noble

This actually conforms more closely to the SCA reality of "lord" than *arglwydd* does. With the exception of CR, it and *gwreigdda* invariably translate as "lord/lady, noble(man) or gentle(man)". Even in CR, the connotation is of the general inhabitants of a noble court. I strongly recommend using these terms as equivalents for "lord" and "lady".

Gwrthrychiad

gwrthrychiad - heir apparent

This offers an entirely native term for "heir apparent" in addition to the aforementioned *edling*. It has no other conflicting meanings.

Iarll

iarll - earl
iarlles - countess
iarllaeth - earldom
isiarll - viscount

This term, borrowed from "earl" is invariably translated as either "earl" or "count". I highly recommend its reservation for this rank and the reservation of the derived form *isiarll* "viscount" for that rank.

Llawr(yf)

llawr/lawryf/lawrus - laurel
llorwydd - laurel trees
llawrwydd - laurels
llawryfog/llawryfol - laureate
llawr - lowly, alone, floor, ground, champion, lone fighter

The similarity between the stem *llawr-* in many of the words for "laurel" and the word *llawr* meaning "alone" or "champion" (among other things) is linguistic coincidence, but one that could be exploited for poetic effect. I strongly recommend reserving the llawr based terms to the Order of the Laurel. [Author's note: Since the original publication of this article, I have discovered that John Koch considers that the word *llawr* meaning "champion" does derive from Latin "laureatus", giving its use as a title a more solid grounding.]

Mael

mael - chief, lord, prince

I do not recommend restriction of this term for "prince" due to its lack of common usage in that sense and its existence as a given name.

March

marchog - companion, horseman, rider, knight
marchoges - horsewoman, rider

While it would technically be not entirely correct to reserve *marchog* as meaning "knight" due to its common usage in the literature simply as "rider", there is no other term that corresponds more closely. I strongly recommend reservation of the term *marchog* to knights.

Meistr

meistr - master, owner, teacher
meistress - mistress, owner, teacher

The terms based on this borrowed form of "master" should be reserved for similar usage in the SCA.

Mynog

mynog/mynawg - king, lord, noble

I have found no examples of *mynog* in the literature other than as part of the name of Mynogan one of the legendary ancestors of the Welsh. It would probably not be appropriate for common use, but I make no recommendation for specific restriction.

Pen

arbennig - chief, leader, ruler
arbennigol - king, royal, specialist
pen - chief, head
penadur - sovereign
penarglwyddiaeth - sovereignty
pendaran - chieftain (or possibly personal name)
penial - chieftain
pennaeth(es) - chief, chieftain(ess)
pennaf - chief, leader, head man, master of the hall, chief (maiden)
unben - chieftain, lord, nobleman, prince, dictator, monarch
unbennes - queen, lady
unbenesaidd - queenly

Of all the terms based on *pen* "head" the one that seems to be used most often as a title is *unben(nes)* "chieftain(ess)". Despite the dictionary listing of *unbennes* as "queen", the only literary usage I have found of it is directly parallel to the masculine form: a title of respect for one of high but unknown rank. Given the lack of focus in its historical usage I don't recommend reserving it for a particular rank, but rather recommend the literary usage, giving honor to someone of unknown station.

The dictionary lists **arbenigol* as king, but the litera-

ture translates it more generically as "leader" or "chief" and even the dictionary gives an alternate meaning of "specialist", so I don't recommend its restriction.

Pendefig

pendefig - lord, nobleman, peer, prince
pendefigaeth - aristocracy
pendefigaidd - aristocratic

Another word with multiple useful meanings: "nobleman, prince, peer". Although Pwyll is called *pendefig Dyfed* recall that he is also called *arglwydd* of that land. The modern connotations seem to be that of the aristocracy (*pendefigaeth*) and the term is not otherwise common in the literature. Again, it is a term implying someone of higher rank than the average courtier but not necessarily a king-equivalent. Given the possible translation of "peer" I give a medium strength recommendation to equate the term with "peer" and reserve it for such usage.

Rhi

rhi - king, lord
rhiawdr / rhiydd - lord
rhiaidd - noble, royal
rhieddog - noble, royal
rhiain - lady, maiden
rhieni - queens, matriarchs, parents, ancestry

Rhi is cognate with latin "rex" and seems to have been a very early term for "king". It shows up as part of many compound given names from the Early Welsh period but is not common in the literature, having only one occurrence that I could find in PT, one of the earliest pieces of literature that I drew from. The dictionary translates it as both "lord" and "king" and the adjectival derivative as both "noble" and "royal". PT translates it as "king" without qualification. Based on the linguistic derivation and the evidence of the one usage I could find, I give a medium strength recommendation to reserve rhi and its derivatives as the equivalent of "king". The related word *rhiain* derived originally from the Brythonic **riganti* "queen",[118] but by the Middle Welsh period had slipped in meaning to "maiden",[119] its modern translation, although M has a related plural *rhieni*[120] translated as "queens". (Yes, this is the same root as our favorite Welsh name, Rhiannon.) Other examples clearly use rhiain as "lady" or "maiden". Thus I could only give a weak recommendation for the reservation of *rhiain* as "queen" even though it would be the natural counterpart to *rhi*.

Rhwyf

rhwyf - leader, lord, ruler
rhwyfiadur - chieftain, leader, king, lord, ruler

The lack of a definite connotation leads me not to recommend reservation of these terms.

Teyrn

teyrn - prince, monarch
mechdeyrn - king, high king, overlord, sovereign
teyrnaidd - kingly, noble-looking, of royal mein
teyrnas - kingdom, realm
teyrnasaidd - noble
teyrnasiad / teyrnasiaeth - reign
teyrnasu - to reign
teyrngar(ol) - loyal
teyrnged - tribute
teyrnolion - regalia
teyrnwialen - scepter

Teyrn is another term more common in very early times than in the ages when written records were produced. Although it has spawned a great many adjectival and compound forms, I found it only once in the literature as a titular form[121] as "prince" and once in the compound *mechdeyrn*[122] as "high king", although the commentary on the laws suggests that *mechdeyrn*, although translating as "overlord" actually refers to someone subordinate to a king.[123] The locative form *teyrnas* is translated eight times in M and CR as "kingdom"[124] and once as "realm"[125] although the "kingdom" in one case was only one cwmwd (a rather small division of land). Other compound forms fall fairly evenly between "noble"-based translations and "king"-based ones. On the whole I would be most comfortable recommending that *teyrn* and associated terms be reserved for kingdom and principality level. My strongest suggestion is to use it alternately for either "king" or "prince" with a weaker suggestion to specify it as "king".

Tywysog

tywysog - leader, overlord, prince
tywysoges - princess
tywysogaeth - principality
tywysogaidd - princely
tywysu - to lead

Despite a few dissenting voices that translate *tywysog* as "leader" or "overlord"[126] the overwhelming tendency is to equate it with "prince". This I strongly recommend.

Uch

uchelwr - nobleman
uchelder - highness
aruchel - majestic

Uch "above" gave rise to *uchelwr*. The dictionary equates this with *bonheddwr* and *pendefig*. LHD[127] equates it to the medieval *breyr* with a modern connotation of "member of the nobility". A parallel construction from *is* "lower" is *iselwr* "vassal". (In place names one often finds such pairs as *Uwch Gwyrfai* and *Is Gwyrfai* "Upper and Lower Gwyrfai".) The equation with *breyr* and *pendefig* leaves a fair amount of latitude for interpretation but I would be happiest recommending this as another eqivalent for "peer".

Urdd

urdd - order, league
urddyn - dignified, noble
urddol - knightly, noble, ordained priest

This is not a title per se, but a look at the various meanings is useful. The dictionary translates *urddol* as "honored, dignified, exalted, noble, knightly". An archaic meaning is "ordained priest". Several other adjectival forms translate as "dignified" or "noble". *Urdd* itself means "order, rank, position, league". In one place a knight is described as *marchog urddol*[128] an "ordained knight". This all leads me to suggest *urdd* as the standard equivalent of "order" in the SCA. I leave it to others to decide whether it should be reserved exclusively for this purpose. The derived form *cyfurdd* "of equal rank" means "peer" as in the intensive form *gogyfurdd* in CR.[129] It should be reserved to this purpose.

Ymerawdwr

ymerawdwr - emperor
emer - emperor, king
ymerodres - empress
ymerodraeth - empire
ymerodraidd - imperial

The various terms derived from this and other words for "emperor" should not be used in the SCA as we have no equivalent rank.

Forms of Personal Address

It isn't enough to know what words should be used as titles without knowing how to use those words in speech and writing. Two grammatical principles exert an influence - the standard form of having the adjective (or other descriptive phrase) follow the noun, and the requirement that a noun in apposition (i.e., serving as an equivalent) take the soft mutation. Thus King (*brenin*) Marsli is *Marsli Vrenin*,[130] the ruler (*gwledig*) Macsen is *Macsen Wledig*,[131] Lord (*gwanar*) Pybyr is *Pybyr Wanar*,[132] Prince (*tywysog*) Naym is *Naym Dywysog*[133] and Earl (*iarll*) Efrog is *Efrog Iarll*.[134] *Arglwydd(es)* appears not to follow this pattern but I have no examples of *arglwydd* used with a given name alone that do not also use the definite article. The Lady (i.e. Virgin) Mary is *yr arglwyddes Fair*[135] and the Lord Rhys, so prominent in the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, is *yr Arglwydd Rhys*.[136] There are other isolated examples of the title preceding the name: *y Mastr Owain*,[137] *Syr Rosier Mortimer*[138] (both of these are likely to be strongly influenced by the English forms).

There seems to be a tendency, although I don't have enough data to look into it seriously, for titles to use the definite article when referred to in the third person (see the above examples of "the Lady Mary", "the Lord Rhys" and "the Master Owain", also *yr Athro Flegywryd*[139]). In this case it is the given name that is standing in apposition and it should take the soft mutation.

A landed title will have the geographical designation following the title in the standard genitive form. The King of Ireland is *Brenin Iwerddon*,[140] the Lord of Dyfed is *Pendefig Dyfed*,[141] the Lord of Ceredigion is *Arglwydd Ceredigion*,[142] the Prince of Powys is *Tywysog Powys*.[143] Some of the later records carry references to English titles such as *Dug o Clarens*[144] "Duke of Clarence" (though properly it should be *Dug o Glarens*), *Iarll Penfro*[145] "Earl of Pembroke". Note that in this case the second element will take the soft mutation if it follows a feminine noun. (I have no examples of constructions with feminine titles for demonstration purposes.)

When both of these styles are put together in the form (name) (title) of (place) there seems to be no consistent rule about whether the title mutates or not: *Owein ap Gruffudd, Brenin Gwynedd*,[146] *Rhys ap Gruffudd, Tywysog Deheubarth*,[147] *Gwylim Bastard Tywysog y Normaniaid*[148] (note that the byname comes before the title), *Bedwyr Dug Normandy*[149]; but also *Arawn Frenin Annwn*.[150]

But landed titles in the SCA are restricted to reigning royalty, so these forms are of limited usage. Although I have no examples of such, I would suspect that a single title when used in a patronymic construction should follow the given name, the same as other bynames. To place it at the end would imply that it applied to the last ancestor named, not oneself. On the other hand, the examples above of "A ap B,

brenin C", though a slightly different grammatical construction, argue that the form "A ap B, title" could be equally correct. One should, however, avoid constructions in which the title immediately precedes a place name. For example, were I to use the title *barwnes* it would be appropriate to say *Keridwen Farwnes* or *Keridwen o'r Mynydd Gwyrdd, Farwnes* but *Keridwen Farwnes o'r Mynydd Gwyrdd* would imply a territorial claim. On the other hand, should someone named *Owein ap Dafydd* win the crown of, oh ... say Calontir (just to keep the languages nice), any of the following styles would be correct: *Owein Frenin*, *Owein Brenin Calontir* (or *Owein Frenin Calontir*), *Owein ap Dafydd, Brenin Calontir*. *Owein Frenin ap Dafydd* would probably be correct, but flies in the face of naming logic - unless one has two "King Owein"s running around.

In the tales that I studied, vocative address (i.e., directly to the person) invariably uses a title with no name. People of all ranks are most often addressed as *Arglwydd* or *Arglwyddes*. *Unben* and *Unbennes* also occur. Macsen Wledig is addressed as *Arglwydd Amherodr*[151] "Lord Emperor". The lady he sees in a dream is hailed simply as "Empress". It might well be correct to use a form such as *Arglwydd So-and-So* in address, but I have no evidence to say one way or the other. Nouns used in the vocative take the soft mutation when used with the vocative particle (*A Frenin* "O King"[152]) but not when used alone.

Territorial Terms

In parallel with the text on titles, I will first give a brief and over-simplified summary of medieval Welsh political geography, followed by a discussion of branch designations ordered by precedence, concluding with an analysis of suggested Welsh equivalents for SCA terms.

Welsh Political Geography

The basic units of land in the original Welsh system are the *cantref* and the *cwmwd* or "commote". In theory, all cantrefs were equivalent economic units comprising a hundred towns (*cant* + *tref*). Their sizes could, and did, vary considerably. As a rule, each cantref was comprised of two cwmwds and the whole would be held by the same lord. In practice these rules could be broken. The system broke down most quickly in the south and east where English rule moved in the earliest, although traditional names were often retained in new forms (e.g., Glamorgan from Gwlad Morgannwg).

Over the years, groups of cantrefs that were inherited as a whole through several generations might come to be recognized as a unit and acquire a name. These units might be consolidated again as a kingdom, or split among several sons and then reformed under different names. (But that's a subject for a different article.)

There were several terms for these conglomerations of subunits: the "lordship" (*arglwyddiaeth*), the *gwlad*, the principality (*tywysogaeth*) and the kingdom (*brenhiniaeth*). In addition there are a number of other terms in the literature that are used for areas larger than a cantref. But all these terms were more or less equivalent in fact. There was no gradation according to size, although there was a gradation to some extent according to traditional importance.

The English Terms

Finding Welsh equivalents for SCA territorial designations runs afoul of the same two problems that titles have. The imposition of the English shire system on Wales tended to follow, more or less, the lines of the ancient kingdoms, so one must take into account the time when certain terms were used in addition to the size and importance of the lands so named. After a discussion of some of the Welsh terms that I have found I will present my analysis of the most appropriate correspondence with SCA terminology.

Generic Terms

"Country", "region", "land(s)" or "territory" are found as the following: *gwlad*[153] (see below under *gwlad* for more information); **tud*, *tuedd* and *tueddan*; *tir*[154] and *tiriogaeth*; **tymyr*; *dayar*[155] (literally "earth or ground"). M[156] has *ei6erdon* translated as "districts" and this may be the same as the modern name for Ireland, *Iwerddon*. M often translates *cyfoeth*[157] as "domain" or "dominions" (but also as "kingdom" or "realm"), usually in reference to lands ruled by a prince or king. CA translates *edyrn*[158] as "dominion" although the notes indicate that it could also mean "sovereign" or "noble". "Nation" in the sense of the people involved is found in the dictionary and LHD[159] as *cenedl* and in PT[160] as *gwerin*. The latter has the connotation of "common folk, populace" whereas the former originally meant "tribe or clan" (but note that in modern Wales the adjectival form *cenedlaethol* is used for "national" in the political sense). CA[161] also has *maon* translated as "populace".

Empire

The term for "empire" is derived from the borrowed form of "emperor": *ymerodraeth*.[162]

Kingdom

"Kingdom" is used to translate *brenhiniaeth*[163], *cyfoeth*[164] and *teyrnas*[165]. The first is also found as "reign" or "sovereignty", but always with the connotation of the highest rank. *Cyfoeth* is as often translated "domain"[166] or "realm"[167] and seems more open to a wider interpretation. *Teyrnas* is once translated "realm"[168] but is tied closely to the range of connotations found for *teyrn* (q.v.).

Principality

Tywysogaeth is the only term found translated as "principality".

Duchy

Although it has no place in the SCA system, duchy is *dugiaeth*.

County

As with "duchy", this is not used in the SCA. It is found as *iarllaeth*[169] and *swydd*, although the latter seems to be in a more modern sense.

Barony

Barony is found as *barwniaeth* while **brehyrdir* is given as "baron-land".

Province

The dictionary translates *talaith* as "province" although it also means "chaplet" or "diadem".

Shire

"Shire" was borrowed into Welsh as *sir* (pronounced "sheer") and this is the term used in modern Welsh political geography. *Swydd* is equated with *sir* in addition to being translated as "county" but this latter may be intended in the modern sense rather than with the implication of "the land held by a count". *Swydd* also means "office".

Riding

The dictionary translates "riding" as *marchogaeth*, and secondarily as *rhanbarth o Swydd Efrog* "a region of the county of York". But given that the Welsh-English section translates *marchogaeth* as "horsemanship; to ride" I have serious doubts whether it would be correct to equate *marchogaeth* with the territorial definition of "riding".

Canton

The English-Welsh section of the dictionary translates "canton" as *rhandir* or *ardal*. The first is translated in the Welsh-English section as "allotment, region, patrimony, area" and literally means "share-land". However, LHD[170] gives the *rhandir* as a term meaning "a measure of sixteen legal acres" - 1/800 of a cwmwd. *Ardal* (or *ardalaeth*) is found in the W-E section as "district" equated with *rhandir* and *bro* and seems to be an informal rather than legal term.

College

"School" is most often found as *ysgol* and its derivatives (e.g., *prifysgol* = university). Terms that translate specifically as "college" include: *athrofa* literally "place of teachers" in addition to the directly borrowed *coleg*. Another possibility might be *clas*. The original meaning seems to be "community, people, region" although it eventually came to mean a specifically religious community or cloister. The religious connotations might cause some to shy away from this term, but given the number of "Colleges of Saint So-and-So" I don't see that it should be disqualified entirely.

Port/Stronghold

Porth has a primary meaning of "door, porch", but it, and the derivatives *porthfa*, *porthladd* and **porthloedd*, also mean "harbor" (also "ferry"). There are a fair number of coastal place names of the form *PorthX* or *Porth X*. "Stronghold" is translated as *amddiffynfa* (literally "place of protection", the W-E section has "fortress") and *noddfa* (literally "place of protection or shelter", the W-E section has "refuge, shelter"). Other words with similar connotations are *caer*, *castell* and *dinas* (but with some connotations of "city").

SCA Equivalents

It seems easiest to work from the smallest groups up. For "college" I suggest *coleg* or, less strongly, *clas*. *Porth* is the obvious and natural equivalent for "port". The natural choice for "stronghold" would be *caer* but this term is already widely used in both personal and household names and it seems inadvisable to try to restrict its usage at this late date. *Amddiffynfa* is an awful lot to expect the average person to get his mouth around and *noddfa* doesn't seem to have the correct connotations. I suggest *dinas*. It has the right connotations, is not to my knowledge heavily used in the SCA already and is found mundanely in placenames that would provide a good model for SCA constructions (i.e., *Dinas X*).

Cwmwd is the basic, smallest political division (unless you want to look at "town" equivalents). It therefore corresponds to "riding" or "canton". *Cantref* is the next up in size as is "shire". Just as a shire may have cantons, so may a cantref have cwmwds. "Barony" and "province" have Welsh terms corresponding to both, *barwniaeth* and *talaith*. (For *brehyrdir* see the

discussion on *breyr*.) Similarly, there are existing terms that translate directly to "principality" (*tywysogaeth*) and "kingdom" (*brenhiniaeth*). *Cyfoeth* could probably be used generically for any SCA political division ruled by a ceremonial head. It has no associated personal titles that might muddy the issue as *teyrnas* has. *Teyrnas* should follow whatever usage is chosen for teyrn.

Arglwyddiaeth is a problematical term. Historically it was applied to too many different types of regions to acquire a specific association. Also, *arglwydd* has such a strong association with "lord" that it would probably be confusing to use its derivative as a branch designation.

There remains one common Welsh term unused: *gwlad*. The associated title *gwledig* went out of fashion fairly early but certain regions were traditionally referred to as *gwlad* up to the point when they were subsumed into the shire structure. Although there was little political difference between a kingdom and a *gwlad*, there is a traditional distinction, therefore it doesn't seem appropriate to consider it equivalent to either "kingdom" or "principality". If I were forced to find an SCA equivalent, I would consider it to be "barony", that being appropriate for "a subdivision of land that has its own ruler but is of lesser prestige than a principality". However that would imply that *gwledig* should be used as equivalent to "baron", for which there is no support in the literature. A better conclusion, given the tenuous connection between *gwledig* and "dux" or "comes" (see the discussion under *gwlad*) might be to consider it as approximately equivalent to "duchy" or "county" and therefore not appropriate for use in the SCA. The drawback here is that I hate to leave such great terms lying around unused. I am undecided.

Non-Reserved Titles and Terms, Officers, and Other Interesting Words

So, in addition to collecting information on titles and geography, I collected all this other ... stuff: titles for officers, names for regalia, non-titular translations of words that are also titles. On the chance that you would find it as interesting as I did, I decided to include it here. This is purely for your information, I make no recommendations for "official" translations. It was tempting in the case of the officers, but positions can vary from kingdom to kingdom so anything I suggested would be of limited usefulness.

Offices and Functions

Some of these are included because they are the traditional officers of a Welsh noble court, some because they correspond to SCA offices. Some are not offices, per se, but functions such as "ambassador", "bard" and "captain of the guard". Because usages differ from kingdom to kingdom I have not attempted to distinguish between "official" titles and "generic" ones.

The Traditional Welsh Court Officers - The Welsh laws list the sixteen traditional officers of a king's court and the eight corresponding officers of the queen.[171] At the time these laws were first written down (from earlier traditions) the term "king" could apply to someone with fairly small holdings, so these probably may be considered to apply to any landed noble with any pretensions at all. The laws describe in detail their duties and privileges, where they sat in the hall (if at all), and when and how they were to be paid. The king's officers were: *Penteulu* "captain of the retinue", *Offeiriad* "household priest", *Distain* "steward" (more or less equivalent to seneschal), *Hebogydd* "falconer", *Brawdwr llys* "court judge", *Pengwastrawd* "chief groom" literally "chief journey-servant" , *Gwas ystafell* "chamber servant", *Bardd teulu* "court bard", *Gostegwr* translated awkwardly but most closely by "silentiary" (also "usher" but see below), *Pencynydd* "chief huntsman", *Meddydd* "mead maker", *Meddyg* "physician", *Trulliad* "cupbearer", *Drysor* "porter, doorkeeper", *Cog* "cook" and *Canhwyllydd* "chandler". The Queen's officers were: *Offeiriad* "priest", *Distain* "steward", *Pengwastrawd* "chief groom", *Gwas ystafell* "chamber servant", *Llawforwyn* literally "handmaiden", *Drysor* "porter", *Cog* "cook" and *Canhwyllydd* "chandler".

Ambassador/Envoy/Messenger - Some of these functions are traditionally those of a herald, but need not be exclusively. The word used most commonly here is *cennad* which the dictionary translates as "permission; messenger, ambassador; mission". It is found in CR[172] as "ambassador", and in M[173] as "envoy" and "messenger". In MJ's translation of "The Dream of Macsen Wledig" the messengers are described thusly: "Now this was the guise in which the messengers journeyed: one sleeve there was on the cape of each one of them to his front, in token that they were messengers, so that through whatever warring land they might journey, no harm would be done them."[174] This is clearly a description of the sideways wearing of the tabard by pursuivants described by Neubecker.[175] The dictionary also has *llysgennad*, "ambassador", emphasizing the location of their duties at court.

Bailiff - This is translated by the borrowed **baeli* and by *rhingyll*. The latter is also translated as "sergeant" and "herald" in the sense of "one who makes announcements".

Banner Bearer - This is *banerwr*, a Welsh construction on the borrowed *baner*.

Bard - In a turnabout, this time the English term is borrowed from the Welsh *bardd*. In addition to the general term, there are several specialized functions: the "chaired bard", *bardd cadeiriog*[176] or *cadeirfardd* meaning one who has been especially recognized for excellence, the symbol of which was the gift of a chair; the *bardd teulu*[177], the "household" or "court" bard, meaning one who was attached to a particular noble (**teuluwr* may have been a synonym); and *prifardd*, "chief bard", although I don't know whether this means a specific post or is a generic term. *Pencerdd*, "chief of song", is another term mentioned in the laws but no one seems to know just what his position or responsibilities may have been. *Anant* and *cler* are collective nouns also translated as "bards", but the connotation is more that of itinerant musicians.

Captain of the Guard - *Penteulu* translates literally as "head of the household" but in medieval times the *teulu* referred more specifically to a noble's retinue, or in its most restricted sense to the warband or bodyguard that attended him. Thus the *penteulu* commanded the warband. This was a position of great prestige, as evidenced by the occasion in "The Dream of Rhonabwy"[178] where Madog, lord of Powys, offers his brother (who is sulking because he isn't as rich or powerful as Madog) "captaincy of his war-band, and equal standing with himself". The term is also translated more generally as "captain of the household"[179] but again the connotation is that of a court officer, not of the modern "head of the household".

Castellan - Another Welsh construction off of a borrowed term: *castellydd*.

Chamberlain - M[180] translates *gwas ystafell* as "chamberlain" in the tale of Pwyll but the rank of those so named is not clear. The characters are acting as personal servants, but so are knights and squires in the same scene, so the implication may be that a high-ranking man has high-ranking underlings doing his menial work. Elsewhere *gwas ieuanc*[181] is translated as "chamberlain" while the literal translation would simply be "young servant".

Chancellor - Again, the term is borrowed from English, *canghellor*.

Chandler - One of the traditional court offices, the *canhwyllydd* was responsible for seeing that a sufficient supply of candles and other lighting was on hand and that it was properly utilized and not wasted during the evening. Anyone who has attended an evening court on the field will recognize the usefulness of this office.

Clerk - *Ysgolhaig*[182] translates as "scholar" or "clerk". An obsolete meaning is "cleric".

Cook - One of the traditional court officers, the term borrowed from English: *cog*. Another term, **heiliad* is translated as "one who prepares a feast" - surely a perfect choice if you want to translate "feastocrat".

Cupbearer - The term for the traditional court position is *trulliad*, but **heilin*/**heilyn* and **talgellog* are also translated as "cupbearer".

Doctor - The laws and tales agree that *meddyg* is a physician, authorized to do surgery along with lesser tasks. Modern Welsh concurs that *meddyg* refers specifically to a medical doctor. For this reason, although it is cognate with "medic", I do not recommend using this term for the SCA chirurgeonate. Unfortunately, I cannot offer a better term.

Doorkeeper - One of the traditional court officers was the *drysor*. It might also be translated "porter", as PKM[183] does, but in the sense of "one who stands at the port", not one who carries things. LHD[184] gives the office as *porthor* and it is by this title that the office is called in the tale of Culhwch.[185] The post is held by one of Arthur's heroes, whose job it is to see that the feasting inside is not unduly disturbed. (In this case, it was anyway.)

Exchequer - The place itself is the *trysorlys*. The respective officer is found as **trysorer*, "treasurer". Both are, of course, formed from the borrowed *trysor*.

Falconer - LHD and PKM[186] both have *hebogydd*, from hebog, "falcon", itself undoubtedly borrowed from the AS *heafoc*. The dictionary also has **ffawcwniaid*, from another borrowing.

Groom - The traditional position of "chief groom" is *pengwastrawd*. The ordinary kind would be simply *gwastrawd*.

Handmaiden - The term for this traditional Queen's officer seems to be simply a direct translation: *llawforwyn*.

Herald - The dictionary translates this by the borrowed **herod*/**herodr* and by *rhingyll*, although the latter seems to refer specifically to a minor official of the law courts. (The term derives from the AS *ringild*.[187]) A number of the traditional heraldic functions appear under other names. As envoy he is *cennad*. As the one who calls for silence at court he acts as *gostegwr*. As a maker of announcements *rhingyll* seems to have the correct connotations. Pursuivant is directly borrowed as *pwrsifant*.

Some specialized terms relating to heraldry that

might be of interest are: **achen* "arms" (it also means "lineage"), *pais arfau* (literally "coat" of arms - *pais* refers to a garment), **gwyngalch* (it refers to the shield or the arms but literally means "whitewash"), *arwreid*[188] "ensigns" (in this case specifically referring to banners on a ship used for identification). "Heraldry" itself is *herodraeth* formed off a borrowed root, as is *tabar*, "tabard"; "seal" or "signet" is found as *sel*, **insail*, **insel* and **seined* with one instance in the literature of *insail*[189]; the related verb, "to seal" is **inseilio*. The signet-keeper is *seinedydd*.

Huntsman - The royal office of chief huntsman is *pencynydd*.[190] An ordinary one would be *cynydd*.

Jester - The dictionary gives this as *cellweiriwr* literally "joker", *digrifwas* "funny servant, clown" or *croesan* (possibly from *croes*, "cross" or from *croeso*, "welcome", but both are guesses).

Judge - The court judge, *brawdwr llys*, of the king's court had the responsibility to know the laws and the proper procedures for settling disputes. Another term for judge, **penrhaith* literally "chief compurgator", points to the practice in medieval Welsh law of settling cases by having a set number of people swear to the veracity of one side or the other. (They didn't have to be witnesses, they just had to say, in effect, "Yeah, I know Joe. He's a good ol' boy and he wouldn't have done anything like that.") *Ynad* (magistrate) shows up in the nickname of the father of one of the early Welsh poets, *yr Ynad Coch* (the red judge)[191]. "Tribunal" is found as *gorsedd*[192] although this could also refer to any assembly, the place where it meets or the session of its meeting.

Marshall - Marshall is translated as *cadlywydd* (also translated as "general", as in "one who marshalls the army"), although SCA usage might more closely follow a construction off of *lluniaethu* (to marshall, arrange, organize) such as the hypothetical *lluniaethwr* or *lluniaethydd*.

Officer/Minister - The word used for the officers of the court is *swyddog*[193] or *swyddwr*[194]. *Swyddog* is also translated as "sheriff", just as *swydd* means "county" as well as "office" (the station, not the location). *Gweinidog* means "minister" (as well as "servant"), deriving from *gweini*, "to serve" or "attend".

Priest - *Offeiriad* is the term found in the laws and the tales.[195] The dictionary also lists *urddol* as "ordained priest" (but see under urdd below).

Reeve/Sherrif/Mayor - The *maer* seems to have been a non-noble local administrative official in the time of Hywel's Laws.[196] It is now found as "mayor", "sheriff", "reeve" and "steward".[197] *Swyddog* is also used for "sheriff" as is **uchelfaer* (lit. "over-maer") which can also mean "governor".

Steward - This is found frequently to translate *cynweisiad*,[198] *distain*,[199] *maer*[200] or *stiward*.

Usher - *Gostegwr* is sometimes translated as "usher" although the term does not seem to be particularly descriptive.

Nobility

Here I have collected a number of terms referring to the nobility in general rather than a specific rank.

**Goreugwyr*, "the best men", and *pendefigaeth* are both translated as "aristocracy". *Pendefigaidd* is "aristocratic". A courtier is *cwrtiwr* or *llyswr*. *Bonedd* is "gentility" (as well as its stem meaning of "noble descent") and *boneddig* and *boneddigeidd* both mean "gentle" in the sense of "noble". *Mwyn* has this same meaning as in *dynion mwyn*[201] "gentle folk" and **mwynwr* "gentleman". A corresponding feminine form seems to be **mwynen*, "gentle maiden". *Gwrda*[202] is sometimes translated as "gentle (person)". "The gentry" is the *boneddigion*. M[203] translates *dyledog* and *dyledogion* as "highborn" or "noble" and "highborn ones" or "nobles" respectively. "Nobility" as a concept is translated by *boneddigeiddrwydd*, **boneddigrwydd*, *bonedd*[204], **gwrdaaeth* and *tormynogaeth*[205]. "Noble", either as an adjective or as a person (often the same word is used for both) can be *boneddigeidd*, *bonhedig*,[206] **brehyrllin*, **dyledog/*dylyedog*, *edyrn*,[207] **gwrdaaidd*, *macwy*,[208] *mawreddog/*mawreddus/*mawrfryd*, *mirain*, **mynawg/*mynog*, *ordetholwr*,[209] *rhiaidd*, **rhieddog*, *reiol*, *teuluaidd*, **teyrnasaidd*, *tormynog*,[210] *urddol/urddyn* and *urddau*[211] (or possibly *urddaf*, every once in a while I have to guess at the Middle Welsh orthography). In addition to the aforementioned, "nobleman" can be **unben*, *pendefig* or *uchelwr*.[212] "Noble lineage" can also be **eurllin* (literally "golden line"). "Rank" or "dignity" in the same sense is found as *anrhydydd*[213], *dosbarth*[214] or *teiligdod*.[215] The last is also translated as "honor" in the same sense. *Braint* is a word with many connotations approximated by "status, right, privilege, honor".[216] More information on the derivation of many of these can be found below in the Welsh roots section.

Non-noble Classes

Of associational interest are a few terms for social classes that were not noble. These are discussed in context in the section on Welsh social structure.

An alien, i.e. non-Welsh person, is *alltud*.[217] (The

term could also apply to a Welsh person in exile, the derivation being "someone who is outside of his land or tribe".) A slave is *caeth*[218] or *aillt*.[219] The former has the connotation of someone who has been captured. The latter seems to have been originally equivalent to the Roman "client", but came to mean "villein" or "unfree person". "Villein" is also found as *bilain*[220] or *taeog*.[221] *Gwerin* refers to the common folk or "peasantry", but without some of the negative connotations of the preceding. PT has it simply as "nation".[222]

Orders and Companies

There are a number of terms that may be appropriate for various types of orders and other, more or less formal associations. Synonyms for "order" are: *cydymdeithas/cymdeithas* (fellowship),[223] *cywaith* (fellowship) and *urdd* (order). "Companion" (as in "Companions of the etc.") can be *ceimiad*[224] (which can also mean "champion" or "fighter") or *cywaith*. *Athrofa* can mean "academy" as well as "college".

Regalia, Insignia and Miscellaneous Terms

This list is by no means complete, but is rather composed of items that I ran across while doing the other research. Other Welsh terms besides the ones I list are available for most of these.

Belts - **Ystred* translates not only as "belt" and "series or row" but as "lineage", although the more common word for belt or girdle is *gwregys*.

Chains, Collars and Medallions - *Torch* is found as "collar (of rank)" and is clearly the same as the familliar "torque". From it derives **torchawr* "collar-wearer". *Aerwy* translates as "an ornamented torque or chain" and may be derived either from **aer*, "war, army, battle" (**aerbais* is "coat of mail") or *eur*, "gold".

Cloak - As some orders and positions have regalia cloaks, I offer *toron* "cloak" and *toronog* "cloaked", chiefly for their parallel with *coron* and *coronog* "crown" and "crowned".

Court - A law court is *cwrt* or *gorsedd*, although the latter is also used for a noble court.[225] The more common term for the latter is *llys*[226], from which also come *llysaidd* "courtly", *llyswr* "courtier" and *llysol* "pertaining to a court". Also attested for "court" is **rhwyd*. A king's court is specifically *breinlys/breinllys* or descriptively *llys frenin*.[227]

Crowns, Coronets, Circlets and Wreaths - "Crown" is found as the borrowed term *coron*[228] and a king is occasionally referred to as a "crowned king" *brenin coronog*.[229] *Rhactal*[230] is translated as "frontlet" and seems to be equivalent to "circlet" or "coronet" in the connotation of "circular piece of jewelry on the head which implies noble rank". *Talaith* means "chaplet" or "diadem" (also "province"). "Wreath" is translated as **gwrydd* or *torch*.

Palace - "Palace" is *plas* or **rhwyl* with a specifically royal palace being *brenhindy* (literally "king's house").

Progress - Welsh nobles would make a progress through their lands, not only to keep an eye on things but to collect on the hospitality and material support that their vassals owed them. In the tales the term for this is *cylchaw*.[231]

Regalia - *Teyrnolion*. A sceptre is *Teyrnwialen*.

Throne - The dictionary lists *brenhinfainc* (lit. "king's bench"), *gorsedd* (also used for any sort of assembly or the court generally) and *tron/trwn*. One translation of M gives "throne" for *coron*[232] but the more reliable version gives "crown" as seems more logical. In other places a throne is simply called *cadair*,[233] "chair".

Non-reserved "Titles"

Apprentice - The term found in the dictionary for "apprentice" is obviously borrowed from English: *prentis*. There is also a term that translates specifically as "bardic pupil", *ysbas*, which would probably be the equivalent of apprentice for someone active in that area.

Page - "Page" is used to translate **gwreang* (undoubtedly from *gwr ieuanc* "young man") or *gweangyn* and various derivatives of **macwy*,[234] although this latter is also found as "squire".

Retinue and Attendants - A number of the tales make reference to various subgroups of the inhabitants of a noble court by collective nouns. *Teulu* is an all-purpose word. The modern connotation is "family" but in medieval times it could be used generically for "retinue" or "retainers"[235] or in its most restricted usage for the warband or bodyguard of a noble.[236] In the SCA it would be a reasonable equivalent for "household", "fighting unit" or "court" in the sense of ""those who attend on the royalty". A word often found paired with *teulu* is *nifer* which the dictionary translates simply as "number". There are frequent references to a lord, his *teulu* and his *nifer*, although the distinction between the two is not clear. Both seem to refer either generally to the inhabitants of a court[237] or specifically to a "host" with military overtones.[238] Loosely related to *teulu* (which PKM derives from *tei* (*ty* "house) + *lu* (*llu* "host, throng")) are **rhiallu* ("royal retinue") and *llu* which is also found in M[239] to indicate a military group. *Rhwter*,[240] "retinue" is also found in a similar sense. The ladies

in waiting in Gwenhwyfar's retinue are called *rhiain*[241], literally "maidens", which may be a courtesy title or simply reflective of the position being held by young unattached women. *Swyddwr*[242] "officer" and *gwas*[243] "servant" are found translated as "attendants" in referring to court inhabitants of lesser rank. (But in BB[244] Kay is called Arthur's *pen swyddwr* "chief officer".) In return for their service, a noble's retinue would receive their livery or *ancwyn*[245], referring not simply to clothes but more importantly to their allowance of food and drink. Such allowances are spelled out in detail for the officers of the court in the laws.

Squire - The dictionary gives **gwreang/gweangyn*, **macwy* and *sgwier/ysgwier/yswain*. The first set seems to mean "young servant" generically. *Macwy* is also found in M[246] as "squire" but equally as often as "lad", "youth", "page"or even "noble(man)".[247]

Words Relating to Fealty and Homage

Virtually all the terms I found relating to fealty and vassalage are derived from *gwr*, "man". Literally, to be in fealty to someone was to be his man. In the literature, a vassal is simply *gwr* or *gwreanc*[248] (the latter means "page" or "squire" elsewhere). Another term is *iselwr*, no doubt in parallel to *uchelwr* (*is* = lower; *uch* = above) (see also the section on the structure of the Welsh nobility). "Fealty", "homage" or "submission" (there seems to be no distinction made) is *gwrogaeth*[249] or *gwedwys*[250] (literally "speech-summons" but in this case it may refer to the request for homage rather than the action itself); the verbal form is *gwra*[251] with alternate forms *gwrogi* and *gurhau*, or the compound forms *rhoddi gwrogaeth*[252] "to give homage" and *gwneuthur gwrogaeth*[253] "to do homage". CR[254] also gives us *ymrwymassei o wryogaeth*, "oath of fealty" (from *ymrwymiad* = agreement, engagement). For "fief" CR[255] gives us *medeant* (from *meddu* = to own or posses).

Table of Recommended SCA Equivalences

[The original article included a summary table of recommendations at this point which has been omitted.]

Notes

[1] AOW:44.
[2] LHD:320.
[3] AOW:44.
[4] LHD:314.
[5] Jenkins:454.
[6] Jenkins:453.
[7] amerawdr, amherodr CR:I:6n.1.
[8] amhera6dyr MJ:123, MJ:178.
[9] amherodres MJ:162, MJ:185.
[10] ffeleic PT:V15.
[11] CR:V:3.
[12] CR:V:2.
[13] urenhin MJ:3.
[14] brenhin i6erdon MJ:39.
[15] brenhin freinc MJ:192.
[16] brenhin coruna6c MJ:3; urenhin corona6c MJ:38; vrenhined corona6c MJ:178.
[17] brenhinyaeth MJ:158.
[18] brenhiniaetheu (pl.) CR:XXV:11.
[19] vrenhines CR:XLIII:12.
[20] urenhines MJ:5.
[21] g6ledychu MJ:12, MP:27; gwledychu CR:XXII:11.
[22] PT:IX:7.
[23] dyrnas MJ:8, MJ:30(of Gwent Is Coed), MJ:37; teyrnas MJ:130, MJ:191; teyrnassoed (pl.) CR:XXIV:8; dyrnas (realm) MP:8.
[24] LHD:367.
[25] LHD:366.
[26] teyrneid MP:20.
[27] rieu (pl.) PT:X:14.
[28] MJ:40; (chief Matriarchs) MP:40.
[29] LHD:351.
[30] LHD:351; g6rthrychyad MJ:459.
[31] LH:119:166; kynrein (pl.) PT:II:21.
[32] PT:II:27.
[33] gwledic PT:II:2; wledig MJ:178.
[34] LH:109:135.
[35] pendeuic MJ:1.
[36] LHD:389, LH:91:78; tywysog unbyn (prince of chieftains) LH:91:79; dwyssawc CR:XXIII:16, CR:XIV:1; dwyssogeon (pl.) CR:XXV:10; tywyssogyon (pl.) MJ:192.
[37] CR:XIV:1.
[38] teyrnedd (pl.) PT:II:4.
[39] PT:112.
[40] ffeleic PT:V:15.
[41] MJ:119.
[42] MJ:5; Efrawc Iarll (Earl Efrawg) MJ:117.
[43] MJ:117.
[44] bar6neit MJ:160.
[45] gwyrda (pl.) CR:I:6n.1; wyrda (pl.) CR:I:1; et al.
[46] gogyuurd, gogyvwrdd CR:XV:10.
[47] gymharieit CR:LXI:5.
[48] kystedlyd PT:X:7.
[49] cat gyhauil CA:187.
[50] penhaf MJ:133.

[51] marcha6c (companion) MP:35; marcha6c (horseman) MJ:7, MJ:35 (horsemen) MJ:49; uarchoges (horsewoman - referring to Rhiannon) MP:13; marchauc (rider) MJ:19; uarchoges (rider) MJ:13; marchog (rider) LH:111:140.
[52] g6yrda (pl.) MJ:8.
[53] ceimat MJ:24.
[54] PC:2.
[55] CA:125, PT:II:16.
[56] LH:73:25.
[57] LH:131:204, LH:133:210, PT:X:2.
[58] LH:131:203.
[59] gwledic nef PT:XI:1.
[60]PC:2:14.
[61] PT:VIII:10.
[62] ardwyat CA:253.
[63] dreic (chieftain) PT:VIII:10; dragon (chieftain, leader or champion) PT:XII:2.
[64] ffeleic PT:V:15.
[65] gwaladyr PT:VIII:49.
[66] CA:64.
[67] CA:141.
[68] LH:101:106.
[69] CA:20.
[70] LH:129:196.
[71] reawdr LH:109:136.
[72] pendeuic MP:1.
[73] pendeuic PKM:93.
[74] rieu PT:IV:14.
[75] LHD:314.
[76] argl6yd amhera6dyr MJ:190.
[77] argl6yd MJ:12.
[78] argl6ydes MP:10.
[79] argl6ydes MJ:18.
[80] argl6yd MP:39.
[81] arglwyd CR:XIX:8.
[82] argl6yd MJ:178.
[83] arglwydiaeth CR:VIII:14, CR:III:16.
[84] argl6ydiaeth MJ:12.
[85] CA:67, PT:II:27.
[86] dylyedauc MP:22; dyledogyon (pl.) MP:38.
[87] dylyedauc MJ:13; dyledogyon (highborn ones) MJ:38.
[88] dylyedauc MP:22.
[89]deledocaf CR:IX:10.
[90] g6yrda (pl.) MP:8.
[91] guyrda (pl.) MP:46.
[92] g6rda MJ:110; guyrda (pl.) MJ:7, MJ:46.
[93] wyrda (pl.) MP:185.
[94] 6yrda (pl.) MJ:51; guyrda (pl.) MJ:29.
[95] gwyrda (pl.) MJ:36; guyrda (pl.) MJ:38; g6rda (pl.) MJ:129.
[96] guyrda (pl.) MP:7; g6rda MP:110; wyrda (pl.) MJ:192.
[97] g6yrda (pl.) MJ:8.
[98] wyrda (pl.) MJ:185.
[99] 6reicda MJ:35; g6reic da MP:48; g6ragedda (pl.) MJ:46.
[100] g6reic da MJ:48.
[101] PT:VIII:31.
[102] rwyf PT:II:5; ruyfadur PT:II:5; rwyfyadur PT:VIII:31.
[103] LH:129:199.
[104] MJ:2.
[105] MJ:62.
[106] MJ:125 et al.
[107] MJ:14.
[108] LH:103:117, LH:111:139; vd PT:VII:31.
[109] LHD:318.
[110] boned CR:XLIII:2.
[111] bonhedic CR:VIII:2.
[112] 6reic MJ:15, MJ:62, wreic MJ:185; g6raged y llys (pl.) MJ:79.
[113] uor6yn MP:17.
[114] uor6yn MJ:17.
[115] Jenkins:453n.10.
[116] LHD:339.
[117] PT:II:2.
[118] LHEB:448.
[119] Evans:30.
[120] rieni MJ:40.
[121] teyrnedd (pl.) PT:II:4.
[122] mechteyrned PT:IX:7.
[123] LHD:366.
[124] dyrnas MJ:8, MJ:30, MJ:37, MP:37; teyrnas MJ:130, MJ:191; teyrnassoed (pl.) CR:XXIV:8.
[125] dyrnas MP:8.
[126] dy6yssogyon MP:49, MJ:49.
[127] LHD:389.
[128] varchawc urda6l MJ:122.
[129] gogyuurd, gogyvwrdd CR:XV:10.
[130] CR:V:2.
[131] MJ:178.
[132] CA:64.
[133] Naym Dwyssawc CR:XIV:1.
[134] Efrawc Iarll MJ:117.
[135] yr arglwydes Veyr BB:IX:4.
[136] yr Arglwyd Rys Jenkins:453n.8.
[137] PC:17:28.
[138] PC:2.
[139] yr Athro Vledgywryt Evans:15.
[140] Brenhin i6erdon MJ:39.
[141] pendeuic dyuet MJ:1.
[142] arglwyd keredigyawn Jenkins:453n.4.
[143] tywyssauc Powys Jenkins:453n.7.
[144] PC:2:50.
[145] PC:20:76.
[146] Owein ap Grufud ap Kynan, brenhin Gwyned Jenkins:453n.2.
[147] rys vab gruffud tywyssawc deheubarth Jenkins:453n.8.
[148] gwiliam bastard tywyssawc y normannyeid Jenkins:454n.1.

[149] Bedwyr pen trvllyat, dvc Normandy BB:IX:12.
[150] Arawn urenhin Annwuyn Evans:15.
[151] argl6yd amhera6dyr MJ:190.
[152] Evans:15.
[153] g6lat MJ:46.
[154] dir MJ:8.
[155] MJ:8.
[156] MJ:61.
[157] gyuoeth MJ:11, MJ:22; kyuoeth MJ:36, MJ:47.
[158] CA:133.
[159] LHD:325.
[160] PT:VI:23.
[161] CA:132.
[162] amherodraeth MJ:190.
[163] brenhinyaeth MJ:158, brenhiniaetheu (pl.) CR:XXV:11.
[164] kyuoeth MJ:4, gyuoeth MP:22.
[165] MJ:130, MJ:191; teyrnassoed (pl.) CR:XXIV:8; dyrnas MJ:8, MJ:30, MJ:37.
[166] gyuoeth MJ:11, MJ:22; kyuoeth MJ:47.
[167] kyuoeth MP:47.
[168] dyrnas MP:8.
[169] MJ:117.
[170] LHD:121.
[171] LHD:5.
[172] gennadeu CR:VI:7; kennadeu CR:VII:5.
[173] kennat (envoy) MJ:160, (messenger) MP:160; gynnatau (envoys) MJ:109; kennadeu (messengers) MJ:185.
[174] MJ:p.83.
[175] Heraldry - Sources, Symbols and Meaning p.12.
[176] LHD:316.
[177] LHD:316, PKM:107.
[178] Jones:137.
[179] LHD:323.
[180] guas ystauell MJ:4.
[181] gueisson ieueinc (pl.) MJ:5.
[182] yscolheic (clerk) MJ:76, (scholar) MP:76.
[183] PKM:107.
[184] LHD:374.
[185] porthawr MJ:456.
[186] LHD:343, PKM:107.
[187] Morgan and Morgan p.183.
[188] ar6reid MJ:39.
[189] insseil CR:XXXIII:1.
[190] LHD:371, PKM:107.
[191] Evans:xxvii.
[192] PKM:120.
[193] LHD:369; s6yda6c MJ:4.
[194] LHD:369; swyd6yr MJ:41.
[195] PKM:107; offeirat MJ:77.
[196] LHD:363.
[197] LH:119:165.
[198] kynueissat, kyn6eisyat MJ:50.
[199] LHD:337, PKM:107.
[200] LH:119:165.
[201] MJ:32.
[202] guyrda MJ:7, MJ:46; g6rda MJ:110.
[203] dylyedauc MJ&P:13; dyledogyon MJ&P:38.
[204] boned CR:XLIII:2.
[205] tormynnawc (rich in herds) PKM:132; termynna6c (rich in hosts) MJ:20.
[206] bonhedic CR:VIII:2.
[207] CA:133.
[208] LH:75:31.
[209] ordetholwyr (pl.) CR:LXVIII:3 from dethol "choice" or "chosen".
[210] tormynnawc PKM:132.
[211] PKM:222.
[212] LHD:389.
[213] anryded MJ:2, MJ:20.
[214] PKM:118.
[215] teilygdawt PKM:98.
[216]LHD:319.
[217] LHD:311.
[218] LHD:322.
[219] LHD:310.
[220] LHD:310.
[221] LHD:310.
[222] PT:VI:23.
[223] kedymdeythas PKM:107.
[224] keimyat PT:III:8.
[225] PKM:120.
[226] LHD:328, CR:XXIII:4, LH:75:31; lys MJ:1.
[227] LH:75:31.
[228] goron MJ:38; coroneu (pl.) CR:XXV:10.
[229] brenin corunawc PKM:99.
[230] ractal MJ:120.
[231] PKM:156; gylcha6 MJ:35.
[232] goron MP:38.
[233] gadeir MJ:190; cadeir CR:XXVII:6.
[234] macwyaid LHD:370; makwyueit PKM:106.
[235] MJ:121, MJ:182.
[236] MJ:5, MJ:21, MJ:110, MP:182, PKM:107; teilu LHD:318.
[237] oniuer ("complement" of the court) MJ:41; niueroed (pl. retinues) MJ:5.
[238] (company) niuer MJ:15, yniueroed MP:21; (host(s)) niuer MJ:40, (of ships) MJ:39, oniuer MP:41, niueroed (pl.) MJ:12, yniueroed (pl.) MJ:21; (troop) niuer MJ:5.
[239] luoed (pl.) MJ:52.
[240] r6tter MJ:78; rwtter PKM:246.
[241] rianed (pl.) MJ:121.
[242] oss6yd6yr (pl.) MJ:23.
[243] gweisson (pl.) PKM:106.
[244] Key pen swydvr BB:IX:12:954.
[245] CA:69.
[246] macc6y MJ:127, makuyueit (pl.) MJ:5.
[247] vacc6y (lad) MP:181, (youth) MJ:181; makwyueit (page) PKM:106; macwyaid (page) LHD:370; macwy (noble) LH:75:31.

[248] g6r MJ:34; wyr (pl.) MJ:178; 6yrenn (pl.) MJ:8; woreanc CR:XXVIII:8; gwareanc CR:LIII:5.
[249] wryogaeth (fealty) CR:LVI:2; gwryogaeth (homage) CR:XXII:9; g6rogaeth (homage) MJ:8, MJ:63; g6rogaeth (submission) MP:63.
[250] g6ed6ys MJ:190.
[251] g6ra MJ:53.
[252] rodi gwryogaeth CR:III:15.
[253] gwneuthur gwryogaeth CR:XXII:9.
[254] CR:LVI:2.
[255] vedeant CR:XCI:5.

Given the course of my career, this volume would seem incomplete without including something about Medieval Welsh prepositions. This is what I spend over a decade working on, and to see it is to understand something of where I've been and what I've become. This is a small section taken from my PhD dissertation, Cognitive Aspects of the Grammaticalization of Medieval Welsh Prepositions. *In one sense, this paper tracks through the entirety of my grad school career. It sprang out of a paper I wrote for Geogre Lakoff's "Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics" class in the Spring of 1994 – a paper that gelled my interests both in prepositions and in metaphor analysis (in addition to the basic assumption that I'd do some topic in Medieval Welsh). I expanded the specific topic presented here into a paper that I presented at the Second Annual Paris-Berkeley Ennunciative-Cognitive Linguistics Workshop in Paris in the Summer of 1998 (the summer when I got a chance to see Saint Louis's shirt up close). And eventually it became a section in the conclusions chapter of my dissertation. I'm afraid there's no getting around the fact that this is an excerpt from a larger work. There are references to other sections of the dissertation, and the conventions and jargon are explained in a chapter not included here. You can download the whole thing at <http://heatherrosejones.com/publicationsmisc/dissertation.html> if you're intrigued.*

The Message is the Messenger

(excerpt from Cognitive Aspects of the Grammaticalization of Medieval Welsh Prepositions)

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4.2.2.2 Speech and Language

In the previous section, the motivational hierarchy for prepositions was examined from the point of view of a particular source domain: spatial motion, whether volitional or caused. It is equally interesting to examine this hierarchy in the context of a particular target domain, and that of speech and language is particularly well represented in my data.

The semantic frame of speech can be separated into two parts. First there is the frame of language consisting of linguistic forms (prototypically spoken forms, but also available as written forms), the content or meaning of those forms (i.e. the specific nature of the utterance), and the topic of the utterance (the key context to which it is relevant). There is a relationship between the linguistic forms and the meaning/content and a relationship between the utterance as a whole and its topic. An utterance may be referred to in a text by means of quotation (either direct or indirect), or by words or phrases that refer to utterances via a genre label either by form (such as "word", "speech", "poem", or "story") or by function (such as "greeting", "message", "question", or "command").

The second part of the speech frame is that of conversation. Here a Speaker produces an audible Speech with the intent that a Hearer perceive, understand, and in many cases act on the content of that utterance. This event is commonly indicated by a verb of speech where the agent is the default Speaker and most typically the Speech (if overtly present) appears as a direct object, while the Hearer (if overtly present) is marked prepositionally. More rarely, a verb of hearing may be used with the Hearer as agent and the Speaker (if overtly present) marked prepositionally.

Expressions using these speech-related words provide some understanding of the metaphoric conceptualization of speech by, for example, marking Speakers using Source language and Hearers using Goal language, and sometimes selecting prepositions that imply a human trajector. Similarly, speech may be described using overtly metaphoric language as we have seen in the section on verbs of motion, where an utterance is presented as a self-propelled or transferred entity.

The metaphors underlying descriptions of speech occur on several levels of detail and specificity, from language that indicates only a general idea of directional movement:

> Ac yna menegi y holl gyfranc a wnaeth **idi**. [no quoted speech follows] [PPD:7:26]
>
> and then tell-VN the whole tale PART do-PRET-3SG **to-3SF**
>
> *And then he told the whole tale **to her.***

to language that characterizes speech explicitly as an animate and even human participant in communication:

> A hynny a dyweit y kyuarwydyd hwnn. [BFL 47:25]
>
> and that PART say-PRES-3SG the story this
>
> *And that is what this story says.*

as well as on several levels of formality, from elaborate ad hoc poetic conventions:

> A dilyt **y gantaw** pa ford y gallei dyuot y angheu. [MFM;86:4]
>
> and follow-VN **from-with-3SM** what way PART be-able-IMPERF-3SG come-VN his death
>
> And pursue **from** him how his death could come.

to obligatory role-markers associated with particular verbs of speaking.

> "Arglwyd," **heb** y wyrda **wrth** Uatholwch [BFL:40:17]
>
> lord, **say-PRET-3SG** the noblemen **with** Matholwch
>
> *"Lord," **said** the noblemen **to** Matholwch*

Much of the application of the prepositional motivation hierarchy to speech will be similar to that for motion verbs, particularly for those roles not closely dependent on the semantic frame. Therefore there is little need to rehearse the evidence for Grammatical, Morphological, and Structural motivations. The two frames differ conceptually in that motion language has a concrete basis, while the key roles in speech are normally understood and described through at least some level of metaphor. Therefore it will be more practical to use an examination of the motivational hierarchy in the context of an exploration of the metaphoric understanding of speech in Medieval Welsh, rather than focusing primarily on the hierarchy itself.

4.2.2.2.1 Metaphors of Speech and Language in English and Medieval Welsh

Previous explorations of metaphors for language, speech, and communication based primarily on English have uncovered a number of motifs, several of which operate together in a complex which Reddy (1979) proposed as the Conduit Metaphor. When exploring the metaphoric basis of language about speech in Medieval Welsh, this forms a useful basis for comparison and contrast. As further explored by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Sweetser (1987, 1992), this metaphor complex contains three components:

- Ideas/Meanings are Objects
- Linguistic Expressions are Containers
- Communication is Sending or Exchanging Objects

Grady (1997) suggests a different presentation for the first two of these, with the concepts broken down into more basic components:

- Attributes are Possessions
- Information is Contents ("meaning" can be treated as either of these)
- Knowledge is Physical Contents of the Head
- Achieving a Purpose is Acquiring a Desired Object

Examples of these various components as used in English can be seen in the following:

> I gave him the news yesterday. (object transfer)
>
> His speech was full of BS. (meaning as contents)
>
> I had to pry the answer out of her. (knowledge contained within the speaker, acquiring knowledge is acquiring an object)
>
> That poem carries a lot of meaning for me. (meaning as possession)

In addition, there are processes such as personification that may be combined with these (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). For example, the personification of speech combined with object-movement appears in:

> Bad news travels quickly.

These existing studies of metaphors for speech and language provide an outline for exploring the Welsh data. The following sections will examine these questions:

- What is the metaphoric relationship between linguistic form and the meaning or topic of an utterance?
- What is the metaphoric treatment of the key roles of Speaker, Speech, and Hearer?
- What is the metaphoric understanding of communication?
- How is language used to present the larger social context of speech, especially as it influences other events?

Since metaphors have been observed that treat the meaning of language as contents, as a property, or as a possession–either of the language itself or of the speaker/hearer–we should review how these concepts are expressed in Medieval Welsh.

Physical containment (see section 3.1.1.8), whether in a two-dimensional or three-dimensional space, is most typically indicated with the preposition YN, which can indicate either static location or a goal of motion. In my data, there are several examples of a form/meaning relationship expressed with YN.

> Nyt oed **yn**-y llythyr h6nn6 heuyt namyn ot af inheu y rufein ac ot af. [BM:188:27]
>
> NEG be-IMPERF-3SG **in** the letter that however except if go-PRES-1SG I-EMPH to Rome and if go-PRES-1SG
>
> *There was nothing **in** that letter however except: "If I go to Rome, and if I go."*
>
> Val hyn e guedyr lledrat **eg** keureyth Hywel [LI:111]
>
> like this PART deny-PRES-IMPERS theft **in** law Hywel
>
> This is how theft is denied **in** Hywel's law

However it is not clear that these represent a metaphor about speech, rather than written texts. It is possible that a written text might be treatable as a container under circumstances where verbal speech is not.

Possession of physical objects (see section 3.3.1.2.3) may be indicated in Medieval Welsh by the use of possessive pronouns, by possessive syntactic constructions, or by using constructions that present the possession as a trajector and mark the possessor-landmark with I, or less commonly with GAN (particularly for temporary or attributive possession–see section 4.1.2.1). I found no examples of meaning being treated as a possession of speech. There are, however, examples of speech (or information that will be presented in spoken form) being treated as a possession of the speaker, typically when an intermediary (i.e. messenger) is involved.

> Amkawd Arthur vrthaw, "**Chwedleu** porth **genhyt**?" [CO:114]
>
> say-PRET-3SG Arthur with-3SM, **news** gate **with-2SG**?
>
> *Arthur said to him, "[Is there] **news** of the gate **with you** [i.e. do you have ...]?"*
>
> "Kynghor yw hynny **gennym** ni," heb wynt. [PPD:17:27]
>
> advice be-PRES-3SG that **with-1PL** us, say-PRET-3SG they
>
> "That is [good] advice **for us,**" they said.

The possessive use of GAN is also relevant in interpreting the use of Y GAN in the section on sources of motion below. While it is not used to indicate abstract possession, AC is found to mark an object in physical control, a common precursor to possession constructions, and also in one example to mark the contents of a written text. (But see also the discussion below about attributes.)

> Ac hyt yg kaer llion y doeth y llythyr h6nn6 ar vaxen **a**-r chwedleu. [BM:188:22]
>
> and length in Caerllion PART come-PRET-3SG the letter that to Maxen **with** the news
>
> And to Caerllion came that letter, to Maxen, **with** the news.

compare:

> O dvc gur gureyc en llathlut a dyuot **a** hy e ty vrda {uab uchelwr E} e kescu genthy, ac na kemerho e gurda mach ar e hamober, talet ehun. [LI:48]
>
> if bear-PRET-3SG man woman PART theft and come-VN **with/and** her to house nobleman to sleep-VN with-3SF, and NEG take-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the nobleman surety on her marriage-fee, pay-IMPER-3SG himself
>
> If a man takes a woman by abduction and comes **with** her [i.e. brings her] to a nobleman's house to sleep with her, and the nobleman does not take a surety for her marriage fee, let him pay it himself.

In summary, speech (or information) can be treated as a possession of the speaker (possibly of the hearer as well, but there is no data on this point) using the preposition GAN, but there is no evidence regarding meaning or information being treated as a possession of speech.

Physical attributes are related to the object with a variety of prepositions, but the most general marks the bearer of the attributre with AR (see section 3.3.2.1.6). GAN may also be used in the same function, most likely derived from a possessive sense (see section 3.3.2.1).

> Sef lliw oed **arnunt**, claerwyn llathreit ac eu clusteu yn gochyon. [PPD:1:21]
>
> thus color be-IMPERF-3SG on-3PL, bright-white shining with/and their ears PART red
>
> *This is the color that was **on them**: bright shining white, with red ears.*

> Ansawd Pwyll hyspys oed **gantaw** ef, canys gwr uuassei idaw kynn no hynny. [PPD:24:18]
>
> appearance Pwyll familiar be-IMPERF-3SG **with-3SM him**, since man bePLUP-3SG to-3SM earlier than that
>
> *Pwyll's appearance was familiar **to him**, since he had been a vassal to him before that.*

When the attribute is the landmark, it may be marked as an accompanying object with AC, much more rarely as a location with YN or AR (see section 3.3.2.1.2). There is one example of the contents of a text being treated as an accompanying object, marked with AC. (Examples profiling the linguistic form/content relationship are quite rare in the data overall.) However there seems no reason to treat this example as characterizing the contents as an attribute (or, as proposed above, as a possession) rather than directly via a metaphor LINGUISTIC CONTENT/MEANING IS AN OBJECT ACCOMPANYING THE LINGUISTIC FORM.

> Ac hyt yg kaer llion y doeth y llythyr h6nn6 ar vaxen **a**-r chwedleu. [BM:188:22]
>
> and length in Caerllion PART come-PRET-3SG the letter that to Maxen **with** the news
>
> *And to Caerllion came that letter, to Maxen, **with** the news.*

compare

> Pryderi a uydei **ac** yrd porth uy llys i am y uynwgyl, a Riannon a uydei **a** mynweireu yr essynn, wedy bydyn yn kywein gueir, am y mynwgyl hitheu. [MFL:65:18]
>
> Pryderi PART be-PAST-3SG **with/and** hammers gate my court my about his neck, and Rhiannon PART be-PAST 3SG **with/and** collars the asses after be-PAST-3PL PART harvest-VN hay, about her neck her
>
> *Pryderi was **with** [i.e. had] the gate-hammers of my court about his neck, and Rhiannon was **with** [i.e. had] collars of the asses, after they had been harvesting hay, about her neck.*

The best (and only) candidates for speech treated as an attribute of the speaker occur with the verbs of hearing CLYBOD and GWRANDO, where the speaker is marked with AR. These correspond well to the use of AR with verbs of vision to mark the bearer of visible characteristics.

> Ny ffoes yr amherawdyr Arthur eiryoet, a phei clywit **arnat** yr ymadrawd hwnn gwr diuetha vydut.[BR:10:16]
>
> NEG flee-PRET-3SG the emperor Arthur ever, and if hear-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS **on-2SG** the speech this man destroy-VN be-PAST-2SG
>
> *The emperor Arthur has never fled, and if this speech were heard **from you**, you would be a destroyed man.*

compare:

> Ac ny welei amgen liw nac **ar** varch nac **ar** wr o'r vydin honno namyn eu bot yn ky gochet a'r gwaet. [BR:7:16]
>
> and NEG see-IMPERF-3SG other color nor **on** horse nor **on** man of the army that except they be-VN PART as red with the blood
>
> *And he saw no other color neither **on** a horse nor **on** a man of that army than [that] they were as red as blood.*

In summary, meaning may be treated as a physical accompaniment to speech or as the contents of a written text, although this is based on relatively little evidence. Similarly, speech may be treated as an attribute of the speaker, when the sensory experience of speech from the point of view of the hearer is profiled. But note that in Welsh, attributes are treated metaphorically as external appurtenances using AR "on" to mark the relationship, rather than as internal contents or possessions of an object as they are in English, using "in" or any of the possible possessive constructions of English. So in comparisons with the CONDUIT METAPHOR in English, it may be useful to separate several conflated concepts. Grady's ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS metaphor does occur in Welsh (using GAN to mark the possessor), but is not applied to speech. Similarly, there is no support here for the Welsh use of the metaphor INFORMATION IS CONTENTS. If, however, the latter were restated in two parts, INFORMATION/MEANING IS AN ATTRIBUTE OF A LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION and ATTRIBUTES ARE CONTENTS (with its corollary OBJECTS HAVING ATTRIBUTES ARE CONTAINERS), then the divergence between the English and Medieval Welsh treatment of speech meaning could be identified as originating from the differences in the general treatment of attributes, rather than from the speech-meaning relationship itself. In special circumstances, speech may be treated as a possession of the speaker, which will be considered further in the next section.

4.2.2.2.2 Motion and Object Transfer

As is shown clearly in the section on motion verbs (4.2.2.1), speech can be characterized as a transferred or self-propelled object. There are two different

metaphoric dynamics which appear in all possible combinations: the Speech may be a self-propelled entity or it may be a transferred object; and the Speaker and Hearer may be co-located, or they may be separated in space such that an intermediary (whether overt or implicit) is required for communication. In only an extremely small number of examples is a physical message involved–these intermediaries are normally conveying verbal messages.

To review, the following table shows the normal marking of Sources and Goals in spatial motion, depending on the general semantic category of the participants.

Table 12: Summary of Spatial Movement Markers

Landmark	**Human**	**Thing**	**Region**
Source			
Human trajector	Y GAN, Y WRTH	O	O
Thing trajector	Y GAN	O	O
Goal			
Human trajector	AT	I	I, YN, AR
Thing trajector	I	I	(no clear pattern)

Speech framed as a self-propelled entity occurs with verbs of motion such as DYFOD or MYNED.

> Rybud a **doeth udunt** wynteu; a chlybot y gwyr ac y bryt ar eu dienydyaw. [MFL:53:24]
>
> warning PART **come-PRET-3SG to-3PL** them; and hear-VN the men and their thought on their destroy-VN
>
> *A warning **came to them**; and [they] heard the men and their decision to destroy them.*
>
> E chwedyl a doeth **at** Uendigeituran bot Matholwch yn adaw y llys, heb ouyn, heb ganhyat. [BFL:32:17]
>
> the news PART come-PRET-3SG **to** Bendigeidfran be-VN Matholwch PART leave-VN the court, beside ask-VN, beside permission
>
> *The news came **to** Bendigeidfran that Matholwch had left the court, without asking, without permission.*
>
> Ny warandawei dim o'r attep a aeth **y genhym** ni attaw ef. [BFL:41:23]
>
> NEG listen-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG anything of the answer REL go-PRET-3SG **from-with** 1PL us to-3SM him
>
> *He would not hear anything of the answer that went **from us** to him.*
>
> A dilyt **y gantaw** pa ford y gallei dyuot y angheu. [MFM:86:4]
>
> and follow-VN **from-with-3SM** what way PART be-able-IMPERF-3SG come-VN his death
>
> And pursue **from him** how his death could come.

Although the data is limited, we see a clear pattern that Speakers are marked as Sources using Y GAN, which specifies only that the source is human (consistent with a literal human speaker) but says nothing about the nature of the trajector, while Hearers are marked as Goals using AT, which specifies that both trajector and landmark are human (or at least animate), or I (which can occur with any combination of trajector and landmark). The prepositional characterization of Speech as animate in these examples is not at all surprising given the context of volitional motion. The underlying metaphor can be stated as follows.

- Speech is a Self-Propelled Entity
- Communication is Motion
- Speakers are Sources
- Hearers are Goals

The personification of speech as a human participant also occurs in another context when the Speech (identified by a genre label) "speaks" its content to the Hearer.

> A hynny a **dyweit** y kyuarwydyd hwnn. [BFL:47:25]
>
> and that PART **say-PRES-3SG** the story this
>
> *And that is what this tale **says**.*
>
> Rey a deweyt panyu e'r kenedel e dau er aryant a dywedassam ny uchot; e keureyth a **dyweyt** panyu e'r argluyd yd ant [LI:104]
>
> some PART say-PRES-3SG that to the kindred PART come-PRES-3SG the money REL say-PLUP-1PL we above; the law PART **say-PRES-3SG** that to the lord PART go-PRES-3PL
>
> Some say that the money we mentioned above comes to the kindred; the law **says** that they go to the lord

When the speech undergoes caused motion, and the Speaker and Hearer are co-located, either the agency of the Speaker or the agency of the Hearer in inducing communication may be profiled. When the Hearer's agency is profiled, we find the verbs of object-acquisition that were discussed in section

4.2.2.1.2.3.3: CYMRYD, CAFFAEL, and DYLU. The speaker is marked with Y GAN, which implies nothing beyond the animacy of the Speaker-Source and the mobility of the Speech.

> O hyn hyt ban del amgen, ny **cheffwch y genhyf** i attep. [BFL:41:16]
>
> from this length when come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG otherwise, NEG **get-PRES-2PL from-with 1SG** me answer
>
> *From now until when [something] different would come, you will not **get** an answer **from me**.*
>
> a **chymer** gedernit **y ganthaw** na bo ammouyn na dial uyth amdanaw, a digawn yw hynny o gosp arnaw. [PPD:17:22]
>
> and **take** IMPER-2SG confirmation **from-with-3SM** NEG be-PRES-SUBJ-3SG claim NEG vengeance ever about-3SM, and enough be-PRES-3SG that of penalty on-3SM
>
> *and **take** confirmation **from** him there will be no claim or vengeance ever about it, and that will be enough of a penalty on him.*
>
> Ef a **dely** kerd **e gan** e bard teylu pan vynho. [LI:6]
>
> he PART **ought-PRES-3SG** song **from-with** the bard household when wish-PRES-SUBJ-3SG
>
> *He is **entitled** to a song **from** the household bard when he wishes.*

In general, there is a correlation between the use of Y GAN with overt metaphoric motion of speech and GAN in the absence of metaphoric motion, representing SPEECH IS A POSSESSION OF THE SPEAKER (see section 4.2.2.2.2). CAFFAEL, however, seems equally comfortable with either marker and this alternation is also found with CAFFAEL in clearly spatial senses, so there is no need to treat the speech examples as involving anything other than the phonologically reduced form of souce-marking Y GAN.

> O hyn hyt ban del amgen, ny **cheffwch y genhyf** i attep. [BFL:41:16]
>
> from this length when come-PRES-SUBJ-3SG otherwise, NEG **get-PRES-2PL from-with 1SG** me answer
>
> *From now until when [something] different would come, you will not **get** an answer **from me**.*
>
> Ac attep ny **chauas** ef **genthi** hi yn hynny. [PPD:7:12]
>
> and answer NEG **get-PRET-3SG** he **with-3SF** her in that
>
> *But he didn't **get** an answer **from** her then.*

compare:

> A thra **geffit y gantaw**, nac eskit, na hossan, ni phrynit y gan ereill dim. [MFL:58:14]
>
> and beyond **get-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS from-with-3SM**, NEG shoe, NEG hose, NEG buy-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS from-with other anything
>
> *And while it could be **gotten from** him, neither shoe nor hose–nothing would be bought from anyone else.*
>
> Tra **geffit gantaw** ef, nac eskit, na hossan, ny phrynit dim gan gryd yn yr holl dref. [MFL:54:19]
>
> beyond **get-IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS with-3SM** him, NEG shoe, NEG hose, NEG buy IMPERF-SUBJ-IMPERS anything with shoemaker in the all town
>
> *While one could **get** it **from him**, neither shoe nor hose would be bought from [any] shoemaker in the whole town.*

More typically, the agency of the Speaker is profiled, and the Hearer is marked as a neutral goal, either with AT or I. The examples with AT tend to be ambiguous between whether the Speech or the Messenger is the trajector, but the second, in context, seems clearly to indicate the speech as trajector.

> Hitheu a anuones **at** Gronw, ac a erchis idaw bot yg kyscawt y brynn a elwir weithon Brynn Kyuergyr; yglan Auon Kynuael oed hynny. [MFM:87:14]
>
> she-EMPH PART send-PRET-3SG **to** Gronw, and PART ask-PRET-3SG to-3SM be-VN in shadow the hill REL call-PRES-IMPERS yet Bryn Cyfergyr
>
> *She sent **to** Gronw and asked of him [that he] be in the shadow of the hill that is still called Bryn Cyfergyr*
>
> A hynny a anuonet **at** Pryderi. [MFM:73:11]
>
> and that PART send-PRET-IMPERS to Pryderi
>
> *[Gwydion gives instructions to a messenger.] And that was sent **to** Pryderi.*

Marking the Hearer with I is somewhat more common here than for self-propelled motion, and in a caused motion scenario we are free to understand the Speech as a passively transferred object of irrelevant animacy.

> **I** Duw y dygaf uyng kyffes [PPD:7:27]
>
> **to** God PART bear-PRES-1SG my confession
>
> ***To*** *God I bring my confession*
>
> a minheu a af y hebrwng uy gwrogaeth **y** Gaswallawn uab Beli [MFL:50:27]
>
> and I-EMPH PART go-PRES-1SG to bring-VN my homage **to** Caswallon son Beli
>
> *and I will go to bring my homage **to** Caswallon son of Beli*

When the Speech involves a context of control or harm, the usual goal-markers may be overridden by AR. Note that in spatial uses AR may indicate either a static relationship or a goal, so the use of AR to mark Hearer-Patients in contexts of an overt caused-motion metaphor need not be interpreted as overriding the *motion* aspect, simply the default relationship of a moving trajector to a Hearer-Goal.

> na yrrwch geu **arnaf** [PPD:20:29]
>
> NEG drive-IMPER-2PL lie **on-1SG**
>
> *do not drive a lie **on me** [i.e. don't lie about me]*

Compare DWEUD WRTH and DODI AR in the following.

> a phy ymadrawd bynnac a **dywettei** yr vn onadunt **wrth** y gilyd trwy y corn, ny **dodei ar** yr vn onadunt namyn ymadrawd go atcas gwrthwyneb. [LL:72]
>
> and what speech ever PART **speak-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG** the one of-3PL **with** his fellow through the horn, NEG **put-IMPERF-3SG on** the one of 3PL except speech very hateful contrary
>
> *and whatever speech the one of them would **say to** the other through the horn, the one of them would not **put to** the other anything except very hateful, contrary speech.*

As we see above, ANFON is one verb used to indicate separation between the Speaker and Hearer and the implication of an intermediary. When an intermediary is explicit, the Speech is marked as an accompanying controlled object, using AC.

> E gwyr hynny a ymchwelwys **a'r atteb hwnnw** [BFL:33:10]
>
> the men that PART return-PRET-3SG **with the answer that**
>
> *Those men returned **with that answer***
>
> A dyuot o gennat Arthur a **nac genthi** o Iwerdon. [CO:1039]
>
> and come-VN of messenger Arthur with/ and **no with-3SF** from Ireland
>
> *And Arthur's messenger came with a **"no" with him** from Ireland.*

Another element of the spatial understanding of communication is the overt characterization of the Speech as tracing a path. This may be implied by the choice of verb, as in the unconventional use of DILYN "to pursue" to describe the (presumably verbal) means of eliciting information.

> A **dilyt y gantaw** pa ford y gallei dyuot y angheu. [MFM;86:4]
>
> and **follow-VN from-with-3SM** what way PART be-able-IMPERF-3SG come-VN his death
>
> *And **pursue from him** how his death could come.*

Another example uses a similarly novel metaphor, describing the use of a "speaking horn" through which the Speech passes in order to keep it from being overheard.[1]

> Ac yna y peris Lleuelis gwneuthur corn hir o euyd a **thrwy** y corn hwnnw ymdywedut, a phy ymadrawd bynnac a dywettei yr vn onadunt wrth y gilyd **trwy** y corn, ny dodei ar yr vn onadunt namyn ymadrawd go atcas gwrthwyneb. [LL:72]
>
> and then PART cause-PRET-3SG Llefelys make-VG horn long of bronze and **through** the horn that MUTUAL-speak-VN, and what speech ever PART speak-IMPERF-SUBJ-3SG the one of-3PL with his fellow **through** the horn, NEG put-IMPERF-3SG on the one of 3PL except speech very hateful contrary
>
> *And then Llefelys had made a long horn of bronze, and [they] spoke **through** that horn, and whatever speech the one of them would say*

[1]Both the purpose of the contrivance and the difficulties the characters have in getting it to work properly remind me absurdly of the "cone of silence" in the TV program "Get Smart"

*to the other **through** the horn, the one of them would not put to the other anything except very hateful, contrary speech.*

In summary, when speech is characterized overtly in terms of metaphoric motion, we find two general scenarios. Either the Speech is characterized as a human agent, moving from the Speaker (marked with Y GAN) to the Hearer (marked with AT), or the Speech is characterized as a passive transferred object (which may, occasionally, be marked as human) from the Speaker (marked with (Y) GAN) to the Hearer (marked with I or AT). An overt human messenger has the Speech as a carried object or possession (marked with AC or GAN), but more commonly, even when a messenger is overtly present in the scene, the speech is presented in terms of self-propelled motion.

4.2.2.2.3 Verbs of Speech and the Motivation Hierarchy

Now that we understand how speech is characterized in overt motion scenarios, we have a context for considering how it is treated with verbs of speaking (and hearing) when the Speaker and Hearer are understood to be co-located and communicating directly (or via an overt messenger).

Speakers are marked prepositionally when accompanying verbs of hearing (e.g. CLYBOD, GWRANDO, YMWARANDO), when the speech is indicated by a noun or a non-finite verb, or when mutual speech is profiled. Mutual speech is most typically indicated by a verb with mutual morphological marking (e.g. the prefixes YM-, CYD-, CYM-) where one participant occurs as the agent and the other is marked with AC, or where both occur as a plural agent (see section 4.2.1.1). Alternately, the verb may indicate a multi-agent event (e.g. agreement, using DUUNO, DYGYMOD) using the same types of marking.

A dechreu **ymdidan** a wnaeth ef **a**'r urenhines. [PPD:4:19]

and begin-VN **MUTUAL-converse-VN** PART do-PRET-3SG he **with/and** the queen

*And he **and** the queen began to **converse** [or: he began to **converse with** the queen].*

Ys glut a beth yd **ymdidanyssam ni**. [PPD 7:16]

be-PRES-REL-3SG continual of what PART **MUTUAL-converse-PRET-1PL we**

*Continually **we conversed**.*

"Myui a **duunaf a** thi, yn llawen," heb ef, "am hynny." [PPD:23:13]

I-EMPH PART **agree-PRES-1SG with/and you-SG** PART happy, say-PRET-3SG he, about that

*"I will **agree with you** gladly," he said, "about that."*

ac yuelly y buant yny dygywys yw kytdrefwyr racdunt, ac yny duunyssant **ar** geissaw eu llad. [MFL:53:22]

and thus PART be-PRET-3PL until grow-angry-PRET-3SG to-their fellow townsmen before-3PL, and until agree-PRET-3PL **on** seek-VN them kill-VN

*and so they were until their fellow townsmen grew angry against them, and until they agreed **on** seeking [to] kill them.*

(The preceding indicate mutual hearers as well as mutual speakers, of course.)

The primary context in which speech is indicated by a non-finite verb concerns the agent of a verbal noun, marked with O following the standard grammatical motivation (see section 3.5.1.1). O is also found marking a Speaker when the Speech is indicated by a quote but no verb is present.

Henpych gwell, Yspadaden Penkawr, **o** Duw ac **o** dyn. [CO:513]

hail, Ysbaddaden Pencawr, **from** God and **from** man

*Hail, Ysbaddaden Pencawr, **from** God and **from** man.*

As noted above in section 4.2.2.2.2, verbs of hearing appear to mark the Speech as an attribute of the Speaker, using AR. The exception derives from a morphological override with the verb YMWARANDO, which marks the Speaker with AC even when the event is clearly not mutual.

"Mi a debygaf na **werendeweist** eiryoet **ar** ymdidanwreic well no hi. [MFL:50:7]

I PART suppose-PRES-1SG NEG **listen-PRET-2S**G ever **on** conversation-woman better than she

*I suppose that you have never **listened to** a better conversationalist than her.*

ac o ben yr orssed edrych a wnaethant, ac **ymwarandaw a**'r cwn. [MFL:55:23]

and from head the mound look-VN PART do-PRET-3PL and **MUTUAL-listen-VN with/and** the dogs

and from the top of the mound they looked and ***listened for*** *the dogs.*

Much more typically, a Speaker is prepositionally marked when an intermediary is present and the original Speaker is being identified, or when the Speech is indicated by a noun rather than a verb. Here the Speaker is marked with (Y) GAN, indicating a human Source (or possibly, in the case of GAN, as a Possessor).

llyma gennadeu Matholwch yn dyuot attaw ef, ac yn kyuarch guell idaw, ac yn y annerch **y gan** Uatholwch y gyuathrachwr [BFL:41:5]

behold messengers Matholwch PART come-VN to-3SM him and PART greet well to-3SM, and PART him greet **from-with** Matholwch his kinsman

behold, Matholwch's messengers came to him, and saluted him and greeted him ***from*** *Matholwch his kinsman*

a diollwch **gan** Pwyll am ueithryn y mab a'e eturyt idaw [PPD:24:28]

and thanks **with** Pwyll about raising the boy and him restore to-3SM

and thanks ***from*** *Pwyll for raising the boy and restoring him to him*

Verbs of speaking are by far more common than verbs of hearing, and may indicate a wide variety of types and contexts of speech. A brief survey of these will be a useful introduction. (Verbs for which Hearers are overt and marked prepositionally are in boldface.) Numerically the most common are verbs that are neutral and unmarked with respect to the particular genre or context of speech. The five most common verbs of speech represent the major functions: DWEUD (quoted speech), GOFYN (requests for information), ERCHI (requests for objects or actions), CYFARCH (greetings), and MENEGI (non-quoted speech).

Primarily quotative:

AMCAWDD "to say"
DWEUD "to say"
HEB "to say"

General conversation:

DATGANU "to recite"
LLAFARU "to say"
MENEGI "to tell"
TRAETHU "to discuss"
YMDDWEUD "to talk"

Mutual conversation:

CYFRWCH "to talk"
YMADRODD "speech" (as a noun)
YMDDIDDAN "to converse"

Requests for information or objects:

EINGIAU "to ask (for more), complain"
ERCHI "to ask"
GOFYN "to ask"
HOLI "to ask"
YMOFYN "to ask (for)"

Requests for action:

ASWYNO "to beseech"
CEISIO "to ask, seek"
GALW "to call (on)"
NODI "to specify"
UNO "to wish (for)"
YMADOLWYN "to beseech"
YMOBRAU "to bargain"

Requests (content unspecified):

YMBILIO "to entreat"
GWEDDIO "to pray (to)"

Summons (request for movement):

DYFYNNU "to summon"
GWYSIO "to summon"
Command (for action):
ADOLYGU "to command"
GORCHYMYN "to command"

Responses:

ATEB "to answer"
GWARAFUN "to refuse, begrudge"
GWRTHEBU "to answer (negatively), object"
GWRTHOD "to refuse"
NACAU "to refuse"

Greetings:

ANNERCH "to greet"
CROESO "to welcome"
CYFARCH "to greet"
GLASRESAWU "to welcome coldly"

Complaints:

CWYNO "to complain"
CABLU "to complain"
LLIWO "to reproach"
DRYGYFERTHU "to lament"
DIASBAD "to shout, cry out"

Negative socio-legal speech:

ADDEF "to confess"
AMAU "to deny, dispute"
EIRYCHU "to charge, impute"
ENLLIBIO "to slander"
GWADU "to deny"
GWRTHTYNGU "to counterswear, swear against"
TAERU "to insist, maintain"

Positive or neutral socio-legal speech:

ADDO "to promise"
CREIRHAU "to swear by relics"
DAMDWNG "to swear, testify"
DIOLWCH "to thank"
DUUNO "to agree"
DYGYMOD "to agree (with), put up with"
GWRHAU "to swear homage"
MOLI "to praise"
TYNGU "to swear"
TYSTIO "to testify"
YMADDO "to (mutually) promise"

Misc. specialized speech types:

CYNGHORI "to advise"
YMGYNGHORI "to consult, take counsel"
CANU "to sing"
DIARHEBU "to make into a proverb, speak a proverb"
DYSGU "to teach"
ENWI "to name, call by name"
MEINHOLI "to specify, indicate an amount"
RHIFO "to enumerate"
TEWI "to be silent"
YSGRIFENNU "to write"

In analyzing speech scenarios, I initially coded my data according to five types of content (illustrated below primarily by DWEUD, the only verb found with all five):

Quoted speech: i.e. an exact rendering of what the Speaker said.

> Dywawt Kulhwch **vrthi**, "Ha uorwyn, ti a gereis. [CO:500]
>
> say-PRET-3SG Culhwch **with-3SF**, o maiden you-SG PART love-PRET-1SG
>
> *Culhwch said **to her,** "O maiden, I have loved you."*

Indirect speech: i.e. the words of the Speaker described by a second party.

> Ac yna y dywedassant 6ynteu **6rth** yr amhera6dyr nat oed weithret y neb y gaffel y gaer nac y-6 rodi ida6 ynteu namyn y wyr ynys prydein. [BM:190:22]
>
> and then PART say-PRET-3PL they **with** the emperor NEG be-IMPERF-3SG deed to anyone to get-VN the castle NEG to it give-VN to-3SM him-EMPH except the men island Britain
>
> *And then they said **to** the emperor it was not a deed for anyone to get the castle or to give it to him except for the men of the Island of Britain.*

Genre label: i.e. the general purpose or context of the Speech, indicated by a label, but not the specific words.

> Mi a dywedaf peth atteb **iwch**. [CO:519]
>
> I PART say-PRES-1SG thing answer **to-2PL**
>
> *I will tell something of an answer **to you.***

Content of request: i.e. when the speech is used to request or demand some performance from the Hearer, the nature of that request may be used to represent the Speech.

> A phan y gordiwedawd erchi nawd a orugant **idaw**. [BR:4:19]
>
> and when PART overtake-PRET-3SG ask-VN protection PART do-PRET-3PL **to-3SM**
>
> *And when he overtook [them], they asked protection **of him.***

None: i.e. there is no overt reference to the role of Speech.

> "Pa achaws," heb ynteu, "na dywedy di **wrthyf** i?" [PPD:7:13]
>
> what cause, say-PRET-3SG he, NEG speak-PRES-2SG you-SG **with-1SG** me
>
> *"Why," he said, "won't you speak **to me**?"*

In addition, I kept track of whether the speech created a social or legal obligation on the hearer, or could be understood metaphorically as a hostile or damaging act.

> A phwy bynnac a dywot geu **arnat**, cam a wnaeth. [PPD:26:3]
>
> and who ever REL say-PRED-3SG lie **on-2SG**, wrong PART do-PRET-3SG
>
> *And whoever said a lie **against you** did wrong.*

What fell out on analysis was that only the categories of quoted speech and hostile/controlling speech affect preposition choice, as well as the choice being

influenced by morphological and lexical motivations.

Just as Speakers may be marked with grammatically motivated O when verbs of speech occur as verbal nouns, so Hearers may be grammatically marked with O when verbs of hearing occur as verbal nouns, and this overrides all other competing considerations.

> Clybot **oheni** hitheu eu trwst yn dyuot. [CO:459]
>
> hear-VN **of-3SF** her-EMPH their noise PART come-VN
>
> *Hearing **of her** [i.e. she heard] their noise coming.*

As discussed above, in situations of mutual speech (whether morphologically marked or not) or with verbs that have a morphological mutual prefix (even when used in a non-mutual scenario), the first participant occurs as the agent and the second is marked with AC. This overrides marking motivated by the broad semantics of control/hostility. (There are, unfortunately, no examples of this group with quoted speech, so the relative strength of these motivations cannot be tested.)

> A chyt archo ef y ti rodi yr eil, na dyro, yr a ymbilio **a** thi. [PPD:3:19]
>
> and though ask-PRES-SUBJ-3SG he to-3SM give-VN the second, NEG give-IMPER-2SG, for PART MUTUAL-beg-VN **with/and** you-SG
>
> *And though he would ask of you [to] give the second [blow], do not give [it], though he beg **of** you.*

The broad semantic association of AR with hostile speech is very strong. In particular, note its use with DWEUD (which otherwise has a strong lexical preference for WRTH as discussed below).

> A phwy bynnac a dywot geu **arnat**, cam a wnaeth. [PPD:26:3]
>
> and who ever REL say-PRED-3SG lie **on-2SG**, wrong PART do-PRET-3SG
>
> *And whoever said a lie **against you** did wrong.*

There are very rare exceptions to this use of AR.

> A hynny y urodyr maeth, a'r gwyr nessaf gantaw, yn lliwaw **idaw** hynny, a heb y gelu. [BFL:37:22]
>
> and that his brothers foster, and the men nearest with-3SM PART reproach-VN **to-3SM** that, and beside it conceal-VN
>
> *Then his foster brothers and the men nearest to him reproached **him** [with] that, and without concealing it.*

AR is also a common option, but a less obligatory one, in scenes of verbal control and influence.

> Galw a oruc Arthur **ar** Uedwyr [CO:393]
>
> call-VN PART do-PRET-3SG Arthur **on** Bedwyr
>
> *Arthur called **on** Bedwyr*

but compare

> Pwyll ynteu Penn Annwn a doeth y'r berllan ar y ganuet marchawc, ual y gorchymynnassei Riannon **idaw**, a'r got ganthaw. [PPD:16:3]
>
> Pwyll he-EMPH Pen Annwn PART come-PRET-3SG to the orchard on the hundredth knight, as PART command-PLUP-3SG Rhiannon **to-3SM** and the bag with-3SM
>
> *He, Pwyll Pen Annwn, came to the orchard as the hundredth knight, as Rhiannon had commanded **to him** [i.e. commanded him], and the bag with him.*

Note that there is a relatively systematic difference in the framing of requests/demands between Medieval Welsh and English. In English, verbs of requesting/demanding typically profile the motion (spatial or metaphorical) of the requested/demanded object, thus focusing on the hearer as a source of the object's motion. In Medieval Welsh, verbs in this group typically profile the speech interaction, focusing on the hearer as a Hearer of Speech, and so either as a "goal" of the speech or a patient of verbal control.

When none of the above contexts are present, the major influence on preposition choice is the presence of quoted speech or the verbs strongly associated with quoted speech. Only five verbs occur in combination with quoted speech: HEB, AMCAWDD, DWEUD, GOFYN, and TYNGU. The first two appear only in this context (HEB is a defective verb found only in speech tags). DWEUD is the most common and least marked verb of speech and occurs in the broadest variety of contexts but is strongly associated with quoted speech (roughly 40% of its occurrences). GOFYN is the most common verb of questioning and is similarly broad in distribution across types of speech while TYNGU is restricted to formal oaths (either in a legal or magical context). The distribution of hearer markers for these verbs (all markers in all contexts) is shown in the following table.

Table 13: Hearer-marking for Verbs Found with Quoted Speech

verb	type of speech	WRTH	I	AR
DWEUD "say"	quoted	32	1	
	indirect	3	14	3
	label	8	11	1
	content			4
	(not overt)	8	1	
HEB "say"	quoted	13		
AMCAWD"say"	quoted	6		
GOFYN "ask"	quoted	1	7	
	indirect		22	
	label		22	
	content		7	
TYNGU "swear"	quoted		4	
	indirect		8	
	label		4	

Y gwyr a **dywawt wrth** Arthur, "Arglwyd, dos di adref." [CO:839]

the men PART **say-PRET-3SG with** Arthur, lord, go-IMPER-2SG you-SG home

*The men **said to** Arthur, "Lord, go home."*

Heb y Bedwyr yna **wrth** Gei, "A'e hatwaenost di ef?" [CO:961]

say-PRET-3SG Bedwyr then **with** Cei, INTERROGATIVE recognize-PRES-2SG you-SG him

*Bedwyr **said to** Cei, "Do you recognize him?"*

Amkeudant wrthaw, "Pan doy ti, wr?" [CO:762]

say-PRET-3PL with-3SM, when come-PRES-2SG you-SG man

*They **said to him**, "[From] where come you, man?"*

a **gofyn** a oruc **wrthaw**, "A glyweist ti y wrthi hi yma?" [CO:932]

and **ask-VN** PART do-PRET-3SG **with-3SM**, INTERROGATIVE hear-PRET-2SG you-SG from-with-3SF her here?

*and [he] **asked of him**, "Have you heard of her here?"*

but compare the more usual

ena mae yaun e'r egnat **gouyn e'**r mach, "A vyt uach ty?". [LI:58]

then be-PRES-3SG right to the judge **ask-VN to** the surety, "INTERROGATIVE be-PRES-2SG surety you-SG"

*Then it is appropriate for the judge to **ask of** the surety, "Are you a surety?"*

ac euelly **tegu y** Duu en e blaen ac **e**'r allaur honno ac **e**'r kreyryeu da esyd arney ac **y** uedyd y mab [LI:100]

and thus **swear-VN to** God in the front and **to** the altar that and **to** the relics good be PRES-REL-3SG on-3SF and **to** baptism the boy

*And so [she] **swears to** God first and **to** that altar and **to** the good relics [that] are on it and **to** the boy's baptism*

What we see is that the verbs of neutral quoted speech have a strong preference for marking Hearers with WRTH in this context while verbs with more specific semantics lack this preference (although it is at least an option). DWEUD shows almost universal use of WRTH in the presence of quoted speech, and it remains a common option in other contexts–a fact that is not as striking until you know that, outside the context of quoted speech, WRTH occurs to mark Hearers in extremely restricted situations. It is found with only seven verbs of speech: the four discussed above, CROESO (where it is more likely motivated by the use of WRTH to mark the patient of expressed emotion–see section 3.6.3), and one example each (and the only examples) of CWYNO and ADDEF, both with the Speech indicated indirectly (as compared to roughly 240 examples of I marking Hearers). This is shown in the following table and examples.

Table 14: Hearer-marking for Verbs Found with WRTH

verb	type of speech	WRTH	I	AR
HEB "say"	quote	13		
AMCAWDD "say"	quote	6		
DWEUD "say"	quote	32	1	
	indirect	3	14	3
	label	8	11	1
	content			4
	(not overt)	8	1	
CWYNO "complain"	indirect	1		
ADDEF "confess"	indirect	1		
CROESO "welcome"	(not overt)	7		
GOFYN "ask"	quote	1	7	
	indirect		22	
	label		22	
	content		7	

"**Crassaw wrthyt** y gennyf i," heb ef. [PPD:12:15]

welcome-VN with-2SG from-with me, say-PRET-3SG he

***Welcome to you** from me, he said.*

Pan **adeuo** mach **urth** er egnat e uot en uach, yaun yu e'r haulur testu e adef ohonau, rac kylyau ohonau eylweyth. [LI:60]

when **admit-PRES-SUBJ-3SG** surety **with** the judge him be-VN PART surety, right be PRES-3SG to the claimant testify-VN PART admit-VN of-3SM, before retreat-VN from 3SM second-time

*When a surety **admits to** the judge [that] he is a surety, it is right for the claimaint to testify [that] he admitted [it], lest he withdraw again.*

ac e hun **cwynaw wrth** hynny, bot y poen a oed ar y chwaer. [BFL:38:21]

and he himself **complain-VN with** those, be-VN the punishment REL be-IMPERF-3SG on his sister

and he himself **complained to** them [that there should] be the punishment that was on his sister.

Thus we see that the connection between Hearers marked with WRTH and the use of quoted speech is two-way: the presence of quoted speech strongly motivates the use of WRTH (even with verbs like GOFYN which otherwise avoid it), and WRTH is extremely uncommon to mark Hearers outside contexts of quoted speech (except for its apparently lexical association with DWEUD).

Other than the situations discussed above, the default marker for Hearers is I, found across all types of speech representation and across all genres of speaking as seen in the following examples.

Ac yna **menegi** y holl gyfranc a wnaeth **idi**. [PPD:7:26]

and then **tell-VN** the whole tale PART do-PRET-3SG **to-3SF**

*And then he **told** the whole tale **to her.***

"Ie," heb y Pryderi, "nit **archaf** inheu **y** neb gouyn uy iawn namyn my hun." [MFM;73:11]

well, say-PRET-3SG Pryderi, NEG **ask-PRES-1SG** I-EMPH **to** anyone ask-VN my right except myself

*"Well," said Pryderi, "I will not **ask of** anyone [to] seek my rights except myself."*

Ef a'e **kyfarchwys y minheu** gynneu. [BR:12:19]

he PART it **greet-PRET-3SG to-1SG-EMPH** earlier

*He **greeted me** earlier.*

Adaw a oruc ynteu hynny **idi**. [CO:20]

promise-VN PART do-PRET-3SG he-EMPH that **to-3SF**

*He **promised** that **to her**.*

O deruyd e'r urenhynes mennu kerd, aet e bard teylu e **canu ydy** en dyuessur, a henny en araf, mal nat aulonedo e neuad ganthav. [LI:13]

if happen-PRES-3SG to the queen wish-VN song, go-IMPER-3SG the bard household to **sing-VN to-3SF** PART un-measured, and that PART slow like NEG disturb-PRES-SUBJ-3SG the hall with-3SM

*If it happens to the queen [that she] wishes a song, let the household bard go to **sing to her** unrestrictedly, and that slowly so that the hall is not disturbed by him.*

In summary, verbs of speech follow a hierarchy for marking Hearers roughly similar to that seen for the extended senses of motion verbs:

- Grammatical Motivation (e.g. verbal-noun of hearing verbs + O)
- Morphological and Structural Motivation (e.g. YM-prefixed verbs + AC)
- *Ad hoc* Metaphoric Motivation (e.g. Speech as a self-propelled entity + AT)
- Broad Semantic Motivation (e.g. hostile speech + AR)
- Lexical Motivation (e.g. DWEUD + WRTH)
- Narrow Semantic Motivation (e.g. quoted speech + WRTH)
- Broad Metaphoric Motivation (e.g. Hearers are Goals, using I)

The two hierarchies (for metaphoric motion and speech) differ only in switching the positions of "Broad Semantic" and "Lexical" and of "Narrow Semantic" and "Broad Metaphoric". In the motion hierarchy, I placed "Structural" above "Grammatical" due to the appearance of RHWNG for certain otherwise grammatically motivated roles. That may also be true in the current context, but there were no examples that could fall in both categories. Similar

explorations of other semantic fields could further refine our understanding of the hierarchy, however it is likely that only in extremely common semantic fields will statistical patterns be clear between motivations that are trends rather than rules.

Before considering the metaphoric implications of this data, we need to examine another speech-related context: that of the Topic of speech, especially of verbal information (news, stories, etc.). By far the most common marker for Topics in the speech frame, as in other semantic frames, is AM (see sections 3.3.2.1.1.6-9). When a partative formula presents the Topic, such as "anything about <topic>" then the partative marker O occurs instead (see section 3.3.1.1). RHAG may be found rarely with negative Topics, motivated by the broad semantics of the context (see section 4.2.1.4) and AR may be found in legal contexts when the Speaker has legal responsibility for the Topic (following the narrow semantic motivations discussed in section 3.6.1). But one Topic-marker is restricted not only to speech contexts, but to circumstances where the Topic is animate (and prototypically human). The best illustration of this contrast is seen in the following example where a human Topic marked with Y WRTH is contrasted with an abstract Topic marked with AM.

> E mysc hynny wynt a glywssont chwedlydyaeth **y wrth** Riannon ac **am** y phoen. [PPD:24:9]
>
> in mixture that they PART hear-PRET-3PL news **from-with** Rhiannon and **about** her punishment
>
> *Among that, they heard the news **about** Rhiannon and **about** her punishment.*

This marking seems particularly associated with metaphoric motion of the Speech, but note that the metaphoric Source is not implied to be a Speaker of the information, although the animacy of the Topic makes that interpretation potentially available. In fact, on reviewing our metaphoric motion scenarios, it is interesting that Y WRTH is never found marking Speakers.

> "Arglwyd," heb y Guydyon, "ny orffwyssaf uyth, yny gaffwyf chwedleu **y wrth** uy nei." [MFM;88:18]
>
> lord, say-PRET-3SG Gwydion, NEG rest-PRES-1SG ever, until get-PRES-SUBJ-1SG **from-with** my nephew
>
> *"Lord," said Gwydion, "I will not rest until I get news **of** my newphew."*
>
> mi a af y'r gaer, y geissaw chwedleu **y wrth** y cwn. [MFL:55:28]
>
> I PART go-PRES-1SG to the castle to seek-VN news **from-with** the dogs
>
> *I will go to the castle to seek news **of** the dogs.*

(When the Topic is a non-human animal, one can still assume that a vocalization would constitute " verbal information/news" in a general sense.)

As discussed in section 2.3.1.4.5, the spatial senses of WRTH focus on co-location and especially contact or attachment, but in extended senses there is a general theme of directed or focused attention, a sense suggested by its etymological origin in a root meaning "turn". This suggests a motivation for the use of WRTH to mark Hearers in a focus on the interactive attention directed by interlocutors at each other. That is, the use of WRTH for Hearers is not metaphoric but simply strongly profiles the prototypical spatial context in which speech takes place: two humans in close proximity, facing each other, and giving attention to each other. (Williams (1956) notes the similar use of cognates of WRTH throughout Insular Celtic, although his analysis does not address the question of quoted versus non-quoted speech. He also points out a peculiar usage in Gaulish Latin that he suggests may be a calque of a parallel Gaulish construction: the use of *loqui apud* "speak near" rather than the more usual *loqui cum* "speak with".)

From this, we would expect Y WRTH, in a speech context, to mark one interlocutor as the source of motion for the other interlocutor. As we have seen, when the Speech itself is characterized as a human trajector, moving volitionally from the Speaker to the Hearer, the use of Y WRTH to mark the Speaker is not a part of this characterization. If the two uses of (Y) WRTH are part of the same general metaphor (which is not a certain assumption) we may be seeing a distinction between the profiling of the Speech-trajector as a *moving* entity and as a *speaking* entity. When the actual words of the Speaker are transmitted to the Hearer, the Speech may move, but it appears not to speak; when instead the *information* provided by the Speaker-Topic is what is being communicated, the Speech is profiled as a speaking entity, moving from conversation with the Speaker-Topic to conversation with the Hearer. Compare with the occasional examples in which a text is framed as speaking its own contents to the Hearer.

> A hynny a **dyweit** y kyuarwydyd hwnn. [BFL:47:25]
>
> and that PART **say-PRES-3SG** the tale this
>
> *And that is what this tale **says**.*

Rey a deweyt panyu e'r kenedel e dau er aryant a dywedassam ny uchot; e keureyth a **dyweyt** panyu e'r argluyd yd ant [LI:104]

some PART say-PRES-3SG that to the kindred PART come-PRES-3SG the money REL say-PLUP-1PL we above; the law PART **say-PRES-3SG** that to the lord PART go-PRES 3PL

*Some say that the money we mentioned above comes to the kindred; the law **says** that they go to the lord*

In this context, also compare the use of Y WRTH to mark the lexical source of a name (see section 3.6.4) and WRTH to mark the evidentiary basis (reason) for an event when that basis is a speech act (e.g. LLW "oath", see section 3.4.1.3).

4.2.2.2.4 Metaphors of Speech in Medieval Welsh and the Conduit Metaphor

Recall that the metaphors for speech analyzed in English as part of the Conduit Metaphor are (in its expanded version):

- Ideas/Meanings are Objects
- Linguistic Expressions are Containers
- Information is Contents
  - expanded to:
    - Information is an Attribute
    - Attributes are Contents
- Attributes are Possessions
- Knowledge is Physical Contents of the Head
- Achieving a Purpose is Acquiring a Desired Object
- Communication is Sending or Exchanging Objects

When we look at the Medieval Welsh data, we find only marginal support for Ideas/Meanings are Objects and Information is Contents, and that only for written texts. However we do find Meaning/Information is an Attribute and Attributes are Possessions (as well as Attributes are Surface Features as indicated by the use of AR, which has no correspondence in English). Once we acount for linguistic differences between how Welsh and English treat attributes, the apparent conflicts resolve to the absence of Attributes are Contents in a speech context in Welsh (and, indeed, it is rare generally in Welsh).

Looking at the frame of communication, linguistic expressions in Welsh may not be *containers*, but they are objects, and we do find plentiful support for Communication is Sending or Exchanging Objects, as well as the personified:

- Linguistic Expressions are Self-Propelled Entities
- Communication is Motion
- Speakers are Sources
- Hearers are Goals

And further, we have the speaking version of this:

- Verbal Information is a Speaking Self-Propelled Entity
- The (Animate) Topic of Information is an Interlocutor-Source
- The Recipient of Information is an Interlocutor-Goal

When an overt messenger is present, we also see Messages are Possessions of the Messenger, which is metaphoric only when we are assuming an oral rather than a written message (as appears to be the default in these texts). When the focus is on the Hearer's observation of Speech as a sensory experience, we also find Speech is a Perceivable Attribute of the Speaker.

Above, we noted that Medieval Welsh does not use a metaphor Knowledge is Contents of the Head in the context of hearing speech–that is, Hearers are never marked as a container-goal–however we have seen a similar metaphor for non-verbal thinking.

A threigylgweith yd oed yn Arberth, prif lys idaw, a dyuot **yn** y uryt ac **yn** y uedwl uynet y hela. [PPD:1:2]

and turn-time PART be-IMPERF-3SG in Arberth chief court to-3SM and come-VN **in** his mind and **in** his thought go-VN to hunt-VN

*And one day he was in Arberth, a chief court of his, and [it] came **into** his mind and **into** his thoughts [to] go to hunt.*

Further, we see an *ad hoc* metaphor Thinking is Speaking Inside the Head, but here Speech is the source domain, not the target domain, and the interiority most likely derives from the latter.

y dywot **yn** y uedwl, "Oy a Duw," [BFL:44:12]

PART say-PAST-3SG **in** his thought, alas PART God

*he said **in** his thoughts, "Alas God!"*

"Y Duw y dygaf uyg kyffes," heb ynteu **yn** y uedwl [BFL:43:21]

to God PART bear-PRES-1SG my confession, say-PRET-3SG he-EMPH **in** his thought

*"To God I bring my confession," he said **in** his*

thoughts

While similar metaphoric treatments of speech are present in English and Medieval Welsh, the emphases are different. Welsh has a focus on the orientation of the speaker and hearer which English largely disprefers, and the treatment of speech as a human participant is a creative option in English but not the highly conventionalized one seen in Welsh. The treatment of speech as a transferred object is common in both and highly conventionalized in English with an additional option of treating speakers and hearers as potential containers of speech. Similarly, while both languages treat the meaning of speech as an attribute of an object, the language used for this is drawn from different domains of concrete experience due to different metaphoric approaches to the nature of attributes. That is, while English prefers to treat attributes as internal contents of an object, Medieval Welsh normally treats them as an external property of to the object.

The differences between English and Medieval Welsh in the language about speech lie not so much in a different repertoire of metaphors for speech, *per se*, but in different emphases within that repertoire, and differences in auxilliary metaphors (such as those concerning the nature of attributes) that are not directly related to speech.

Thus the collection of metaphors known as the CONDUIT METAPHOR, which plays a major part in the metaphoric treatment of speech in English, fails to appear as a major force in the Medieval Welsh treatment of speech because certain aspects are absent (e.g. attributes as contents) and others are de-emphasized. This suggests that the CONDUIT METAPHOR may not be a particularly universal approach to the treatment of speech, but may instead arise secondarily out of the simpler component metaphors that English chooses to emphasize. These results are in line with Grady's proposal that, in many cases, what appear to be complex metaphor systems may instead be motivated by the conjunction of one or more relatively simple "primitive" metaphors. Put together, the English and Medieval Welsh data support as universal metaphors SPEECH IS AN OBJECT (which may be posessed or transferred) and MEANING IS AN ATTRIBUTE, but do not support the entire CONDUIT METAPHOR complex as universal.

4.2.2.2.5 A Poetic Example: The Love-messenger

Although poetry has been excluded from my systematic data for both practical and theoretical reasons, there is a fascinating poetic convention that plays with many of the metaphoric images discussed above. The metaphor SPEECH IS A SELF-PROPELLED, SPEAKING (I.E. HUMAN) ENTITY, combined with the lack of container images, produces the interesting image of language-production as the appearance of a human (or at least verbal) entity in the near vicinity of the speaker who travels to the intended hearer and repeats the speech. This very image appears in the elaborate poetic convention of the *llatai* or "love-messenger", as particularly prominent in the works of the 14th century writer Dafydd ap Gwilym (see e.g. Bromwich 1982).

The poems using this motif follow a fairly standard formula in which the poet–speaking in first person in the poem–addresses the messenger (often with elaborate description and praise), and requests that the messenger convey and speak his sentiments to the object of his affections. In some poems, the *llatai* is described as an actual human agent (including one parody of the convention in which the *llatai* is accused of trying to steal the girl). More often, the messenger is presented as an animal or even inanimate entity, such as the wind or a star–one that cannot literally bear a message. But within the context of the poem, it is taken for granted that the *llatai* will be able to serve as messenger. And, just as the Topic of verbal information is characterized prepositionally as an interlocutor with the Information-trajector, the *llatai* participates in a conversation with the poet and so receives the information and requests that it is meant to convey.

In the poem, the *llatai* is to convey the poet's sentiments, but in actuality, if the sentiments are conveyed at all, it is the poem itself that does so when read or recited. This parallels the examples discussed above where a text is characterized as speaking its own contents. The *llatai* motif emerges as a blending of a scenario with an actual human messenger, and the scenario in which the poet composes a poem and an audience receives it. The correspondences are shown in table 15.

In the messenger script, the source speaks the content of the message to the messenger; the messenger now knows the content and travels to the intended hearer; the messenger speaks the content to the hearer; now the hearer knows the content. In the real world, the poet expresses the content in a poem; the content is now associated with the poem; the poem is heard or read by the poet's beloved; and thus the poet's beloved achieves knowledge of the content. However within the structure of the poem itself, we find the blending of these two in the *llatai* script: the poet speaks the content to the *llatai*; the *llatai* travels to the poet's beloved and repeats the content of the message; and so the poet's beloved achieves knowledge of the content. Thus the actual poem (the "speech")

is mapped onto the *llatai* (the animate messenger speaking its own content) or, in a reversal of the old adage, the message is the messenger.

Table 15: Correspondences in the **Llatai** *Scenario*

	'Real World'	*Llatai* script	Messenger script
roles			
	poet	poet	original speaker of message
	poem	*llatai*	messenger
	poet's beloved	poet's beloved	intended hearer of message
actions			
	poet expresses meaning in poem	poet speaks message to *llatai*	speaker speaks message to messenger
	poem has meaning	*llatai* knows message	messenger knows message
	poet's beloved hears/reads poem	*llatai* speaks message	messenger speaks to hearer
	poet's beloved knows meaning	poet's beloved knows meaning	hearer knows message

Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

While it's fairly easy to find books talking about historic embroidery techniques, it's much harder to find anything about ordinary structural sewing in the middle ages and earlier. My research into surviving historic garments has led me to collect and read a lot of material on textile archaeology in general, and this is one of the rare places where structural sewing is commonly discussed. As for many of my articles, I put this together after finding myself answering a lot of individual questions on the topic. The first incarnation was a collegium class in the Spring of 2001, where I came prepared for a dozen students and ended up having to send out for another dozen handouts. I think it's been the most-requested electronic article that I've put together. The article is still quite fragmentary – more of a collection of what information I had lying around than a systematic approach to what historic costumers might need or want to know.

Archaeological Sewing

Information about sewing stitches (as opposed to embroidery stitches) can be difficult to come by — it only tends to get covered in technical articles on archaeological textiles. This article is a rough survey of the sorts of stitches found in surviving material, and the purposes they are used for. It will not be exhaustive, but simply representative with examples chosen to illustrate general patterns, rather than to exhaustively document all the times and places each particular stitch is found. Although a great variety of specific combinations and applications are presented, they derive from a relatively small number of basic stitches and sewing strategies. I haven't confined myself to medieval material here, because the continuity through time of certain approaches is interesting. My earliest examples are from Bronze Age Denmark; there is a group from early Iron Age finds at Hallstadt; some interesting early linen examples come from Pharaonic Egypt; the woolen examples continue with sub-Roman finds from Germany and Denmark; and the largest variety of fabrics and techniques comes from the Middle Ages proper. I've labelled these respectively as: Bronze, Hallstadt, Egypt, sub-Roman, and Medieval.

There are two general parameters that affect the choice of stitch or seam type: the type of fabric, and the purpose of the seam. Linen and silk are more prone to ravelling than wool, and this needs to be dealt with in the seam. The two main purposes for seams are to join two fabric edges into a single plane, and to finish a raw edge. Other minor purposes may be to fasten two pieces of fabric laid on top of each other (i.e., quilting), to gather a long piece of fabric to attach it to a shorter piece, to create or reinforce small openings (eyelets and buttonholes).

RST = right sides together; WST = wrong sides together although this refers mostly to the outer and inner sides of the finished garment, since most of these fabrics are structurally identical on both sides.

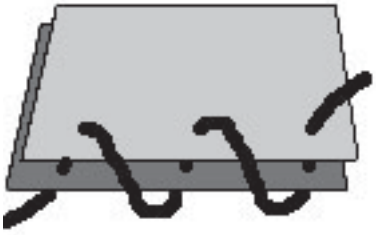
Major stitch types

Running stitch (Fig. 1)

A running stitch is done through one or more layers of fabric (but normally two or more), with the needle going down and up, down and up, in an essentially straight line. It is pretty much the only stitch where

several stitches can be taken at a time on the needle before drawing the thread through. The thread forms a dashed line. The running stitch has very little elasticity and may break if used on stretchy fabrics or on the bias.

Overcast stitch (Fig. 2)



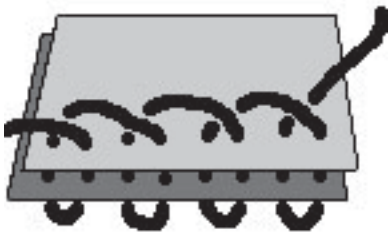
The standard overcast stitch is done through the edge of one or more layers of fabric. The needle goes through the fabric from one side and then is brought around the edge to go through the fabric again from the same side. The thread forms a spiral, going around the cut edge.

Hem stitch (Fig. 3)

The hem stitch is used to tack an edge (either folded or not) down to a flat fabric the name comes from its use in finishing folded hems. The edge is held down flat against the main fabric and the needle is passed down through the main fabric alone, then up through all the layers, then this is repeated. The thread forms a series of diagonals crossing the line of the edge. This stitch is somewhat elastic, due to the zig-zag path of the thread. The overcast and hem stitches are very similar in structure.

Less Common Stitch Types

Back stitch (Fig. 4)

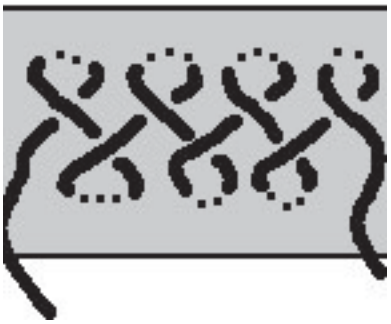


The back stitch tends to be used for seams when a significant amount of elasticity is needed, such as with seams on the bias. The stitch is done similarly to a running stitch, but each stitch backtracks when it comes back up through the fabric, resulting in a looping thread track. On the working side of the fabric, the thread appears in a series of overlapping lines; on the back side, it appears to be a running stitch.

Blanket stitch (Fig. 5)

The primary use of the blanket stitch is to finish edges, especially cut edges, but it is also commonly used to finish eyelets and buttonholes. (It may also be called "buttonhole stitch".) It is produced similarly to the overcast stitch, but after the needle goes through the fabric, it catches the loop of thread, resulting in a series of L-shaped stitches along the edge of the fabric. This stitch is also somewhat decorative. In one case, two selvedges have been joined by using a blanket stitch that alternates which side of the seam the stitch goes through.

Herringbone (Fig. 6)



Herringbone tends to be a decorative, rather than a structural, stitch. Think of it as doing two parallel rows of backstitch where you alternate which row you're sewing with each stitch. The stitch is very elastic. The working surface shows a zig-zig with an X at each point, the underside shows two parallel dashed lines.

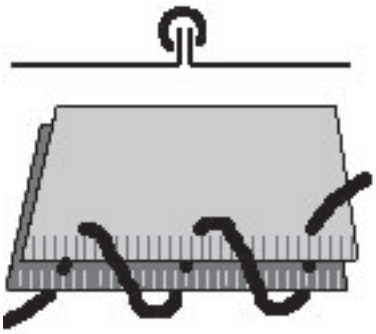
Wool

Wool, especially when fulled to some extent, is resistant to ravelling, so cut edges are not always finished and hems may only be turned once rather than twice. The sewing thread may be wool, linen, or silk.

Seams to join fabrics

Overcast Stitch and Variants

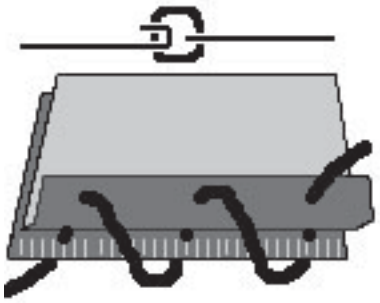
Overcast (typically of selvedges) (Fig. 7)



Bronze Age: Wool rectangular cloth, selvedge and cut edge joined by apparent overcast stitches in woolen thread. [Broholm & Hald 1940 p.66]

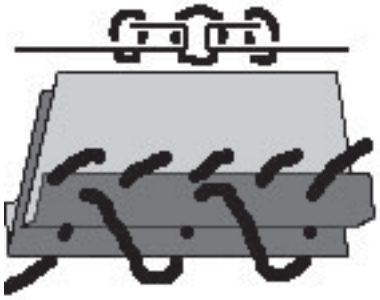
Medieval: Wool, overcast with butted edges. [Hedeby (northern Germany), Hägg 1984 (9)]

Overcast of (selvedge & single- or double-fold) (Fig. 8)



Hallstadt: Not entirely clear, but appears to be single edge (selvedge?) and single or double fold edge, both overcast together (through fold). Wool. [Hundt 1987 (c)]

Overcast of (single-fold hem with hemstitch) (Fig. 9)



Medieval: Wool, right sides together: short single turnover with hem stitch, then folded edges overcast together; [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany) (12)]

Medieval: Wools, right sides together: long single turnover with hem stitch, then folded edges overcast together; [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (13)]

Overcast of (single-fold hem with hemstitch + running stitch top-stitching) (Fig. 10)

Hallstadt: Wool, both edges double fold with hem stitch and running stitch as top-stitching down the fold, then the folded edges overcast together. [Hundt 1960 (b)]

Overcast of (double-fold hem with hem stitch) (Fig. 11)

Hallstadt: Wool, both edges have a double fold with hem stitch, then the folds have been overcast together. [Hundt 1970]

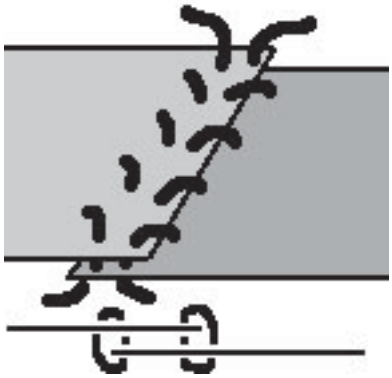
Medieval: Wool, right sides together: double turnover with hem stitch, then folded edges overcast together. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (14)]

Overcast of (double-fold hem with hemstitch + running stitch outside fold & single-fold hem with running stitch) (Fig. 12)

Hallstadt: (A) double fold with hem stitch and running stitch outside the fold, (B) single fold with running stitch through the fold; A&B folded edges overcast together. Wool. [Hundt 1960 (c)]

Felled (Overlapped) Seams

Double hemstitch of raw-edge felled (typically of cut edges) (Fig. 13)

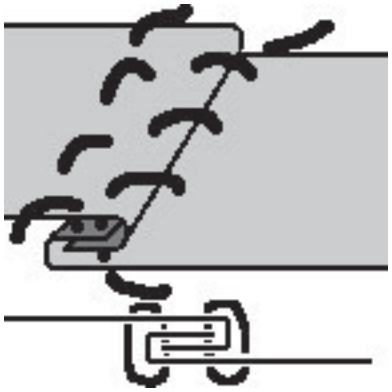


Bronze Age: Wool, cut edges joined by overlapping slightly then overcasting each cut edge to the other fabric. [Broholm & Hald 1940 p.71]

Medieval: Wool, overlapped: plain overlap with hem stitch on both raw edges. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (18)]

Medieval: Edges are overlapped (more elaborate versions may have one or both edges folded under to form a felled seam) and both margins have a hem stitch through the edge of one and the fabric of the other. The example is wool from the foot of hose. Late 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.153, fig 125 A]

Flat-felled with hemstitch (Fig. 14)



Hallstadt: Wool, folded as for flat felled seam, with hem stitching on both edges. [Hundt 1959]

Hallstadt: Wool, (tube) selvedge and raw edge with slight underfold, sewn at both edges with hem stitch. [Hundt 1960 (a)]

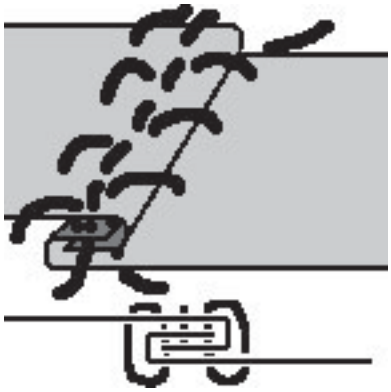
Hallstadt: Wool, overlapped edges with slight single fold to center, sewn at each edge with a hem stitch. [Hundt 1961 (b)]

Hallstadt: Wool, folded as for flat felled seam, but hem stitch through both edges. [Hundt 1987 (d)]

Medieval: Wool, a "flat felled" fabric arrangement, but hem stitched at both edges. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (21)]

Medieval: Edges are overlapped (more elaborate versions may have one or both edges folded under to form a felled seam) and both margins have an hem stitch through the edge of one and the fabric of the other. Late 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.153, fig 124 B]

Flat-felled with hem-stitch of (overlap with running stitch) (Fig. 15)



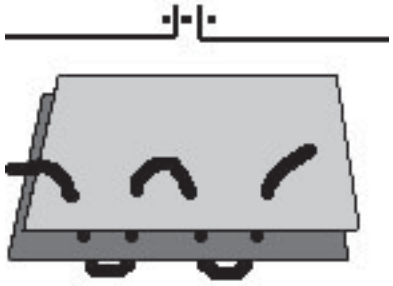
Sub-Roman: A fragment from Steinfelder Moor shows two cut edges joined with an elaborate flat felled seam. The two edges have been overlapped first, and have a running stitch on (presumably) both edges of this overlap. Then the overlapped section is folded into a Z, with the cut edges hidden in the fold, and the folded edges are sewn to the flat fabric with a hem-stitch. [Schlabow 1976, Northern Germany Fig. 223]

Flat felled with hem-stitch of (single fold toward seam & single fold away from seam) (Fig. 16)

Medieval: Wool: running stitch with mis-matched allowances as for a flat felled seam, but the second edge folded outward (loose) and then hem stitched at the fold. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (22)]

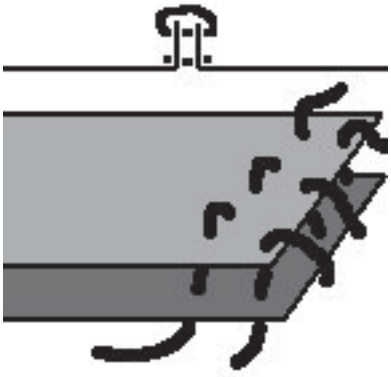
Running Stitch and Variants

Running stitch RST (Fig. 17)



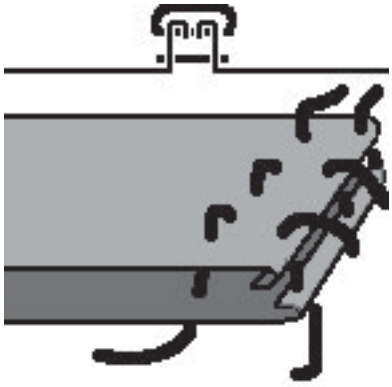
Medieval: Running Stitch Seam. Various stitch lengths, leaves raw edges, common in many examples. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, pl.155f, Fig. 126A]

Running stitch RST + raw edges overcast together (Fig. 18)



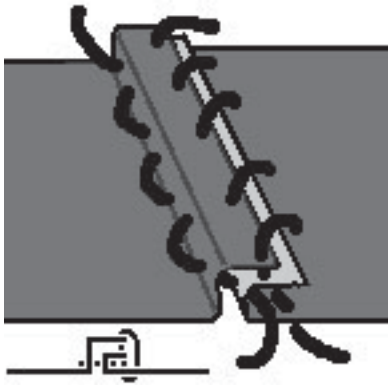
Medieval: Wool, right sides together: running stitch seam, raw edges overcast together. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (10)]

Running stitch RST + raw edges turned under towards each other and overcast together (Fig. 19)



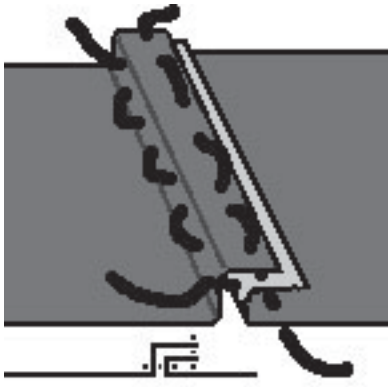
Medieval: Wool, right sides together: running stitch seam, raw edges turned under together and overcast. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (11)]

Running stitch RST + raw edges paired and hem-stitched to one side (Fig. 20)



Medieval: Wool, overlapped: either running stitch then the raw edges paired and hem stitched to one side, or similar but both stitch lines hem stitch. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (19)]

Running stitch RST + raw edges paired and topstitched to one side w/running-stitch (Fig. 21)



Medieval: Wool, overlapped: either running stitch then the raw edges paired and running stitched to one side. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (20)]

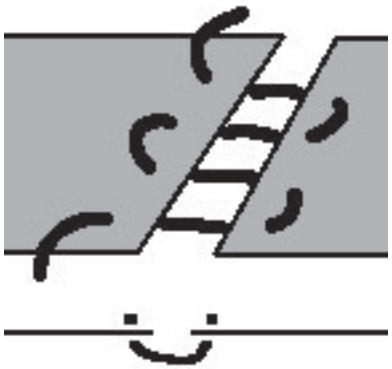
Running stitch RST of (single-fold with no stitching) (Fig. 22 - figure shows Thorsbjerg variant w/blanket-stitched edges)

Hallstadt: Wool, single-fold edges placed right sides together then sewn with a running stitch through all four layers. [Hundt 1961 (a)]

Sub-Roman: Flattened Running Stitch. Two pieces of woolen fabric are joined (presumably at the selvedges) with a running stitch right at the edge that is then flattened. [Hald 1980, Arden, Denmark, Fig. 292]

Sub-Roman: Running Stitch in Folded Edge. The lengthwise sleeve seams of the Thorsbjerg shirt has the (finished) edges folded inward, then these are placed right sides together and are sewn with a running stitch through all four layers. Presumably, this is relatively loose so that it can be flattened. The fabric is a wool twill. [Schlabow 1976, Northern Germany, Fig. 142]

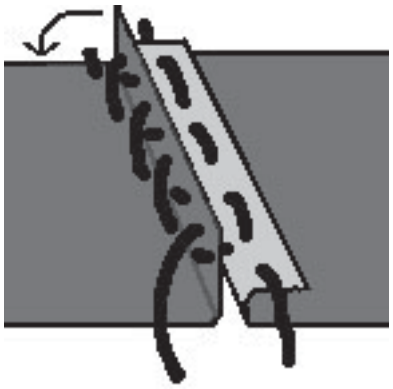
Running stitch WST of (single-fold with no stitching & selvedge) (Fig. 23)



Hallstadt: (A) single fold, (B) plain edge (selvedge?); A&B placed wrong sides together, running stitch (through fold) then flattened. [Riek 1962]

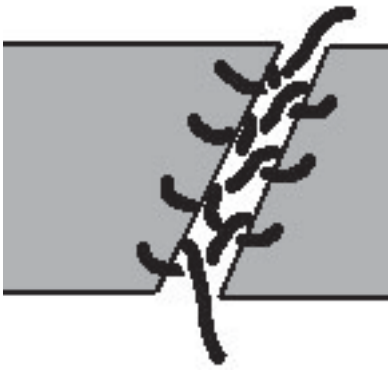
Miscellaneous

Backstitch RST + running stitch top-stitching (Fig. 24)



Medieval: Hypothesized, but not clearly present in the examples. Suggested for use in bias-cut hose (used in concert with running stitch top-stitching on both sides of the seam). This latter is found in 16th c. hose examples in London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.156 Fig. 126 B&C]

Double-blanket stitch (of selvedges) (Fig. 25)



Sub-Roman: Double-sided Blanket Stitch Join. The Damendorf skirt joins the starting and ending borders to form the skirt tube using a very coarse stitch that behaves as a blanket stitch alternating between the two edges (and thus alternating directions). [Schlabow 1976, Fig. 248 , Northern Germany, but primarily my museum notes]

Sub-Roman: The starting and finishing borders of a piece of fabric are joined to make a tubular skirt with a double-blanket stitch (i.e., blanket stitch alternating sides). [Hald 1980, Fig. 439, Huldremose, Denmark]

Seam type unknown + topstitching with backstitch

Medieval: Backstitching is added, perhaps largely as a decorative technique, on some hems, with one or two rows in addition to the overcast. Decorative backstitching is also found on back seams and underarm seams. [Norlund 1924]

Seam type unknown - "false" seam in solid fabric

Medieval: Another type of decorative stitching shows that the multiple-gore construction had made a fashion of necessity when the nature of the cut caused some gores to the two-piece and others one-piece, the latter could be given a "false seam" to make all appear the same, narrow size. [Norlund 1924]

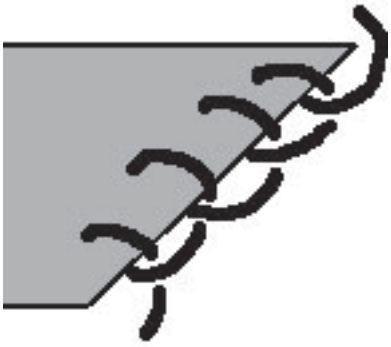
Edge finishes

No Sewing

Medieval: Woolen fabrics may have raw edges left when there is no stress or wear put on them, and especially when they have elaborate cutting, as with dags. 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992 - p.196f]

Blanket Stitch and Variants

Blanket stitch of (unfolded edge) (Fig. 26)



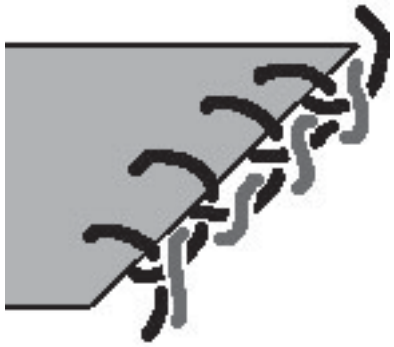
Hallstadt: Wool, edge of unknown type (but presumably cut?) with variant buttonhole stitch, closely set. [Hundt 1987 (b)]

Sub-Roman: The Thorsbjerg shirt has some raw edges of the woolen fabric finished with a blanket stitch before the seams are sewn. [Schlabow 1976, Northern Germany, Fig. 141]

Blanket stitch + overcast stitch through blanket stitch only (Fig. 27)

Bronze Age: Wool body garment, fairly fulled cloth, edge finished with blanket stitch, with a second thread whipped through the edge-loops of the blanket stitch. [Broholm & Hald 1940 p.19]

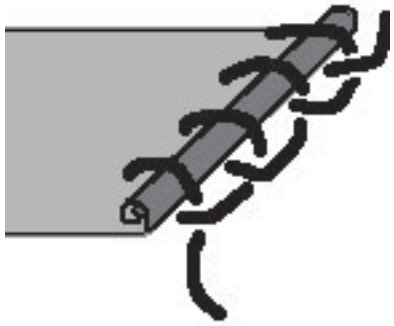
Bronze Age: A cut edge, presumably of a woolen fabric, is finished with a blanket stitch that further has an overcast stitch running through the loops of the blanket stitch only. [Hald 1980, Muldbjerg, Denmark, Fig. 300]



Blanket stitch + 2nd row of blanket stitch above it (non-overlapping) (Fig. 28)

Bronze Age: Wool, neck edge, finished with two rows of blanket stitch, one on the edge, one butting up against it but not overlapping. [Broholm & Hald 1940 p.68]

Blanket stitch of (narrow rolled hem) (Fig. 29)



Sub-Roman: One fragment from Thorsbjerg has a narrow rolled edge that has been hemmed with a blanket stitch. [Schlabow 1976, Northern Germany, Fig. 202a]

Hem Stitch and Variants

Hem stitch of (single fold) (Fig. 30)

Sub-Roman: A scarf-like woolen object with the Thorsbjerg material has one long edge on the selvedge and the other long edge turned (once?) and hem-stitched. [Schlabow 1976, Northern Germany, Fig. 198d]

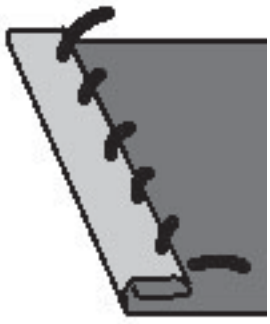
Medieval: Wool, single fold with hem stitch. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (2)]

Medieval: A single-fold hem (i.e. with raw edge exposed) is typical for woolen fabric. 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992 , p.156, fig 17 A, 128 A, Fig. 160]

Hem stitch of (fold number uncertain)

Medieval: The type of stitch used for basic garment construction is not mentioned. Hems are usually turned under and overcast. [Norlund 1924]

Hem stitch on double fold (Fig. 31)



Hallstadt: Wool, uncertain but appears to be double

fold with hem stitch. [Hundt 1960 (b)]

Hallstadt: Wool, narrow double fold with hem stitch. (Numerous examples of this.) [Hundt 1987 (a)]

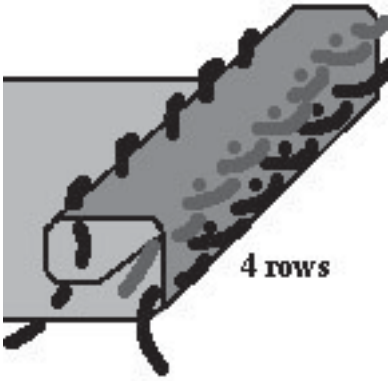
Sub-Roman: The Marx-Etzel shirt has a narrow, two-fold hem with hem stitch on all free edges (neck, armholes, hem). It is possible that the side seams have been finished in this way and then sewn together, but this is not mentioned. [Schlabow 1976, Northern Germany, Fig. 146, 148]

Sub-Roman: A rectangular garment (cloak?) from Rˆst has a double-folded edge with hem stitch all around (all four sides). [Schlabow 1976, Northern German, Fig. 209]

Medieval: Wool, double fold with hem stitch. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (3)]

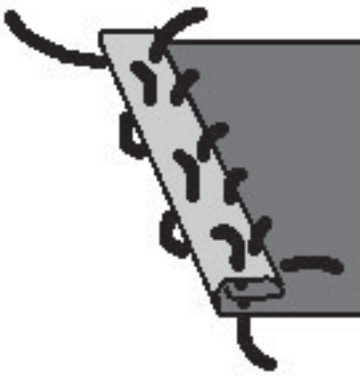
Medieval: 14th c. London. Rarely, double-fold hems are found in wool, particularly when it may be a trailing hem. [Crowfoot et al. 1992 , p.156, fig 17 A, 128 A, Fig. 160]

Hem stitch on double fold + stem stitch on fold before folding (Fig. 32)



Hallstadt: Wool, double fold with hem stitch, but before this, four rows of white and blue decorative stem stitch have been done on what will be the folded edge. [Hundt 1970]

Hem stitch of (double fold) + running stitch top-stitching (Fig. 33)



Medieval: Wool, double fold with hem stitch, plus running stitch through fold. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (4)]

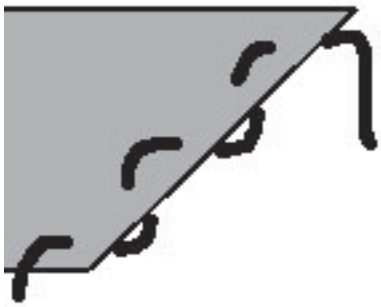
Medieval: Double-fold hem with hem stitch, but with a running stitch as top-stitch next to the folded edge. [Crowfoot et al. 1992 , p.156, Fig. 127 C]

Hem stitch of (uncertain number of folds) + backstitch top-stitching (can be multiple rows)

Medieval: Backstitching is added, perhaps largely as a decorative technique, on some hems, with one or two rows in addition to the overcast. Decorative backstitching is also found on back seams and underarm seams. [Norlund 1924]

Running Stitch and Variants

Running stitch of (unfolded cut edge) (Fig. 34)

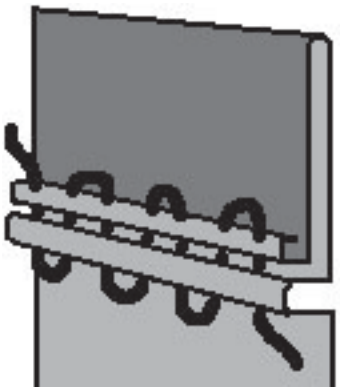


Medieval: Wool, running stitch along edge (no fold, purpose unclear). [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (6)]

Running stitch of (single fold) (Fig. 35)

Medieval: Woolen fabric may have a single-fold hem with a running stitch. Wool sewn with linen thread, early 13th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.156, Fig. 127B]

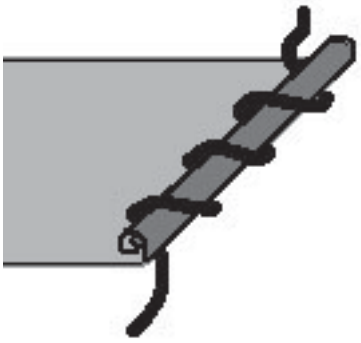
Running stitch of (double-fold edge & folded main fabric) (Fig. 36)



Sub-Roman: The waist finish of the Thorsbjerg pants involves folding the fabric down from the top, right sides together (i.e., wrong side showing) then folding both the cut edge back slightly and folding the lower fabric back to leave a folded edge matching the folded edge of the cut part. These two folds are sewn together with a running stitch and then flattened slightly. [Schlabow 1976, Northern Germany, Fig. 169]

Miscellaneous

Overcast stitch of (rolled hem) (Fig. 37)



Medieval: Wool: rolled hem with overcast stitch. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (1)]

Herringbone stitch of (single fold) (Fig. 38)

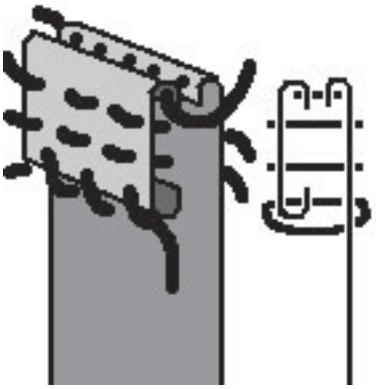
Medieval: Wool, single fold with herringbone stitch. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (5)]

Unknown folded hem + applied cord on edge (application method unspecified)

Medieval: Twisted or plaited cords are used to edge and decorate necks, wrists, pocket slits, and the occasional hem. (There is no mention of whether this was in addition to turning and overcasting or, in some fashion, instead of it.) The button-fronted coat has the collar and front opening edged with a thinner, lighter fabric than the main fabric. (Given the narrow size of the decorative cords, I wonder if they may have been done in decorative colors originally, but no mention is made of this.) [Norlund 1924]

Edges with applied facings

Unknown (running?) stitch RST of (fabric and facing) + hemstitch of (single-fold of facing to wrong side of fabric) (Fig. 39)

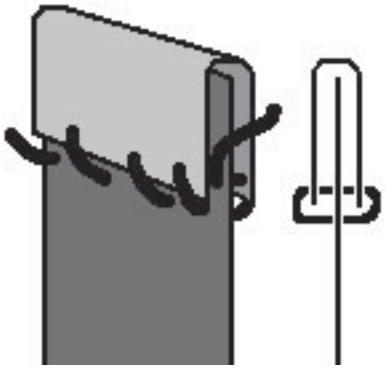


Medieval: A narrow straight-grain band of silk is used to face a neckline on a woolen fabric. The band has been sewn to the wool right sides together with an unknown stitch (but probably running stitch), then turned, with the edged turned under and overcast to the main fabric along the edge. After this, two rows of running stitch (in the wool color) have been added. 2nd quarter of the 14th century London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992 , plate 2 B, p.158, Fig. 131]

Hem stitch of (tape facing folded over cut edge) (Fig. 40)

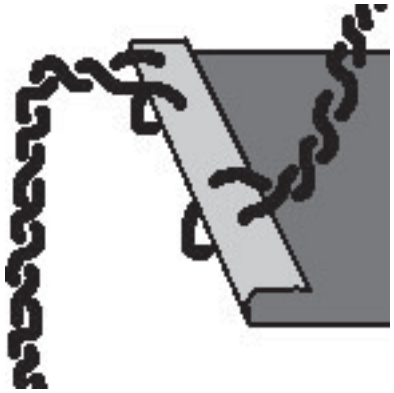
Medieval: A silk tape is folded in half over the edge and then hem-stitched, possibly through both edges

at once? The example is binding the edge of a leather purse. Late 14th c. London [Crowfoot et al. 1992 , p.158 Fig. 130, Fig. 153B]



Other Stitch Purposes

Cord-ties as fastening method (Fig. 41)

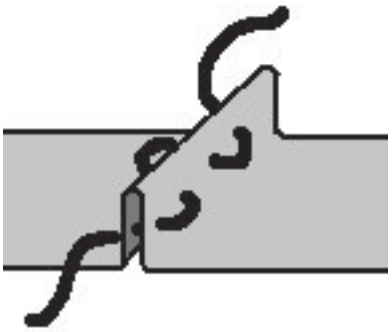


Sub-Roman: The side seams of the Thorsbjerg shirt are finished by turning the edge under once, then taking a single stitch from the wrong side through and back, the ends of which are plied together. Pairs of these ties on the front and back pieces are then tied to fasten the shirt. There is no indication of any other finish or stitch on these edges. This is also found on the lower leg opening of the Thorsbjerg pants. [Schlabow 1976 Northern Germany, Fig. 141]

Seam finish (decorative) - fishbone stitch over running stitch WST seam (Fig. 42)

Medieval: A cushion cover has a seam finish using fishbone stitch over the actual seam (which appears possibly to be a wrong-sides-together running stitch?). Although this has a similar appearance to herringbone stitch, the sewing technique is different. This may be primarily decorative. [Hald 1980, Mammen, Denmark, Fig. 296]

Tucks in non-edge fabric (Fig. 43, 44)



Medieval: Wool: tucks folded and sewn with a running stitch. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (7)]

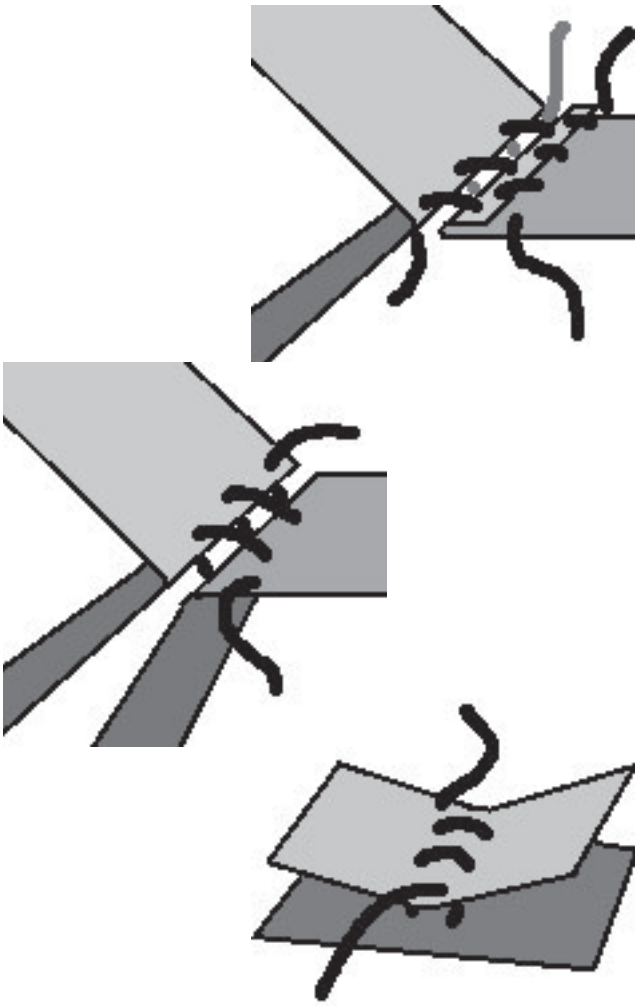
Medieval: Wool, folded RST (but nothing to keep the fold in place?) and a cord overcast onto the fold. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (8)]

Joining middles of fabrics (purpose unclear, but not quilting) (Fig. 45-47)

Medieval: Wool: A folded middle, B single folded edge with hem stitch, both folds overcast together. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (15)]

Medieval: Wool: A folded middle, B flat middle, edge A overcast to B. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (16)]

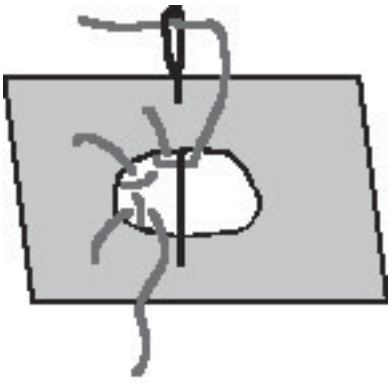
Medieval: Wool: both flat middles, overcast together. [Hägg 1984, Hedeby (northern Germany), (17)]



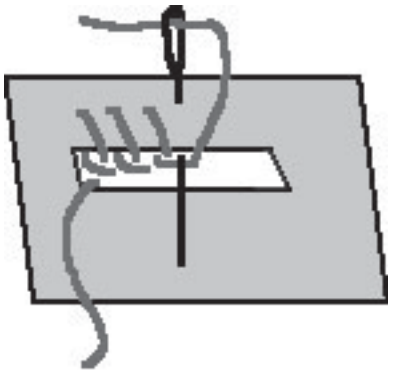
Quilting

Medieval: A silk lining has been sewn to a woolen ground fabric with rows of parallel running stitch forming a triangular pattern. There is no evidence of padding, though. [Crowfoot et al. 1992 , p.174, Fig. 151]

Worked holes (Fig. 48, 49)



Medieval: Eyelets are worked in two rounds of buttonhole stitch in silk, worked through both the main woolen fabric and a narrow silk facing strip. Late 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992 , p.164, Fig. 139]



Medieval: Buttonholes: worked in silk buttonhole stitch through the main woolen fabric and a silk facing. The slit is perpendicular to the edge. 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992 , p.169f, Fig. 145]

Pleating

Medieval: Slight evidence for gathering or pleating using two or three parallel rows of running stitches. 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992 , p.173f] (Similarly, Norlund.)

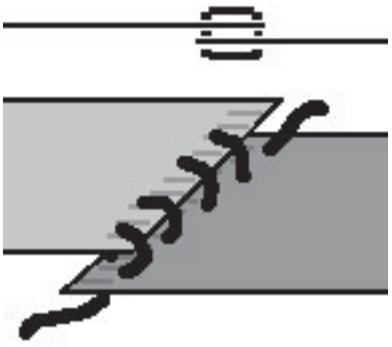
Linen

Linen has a high tendency to ravel, so the techniques used with it pay strong attention to finishing edges especially by turning cut edges under so that they are not exposed. (Since linen garments are more likely to be washed than silk ones, seam finishing is more critical here than for silk.) Sewing thread is typically linen.

Seams

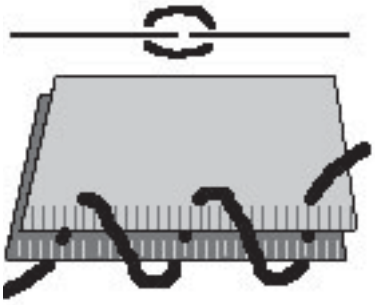
Overcast Stitch and Variants

Overcast of (overlapped selvedges) (Fig. 50)



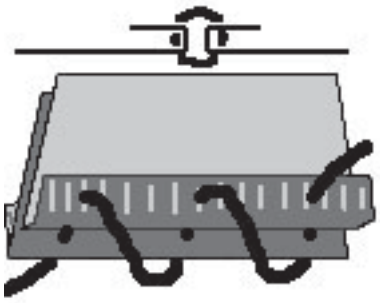
Egypt: Fine linen, two pieces joined at the selvedge overlapped slightly and overcast-stitched. [VogelsangEastwood 1993 - Fig. 2:1]

Overcast of selvedges RST (Fig. 51)



Medieval: Linen shirt from 11th century. Joining two single selvedge edges place the two edges right sides together, overcast, and flatten. (Fentz 1998, Seam III)

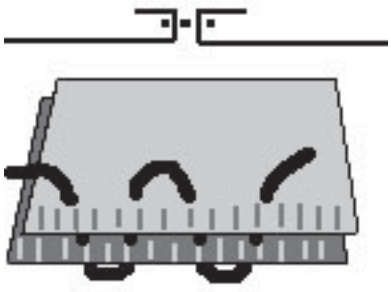
Overcast of (single-fold edges RST) (Fig. 52)



Egypt: Fine linen, cut or selvedge edges joined right sides together and sewn either with a running stitch or folded into edges and overcast. [Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993 - Fig. 7:20]

Running Stitch

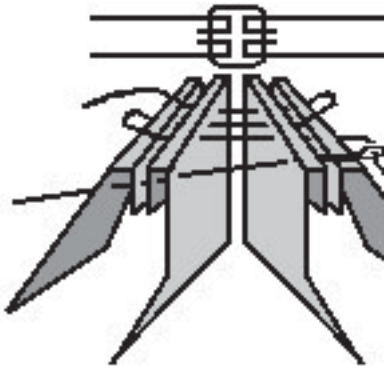
Running stitch of (edges RST) (Fig. 53)



Egypt: Fine linen, cut or more typically selvedge edges joined right sides together and sewn either with a running stitch or folded into edges and overcast. [Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993 - Fig. 7:20]

Modified Running Stitch (see diagrams) and Variants

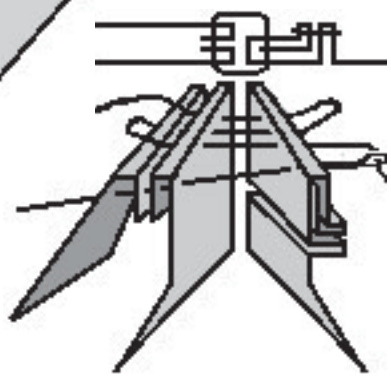
Modified running stitch of (fabric and lining, single-folded towards each other) (Fig. 54)



Medieval: Linen shirt from 11th century. Joining two double (lined) pieces (body sides) each pair of outer and lining fabrics have the edges turned slightly under where they face each other; all four folded edges are lined up right sides together and sewn with a modified running stitch right along the edge the needle skips the first fold on each pass. (Fentz 1998, Seam VIII)

Modified running stitch of (fabric and lining, single-folded towards each other & edge of (running stitch of double-fold folded back RST)) (Fig. 55)

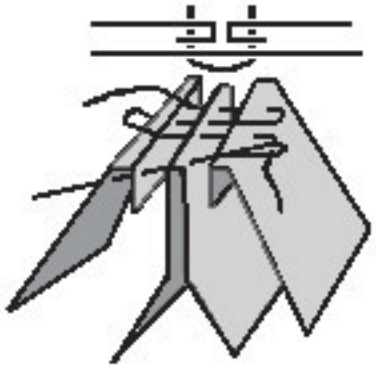
55a(prep. of first edge)



55b (joiningof edges)

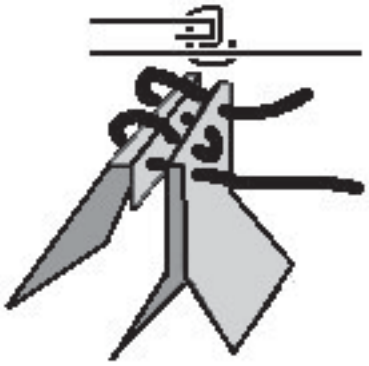
Medieval: Linen shirt from 11th century. Joining a lined piece with a single thickness (sleeve to body) the single-thickness piece is given a double turnover which is folded back away from the wrong side (i.e., so there are two folded edges) and then has a running stitch very close to the edge. This is flattened out and the resulting folded edge (of the turnover) is placed right sides together with the two folded edges of the double-thickness part (folded as in the preceding), and they are sewn together with the same modified running stitch as in VIII, except that only the first part of the doubled-fold is skipped. (Fentz 1998, Seam VII)

[joining linings when main fabric has no seam] Modified running stitch of (main fabric folded RST & linings single-folded toward fabric) (Fig. 56)



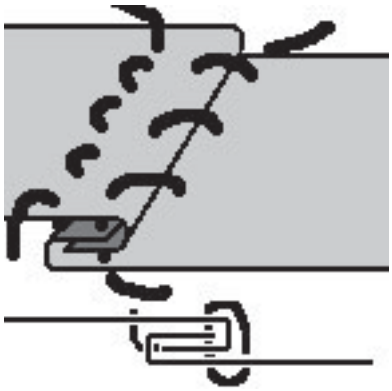
Medieval: Linen shirt from 11th century. Joining two lining pieces (at the shoulder) when the outer fabric has no seam — fold the two edges back (towards the outer fabric), fold the outer fabric right sides together to form an edge, line the three folded edges up and sew with the modified running stitch (i.e. skipping the first edge on each pass). (Fentz 1998, Seam VIa)

[finishing lining when fabric continues] Modified running stitch of (main fabric folded RST & lining single-folded toward fabric) (Fig. 57)



Medieval: Linen shirt from 11th century. Finishing a lining edge in the middle of the outer fabric (bottom of the lined section) as the preceding, but with only one folded lining edge. (Fentz 1998, Seam VIb)

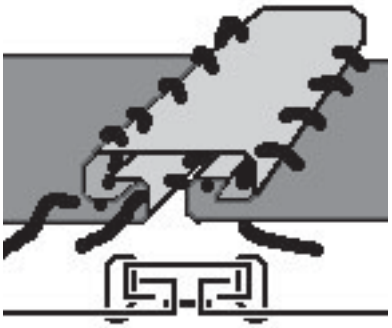
Flat-felled-type: running stitch of RST + overcast of (single-fold edge to fabric) (Fig. 58)



Medieval: Linen shirt from 11th century. Joining two single cut edges (flat felled seam) place right sides together with one edge extending slightly and sew with a running stitch. Fold the extended edge over the other cut edge, flatten, and sew to the main fabric with an overcast stitch. (Fentz 1998, Seam V)

Seam with applied binding

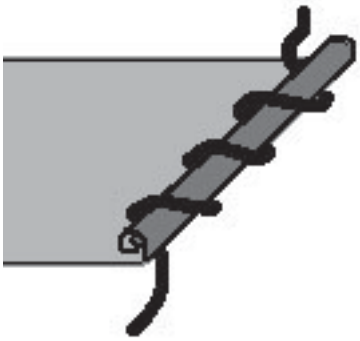
?Running stitch? of RST + hem-stitch of (tape with single-fold edges to sides of seam) (Fig. 59)



Medieval: All non-edge seams (as well as the neck edge) are sewn right sides together and then a straight-grain tape, with the edges folded under, is placed over the opened seam and hem-stitched at each edge. (The neck edge presumably begins with the tape being sewn to the right side of the garment then folded under and hem-stitched on the inside. [Jones 2001, St. Louis shirt, France]

Edges

Overcast of (narrow rolled edge) (Fig. 60)



Egypt: Fine linen, bias-cut hem, rolled and overcast (also found on straight-grain cut edges). [Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993 - Fig. 2:1]

Hemstitch of (double-turned edge) (Fig. 61)

Egypt: Fine linen, straight-grain hem, turned twice and hemstitched. [Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993 - Fig. 2:1]

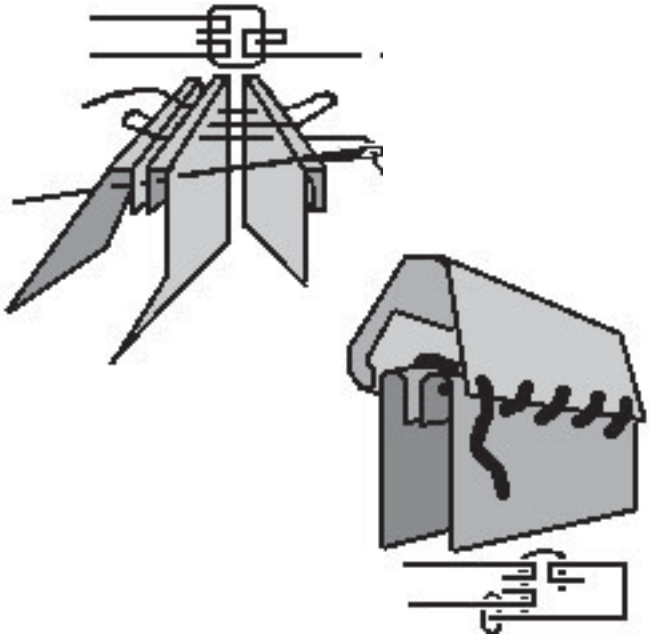
Medieval: Linen shirt from 11th century. Hem on single layer: double fold the edge to the inside and sew with an overcast (hem) stitch. (Fentz 1998, Seam I)

Medieval: The hems (sleeve and bottom) have a small, double-folded edge with hem stitch. [Jones 2001, St. Louis shirt, France]

Medieval: There is a wide hem in the main, silk fabric formed by double-folding the bottom edge of the garment, but the precise stitching is not identifiable. There is a linen lining with a narrow double-rolled hem that reaches just to the top of the main hem, to which it is sewn in some fashion. [M¸ller-Christensen 1953]

Edges with Applied Facing

Modified running stitch of (fabric and facing single-folded toward each other + single-fold cut edge of applied strip RST) + hem stitch of (selvedge edge of applied strip to facing) (Fig. 62)



Medieval: Linen shirt from 11th century. Hem on double layer fold both edges to the inside, take a narrow strip with a selvedge edge, and fold the cut edge over; place this right sides together with the pair of folded edges and sew with the modified running stitch (skipping the first edge every time). Then fold the selvedge over to the inside and sew down with an overcast (hem) stitch to leave a projecting folded edge of the binding. (Fentz 1998, Seam IV)

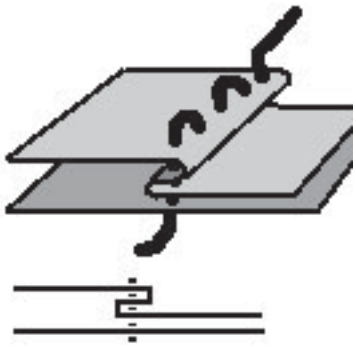
Other Uses

Cord ties as fastenings

Egypt: Ties for the neck opening are formed by sewing a number of individual threads through the edge individually, then twisting and plying them. [Vogelsang-Eastwood p.120]

"Quilting"-type: Running stitch of (lining with Z-fold tuck & fabric) (Fig. 63)

Medieval: Linen shirt from 11th century. "Quilting" two layers together make a very small Z-fold and do a running stitch through all three layers of the Z and the other fabric. (Fentz 1998, Seam II)



Misc.

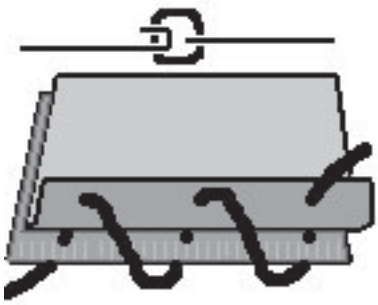
Medieval: The garment (at least the upper part, if not the whole) was lined with linen, but the details are not given and cannot entirely be retrieved from the photos. At the seam lines, the linen lining seems to be sewn to the main fabric (as well as the lining pieces being sewn to each other). At the edges, there appears to have been an additional linen tape facing, similar to #39. [Geijer et al. 1994]

Silk

With silk, as with linen, one of the concerns is to prevent ravelling, but the need to stand up to laundering is not normally a factor. In addition to expensive garments made entirely of silk, small pieces of silk may be used to edge, face, or decorate a less expensive fabric. The sewing thread is normally silk, even when silk is used in combination with another fiber.

Seams

Overcast stitch of (selvedge & single-fold cut edge) (Fig. 64)

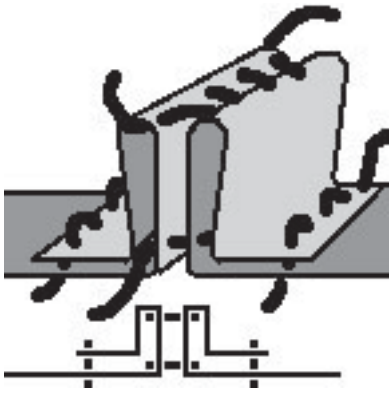


Medieval: Overcast stitching joins two pieces of silk one selvedge and one folded edge with a relatively coarse silk thread. Late 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.153, Fig. 124C]

Running stitch of RST + running stitch top-stitching on both sides (Fig. 65)

Medieval: The regular type of seam in the garment is a running stitch (right sides together) that has been flattened and has running stitch top-stitching on either side. The fabric is silk brocade. Early 15th c., Sweden. [Geijer et al. 1994, Fig. 58]

Running stitch of RST + running stitch top-stitching + running stitch of (all, folded RST) (Fig. 66)



Medieval: The four main seams of the body have a running stitch seam with running stitch top-stitching, which is then folded right sides together at the seam again and a second running stitch is sewn about halfway between the original seam and the top-stitching. This leaves a slight ridge on the inside. The fabric is silk brocade. Early 15th c., Sweden. [Geijer et al. 1994, Fig. 60]

Seams with Applied Binding

?Running stitch? of RST + ?running/hem? stitch of (woven tape to main fabric at sides of seam)

Medieval: 11th c., an unlined garment of heavy silk, the seams are finished inside with a silk samite tape. The stitching appears to be a plain running stitch for the main seam, with the finishing tape either running

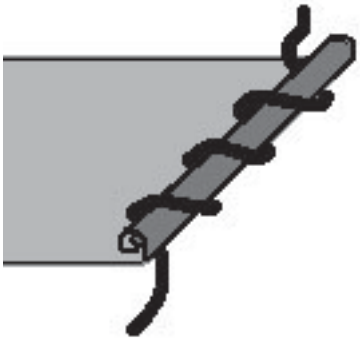
stitch or overcast. [Fleury-Lemburg]

?Running stitch? of RST + running stitch of (single-fold on both sides tape, over seam)

Medieval: Silk chasuble (11th c.?). Seams (?running stitch?) are finished on the inside with a narrow self, straight-grain tape (with the edges folded under) which appears to be sewn down with running stitches. [M¸ller-Christensen 1953]

Edges

Overcast stitch of (rolled edge) (Fig. 67)



Medieval: Typically used for fine silks, e.g., veils. The edge is rolled slightly and overcast-stitched over the roll. 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.158, fig 129]

Hem stitch of (double-fold edge) (Fig. 68)

Medieval: 14th c. London. Silk typically has a double-fold hem, sewn with silk. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.156, fig 128 A, Fig. 160]

?Hem? stitch of (wide double-fold edge) + lining with double-fold hem fastened to the top of the hem in some fashion

Medieval: There is a wide hem in the main, silk fabric formed by double-folding the bottom edge of the garment, but the precise stitching is not identifiable. There is a linen lining with a narrow double-rolled hem that reaches just to the top of the main hem, to which it is sewn in some fashion. [M¸ller-Christensen 1953]

Used to Edge Another Fabric (see figures 39 & 40 in the wool section)

?Running stitch? of (fabric & facing RST) + hem-stitch of (single-fold of facing to fabric) + running stitch as topstitching

Medieval: A narrow straight-grain band of silk is used to face a neckline on a woolen fabric. The band has been sewn to the wool right sides together with an unknown stitch (but probably running stitch), then turned, with the edged turned under and overcast to the main fabric along the edge. After this, two rows of running stitch (in the wool color) have been added. 2nd quarter of the 14th century London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, plate 2 B, p.158, Fig. 131]

Hem stitch of (woven tape folded over edge of fabric)

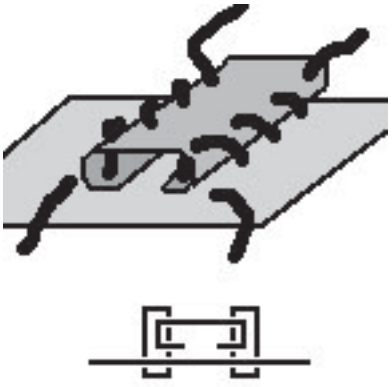
Medieval: A silk tape is folded in half over the edge and then hem-stitched, possibly through both edges at once? The example is binding the edge of a leather purse. Late 14th c. London [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.158 Fig. 130, Fig. 153B]

["faced" hem, like neck facing, fabric unknown, stitching unknown]

Medieval: The hem of a silk fabric was faced for about 5cm, but the facing is lost and the nature of the stitches is unknown. [Fleury-Lemburg]

Applied Decoration

Hem stitch of (single-fold edges of applied band to main fabric) (Fig. 69)



Medieval: A strip of decorative silk has the raw edges

turned under and then is sewn to the ground fabric using hem-stitch. 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p. 174, Fig. 151A]

Other Uses

Worked Holes (see figures 48 & 49 in the wool section)

Medieval: Eyelets are worked in two rounds of buttonhole stitch in silk, worked through both the main woolen fabric and a narrow silk facing strip. Late 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.164, Fig. 139]

Medieval: Worked in silk buttonhole stitch through the main woolen fabric and a silk facing. The slit is perpendicular to the edge. 14th c. London. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.169f, Fig. 145]

Quilting

Medieval: A silk lining has been sewn to a woolen ground fabric with rows of parallel running stitch forming a triangular pattern. There is no evidence of padding, though. [Crowfoot et al. 1992, p.174, Fig. 151]

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Tanguistela Laureata XXV Annos

Back in 1978 when I was an undergraduate, I made time in between the biochemistry and physiology classes to take "History of Costume Design". As a class on historic clothing, it was a bit of a wash – it would have been better titled "how to mine historic clothing for your modern fashion design project." But the text for the class was Blanche Payne's History of Costume, *which included a number of patterns taken from surviving garments as an appendix. This was a revelation for me: we have surviving medieval garments? Since this seemed to be relatively unknown among SCA costumers, I decided to embark on a project to compile a book of clothing patterns taken from surviving SCA-era garments. After all, I thought, there weren't that many of them so how long could it take? Well, the Surviving Garments Project is still in the expansion phase, with more garments coming to light faster than I can track down publications on them. Rather than waiting for a grand cumulative publication, I've started putting together articles on individual garments or groups of garments and have shifted the goal of the overview to a searchable database. This article was inspired by an opportunity to view the original garment when I was in Paris for a conference in the Summer of 1998. The original version was published in* Tournaments Illuminated *#137 (Winter 2001). This version includes some additional notes based on observations and photos taken by Stephen Bloch, who gave me permission to incorporate his material.*

Another Look at St. Louis' Shirt

By Heather Rose Jones, copyright © 2001, 2004, all rights reserved

A 13th century linen tunic, associated with Saint Louis, is preserved in the treasury of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris. It is unusual for linen garments to survive from medieval Europe except for those that have been preserved due to their association with saints. Other examples from the 11-13th century include albs associated with Saint Thomas Becket at Sens (France) and Santa Maria Maggiore (Rome, Italy), one associated with Saint Bernulf at Utrecht (Netherlands), one associated with Saint Hugh at La Valsainte (Switzerland), and several whose connections I have not yet been able to identify in Munich, Assisi, and Rome. Of these, the Saint Louis garment is by far the simplest in design and construction and seems more likely to represent an ordinary everyday undergarment as contrasted with the elaborate ceremonial vestments that several of the others clearly represent.

The Saint Louis garment was described briefly and diagrammed by Dorothy K. Burnham in her booklet Cut My Cote (Royal Ontario Museum, 1973, reprinted 1997). Her diagram (including a suggested cutting layout, as well as a diagram of the garment put together) has been reproduced in other sources familiar to historic costumers, including Crowfoot, Pritchard, and Staniland's Textiles and Clothing c. 1150-1450 (HMSO, London, 1992) and as far as I have been able to determine, no other study of this garment has been published. (If one has, I would be eager to hear of it.)

The tunic cut, as Burnham presents it, is a very simple design, with a single rectangular panel forming the front and back (no shoulder seams), trapezoidal sleeves set into the body panel with a very slight shaping to that panel where they are attached, and gussets, formed from the triangular pieces cut off to shape the sleeves, set into the center front and back skirt in pairs. Her diagram shows a narrow band edging the rounded-triangular neck opening and crossing in an X at the base of the front (where the opening comes to a point). A similar tape is shown forming an X at the top of the central gusset. She estimates the width of the fabric (which forms the width of the body panel and the top width of the sleeve pieces) as approximately 22 inches or 56 cm.

Burnham mentions in her brief notes that "it was not possible to make a proper examination" of the garment, I would assume this was due to the conditions of its display. I had the opportunity to examine the garment visually (behind glass) while in Paris recently and the current display makes it possible to add to Burnham's information and, in some cases, suggest modifications to it.

The major differences I observed from Burnham's diagram is that the sleeves are shorter and more sharply tapered, being wider at the base and slightly narrower at the wrist. (Having previously made a copy of the garment based on Burnham's diagram, this difference in dimensions struck me immediately,

even before I started making measurements.) The body-panel itself is tapered, rather than rectangular. (This can be seen by tracing a vertical thread from the base of the armscye to the hem: it fell approximately 4" from the side-seam at the hem.) The central gusset is taller than in Burnham's layout, making it more reasonable for it to have been produced from off-cuts of the body taper rather than the sleeve taper. My observations agree roughly with Burnham's diagram in the overall length of the garment, the width at the shoulders and at the base of the armscye, and in having the largest width of the sleeve pieces essentially identical to the largest width of the body piece. In the case of my interpretation, this fabric width would be about 30" rather than Burnham's 22". Other than the difference in sleeve proportions, my proposed cut is slightly fuller in the skirts than Burnham's. A possible cut based on my observations is shown in figure 1. A comparison of the results of the two cuts is shown in figure 2 (my version in black lines, Burnham's in gray), although I have omitted the slight shaping of the armscye from Burnham's version.

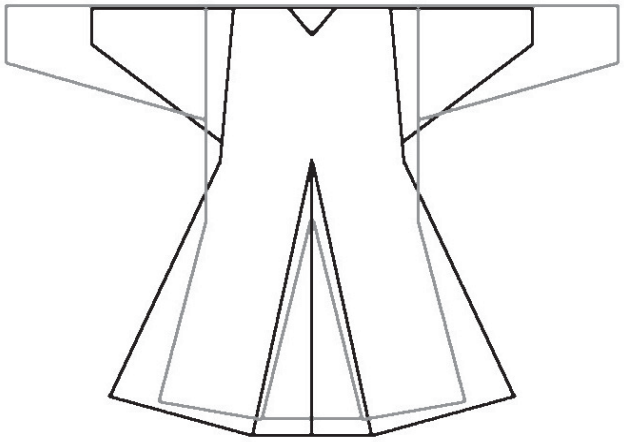

Fig. 2

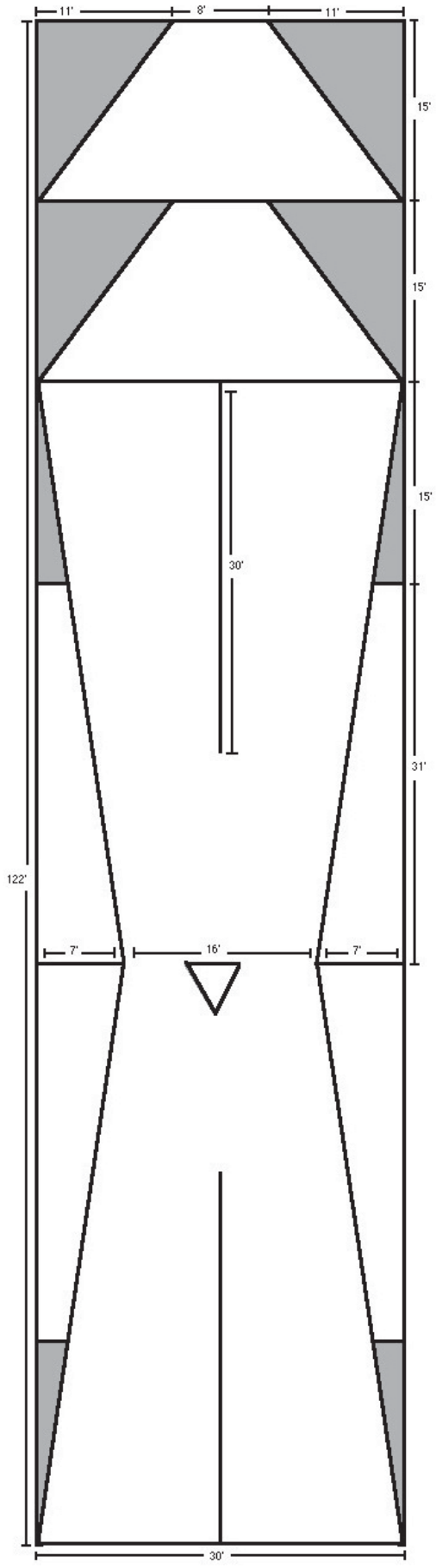

Fig. 1

It isn't clear to me whether this armscye shaping is present. The overall dimensions of the pieces as I measured them suggest a straight, overall taper, but no special shaping at the arm. Burnham's cut is more efficient of the proposed fabric than mine, as the off-cuts of the sleeve taper are left over in my cut. These off-cuts could, however, be the source of the tape for the seam-finish (see below).

I was also able to observe some details of construction that Burnham omits (probably due to lack of interest).

The garment is made of a relatively fine linen, approximately equivalent in weight to what is sold

currently under the name "handkerchief linen", but somewhat more closely woven than that. The weave is a fairly balanced tabby and there are occasional slubs in both the warp and weft. (There were no clues visible to the direction of the warp in any of the pieces.) The visible stitching is all very fine.

The tape that Burnham shows in her diagram at the neck and the top of the gusset actually represents a seam finish that is present on all the visible seams of the garment. At all places where it is visible, this seam-finish is cut on the straight grain of the fabric. In addition to the neck edge, it is present on the seam attaching the sleeves to the body, on the lengthwise sleeve seam, on the side seams of the body, and on all seams involved in the central gussets. The X formed at the top of the gusset is not a separate application, but simply the ends of this seam finish, continuing past the point of intersection. Based on the way the seam finish crosses and extends past the seam at the gusset top (or the edge at the center front of the neck), it is clearly a separate tape, applied over the raw edges of the seam and sewn down on both sides (rather than being a flat-felled seam). This tape is much narrower than Burnham's diagram suggests — the finished width is about 2-3 mm, and the fabric used must have been about twice that before the edges were folded under. (See figure 3 for a cross-section view of the probable construction.) The top of the gusset is slightly gathered for a couple of centimeters, rather than being entirely flat.

Fig. 3

The wrist and hem edges have a small rolled hem about the same width as the seam finish (i.e., 2-3 mm). This is rolled to the "outside" of the garment as displayed, and the seam finishes are also "outside" as displayed. I strongly suspect that the garment is being displayed inside-out and that these features should actually fall on the inside of the garment, but it's hard to complain about the display since the details would be impossible to examine otherwise!

Further Discussion

As a result of the above article being published, I've been in correspondence with several other people who have examined the garment under similar conditions (i.e., as museum visitors, nose pressed to the glass, but not having more direct access). With their kind permission, I here present some of their commentary and images.

Stephen Bloch and Deborah Peters, based on a visit in the summer of 2002 write:

> "By and large we found the thing to agree with your article — except for one crucial feature.
>
> The armscyes, it seemed to us, were quite clearly curved and angled: at the top, they were cut approximately on the grain (perhaps even angled inward a tad), while at the bottom they were at almost a 45-degree angle to it. I remembered you saying something about following grain lines, although I didn't remember what measurements you came up with, so I did the same — not only from the bottom of the armscye to the hem, but from top to bottom of the armscye. The former measurement came out 3-4" (which, I now see on re-reading your article, matches your result), but the latter is recorded in my diary as 4-6"! This is decidedly more angled (and, as mentioned above, curved) than even Burnham says.
>
> If my measurements are correct, the garment is at least 8" wider at the midsection than at the shoulder. (Which happens to be the discrepancy between your width measurement and Burnham's... coincidence?) Unfortunately, I was a ninny and didn't measure the total width of the garment at top, bottom, OR middle.
>
> I haven't yet tried making a shirt based on this interpretation, but it obviously leads to a very different cutting diagram and a very different fit."

I clarified that he was sure that the armscye horizontal differential was, indeed, 4-6" plus the 3-4" differential between the bottom of the armscye and the hem. This makes for a slight difference in body shape and better fitting of the sleeves. Since neither of us had directly measured the hem width (which would have been impractical, as the garment is hanging in folds), then assuming my shoulder measurement is correct, the garment is 6-8" wider in total on each panel just under the arms (i.e., 3-4" wider at each side, for a total additional circumference of 12-16"), as well as that much wider at the hem.

> "I'm pretty sure the armscye seams are flat-felled: they seemed to be fairly flat on one side, and bulgy on the other. The bottom hem has the same look, so I assume it's a

rolled hem (rather than, say, tape over a raw edge, which would look the same on both sides). The neck hem looks rolled, too, if you don't happen to look at where it continues into an X on the chest (which seems thoroughly inconsistent with a rolled hem, and consistent with your interpretation)."

Here I have to comment that, given that the neck hem looks rolled except at the X where we can tell it's not, this opens up the question of whether the hem and sleeve wrists are, indeed, rolled, and not similarly finished with a tape! Stephen's questions also pointed out a place where my description had been unclear. The tape finish on the neck edge isn't folded over the edge of the farbric (e.g., similarly to a double-fold bias binding edge would be treated), but is sewn right-sides-together, folded to the wrong side, raw edge folded under, then sewn down.

The following images were taken by Stephen Bloch who has kindly given me permission to reproduce them. He retains all rights to the images and should be contacted directly for further information on their use. These images have had the contrast enhanced in Photoshop, which alters the original colors.

Fig. 4

The left sleeve as displayed (right as worn) is the complete one. Figure 4 shows the startling narrowness of the seam. Also visible here is the relationship of the upper part of the armscye to the grain of the fabric.

The right sleeve as displayed (left as worn) is torn off, but the seam is still preserved. This gives us a convenient view of what the seam looks like from both the inside and outside of the garment.

The neck opening shows the tape finish of the edge and the X crossing at the center front.

Taking Stephen's observations about the extra cutout of the armscye and adding them to my measurements, we get a modification of figure 1 seen as figure 1a.

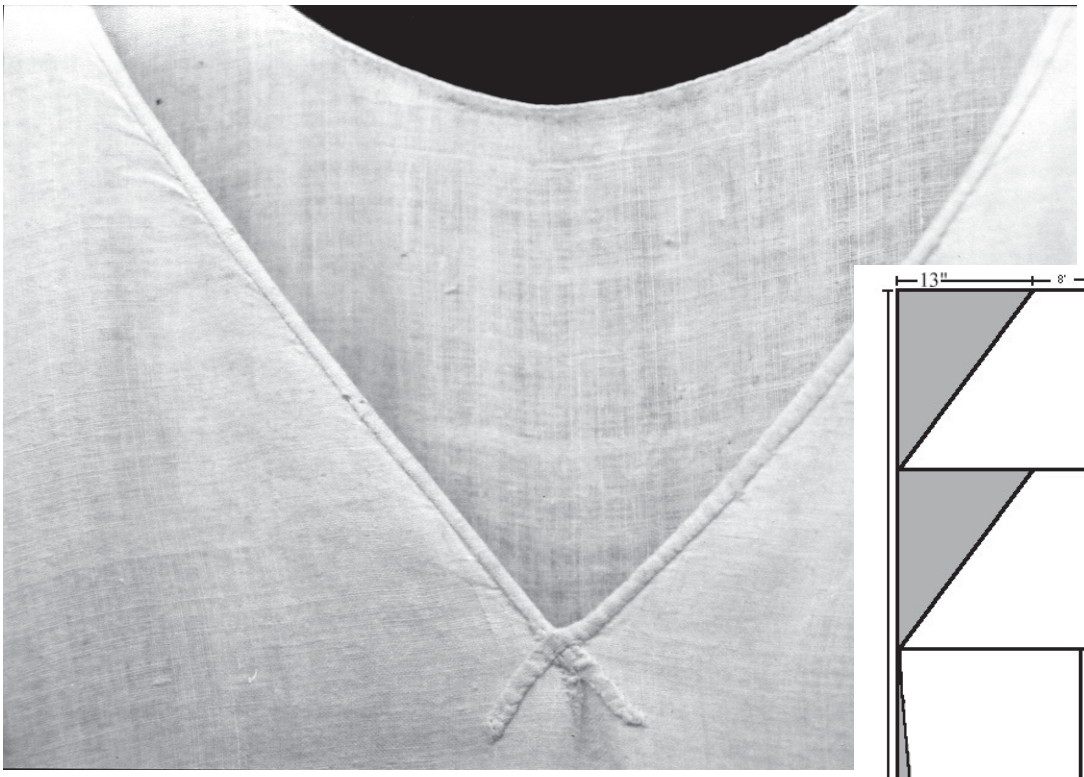

Fig. 6

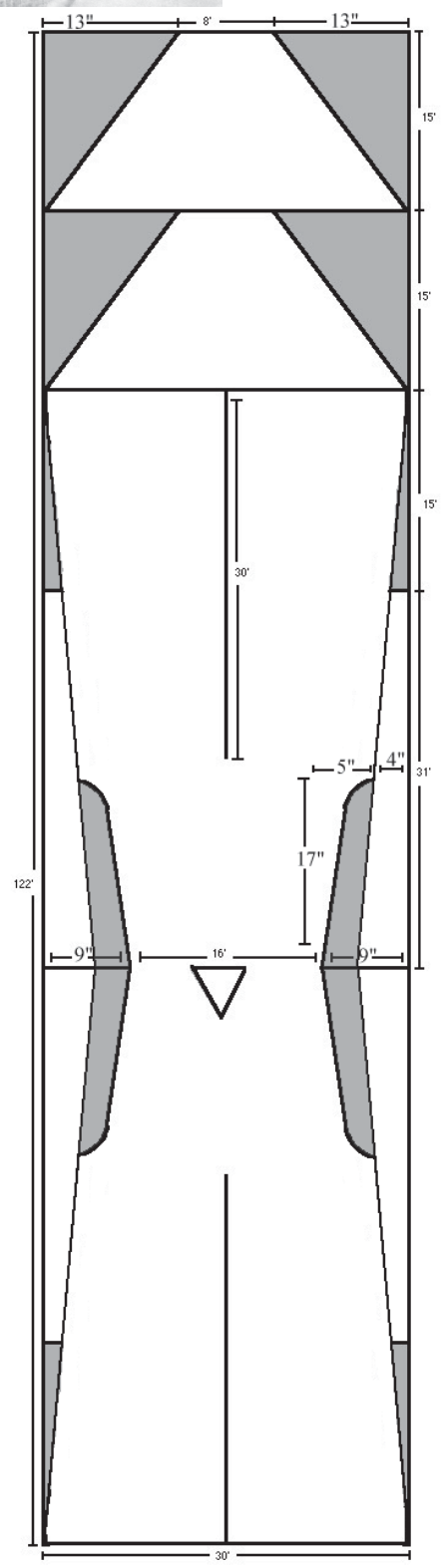

Fig. 1a

I started looking at medieval Middle Eastern embroidery purely as a side-product of my research into surviving garments. (This is a continuing theme. The types of publications that describe surviving garments tend to include information on particular other topics, and I've followed up on a number of those overlaps.) Just at a time when I'd been looking at several catalogs of Middle Eastern textiles, I was asked – I believe it was by Ascelin Meere of Ravenslocke – whether I'd ever run into any examples of period Middle Eastern embroidery on clothing. One of the few things that will stir my moral convictions is the knowledge that I have a rare access to, or familiarity with, information that someone else wants and can't find. And this was before the publication of several recent books on the topic, such as Marianne Ellis's Embroideries and Samplers from Islamic Egypt. *Most of my presentations of this material have been of the "data dump" form: catalogs of examples with information on their context. For this one I tried to include more entry-level how-to information – something I'm notoriously bad at. It was original put together as a collegium class in 2003.*

Medieval Egyptian "Blackwork" Embroidery

By Heather Rose Jones, copyright © 2003, all rights reserved

This article focusses on a particular stitch technique from medieval Egypt. (I've previously done a class that was a more extensive survey of this technique.) The material bears noticable resemblences (and is probably an ancestor of) certain types of blackwork found later in Europe. In Renaissance-era work, the technique is sometimes called "Holbein stitch", and that term can be used here for convenience even though it is highly anachronistic for this material. The particular material under consideration here is done in a counted-thread technique (working over 2-4 threads, but primarily over 2) using a double-running stitch (or a technique with an identical effect) with largely geometric or highly stylized plant and animal motifs built up from horizontal and vertical segments (extremely rarely, diagonal stitches or cross stitches are used). Although multiple colors may occur in the same piece, individual sections of the motif are worked in a single color, rather than combining colors to form patterns. Without seeing the backs of the work, it is hard to know to what extent the technique was designed to be reversible. In some cases, it could have been, but in others (e.g., with detached motifs) it could not have been completely reversible. Some examples form words and were clearly intended to have a "right" side.

Materials and Scale

The material here all dates to the 13-14th centuries (it may also be described as from the Mamluk period) and is worked in colored silk thread on a natural linen ground. The dominant colors are black (or colors that are probably faded black, such as a brown-black), dark and light blue, and red. The resolution of the photography is rarely good enough to see fine details, but in at least one case it is good enough to tell that the silk thread is at least two-ply and has at least some twist. The ground fabrics vary considerably in fineness, from ones described as extremely fine to moderately coarse ones. Although dimensions are given for all the pieces, the photographs are often only of a small segment of the piece, so it isn't always possible to tell the true scale of the pattern. When it is possible, thread-counts appear to run around 10-25 threads/cm, which translates to stitch-sizes of 5-10 per cm. We'll be working at a somewhat larger scale in this class.

Applications of the Technique

Because many of the surviving pieces are mere fragments, it can also be difficult to identify what sort of object they come from. One piece is clearly a garment -- although a doll's garment. The narrow width of a couple of pieces suggests the possibility that they may be ornamental turban ends (this is suggested by pictorial evidence showing ornamental bands of similar type on the loose ends of turban fabric). The commentary accompanying several of the pieces suggests that they are ornamental bands on tunics (hem and sleeve bands, neck bands, vertical stripes, etc.) and contemporary pieces in other stitch

techniques occur on pieces that are clearly of this type.

Motifs and Styles

There are some identifiable sub-styles in this general technique. Two sub-styles that won't be considered here are one that builds up geometric patterns or even Kufic script from little boxes (in German "Kästchenstich") and another that uses Holbein stitch and pattern darning fills in contrast with drawn-thread work (either contrasting as a pattern-and-ground or simply in alternating regions).

The motifs demonstrated here generally focus on bands of pattern, even when a larger region is being filled. Bands may contain cartouches of various shapes (which in turn may contain Kufic script), or negative-space "S" patterns, key-type patterns, or other types of small scale tiling patterns. Passant lions are the only animal motif in the available material, and highly stylized birds can also be found, often in combination with stylized trees or bushes. These may occur within a band or "standing" on top of a horizontal band. Geometric designs are somewhat more common, however, including octagons, stars built up from lozenges, diamonds, and triangles.

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Lamm, Karl Johan. 1937. Some Mamluk Embroideries. In Ars Islamica, vol. iv: 64-77.

Tissus d'Egypte Témoins du Monde Arabe VIIIe - XVe Siècles. 1993. Musée d'art et e'histoire, Genève & Institut du monde arabe, Paris.

Catalog

The following pieces appear in this handout. Ellis includes charts of a number of other examples of this technique. Kühnel has a number of other examples where the pattern can be worked out with some effort. The photography in the Lamm article, however, makes the patterns of those pieces more difficult to decipher.

Kühnel 1032 -- a band with diamond motifs, a triangular frame with scattered leopards, a truncated triangle with checker motifs; red and black silk on linen, 13-14th c.

Kühnel 3174 -- wide bands connected by narrow perpendicular bands, geometric or stylized birds; black silk on linen, 13-14th c.

Kühnel 3180 -- a narrow band topped by much wider octagons and plant motifs; linen w/dark blue silk embroidery.

Tissus d'Egypte #189 Egypt 13-14th c.; Height 17 cm, width 20 cm.; Linen, embroidered with brown-black silk (Holbein stitch) and blue and red silk (unclear -- the text calls it "Orient" stitch, but I don't know what this corresponds to and I can't tell from the photograph).

Analyzing the pattern for work-flow

So you have a chart for a pattern like the one opposite (fig. 1) -- how do you figure out how to stitch it?

The stitch used for this embroidery is a double running stitch -- that is, you make a dashed line with a running stitch and then turn around and fill in the spaces coming back. (Fig. 2)

The simplest design you can do is a plain straight line (fig. 3). The next simplest is a line that meanders around but doesn't do any branching (fig. 4).

At any point in the process, you can branch off and do a "return trip" back to the branching point. This works because a trip "out and back" results in a solid line with the needle and thread ending up back in the same position as before you started the branch. So, for example, a complicated-looking pattern like figure 5 (Tissus #189 a) is actually fairly straightforward to sew because it's just a matter of branching lines.

There are two features of a pattern that can complicate working out how to sew it. The simpler one is closed loops. Figure 6 shows a part of a band pattern from Tissues #189b.

When you sew it, you need to "break" each loop at some point so that you're visualizing the pattern as a set of branching lines that just happen to touch in some places. So, for example, imagine you're working from left to right: take the straight line at the bottom as your "baseline"; work each branch as you come to it up to the point where it comes back to the baseline, and break it there (i.e. turn around at that point and do your "return trip"). (Fig. 7)

Fig. 1

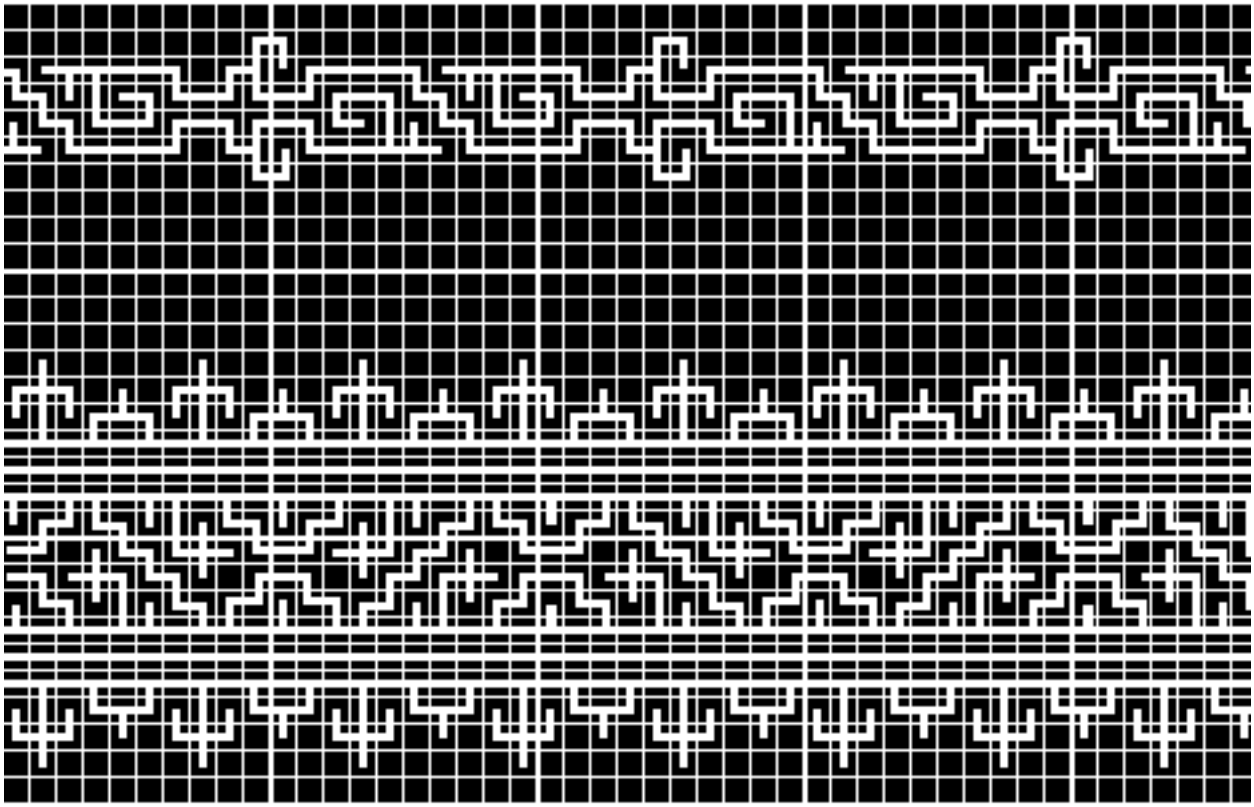


Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

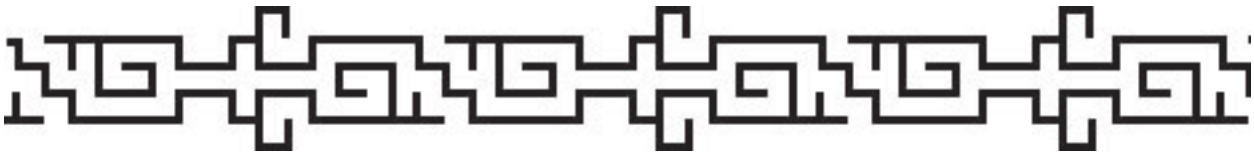


Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Looking at the whole band from Tissues #189 (fig. 8), you can break it down into a series of independent strips: the above line, a simple straight line, a complex central band, and then the first two again in reverse order. The outer pairs are easily dealt with as above. The central band, in turn, consists of two outer straight lines, each with some branches and loops coming off of it that can be dealt with as above, and also with some diagonal lines that connect the two outer lines.

The easiest way to approach the central band is to treat it as two independent patterns, and assign the connecting diagonals to the first one that you work. So the analasys of how to work the pattern, with the "breaks" shown, can be seen in figure 9.

The second type of complicating factor is independent design elements -- that is, parts of the pattern that don't touch any other part of the pattern. If you have a design where all parts of the design are connected, then not only is the working layout relatively straightforward, but you can sew it so that the pattern is completely reversible. (Note that we don't know how reversible the originals are even when they *can* be -- mostly we're only shown the "right side" in pictures.)

In the previous band, we had a number of independent elements worked in parallel. This can be done by working each element completely (which brings the work back to the lefthand edge), then carrying the thread down to the next starting point and simply assuming that the edge of the band will be concealed in some way when it's used.

The narrower band, Tissues #189a, presents a slightly more complicated case. Figure 10 shows the design with the alternating independent elements in black and gray.

Not only do you have to deal with carrying the thread from one element to the next, but you have to figure out how to plan the work, because if you work one element starting at the left and complete it (ending up back at the left end) you aren't in position to start the next element. There are several ways to get around this. You can simply work each element separately, knot your thread at the end of it and start fresh on the next element. In this particular case, notice that alternate pairs of elements (e.g. all the gray ones or all the black ones) almost touch at the ends, and you could almost treat them as two continuous lines: work one all the way across and back, then work the other all the way across and back. (You'd only have to carry the threads across the back of the work at the break between elements.) A more complicated way might be to treat one set (e.g. the black lines) as the "main" pattern and the other set as a pair of "branches". Work one direction of the first black pattern; carry the thread under to a starting point in the middle of the next gray pattern; work one half of the gray pattern out and back, then the other half out and back; carry the thread under to start the next black pattern and work it in one direction only; then when you've worked all the way to the righthand end of your band, do the "return trip" on the black pattern elements all the way back to the lefthand edge. Figure 13 on the following pages shows one approach to working this design, with black lines showing the visible thread and gray lines showing the thread-path on the wrong side of the fabric.

A simpler, if less elegant, method can be used for smaller independent elements. Figure 11 shows one element from a more complex design. The small crosses are separated, but the rest of the design is continuous.

When you get to the nearest point to the separate element, carry the thread under the back and then do the complete separate element. If you came back to the starting point, you'd have the thread on the right side of the fabric, so instead, the last time you put the needle to the back of the fabric to complete the cross, carry it back to the main pattern line, but remember to leave a one-stitch space between where you branched off and where you continue the pattern again. Figure 12 shows suggested "breaks" in the pattern, and indicates one possible way to carry the thread over to do the cross in gray.

Fig. 8

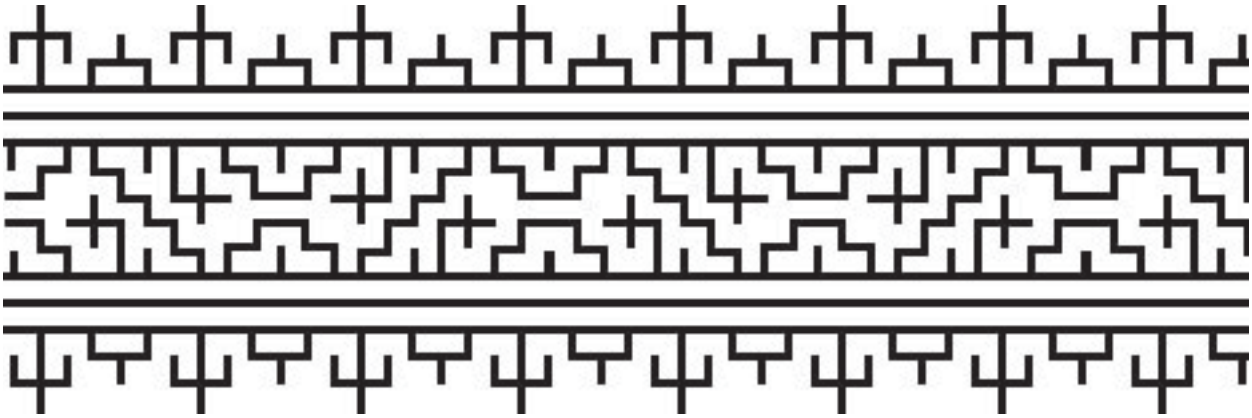


Fig. 9

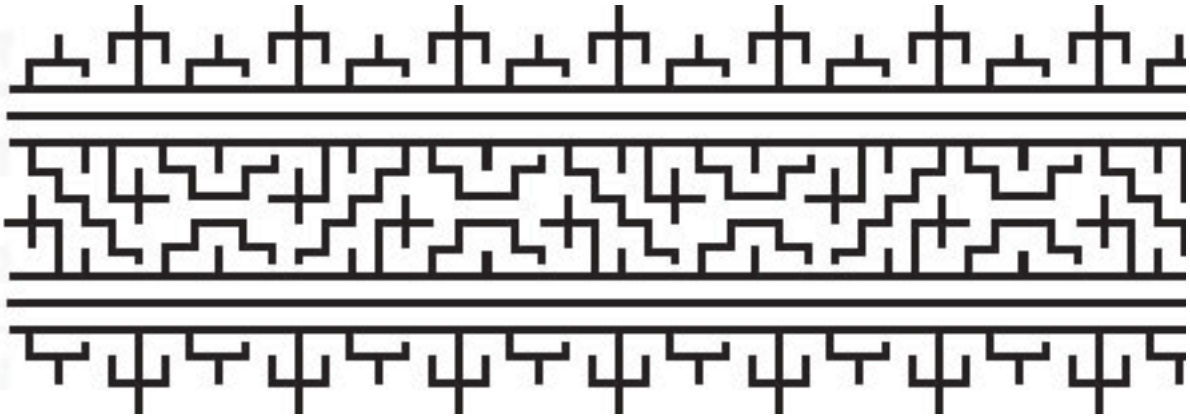
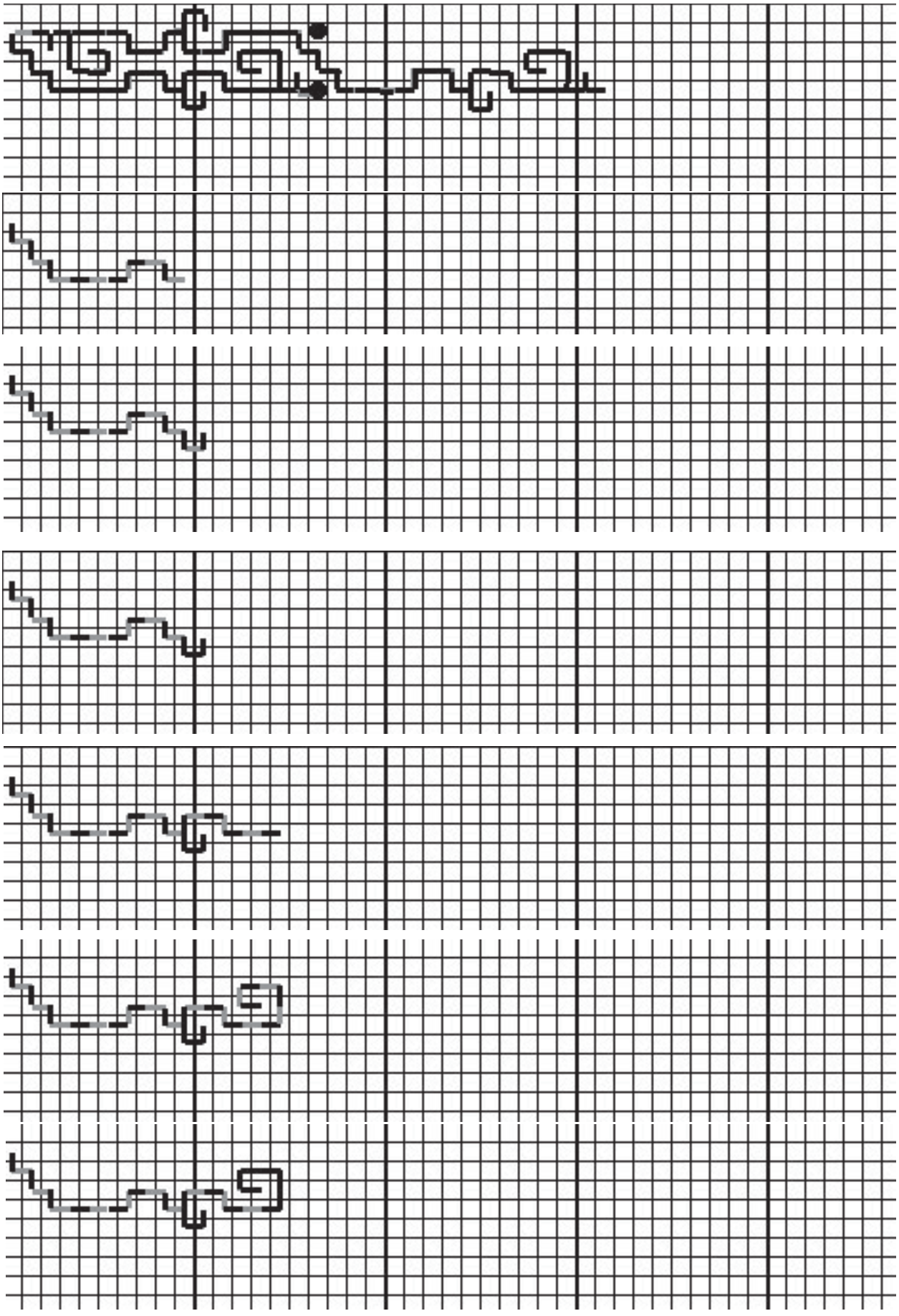


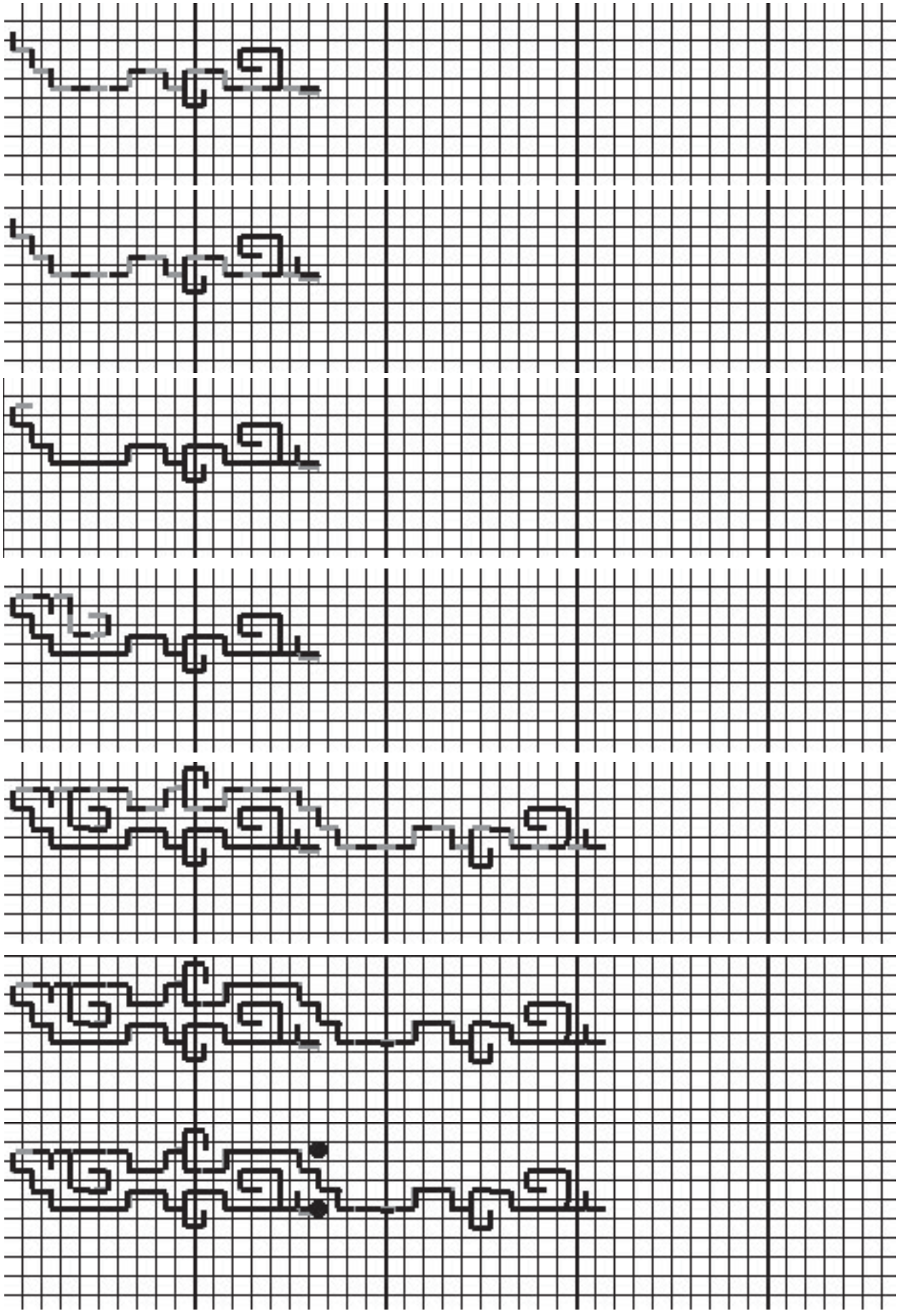
Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

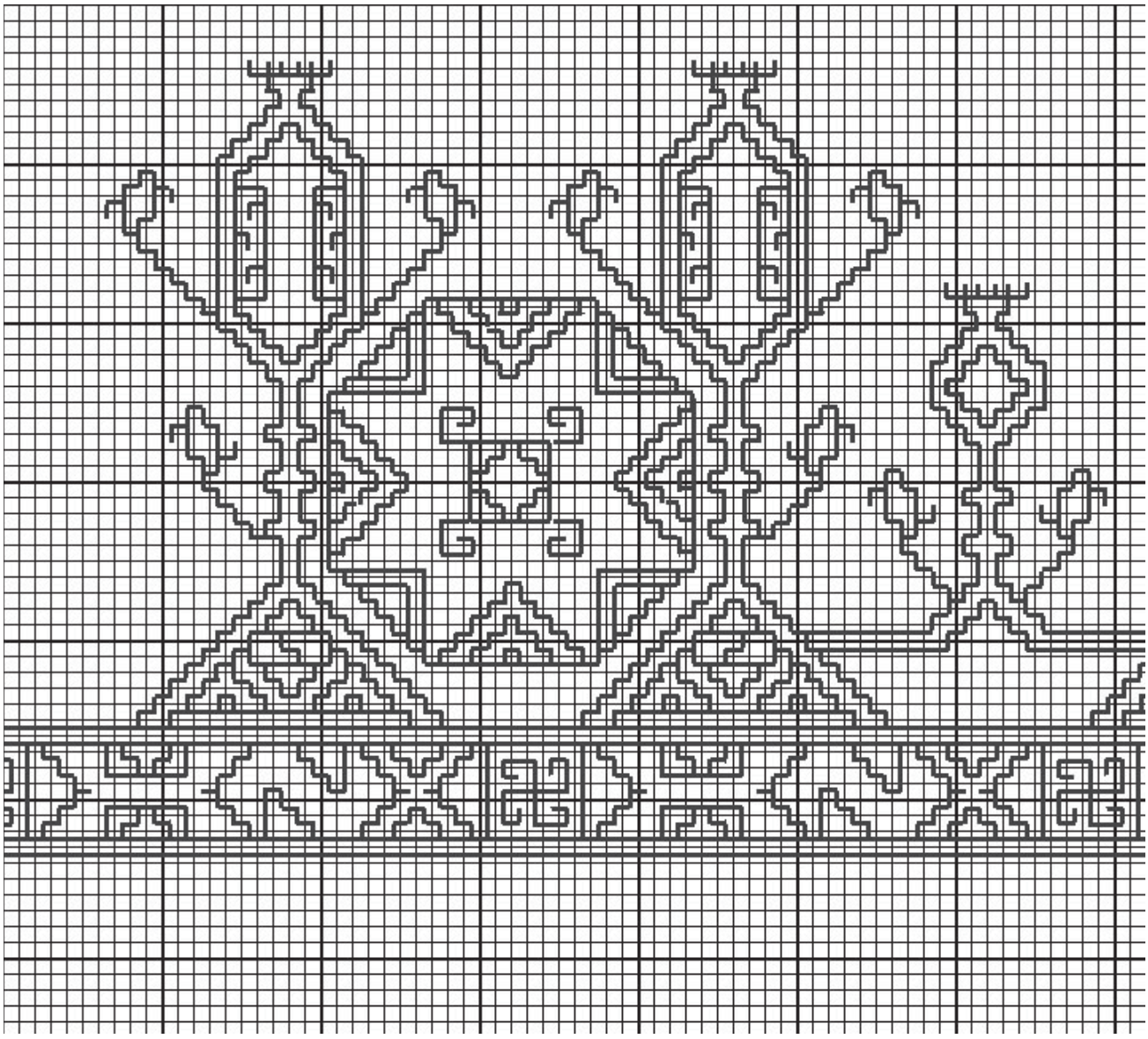
Fig. 13: steps 1-10



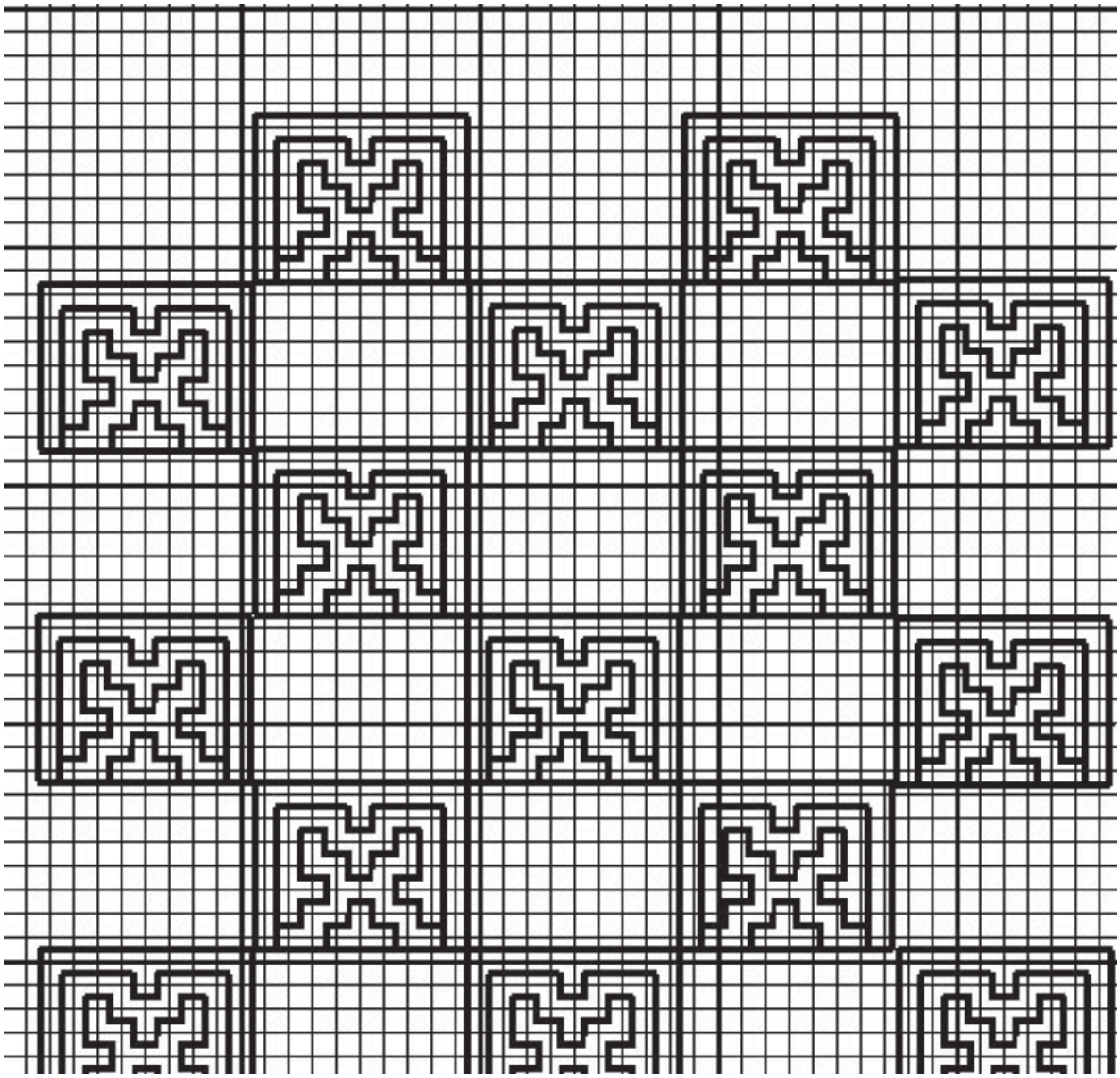

5a
5b
6
7
8
9
10

Pattern Charts

Here are charts for the other pieces listed in the catalog. (In some cases, these are only a few of the motifs present in the original item.)

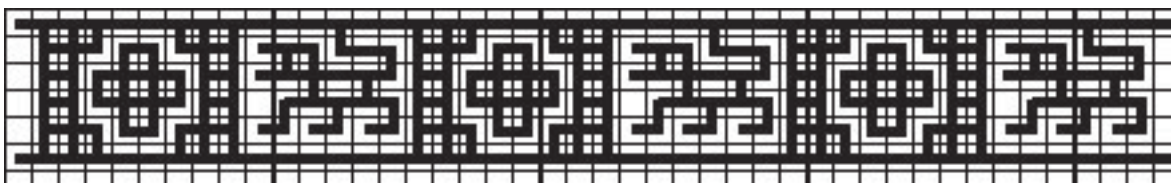


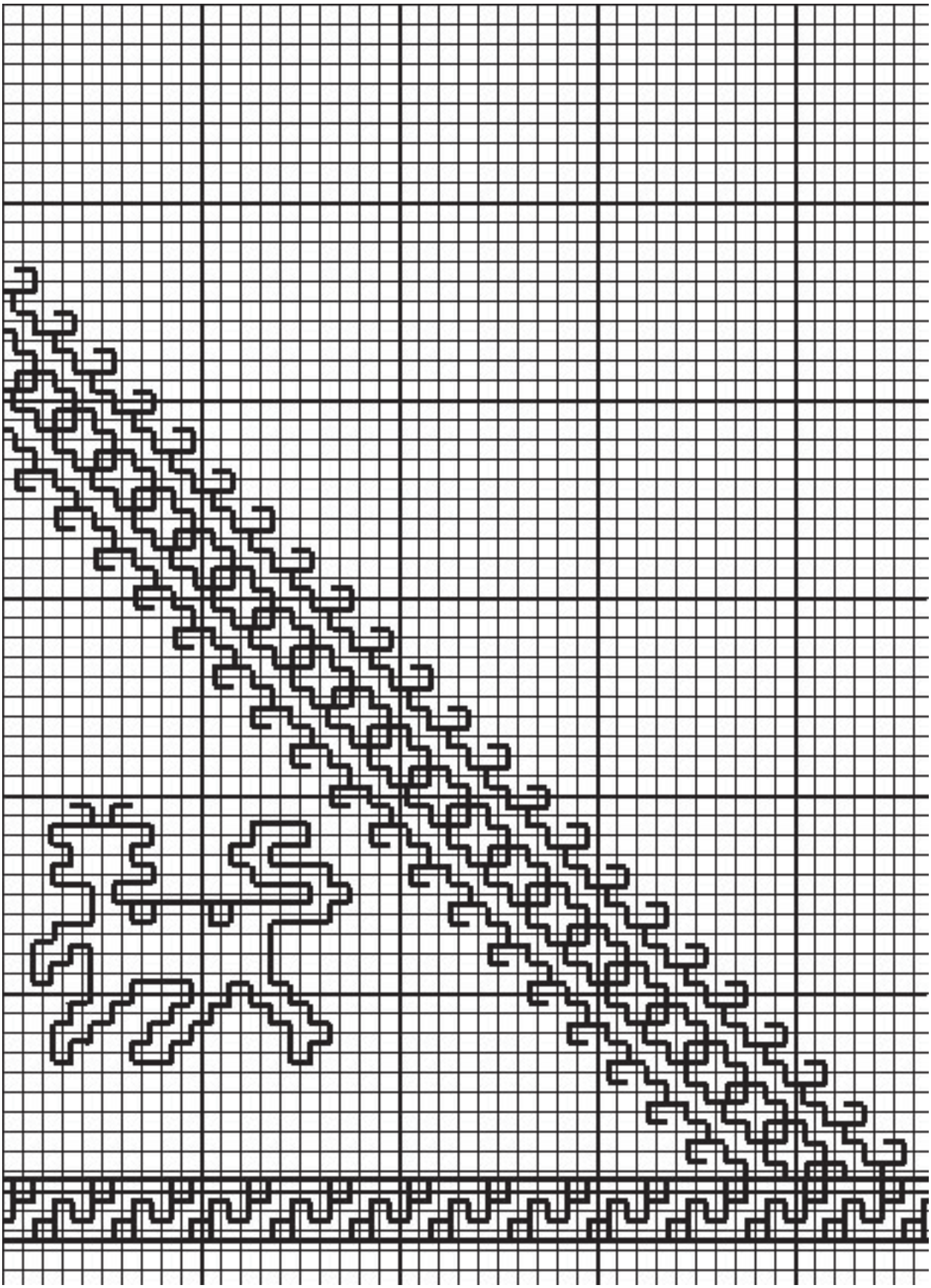
Kühnel 3180



Kühnel 1032

Kühnel 3174





Kühnel 1032

My apprentice, Christian de Holacombe, has for some years been the editor of the newsletter of the West Kingdom Embroiderers Guild, so I have occasionally had my arm twisted to contribute an article. This appeared in slightly different form in the Winter 2004 issue of the newsletter as part of a series entitled "Is this stitch period?" I confess that I started out a chain-stitch skeptic. Having seen a number of pieces described as chain-stitch that looked more to me as if they were split-stitch or rows of stem-stitch done in opposite "twists", I got to the point where I distrusted every reference to this technique. What finally got me past the block (in addition to finally seeing some very close-up photos of pieces) was a look at the top edge of the Huysbourg antependium where the ground fabric had rotted away and the individual "chains" of embroidery were hanging loose and separate from each other. Having overcome my wall of skepticism, I've gone back and looked at a number of pieces I'd previously distrusted and have come to accept them as chain-stitch as well. This includes the rather curious embroidered tunic of Saint Bathilde, which I had done a reproduction of, substituting the stem-stitch that I was convinced it must have used instead! Let that be a lesson to me.

A Historical Chain

By Heather Rose Jones (with significant editorial adjustment by Chris Laning),

Chain stitch is commonly used today in ways that show off its unique shape and structure. But the chain stitch embroideries I'm familiar with from the SCA's historical period use it in the same way as split or stem stitch - as a filling stitch, one that follows the contours of the motifs (or of their internal details).

When packed closely together in this type of use, chain stitch can be difficult to distinguish from stem or split stitch, and for quite a while I was skeptical about many catalog descriptions of pieces claiming they used chain. The easiest way to tell is if the work is damaged and you can see the loops "unchaining", or if the ground fabric is damaged and you can see individual chain-rows separating out.

Chain stitch was popular in Egypt (and possibly other parts of the Middle East) from a fairly early date - at least from the later Roman Empire. It continued to be popular there at least through the 12-13th centuries, adapting to new fashions, materials and motifs. Examples from Europe proper are much scarcer, and the stitch doesn't seem to be part of the repertoire of the great embroideries of the high medieval period.

It's always something of a matter of chance which pieces have survived, but we can make a few general observations. Surviving works in chain stitch may either be solidly embroidered (the Huysbourg altar hanging - see catalog) or have the ground fabric showing between the motifs (as in the Coptic pillows). The work is most commonly done in wool, either on a linen or woolen ground fabric.

A few pieces differ from this pattern. The embroidered "necklace" on the tunic of St. Bathilde is worked in silk (on linen), as are at least one 12-13th c. Egyptian piece and the Huysbourg hanging. A 9th c. middle eastern piece of uncertain origin is worked in wool on cotton. And the woolen Egyptian pieces in general use linen or cotton to embroider the white parts of the motifs. (There may be a logical explanation for the rarity of silk embroideries using chain stitch, since this stitch is less able to show off the smooth gloss of the silk.)

In some of the Coptic Egyptian pieces, chain stitch is used in combination with stem stitch, where the latter is used for solid blocks of color and the chain is used to create thick free-standing lines (such as the handles of a vase or the stems of foliage).

Catalog of examples

Near East

The earliest examples I've found are from ca. 3rd century Palmyra [1]. They are unusual in that the ground fabric is silk, often a patterned damask weave. The embroidery is done in colored silk (yellow, green, and blue) in fairly large sloppy stitches creating rather abstract flower and vegeta-

tion designs. The pieces are very fragmentary and their original purpose is hard to determine.

The next pieces are primarily from Coptic Egypt, although some may have been imported from elsewhere. They are very similar in overall style, using classical Greco-Roman artistic motifs, often featuring human or mythological figures.

There are several relatively large pieces that consist of a square frame enclosing a human torso. In some cases, these appear to have been cushion covers, in others the use is impossible to determine.

Below is a 4th c. example from Harris [2] where the human figure represents "Autumn", holding a cloth carrying fruit. (There's also a companion piece

representing "Winter.") The frame is worked in some decorative stitch forming a lattice effect, but the interior area is worked solidly in chain stitch.

Another very well preserved example from the 5th c. is given in Thompson [3]. The human figure here is also likely to be allegorical, as it has wings and is carrying a basket and some odd-looking staff or rod. In this piece the purple woolen ground fabric shows between the motifs and the frame as well as the interior design is done in chain stitch. The frame is filled with several types of flowers with an outer edge of engrailed points tipped with "pearls" (i.e., white circles). A wide variety of colors are used, several shades each of red, green, and blue, as well as orange, yellow, and white. The white is linen, while the colors are all worked in wool. There are a couple of other very fragmentary pieces of similar for-mat in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

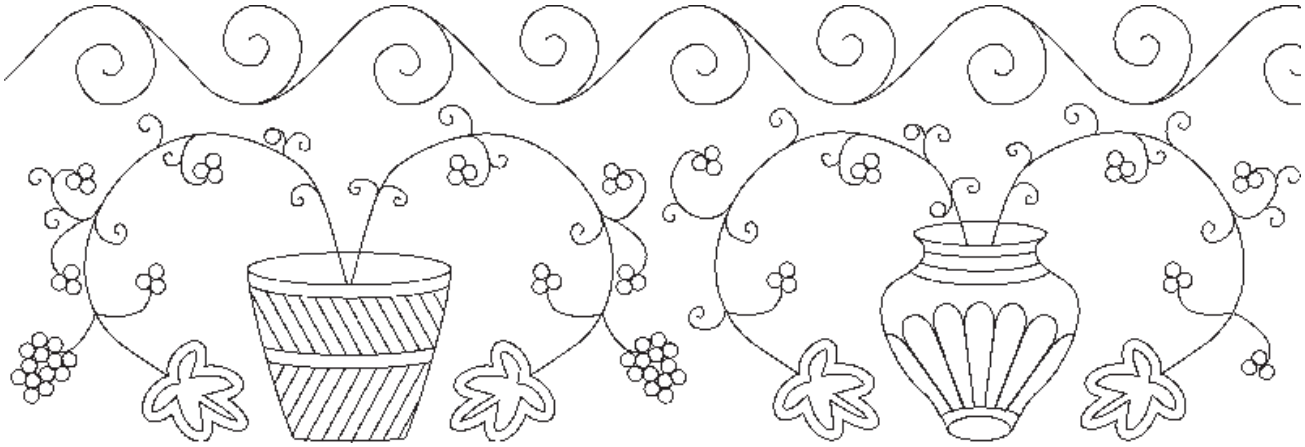
The Coptic Egyptian examples aren't confined to this one particular motif, however. Thompson [4] shows several small roundels, probably of the 4-6th century, worked solidly in chain stitch in wool on linen. Each has a single motif: a partridge-like bird or a bowl of fruit. It's possible that these were used as decorations on tunics. (Circular tunic ornaments of similar size are found in tapestry weaving.) The embroidery is done in light blue, pink, red, white, light green, and two shades of brown.

Another piece that may originally have been a tunic ornament is a rather small plain square frame enclosing a vase with flowers emerging from it [5]. The piece is mostly worked in stem stitch, with only the linear elements (e.g., stems and vase handles) done in chain. It is also unusual in being done in a

monochrome style (in purple wool on natural linen, with details worked in white linen) similar to a style often seen in tapestry weaving of the time. Here is a re-drawing of the piece.

While many of the Egyptian pieces are somewhat stylized in design, a fragment showing part of a centaur from the 4-5th century is much more naturalistic and sophisticated in its depiction. Schuette and Christensen [6] describe it as being done in red, green, and brown wool and white linen, on a red woolen ground fabric.

Schuette and Christensen [7] also includes the largest surviving piece I've seen using chain stitch. This is a

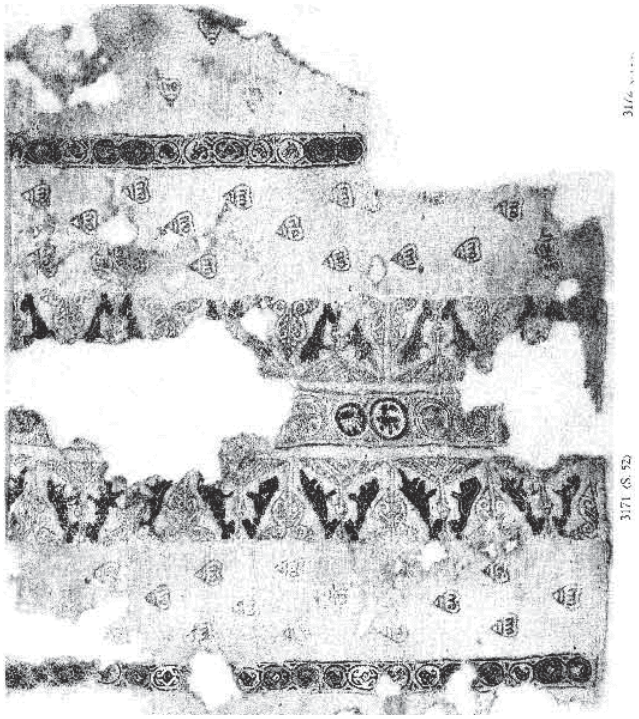


curtain or hanging from 4th-6th c. Egypt, worked on linen in blue, yellow, pink, purple, and several shades of green wool. The solid parts of the motifs are worked in stem stitch, but the lines (such as stems and vines) are done in chain. At the top of the curtain, there is a row of pots or baskets from which grapevines emerge. Scattered over the rest of the piece are stylized trees and flowers. (My re-drawings are given here and at the end of the article.)

A rather different artistic style can be seen in another

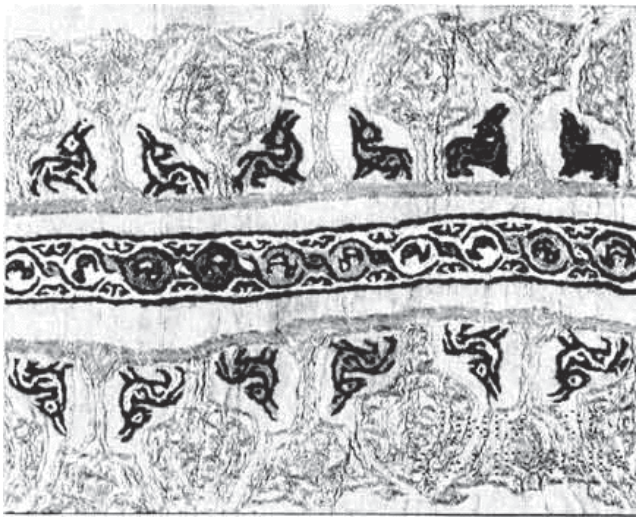
piece from the same book [8], attributed to 6-7th c. Persia. The fragmentary piece shows rather stylized human figures in various activities, worked solidly in chain stitch using white, red, green, and black wool on a white wool ground.

Continuing with the Egyptian material, we see some definite changes in style in a group of 7th c. examples published by Errera [9]. These are worked in silk on linen in a relatively small number of colors: only three or four at a time, but taken from green, red, black, pale blue, and two shades of brown. The pieces are built up out of bands of motifs, often mirrored around a central line, with stylized trees, birds, and animals, sometimes enclosed in roundels



or cartouches. Some of the bands are solidly embroidered, while others are done as outlines with the ground fabric showing through. The stitches are relatively large and loose compared to the size of the motifs, making the details hard to identify.

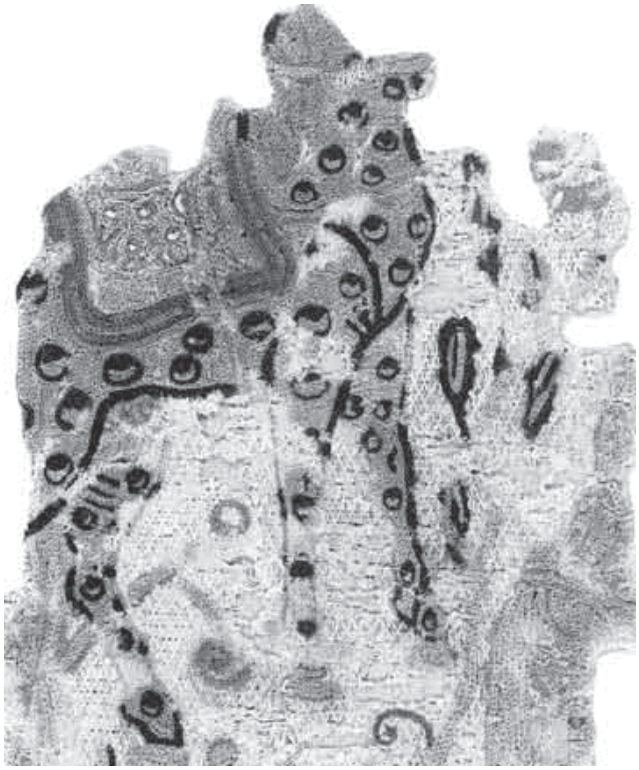
These pieces are fairly similar to a group attributed in Kühnel [10] to the 12-13th c. (The difference in dating should not be relied on. Much of the Egyptian material has been dated on stylistic grounds alone, and opinions have changed over the last century.) Two of these pieces are identified as "pillow covers" and involve several bands of motifs like those described above, mirrored around the central band, sometimes with scattered motifs between the bands.



A somewhat larger variety of colors are used in these pieces. The third piece is unclear as to function and has a different structure with a scattering of lions (or perhaps dogs) outlined alternately in blue or red, and originally filled in (but the filling has now disappeared). This group are all worked in silk on linen.

Another silk-on-linen piece of the 12th-13th c. with randomly scattered animal motifs appears in Tissus d'Egypte [11]. The colors are now two shades of pale brown, with occasional details in dark blue, but the piece may originally have been more colorful.

Going back in time a little to the 9th c., there are two pieces in Tissus d'Egypte [12] that resemble each other. Each appears to be part of a continuous band of roughly round frames enclosing a very stylized lily-like flower. The embroidery is done in wool using a relatively small number of colors (and white cotton). One piece also has stylized floral motifs but is too damaged to interpret reliably. The ground fabric for one is natural wool, and cotton for the other. (One appears as a project at the end of this article.)



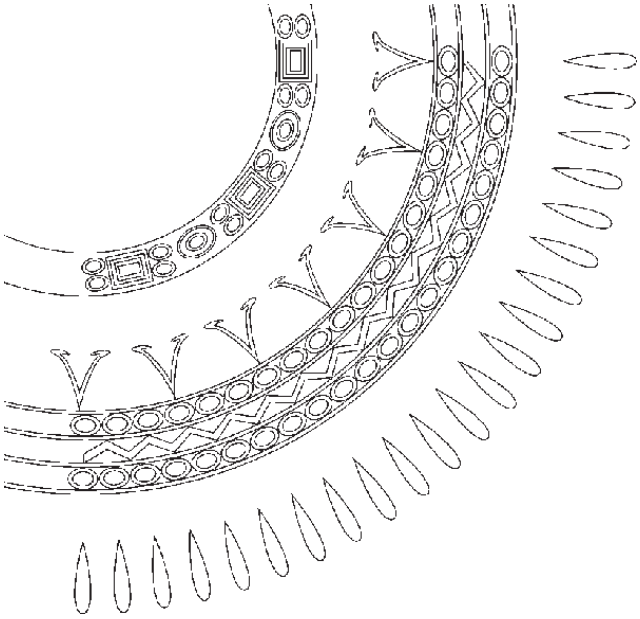
Although most of the 12-13th c. Egyptian pieces I've found have been done in silk, Tissus d'Egypte [13] also has one done very delicately in wool on linen, with a realistic (if somewhat crude) animal motif - from the fragment, it looks like it might be a saddled camel - and vegetation. Rather unusually, the visible

ground fabric on this piece is covered with a decorative pulled-thread technique worked in white linen.

Europe

So far, I've only found two pieces from Europe proper - although one of them currently exists in several pieces in more than one country!

A relic associated with the 7th c. Frankish queen, Saint Bathilde [14], consists of part of a white linen tunic with silk chain-stitch embroidery representing a series of necklaces around the neck opening. There are several solid bands with oval "jewels" and teardrop-shaped pendants, and a narrow "chain" from which a series of medal-lions and a "jeweled" cross hang. The colors are bright: red, blue, and green for the "jewels", and two shades of yellow representing metallic gold. (There is no actual gold thread used.) The piece is quite unusual may not represent a typical use of embroidery ... or it may - we don't have much 7th-century French embroidery surviving.



The other European piece [15] is an antependium (church hanging) created in (or at one time residing in) Huysbourg monastery in France, ca. 1150-60. (One piece of it is in the Cluny museum in Paris, several others are in the Victoria and Albert museum in London.) It is solidly embroidered in chain stitch in silk on a linen ground. The design has a series of roman arches with a saint standing in each one. Above the arches are various acanthus motifs. The colors now appear to involve five or six different shades of brown, some of them slightly reddish, but it seems likely that these have faded from the originals.

Notes

[1] Pfister, R. 1934. Textiles de Palmyre. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire.

[2] Harris, Jennifer ed. 1993. 5000 Years of Textiles. London: British Museum Press. Page 63.

[3] Thompson, Deborah. 1971. Coptic Textiles in the Brooklyn Museum. The Brooklyn Museum. #8.

[4] Thompson, Nos. 11a-c. There is also a similar embroidery with two stylized birds flanking a "jeweled" cross, done in chain stitch embroidery in wool on linen from Akhmim in London; see Kendrick, Catalogue II, pl. VI, no. 318 (1262-1888).

[5] Currently held at the V&A museum, who ascribe it to 4-5th c. Egypt or Mesopotamia.

[6] Schuette, Marie & Sigrid Müller-Christensen. 1963. La Broderie. Editions Albert Morancé, Paris. (There is also an English edition of this book.) Figure 1.

[7] Schuette & Christensen, Figure 7.

[8] Schuette & Christensen, Figure 6.

[9] Errera, Isabelle. 1916. Collection d'Ancienne Étoffes Égyptiennes. Bruxelles: Imprimerie J.-E. Goossens. Catalog #269, 270, 271, 272

[10] Kühnel, Ernst. 1927. Islamische Stoffe aus Ägyptischen Gräbern. Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth. Catalog #3171, 3172, 4915.

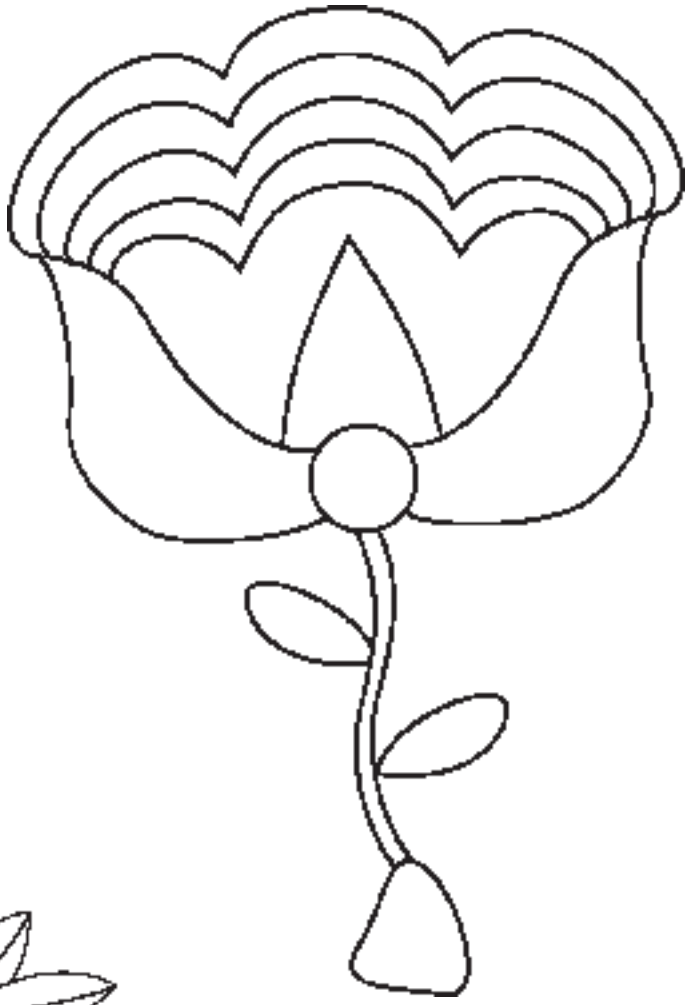
[11] Tissus D'Égypte: Témoins du monde arabe VIIIe-XVe s. 1993. Paris: Societe Presence du livre. Catalog #179

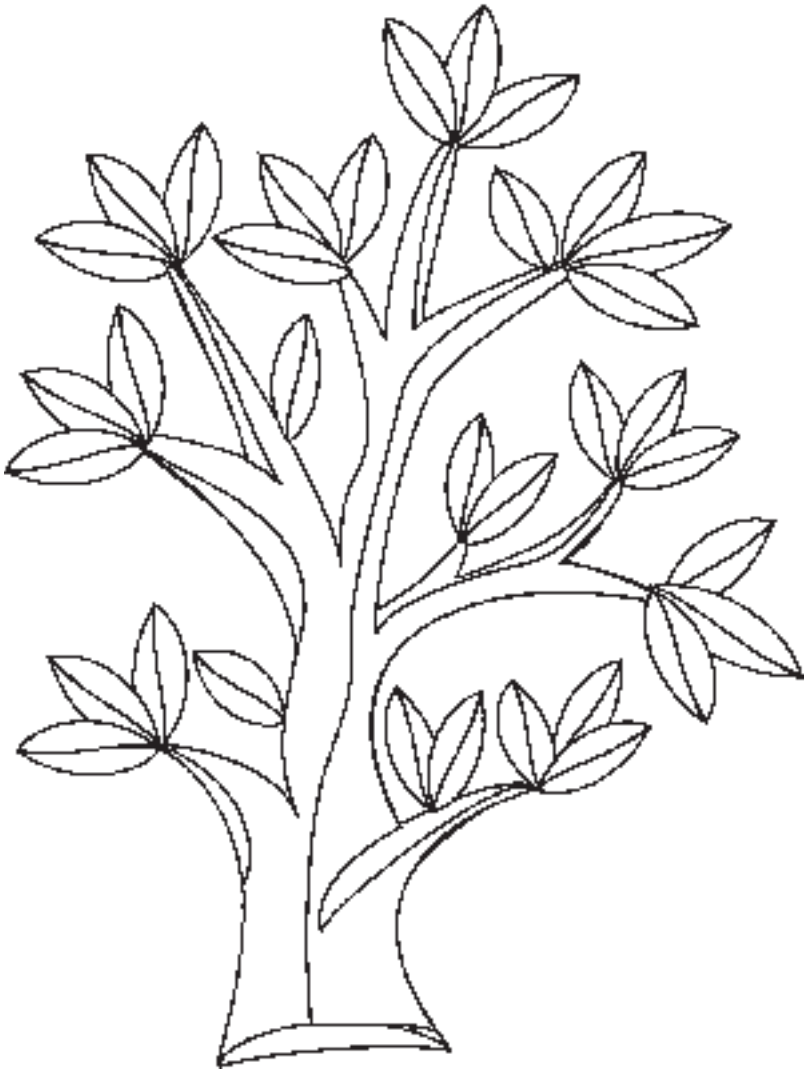
[12] Tissus, catalog #175 & 176

[13] Tissus, catalog #178

[14] Laporte, Jean-Pierre. 1988. Le Tresor des Saints de Chelles. Ville de Chelles: Societe Archeologique et Historique de Chelles.

[15] Musée national du Moyen Age, Themes de Cluny: A Guide to the Collections. 1993. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

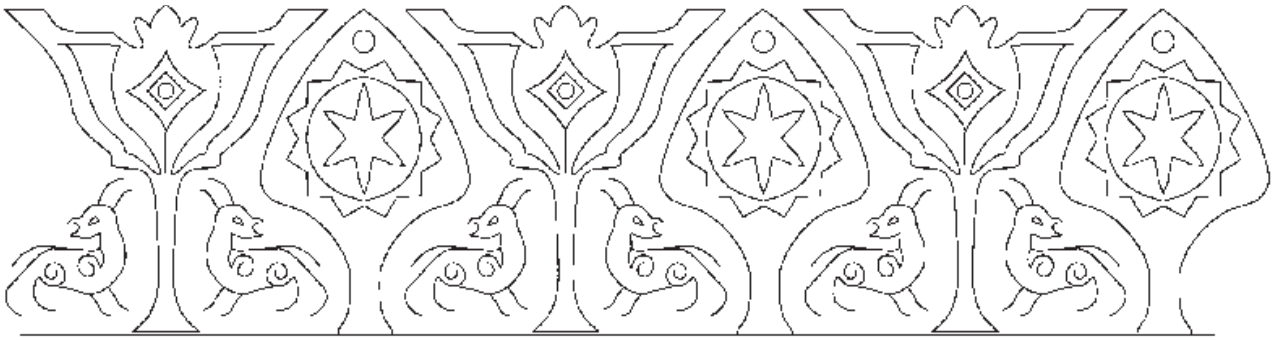


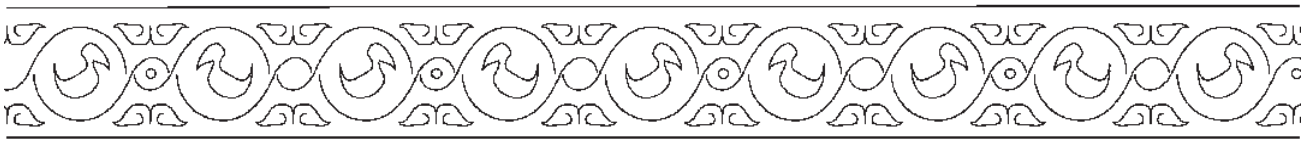


Additional Patterns

The tree, tulip and border patterns (*earlier in this article*) are from a 4-6th century Egyptian curtain. Enlarge as needed: the trees on the original are about 10 inches tall, the "tulips" about 3.5 inches, and the elaborate border about 5.5 inches. The trees and their leaves are worked with one side lighter green, the other darker green, as shown by the dividing lines. In the original, no two trees, tulips or repetitions of the border are alike - note the differences in the branches of the border pattern here. Improvise!

Two of the borders from the previously-mentioned pillow cover are given at the top of the next page. (The third border in this group is a repeat of the top border, upside down.)





Flowered Chain Border

The pattern given here is for an interpretation of Tissus d'Egypte #176 (mentioned as [12]). My suspicion is that this is part of a continuous band, repeating the same pattern, since you can see fragments of repeats at the sides of the original. You might use this band to decorate a tunic, or at the bottom of a hanging or a covering cloth. Further research might suggest other uses.

The design is embroidered in wool on linen, with the white parts of the embroidery done in cotton. You may choose to do the whole design in wool, but the substitution of either linen or cotton for the white parts is so universal in Egyptian embroidery that I recommend trying it. Rather than recommending a specific brand and weight of thread, I suggest that you locate the thread you want to work with first, sew some test chains, and then enlarge or reduce the pattern so that the one-stitch-wide parts of the pattern match the size of your work. Try to find a cotton thread roughly the same size as your wool, though in the original piece the cotton is slightly thicker.

Chain stitch is worked by bringing the thread up from the back of the fabric to the front, then plunging the needle back through the exact same point it came up, bringing it up again a short distance away, and catching the loop of the thread (on the right side of the work) as you bring the needle through. You should work the "down and up" part of the stitch as a single action - don't move your hand under the fabric to bring the needle through and then re-insert it from the back. Pull your thread mildly snug but not tight. Much better to be too loose than too tight.

Most importantly, a tight stitch will gather the fabric as your work and cause puckering. (Structurally, a chain stitch is a type of 3:1 pulley, so a very little force on the thread will pull on the fabric a lot.)

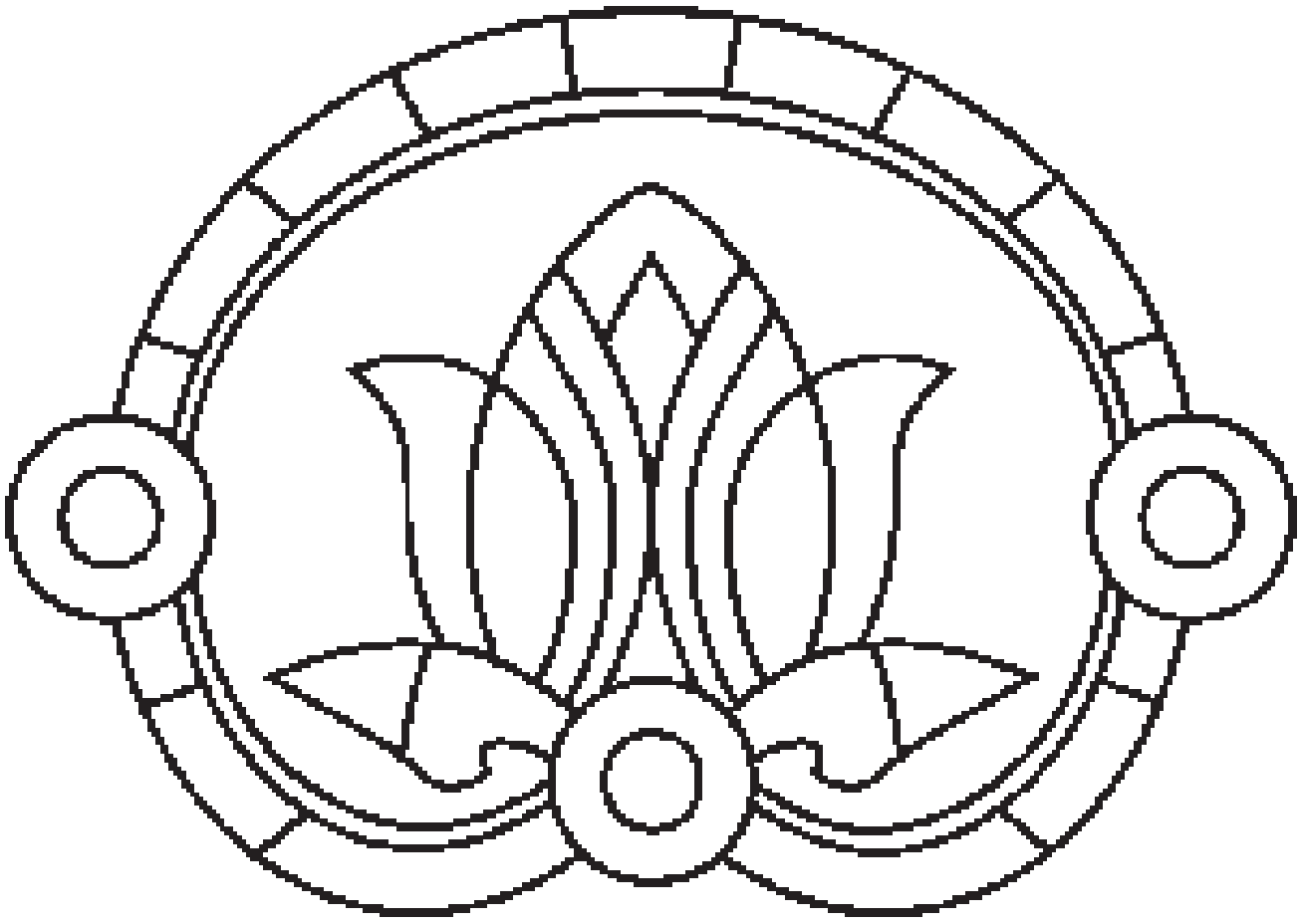
A tight stitch will also produce a narrower line of work, and one of the benefits of using chain stitch is that it fills the space quickly because it's so wide (compared, for example, to a stem stitch, which uses roughly the same amount of thread). When you come to the end of a row of work, plunge the needle through the same place it came out, except pass it over the last loop rather than through it. This will lock the last stitch in place. Begin a new row simply by bringing the thread through from the back at the point where you want the row to begin.

It's possible to work this technique without stretching the fabric, if you're careful enough about your tension, but you will probably prefer to use some sort of hoop or frame at least to begin with. If you are making a band of trim, you might try a scroll frame, set long enough to work one repeat of the pattern at a time. (Working the embroidery on a separate band and then applying it to your finished item also means that the back of the work will be protected and hidden.)

The pattern given below and the picture of my reproduction on the facing page are given approximately life-size. Scale the pattern up or down as desired for your own needs and materials.

In general, you want to work the outlines first and then fill in the larger areas from the outside in, making concentric circles that follow the path of the outlines. In the outer ring, the black "bars" through the white areas are worked on top of the white, so begin by working two rows of white continuously along the whole path (except where they meet the small circles at the sides). Then work one row of black on each side of the white, working the bars as you go on one or the other pass. (I somehow forgot to do the bars on my reproduction.) At the same time, use one row of black for the outlines on the two lower petals. Then work one row of red just inside the frame, following the inner black line, and then work the red outlines in the flower, also as a single row. Don't try to force any of these outlines to be a particular thickness based on the way the pattern is drawn - just go with what the stitch wants to do.

Now you've done all the one-stitch-thick outlines and you can start filling in the areas with however many rows of stitches are needed. For the small



concentric circles (at the sides, and at the base of the flower) you may want to do two or three rows of the outer color - whatever leaves enough space for the middle color. And when you do the background color outside the motif, you'll want to start by doing a straight row along the outer edge of the area you want to fill. Otherwise, start your work at the outside of your space and follow that edge in a solid spiral until the area is completely filled.

Colors

The following colors are used in the original: white (cotton), black, indigo-blue, brick-red, reddish-orange, and yellow-tan.

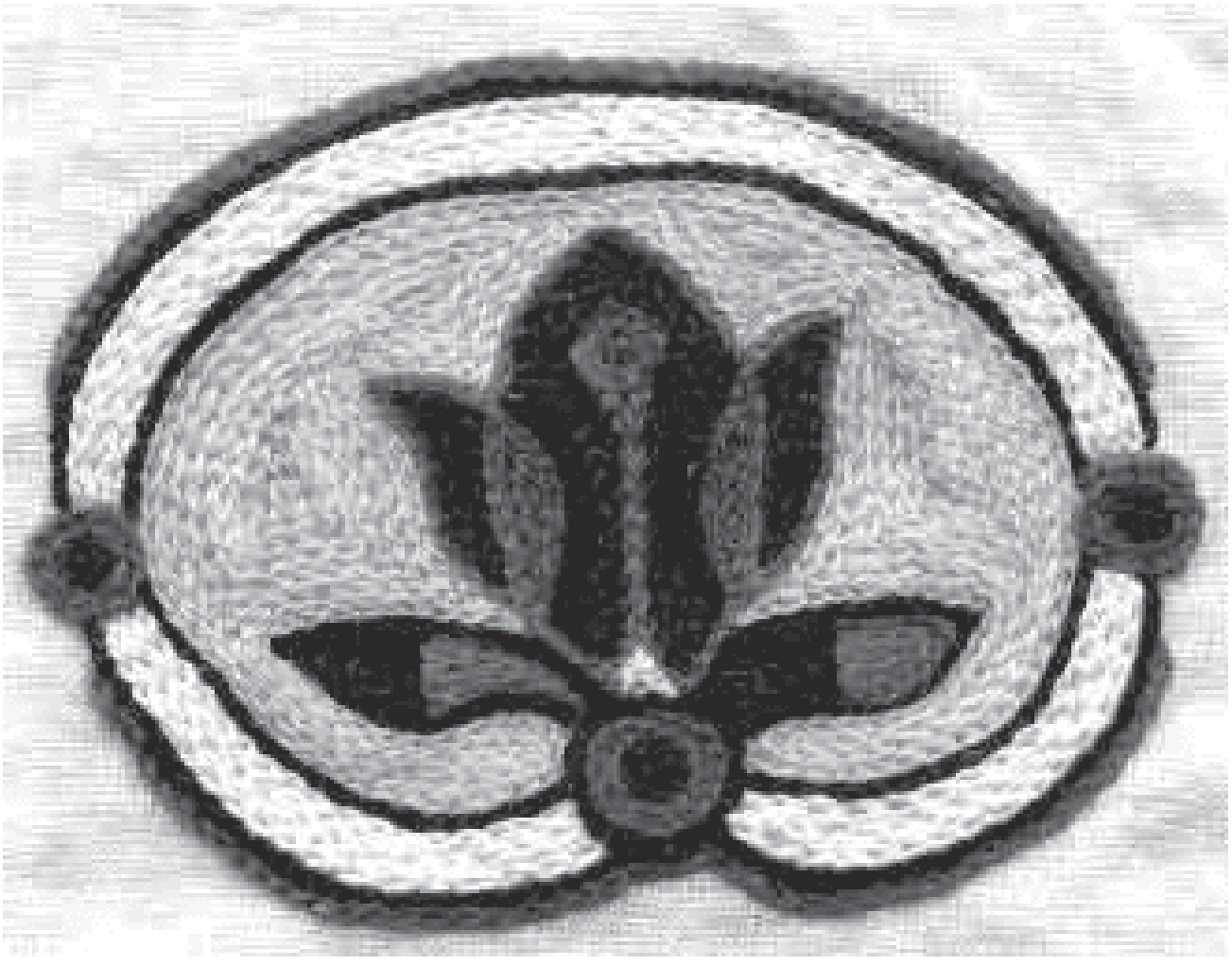
Outer circle: white in the middle, edged by black and with black cross-bars, then with a red outline outside the black (possibly the entire background outside this motif is red).

Side roundels and lower central roundel: blue center, red-orange outer ring. The lower central roundel also has a black outline. The side roundels may have had one (there's a slight gap where a row of stitching may be missing) but it isn't there now.

Lower petals: black outline and a black line separating the two filling colors. Filled with blue (on the left half of each) and red (on the right half).

Central petals: all lines in the pattern represent a red line (one stitch wide) except as noted in the following. Unlike the lower petals, the upper part is has a mirror symmetry around the mid-line, so only one half will be described. Starting from the middle: the lower triangular section is white, the upper section has a red-orange "diamond" topped by a blue "chevron". The long curved portions are blue on the inner part followed by black, and these two colors are not separated by a red outline. Proceeding outward, the almond-shaped area is red-orange, and the outer (protruding) petal is blue.

Interior: the large interior space around the flower but within the white circle is yellow.



The introduction to this article will explain how I came to write it. The project first saw the light of day at a Western collegium in the Fall of 2002. It was too unmanageable to do as a single class, so I ended up with a track to myself, doing various aspects as different classes. I did a pared-down version at the Spring 2004 Caid collegium and wrote up the text version as a set of web pages, included on a CD with other handouts. This is a modified version of that one and uses re-drawings rather than scans of the artwork. This is the first print version of the material.

The Shepherd's Purse: Artifact or Artistic Motif?

(Anatomy of a Research Project)

By Heather Rose Jones, copyright © 2004, 2005, all rights reserved

This article serves two purposes: to explore the nature of a particular historic concept, and to discuss the research process itself. The research concerns a type of object that shows up regularly in medieval and Renaissance art in Western Europe, and especially centered in France and the Low Countries. Rather than being a specific, single type of object, as it turns out it is a cluster of different types of objects that are related by an overall "gestalt appearance" — that is, they give the same immediate visual impression, and appear to be shaped by similar functional needs, even though the specific structures involved may be unrelated. (This feature turned out to be one of the more interesting aspects of my research.)

This "type group" as identified and described in my research I have labeled the "Shepherds Purse", and whenever that name is used (in capitalized form) in this article, I'm talking about the group of artifacts that fall within the identified "gestalt". This is, of course, somewhat circular and self-referential. I hope that, after examining the evidence, the reader will come to agree with me that there is a stylistic concept here to which it is valid to give a unifying name.

The particular name "Shepherds Purse" is not my own invention, of course — it's the name of a type of wild plant, named after the shape of the seed-pods (which, however, are an entirely different shape from the "shepherd's purse" of this article!).

A note on the illustrations: The ideal version of this article would be illustrated with color photos of all the original artwork, but my respect for copyright forbids. Instead I have substituted my own re-drawings of key images, leaving the reader to trust my interpretations (or look up the originals).

Part I: Anatomy of a Research Project

The first section of this article is concerned with how I came to research the topic, and how I went about it. In addition to talking about this specific project, I'm going to talk about some general approaches that can

be taken when researching medieval material culture in general, but will be especially applicable to topics being researched primarily via artistic depictions. Of course, there isn't a single correct method of doing this sort of research, and the best approach will depend not only on the type of artifact, but on the researcher's background knowledge and the available resources. Some of the approaches I took were strongly shaped by two resources I had easily available: the University of California library system, and the World Wide Web. At the time when this topic first impinged on my interest (back in 1981), I had neither of these available, and if I had attempted to pursue the topic at that time, I would have done it rather differently, and probably not as well.

A General Methodology for Researching Medieval Artifacts in Art

Here is a general outline of how I approached this project (with some additions that may apply better to other types of artifacts). In following pages, I'll discuss in detail how this approach played out in the current case.

I. Initial Stimulus
- spot interesting observation
- compare with current knowledge
- decide to explore further

II. Expanding the Search

A. Input
- Browse through general survey works
- Announce interest and ask for suggestions
- Track down original stimulus and look for commentary and references on it

B. Recording
- Start systematic record of data
  - Bibliographic citation
  - Page or figure no., any relevant text (always take more than you think you'll need)
  - Catalog/manuscript numbers and location information (helps keep track of same item in different sources)
- Start analytic record of data
- Try to identify useful distinguishing features
- Minimal time/culture context

C. Processing
- Record new instances
- Start looking for repeats or patterns

III. Focusing the Search and Exploring the Limits

A. Identified patterns
- Begin looking extensively or exhaustively at contexts with known pattern of examples
- Identify more general types of contexts and begin looking at them
- Consider both physical/cultural contexts and thematic contexts
- Begin noting examples where the context predicts examples but none are found

B. Extrapolated patterns
- Vary a single factor in the established contexts and explore
- Look for the "edges" of the phenomenon, both in space and time
- Look for "holes" in the phenomenon

IV. Questioning the Results

A. What you have
- Play with the analytic record of your data and begin descriptive analysis
- Look for general background discussions on aspects of your topic that may help interpret the material
- Continue looking for existing discussions of your phenomenon
- This is time to check that you have complete data on all your instances; you may need to re-find things and re-gather info

B. What you don't have
- What patterns are there to the edges and holes?
- What other phenomena in the context might affect the recording or survival of the topic?
- What other phenomena in the context might affect the existence of the topic?
- What solid information about your topic do you have?
- What information are you confident of inferring?
- What information do you feel you are lacking for a useful analysis?
- What sorts of finds might supply the latter?
- What is your likelihood of finding them?

C. What you might get
- Are there people or institutions you might correspond with about your questions?
- Have you identified particular artifacts that might be worth examining in person?

D. Formulating Hypotheses
- What is your best understanding of what is going on with this artifact?
- What are the logical reasons and objections to this interpretation?
- Given this hypothesis, what might you expect to have found that you didn't? or expect to not find that you did?
- What is the larger cultural context of this artifact?
- When does it arise, and why? can you trace its spread?
- How does it change over time, and can you relate this to other historic developments?

V. Experimentation
- A. Direct reproduction
  - * Do you have enough information to make exact replicas of your topic?
- B. Indirect reproduction
  - * What influences might the likely precursors or materials have on the result?
  - * What materials and processes produce an effect that "looks like the pictures"?
  - * What materials and processes produce an effect that plausibly functions like the expected goal?
  - * Do any of your steps involve teleological thinking? (i.e., doing something illogical in order to get the desired result)
  - * What other contemporary artifacts or practices might reasonably be expected to parallel your topic?
- C. Healthy skepticism
  - * What other reasonable explanations might there be for the various features of your data?
  - * What ulterior motives might there have been in the representations in your data?
  - * To what extent does your data reflect unprocessed raw "recording" and to what extent does it reflect existing stylistic tradi tions?
  - * What modern beliefs, knowledge, or agendas have you brought to your study that you may be projecting onto your data?
- D. Cross-fertilization
  - * Given your data, but not your analysis, what ideas do other people come up with?

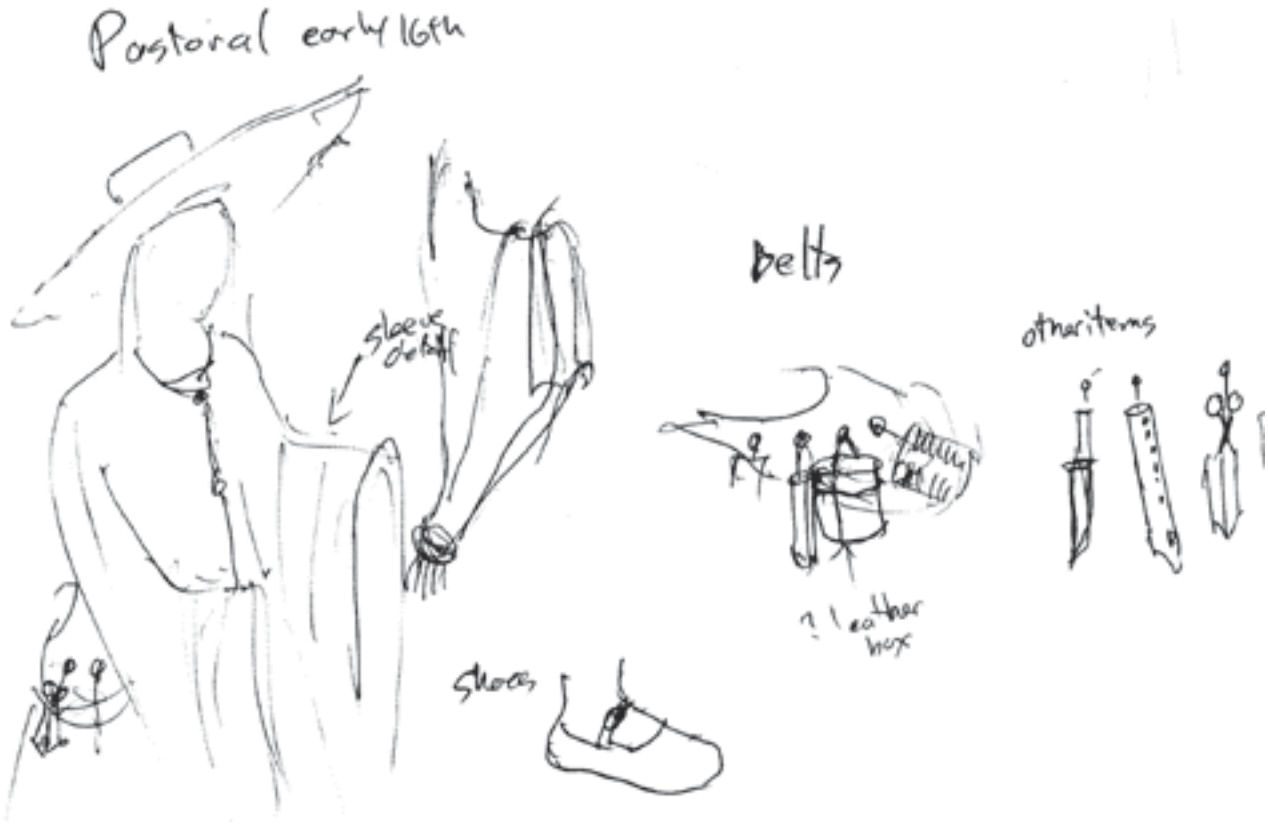
VI. Presentation
- * Who is your target audience?
- * What use will they make of your information?
- * Do you have multiple audiences for different aspects?
- * What types of presentations or descriptions will work best for your audience and purpose?
- * What type of distribution system will work best?

Initial Stimulus

Spot interesting observation

In this case, my first spark of interest in the topic is recorded in a sketch I made from a tapestry I saw in the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1981.

It's a habit of mine to carry a sketchbook when traveling — it usually turns into a combination diary - accountbook - "shapshot" album - research notebook. Since I am not, by habit, a photographer, when I visit museums I tend to make annotated detail sketches of interesting features, supplemented by commercial images (postcards, slides, publications,



etc.). I find this helps sharpen my observation, as well as giving me a chance to point out details that may not be as obvious in the available commercial images (or may not be available as commercial images). I was interested in costumes — particularly unusual or vivid costume details — and clearly the Shepherds Purse in this work caught my imagination at the time. Then I forgot about it. In fact, at the time I made the sketches, I took only very vague notes as to the identity of the work — I had to interpolate later to figure out which museum I had seen it in. (I'm not offering this behavior as a model!)

Compare with current knowledge

At the time that I first noted this object, I really didn't have sufficient background of knowledge to understand it in context. I filed it away and noticed it occasionally when I had other reasons to go through my old sketchbook. Many years passed, and then in the context of a question about the Rennaissance Faire custom of hanging tankards and other random objects off the belt, I recalled this sketch and went back to look at it.

Having, in the mean time, spent a lot more time studying historic costume, I had a better context for noticing how unusual the pouches in this tapestry appeared — both in their general structure, and in having the attached tools. (The attached tool motif was a relatively large part of my initial curiosity in this field.) There was also a bit of a modern angle: the functional similarity between these pouches and the modern "fanny pack" (yes, I know this name is rude in some dialects of English, but it's the normal name for the object in my dialect) struck me as amusing, and I got to thinking about the functional parallels and why this particular style of carrying mechanism might be used in preference to others. (For example, I won't normally carry a purse or shoulder bag, largely because they tend to get in the way, are accessible to snatch-and-grab muggers, and distort my posture. I will habitually use both a fanny pack and a small backpack for the comparable reasons. Might medieval people also have had personal or occupational reasons for carrying things in a particular way?)

Once I'd re-examined my original sketches, it brought to mind other, similar objects I could remember seeing. But none of them satisfactorily addressed the question of how common or typical it would have been for a medieval or Renaissance person to have worn such things as tankards from a belt. And having realized how unusual the "medieval fanny pack" style now appeared to me, I was curious to know whether this was an isolated example or whether it was a common artifact. And — I confess — I was wondering whether it was a style that would be compatible with my SCA persona.

Decide to explore further

When the Shepherds Purse again came to my attention, I was in a much better position to investigate it further. My personal library now included a lot more general and focused books on medieval art and artifacts. I was a graduate student at U.C. Berkeley with access to a world-class university library. And I had a more substantial level of general background knowledge to work from. I was ripe to explode into a research project.

Expanding the Search

Input

Once you have a topic, an interest, and an intent to research, the next step is to figure out what to do next. We're going to assume that you've looked and asked to see if there are already any published studies of the topic. (You might be astounded at the obscure artifacts that someone has done a book-length study on.) This process assumes that you're having to work from scratch.

Browse through general survey works

For artifacts primarily known through artistic representations, the best place to start expanding your search is in the genre of picture-rich "coffee-table" surveys of medieval art and/or life. Simliarly useful are works on manuscript illumination. There are a lot of these available, and you can usually pick them up regularly second-hand at cheap prices. Having half a dozen or so of these to use as a first-level survey is fairly indispensible for me. (For artifacts primarily known through archaeological survivals, you may be better off starting with one or two exhaustive studies of particular sites, since general surveys may tend to focus on "pretty" artifacts.) Ideally, these general surveys will indicate the time and place of origin of each item — at the very least, they need to give you some sort of reference identification (e.g., owner and catalog number). If you can't track down the context of an item, it's of very limited usefulness.

Announce interest and ask for suggestions

I mentioned this project on a number of occasions, but never got much in the way of input other than encouragement. I did get a few leads, though. My experience on other topics has been more productive. Put out the word to your friends, to any relevant internet groups — be as specific and focused in your questions as possible. Keep track of people's suggestions — even if they don't seem useful at the moment. Browse through your friends' libraries.

Track down your original stimulus and look for commentary and references on it

I did this as part of my "focused search" stage, but didn't find any useful pointers from it. People writing about the tapestry haven't been interested in the artifacts depicted in it, beyond the general motifs of nobility at play at being peasants. I was able to find photographs of the complete original tapestry, although I haven't managed to find color ones yet.

Recording

Start a systematic record of your data. Although you'll be tempted to cut corners now, remember that every piece of information you don't record now may be a piece you'll need to track down a second time later. Be generous with photocopies, and make sure you get all the relevant text (and bibliographic information) as well as the pretty pictures. Having acquired a flatbed scanner (which are astoundingly cheap), I've gotten in the habit of scanning pictures relevant to my research. This has three advantages over photocopies: you can get higher resolution, you have a version of the picture that you can enhance electronically to bring out the details, and if the picture is in color, it's a lot cheaper than color photocopies.

The absolutely minimal set of information you need to collect is:

* bibliographic citation (i.e. title, author, publisher, year and place of publication, or the equivalent for journals)
* page or figure no., especially if there is more than one example in the publication
* any relevant text about the example (always take more than you think you'll need)
* catalog/manuscript numbers and location information (this helps keep track of same item in different sources)

Processing

When you have enough examples to begin getting a sense of what the relevant similarities and differences might be, consider starting an analytic record of the data. Make up a list of relevant characteristics (shape, size, color, materials, etc. depending on what it is) and add them to your time and place data and some sort of unique identification method (i.e., some way of knowing exactly which example you're talking about). Put it in a format where you can sort it and rearrange it by the various characteristics so that you can look for patterns that may emerge. I'm particularly fond of doing this in a spreadsheet, but there are a lot of ways of doing it — even good old-fashioned index cards. I still use paper index cards when I need to look at complex, multi-variable patterns. If I'm working with relatively complex pictures, I may print out individual reference sheets with the background information and the picture so that I can refer to them easily.

As I came across examples of the type of pouch I was looking for (or even things that looked close), I started a text file with a bibliography of every book I had found something in, and then quotations of the relevant text. (I came to wish that I'd kept more specific track of books I'd looked at that had no examples, since it was useful data about the distribution in time and space.) This is in addition to photocopies if I didn't own the book. I also started collecting scans of the relevant artworks — if disk space isn't an issue (and it tends not to be, these days) go for the highest resolution that makes sense given the "grain" of the printed source. After starting at 300 dpi, I went back in many cases and took 600 dpi scans. You can bring out details that weren't apparent when looking at the original publication this way. If you're going to be working with photocopies, enlarge them as much as possible when you take them, and make sure your contrast is the best possible. Alongside the text file and scans, I started an Excel spreadsheet with various forms of the information. One sheet had an entry for each artwork (each time it occured in a different publication), with the basic bibliographic information, current location of the work and catalog number (if available), and a rough estimate of the time and place of its creation. I gave these records an arbitrary reference number, in the order they were created, so that I'd have a convenient shorthand for relating other information back to this. On another page, I created a record for each individual pouch that showed up in the pictures (using the arbitrary reference numbers) and started adding descriptive information. As I gathered examples, I decided that the information I wanted to track included:

* color
* fastening method
* presence or absence of flap
* presence or absence of netting
* method of wear (i.e., shoulder or waist)
* presence of attached objects
* method of attachment
* (list of individual object types)
* other notes

Focusing the Search and Exploring the Limits

The next step is to start looking for repeating artifacts or patterns of distribution. Is there a context in which your artifact tends to appear? Are there things it

tends to appear in combination with? Have you stumbled across any really rich sources of information? This leads to the next step.

Identified patterns

Once you've established that examples of your topic are out there to find, you'll want to do two things: depth and breadth. Try to establish a significant body of data in contexts where you can find it easily, to even out the effects of individual variation and provide a context for unusual examples. Then you'll want to figure out what the limits of your topic are: when does it begin, and from what? When does it end or turn into something else? Where was it used and not used? Was something else used in its place?

Begin looking extensively or exhaustively at contexts with a known pattern of examples

You should have begun to get a sense of what the likely contexts for your object are, just by where you've found examples already. In my case, it rapidly became apparent that the major common theme was shepherds. In retrospect (especially given the name I've applied to the artifact) this seems obvious, but at the beginning it was a startling observation. Furthermore, I identified three commonly-repeating contexts in my initial examples: French/Flemish pastoral tapestries from ca. 1500, and both Annunciation and Adoration scenes from French manuscripts of the 15th century.

Identify more general types of contexts and begin looking at them

This gave me a starting point for doing some in-depth searching. I went to the library catalog and discovered where the sections on Renaissance-era tapestries and on medieval French manuscript art were. This provided me with several shelves worth of likely fodder and I quickly added more examples parallel to the ones I had already found. (I also took to browsing large art-survey books in bookstores and noting down book titles or manuscript IDs to follow up on in the library.)

Consider both physical/cultural contexts and thematic contexts

My Shepherds Purses were, so far, showing up at the intersection of several characteristics: location (France and the Low Countries), era (15-16th centuries), and occupation (shepherds). This gave me several directions to work from. Other research topics may involve different types of of factors. For example, someone researching common everyday flowers that might be known or available to medieval people will hit on the manuscript layout style that uses very realistic flowers as marginal illustrations. Someone researching medieval birds will note that in a slightly different period, marginal illustrations often involve semi-realistic birds perched in the vines and acanthus flourishes. Someone researching typical table settings for meals should discover that Last Supper depictions are a good starting place, while someone trying to trace cutting-edge changes in women's fashion may find it useful to know that Mary Magdalene was usually depicted in the height of contemporary fashion, as contrasted with the often conservative "classical" fashions of many women in religious scenes.

Begin noting examples where the context predicts your topic but it isn't found

The dog that does not bark is a clue not to be ignored. As soon as you've established a pattern for your artifact, start paying attention to where it doesn't appear. It will be tempting not to keep track of this information — I know that I'm not as thorough about it as I should be. Making a long list of notes saying, "didn't find it here, didn't find it here, didn't find it here" feels pointless. Some of my work in this field is discussed below, but one of the things I did was to use catalogs of art available on the world wide web that were searchable by keywords. Having established that my pouch style was strongly correlated with shepherds, I fed the word "shepherd(s)" into a couple of image-related search engines.

One of them was a web site of "great art works" that was searchable by words appearing in the descriptions of the works. The contents were primarily "paintings" in the usual sense, but at least one scene from an illuminated manuscript showed up. The search on "shepherd(s)" turned up 63 works, spanning the 13th through 18th centuries, but with a peak in the 16-17th. The largest numbers are from Italy, the Low Countries, and Iberia respectively, with smaller numbers from France and central Europe (Germany and neighboring areas). Only five of the works show shepherds wearing some sort of pouch, and only two of these show an item that falls in my Shepherds Purse category.

	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.	16th c.	17th c.	18th c.	total
Italy	1	2: a	4	11: b, c	3	1	25
Low Countries			4: d	2: e	10		18
Iberia				2	9		11
France					2	4	6
Central Europe		1	2				3
total	1	4	11	18	24	5	64

[a] sash-type Shepherds Purse
[b] shoulder bag, flapped style
[c] shoulder bag & non-shepherd type belt pouch
[d] frame and drawstring purses
[e] sash-type Shepherds Purse

This was a bit of an unexpected result, since I was used to seeing lots of examples in manuscript art. The catalog, as I note, was biased towards paintings, and as the above statistics show, it was biased away from French works of the pre-17th century period — exactly the time when I was finding most of my examples. How to interpret these internal biases in the collection — and what they mean for my artifact — is complex. Was France not producing paintings during the relevant period? Unlikely. Was it not producing "name-brand" painters who end up in popular art collections? Possibly. Were French painters of the later medieval period not depicting shepherds? Possibly. All in all, the search was most useful in demonstrating the near absense of the motif in Italian works, although it would have been more useful if I weren't comparing the oranges of Italian paintings with the apples of French manuscripts. (In looking at collections of medieval Italian manuscript art, my impression has been that pastoral scenes simply weren't a popular genre in this medium.)

One of the more useful things that this survey helped confirm for me was that the 17th century was pretty much the later limit of my artifact in art — and actually looking at the works from the 17-18th centuries helped explain it: shepherds, whether in religious scenes or in secular pastoral scenes (which become even more common) begin being depicted with classical draperies rather than ordinary clothing. They have become an excuse for an artistic exercise -- "the shepherds in Arcadia" and so forth — rather than a reflection of the everyday surroundings of the artist. This stylistic shift doesn't entirely preclude the appearance of pouches — the Bronzino adoration (ca. 1535) combines a classically (un)draped shepherd with a shoulder bag at least reminiscent of the flapped crescent style of Shepherds Purse. But at the same time, this survey introduced a new question: to what extent was the medium interacting with culture and subject matter? My impression was that Shepherds Purses were statistically more common in manuscript Annunciation scenes than in paintings of the same genre — but did this mean that book artists and easel artists were recording different things or following different conventions? Or was the difference more geographical, with the Italy/France split being more relevant than the difference in medium? But then, what about the Low Countries, where manuscript and tapestry art appeared to show the artifact more commonly than paintings did?

I did a similar systematic search using the Google "image search" function with the keyword "shepherd", looking at the first 20 screens of results (this would, I believe, be 200 total images), and recording only pre-contemporary works of art, of which there were ten: seven Annunciations, two Adorations, and one generic Pastoral, covering manuscript art, woodcuts, etchings, and paintings — some that I had already encountered, but most new to me. Of these, five included a Shepherds Purse (all of the crescent-shaped style, and all in Annunciation scenes from manuscripts of around the 15th century and French or in a very similar style to the French style). Three involved shepherds with other types of belt pouches (e.g., kidney-shaped pouches), and the other two sets of shepherds had shoulder bags of some type (a "pilgrim" style of deep rectangular bag in one case, and in the other apparently the "doubled-ended" style typically associated with field workers).

So the Google survey contradicted the art-catalog survey and agreed with several observations from my initial research:

* shepherds usually carry some sort of pouch
* commonly this is a Shepherds Purse, but this is associated with French manuscript religious art of the 15th century (roughly)
* other geographic areas, time-periods, and media tend to be associated with other pouch styles

All of this will be important in the "artifact or artistic motif" debate.

Extrapolated patterns

Having developed a significant body of data in a focal context, the next step is to systematically explore the limits of that context.

Vary a single factor in the established contexts and explore

As in any scientific exploration, the easiest and safest way to explore a phenomenon is to change one variable at a time and see what happens. As previously mentioned, my "core data" involved a number of parameters: occupation, genre of scene, type of medium, time-period, geographic location.

Since most of my general reference works covered a particular medium, geographic region, and general time-period, the easiest check to do first was to take works in which shepherds wearing Shepherds Purses occurred, and look exhaustively at what non-shepherds were wearing. This confirmed what my anecdotal observation had been: with extremely rare exceptions, the Shepherds Purse style was associated with the one particular occupation — but was not restricted to only particular genre scenes.

Since the bulk of my examples came from religious manuscripts, especially Annunciation and Adoration scenes, that was my fixed context when looking in other geographic regions. (This particular expansion is tricky because manuscripts traveled, and the eventual location and associations of an object might be very different from the context of its creation.) This search turned up several types of results. In a few regions (e.g. England and Germany) I found manuscripts with "realistic" shepherds that sometimes wore Shepherds Purses. In other regions (e.g. Italy) the same types of genre scenes occurred, but the shepherds were portrayed wearing very stylized "classical" garments (and no Shepherds Purses), such that there seemed no basis for assuming that they represented the appearance of actual contemporary shepherds and their accoutrements. In other regions figures might be portrayed in a very stylized manner, not in a self-consciously "classical" style, but in a way that raised similar doubts that the art reflected contemporary dress. (For a more familiar comparison, imagine trying to decipher ordinary early-medieval Irish clothing on the basis of the figures shown in the Book of Kells and similar works.)

This single-variable approach began to falter when I wanted to look at geographic regions where the same tradition of manuscript art was not available. Here, I went back to my "general art survey" approach, but in collections with the geographic or cultural focus I was interested in. So, for example, I wanted to see if the motif apeared in the Balkan region — I located the library section were extensive surveys of medieval art from that region were filed and started browsing. I found no Shepherds Purses — but then, I found next to no shepherds. The concerns of the artists in that time and place were more on "focal" religious figures (the "names", as it were — the Holy Family, saints, major Biblical figures) and not on "everyday" figures in genre scenes. So there was, in fact, no clear evidence as to whether Shepherds Purses were or were not used: I had no positive evidence that they were, but conversely, I didn't have the genre context in which to observe their clear absence either.

This raises an important point to remember: medieval art (and, for that matter, surviving medieval artifacts) is not a random "slice-of-life". It's not a photograph where everyday life is accidentally included in the background. In particular, the topics of medieval art were typically those that some (rich, and therefore usually noble) person commissioned to have included. And the concerns of the wealthy, noble patrons are not necessarily going to focus on the occupations and dress of lower class laborers. So why are shepherds found at all? In some cultures, the Nativity genre focuses exclusively on the Holy Family, in others, the focus expands to include the Adoration of the Magi — members of the patrons' own class. There are many participants and events from the Gospels that could have become standard genre scenes for a prayer-book, and the choice of the shepherds' Annunciation is not necessarily a natural or predictable choice. Part of the explanation for this focus, no doubt, is the key image of the shepherd as a Judeo-Christian religious metaphor. "The Lord is my shepherd", and both John the Baptist and Christ are commonly given the attributes of a shepherd (John, deriving from his purported occupation, Christ from a more metaphoric motivation). For similar reasons, images of carpenters are disproportionately represented in medieval art.

The genre of calendar illustrations is, perhaps, less curious. The inclusion of a calendar at all primarily has the purpose of listing feasts and days for which special prayers might be appropriate. When considering typical seasonal activities to illustrate the months, even for a nobleman, the salient activities will relate to the agricultural year: planting, harvesting, making hay, slaughtering animals in the fall. In some cases, upper-class activities such as hunting may be included as appropriate, but usually the agricultural cycle will be included as background. The other very popular source of calendar illustrations are zodiac motifs.

Even in the medieval manuscripts, lower class figures such as shepherds may be "cleaned up" for

their portrayal in art (although it is also common to show them ragged and dirty). But towards the beginning of the 16th century, we get the romanticization of the lower classes as carefree Arcadian figures (note also the rise of the pastorale genre of poetry). We find scenes where working shepherds are "gussied up" in expensive fabrics and high-fashion styles, as well as scenes where upper class people (in clothing appropriate to their station) are playing at being shepherds and shepherdesses. This is not a trend that applies to all types of working-class occupation. We don't find nobles playing at being millers and bakers, or cavorting merrily behind the plough. Somewhere along the way, in certain European cultures, shepherds had acquired a special symbolic status that, among other things, led to them being portrayed (at varying levels of realism) relatively commonly in art.

But these artistic themes and motifs are often highly culture-specific. And so, even if the art of all cultures accurately portrays motif X in that culture, relevant art using that motif will not necessarily be equally produced in all cultures. (And, as has been noted, cultures may vary considerably in how realistic their portrayal of a particular motif may be.)

Look for the "edges" of the phenomenon, both in space and time

I have not entirely accomplished this step to my own satisfaction. In terms of the core Shepherds Purse style, my geographic scope extends from England in the north and west, to Germany in the east, to Iberia (Spain and Portugal) in the south and west, with the strongest representation being in France and the Low Countries, at the center of that circle. I've been told that there are examples in Danish church wall paintings, but so far the surveys of this medium haven't turned up any examples (although shepherds do appear). My experience so far has been that the Slavic areas of eastern Europe have a very low incidence of shepherds in art. Shepherds abound in Italian art, but the classicizing trend begins early there — significantly overlapping the era when Shepherds Purses are found elsewhere. Spanish examples are all relatively marginal in terms of the Shepherds Purse style-group — there are clear similarities, but the overall effect is shifted.

Similarly, I am not comfortable with establishing clear temporal boundaries for the supposed use of the artifact, although there are some clear limits to its appearance in art. At the early end, the style emerges when the clothing depictions become less loose and blousey — that is, in the era prior to the first examples of the Shepherds Purse, it is not clear that a waist-bound Shepherds Purse would normally be visible anyway. So does it only begin to be shown in art when the clothing changes such that it would be seen? Or does it only begin to be shown because it is a newly developing style?

At the later end of the scale, the reason for the Shepherds Purse disappearing from art is clearer: the pastoral genre (whether religious or secular) shifted strongly to classical draperies rather than realistic "photographic" depictions, and changes in popular styles of religious art led away from the previous traditions in personal prayer-books (to say nothing of the general effect of the printing press on the entire field of manuscript art). All of these changes led to a closing, or at least a narrowing, of the window of opportunity for the realistic depiction of shepherds in art. So with the close of the 16th century, the Shepherds Purse motif more or less disappears from the page and the canvas — but we are left ignorant as to whether it continued in use as an everyday artifact or, indeed, whether it was still in use at that point as an everyday artifact.

Look for "holes" in the phenomenon

When laid out in an organized fashion (as in the date & location chart), a number of weak points in the data show up. I have relatively few works created in England (although a number of the French products ended up there), and I should explore this more. In the mid 16th century, the French and Low Countries material shifts almost entirely to tapestries, and it would be useful to fill out the information in different media. These are "holes" in the sense of "things I haven't researched specifically enough".

The other kind of "hole" to notice are those where I've looked at large amounts of art — where I might reasonably expect the artifact to appear — and yet it doesn't. These would be "holes" like Italy, if one expects to find strongly similar material culture between France and Italy. But, in general, there don't seem to be any major discontinuities within the established scope.

Questioning the Results

What do you have?

Start figuring out what you "know", based on your data. Try to be careful not to jump from strict observation to interpretation at this point.

Play with the analytic record of your data and begin descriptive analysis

Make sure your analytic record — the one that keeps track of the characteristics of each example you've found — is up to date, and start seriously putting it through its paces. Sort it on each factor, then on

combinations of factors and see what sorts of patterns fall out. Some of the things that started showing up were the association of the netted-crescent style of bag with the 15th century, and the flapped style with attached tools with the 16th century. Beyond that, I started getting a sense of the respective proportions of various sub-types of bag, and of the associated objects.

Look for general background discussions on aspects of your topic that may help interpret the material

This, I have yet to do. I have a few leads on historic studies of medieval shepherds. Contemporary works that talk about what sorts of equipment and tools a shepherd might be expect to carry on the job would also help provide a context. For that matter, simply finding someone who has studied the topic of shepherds in medieval art would be useful. Some of these may exist — so far I've been concentrating on digging up more artistic representations, so I haven't been putting much energy into the background angle.

Continue looking for existing discussions of your phenomenon

From the point of view of knowledge, the ideal result would be to discover that someone else has already done the exhaustive study of Shepherds Purses — but that wouldn't be as much fun! Most research questions involve a complex and branching set of topics, however, and to get meaningful results in a reasonable amount of time, it will help not to re-invent all four wheels of your wagon. For example, if you're studying 14th century German pottery, even if nobody has written on that particular topic, you will find something on medieval pottery. If you're studying a particular clothing style, looking at how people have studied other clothing styles will help, even if their information isn't directly applicable.

This is time to check that you have complete data on all your instances — you may need to re-find things and re-gather info

Organize your data and make sure you've got everything you'll need when you present your work. Your rule of thumb should be that anyone could duplicate your data, if they really wanted to. Make sure that you have kept track of what information is "fact" (or at least, is found in your references as fact) and what is your interpretation or hypothesis. For example, a number of the art works that I use didn't come with specific dating information in the sources I used, but I have usually been able to offer an approximate date by comparing the style with that of other, dated works. In my reference pages, I've indicated this and the basis for my approximations, but then in the various analyses of material by date, I simply use my estimates.

What don't you have?

Before trying to understand the data, you need to figure out what sort of essential information you may still be missing. In this case, the most important thing I'm missing are actual concrete examples of the artifact.

What patterns are there to the edges and holes?

The geographic scope of the examples are consistent with a center to the distribution in France and the Low Countries, with a much smaller number (and less typical) examples in regions bordering that area. (This could be explained either in terms of the spread of the use of an actual artifact, or in terms of the spread of an artistic style.) The relative shapness of the temporal "edges" correlates with changes in overall artistic styles, but those changes in turn correspond to larger social changes that might reasonably be reflected in artifact styles as well. The distribution of the various sub-styles of Shepherds Purse is not sharply clear-cut, but might reasonably correspond to stylistic changes in an artifact, rather than random pockets of different representations.

The pattern is clearest in terms of who is using the Shepherds Purse: people clearly portrayed as shepherds (identified by the genre context or by the presence of sheep), people carrying other accoutrements closely associated with shepherds (such as characteristic styles of staff, or bagpipes), or much more rarely with swineherds (identified by the presence of their pigs), having in common an occupation involving wandering from place to place tending to animals as they feed. (The one example of a reaper, in the background of a sheep-shearing scene, with a Shepherds Purse seems to be an isolated anomaly.)

What other phenomena in the context might affect the recording or survival of the topic?

There are plenty of factors that affect whether the data even exists to observe. I've previously discussed changes in artistic styles ("realistic" versus classical) and regional differences in what religious genres were popular in art. In some countries, the reformation had an effect both on what types of genres were chosen, and what types of objects were created. A variety of historical forces might have affected the survival of particular types of art. In England, the reformation and the dissolution of various religious houses dispersed the contents of a number of major libraries, often resulting the contents being lost. Particular schools of art (often geographically-based)

might be more highly valued, and thus their works more often protected and preserved. For that matter, given that I'm researching primarily from published material, differences in the extent to which a particular culture's artistic efforts have been studied and published will affect whether I had access to them.

Often, survey collections focus on the most flashy and spectacular artifacts, limiting access to what might be more "typical" everyday objects. Different collections also may be more or less open to having their property used in publications – so that often the same small set of objects are repeated time and again across multiple publications. Publications based on the collections of a single institution may be skewed in coverage based either on the explicit interests of the institution or on accidents of the collection's history.

In trying to track down possible examples in southeastern Europe, it became clear that repeated and long-term political turmoil in the region had contributed to loss and damage to much of what might have been produced there. One of the available sources was church wall-paintings, many of which were in extremely bad condition, both from simple deterioration and from deliberate vandalism.

What other phenomena in the context might affect the existence of the topic?

Separate from factors affecting whether potential representations of the artifact might have survived, there's the question of what factors might affect its existence and use in the first place. Given that the style is associated with shepherds, one obvious question is whether sheep husbandry was a significant factor in a region — and if it was, how patterns of care may have differed. If shepherds use this style while reapers don't because of the different patterns of work involved, then a different enough pattern of caring for sheep might affect the potential for use of the Shepherds Purse style.

One of my hypotheses is that the convergence (or at least parallelism) of the various sub-styles of Shepherds Purse is a "form follows function" effect, but I wouldn't go so far as to suggest that this is the only possible stylistic response to the needs of a shepherd. It seems likely that there is also a "contamination" effect, where familiarity with one sub-style makes it more likely for another sub-style to converge to a similar shape. So another bar to the existence of the Shepherds Purse style in a region might be lack of cultural contact with regions where it was already in use. So, for example, I wouldn't necessarily expect the style to show up in Russia if there weren't a continuous pattern of use across all of Germany, Poland, and the Baltic region.

What solid information about your topic do you have?

This is where a detailed descriptive catalog of what my search turned up comes in. It will be given in detail in the Description section. There is no such thing as too much detail — you never know what your users may find useful or intriguing.

What information are you confident of inferring?

Now you can begin adding analysis to your basic observations. Here is one place where the non-photographic nature of medieval art is useful. If some detail is present in the depiction, it is there because the artist deliberately placed it there for some purpose. And while you need to be cautious, you can reasonably suppose that there's a meaningful purpose to how the object is portrayed. So, for example, the large number of pouches depicted with a hatchwork design suggest that this is not an isolated decorative motif, but probably reflects some sort of important integral structure. Two possible sources of that design suggest themselves from observation: netting, or a checkered cloth cut on the bias. The presence of objects that are clearly netting in connection with shepherds pushes the interpretation towards that side.

Similarly, when a painting is done in an extremely detailed pictorial style, as with the Portinari Adoration, it is a reasonable interpretation that the objects in it, depicted in a high level of realistic detail, are being worked from life — while reserving judgment as to whether those "real" objects were in actual everyday use by shepherds.

While details may be glossed over (with sketchy representations) or omitted, it is reasonable to assume that any details that are depicted more likely than not existed on the artifact. So, for example, while the belt-fastening method is not shown for the vast majority of the pouches, when we see a sketchily-indicated buckled strap, as in the Bedford Hours, it is a reasonable assumption that some Shepherds Purses, at least, were fastened with buckled straps.

There are even more basic inferences. The rounded shape of the artifact is assumed to indicate some sort of internal contents — this is a more plausible interpretation than that the object is a padded, decorative belt. The association of the pouch type with artistic representations of shepherds suggests that, at least at some point in time, something resembling it was associated (at least in the artists' minds) with shepherds, even if that association in real life did not correspond precisely to its appearance in art. There are plenty of other iconic ways of indicating that a figure in art is a shepherd (e.g.,

sheep, shepherds' staffs) that are much more directly recognizable. It seems a reasonable inference that the artistic motif of the Shepherds Purse did not originate as an iconic identification, although it may well have developed into one at some point.

What information do you feel you are lacking for a useful analysis?

Too many of the depictions are lacking in detail to be confident of interpreting their construction — particularly in the earlier manuscript material. And some of the tapestry depictions of the crescent-shaped style strike me as being over-stylized, and so perhaps not a reflection of actual construction. With one exception, we don't see the pouches being interacted with as pouches — we don't see their wearers in the process of placing things in them or taking things out. We don't see anyone in the process of putting one on. We don't see what the contents might be.

The sketchiness and potential stylization of the depictions raises the age-old question: do I try to "make it look like the picture", or do I assume that the picture is itself an approximation and aim for an interpretation that seems to proceed naturally from the properties of the (assumed) materials and the nature of the (assumed) precursors?

Only vague indications of material are given. The prevalence of white pouches suggests linen as a possible material, but there are regular examples of brown-colored pouches, and a few more colorful examples. In some cases, the colorful versions may be artistic license — the examples in Stowe MS 955 seem a good candidate for this interpretation. But the nature of the artistic medium makes a clear indication of the material impossible.

What sorts of finds might supply the latter?

Obviously, a survival of an actual artifact would be great, although given the variety of sub-styles depicted, it might only answer the questions for one version. Absent that, depictions of some of the interactive possibilities mentioned above would be nice. Close-up depictions from a period when the art had become more sophisticated and more "photographic" in detail would answer some questions. In some cases, simply having a picture of a work at a higher level of detail or resolution might answer some questions.

What is your likelihood of finding them?

More detailed versions of known works of art are the most certainly available. But given the overall lack of interactive scenes, finding more of those seems unlikely — it simply doesn't appear to be part of the genre. Given the overlap between more "photographic" painting styles and the appearance of Shepherds Purses at least in tapestries, it seems quite possible that there are more detailed paintings waiting to be found. An actual archaeological survival, on the other hand, seems unlikely. Given the social status of the wearers, the likelihood that a Shepherds Purse would be included either in a well-preserved burial, or as a deliberate preservation (as with saints' relics) seems vanishingly small. And if I'm correct that linen is the most common material (the netted bags are also most likely to be made of vegetable fiber), then the available preservation conditions in the region where the artistic style is found militate against chance survivals in casual deposits.

What might you get?

At some point, you need to ask yourself if there are any good sources of information that you haven't tapped into yet.

Are there people or institutions you might correspond with about your questions?

If your artifact is concentrated in one particular region, or especially at one particular institution, you should consider contacting them for further information. This is more likely to be useful for material culture than for art — the curator of a museum is unlikely to have detailed knowledge of the contents of the paintings he holds. But the people in charge of an archaeological site would almost certainly be able to give you pointers to specialists working on particular objects from their site.

The most important rule to observe here is to approach these people only when you have exhausted what you can discover on your own. You should have clear and specific questions — not just a request for "everything you know about X". You should summarize the publications and other materials you have already had access to. And you should be aware (and make it clear you are aware) that you are asking a serious favor that would have to be worked into an already busy schedule. If you are corresponding with someone who most likely speaks a different language, consider it your job to accomodate the language issues. (If you write in English to someone who isn't fluent in English, your request may simply be ignored.) Try to find someone with at least school-level fluency in your correspondent's language to help you compose your request — apologize for your deficiencies in the language. If there are technical terms you aren't sure how to translate, include the English terms as well. Assure your correspondent that you would be happy for them to reply in what-

ever language they feel comfortable in. Yes, this means you need to do the leg-work to do the translations, but you're the one who wants the information, after all.

These same considerations apply if you're corresponding with a historian rather than someone working with the artifacts. Remember that answering questions from amateur history buffs may not be what they'd choose to do for fun in their spare time. Make sure you're using them for focused, specialty information, not for general background that you can get from a book. Consider making your first requests on internet groups, where the request will not be directed at a particular person, and so will be less of an imposition.

Have you identified particular artifacts that might be worth examining in person?

This is for the truly dedicated. Do you need to actually look at some object in person to get information that will be vital to your research? I'm not going to go into the logistics of travel in Europe, but if you're planning a trip with a major purpose of looking at a particular object or objects, remember that not all objects are on constant display, and it will be best to write ahead to inquire about availability. It may be possible for you to arrange for a special viewing, but the details of that topic are outside the scope of the immediate discussion. In all likelihood, the best you'll manage is to press your nose as closely to the glass of the display case as possible and start madly taking detailed notes.

Formulating Hypotheses

Now is the time to indulge in relatively elaborate theories about what may be going on with your artifact. Always keep in mind how much interpretation you're putting into your data.

What is your best understanding of what is going on with this artifact?

Jumping ahead to my conclusions about the Shepherd's Purse (when I haven't presented the data yet), it seems fairly clear that there is not one Shepherds Purse, but rather three or four that have certain overall similarities. One style appears to derive directly from a sash style of belt that is wrapped around one or more objects before being tied. It seems possible — both on the basis of depictions and logical evolution — that this sash style may be one of the roots of the "flapped" style, where a shorter section of fabric (maybe equivalent to half the waistline), wrapped into an overlapping tube, and then gathered at the ends into straps that fasten around the rest of the waist. While there aren't any examples showing possible fastenings for this version, it might be reasonable to assume a tied knot (derived from the sash) or a buckle (parallel with the one buckled net-pouch example).

Another strand of development seems to begin with a simple netted bag, probably a tube gathered permanently at one end and with a drawstring at the other. The gathering cords are then extended either into a shoulder strap, to fasten to a separate belt, or to tie around the waist. In order to be able to hold smaller objects, it seems natural to include some sort of liner to this netted bag. My first hypothesis would be that this began as a separate cloth wrapped around the contents, with the whole thing then placed inside the netted bag. This may have developed into a more permanent liner, given the depiction of the netted crescent-shaped bags where the assumed liner and the net lie closely together. While there would seem to be little advantage of a netted bag with an attached lining over a cloth bag alone, an evolutionary process of this type might produce a redundant structure simply by conservatism. One example of a netted bag shows it fastened around the waist with a buckle suggesting that there might be a belt running through the entire bag in some fashion — a possibility to explore in the experimental phase.

The extreme shaping and occasional bottom-edge details of the crescent-shaped sub-style, especially in combination with a flap, suggest a version sewn from at least two separate pieces of cloth. In this case, there seems to be a clear notion of what the desired properties of a Shepherds Purse are, and a deliberate effort to design an ideal, rather than "accidentally" discovering the useful properties of other objects that can be adapted. If so, this style might have evolved from the gathered tube concept above (with added shaping to eliminate the excess fabric of the gathers, and to shape the bag to lie more smoothly around the waist), or it might have evolved from something like the "pilgrim" style of bag, but worn around the waist (shortening the bag to avoid excess motion and curving it at the top to fit the waist when fastened there rather than over the shoulder). The structure appears to involve a roughly oval piece sewn to another piece half that shape (on the long axis), with straps attached at both ends. In some cases, rather than an oval, the evolution may have been from a square piece of fabric sewn to a triangular piece half that size, but possibly with the point rounded somewhat. This would create a bag that tapers smoothly at the sides and — due to the bias — fits closely and smoothly to the waist. In all cases, the flap may simply hang loose, or it may be buttoned or tied to the fabric underneath, or it may have rings fastened to it to which tools are attached (where the

weight of the tools helps hold the flap closed).

While these bags have significantly different origins and construction methods, the characteristics they share are a pouch worn closely around the waist as a belt, with a somewhat rounded shape in the middle that tapers somewhat towards the ends, with the "pouch section" comprising approximately half the waistline. While all of the sub-styles can also be found worn over the shoulder, the most characteristic method is to wear them around the waist. When the shoulder style of wear is added, we can also add the Spanish example in the del Barco annunciation, where the construction is extremely clear and consists of a tubular bag, attached to a strap at one (closed) end and gathered by a strap at the other. This corresponds conceptually with the netted bag described above (except that the gathering of the open end is much more obvious, due to the bulk of the fabric), and could, in theory, correspond to the appearance of many of the crescent-shaped pouches if one assumes that the gathered end is always carefully hidden out of sight behind the wearer. While the visible gathering is reminiscent of the pouch in the Stockholm-Kessel Hours, the underlying shapes of the fabric are clearly different. This latter pouch is a rather significant outlier in terms of style, and does not appear to shed direct light on the more common styles, although it is interesting in its own right. It appears to begin with a roughly square piece of fabric, hung from a belt along one side as if it were an apron, the folded up into a triangle, with the top edges buttoned together, and the remaining (open) edges gathered on a drawstring.

All of these interpretations will be explored and tested for practical results in the experimental reconstruction section.

What are the logical reasons and objections to this interpretation?

The largest problem with many of these ideas is that the pictures don't show some of the important details. Interpretations that rely heavily on essential details just happening to have been omitted by the artist (or positioned so they are invisible) seem contrived. (In response to this, I might point out that, in the vast majority of cases, the pouches have been positioned by the artist so that the "pouch section" is towards the viewer — this means that certain aspects will be systematically omitted, such as fastening mechanisms.

I may be trying too hard to offer evolutionary connections between the different sub-styles. The crescent-shaped sub-style could have arisen all by itself, without being related to either shoulder bags or sash-like bags. It's possible that the apparently consistent sub-types are merely sub-types of an artistic model, perpetuating each other, and that by the late 15th century nobody was referring back to actual objects at all. This could explain a great deal of the fuzziness of detail — perhaps the artists have a vague notion of a shape of pouch that a shepherd ought to wear, and various schools of representation evolved, filling in the details in different ways. (This would seem less likely to apply to the pouches with clearly variant styles that are carefully depicted.)

Some of the depictions are clearly fanciful in detail (e.g., the colorful, tasseled pouches of Stowe MS 955), so how can I have confidence that any represent a realistic artifact? (And yet, the similarities suggest that even fanciful representations touch base with some common idea, and the simplest interpretation of that common idea is an actual artifact.)

Given this hypothesis, what might you expect to have found that you didn't? Or expect to not find that you did?

Hard to say — I might expect to see more clearly transitional styles, rather than the distinct style-groups, but there are a fair number of transitional examples, and furthermore, I'd expect some conservatism in art, where an established motif gets repeated in a fixed form before being "updated" to a new form. Fairly early on in this study, I became concerned that I was dealing solely with an artistic motif — a "shepherd" label — which led me to expect not to find the unusual variant styles that still fit the overall Shepherds Purse gestalt. Similarly, my initial impression was based on the overall gestalt and I hadn't yet started paying attention to differences in detail, so it was a surprise to realize that I did have distinct sub-styles among material that I'd initially assumed was homogeneous.

What is the larger cultural context of this artifact?

There are two contexts — that of the artifact and that of the art. I've already discussed the artistic context to some extent, including the iconic significance of shepherds. Also important is the dynamic of the manuscript production industry in medieval Europe. It isn't accidental that I have so many French manuscript examples from the 14-15th centuries — it was a major artistic center for the medium, and I haven't even begun to explore the interconnections between various workshops and schools, and how those connections may have shaped my data.

The "real life" context is that of sheep raising in medieval Europe. This is another field I haven't explored to my satisfaction yet, but I can sketch out some of the relevant aspects. Sheep were kept primarily for wool, although in some cultures, milk

was another important byproduct (see, e.g., the Luttrell Psalter). In contrast with modern practices, meat was not the major goal, although some use was made of it. In contrast to the situation with cattle, where the optimal gender ratio for adults was heavily tilted towards females (providing milk), "surplus" male sheep not needed for breeding were still valuable wool-producers, although flock harmony might be maintained by neutering the majority of males. Especially if the sheep were not being used for milk production, they might not need to be returned to the farmstead every day, and it could be more efficient to keep them grazing relatively farther from home. Even if returned to a pen every night, they would need to be taken a significant distance away to graze every day (see, e.g., the Da Costa Hours, where the sheep are being herded from a building and led out of the yard through a gate). But sheep unlike, for example, pigs are lacking in the self-defense area (although there is some evidence that medieval sheep were still in the process of being bred into the brainless airheads we're familiar with today), so they would normally be accompanied in the fields by one or more shepherds, typically accompanied by a dog (although I don't know to what extent dogs may have been used for herding rather than for protection). The sheep would need to be kept moving to avoid overgrazing (or simply to search out the best areas). All this means that shepherds spent their days moving repeatedly with no immediate "home base", carrying with them everything they needed for the day, but needing to be fairly physically active at unpredictable intervals. My hypothesis is that this job description is significant in understanding the key features of the Shepherds Purse.

When does it arise, and why? Can you trace its spread?

Here, I don't have good answers. The start date is unclear, confused by clothing styles that may have made it less visible. I haven't yet researched possible changes in sheep raising practices that might have affected a shepherd's accessories. The epicenter of the style appears to be France, but the spottiness of the evidence outside the core area makes it difficult to think in terms of clear patterns of spread.

How does it change over time, and can you relate this to other historic developments?

With the caveat that stylistic changes may sometimes be an artifact of spotty data, there is an overlapping sequence of styles. Net-only pouches appear earliest and stop appearing in the early 15th c., with netted pouches showing up only a little later, and dropping out pretty much before the 16th century. Crescent-shaped pouches appear around the same time as the netted-crescent (early 15th c.), but persist consistently through the mid 16th century (with a couple possible 17th century examples). The crescent-shaped pouch with a clear flap shows up in the late 15th century and continues with strong popularity through the mid 16th century. Examples of pouches that look relatively sash-like appear in the same time-span as the netted-crescent style, but are more common towards the end of that period than the beginning (possibly corresponding to the beginnings of the classical shepherd?).

This chronology (if accurate) is consistent with the evolution of the netted-crescent from the simple net bag, and with the flapped style evolving from one or more precursors possibly including the crescent. The pattern is not consistent, however, with the sash style as a significant precursor to any of the others — rather, it suggests that the sash style may be independent of the others, or even may be influenced by changes in artistic styles.

Experimentation and Presentation

Whether or not your main purpose in studying an artifact is to make and use simliar artifacts, this sort of "experimental archaeology" can be a vital step in understanding your topic. If you're researching it in the context of historic re-creation or re-enactment, then it's pretty much a given that your overall goal is to make something. But in the context of knowledge for its own sake, it is a valuable tool to see how your supposed materials behave — whether they actually work the way your hypothesize they might. While the matter can be (and usually is) overdone, it is sometimes a valid criticism by "hands-on" amateurs that professional historians may stumble badly if they rely entirely on theories and ideas and don't understand the actual properties and behavior of the physical objects they're talking about. (To be fair, this primarily tends to happen when historians specializing in texts and literature branch out into material culture.)

So your next step is to try to make something that is both consistent with the appearance and behavior of your artifact in the data, and is a logically reasonable development within its historic context.

The results of my hands-on experimentation, are in the Reconstructions section.

Direct reproduction

Do you have enough information to make exact replicas of your topic?

People sometimes groan and grouse about making

exact replicas of an artifact rather than being "creative", but if you do have the information to create an exact replica, you have a treasure beyond price and it shouldn't be disregarded. Going through the same processes with the same materials (and perhaps even the same tools) as were used for your model will teach you important things about why the object exists as it does. You may find your materials "wanting" to do something in a particular way that sheds light on an otherwise curious feature. Or you may find that some construction method that looked obvious and logical to you at the start turns out to have unpredictable difficulties.

In my current project, I don't have this luxury. The major stumbling block is the lack of surviving artifacts. Still, I can infer some useful information from survivals — for example, when experimenting with the sub-types that have attached tools and objects, I can find surviving tools and whatnot that match the pictures that give me clues to what the shepherds may have been carrying. There are plenty of surviving knives and sheaths of types similar to what we see here, as well as scissors or shears. Items like the round boxes have a wider range of possibilities: leather, carved wood, bent-wood, metal perhaps. All can be tested and tried out with various possible types of contents.

Indirect reproduction

More commonly, you won't have a complete model to work from, and some level of guesswork and interpretation will be necessary to turn your research into a concrete object.

What influences might the likely precursors or materials have on the result?

Know what materials would reasonably have been available. Particularly when you are trying to reproduce "typical" objects from a culture, a construction hypothesis that involves rare substances, expensive exotic goods, or techniques known to have been first introduced in the next century will not serve the purpose. If two hypotheses exist, and one would be a natural evolution from pre-existing styles, while the other would be a complete break and innovation with respect to previous work, the first is to be preferred. Look for similar artifacts that may be "cousins" to your topic, coming from some common root. Look for evidences of the existence of techniques that might have been transferred to your topic.

For example, while I don't have any surviving netted Shepherds Purses, there are surviving fragments of medieval netting that can suggest possible knotting styles. When considering possible fastening methods for the Shepherds Purse, I can research surviving belt fittings, or examine belts in art where the fastening method is more clearly shown. I can look at how the behavior of various materials are shown in the art of my period and try to match them with how the material of the Shepherds Purses behaves. Reasonably available materials might include linen, wool, or leather, or for the netting linen or hemp. How are these materials depicted? How do they drape or fold? What colors do they appear in?

As I have discussed previously, the prevalence of white-colored Shepherds Purses in art suggests to me that the default material may have been linen or some other vegetable fiber, which could also account for some of the paler brown versions (in an unbleached form). But some of the shaped pouches in darker colors raise the possibility that leather may have been used — as it certainly was for many other styles of pouch, of which some survive. Netting is most likely to have been made from whatever the default "string" fiber was — almost certainly some sort of plant fiber, either linen or hemp. I discount the idea of pouches of this type being made from wool partly because of the color issue, and partly because the greater elasticity of wool seems less suited to the purpose.

Art suggests that fabric sash-belts may have been in use as belts significantly before their appearance as what appear to be carrying devices, and this evolutionary path has a clear motivation. Depictions of pieces of unshaped fabric being used to bundle up goods for carrying also supply a possible precursor. From this, experiments on how an ordinary piece of fabric might securely hold small objects in a belt-like fashion may lead to promising results. From the other side, there are prior examples of the "pilgrim" style of shoulder bag — a large flapped bag on a long strap — and this could be experimented with to see how it would need to be altered to be worn conveniently at the waist.

What materials and processes produce an effect that "looks like the pictures"?

This is always a tricky question, because artists often paint to an idealized effect that disregards typical behavior. If you look at 10-11th c. English painting, you find garments being depicted as if there were very light and drapey, falling naturally into many small close parallel folds. Move on a century or two, and the same types of garments are depicted with smoother, simpler draping. How much of the difference is a change in the garments themselves, and how much is a change in what the artist thought they ought to look like? One of the clearest ways to see the effect of artistic ideals on how artifacts are portrayed

is to look at books on historic costuming, or artists' depictions of existing works of art made in various centuries. Take depictions of the same style of dress, or copies of the same original work, and note how they have been interpreted. Look not only at the clothing, but at the bodies wearing them. For example, you can recognize a Victorian-era illustration even when the artist is copying a medieval effigy, by the way the artist interprets and modifies the subject.

So beware of a hyper-reliance on making your artifact "look like the picture", while still using your data as a goal. Look at how other, known objects are depicted for which you have objective referents (e.g., surviving artifacts) and develop a mental "filter" for those elements you think likely to be skewed. Are all the textiles depicted as heavy and stiff? Well, then, maybe your textile pouch isn't really as stiff as it is shown. Are people's clothes shown with lots of close, small folds? Then maybe your pouch isn't quite as finely gathered as the artist has made it out. Are other objects in the scene shown in relatively schematic form — omitting expected details? Then maybe the lack of detail in the depiction of the pouch doesn't necessarily imply as simple a construction as it seems.

But assume that the depictions are meaningful in reasonable ways. For example, if the main part of the pouch is shown as being gathered into a strap, then that main part is more likely to be a textile than, for example, leather. If a pair of knotted ties are shown on the outside of a flap, then assume that they are probably attached to something underneath so that the knot holds two parts together.

What materials and processes produce an effect that plausibly functions like the expected goal?

This is very similar to the preceding question, but requires some conclusions about what the function is. What are these pouches likely to be carrying? What materials and structures would work best to carry those items? On the most basic level, we assume that these are pouches, and that one must be able to have access to the interiors, so even if "the picture" doesn't show a method of access (as with some of the very schematic crescent-shaped pouches), we can assume that some method of access will be necessary. On another angle, the netted bags are primarily shown with the meshes set lozenge-wise to the waist, but a small number show the meshes square-wise. Are these both plausible alternatives? Make (or find) netted bags made both ways and play with them. The lozenge-wise mesh expands easily to form a wider (but shorter) bag, making it easier to get things in and out, while the square-wise mesh is not able to expand across the width of the bag. My interpretation from this is that the greater prevalence of the lozenge-wise depiction actually reflects the normal form of the bag, and that the square-wise examples may reflect an artist who is less familiar with the materials and is thinking only in terms of a visual pattern.

A great deal of the functional questions will be answered simply by playing with various materials and seeing how they behave.

Do any of your steps involve teleological thinking? (I.e., doing something illogical in order to get the desired result)

This is one of the commonest pitfalls that I see among amateur researchers. It stems from beginning with a result and then trying to establish a historic basis for it. It may manifest as an interest in a particular modern craft or technique, followed by a desire to establish a medieval history for this craft. (E.g., "I like to crochet — crocheting seems fairly simple and obvious, so people must have been doing it since ancient times — what evidence can I find that could be interpreted as crochet?") It may manifest as an esthetic appreciation for a particular effect or form, followed by a desire to create that effect or form in a historic context. (E.g., "I really like how I look in tight-fitting clothes — surely Viking women also liked how they looked in tight-fitting clothes — what evidence can I find for Viking styles that would show off my figure?")

While a certain amount of this hazard can be avoided when your initial research-stimulus is taken from historic sources, rather than from the modern environment, it is difficult to entirely avoid thinking in terms of modern parallels and then projecting those modern parallels back on your historic artifact. In the Shepherds Purse case, one of my initial reactions was, "Cute — a medieval fanny-pack!" and, as mentioned previously, another situation that drew my attention back to the topic was the modern Rennaisance Faire practice of hanging all manner of useful implements, especially drinking vessels, from the belt. So I need to look back at my interpretations and ask, "How has my experience of modern fanny-packs influenced my understanding of the Shepherds Purse, both in terms of purpose and construction?" and secondly, "Do I have an underlying desire either to prove or disprove that carrying implements hung off a belt or pouch is a typical medieval practice?"

It's certainly possible that my own preferences in how to carry stuff around have shaped my beliefs about whether particular methods are more or less convenient. I personally find shoulder bags inconvenient and awkward, espcially if I'm trying to be active. If they hang off the near shoulder, they're

constantly in danger of falling off; if they hang off the opposite shoulder, the strap is uncomfortable across my chest. And yet, demonstrably, many modern people don't find them inconvenient or uncomfortable, so there's no reason to assume that medieval people would share my preferences rather than the others. While the specific construction methods used for modern fanny-packs are clearly irrelevant to a medieval artifact, is it possible that the unitary nature of it may influence my expectations of the Shepherds Purse? Am I designing one-piece objects rather than multi-part ones for modern reasons? For example, could the netted-crescent style be composed of a net with a separate belt threaded through it, rather than a netted bag that extends into straps only at the ends? (The way the ends of the "pouch section" taper argues agaisnt this, but the question needs to be asked.)

On the attached object question, I'm not even sure myself. I find the idea of an easy way of carrying small tools and containers both intriguing and appealing — and it's something that I'm strongly tempted to experiment with as part of a medieval outfit, even though I don't portray a shepherd. On the other hand, I don't think I feel a need to argue historic validity for a more general version of this practice, rather than taking a purely descriptive view of how the practice appears in the data. The danger is likely to come in communicating to others the difference between what I understand to be the historic parameters, and how I might experiment with the idea outside those historic parameters.

What other contemporary artifacts or practices might reasonably be expected to parallel your topic?

This is a re-stating of topics that have been mentioned above. What other artifacts might have been made for similar purposes or by the same craftsmen? What different artifacts may have been made by the same techniques? What kind of need or problem does your artifact solve? Who else might have had that need, and how did they solve it?

Healthy skepticism

Don't get too invested in your own interpretation — keep track of what you know versus what you surmise. Be skeptical not only of your own motives, but of the motives of the people who produced your data (especially in the case of art).

What other reasonable explanations might there be for the various features of your data?

This repeats a theme seen previously. Don't mistake your first guesses for the only possible ones. It's even possible that more than one version of your artifact existed historically, and that it could be created in more than one way. Once you start developing models and hypotheses, avoid the temptation to shoehorn the rest of the data into them. If aspects of your data don't fit your explanations, acknowledge that. Maybe you have reasons for discounting their importance, but don't gloss over it or deny it.

What ulterior motives might there have been in the representations in your data?

It's no secret: medieval artists virtually always had an agenda. Often they had more than one agenda. If you're lucky, their agendas were unrelated to the features of their work that you're trying to study. St. Lawrence was martyred on a gridiron — images of St. Lawrence are not a good place to look for unbiased information about methods of torture or the lives of early Christians. They may, however, be a very useful place to research the physical nature of medieval gridirons. When the pastoral life became romanticized and the subject of upper-class fantasy, many aspects of a shepherd's life were sanitized and gussied up. The shepherds that appear in the early 16th century pastoral tapestries are certainly better dressed, better equipped, and more idle than working shepherds are ever likely to have been. The feast laid out in Repas Champetre, complete with spread cloths, platters of roasted meat, and fine metal salt-cellars would create a poor understanding of the daily diet of shepherds (although it might be a reasonable model for an upper-class picnic), compared for example to the meal seen in the Hardouyn Hours. Does this mean that I should distrust these fanciful pastoral scenes as data? Not necessarily — for example, it may mean simply that I should distrust the quality and quantity of features in the data.

To what extent does your data reflect unprocessed raw "recording" and to what extent does it reflect existing stylistic traditions?

This is a key question. We know that medieval artists used pattern books (some survive, showing individual sketched motifs to copy), and we know that workshops could produce multiple versions either of a book or a painting that clearly echo each other. For that matter, one can sometimes find manuscript illustrations that are clearly copies of another (or of a common source) centuries earlier. So how confident can we be that the items depicted in a work represent actual contemporary artifacts? With caution, naturally. How "realistic" is the style of the work? Certain levels of detail are difficult to maintain if the artist isn't familiar with the original. Can you identify known precursors to a depiction that would under-

mine its contemporary value? Can you evaluate other artifacts in the work in terms of the artist's expected surroundings — e.g. durable goods such as pottery or jewelry where actual examples may survive? Does your artifact change in its representation over time? Does it gradually become more stylized, or does it change in unpredictable ways? One of the strongest arguments that the Shepherds Purse represents a group of actual contemporary artifacts is the range of variation found in depictions and the way the change in sub-styles over time seems unlikely to reflect a loss of touch with actual artifacts.

What modern beliefs, knowledge, or agendas have you brought to your study that you may be projecting onto your data?

This is another way to approach the question: "what are your prejudices?" I will confess to an underlying desire to determine that the Shepherds Purse is a "real" artifact. I may have been more eager to identify arguments for this conclusion than those against it. In thinking about the question "why shepherds?" I have been working primarily on casually accumulated knowledge of the medieval occupation, and I really need to double-check this "knowledge" with proper source materials. I am working from assumptions about the available source materials and the probable effects of class that are likely to be based more on the situation in Britain (my primary focus of study) than the continent (where the epicenter of my artifact appears to lie). I have only a vague general familiarity with the rise of romantic pastoralism, and this is another field where I really need to improve my specific background knowledge. My background in formal art history is minimal, and every time I start talking about anything touching on this specialty, I feel like a fraud. If I ever turn this research project into a scholarly presentation, I'll probably need to collaborate with at least one other person whose specialties complement mine.

Cross-fertilization

Given your data, but not your analysis, what ideas do other people come up with?

This is always a good double-check on your reasoning and conclusions. We all have our blind spots and unexamined assumptions. You may not agree with the interpretations other people come up with — they may differ due to validly different interpretations of the evidence — but you'll be better off for having considered them.

Presentation

After you've done all this work, presumably you're going to share the results with other people in some way ... but how? Part of the "how" will depend on your intended audience, but part will depend on what you're comfortable with. Being good at research doesn't necessarily mean being good at writing articles or being good at giving lectures. On the other hand, if you've got a subject that you're passionately intersted in (and very knowledgeable about), that can be a good way to slide into types of presentations that you need more practice on.

Who is your target audience?

Don't assume a one-size-fits-all approach. For any given presentation, have a sense of who you're talking to (even if others may make use of it as well). Are you going to be aiming at people who are primarily interested in understanding the original data, or people who are primarily interested in making their own artifacts? Will they have a good general background on the historic setting or will you need to set up some context first? Or maybe you'll be talking to relatively knowledgeable people who are interested in details and nuances. Consider what your relationship is to your audience. Are you talking to people who are more or less your peers: similar background and expectations? Are you going to be in the position of an expert? (That puts an extra burden of responsibility on you, if people are likely to take your every hypothesis as "fact".) Are you going to be an amateur talking to professionals? (Don't pretend to any more expertise than you have — be upfront about what your background is.) Test your presentation on people who will give you honest feedback. Is your language too technical? Not technical enough? Is your approach too detailed? Too superficial?

What use will they make of your information?

What will your audience want to take away with them from your presentation? Are they interested in getting general background knowledge — helping build of a historic context of a particular time and place? Are they interested in getting a general feel for the styles and structures of your topic, or do they want the specific information necessary to make a particular artifact? Or maybe they simply want to be able to recognize historic styles when they run into them. Don't try to do too many different things at once — you probably can't do both a general survey and a practical hands-on presentation in the same session unless both are fairly simple. If you're teaching people how to make an artifact, make sure you give them its historic background — especially make sure that they know how it relates to historic artifacts. Have you simplified features? Made substitutions? Especially in a historic re-creation

context, people will tend to assume that anything you teach them is historically accurate unless you make it very clear it isn't.

Do you have multiple audiences for different aspects?

This is a very real possibility — and it can help stave off the frustration of having a topic that isn't an exact match for any one group. It's possible to take one research project and do a general survey and hands-on workshop for re-creationists, a paper on some focused topic for academia, an extensive catalog of data on a web site, and maybe two or three articles of varying depth and length on various aspects for various venues.

What types of presentations or descriptions will work best for your audience and purpose?

If you've got a topic that depends heavily on visuals — especially with lots of color — consider putting together a set of slides of your material. If you can present your material sufficiently in black and white, then handouts may be more efficient. (I've been doing some experimenting with computer presentations, e.g., using Power Point, but the cost of the projection equipment is a bar in most contexts.) If your presentation is more informal, your handouts may only need to include outlines and figures and room to take notes. If your audience wants to walk away with a reference for future use, then you may want something more detailed with extensive references. Have a realistic sense of your ability to present the material when lecturing. Will you need a fairly detailed "script" to make sure you remember everything, or are you comfortable with a more off-the-cuff style? Do you need to be very precise about how long your presentation is, or do you have a lot of leeway? How much time do you want to allow for informal Q&A? If you're creating a written presentation (including illustrations), what sorts of constraints do you have on length and format? Are you writing for a publication that expects a particular writing style? If you're writing directions for creating artifacts, make sure you beta-test them on people with a variety of backgrounds to make sure they reliably produce the desired result. If you're dealing with formal publication (as opposed to class handouts) keep in mind copyright concerns for any material you take from elsewhere. (This is an issue that seriously affected the form of this present article.)

For the current project, I've used a variety of approaches: lecture combined with skeleton-handout, electronic "handout" with extensive graphics and independent text. Aspects of this project would also work as a slide-show lecture or a computer-based visual presentation. In theory, this project could turn into an academic lecture, and I may try putting together a very brief overview article with one or two construction patterns.

What type of distribution system will work best?

If you're producing articles or publications, you will either be doing it in the context of an existing publication (in which case, distribution is not your direct concern) or you'll be handling the distribution yourself. Do you want to do hard-copy publication or would electronic publication work better? Do you want to control distribution (e.g., only make it available in connection with lectures or classes) or do you want to broadcast it as widely as possible? Are you producing something that is commerically viable, and can you find existing vendors who might be interested in carrying it? Or is it something that doesn't really function beyond an "informal handout" level?

Part II: Artifact or Artistic Motif?

Any time you research a topic primarily in the context of art — especially in the context of symbolic or allegorical art — at some point you need to ask yourself, "Is this object a reflection of an artifact in the artist's contemporary experience, or is it a conventional artistic motif that has meaning, but no substance?" This is a question that I've considered very seriously in the context of Shepherds Purses, both because of the particular distrubution of the images, and because of the lack of concrete artifacts

to compare them to. Clothing topics are particularly prone to this issue, given that only a fraction of historic styles have a surviving representative preserved. Complicating the issue is the question, "what historic context are we applying the question to?" For example, medieval illustrations of Old Testament scenes frequently show male figures wearing a curious broad conical hat. Is this an actual artifact — and is it an artifact of Biblical times or of medieval times? One can pretty easily rule out the possibility that medieval artists were depicting a hat style of ancient Jewish culture — the medieval concept of "ancient dress" was nowhere near that nuanced, and was restricted primarily to a notion that "pre-contemporary" peoples may have worn somewhat archaic styles — but "archaic" pretty much limited itself to the looser, simpler, drapier styles of the early Christian era that they might have access to via sculpture, mosaic, and similar survivals. More typically, such "archaic" styles were more a signifier of artistic focus or religious significance — ordinary people were depicted in clothing contemporary to the artist. But this, in turn, supports the idea that this curious conical hat may have had some contemporary reality for the artists, applied retroactively to Old Testament figures. And, in fact, one can find significant amounts of supporting evidence for an medieval object known as a "Jewish hat" that, in some cultures, Jews were required to wear in public as a label of their cultural identity. But that doesn't mean that the "Jewish hat" was in common use in every culture that produced artwork incorporating it as an iconic signifier. It could, reasonably, have spread from artistic contexts where it represented the contemporary reality of Jewish costume to contexts where the artists simply understood it as an indication that the figure depicted was Jewish.

The topic is tricky, and in any given situation, the answer may be a complicated mixture of both "artifact" and "artistic motif". I'll take both positions, in turn, marshalling the best arguments I can think of for each position, and then attempt to reconcile and answer the questions that each position raises.

Position #1: The Shepherds Purse represents an actual artifact of late medieval France and the Low Countries

The detail with which the Shepherds Purses are shown in many cases argues for an existing artist's model. The range of variations in detail (leaving aside the examples that are not shown in detail) also argue for working from life. Features such as netting seem awfully odd as pure invention. While I believe there is a clear stylistic group under the "Shepherds Purse" label, that group merges at the edges with other styles that could not be considered to have an iconic function (or at least, not the same iconic function). When the pouches are shown in enough detail to interpret the construction, it is a plausible construction and behaves in the desired ways. There are plausible reasons why a particular functional style of pouch might be associated specifically with shepherds and those with similar needs — and the fact that we also see the style on those with related occupations (i.e., swineherds) is also evidence that the association with shepherds is not arbitrary. Artificial iconic labels come into use when a clear identification is desired and there isn't one already available — for example, the "Jewish hat" is used iconically because there wasn't necessarily a more obvious visual distinguisher of Jewish identity (although there is also some use of facial features for this purpose). For example, angels, having wings to identify them, typically appear otherwise as ordinary human beings — while other features may appear in connection with angels, they tend not to develop into iconic markers because the wings serve that purpose already. Since there are much more obvious indicators of a shepherd's profession (and any shepherd wearing a Shepherds Purse is normally accompanied by one or more of these), it makes no sense that this style of pouch would be invented for the purpose of marking a shepherd's occupation.

Position #2: The Shepherds Purse represents an iconic marker of the occupation of shepherd and does not represent an actual artifact

Most styles of pouch, even when closely associated with a particular class or occupation, occur much more broadly in distribution. For example, the "pilgrim's bag" is seen used by travelers of all types, the "kidney-shaped" pouch may be loosely associated with upper-class figures, but is seen regularly on all classes. The supposed "Shepherds Purse" group is not actually a natural grouping at all, since it includes wildly different object-structures. It would make perfect sense if the nucleus were an abstract idea of a vaguely crescent-shaped object, and different "schools" of artists interpreted this shape in terms of different details. Notice that large numbers of the pouches are not depicted in detail at all. Even the apparent evolution in style over time may be a product of clumps of data from the same industry and/or school. For example, particular features are associated with the Shepherds Purses depicted in early 16th century tapestries (e.g., tools attached to rings on the pouch flap) that are distinctly different from contemporary manuscript images of the same item. Some of the depictions clearly include unlikely versions of the supposed core chracteristics. For

example, depictions of the netted crescent style of bag with the meshes set square-wise seem to me to represent an impractical construction. And the depiction of a net-like pattern on a deep flapped pouch (the stained glass annunciation) is clearly an artist's fancy.

Synthesis

In some ways some of the strongest arguments on the "artistic motif" side undermine themselves. The lack of homogeneity in pouch types seems better explained by a functional purpose rather than by differing artistic elaboration of a general shape. On the other hand, it is extremely likely that some of the pouch depictions involve artistic deviations from reality, even if they originate in an actual artifact. Whether particular "clumps" of sub-variants are better explained by regional variation in the artifact, or by variations promulgated by a particular artistic school may be impossible to decide (certainly without more extensive data). But looking at examples where artistic borrowing is evident (e.g. the woodcut and tapestry annunciation pair, and the matching shepherdesses in the Tres Riches Heures and Rohan Hours), we see a fair amount of variation in the details of the pouches and similar objects, so arguments that similarities are necessarily the result of copying models are weakened. On the "artifact" side, one of the strongest logical arguments is that there seems to be no reason to invent the Shepherds Pouch. It serves no artistic purpose that was not already being covered.

In all, I believe that the Shepherds Purse motif represents a style that was actually in use, although in some cases it may have acquired an additional symbolic function, as in the "noble pastoral" type of tapestry scene. Further, I believe that the variation in actual structure is a result of convergent evolution — several styles of container being modified into a shape that was particularly convenient for the needs of a shepherd. What were those needs?

Why Shepherds?

So the question remains — what's up with shepherds? Why would that particular occupation require or develop a specialized method of carrying things? Comparing shepherds with other occupations — both agricultural and not — depicted in the same artwork, shepherds spend long periods of time away from home, at a minimum all day, but also at times for longer periods. Unlike field workers, who might also spend all day away from a home base, they would not be able to rely on caching provisions in a convenient fixed position, but would have to carry everything necessary on their persons. (The occupation doesn't seem to have been of a status that would allow for pack animals — shepherds don't ever seem to be depicted with horses or such.)

This need they have in common with travelers — who are also commonly depicted wearing some sort of large pouch when on foot. But the characteristic traveler's pouch is a large, deep shoulder-bag (the "pilgrim's bag"), so why don't shepherds wear a similar style? One answer is that sometimes they do. One of the more common "other" styles for pouches worn by shepherds is something in the "pilgrim" group. And the other common alternate style for shepherds is a pouch similar to the Shepherds Purse style, but worn over the shoulder rather than around the waist. But the waist style is much more common — why? My hypothesis is the need to keep the hands free. Unlike travelers, who may carry a staff to assist walking but wouldn't need much other mobility, the minute-to-minute duties of a shepherd might involve using their characteristic staffs to rescue sheep from hazardous locations, or similar needs. (The small shovel-like end of one style of shepherds' staff argues for some sort of regular use.) Given this, I suggest that the waist style may be related to the need to keep the arms more free for activity.

Once the waist position has been established in the context of a relatively active occupation, I suggest that the other parameters of the style — the relatively shallow extended shape — fall out naturally. A relatively deep pouch worn at the waist would bounce awkwardly against the legs, while one that kept more of the bulk of the container close to the waist would be more stable and comfortable and would interfere with movement less. A certain amount of these judgments are based on my own prejudices, of course, but as a working hypothesis it seems a reasonable starting place.

These characteristics would be compatible with the occasional appearance of the Shepherds Purse style on swineherds. Pigs would not normally be tended as closely as sheep are, but in the seasonal scenes showing swineherds harvesting acorns to fatten their pigs, we're dealing with an extremely parallel situation: a mobile individual with no immediate fixed base who is performing active labor. If anything, the occasional use by swineherds reinforces the "reality" of the style, and its functional purpose.

Description of the Artifacts

The purpose of this section is to present and describe various aspects of the material that turned up in the course of my research — both those items that fit into my definition of "Shepherds Purse" and those that contrast with it. I begin with a general survey of the types of Shepherds Purse that turned up, followed by a detailed catalog and discussion of each type (as well as major types of other pouches found in the material). I also treat in detail the practice of having tools and other objects worn attached to the Shepherds Purse or an associated belt.

General Characteristics and Chronology

Viewed as a whole, the artifact I'm identifying collectively as a "Shepherds Purse" falls in about four stylistic clusters: the net-purse, the sash-purse, the crescent-shaped purse (occuring with and without netting), and the shaped purse with flap ("flapped purse").

Seen as a group here, I hope that the same two things strike the viewer as have become apparent to me in the course of this study: the overall unified stylistic "gestalt" of the various forms, and yet at the same time their clearly different (and in some cases unrelated) functional origins. That is, while the various forms do not represent a single continuous development (but rather, as I shall propose, a blending and braiding of several strands of development), some overall pressure has led to similarity of shape and style. As I discuss in the section *Why Shepherds?*, if we believe that these pictures do represent an actual artifact, and actual variations on that artifact, I believe that the stylistic unity is a matter of form following function — that the features desired in a shepherd's accessory may argue for this shape as an evolutionary goal. In that case, treating the various styles, in some ways, as a single "artifact type" can be considered valid. In the sections following this one, I will be discussing the styles individually, but here I intend to look at the overall pattern of appearance.

The chronology of the appearance of the shepherds purse always has to be considered in light of the availability of sources. For the non-specialist reading English language publications, the focus of the available material will tend to be England, France, and the Low Countries, and in fact for the most part the entire scope of Shepherds Purses can be traced within France as I shall do here.

Earliest Forms

The earliest example that I have found so far is a net-only purse (or possibly a net-and-cloth purse) in the Paris Psalter ca. 1230. It is difficult to tell from the picture whether this is a true belt-style purse or whether it has a shoulder strap. The item is clearly associated with shepherds, being found in an Annunciation to the Shepherds genre scene.

The net-only style is best illustrated in another Annunciation scene from the Tres Belles Heures (early 15th c.). Here the net clearly appears with no

cloth lining, and in one case we appear to be able to see the contents through the net. Here the purse is also clearly dependent from a belt but, from the line of the drape, does not form the belt itself.

Much more commonly, netting appears as an outer layer with an opaque cloth lining. This style is most characteristic of the 15th century, as in this example from the Bedford Hours in an Annunciation scene. It pretty much disappears in the 16th century, with the exception of a couple depictions in the Hours of Henry VIII. The meshes of the netting are nearly always shown "lozenge-wise" (i.e., with corners pointing up-down and horizontally), which corresponds to the orientation that works best in reconstruction for a closed, netted bag. In this particular example, we can see a buckled strap fastening the purse around the waist.

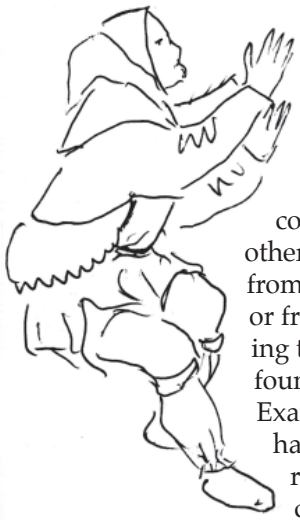
Another major origin of the Shepherds Purse appears

to be a sash-like belt — simply a long, wide piece of fabric tied around the waist (and in the case of the Shepherds Purse, first wound around the contents). In contrast to the netted styles, where we seem to see a chronological development from a simple net bag to a more elaborate combination of netting, straps, and lining, the most "primitive" portrayals of the sash style of purse occur later than the appearance of relatively stylized versions of it. The best representation of what I believe to be the origins of this style appears not in a shepherding context, but in a 16th century painting of Abraham and Hagar, where Hagar and her son Ishmael are setting off into the wilderness, and she carries some bread in a sash knotted loosely around her waist.

In the context of a shepherd, the clearest example of the style is in an early 16th c. sheep-shearing scene, where the knotted ends of the sash are clearly seen, and its thickness strongly suggests rolled-up contents (although not as clearly as some other examples).

The sash group is found throughout the 15th and 16th centuries — it may also occur earlier, but it can be difficult to distinguish from a sash functioning as a belt. Note that sash-belts with no evidence of a carrying function are quite common in art and not in the least restricted to shepherds.

The crescent-shaped purse is by far the numerically most common style in my data and appears throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. It is characterized by a clear taper from the "contents" portion of the object to the opposite side of the waist. Typically, the depiction is oriented so that the "contents" portion is towards the viewer, so the fastening mechanism is rarely evident. Sometimes there may be a fringe or scalloped edge along the bottom, suggesting there may be a seam there. A typical example of this latter is seen in the late 15th c. Hours of Mary of England.

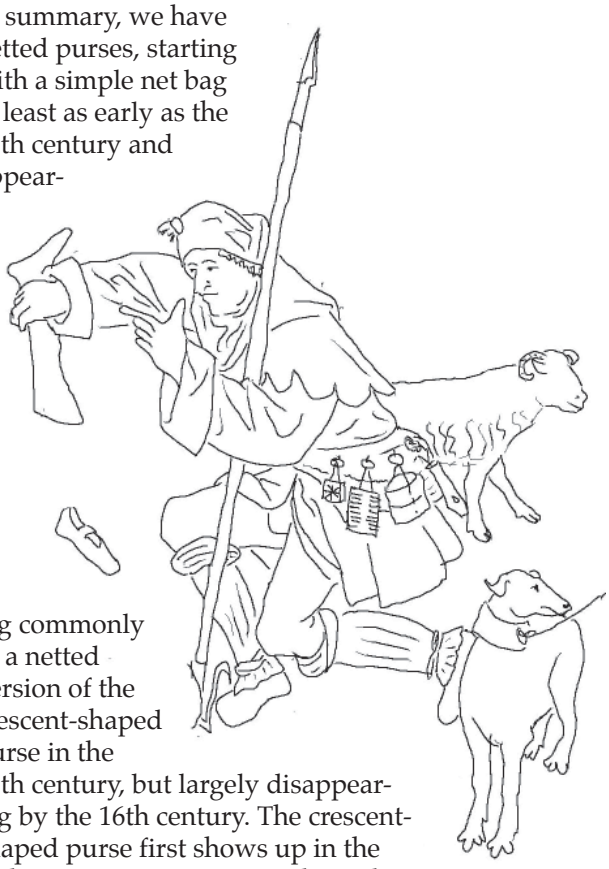


As mentioned above, this style may occur in combination with netting (or at least a netted appearance). If there is no netting, it is also common for this style to appear in combination with tools or other objects hanging either from the Shepherds Purse itself or from a separate belt. (Hanging tools are not, in general, found with the netted version.) Examples of this type with hanging tools appear to be restricted to the 16th century or very late 15th century. An excellent example of this can be seen in the tapestry La Main Chaude.

The crescent-shaped style is often unclear as to how one accesses the contents. Some examples suggest an evolution from a rolled sash, others perhaps from a tubular bag gathered (by a drawstring?) at one end. In the last stylistic group, access is clearly indicated by a flap (although the flap may be indicated only by a curved line). The flap may not show a fastening method, or it may have a tie (usually two cords emerging from the flap, tied in a single-bow knot) or buttons. An example of the former from the later 15th c. Simon Marmion Hours is shown here.

Like the crescent pouch, 16th century examples of the flapped pouch may be accompanied by hanging implements, often attached to rings that are either stitched onto the upper part of the flap, or are attached to a separate belt. An example of the former can be seen in the tapestry Les Joyeux Bergers.

In summary, we have netted purses, starting with a simple net bag at least as early as the 13th century and appearing commonly as a netted version of the crescent-shaped purse in the 15th century, but largely disappearing by the 16th century. The crescent-shaped purse first shows up in the 14th century, dominates in the 15th century, and continues through the 16th (with rare 17th c. examples) either alone or accompanied by hanging tools. The flapped purse begins appearing around the mid 15th century and continues through the 16th, when it may also occur with hanging tools.



	13th C.	14th C.	15th C.	16th C.
Netting only	X	X	X	
Netting + Crescent		X	X	
Crescent		X	X	X*
Flapped			X	X*

*optionally includes tools

Although this appears to show a clear progression of styles, only parts of it are based on enough data for significant confidence. To get a better sense of the numbers, the following table counts individual numbers of pouches (which will skew the numbers in a different way, as multiple pouches within a work will tend to be the same type, so a couple of multi-shepherd works can produce the appearance of a major trend). This doesn't include pouches worn over the shoulder or non-Shepherds Purse styles.

	13th	14th	15th			16th		
	all	all	E	M	L	E	M	L
Net only	1		2					
Net + Crescent		1	18	7	10	1		
Crescent			14	7	22	15	9	
Crescent + Flap					22	9	28	
Sash			1	1	1	3	6	

E=early, M=mid, L=late

Catalog of Pouch Types

The following is a catalog of various types of pouches and the art where they are depicted. See the bibliography for references to the works.

Netting

Netting only

* Tres Belles Heures
* Paris Psalter

Crescent-shaped Purse with Netting

No other features

* Oxford Ms. Douce 93
* Morgan MS 287
* Bibl. Nat. Paris MS Lat 873
* Bedford Hours
* Belles Heures (Annunciation to the Shepherds)
* Vienna Hours
* Eberhardgebetbuch

Possibly slung from the shoulder instead of waist

* Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux

Possibly simply a vestigial pattern

* Hours of Henry VIII (swineherds)
* Hours of Henry VIII (annunciation)
* Rohan Hours

With objects attached to belt, but not to pouch itself

* Norfolk MS 307
* De Levis Hours

Odd netted object

* Catalan adoration

Sash

Sash-belts

This is one style that merges seamlessly into a style worn by many other types of people — but not, apparently as a pouch. Sash style belts are extremely common in art throughout (and beyond) the period under consideration. While I haven't done a formal survey of their appearance, there is a strong tendency for them to occur with more "archaic" presentations — i.e. when clothing is consciously portrayed as non-contemporary — and when the person depicted is clearly intended to be a "foreigner", especially someone of non-European identity. While these sash-belts may be relatively bulky, they do not have the kind of asymmetric bulk that would suggest being used as carriers for some type of contents. But conversely, when this style is found worn by a shepherd, it can be difficult to tell whether it is being used as a belt or a carrier. For example, in the above scene from the Pistoia Pulpit, the shepherd on the right clearly wears a sash as a belt, but it is less clear that it is being used in the manner of a Shepherds Purse as a means of carrying things. (In fact, considered as a Shepherds Purse, it is somewhat of a cultural outlier.)

Simple knotted cloth

* Abraham and Hagar
* Bibl. Nat. Paris MS 42

Cloth tucked under belt

* Pursuit of St. Barbara
* Rouen Hours

Sash-belt, but appears to have contents

* Tres Riches Heures
* Burgundisches Brevier

* Pistoia pulpit
* MS. Morgan 453

Transitional between sash and crescent-shape

* Playfair Book of Hours
* Grande Heures of Anne of Brittany
* de Beer adoration

Crescent-shaped

This group seems to me to be the "core" of the Shepherds Purse style. It gives the appearance of being a more deliberate creation than simply wrapping something up in a cloth and tying around your waist, and yet even when apparently shaped and sewn it seems to overlap stylistically with the other three major stylistic groups. There is a substantial group of examples where the crescent silhouette is combined with a netting motif (see "net + crescent" in the netted bags section). There are several examples that are ambiguous between the sash and crescent groups, usually due to the angle from which they are seen, and the flapped style of crescent-shaped pouch may echo the rolled-up fabric in the flap. Speculations on whether the smooth shape of the crescent style is an artistic stylization or the result of actual shaping in construction are discussed in "Artifact or Artistic Motif?".

Pouch with No Attached Objects

Hanging from the shoulder, rather than the waist

Like the netted style, the crescent-shaped style can sometimes be found worn slung from the shoulder rather than around the waist. These examples are particularly interesting when visually identical pouches appear in the same scene in both styles of wear, as in the Misal Rico, and the Hours of Mary of England. I'm also including here examples in the "shaped" group that are found worn over the shoulder.

* Misal Rico of Cardinal Cisneros
* Hours of Mary of England
* Hours of Isabella Stuart
* Virgin of the Stair
* Bronzino adoration

With zig-zag bottom edge

The purpose or origin of this design element is unclear. At the very least, it lends support to a construction interpretation that involves a seam along the bottom edge.

* Repas Champetre
* Hours of Mary of England

May have flap

* Egerton MS 1147

Transitional between sash and crescent-shape

While the largest group of crescent-shaped pouches have a fairly smooth shape that tapers at the ends, several are drawn with folds that seem more strongly suggestive of a sash origin, while still showing the exaggerated bulge characteristic of the crescent group.

* Playfair Book of Hours
* Grande Heures of Anne of Brittany
* de Beer adoration

Simple crescent-shaped pouch with no other factors

This is the largest single type-group in my study. Most of these are fairly uninteresting in the details, or are rendered in a relatively indistinct manner. The characteristics include a smooth, unwrinkled fabric, forming a distinct bulge, tapering at both ends (although usually only one end is visible), where the "pouch section" of the object takes up no more than half of the circumference of the waist. Most typically, the tapered ends disappear under the cloth of the clothing, but when visible, they become a narrow strap.

* 15th c.? annunciation (3 mss of unknown identity found on the web)
* Add. MS 35313
* Bedford Breviary
* Bedford Hours
* Belles Heures of Jean Duc de Berry
* Bloemaert annunciation
* de Ribera adoration
* Eberhardgebetbuch
* Francke nativity
* Hardouyn Book of Hours
* Hours of the MarÈchal de Boucicaut
* La Danse (tapestry)
* Le Roman de la Rose (the vigilance of the good shepherd)
* Misal Rico of Cardinal Cisneros
* Playfair Book of Hours
* scenes of childhood/annunciation (tapestry)
* Stockholm-Kessel Book of Hours
* Syracuse MS 3
* Tres Riches Heures

Crescent-shaped Pouch with Tools

The pouches in these examples are similar to those above with two exceptions. Objects are never attached to the pouch section of a netted crescent pouch, although they may be attached to the strap

section. And objects don't appear with pouches slung over the shoulder (although that is a relatively small group). For discussion of the tools and attachment methods, see the section on Attached Objects.

Tools are attached to belt

* Zodiacal Man
* Hardouyn Book of Hours

Attachment method is unclear

* The Shepherds (tapestry)
* La Danse (tapestry)

Tools attached underneath pouch

* Stowe MS 955 (unclear if these are tools as opposed to decorative tassels or something similar)
* Grande Heures of Anne of Brittany

Tools attached to pouch

* La Main Chaude (tapestry)
* scene of hunting and dance (tapestry)
* scene of hunting and shepherding #1 (tapestry)
* Return from the hunt (tapestry)
* scene of hunting and shepherding #2 (tapestry)
* scenes of childhood/annunciation (tapestry)

Strongly Shaped Pouches (especially with flaps)

While the "crescent" form of purse exists in a continuum from examples that may actually be sashes with contents rolled up in them, to examples that clearly have a "pouch" section that is gathered into a "belt" section, the group of artifacts considered in this part are all clearly "cut and sewn" in some fashion. On the one end, they merge into the crescent style, where the "flap" may have evolved from the loose edge of a roll of fabric. On the other end, they bear a strong similarity to the deeper style of "pilgrim's pouch" covered in my "Non Shepherds Purse styles" section. The dividing line on that end is largely one of stylistic "gestalt" — does the artifact look more like a crescent-shaped pouch with a flap, or does it look like "shoulder-bag" style that happens to be worn around the waist?

Flapped purses with no tools

Flap has a decorative scalloped edge

Until I inserted the figures in this section, I hadn't noticed how similar the pairs of pouches and their arrangement are. The similarity extends only to the pouches themselves — the overall scenes are entirely different. But it raises the nagging question of whether the artists were working in some manner from the same template.

* Le Livre des Faits et Gestes
* Simon Marmion Hours

Pouch section clearly shows gathering, flap is fastened with buttons

Both of these examples have very interesting construction details which will be discussed more thoroughly in the reconstructions section. Note that the "shaped" feature that defines this stylistic group involves some very different structures.

* Da Costa Hours
* Stockholm-Kessel Book of Hours

Flap, but no other interesting features

* Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal Paris MS 438
* Repas Champetre (tapestry)
* Le Livre des Faits et Gestes
* scenes of hunting (tapestry)

Shaped pouches with flaps and hanging objects

See the section on *Attached Objects* for a specific discussion of these. As in the crescent-shaped group, the pouches involved here are of the same types as those found without attached objects.

Objects are attached by unclear method

* Le Livre des Faits et Gestes

Objects are on rings attached to the pouch

* Rustic Sports (tapestry)
* The Noble Pastoral (tapestry)

Objects are on rings attached to the belt

* Repas Champetre (tapestry)
* scenes of childhood/annunciation

Survey of Other Pouch Types

In order to understand the stylistic attributes that I'm identifying as the "Shepherds Purse", it's important to look at the range of purse or pouch types found in medieval and early modern art, whether used by shepherds or by others. In some cases, these styles may also be strongly associated with a particular social group or occupation. Although I obviously haven't studied that question in anywhere near the same detail as the Shepherds Purse, I've identified the types of associations I've found anecdotally.

A survey of 16th century purse styles can be seen in the following figures from Amman ("The Bag Maker"): Here we see several styles of frame purses in the middle (the third from the left is a style commonly, but not at all exclusively, associated with

hunters and falconers), and several complex drawstring purses at the right.

Frame Purse

A style of purse that appears across a variety of social groups uses a rigid frame in the opening of the purse. (The purse may then close with a flap — either soft or rigid — or may extend beyond the frame and close with a drawstring.) One style hangs from the belt by a metal swivel mechanism, as in the painting of Abraham and Hagar.

The Portinari altarpiece shows two shepherds, but wearing alternate purse styles. What can be seen of this pouch is fascinating, although enough is hidden that the complete nature is unclear. The glint of metal at the top edge, as well as the general shape of the pouch, suggest a rigid frame of some type. Two or three metal rings are attached near the top edge, and various objects are attached to them. Most curiously, the musical horn is hooked onto the pouch-ring via a roughly-shaped double-hooked stick. It is details like this that tend to lead me to conclude that a particular detail or artifact is being drawn from life — such a fastening arrangement, though comprehensible, isn't the sort of thing an artist seems likely to invent (or to portray so clearly if working from a stock of fixed motifs).

The pouch seen worn by David (as a shepherd) in the Maciejowski Bible may be either a loosened drawstring purse, or some early type of frame purse. Its position relative to the belt — if accurate — suggests some sort of loop on the back for carrying, but I'm not inclined to put too much interpretation into it.

A set of contrasts between shepherds wearing varieties of the Shepherds Purse, and huntsmen or falconers wearing some type of frame purse can be seen in several of the "pastoral" tapestries: Rustic Sports, scene of hunting and dance, scene of hunting and shepherding #1, Return from the hunt. These clearly show the association of pouch style and occupation (whether purely iconographic or reflective of real life) as the members of both occupations are also clearly identified by other motifs.

Deep, rectangular shoulder bag — "Pilgrim's bag"

Another style that has strong, but not exclusive, associations with a particular occupation is a type of deep, rectangular shoulder-bag commonly associated with pilgrims and other travelers.

The Ottheinrichsbibel has an example of this style carried by a swineherd while out in the fields watching his pigs. While I have found examples of shepherds wearing bags similar to the "crescent" style over the shoulder, I haven't yet found examples of them with this more square style.

The Belles Heures show St. James the Greater wearing this style of pouch, strongly associated with the pilgrims who came to his shrine, as well as another scene of pilgrims using them in the context of the life of St. Catherine.

Deep shoulder bag with rounded corners

A similar shoulder-bag style in a more rounded shape has a somewhat regular association with shepherds, although nowhere near as commonly as the strict Shepherds Purse style (with which it overlaps in the Hours of Mary of England example below).

The Souvigny Bible has a fairly small pouch of this type, but the relative stylization makes the exact construction unclear.

In an Elizabethan woodcut of two shepherds, the detail is very bad, but both wear a fairly deep shoulder bag with a flap covering the top.

In the Bronzino adoration, we see a similar bag, but somewhat shallower, and more on the borderline with a crescent-shaped pouch simply worn over the shoulder.

Compare this with the two pouches seen in the Hours of Mary of England, where the forms are essentially identical, but one is worn over the shoulder and the other around the waist. Here the lesser depth of the shoulder pouch also moves it more into the realm of the Shepherds Purse.

Similarly, the shepherd's shoulder bag seen in the Virgin of the Stair has all the physical characteristics of a crescent-shaped Shepherds Purse, except for being worn over the shoulder.

Shoulder bag with gathered ends

A somewhat odd assortment of styles can be described roughly as composed of a tubular sack, one end of which is open but tied closed by a cord or strap that also forms a shoulder strap.

This example used by a shepherd in the Ghirlandaio adoration appears to be made of the skin of a spotted animal (the fur on the outside is clear in a close-up). At the front, one end is tied closed with a cord that goes over the shoulder to the back (and presumably ties onto the other end there). The combination of this whole-skin construction with the way the pouch hangs invites interpretation as a water-skin rather than a pouch in the ordinary sense.

In the del Barco annunciation, a shepherd wears a pouch with a similar concept, but here the construc-

tion is clearer. A tubular bag has a leather strap attached to the closed end, which comes around to close the open end by means of a simple knot (I'd guess a half-hitch) — common sense suggests the strap is also actually fastened to the bag at the open end, or the knot would seem likely to slip off. Again, if we interpret the shape and hang of the bag as realistic, this may be a waterbag rather than a pouch.

A shepherd in the Atri fresco wears a shoulder bag of unclear construction. While I'm hesitant to read too much into this fuzzy rendering, the apparent double-cord seen coming down to the bag across his chest suggests the possibility of a drawstring closing, although there are certainly other possible interpretations.

Small flapped pouches hung from belt

One of the most general styles of pouch found across a variety of social groups and occupations is a relatively small round or rectangular pouch with a flap that is attached to the belt either at the back of the pouch or hung by straps. The distinction from the Shepherds Purse style is seen most notably in the more discrete appearance: this is clearly a separate pouch attached to a belt, rather than a relatively extended pouch that, in essence, forms a separate "belt".

An example worn by a shepherd in the Ghirlandaio adoration is a typical example of the variant hung from the belt by straps, as are the following two examples.

* Rembrandt adoration
* Breviary of Martin of Aragon

A rather curious pouch that doesn't really fit with the above examples is found in a stained glass annunciation. In common with the crescent-style Shepherds Purse, the pouch extends well around the waist (rather than being a separate discrete object), but it is much deeper than the Shepherds Purse (and occurs well before the time when that style is prevalent). The object is also shown with a hatch-mark pattern suggestive of netting, but the presence of the flap makes it clear that this is not a net bag. (This example is an excellent candidate for the use of iconic elements rather than realistic depiction.)

Kidney-shaped belt pouch

One relatively specific variant of this class of pouches has a characteristic "kidney" shape (i.e. a rounded, double-lobed outline). This style is most commonly associated with upper-class figures or with well-to-do craftsmen, and is often seen with a dagger thrust between the two belt-straps and behind the pouch. Several of these are seen worn by the carpenters at work on Noah's ark in the Bedford Hours, one of whom (at the right of the page) has a hammer thrust through the pouch in the same manner as a dagger.

The Belles Heures (April) show the typical kidney-pouch & dagger set worn by a well-dressed man.

The Hours of the MarÈchal de Boucicaut show this style of pouch worn by a shepherd in an Annunciation scene.

A slightly more elaborate version of the style is worn by a man in the Tapestry scene of hunting and shepherding #1. (The man is presumably a shepherd, indicated by the bagpipes he is playing.) The construction of the pouch looks interesting, but unfortunately my available picture does not have high enough resolution to make it out.

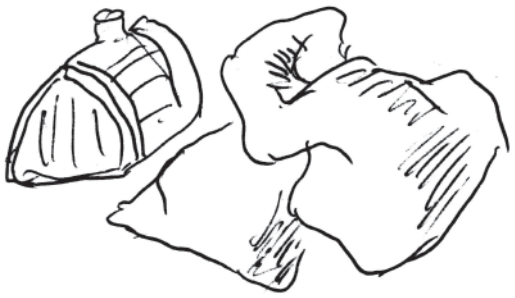
Drawstring purse

A variety of drawstring bags are found in various of the scenes. These may be attached closely to the belt as in the Portinari altarpiece below, but another very common style hangs them from a relatively long cord attached to the belt. In several scenes, this style is seen on women, where the purse hangs under the overgown (but can be seen because this gown has been kilted up), as in Bibl. Nat. Paris MS Lat 873 and Zodiacal Man.

The Portinari altarpiece shows two shepherds, but wearing alternate purse styles. Although one is largely hidden in shadow, it is clearly a drawstring bag, possibly of leather, presumably attached to the belt, but by an unknown method.

Relatively simple cloth carriers

Double-ended carrying sack



This item doesn't really fit in with the group of unshaped cloth carrying devices, because it clearly involves some sewing. In form, it appears to be a long rectangular shape of two layers, sewn together around the edges, with an access hole of some type in

the middle of its length. It is often seen sitting on the ground at the side of a field where reapers or mowers are working (usually in company with one or more costrels with drinkables). The other strong association is with travelers, and several examples are seen in association with Flight into Egypt genre scenes, or in the background of Nativity scenes (e.g., in the Atri frescos Nativity, where it hangs from a post of the stable on the right).

Given the association of this type of sack with reapers, it is possible that the white cloth laid across the lap of lunching reapers may be an empty version of this (but equally it could be an even simpler type of cloth carrying device).

* Bennick Hours
* Weapons of Gouffier: August

Tied cloth carrier

Two styles of carrier are clearly just a rectangle of cloth wrapped around the contents, and tied roughly either around the waist, or into something that can be slung over the shoulder.

In the painting of Abraham & Hagar, we see what may be a technique that evolved into the sash style of Shepherds Purse.

In two scenes in the Belles Heures, we see characters who appear to be beggars with a carrying sack over one shoulder formed from a simple cloth.

Non-shepherds wearing a Shepherds Purse style

One of the features that struck me as I gathered extensive examples of the style-group I came to call the "Shepherds Purse" was the virtual absence of this style of pouch worn by people who were not identifiable as shepherds. The four exceptions are primarily comprised of swineherds. If the style of the bag represents a response to particular occupational needs, this should not be at all surprising. Like the shepherds, these swineherds are portrayed in the course of their duties wandering around the countryside tending to and procuring food for their animals. Unlike reapers and mowers, they are not working from a "local base" where supplies and necessities can be left. And unlike pilgrims and other travelers, they may require a relatively high level of mobility, keeping hands and arms free (where a shoulder bag might get in the way — although, to be sure, shepherds are also found with shoulder bags). Three scenes show swineherds with this style of pouch.

Swineherds

* Pursuit of St. Barbara
* Hours of Henry VIII
* Belles Heures de Jean de Berry

Other

The other exception to the association of Shepherds Purses with shepherds is a reaper, seen in the background of a scene showing shepherds involved in shearing. It is possible that this is an anomaly, with the style "bleeding over" from the representation of the shepherds. Unlike the example of the swineherds, this is an isolated example, although I looked at a wide range of pictures of reapers and mowers.

* Tres Riches Heures

Attached Objects

One of the fascinating incidental topics that came up in the course of this study (in fact, a key inspiration of it) is the motif of an assortment of tools and other objects hung from the Shepherds Purse, or from a belt in association with it (or more rarely, alone on a shepherd who wears no pouch of any type). While it's common for people of all sorts to wear knives on their belts (and, of course, pouches of various types), in the artwork that I studied, the other types of attached tools are strongly, if not uniquely, associated with shepherds, and represent certain specific repeating types (even if the purpose of the type of object is not always clear). In general, attached objects tend to occur throughout a group of shepherds if they appear at all, and the method of attachment tends to be consistent throughout a group.

Attached to Shepherds Purse vs. Separate Belt

The method of attachment for these objects varies somewhat. In a significant number, the method of attachment is unclear — perhaps the artwork is insufficiently detailed to show it clearly. The tools may be attached to a separate belt — either by rings, lying above the pouch, or presumably by some method to a belt underneath the pouch (where the objects are partially visible under the lower edge of the pouch). If the objects are attached to the pouch itself, it may be by some unknown method to the lower edge of the pouch, or most commonly by rings sewn onto the upper edge of the pouch (or near the upper edge).

Scope in space and time

As noted in the overview, the appearance of attached objects occurs more narrowly than that of the Shepherds Purse style in general, being confined to the late 15th century and later (in effect, late 15th century and throughout the 16th century). Given that they are primarily associated with Shepherds Purses, this also means that they are primarily associated with France and the Low Countries.

Methods of Attachment

Rings attached to upper part of pouch

This style is strongly associated with tapestries of the first half of the 16th century.

* La Main Chaude
* The Noble Pastoral
* Rustic Sports
* Scene of hunting and dance
* Scene of hunting and shepherding #1 & #2
* Return from the hunt
* Scene of childhood/annunciation
* Portinari altarpiece
* Zodiacal man

Rings attached to belt

This style may be more common than the examples here indicate. In cases where the attachment method is hidden behind the pouch, it is probably to a separate belt.

* scenes of childhood/annunciation
* Repas Champetre

Other possible examples of ring attachment

* The Noble Pastoral
* Hardouyn Book of Hours

Attachment hidden or unclear

In several sources, objects are visible at the bottom of a pouch and appear to be attached either to the bottom edge of the pouch or to a belt lying hidden under the pouch. The majority of these fall in the same period as the ring-attachments, but occur in manuscripts rather than tapestries.

* Hours of Henry VIII
* Le Livre des Faits et Gestes
* Zodiacal Man

The Fitzwilliam MS. 63 is among the earliest group (early 15th c.) showing both hanging objects and a Shepherds Purse. None of this early group have the objects attached directly to the pouch. They may, however, appear to be hung from the "belt section" of a crescent-shaped pouch, as in the following group.

Attachment method unclear

* Norfolk MS 307
* De Levis Hours
* Vienna Hours
* Grande Heures of Anne of Brittany
* Zodiacal Man
* Rohan Hours

Objects are attached to belt by straps

This occurs in only one source — the Gloucester cathedral misericord — and there are no pouches present. This and the following example date to an earlier period than the period when Shepherds Purses and attached objects are found in common.

Object hung from cord

Similarly, the Luttrell Psalter shows a container hung from the belt by a cord, when no pouch is present.

Types of Objects

Tools

When attached objects occur, there are some common repeating patterns, while others occur rarely, and many are difficult or impossible to identify as to their specific nature. Representative examples of most of the common types can be seen in the tapestry La Main Chaude, as depicted on the previous page.

Knife

Knives are the most common type of attached object, not entirely surprisingly. Among other social groups, knives may be worn in a variety of manners, but when multiple objects appear for a shepherd, the knife is typically hung in the same manner as the other objects. These tend to be relatively small knives — the typical medieval utility knife, not anything fancy.

Small Pruning Hook?

There is a single example of what looks like a small pruning hook — a crescent-shaped blade on a short handle. If I have misidentified this, then I'm not certain what it might be.

Scissors or Shears

A variety of shapes and types of scissors appear, although there are relatively few examples in total. Hinged scissors with ring-looops are the most common type, both in a relatively large size and, in a relatively indistinct example, something looking like embroidery snips. There is also an example of one-piece spring shears in a medium size. (There are also examples of shepherds using this style of shears to shear sheep in the pictures, but here I count only examples attached to the person.)

Comb

When combs appear, they are always of the double-sided variety. The attachment method isn't always clear, but in some cases there appears to be a cord loop that is slipped in turn between the end teeth on each side to hold it by the spine.

Mirror

The nature of the artifact here is largely a guess. It is a round, light-colored frame enclosing a dark center with highlights suggesting that it is both convex and extremely reflective. A larger object with similar properties is seen in the series of "Senses" tapestries (not included here) under "Sight", where it seems clearly intended to be a mirror. A small hand-mirror seems somewhat unlikely for an actual shepherdess, but in the tapestries in which it appears the "shepherds" are awfully well-dressed in general, and as an accessory for "noble people playing at being shepherds", a mirror might not be quite so out of place.

Musical Instrument

The musical instrument most closely associated with shepherds in art is the bagpipes. (The notion that bagpipes are somehow inherently a "Celtic" instrument is a modern invention. In medieval art, bagpipes = shepherds and shepherds = bagpipes.) But other instruments can be found either attached to, or thrust under, a belt or pouch. Although this is an extensive group, there are a variety of specific instruments involved, including recorder-like flutes, hornpipes, and blowing horns (i.e., cows' horns).

Containers

Round or Oval Boxes

After knives, the most widespread type of object hung from the pouch or belt is a small round or oval box. When details can be discerned, the design is remarkably consistent. The box lid fits down over the box, and the cord or strap from which the box hangs goes through loops or slots on the sides of the lid, and then attaches to the box, so that the lid can be slid up and off while both parts are still attached securely. Another style shows a cord attached to a loop or ring on the top of the box, but doesn't indicate any attachment mechanism between box and lid.

Costrel or Canteen

Rigid containers for liquid are relatively uncommon as pouch or belt attachments, although they may sometimes be found as separate objects, as in the Stockholm-Kessel Hours, or present in the scene, but not worn on the person, as in Repas Champetre or the Pigouchet annunciation. A common form is the true "costrel" shape — a sideways barrel, with an opening on the top of one side.

Drawstring Pouch

It isn't uncommon to see shepherds (or shepherdesses in particular) wearing drawstring purses from a belt when not wearing a Shepherds Purse, however consideration here is limited to examples where a drawstring purse is attached to a Shepherds Purse, or is attached to a belt in combination with other tools.

Miscellaneous

String of Beads

A string of Paternoster beads occurs only once as an attachment to a pouch. The string contains 23 beads and a small cross.

Unidentified Objects by Shape

A number of objects are not identifiable to me as to function, but certain shapes are repeated. Similar shapes may represent objects of similar function, but this isn't certain. The identifiable shape-groups include squares, spindle-shapes, and narrow cylinders.

Construction Details

The following scenes are particularly useful for showing details of the construction of the pouches involved. Unfortunately, they don't necessarily show typical constructions for the Shepherds Purse. The basic "crescent" and "flapped crescent" shapes of purse rarely show significant details of the construction. In all cases, discussions of the construction should be understood to be prefixed with "if we can trust the depiction to accurately reflect the structure of an actual artifact".

Nets

The two net-only pouches from the Tres Belles Heures de Jean de Berry, if interpreted as accurate renditions, indicate a rectangular piece of square netting (i.e., with the lines of the mesh paralleling the outer edges of the piece as a whole), where two opposite ends are gathered up into a single point, and the pouch hangs from those two points. It is unclear whether the remaining two sides constitute a slit-opening for access along the top edge, or whether we are actually dealing with a tubular piece of netting (i.e., those two sides are actually attached to each other), and access would be accomplished by a drawstring closing one of the ends. In the figure on the right, the darker patterns behind the net may indicate an object contained within the pouch, or may be part of the shadows of the folds of cloth in the tunic skirts (which can be seen below the pouch). From the way the netting hangs, the pouch itself does not encircle the waist. It may be attached to two points on the belt (the drape of the tunics clearly indicate belts, although they are not actually visible), but an alternate explanation could involve a shoulder strap. Note the two white lines over the shoulders on the left-hand figure. I would interpret them as belonging to the hat (or whatever the round object is just behind the head), but the right one is in the correct position to be a shoulder strap for the net. Similarly, in the right-hand figure, the left end of the net appears as if it may rise higher than the tunic fold above the belt, which would imply a shoulder strap rather than belt attachment. But with these caveats, my overall impression is that there is a stronger argument for belt attachment than for a shoulder strap. Compare with the netted bag in the Paris Psalter. There are several lines that might be shoulder straps (either on the same or opposite shoulder as the bag) and the hang of the net would be consistent with either belt or shoulder position.

Sashes and Cloths

Several works show clear details involving a simple cloth, knotted around the waist (or attached to the belt in some way) and used as a carrying device. The clearest — although it doesn't strictly fall in our shepherd category — is in the painting of Abraham and Hagar, where two loaves of bread can be seen semi-contained in the cloth, and the knotted ends of the cloth are visible at the side. From a mechanical viewpoint, this would appear to work best if the edge of the cloth going around the front of the bread is on a straight grain. The knot appears to be of the "granny" variety. (Depicted earlier.)

Although the picture is somewhat grainy, the rather fastidiously-dressed shepherd in Bibl. Nat. Paris MS 42 wears, at the very least, a sash-belt, with some type of bulky knot in the fabric at the front. The taper of the fabric, from a slight bulge at the back to a relatively narrow gather feeding into the knot, suggests that some type of contents are enclosed in the fabric, presumably by virtue of rolling them up in a rectangular cloth before tying the cloth around the waist. This arrangement is essentially identical to items that have no "bulge" and that appear to be serving only as belts. Conversely, if the current item were viewed at an angle such that the knot were invisible, it would appear very similar to a crescent-shaped Shepherds Purse (or, taking into account the line following the outer edge, to a simple flapped crescent pouch). (Depicted earlier.)

A rather different arrangement is seen in the Pursuit of St. Barbara, where the carrying cloth clearly does not entirely encircle the waist. Instead it appears to have been wrapped around the contents, and then the two loose ends of the cloth have been tucked down behind the belt, to hang down from it loosely. The relative proportions of the amount of cloth in the "pouch" section and the hanging end that is visible suggest that the axis of the pouch is on the diagonal of a square. If so, we might expect to see the other

two corners (i.e., the ones not tucked under the belt) hanging loose in front of or behind the pouch. They are not visible, so if the bias arrangement is correct, they must simply be hidden behind the pouch. From a mechanical point of view, if the cloth is fastened in no other way than the ends tucked under the belt, then the contents must be fairly light — otherwise the weight of the pouch would be expected to pull it loose. An arrangement like this one — where we basically have a square folded into a triangle, with the long ends going around the waist to some degree — would be a very reasonable precursor to the crescent style of pouch, with the outside "corners" narrowing down into straps.

Crescent-shaped pouches, with and without flaps

Although the detail level is low (being a wood-cut), the Hardouyn Book of Hours gives a useful clue to the structure of the crescent-shaped pouch (at least in some versions), appearing to show a shepherd reaching into a Shepherds Purse at his side to remove something while the article is still being worn. (Unfortunately none of the figures in the scene shows an entirely clear and unmistakable Shepherds Purse, although one other has strong indications of one.) This method of access would be consistent with the depictions of pouches with a flap that extends either part way or most of the way down the outer side. It would contrast with those pouches where access appears to be via a gathered end (which would presumably need to be removed entirely to be accessed).

The simple lines of the pouches in the Simon Marmion Hours, along with the position of the knotted tie, indicate a fairly clear construction type. The tie presumably originates (underneath) from the upper edge of the outer side of the pouch. The pouch would then appear to be constructed from two major pieces: a roughly circular piece which forms the back of the pouch and the flap, and a roughly half-circular piece which forms the front of the pouch. At the "corners", when the circle is folded in half, straps are attached to go around the waist. This would be a major leap from a pouch that derived from a single piece of manipulated cloth. (Depicted earlier.)

The pouch seen in the Da Costa Hours more clearly shows some gathering from the pouch into the straps at the side. An effect like this might be more consistent with a pouch section that begins more or less as a rolled tube (with the outside edge forming the flap) that is gathered at both ends into a strap. The markings on the flap suggest that it may be buttoned to the upper edge of the underlying fabric. It is possible that the smooth, more cut-and-shaped look is an artistic simplification of a structure more like this — but it's equally possible that the cut-and-shaped look of the crescent-shaped purse evolved from this style, but does, in fact, represent the actual construction.

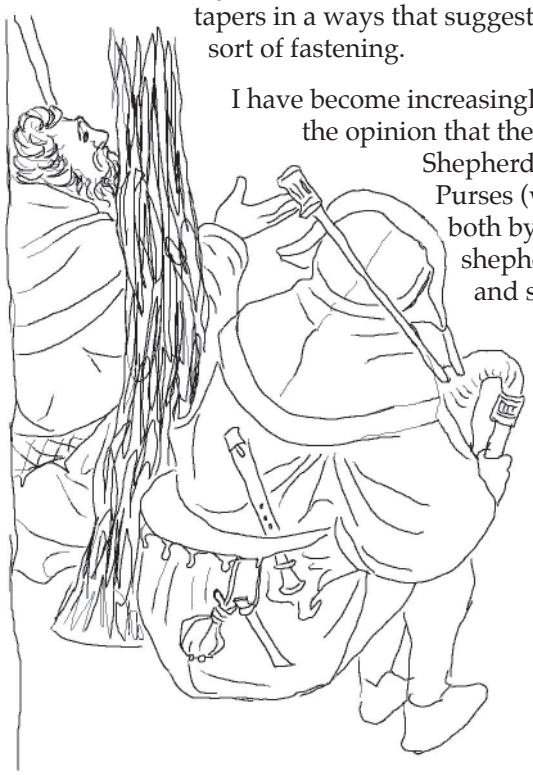
On the other side of the argument, the rare examples where the lower edge of the pouch shows some sort of fringe or indented edge argue fairly strongly for a seam of some type in that position. One pouch in the Repas Champetre indicates this fairly clearly. In some cases, the fringed or indented edge could conceivably be the edge of a flap that covers the entire pouch, but here the edge of a flap is visible slightly above the indented fringe. This would overlap more with the Simon Marmion style of construction seen above.

The representations of a flapped-crescent shape seen in the tapestries are sometimes more consistent with an origin in a single cloth, rolled around the contents, and then gathered up (into a strap) at the ends. The pouches seen in Rustic Sports are more reminiscent of the "Pursuit of St. Barbara" shape (but with the corners continuing into a strap), rather than necessarily being constructed from multiple pieces of cloth. Overall, there seems to be convincing evidence both for single-piece and sewn-shapes versions of the crescent-shaped pouch. (The section on experimental reconstruction will discuss possible versions and evolutionary paths.)

Of further interest is the position and function of the carrying-rings on this and the following example from La Main Chaude. In both cases, these rings are attached to the flap — near, but not at, the upper edge of the pouch. On a mechanical basis, the weight of the attached objects, while not extreme, is significant, and could have served to keep the flap closed. But that weight would also be expected to rotate the pouch outwards, if there is no internal structure other than that of wrapped cloth. This is especially the case if (as I hypothesize) the fabric lies with the bias

following the waistline. Pouches with these types of attachments would be most stable if the straps that encircle the waist also continue through the pouch in some fashion and provide a non-elastic, close-fitting base from which the pouch and the attached implements hang. One possible method would be to have a continuous "belt" structure attached to the back portion of the pouch (just where the flap folds down), which would certainly bear the weight of the tools sufficiently. Another possiblity that will be discussed further in the reconstruction section would be a continuous "belt" attached along the upper edge of the front part of the pouch (hidden under the flap) — an edge that, by some reconstruction theories, might need extra stabilizing to create a more functional pouch.

In the vast majority of Shepherds Purse portrayals, the pouch section of the object is positioned towards the viewer, with the fastening method — presumably — hidden from view behind the wearer. While it can't automatically be extrapolated to all cases, the Bedford Hours Annunciation sheds light on this question, clearly showing a loose strap end (and, with only a little imagination, a buckle), just at one end of the pouch section of the object. This is particularly interesting since the pouch is of the netted style. If the network represents a closed tube accessed from one end, is that access at the visible end (terminating in a short strap)? Or at the hidden end (terminating in a long strap ending in a buckle)? Unclear. Is the strap simply run through the interior of the netted tube or in some way fastened to it? The near end tapers in a ways that suggests some sort of fastening.



I have become increasingly of the opinion that the Shepherds Purses (worn both by shepherds and swineherds) in the Hours of Henry VIII have lost touch with their "real-object" origins and have become stylized artistic motifs. The plain pouch is much smaller in volume than the more realistic-looking ones, and the netted motif depicts a rather unfunctionally-large mesh size. Given the otherwise excellent level of detail on this work, this is rather unfortunate.

Wearing Style — Waist versus Shoulder

The Hours of Mary of England help answer one nagging question: to what extent do shoulder versus waist positions represent entirely different styles of pouch? I have noted a number of examples that show many of the same stylistic features of the Shepherds Purse except that they are worn from a shoulder strap. In this scene, two shepherds in the same group wear objects that are entirely identical except that one is slung over the shoulder and one around the waist. The waist position — which is an essential part of my definition of the Shepherds Purse "gestalt" — is much commoner, and is the only one associated with attached objects. This suggests that there is some mechanical or behavioral benefit to the waist position in this occupational context. But the shift of Shepherds Purse-style carriers to being worn over the shoulder both gives evidence for the construction (e.g., the "containment" function doesn't depend on pressure against the waist) and lends some support to the "actual artifact" side of the debate, where the obejct is seen as being manipulated in various ways.

Unusual Styles

Several pouches show details of construction methods that don't appear to be typical for the common Shepherds Purse style, even when they share the overall gestalt. The Da Costa example discussed above is somewhat marginal to the typical depictions (although it may be unusual only in its relatively clear details). Some objects that fall outside the Shepherds Purse group are also of considerably interest for the clarity of their construction (such as the "gathered sausage" shoulder bag in the del Barco annunciation), but I will not cover them here.

The bag in the Stockholm-Kessel Book of Hours is certainly worth investigating, although it may not shed light on the structure of more "mainstream" pouches. The pouch forms a rough half-circle, where the left-hand end is pursed up with a drawstring and the right-hand end narrows smoothly into a point. The upper

edge (along the waist) shows a row of four or more buttons but there are no signs of a flap, suggesting that the upper edge is simply two open edges pressed together in parallel.

If we visualize the drawstring being loosened and the gathered end being stretched out flat, it appears that we will end up with some vaguely triangular shape, with two sides open (the upper buttoned edge and the previously-gathered edge) and the third most likely on a fold. Visualize, then, a rough square of fabric, hung like an apron by a strap around the waist, with buttons on that waistband. Fold one bottom corner up to its opposite and button the top edges together. Then run a drawstring through the remaining open edge. At the time I first wrote the preceeding description, I hadn't tried an actual reconstruction yet. The mock-up matches this interpretation precisely and works surprisingly well (see the reconstructions).

Reconstruction Experiments

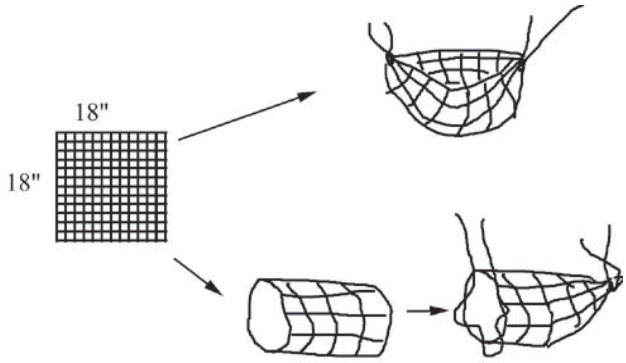
The following section details my experimental reconstructions of a number of the styles of pouch found in my research — both those in the Shepherds Purse group and several other interesting examples.

In evaluating these experiments, I consider the following criteria:

* Does the result function to hold contents of a reasonable size and shape without danger of loss?
* Can the contents be added and removed easily in the appropriate context? (Not all designs appear to intend access while being worn.)
* Does the result look and behave like the illustrations?
* Does that behavior and appearance proceed from the natural behavior of the materials and construction?
* Is the pouch comfortable and efficient to wear — does it avoid impeding movement?

Netting

The net-only bags of the Tres Belles Heures (the only completely unambiguous example of a net with no lining) show the meshes set square to the waistline. There are two possibilities: a tubular bag with the ends gathered, one of which can be opened to access contents; or a more "hammock" like object — a flat rectangular net gathered at opposite ends with access through an open side. For these and the following experiments I made a piece of netting with roughly one-inch meshes, approximately 18" x 36". To approximate the apparent dimensions of the Tres Belles Heures bag I folded this piece in half to form a square.

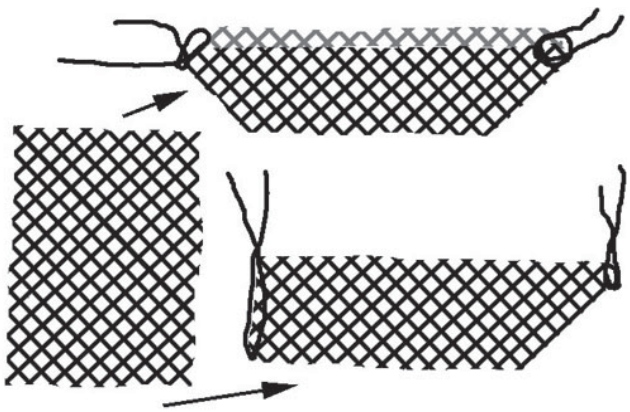


For the "hammock" style, I threaded a cord through the meshes at each end in a double loop to gather it, then tied the ends of each around a belt. The result is capable of holding several relatively bulky objects and looks roughly like the illustration. It's a little unstable, and if it's simply tied to a belt (rather than being fastened to specific points) has a tendency to sag.

For the "tube" style, I started with the same square (i.e., folded rectangle), but used a cord to "sew" opposite edges together. As above, I threaded a cord through the meshes at each open end (but only in a single loop this time, since I wanted to be able to loosen and open one end) and used the loose ends to fasten the bag to a belt. The results were similar to that described for the corresponding tubular "crescent" style below. Overall, the open "hammock" style seems the best combination of matching the picture and practicality of use.

The "netted crescent" style calls for a longer net. For these experiments, for the "square" mesh, I used the

above 18x36" rectangle in its full size (optionally sewn into a tube for the second experiment). For the "lozenge" style, I made two nets: one flat, roughly 12x24", and one tubular roughly 12" long and 24" in circumference. As for the above experiments, I tried two styles: a tube and a "hammock" style (although this name is less appropriate since the net doesn't hang loosely). In each case, each end is gathered on a cord and the cords are tied together around the waist to fasten the pouch. The square-mesh models were created as seen above, only longer. The lozenge-mesh models were roughly as seen below.



The "hammock" style square-mesh net is unstable, and the contents (in this case, folded in a cloth) are prone to falling out fairly easily. (Not illustrated.) Furthermore, the natural properties of the net when the meshes are oriented squarely tend to make the resuling shape more of a blunt sausage, and not the tapering shape seen in the pictures. However this problem is even worse if the same attempt is made with a hammock-style "lozenge" mesh net. (See below.) The edges have no stability and any contents are soon dumped out.

Using the tubular style, the tapered shape tends to emerge in both styles (square and lozenge style meshes), although more clearly with the lozenge-shaped meshes. In both cases, the closed bag keeps the contents very secure. Ease of access is significantly different, however. The square-mesh bag can't expand around its circumference, so you find yourself threading the contents into a long, narrow, essentially non-elastic tube. This is difficult. In contrast, the lozenge-shaped mesh bag expands easily due to its structure. (See below.)

Overall, the crescent-shaped net works best using a lozenge-mesh tube with gathered ends. The square-mesh tube is less practical for adding and removing contents, while the open ("hammock" style) arrangement doesn't securely hold the contents.

Sash Belts

The sash style is the easiest to be confident in interpreting. Take a rectangle of medium-weight linen, long enough go go around the waist and tie in a square knot, plus a few inches extra to accomodate the contents, and wide enough to go one and a half times or twice around whatever contents are intended. The one I experimented with was 24" x 75". It behaves and looks very much like the "ambiguous" sash-type examples, such as Bibl. Nat. Paris MS 42 or the Grande Heures of Anne of Brittany, but doesn't work if there is slack in the sash, as shown in the Playfair Book of Hours or the Rouen Hours. The more "slack" sashes, like the item shown in the Pursuit of St. Barbara, seem either to involve a cloth tucked under a separate belt, or one of the closed styles discussed under the Crescent style.

To experiment with the latter group, I used a linen square roughly a yard on a side. Somewhat to my surprise, the St. Barbara style is reasonably stable and secure, as long as the cloth is tucked under a snug belt. I started out by folding the cloth on the diagonal with several objects inside and folding the central corners over to hold things in place, then ran the folded corners under the belt from above (as the painting appears to show). By adjusting the cloth, an open sack can be formed that can be accessed while worn and yet holds a significant amount of contents securely. It's questionable how well it would hold up to vigorous activity, though.

The same cloth (ca. 36" square) can be used similarly to the Abraham and Hagar picture, by placing the contents in the center of the cloth, folding two opposite corners over it, and then tying the remaining corners around the waist. This method, however, is somewhat less stable than the above, and would not work well with small, slippery objects. (For example, it would work better with bread than with apples.)

The crescent-shaped style could reasonably have evolved from either type (i.e., either the sash or the folded square), and there are examples that appear to be transitional in style from both versions. For example. the Playfair Hours and Rouen Hours examples look more as if they came from a folded square, while the de Beer adoration looks more like it evolved from (or still is) a sash. The following picture

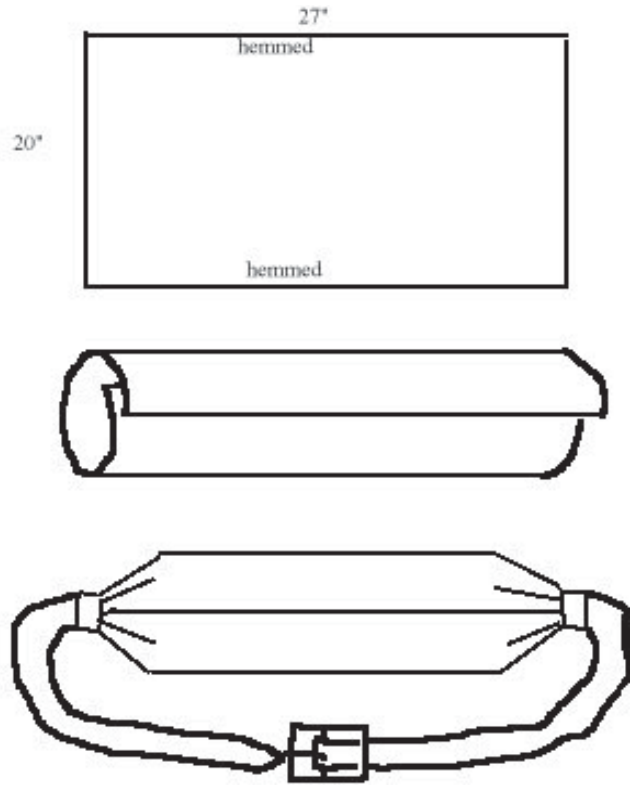
shows the same cloth as the Abraham and Hagar experiment but more closely rolled around the contents before tying, to more closely resemble a "transitional crescent" shape.

Crescent Shape

It's possible that some crescent-shaped pouches involve a tubular shape with a drawstring end, similar to the shoulder bag seen in the del Barco annunciation, but in general I have taken the approach that — other than the netted-crescent group — items of this shape belong in the flapped-crescent group, although some may not have the flap indicated (or it may be hidden on the back side of the pouch). I've discussed prototypes of this style using unshaped cloth in the Sash section. My primary experiment with a more shaped version is described here.

I began with a rectangle of linen 27" long and 20" wide, with the long sides hemmed. I formed this into a tube that overlapped by about 1 1/2", arranged it so that the inside edge is at the top of the pouch, and then pleated each end down to a flat section 2" wide.

For the straps, I took two strips of the same cloth 5" wide and about 18" long. These were sewn around the pleated sections and then sewn together with the raw edges turned in, tapered into straps about 1" wide, with a buckle attached to one, and buckle holes at appropriate locations in the other. The outer edge



(i.e., the flap) comes over the top of the pouch to the outside.

This design is extremely comfortable to wear and holds contents with great stability. For further details, see the section on experiments with attached tools, as this is the model I chose to use for those.

Shaped Pouches with Flaps

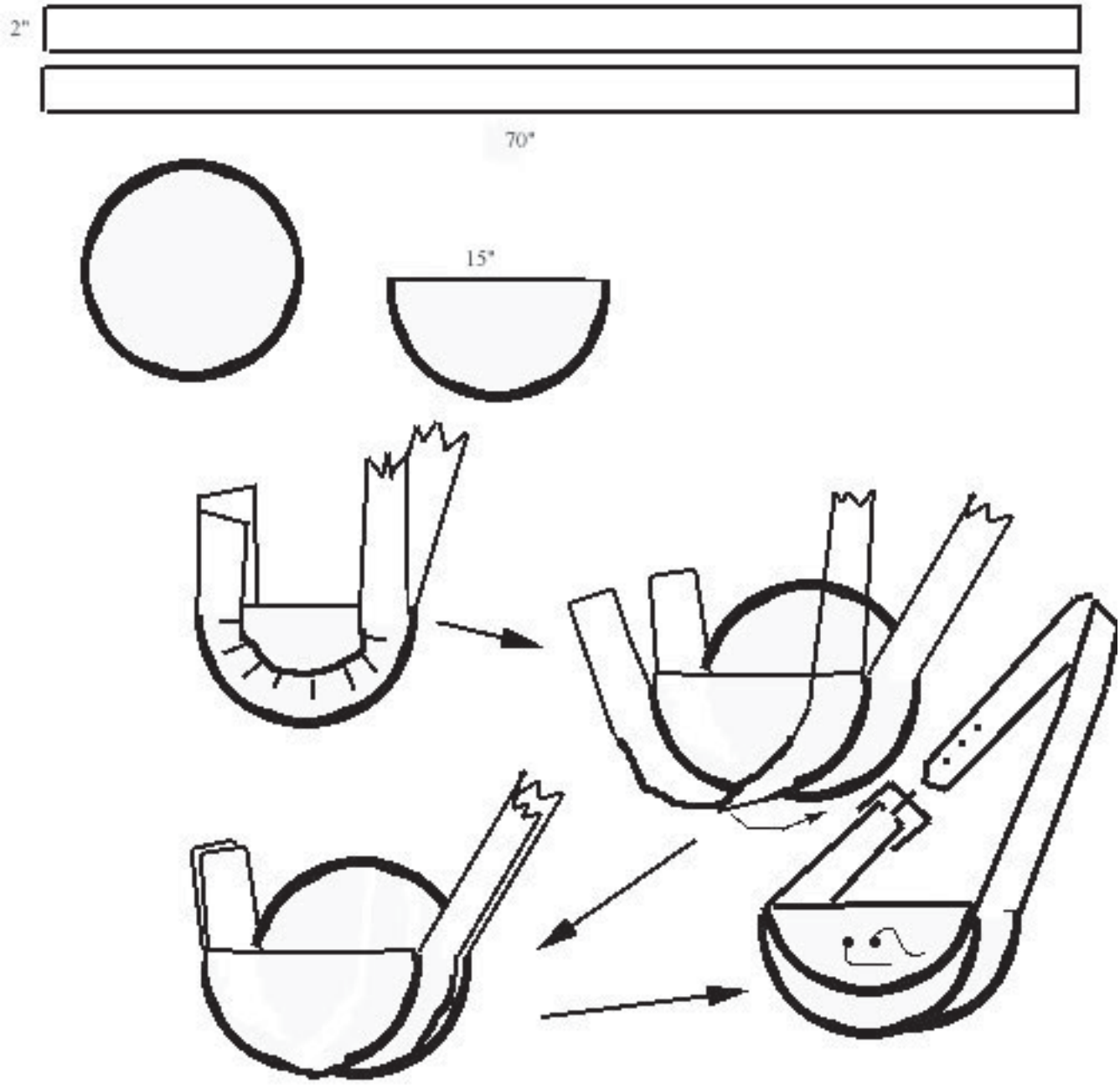
For a more shaped approach to a half-circular pouch, I worked from the style shown in the Simon Marmion Hours. For this, I cut a circle of canvas 15" in diameter, and a half-circle the same diameter (placing the straight edge on the selvedge of the fabric, although this was simple convenience. I considered two possible versions: one with the pouch formed by sewing the two main pieces together with the strap fastened to the pouch along the fold line at the top; the other with the strap continuing along between the two main pouch pieces so that the pouch is a very shallow cyllinder rather than a flat pocket. I ended up going with the second version because it creates more usable space in

the pouch and, in my opinion, better creates the appearance shown in the illustrations, although no actual relevant seam lines are shown there. So in addition to the two pieces described above, I cut two straps approximately 2" wide and about 70" long (by piecing) — the extra length was because I wanted to create a bag that could also be worn over the shoulder. At one side of the pouch, I left about 5" of strap above the edge of the pouch, to which a buckle is attached; on the other side, the remainder formed a long strap.

I sewed the straps to both sides of the edge of the half circle, then sewed one of the strips, right sides together, with half of the edge of the full circle. I made a narrow folded hem in the other half of the circle, and then folded the loose edge of the second strip under and top-stitched it over the first seam. (I top-stitched the other side of the strip too for symmetry.) This should be clearer in the diagrams.

To create the fastening, I used an awl to make a pair of holes at the top edge of the half-circular piece and threaded a short lace through them from the inside. Then I made matching holes on the outer flap, threaded the laces through, and tied them.

The pouch is very comfortable in either wearing position, and matches the depictions fairly well. In



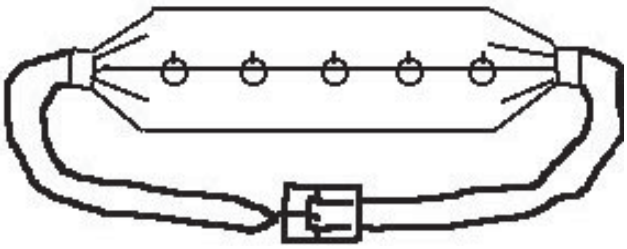
this size, the half-circle shape is not too deep to be comfortable with heavy contents. The design is extremely stable in holding contents and has a fairly large usable area. I haven't attempted to reproduce the scalloped edge of the flap seen in the original. It shows up in enough depictions that it would seem to be a natural feature, on the other hand, that would argue for it arising from some natural purpose, rather than being deliberately decorative. This is a topic to explore further and may argue for an adjustment in theories about the materials.

Attached Implements

I chose the experiment from the crescent-shaped style to try attaching rings and tools to, as it seems closest to the style seen in the early 16th century tapestries where this type of attachment is normally found.

(See images under "crescent shape".)

I sewed five brass rings (ca. 3/4" diameter) at intervals of 2 1/2" centered on the outer edge of the pouch (i.e., the "flap"), and fastened to the folded hem for greater strength. When the objects are attached to these rings, they increase the stability of the pouch as a container and don't tend to pull it out of position. The weight of the objects I used is actually relatively slight in this context.



Unless there is some way to untie the scissors, or they are never removed from the ring, they end up hanging somewhat lower than the pictures tend to show. The attachment cord is shown going through the loops, so to be able to remove the scissors from the ring, the loop must be long enough to go through the ring and then over the tips of the scissors. A length sufficient to do that will not impede opening the scissors for use.

The comb, on the other hand, works with a fairly short cord. The loop only needs to be long enough to reach from one side of the central spine to the tip of the opposite tines. When the cord is in position around the spine (at one end), it does not tend to become loose, especially if the cord is large enough to fit snugly between the tines.

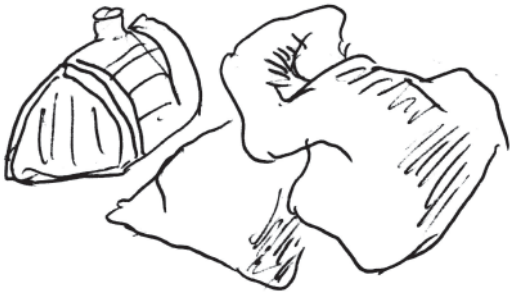
I haven't had time to experiment with oval boxes of the types that I believe to appear in the pictures, but I was able to use a small cardboard gift-box of the right shape and with a close-fitting lid for experiments. The cardboard, unfortunately, was too thick and stiff for slits for straps in the way the pictures appear to show, so I approximated them by gluing strips of braid around the edge of the lid and the bottom of the box, leaving a small unglued section at the middle of the long sides. Through these, I threaded a leather lace, going through the ring at the top, and then knotted the lace at both ends so that it wouldn't slip through the slots in the trim. This arrangement (which functions the same way slits in the box itself would) allows the lid to be removed for access without removing the box itself from its attachment. When hanging loose, gravity (and the tight fit of the lid) will keep the lid in place.

I haven't had a chance yet to experiment much with other types of attachments. I have one knife of approximately the right size that works fairly well. but no whistle of the right type. The knife attachment ise fairly straightforward, as it is the sheath that is tied to the pouch, with the knife able to come free. (At least one of the depictions has markings that may show the knife being tied into the sheath by a small cord.) The whistles are a harder case, as they clearly can't be played while attached to the pouch, and unless the cord has an easy-release knot (which is not depicted in the art) I don't see how it would be removed. I'm assuming through all this that the rings are functionally solid, as they appear to be in the pictures. If they are the equivalent of split-rings, then a great many different arrangements are possible. (I used split rings in my experiment only because they were the only ones I could find of the right size.)

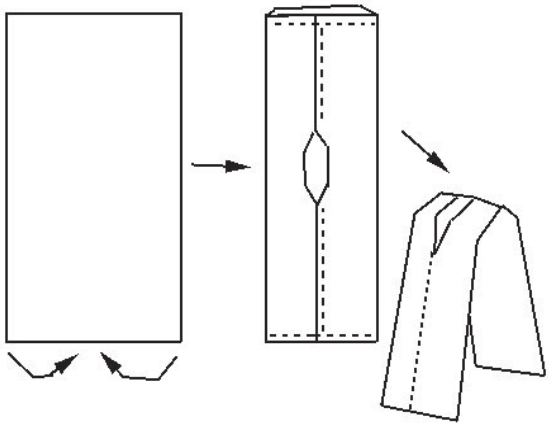
Other Types

Just for my own interest, I made models of two other pouch styles seen in my data — both used once by shepherds.

One is the "double-ended bag" style most commonly associated with field-workers or travelers. (Although I haven't cataloged them specifically, there are several examples in my data of Nativity scenes where the Holy Family carries one of these while traveling, see e.g., the Atri fresco annunciation. I used the full width of my 60" linen for the length, which resulted in a fairly large bag, but one in the range of sizes seen. The other dimension of my starting piece was ca. 36". To form the bag, I simply sewed the long edges together to form a tube, but leaving the central approx. 20" open. (The seams were flat-felled, and the open section was then given a folded hem.) The ends were then flattened so that the long seam fell in



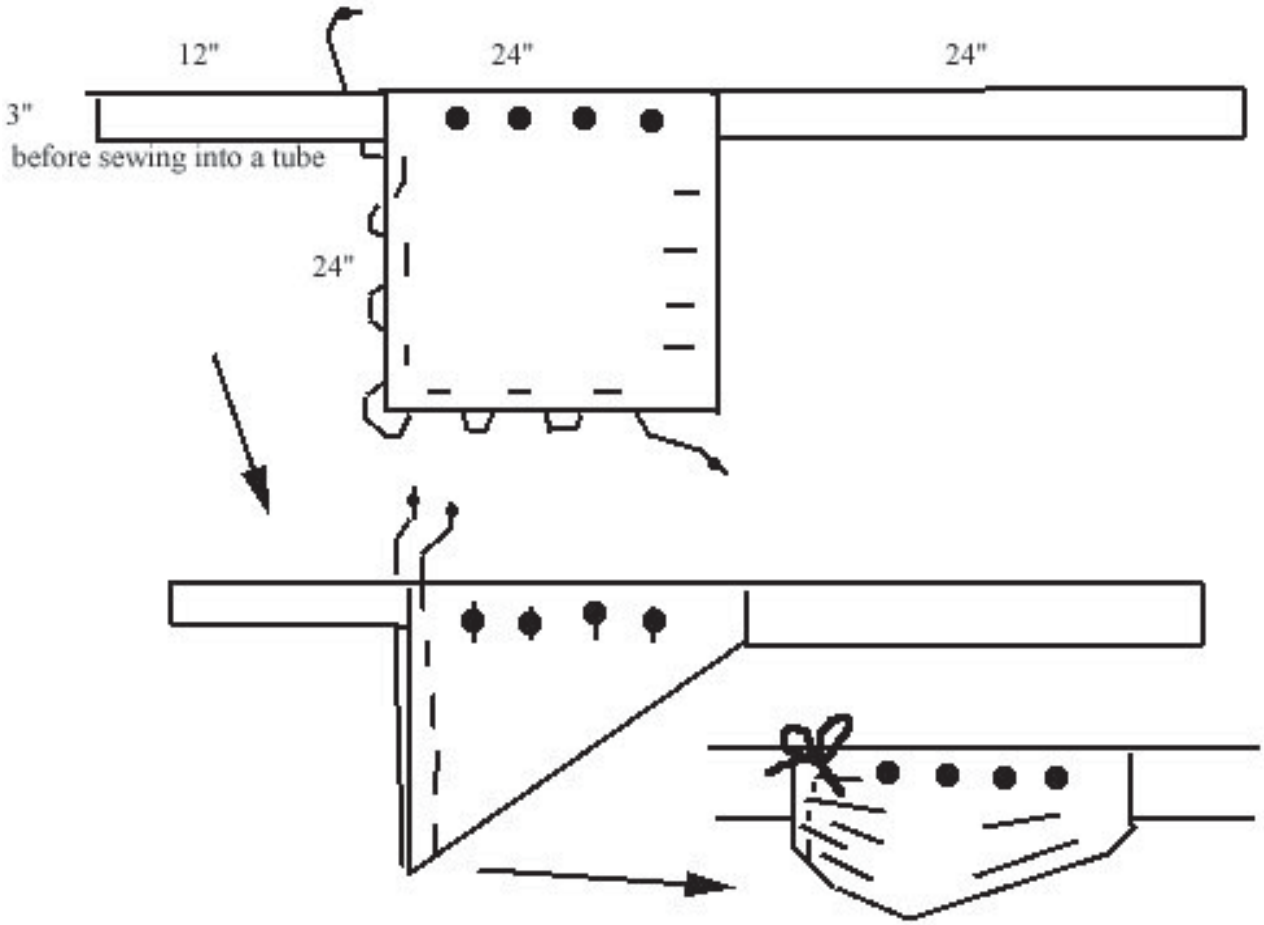
the middle of one side, and with the bag inside out, the ends were folded over for about an inch and then sewn through all the layers in two parallel lines (for extra strength).



The bag can be slung over the shoulder, but perhaps even more characteristically is placed over the back of a horse or donkey. It can carry a very large volume of contents securely, but somewhat awkwardly, and the contents can be accessed while it is being carried.

The second variant style of pu the one seen in the Stockholm-Kessel Hours, which I tried simply because it is so clearly shown and so unusual in appearance. I began with a square of canvas roughly 24" on a side, and two strips about 3" wide and respectively about 24" and 12" long. Because of th nature of my fabric, I added th straps to the sides of the main piece, but it could also have be done with a single continuous strap to which the square was sewn. I sewed the straps into tubes and turned them. Then I hemmed the square on all sides, with the side that

would become the waistline having an extra deep hem into which the ends of the straps were sewn (with several rows of reinforcing stitches). On one vertical edge, I added four buttonholes (leaving about 6" between the outermost holes and the edges of the fabric) and corresponding buttons on the deep hem along the waist. In each of the other two edges (which should be adjacent to each other), I used an awl to make eight evenly-spaced holes and threaded



a leather bootlace through them, then knotted the ends to prevent them from pulling out. (The lace is not quite long enough to allow the fabric to expand to a flat position, but it opens as widely as needed.)

With the buttons buttoned and the lace drawn tight and tied, the pouch has an appearance extremely similar to the above depiction, with a fairly large and extremely stable area for contents. It can be accessed safely while worn by unbuttoning the top edge, or can be emptied somewhat more precipitously by untying the drawstring. When both are unfastened, it appears to be (and could presumably function as) a somewhat short apron.

Bibliography

The following catalog gives my sources for images with a brief description of the item and the pouches depicted in it.

Alexander, Jonathan & Binski, Paul eds. 1987. ***Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400.*** **Royal Academy of Arts, London.**

Holkham Bible "Annunciation" – This and the Adoration scene from the same page are from the Holkham Bible Picture Book (London, British Library, Add. MS 47682, f.13) The accompanying text suggests a 14th c. date. These illustrate a variety of motifs associated with shepherds (e.g. staffs, bagpipes) but no pouches of any type.

Holkham Bible "Adoration" – see previous

Annunciation – This is an Annunciation scene in stained glass from ca. 1325-50, now held by the Victoria and Albert Museum (2270-1900). The original location of the window is unclear, but the style is English. This scene offers a rather confusing artifact. The shepherd on the left wears a deep, flapped pouch at the waist of a style that would not be considered within the Shepherds Purse range. However the pouch has a lattice design on it, suggesting the possibility of netting. If this work dated to a period fairly late in the development of the style, it would be very tempting to interpret it as carrying over the "netting" motif purely as an artistic conven-

tion, but instead it dates to a point before the heyday of the "netted crescent" style, when one would not expect it to have become a meaningless decoration style yet. If the lines do not represent netting, then the question arises whether they represent the fabric itself — i.e., a checked fabric on the bias — in which case, it may be that some of the other "netted" examples similarly represent fabric.

Amman, Jost & Hans Sachs (ed. by Benjamin A. Rifkin). 1973. *The Book of Trades*. Dover Publications, New York.

The Bag Maker – This woodcut from the "Book of Trades" showing a bag maker's shop shows a variety of types of purses available in the 16th century. While I have not had the time to go into the matter seriously, shepherds are not the only group associated in art with particular styles of purses.

Backhouse, Janet. 1990. *The Bedford Hours*. The British Library, London.

Bedford Hours – The Bedford Hours (British Library Additional MS 18850) are a product of a Parisian workshop (despite the English associations) ca. 1430. This workshop produced a number of similar works (including the De Levis Hours and Vienna Hours) that show evidence of having been produced from pattern-books, with some scenes repeated in extremely similar form across several manuscripts. This raises the question of how such pattern-books were developed and circulated. If an illustration of a shepherd with a Shepherds Purse is promulgated through multiple manuscripts via a pattern-book, what concrete "reality" can it be taken to represent with regard to the time and place those manuscripts were created? How long did pattern-books remain in circulation? How far might they travel? To what extent did individual artists elaborate them from their own knowledge as opposed to perhaps copying details they were not personally familiar with?

* In a portrayal of the building of Noah's ark, a shepherd sits on a hill in the background watching the pairs of beasts being paraded towards the construction site. The scale of the figure does not allow more than an identification that he wears a Shepherds Purse of the "crescent" type.
* In a marginal illustration, an indistinct shepherd gazes off into space wearing a "crescent" type Shepherds Purse. It is unclear if this illustration accompanies a particular genre.
* The largest number of shepherds in this manuscript apears in both the main and marginal scenes on the Annunciation to the Shepherds page.

Basing, Patricia. 1990. *Trades and Crafts in Medieval Manuscripts*. New Ansterdam Books, New York.

Bedford Hours – see Backhouse 1990

Book of Hours (Add. MS 35313) – A pastoral scene from a Book of Hours (Add. MS 35313, f.3) by the Master of James IV of Scotland (made in Bruges or Ghent, despite the artist's nickname), from ca. 1510. Compare with the extremely similar scene from the Da Costa Hours — evidence perhaps for a common pattern-book. In this scene, only the shepherd standing at the gate in the distance appears to be wearing a Shepherds Purse, and the details are indistinct.

Egerton MS 2019 – A mid 15th century Book of Hours (Egerton MS 2019, f.7) shows a reaping scene with comparative evidence. A white cloth sack and a canteen sit to the side of the field. See the discussion of related, but non-shepherd, carrying devices.

Luttrell Psalter – Exampes of Shepherds Purses in English manuscripts seem to be difficult to find. This scene from the Luttrell Psalter (British Library Add. MS 42130, f. 163v, ca. 1340) is one of a number of marginal illustrations of everyday life, rather than illustrating a Biblical genre scene. A shepherd in a sheep-pen appears to be tending to one of the sheep and wears a container of some type hung from a cord — the text speculates that it may be an ointment pot, but nothing resembling a Shepherds Purse. (On the other hand, if my hypothesis is correct that the form of the Shepherds Purse is related to its function in carrying supplies while out in the fields with the sheep, then someone tending to sheep in a pen at home might have no reason to wear one.)

Benedicenti, Giovanbattista & Lorenzo Lorenzi. 2001. *Andrea Delitio: Catalogo della Opere*. Centro Di, Firenze.

Atri frescos – This is a group of three scenes from frescos in the Italian Cathedral of Atri, painted ca. 1480 by Andrea Delitio. In general, this group shows an absence of the characteristic Shepherds Purse, although one shepherd is wearing an interesting shoulder bag.

* The first scene is from "Annncio a Gioacchino" showing a shepherd in the background wearing what is evidently a characteristic style of coat, but with no visible pouches.
* The second scene is from "Gioacchino tra i pastori", and the shepherd figure wears over his shoulder a crescent-shaped pouch with a strap that appears to split into two cords, possibly suggesting that the end of the pouch is closed by a drawstring. (This is, however, reading a fair amount into a somewhat indistinct image.) He

also carries a basket with pale, round objects (possibly bread?) inside.

* The third group is a Nativity scene, with two groups of shepherds in the background, nicely illustrating iconic activities: the group of shepherds around a fire listing to the Annunciation, and a line of dancing shepherds. One shepherd in each group wears some sort of round object hanging from his belt, but no pouches are in evidence.

Bernis, Carmen. 1979. *Trajes y Modas en la España de los Reyes Católicos: II. Los Hombres.* Instituto Diego Velazquez, del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Madrid.

Breviario Romano – This is a pastoral scene from a Spanish breviary (Breviario Romano, con las armas de los Reyes CatÛlicos, Monasterio del Escorial, Biblioteca, B, II, 15). I don't know the larger context for the picture, e.g. whether it's an annunciation or other genre scene. No explicit date is mentioned in the text, but from the general context, I would guess 15th century or maybe early 16th. The shepherds here wear no pouches visible, although they are positioned so that any existing ones should be visible. I include them for comparison purposes. My limited experience with Spanish manuscript art is that the lack of Shepherds Purses is relatively typical, although examples can be found.

de Benabarre "Nativity" – This appears to be a fresco ("Abrazo ante la Puerta Dorada") in Barcelona, by the Spanish painter Pedro Garcia de Benabarre. The larger work is a nativity genre scene. The text doesn't provide a date for the work, but the clothing suggests a late 15th or eraly 16th century date. The shepherd wears hanging tools from his belt, but no purse of any type is visible. This lack of the distinctive Shepherds Purse seems to be common in Spanish art.

del Barco "Annunciation" – The painting is "La AnunciaciÛn a los pastores" (annunciation to the shepherds) by GarcÌa del Barco, currently located in Madrid, Museo L·zaro, Galdeano, Triptico de La Natividad. I've found a web site that dates the artist to the late 15th century. The shepherd reclining at lower left has slung around his neck a bag formed as a tube attached to a strap at one end, the strap coming around the neck and then tying the mouth of the tube to fasten it. There are clearly contents, but of unknown type. This is an unusually clear representation of a construction method, and while similar methods may be possible for other examples where the details are not shown, it would be premature to make assumptions in any particular case. Note that this example, contrasted with the "flapped pouch" examples, clearly show two very different structural approaches that can still result in a similar body silhouette. The other two shepherds have musical instruments hanging off their belts (a flute and a rebec) but no visible pouches In passing, I note that the hooded overgarments are also fascinating.

Chaucer, Geoffrey (trans. Nevill Coghill). 1986. *The Canturbury Tales.* Cresset Press, London.

Le Roman de la Rose – The picture is from an illustrated edition of "Le Roman de la Rose", showing "The Vigilence of the Good Shepherd". There are a number of illuminated versions of this text dating from the 14th century and later. Although I haven't had a chance to track down the date of this particular work (Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 195, f.144) the artistic style and clothing suggests a later 15th century date. (Compare the style of the woman's headdress with that in Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, MS Lat. 873, which dates from the late 15th century.)

Collins, Marie & Davis, V. 1992. *A Medieval Book of Seasons*. Harper Collins, New York.

Da Costa Hours – The source is the Da Costa Hours, a book of hours produced in Bruges ca. 1520 (following Collins & Davis — the calendar cites it as 1515), and currently located in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MS 399 fol. 5v). A very similar genre scene can be found in Egerton MS 1147. Three shepherds are setting out from home with the sheep. One in the distance appears to have a white pouch-belt. One is mostly hidden in the doorway. The other wears a white pouch-belt that seems to gather into a band-strap at the ends, and has a flap slightly less than half the height with three button-like marks on it. There are also several dairymaids in the picture none of which wear pouches.

Egerton MS 1147 – The source is a book of hours made in Ghent in the late 15th century and currently located at the British Library. (Egerton MS 1147 f9 and f6v - it's unclear which page this illustration is from.) An extremely similar genre scene can be found in the Da Costa Hours. A shepherd in the distance leads the flock out through a gate - he wears a pouch-belt on which no details are visible. A shepherd stands at the door to the barn holding a lamb, he wears a plain grayish pouch-belt that appears to have a small flap. Another shepherd shoos the sheep out of the barn — if he wears a pouch-belt it is hidden by his arm.

Norfolk, MS 307 – The source is identified in Collins & Davis as "Holkham Hall, Norfolk, MS 307 f. 20". It is French, of the 15th century. It isn't clear from the isolated picture whether this is one of our known genres of shepherd scenes. There are none of the expected accompanying elements for an annuncia-

tion or adoration scene, but it may be a seasonal piece. Two shepherds sit playing music (jaw harp and transverse flute). The one on the left has a white pouch-belt with lozenge-wise net pattern (very faint) and a knife depending from a different part of his waist. The one on the right has a white pouch-belt with faint network in a square pattern. A spindle-shaped object hangs from the front end of the pouch section and a round box hands from the opposite side of his waist.

Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, MS Lat. 873 – The image is from Bibliotheque Natinonale Paris, MS Lat. 873 (f. 21), from late 15th c. France. The picture shows a group of six peasant dancers, with sheep in the background and a bagpiper sitting and playing. The left-most man has a white pouch-belt with lozenge-wise netting. The middle man has a white pouch-belt with square-wise netting and a small cylindrical box hanging off the front end of the pouch. The right-hand man wears some sort of round pouch-like object half hidden behind his back, with a lozenge-wise network pattern. He has a brown costrel handing from the center front of his belt. One of the women has a drawstring pouch hanging from a belt under her gown, showing where the skirt is pulled up, but none wear pouch-belts.

Playfair Book of Hours – This is a late 15th c. book of hours currently located at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The scene is the annunciation to the shepherds, and shows three men, each with a fairly slack, unadorned shepherds purse, separate from some other (unseen) belt that is causing blousing of the tunic.

Stowe MS 955 – The source is an edition of the love poems of Pierre Sala, from early 16th c. France (currently located in the British Library, Stowe MS 955 f.9). A peasant couple frolic, evidently intended to be shepherds: she plays the bagpipes, but no sheep are in direct evidence. (Their occupation might be clarified by tracking down the associated poem.) Both wear relatively full shepherds purses in pale blue with gold highlights. There are no flaps in evidence. Several unidentifiable gold objects depend from the lower edge of each.

De Lasarte, Joan Ainaud. 1991. *Catalan Painting: From Gothic Splendor to the Baroque*. Rizzoli, New York.

Antigó "Adoration of the Shepherds" – This is a work by the Catalan painter Joan Antigó of the Adoration of the Shepherds genre, attested between 1437 and 1439. It is part of the altarpiece of the Virgin of the Stair, at the monastery of Sant Esteve de Banyoles. This is a white cloth shoulder pouch of the "shaped" variety with no visible flap. If it were worn around the waist, it would very much resemble the "crescent-shaped" version of the Shepherds Purse. A rigid bottle or flask hangs from the regular belt.

artist? "Adoration of the Shepherds" – I seem to have failed to take down notes on this item when I scanned it. It is, presumably, Catalan, and from the style probably dates to the mid 16th century. The shepherd wears a rather nice red belt-pouch similar to the "kidney-shaped" style (although the details are slightly hidden). But what is of major interest here is the narrow piece of netting that hangs across the hips below the belt. The item, as shown, would be impossible to use for carrying objects — if it represents a netted Shepherds Purse, it has become a vestigial artistic motif (in a painting that is otherwise fairly realistic in style). If it does not represent a pouch, what is it? One speculation that occurs to me is that it may represent a sling (another artifact associated with shepherds), but netting strikes me as an unlikely style for that. This item seems to fall in the category of "fascinating, but probably indecipherable".

Digby, George Wingfield. 1980. *The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance*. HMSO, London.

La Main Chaude – This tapestry is the portrayal that first piqued my interest in the topic. My original curiosity is recorded in some sketches I made while visiting the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1981. There is a group of three nobly-dressed figures in the background who wear no visible pouches of any kind. The remainder are "rustic" figures of two types: woodcutters (both male) and shepherds (male and female). The two woodcutters are semi-undressed and wear no pouches, however nearby one of them several items have been draped over a branch of a stump: a round (ceramic?) canteen on a strap, and what appears to be a white cloth object that may contain something. The five male and four female shepherds all wear pouch-belts with attached objects. There are no clear marks that would indicate a flap, but there are folds marked that would be consistent with a pouched sash-like object. No fastenings are visible due to folds in the clothing and the fact that all pouches are slung towards the visible side. The attached objects are suspended by short cords or straps from dark rings which in turn are fastened to the upper part of the pouch by a dark stitch-like mark. The attached objects are as follows (working from left to right in the tapestry): Man: hand-sized pruning hook(?), double-sided comb, small round lidded box; Woman: small square object, string of 23 beads ending in a cross, small round lidded box, pair of hinged shears, double-sided comb; Woman: small round lided box, pair of hinged shears, small single-

edged knife in sheath; Man: 3-holed fipple flute, round lidded box, double-sided comb unidentified round object; Man: knife in sheath, round lidded box, unidentified round object; Woman: small square object, ?knife in sheath?, round lidded box, double sided comb; Woman: double-sided comb, round lidded box, small square object, small cyllindrical object (doesn't look like a knife); Man: knife in sheath, round lidded box, 5-holed fipple flute; Man: small square object, round lidded box, knife in sheath.

Rustic Sports (Les Joyeux Bergers) – There are two definite, and one possible, shepherds purses in this tapestry. In addition, there are several men wearing hunting gear and carrying hunting-style pouches (swivel-frame) if anything. Several women wearing semi-nice clothing wear no pouches. Two men wearing "rustic" clothing (e.g., with lower leg wraps) and associated with sheep and shepherds' crooks wear pouch-belts with attached implements hanging from rings. A man is kneeling and removing a woman's stocking. His pouch is light colored and appears to have a "flap" with a scalloped edge. Rings are fastened to the "flap" from which are hung: a small square object with an 8-pointed star design, a double-sided comb, a round lidded box, a cylindrical object possibly a knife in sheath. A man wearing a hat with a turned-up brim wears a pouch made of a darker material (or possibly just in shadow) that shows draping folds but no obvious "flap" mark. Rings are fastened to the upper part, from which are hung: a cyllindrical object, not like the lidded boxes but the same size, a small square or cubical object with a round mark on one face, a turned spindle-shaped object part of which is hidden, a small round object. In addition, there is a woman leaning over a bridge with a belt-like item indicated. It may be a pouch-belt fastened with narrow strap, with indeterminate objects attached (but these may simply be "noise" in the picture), or it may be just a strap (possibly of a pouch-belt) or even simply a belt.

Eimerl, Sarel. 1967. *The World of Giotto c.1267-1337*. Time-Life Books, New York.

Arena Chapel – This painting of the Vision of Joachim was created ca. 1305 in the Arena Chapel in Padua. I include it here as an examples of a typical Italian style of shepherd for this era, and to represent the general lack of pouch-like objects, much less Shepherds Purses, in art of this region at this period.

Pistoia "Nativity" – The artistic styles of Italy tend to be relatively distinct from those of France and Germany in the 14-15th century period when I am searching for examples of my artifact. Some of these differences no doubt reflect actual local differences in the style of clothing, etc., but there are also differences in approaches to artistic representation. At a much earlier date than other regions, Italian art begins to interpret religious scenes in fanciful Classically-inspired draperies, and thus become significantly less useful for researching actual everyday material culture. This tendency can be seen in the above Nativity scene — the shepherds depicted at the right edge of the scene have more "normal" looking clothing than the main figures, but doubt is raised as to how far removed they may be from actual shepherds of the time. One of the shepherds wears a relatively bulky sash-belt that may be being used as a pouch to carry objects, but this is not at all clear.

Eschweiler, Jakob. 1951. *Das Eberhardgebetbuch*. Emil Fink-Verlag, Stuttgart.

Eberhardgebetbuch – The manuscript is a late 15th century prayer book known as the "Eberhardgebetbuch" (Württembergischen Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Cod. Brev. 4, No. 1). The text of the book is in German, and the discussion suggests that the artistic inspirations were primary local, despite some general sylistic similarities with foreign styles (esp. French). Much of the art is unfinished, and in the two scenes with shepherds, often the only indication of a Shepherds Purse is a round outline sketched out. There are eight shepherds with some indication of a purse, six men and two women.

Friedländer, Max. 1956. *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*. Phaidon Publishers Inc, New York.

Abraham and Hagar – This is a painting by Jan Mostaert (Lugano-Castagnola, Schloss Rohoncz Collection, Thyssen Bequest) from the early to mid 16th century. While this work dates from a point fairly late in the era of the artifact under consideration, it is interesting in showing one possible origin of one form of the artifact: a simple cloth, wrapped around objects to be carried, and tied around the waist. Note that we see here the motif of carrying food for foot travel, although Hagar is not portrayed as a shepherdess. Hagar, wearing poor (but not ragged) clothing leaves a well-dressed Abraham. She carries a ceramic jug on one shoulder. Around her waist is a white cloth, knotted at her right hip in a granny knot with the short ends. In the cloth, showing over the top of the cloth, are two round flat loaves of bread. The resulting effect (if the cloth had been more completely wrapped around the bread) would be extremely similar to some of the depictions of shepherds purses (see e.g. Bibl. Nat. Paris MS 42) as well as providing a bridge to the depictions of reapers eating lunches spread on a cloth (previously

a carrying cloth?).

Portinari Altarpiece (Adoration of the Shepherds) – This is a painting by Hugo van der Goes, done in 1475-6 as part of the "Portinari altarpiece" and currently located in the Uffizi gallery in Florence and belongs to the "Adoration of the Shepherds" genre. This item is a testament to the difficulty in identifying a specific cultural provenence for any particular work of art. The painter's name suggests a Low Countries origin, but he was painting for an Italian patron.Does his work reflect what he knows from home? What he see around him as he paints? Neither? Is he working from models that don't reflect everyday reality at all? The shepherd to the rear has a drawstring pouch at his belt. The shepherd kneeling in front wears something that looks too deep (tall) to be a pouch-belt. There is possibly a fringe along with a series of metal rings at the upper edge, and a small 3-holed blowing horn depends from a wood hook on one of the rings. Another unidentifiable object hangs from one, possibly a knife.

Hallam, Elizabeth. 1987. *Four Gothic Kings*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, New York.

Le Livre des Faits et Gestes de Monseigneur Saint Louis – The scene is from "Crusade of the Pastoureau" in the work "Le Livre des Faits et Gestes de Monseigneur Saint Louis" (French, 15th c. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris). A group of shepherds encounter a group of pilgrims. All the shepherds (male and female) wear shephers purses. All those visible in detail have a clear flap (some with a crenellated edge) that goes about halfway down the side and is fastened by a single-looped knot. Some have small objects hanging off the lower edge while others do not.

Harthan, John. 1977. *The Book of Hours*. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.

Grande Heures of Anne of Brittany "Annunciation" – This is an Annunciation to the Shepherds genre scene from the Grande Heures of Anne of Brittany, Queen of France. It was made ca. 1500-8 in either Tours or Paris and is currently located in the Bibliotheque Nationale Paris (MS. Lat. 9474, f. 68v). The scene shows three shepherds around a fire and two others in the background, all wearing some type of Shepherds Purse. There are attached tools or objects visible on most of them.

Hours of Isabella Stuart – This is a marginal scene on a page where the main picture is that of the book's owner, Isabella Suart, Duchess of Brittany, worshipping the Virgin and Child. The book was created ca. 1417-8 in Paris and is currently located in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (ms. 62, f.20). The relevant figure here is no ordinary shepherd, but a saint (identity unclear) with the attributes of a shepherd. He carries a shepherd's staff and is wearing a crescent-shaped pouch (slung either around the waist or from the shoulder — it's unclear) which has a closing flap tied with a cord.

Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux "Annunciation" – This is an Annunciation to the Shepherds genre scene from the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France. It was created ca. 1325 in Paris and is currently located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Cloisters Collection, ms. 54.1.2, f.62). A standing shepherd wears a pouch with lozenge-wise network that may be slung from his shoulder rather than a belt. This is one of the two earliest examples of the artifact that I've found.

Hours of Philip the Bold "Annunciation" – This is an Annunciation to the Shepherds genre scene from the Hours of Philip the Bold, made ca. 1370 in Paris and currently at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (ms. 3-1954 f.199). I have chosen this to represent the relative scarcity of Shepherds Purses in 14th century French manuscript art, helping to establish the parameters of the trend.

Simon Marmion Hours "Annunciation" – The source is a Franco-Flemish manuscript of ca. 1475-81, currently located at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Salting Collection no. 1221). The work is known as the Simon Marmion Hours and the scene is a genre illustration of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. There are three shepherds in the scene, only two of which wear Shepherds Purses. In both cases, the pouches have a flap with a scalloped edge, fastened with a cord tie.

Tres Belles Heures "Nativity" – The manuscript is one of the more famous ones of medieval France (Bibliotheque Nationale Paris MS. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 3093, f. 42) — my sources give the date variously as the late 14th or early 15th century. From a research point of view, this picture is particularly fascinating since the netted belts hung at the shepherds' belts are clearly transparent (one appears to have an object as contents showing through), and are hung by the ends from the belt rather than being drawn around the waist as a belt-like object itself.

Zodiacal Man — The source here is a printed book of hours known as "Zodiacal Man", by P. Pigouchet, created in Paris ca. 1500-1. There are two relevant pages. The first page has marginal illustrations of shepherds and pastoral scenes, but they do not appear to me to be part of a specific genre context otherwise. The illustrations are all relatively small and indistinct, but most of the figures appear to wear crescent-shaped Shepherds Purses, most with

hanging tools attached. The second page is from the Adoration of the Shepherds genre. A male shepherd in the foreground wears a crescent-shaped pouch with attached implements. For comparison, a woman on the left, who is presumably a shepherdess from the context, wears two hanging drawstring purses from her belt and is carrying something in an apron.

Jones, Heather Rose. personal notes and sketches

La Main Chaude – see Digby 1980

Joubert, Fabienne. 1987. La tapisserie médiévale au musée de Cluny. Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris.

La Danse – A Flemish tapestry. No date information is given, but the clothing suggests the earlier part of the 16th century. A couple of nobly-dressed people join a group of shepherds for a circle-dance. The genre is simply a pastoral scene. At least half of the shepherds wear Sheperds Purses, some possibly with attached implements, but the photo is small and the details are hard to make out.

Rustic Sports (Les Joyeux Bergers) – see Digby 1980

Chaumont "Scene of hunting and dance" – Tapestry. A group of fairly well-dressed shepherds dance in a ring in a generic pastoral scene, while a group of nobly-dressed hunters gathers in the background. Most of the shepherds of both sexes wear pouch belts with attahced rings with implements, but the photo is too small and grainy for many details. Note that the hunters, if they wear pouches, wear a different style.

Return from the hunt – Tapestry. A moderately well-dressed hunter hands a dead hare to a woman of similar quality of dress, but she holds a "spade-staff" marking her as a shepherdess. She wears a flaccid white crescent-style pouch, to which is attached a single ring, holding an implement of unknown nature that may be a short knife or whistle.

Scenes of childhood / Annunciation –Tapestry. The discussion seems to place it in the mid 16th century. The second item is a woodcut of the annunciation to the shepherds which is believed to have been the model for the tapestry. It is catalogued as: "L'Annonce aux bergers. Heures de Pigouchet pour Vostre. Paris, BibliothËque Nationale. (imprimÈ ‡ Paris ‡ la fin du XVe siËcle par Pigouchet pour Simon Vostre, 17 septembre 1496; Paris, Bibl. nat. RÈs. des Imp. VÈlins 1547)". Shepherds of both sexes at the annunciation, most wear pouch-belts with attached rings and hanging implements, including knives and round boxes. One man's pouch is only visible in the woodcut. For the other three figures, the two media have similar portrayals.

Scenes of hunting – The tapestry shows a group of male and female shepherds, one of which wears a Shepherds Purse. The photo is too small for other details.

Scene of hunting and shepherding #1 – This may be part of the same set of Chaumont tapestries as "Scenes of hunting and dance". It is similarly currently located in Washington at the Corcoran Gallery of Art. Several shepherds sit together in the foreground while a hunt goes on in the background. Most of the shepherds of both sexes wear pouch-belts with rings and hanging implements, although the photo is too small for easy identification. One shepherd playing the bagpipes wears a different style of pouch.

Scene of hunting and shepherding #2 – This tapestry is currently located in Washington, at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, and may be part of the same group from Chaumont as Scene of hunting and dance. Several shepherds of both sexes stand talking while a hunt passes in the background. All appear to wear Shepherds Purses with rings and hanging implements, most of which are indistinguishable in this photo, but knives and cyllindrical boxes are identifiable.

***Kolekcja imienia Jana Pawla II z fundacji Janiny i Zbigniewa Karola Porczynskich.* 1988. Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Warszawa.**

Bloemaert "Annunciation" – An Annunciation to the Shepherds genre painting by Abraham Bloemaert of Dordrecht. The specific date of the painting isn't mentioned and the artist's dates are 1564-1651, so I'll consider it "early 17th c.". If I'm interpreting the title of the source correctly, the work is currently in the collection of John Paul II. In the 17th century, we see a general shift towards a more "classical" presentation of shepherds (a style beginning earlier in Italy), but this work — while rendered somewhat impressionistically — is still fairly representational. The two figures in the foreground are relevant for this study. The man on the left appears to wear a Shepherds Purse, slung somewhat high on the waist, but not over the shoulder. It's vaguely crescent-shaped, but more of the "sausage" type. He has a costrel and possibly a bagpipe sitting beside him. The man on the right appears to have a leather strap slipping low on the left hip, but if there is anything attached it is out of sight in front of him and is therefore not useful.

Cuyp "Annunciation" – An Annunciation to the Shepherds genre painting by Benjamin Gerritsz Cuyp of Dordrecht. The specific date of the painting isn't mentioned and the artist's dates are 1612-1652, so a mid 17th c. date can be assumed. If I'm interpreting

the title of the source correctly, the work is currently in the collection of John Paul II. This work is presented for comparative purposes as it does not include any pouches. It shows the increasingly classicizing style of the 17th century and a more impressionistic style where clear details of individual artifacts are lost to the overall effect.

***Les Fastes de la Tapisserie du XVe au XVIIIe Siècle*. 1984. Institut de France. Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris.**

Repas Champetre – From Tournai, from the end of the 15th c. A group of shepherds and shepherdesses appear to have been joined by a few well-dressed men and women for a picnic on the grass. Most, although not the best-dressed, of the company wear pouch-belts, most plain but some with attachments. To wit: Men – A well-dressed man immediately accompanying the best dressed woman wears no pouch-belt, only a regular belt. A man with "middle rank" dress, pouring wine, has no belt visible, and a pouch-belt would be expected to be visible. Two men wearing "middle rank" dress wear what might be a pouch-belt with a zigzag finish to the lower edge. In one case, it is brown and otherwise unornamented. In the other case it is white, has a brown stripe along the lower edge, has a long fipple-flute stuck under it, and it is associated with a knife(?) and some other object that may be attached to it. A man wearing lower-middle rank clothing wears a white pouch-belt with a line along the lower middle possibly indicating a flap. Along the top edge (not clear whether attached or not) is a brown (leather?) belt around which are three rings from which hang a small knife in sheath and a round box (the third is unused). A bagpiper in the distance, wearing lower rank clothing, may be wearing a pouch-belt, but this is unclear because his arm is in the way. Two smaller male figures in the foreground (boys?) are wearing white pouch belts with a line along the lower middle and no attachments. Women – The best dressed woman (wearing gold brocade) wears no belt of any type. Four women wearing low-to-middle class dress wear plain white pouch-belts with the line but no attachments.

Medieval Women calendar series

Da Costa Hours (November 1993) – see Collins & Davis 1992

Bennick Hours (August) (July 1993) – This scene is included for comparative purposes. It is taken from a Book of Hours by Simon Bennick (Victoria and Albert Museum, E. 4576-1910) from early 16th century Flanders. There are two raggedly-dressed reapers (male and female) sitting at the edge of a field, each with an elongated white cloth stretched across the lap on which bread sits whle they eat. The man's cloth appears to be constricted where it falls off the lap to the right, but further details are not available. While the immediate scene does not involve shepherds, it suggests one possible interpretation of the simple sash version of the shepherds purse: both carrying mechanism and "tablecloth". Compare with the "Weapons of Gouffier" scene.But compare also with the full carrying bags in Wieck et al 2000. The lap cloth could conceivably be one of these bags after being emptied.

Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, MS Lat. 873 (July 1997) – see Collins & Davis 1992

Bibl. Nat. Paris MS 42 (November 1993) – This is from a pstoral scene in an early 16th century Italo-Flemish Book of Hours, MS 42 fol. 6, (Bibl. Nat. Paris). A rather well-dressed shepherd leans over an equally well-dressed female shearer, he wears an only slightly full-looking white sash-belt, slung to the back and clearly knotted in front, with no hanging ends. This depiction is interesting for showing the fastening method clearly, as well as clearly indicating a simple sash-like object that yet clearly holds (unknown) contents.

Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal Paris, MS 438 (March 1992) – The figure appears as an isolated clipping, so I don't know what genre of scene it appears in. Based on the current location of the manuscript, the work is likely to be French, and the style of clothing suggests a possible early 15th century date. While the isolated figure is a woman spinning, it is not uncommon for shepherdesses to be spinning while watching their sheep, so in the absense of further context, it can't necessarily be considered counter-evidence to the pattern of association with shepherds.

Weapons of Gouffier (Nov 1999) – This item is included for comparative purposes, as there is no overt usage as a belt. The source is identified as "Weapons of Gouffier: August" (Chateau Ecouen) suggesting a French provenance and a calendar genre. The clothing suggests a 16th century date. A neatly but non-nobly dressed woman sits and eats with a somewhat raggedly dressed reaper, she has a white, slightly fringed cloth spread across her lap, on which is placed a piece of bread, other bread and fruit sits nearby. Compare with the Bennick Hours scene. But compare also with the full carrying bags in mowing scenes in the Hours of Henry VIII (scene 1, scene 2). The lap cloth could conceivably be one of these bags after being emptied.

The Noble Pastoral: Working in Wool and Sheep-Shearing (September 1999) – The tapestry is currently located at the Louvre in Paris. Coats of arms in the tapestry suggest a possible date in the early 16th

century. There are three figures, two women and one man, all dressed in simple but "good" clothing, who are involved in shepherding and textile pursuits. A woman weaving on a box-loom wears a pouch-belt slung to the left, with a line along the upper mid-line perhaps indicating a flap? On the upper part are fastened (at least) three rings, from which are hung objects hard to identify in this picture, but one is a small round box. The other woman is shearing a sheep and wears a similar pouch-belt slung to the right. Rings are slightly visible above her arm on the upper part, and part of a double-sided comb is visible hanging below her arm. The man stands holding a shepherd's crook and wears a large pouch-belt slung somewhat tho the right. It, too, has three rings fastened towards the upper part with hanging objects, including a small knife in a sheath.

Meiss, Millard. 1972. *The De Lévis Hours and the Bedford Workshop*. Yale University Library, New Haven.

De Levis Hours "Annunciation" – This is another manuscript from the same workshop that produced the Bedford Hours (as well as the Vienna Hours). This one is known as the De Levis Hours and was created in Paris ca. 1417 (currently lcoated at the Yale Library, Beinecke Library ms. 400). The scene is in the Annunciation to the Shepherds genre and contains one shepherd wearing a Shepherds Purse. The network pattern on the pouch is more complex than usual — the sets of double lines almost given the impression of a bias-cut plaid fabric, but there is no reason to suppose that this is the case. A round box is suspended from the end of the pouch section of the belt.

Vienna Hours "Annunciation" – The Vienna Hours are another product of the workshop that produced the Bedford Hours and the De Levis Hours. It was created in Paris ca. 1420 and is currently located at the Vienna Nationalbibliothek (ms. 1855). There are seven shepherds wearing Shepherds Purses on this page, one female and six male. As in the De Levis Hours, several of the pouches have an unusual style of netting with doubled lines (a feature that doesn't show up in the Bedford Hours).

Meiss, Millard & Elizabeth H. Beatson. 1974. *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*. George Braziller, New York.

Belles Heures of Jean Duc de Berry – Because I have an edition that reproduces all the important miniatures, this manuscript is a good example of the types of scenes in which shepherds appear and the types of pouches seen in an early 15th century book of hours. The Belles Heures are first mentioned in an inventory of ca. 1408 and were created by the famous Limbourg brothers who also created the Tres Riches Heures. Of the 157 pages illustrated in this book, pouches of some type appear in ten of them, of which four are associated with shepherds. Non-shepherds: While calendar scenes are one place that shepherds appear, in this case only non-shepherds occur amount the pouch-wearers in this context. In April, we see a nobly-dressed man wearing a kidney-shaped belt-pouch with a dagger thrust through it. This style of pouch tends to be associated with upper class or military individuals, although this isn't a firm rule. November illustrations commonly include a swine-herd knocking down acorns to help fatten his pigs. As discussed on the Non-Shepherds page, swine-herds are the only other type of figure that appear with Shepherds Purses with any kind of regularity. The pouch seen here falls within the Shepherds Purse range, although it's definitely a bit toward the semi-circular end of the scale. Two scenes show figures who are clearly intended to be beggars, in the context of portraying some part of a saint's life. The first shows St. Martin of Tours, in his most typical genre scene where he is sharing his cloak with a beggar. A second beggar in the scene wears an unshaped cloth carrier over his shoulder that appears to be a length of cloth tied at the ends (although the knot is not visible). The same style is seen, but with the knot visible, in a scene of St. Jeromes funeral. St. James the Greater — being associated with one of the most important pilgrimage sites of the medieval period — carries as one of his attributes the style of shoulder bag associated with pilgrims, two of which kneel before him. This style is defined as a deep, usually roughly rectangular bag with a flap, worn on a shoulder strap. In addition to people identifiable as religious pilgrims, it is seen on travelers of all types, as in this figure from a scene of St. Catherine's body being carried to Mt. Sinai (although the traveler is probably intended to be a pilgrim as well). Shep-herds: The Belles Heures include all the typical shepherd genre scenes associated with the Nativity: both an annunciation and adoration specifically focused on the shepherds, shepherds as background in the adoration of the Magi scene, and an annuncia-tion to the shepherds as background to a Nativity scene. In all cases, there are Shepherds Purses, generally of the crescent shape, although (like the one worn by the swineherd above) somewhat on the rounded end of the scale, rather than the more typical "banana" shape. Only in the annunciation scene is netting visible, although most of the other pouches are small and indistinct in the paintings. See also Porcher 1960.

Pérez-Higuera, Teresa. 1997. *Medieval Calendars*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London.

Misal Rico of Cardinal Cisneros – The scene is from a section of the Missal dealing with Christnas and shows the annunciation to the shepherds. There are two shepherds, the one on the right has a light brown pouch-belt. The one on the left has a bag of some sort slung over his left shoulder by a strap. The two pouches are otherwise very similar-looking.

Tres Riches Heures (annunciation) – The image is from the well-known Tres Riches Heures of the Duke du Berry, made in France in the early 15th century. This is a genre scene of the annunciation to the shepherds.One shepherd wears either a fairly thin pouch-belt slung to the back or simply a thick sash-belt. There is a round (ceramic?) flask hung from the left side. A second shepherd wears a similar item, but there is even less basis for interpreting it as a pouch rather than simply a sash.

Tres Riches Heures (calendar) – The image is from the well-known Tres Riches Heures of the Duke du Berry, made in France in the early 15th century. This is a genre scene from the calendar pages (July). A reaper and a male and female shepherd all wear "pouch-belts" slung to the side. Note that reapers are sometimes associated with a style of white, double-ended bag (a type tha can be slung over a shoulder, with contents on both sides), and with costrels, but not normally with the pouch-belt style. I believe this is the only example I've found, and it may not be coincidental that it occurs in a scene where shepherds are present.

Porcher, Jean. 1959. *The Rohan Book of Hours*. Thomas Yoseloff, New York.

Rohan Hours (annunciation) – The Rohan Hours were created around 1418-25 for Yolande d'Anjou (the "Rohan" label comes from a later owner, whose arms were added to some of the illustrations) and show clear artistic inspirations in both the Belles Heures of Jean de Berry, and a copy of a French Bible HistoriÈe illustrated by an Italian artist (Porcher p.6), once again demonstrating the difficulty in disentangling specific cultural influences on artifacts portrayed. On the other hand, even clear borrowings leave room for variation in depicting the level of detail I'm intrested in. Porcher identifies the woman in the above scene as copied from the shepherdess in the calendar of the Tres Riches Heures, but although their poses and clothing are similar, there are still many points of individual difference. The two Shepherds Purses in this scene are roughly simliar, having the basic crescent shape, and there appears to be a flap indicated on the woman's pouch. Confusingly, though, both have faint lines marked that would indicate netting (with the meshes square to the waistline). There are also small unidentifiable objects hanging from under the pouch.

Porcher, Jean. 1960. *Medieval French Miniatures*. Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York.

Bedford Breviary "Annunciation" – This scene is from the Bedford Breviary, created in France ca. 1424-35, and currently located at the Bibliotheque Nationale Paris (MS. Lat. 17294, F. 56 v). (I'm not certain whether the name indicates a connection with the workshop that produced the Bedford Hours.) The shepherd occurs in the background and is rather indistinct with only a vague indication of a crescent-shaped pouch.

Belles Heures de Jean de Berry "Adoration" – This manuscript is one of several opulent works commissioned by Duke Jean de Berry. The Belles Heures were created ca. 1410-13 in France and are currently located in the Cloisters Museum, New York. This scene (f.48v) shows the Adoration of both the shepherds and the magi, with the shepherds represented by a single figure in the background. He wears an indistinct Shepherds Purse of the crescent-shaped variety.

Gospel Lectionary of the Sainte-Chapelle – This French work from ca. 1260-70 is known as the Gospel Lectionary of the Sainte-Chapelle, and is currently located at the Bibliotheque Nationale Paris (MS. Lat. 17326, F. 99). This scene shows "the good shepherd", rather than one of the more usual shepherd genre scenes. The figure wears no pouch of any type, and this example is given for comparison. The work dates to a period earlier than the rise of the Shepherds Purse style. (One of my main purposes in showing these earlier pouch-less examples is to demonstrate that the absense of the Shepherds Purse at this date is not due to the absense of shepherds in art.)

Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut "Annunciation" – The Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut were created ca. 1410-15 in France and are currently located at the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (MS. 2, F. 79). This page shows an Annunciation to the Shepherds genre scene, with two shepherds displaying different styles of pouch. The one on the left wears a crescent-shaped Shepherds Purse, while the one on the right wears a "kidney-shaped" pouch haning from his belt. This latter style is more commonly associated with upper-class or urban figures.

Paris Psalter "Annunciation" – The Paris Psalter, created in France ca. 1230 (currently located in the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal Paris, MS. 1186, f. 17) contains the earliest depiction that I have found so far of an object that seems to belong in the Shepherds Purse category. The object consists of a lozenge-oriented net that is either hung at both ends from the

belt or is slung by a strap over the shoulder. The earliness of this example compared with the "heyday" of the style (and the general scarcity of 13th and 14th century examples) raises interesting questions.

Souvigny Bible – This is a scene of the life of David, from the Souvigny Bible, a work of the second half of the 12th century. The manuscript is French, currently at Moulins (MS. I, F. 93). It shows David as a shepherd, wearing a shoulder bag that does not fig the Shepherds Purse style. I include it here both to explore the temporal limits of the Shepherds Purse style, and to show the range of other style of pouch associated with shepherds. Note that this manuscript dates to a point considerably earlier than the earliest examples I've found of the "true" Shepherds Purse.

Tres Belles Heures "Nativity" – see Harthan 1977

Reeves, Compton. 1998. *Pleasures and Pastimes in Medieval England.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, MS Lat. 873 – see Collins & Davis 1992

Gloucester Cathedral misericord – Misericords were often carved with non-religious scenes of everyday life and occupations, making them a useful source of three-dimensional information for everyday artifacts (although as always not without cautions). This set of three shepherds do not wear pouches of any type, but do wear ordinary belts with hanging tools. The tools are hard to distinguish clearly, but may include small knives, whistles, cylindrical boxes.

Oxford Ms. Douce 93 – The picture is taken from Ms. Douce 93 (f.28), currently located in the Bodleian Library. The motif of a group of shepherds dancing cuts across other shepherd genres — it may be found, for example, accompanying an annunciation scene, although it is more common in generic pastoral scenes. It is unclear from context which this is. Although there are no sheep in sight, the characteristic shovel-footed staffs lying on the ground are of a type associated with shepherds. About half the dancers are wearing crescent-shaped pouches with a lozenge-shaped netted pattern on them.

***Regensburger Buchmalerei von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*. 1987. Prestel-Verlag, München.**

Ottheinrichsbibel (swineherd) – This bible was created ca. 1425-30 in Regensburg and is currently located at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München (Cgm 8010/1.2, fol. 18v). The only regular exception to the association of the Shepherds Purse style exclusively with shepherds are an assortment of swineherds bearing similar styles of pouch. If the defining characteristics of the style are dictated by the nature of the shepherds work, this is not necessarily an exception at all. The swineherd here wears a somewhat uncharacteristic style, however, being a rectangular pouch more reminiscent of styles associated with pilgrims. It isn't clear whether it is worn around the waist or slung from the shoulder.

Salzburger Missal (pastoral scenes) – This is a general pastoral scene from the Salzburger Missal, created ca. 1478-89 in Regensburg (currently located in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, M¸nchen, Clm 15710, fol. 60v). There are three different shepherd scenarios, each with a different type of pouch. The first has a deep cyllindrical bag with the top tucked under a regular belt — it doesn't particularly fit the model of a Shepherds Purse, except for being worn at the waist. The second is a regular crescent-shaped Shepherds Purse with a closing flap. This picture also illustrates the use of the small "shovel" end found on one type of shepherd's staff. The third is a rectangular bag with a semi-circular flap — it may be worn around the waist or slung from the shoulder, the details are hidden.

Russell, Francis. 1967. *The World of Dürer 1471-1528*. Time Incorporated, New York.

Pursuit of St. Barbara – The work here is an altarpiece entitled "Pursuit of St. Barbara" by Meister Francke, created ca. 1415. Although the text is coy on the specifics, the context suggests tha the work is German. Looking generally at the characteristics of shepherds in art, note that the two here are carrying the "shovel-staffs" also found in late 15th c. French and Flemish tapestries. The righthand shepherd has a bulging white cloth hanging slung from his belt, apparently fastened only by having the corners tucked under the belt with their ends hanging loose. With the sash-belts, this example suggests a link between the use of an ordinary piece of cloth as a carrying mechanism, and the evolution of a purpose-built pouch of similar form.

Sargent, Brian. 1979. *Minstrels 2: more medieval music to sing and play.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Oxford MS. Douce 93 – see Reeves 1998

Testa, Judith Anne. 1992. *The Stockholm-Kassel Book of Hours: A Reintegrated Manuscript from the Shop of Simon Bening*. Royal Library, Stockholm.

Stockholm-Kassel Book of Hours "Adoration" – Despite the later Swedish associations of the Stockholm-Kessel Book of Hours, it was created in Bruges ca. 1520. The book currently exists in two separate portions, one in the Royal Library at

Stockholm (MS A227) and one at the Landesbibliothek, Kassel (MS math. Et art. 50). The illustration shows a rather faint row of dancing shepherds of both sexes with a bagpiper. The form a border around a Nativity scene, so this may be considered to fall in the Adoration of the Shepherds genre. The close-up clips below are actually less distinct than the smaller version above.

Stockholm-Kassel Book of Hours "Annunciation" – See the previous description. The illustration belongs to the Annunciation to the Shepherds genre. The purse is extremely unusual in construction (as well as in showing the construction this clearly). Towards the shepherd's front, the pouch is clearly gathered up as if with a drawstring (but no similar conformation is seen at the other end of the pouch section). Along the upper edges of the pouch are a sereies of small round marks — it's unclear whether they are buttons (suggesting two separate ways of opening the pouch?) or rings for attached tools, but with nothing currently attached. The purse appears to be fastened around the waist rather than slung over the shoulder, but note the shoulder strap on the lefthand shepherd above. (Whatever is attached to it is hidden under his cloak.)

Unterkircher, Franz. 1974. *Burgundishes Brevier: die Schönsten Mineaturen aus dem Stundenbuch der Maria von Burgund (Codex Vindobonensis 1857).* Akademische Druck - u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz.

Burgundishes Brevier – This is from the calendar section of a book of hours from the 15th century, showing the first part of April. From what is visible, it is difficult to identify the items clearly as Shepherds Purses, as opposed to sash belts. The one worn by the reclining man is thick enough to have contents, but the woman's looks more like a belt.

Waetzoldt, Stephan. 1970. *Art Treasures in Germany*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York.

da Correggio "Adoration" – The work is an "Adoration of the Shepherds" genre scene by Antonio Allegri da Correggio, from 1530, commissioned by Alberto Pratoneri of Reggio Emilia. The work is currently located in the Gem‰ldegalerie in Dresden but is clearly Italian in provenence from its history. It is included here to show the intrusion of "Classical" representations in religious art, detracting from their usefulness for researching artifacts contemporary to the artist.

Francke "Nativity" – The work is from a Nativity genre scene by Master Francke from 1424 and is currently located in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg. No real detail is visible, but one of the shepherds in the distance has a white shape at his waist that is consistant with a Shepherds Purse. This example is principally interesting for helping establish the motif in a German context.

Warburg, A., 'Arbeitende Bauern auf Burgundischen Teppichen' in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, vol. xviii, Leipzig, 1906, pp.41-7.

Rustic Sports (Les Joyeux Bergers) – see Digby 1980

Weigert, Roger-Armand. 1962. *French Tapestry*. Charles T. Branford Company, Newton MA.

The Shepherds – This is a fragment of a tapestry now located at the MusÈe des Gobelins, Paris. The motifs include a male and female shepherd. Their clothes are plain but in good condition; the woman wears a pouch-belt slung to the right (visible), with a small round box and two other items handing from the top edge; the man wears a simple belt and no purse of any kind.

The Noble Pastoral: Working in Wool and Sheep-Shearing – see the Medieval Women calendars, September 1999

Wieck, Roger S. 1997. *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art.* George Braziller, Inc., New York.

Hours for Rouen Use – The manuscript is a book of hours for the Rouen use, created ca. 1470 in France and currently held at the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS. M. 1093 fol. 57r). The scene is an Annunciation to the Shepherds (although the angel is cut off at the top of the scan here), and all four shepherds in the scene wear a Shepherds Purse that appears to be a very crudely draped piece of white cloth fastened in some way to a belt. To the extent that these are accurate representations, they show an interesting developmental stage between the use of an ordinary cloth as a carrier and the development of the crescent-shaped pouch. Note in particular the woman's pouch, which may have a loose corner of the underlying cloth folded over the top similarly to the flap on flapped pouches.

Morgan MS. 287 – This manuscript is described as a book of "hours for Rome use" (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 287, fol. 64v). It is Flemish or northern French, created ca. 1445. This is presumably an annunciation scene (see the angel at the top of the image), but the dancing ring of shepherds seems remarkably oblivious to the event. Seven of the dancers wear Shepherds Purses of the crescent-with-netting style — all of the men, but only one of the five women.

Morgan MS. 453 "Annunciation" – By a follower of the Bedford Master. The scene is an Annunciation to

the Shepherds genre piece — there is one shepherd wearing a Shepherds Purse, but the details are indistinct.

Wieck, Roger S., William M. Voelkle & K. Michelle Hearne. 2000. *The Hours of Henry VIII: A Renaissance Masterpiece by Jean Poyet.*

Hardouyn Book of Hours – The work is a woodcut from a Book of Hours created by Antoine Chappiel for Gillet Hardouyn, ca. 1503 in Paris. (The work is currently located at the Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 19286, fol. E3v.) The illustration is a pastoral scene from a page border, showing a group of shepherds (from their equipment) sitting and eating. The figures are small and not particularly detailed. The first figure at the left may have a cloth across his lap, and appears to be drinking from something. He appers to have to objects hanging from his belt, and there may be a crescent-shaped Shepherds Purse underneath them. The second figure is reaching as if to remove something from a pouch at his side. Since he is still wearing the object, this would suggest a flap opening rather than a gathered opening at one end. The third figure is a shepherdess, eating something from a bowl with a spoon. There is a line across her waist that could indicate a pouch (but as easily could be an apron) and no other details are visible. The last figure on the right appears to have something tucked under or attached to his belt, but the lines are unclear.

Hours of Henry VIII (mowers) – I have included four scenes from the Hours of Henry VIII, created ca. 1500 in Tours and currently located at the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS H.8). The current calendar scene (fol. 3v) shows a group of mowers who have containers for provisions set to one side of their working area: a lumpy white sack and several costrels. The sack is of the "double-ended" type designed to be carried over a shoulder (or possible over a pole between two people?). This is a style commonly associated with field workers, as well as sometimes with travellers, but would be awkward to carry while working.

Hours of Henry VIII (reapers) – See above. This calendar scene (fol. 6) shows a group of reapers and, in the middle of their work, a large white sack and a costrel, presumably containing provisions. While the structure of the sack is not entirely clear, it appears to be the double-ended type also seen in this manuscript for the mowers.

Hours of Henry VIII (shepherds - Annunciation) – See above. This Annunciation scene (fol. 56v) shows two shepherds and a spinning shepherdess. Both men wear a Shepherds Purse, one with marks indicating netting, but either the netting is of very crude quality, or it has become an artistic convention that no longer represents anything functional. The woman does not wear any kind of pouch.

Hours of Henry VIII (swineherds) – See above. This calendar scene (fol. 6) shows two swineherds knocking down acorns for their pigs. Both wear a Shepherds Purse, one with marks indicating netting, but either the netting is of very crude quality, or it has become an artistic convention that no longer represents anything functional.

Hours of Mary of England – The Hours of Mary of England were created in Tours ca. 1495-1500, and are currently located in the Bibliotheque Municipale, Lyons (MS 1558, fol. 33v). This scene is in the Annunciation to the Shepherds genre. Two shepherds wear Shepherds Purses (a third in the background has no visible pouch). Both are crescent-shaped and have an indented design along the lower edge (suggesting at the very least a seam there). The shepherd in the foreground on the left clearly wears the item slung over his shoulder, while the shepherd in the middle distance on the right wears an essentially identical item clearly worn around the waist. This picture is particularly interesting for showing this relationship of the two wearing styles. The item can be worn either way, although statistically the waist position is greatly preferred, and it is the waist position that forms the stylistic "gestalt" of the Shepherds Purse style.

Wilkins, Eithne. 1969. *The Rose-Garden Game: A Tradition of Beads and Flowers*. Herder and Herder, New York.

Fitzwilliam MS 63 "Annunciation" – This picture is from a French manuscript of the early 2nd quarter of the 15th century (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 63, f.60b). This is an Annunciation genre scene, showing a standing shepherd and sitting shepherdess wearing crescent-shaped pouches with hanging implements. In both cases, lines on the pouches suggest some gathering at the ends of the pouch section.

misc. web sites (these did not always supply clear information about the nature of the image)

Pictures from the Maciejowski Bible – This image comes from a web site that has cataloged a wide variety of artifacts appearing in illustrations in the Maciejowski Bible (using the edition published in 1927 by S.C. Cockerell, Old Testament Miniatures, Phaidon Press Ltd - London, using a reprint either from 1969 or 1975). The book contains the first part of the Old Testament, from Genesis to David, and was created ca. 1250 probably in Paris. The scene above illustrates the story of David, showing him with

typical attributes of a shepherd. He wears a small pouch at his waist — possibly a frame-purse — that does not fall in the stylistic range of the Shepherds Purse.

Annunciation (poss. 14th c.?) – The web site where I found this is simply entitled (in French) "Vie Quotidienne", which is about as specific as "life in olden times". The style of the art suggests a possible 14th century date. The two seated shepherds in the upper left don't appear to be wearing pouches, but one of the standing shepherds at the right looks like he may be wearing over his shoulder one of the "doubled-ended sacks" commonly associated with reapers and travelers.

Annunciation (prob. 15th c.?) – This is an annunciation scene found on a web site that did not provide an identification of the source other than the page reference (f.51r). From the style, it appears to belong to the late 14th or early 15th century. The shepherd on the left wears a simple crescent-style pouch.

Annunciation (prob. 15th c.) – No information was provided about the image, but it is an Annunciation scene, probably of the 15th century, and similar in style to French material. Both shepherds wear crescent-type pouches and, although the detail is extremely poor, the one on the left may have hanging objects associated with the pouch.

Annunciation (prob. 15th c.) – No information on the image was provided. From the style, the work may be of the later 15th century. The two shepherds in this Annunciation wear cresenct-shaped Shepherds Purses, but the details are difficult to discern.

Breviary of Martin of Aragon – This initial is from the 15th c. Catalonian "Breviary of Martin of Aragon" (BNF, ROTH 2529, fol. 145). The body posture of the shepherd suggests that it may be an Annunciation scene. The shepherd wears a black pouch hanging from his belt that does not fall in the Shepherds Purse style.

Syracuse MS 3 – This is a French manuscript from the later 15th century, currently held by Syracuse University (ms. 3). This Annunciation scene shows three shepherds who appear to wear a somewhat loose crescent-style Shepherds Purse.

Bronzino "Adoration" – This Adoration of the Shepherds is by the Italian painter Agnolo Bronzino, from ca. 1535-40 (currently located in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest). The shepherds show a range of clothing from classical draperies (as with the kneeling man with the pouch) to more realistic contemporary clothing (as with the bagpiper in the background). The pouch hangs as if it were on a shoulder strap rather than around the waist, but the details are not visible. The pouch is reminiscent of the "flapped crescent" style (a flap fastened possibly with a toggle is visible) but it is larger and deeper than the core style.

De Beer "Adoration" – This Adoration was done by Jan de Beer ca. 1510 and is currently located at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. The resolution in my available copy is not great, but the shepherd at the left of the picture wears a rather sash-like pouch, but from the way it drapes, it is not a sash-belt, but rather appears to have a pouch-like function.

de Ribera "Adoration" – This is from the Spanish(?) painter Jusepe de Ribera's "Adoration of the Shepherds" from ca.1650. It is currently located at the Louvre, Paris, France. Although the view and cropping make it hard to be certain, the shepherd at the right may be wearing a pouch that would fall in the Shepherds Purse style (as well as a costrel on a shoulder strap), but it is equally possible that it's a different style of pouch.

Ghirlandaio "Adoration" – This is an Adoration of the Shepherds painting by the Italian painter Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, ca. 1510 (currentled located in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest). One shepherd at the right of the picture wears a shoulder bag made from some sort of furred animal skin (possibly a wildcat, from the spots?) tied closed at the ends by the cord forming the shoulder strap. See below for a partial close-up. (Given that this is a skin bag, it may be possible that it's a water skin, rather than a purse per se.) Another shepherd in the middle of the scene wears a flapped pouch hanging from his belt (as well as a hanging knife), but it doesn't fall in the Shepherds Purse style.

Portinari Altarpiece (Adoration of the Shepherds) – see Friedl‰nder 1956

Rembrandt "Adoration" – This is an etching by Dutch artist Rembrandt van Rijn from 1654, part of a set of etchings done for a Bible. One of the shepherds wears a pouch hanging from his belt that does not fall in the Shepherds Purse style.

Pistoia "Nativity" – see Eimerl 1967

Elizabethan Shepherds – This is a woodcut from a web site on everyday life in Elizabethan England, and the style of the art is consistant with that period, so I am assuming it is an actual work of art of the later 16th century. Both shepherds wear shoulder pouches that are fairly deep, with flaps, and do not fall in the stylistic range of the Shepherds Purse.