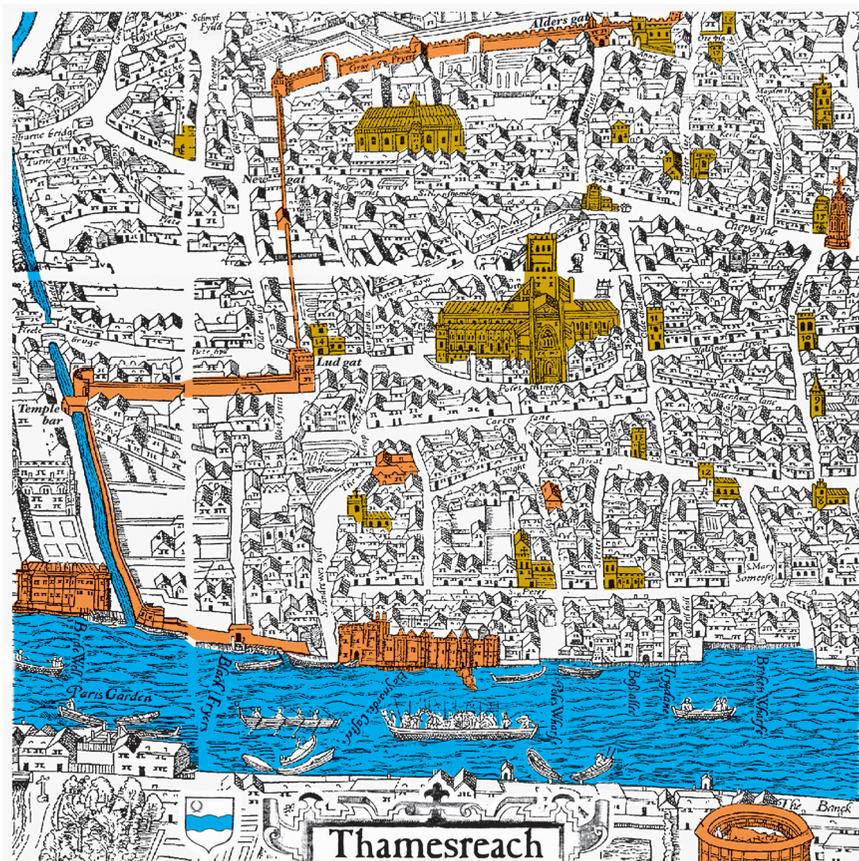


# Proceedings of the Known World Heraldic Symposium



hosted by the Shire of Thamesreach  
5—7 September, A.S. XLIII

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## Preface

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It was my great pleasure to be the editor for the proceedings of the A.S. XLIII Known World Heraldic and Scribal Symposium, hosted by the Shire of Thamesreach. It's been a decade since the symposium was last held in Drachenwald, and it is my hope that the articles collected in this volume reflect the growing diversity of interest and the depth of knowledge that the heralds and scribes of the Known World have gained in the last ten years.

I'm grateful to all of the authors who offered articles, both those which are included in this volume and those which we'll hopefully see in next year's. For the preparation of the proceedings two people must be thanked specifically: Arqai Ne'ürin, who provided the drawings of the author's arms, and Joel maritus Sarae, who provided the technical assistance to turn individual L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X files into one coherent file. My thanks to both for their contribution to making this proceedings look as spiffy as it does!

—*Aryanhwy merch Catmael*  
Polderslot, 24 August, A.S. XLIII

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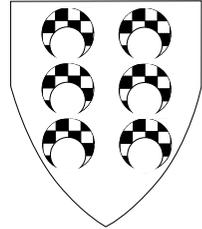
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# Commenting on oscar

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Over the last two years, the structure of commenting at the Laurel level has changed substantially. OSCAR, the Online System for Commentary and Response, has transformed both who can comment and how commentary works. The purpose of this article is to talk about how commentary works on OSCAR and to offer tips on how to be an effective commenter on OSCAR.

To start, let's consider what commentary is and what it's used for. Commentary, at the Laurel level, is simply the responses of the members of the College of Arms to names and devices that kingdoms send to Laurel for a final decision. That means (in theory) that the submissions have already been examined once, by the kingdom, and are ready for final review. Documentation for items—an explanation of the elements used, their plausibility in period, and the like—should have been prepared by a submissions herald and shared on a Letter of Intent.

Commentary has essentially one main purpose—to share with Laurel, Pelican, and Wreath the information that they need to make appropriate decisions on that particular item—and a secondary purpose—to improve the knowledge base of the College of Arms as a whole. That means that you need to share your opinion about what should be done with the item and explain why you think this. You also need to be able to explain why your opinion is better than anyone else's. To do that, you must both make your own arguments and respond to the arguments that other people make.

This part is structured a little differently than it has been before OSCAR. Before OSCAR, your ability to responses to other people's arguments was limited, which often left the Laurel team comparing "dueling experts": where one said a name was fine while another said it had fatal problems. Because the experts didn't have the chance to compare and evaluate each other's arguments, there was no choice but to guess which expert was right. With OSCAR, responses to one another's comments can happen nearly in real time. As such, failure to respond appropriately to other people's arguments is rude at best, and grounds for your argument to be ignored at worst. If I explain why my argument is better and you can't be bothered to respond, Laurel will assume that you concur.

OSCAR is pretty self-explanatory. There are a couple of pieces of etiquette, though. The first is that, while you can edit both letters of intent and comments, doing so after people have responded to them is rude. Corrections of letters of intent are fine, but should be done only when there's new information that would be useful or information that's missing. Responding to each new comment by changing the entry is unnecessary. Errors in comments can be fixed by adding a new comment either responding to your own comment or to those of others.

There are a variety of kinds of commentary that are useful; broadly speaking there are several things that even the non-expert can do:

- Conflict check both names and devices. The former mostly requires a decent eye (you do need to check diminutives and alternative spellings, which can require a little expertise). The latter requires a little understanding of the rules: OSCAR commenting is not the place to learn how to conflict check. But calling an “iffy” conflict or asking questions occasionally isn't a problem.
- Read over the documentation presented in the Letter of Intent and commentary for completeness and correctness. There are several questions it's useful to answer:
  - Do the sources say what the letter says they say? Do the dates and the spelling go together? It's easy to make a mistake, and fixing it helps everyone.
  - Does the documentation make sense? Does it prove that the name elements and the structure are registerable?
  - Don't be afraid to pose questions or say that you're not sure if the documentation answers all the questions. Sometimes asking a question is the most useful thing you can do. Just don't be surprised when people answer it.
- Provide additional documentation for name elements or patterns, whether from online sources or books you have.
  - Duplicate documentation can often be useful; it's good to know that a name from 1200 can also be found in 1500, or a name from northern Italy can also be found in central Italy.
  - It's particularly important when there are holes in the documentation: the submitter would really like spelling *X*, but the LoI could only document spelling *Y*.
  - Even if you can't find exactly what the submitter wants, any close matches are helpful. Sometimes, enough close matches from different sources will make the submitter's preferred form seem likely.

- There are an impressive array of resources online, and more are appearing every day. I find particularly useful Google Books (<http://books.google.com/><sup>1</sup>) and the Medieval Names Archive (<http://www.s-gabriel.org/names/>).
- It can be useful to say where you didn't look, as well as where you did look. Even if you can't check a source, asking someone else to can work.
- Make style comments: Does this look like a period design? Is it a period depiction? Is it recognizable? Don't be afraid that your eyes are uneducated in period style; it's particularly useful to know what non-heralds think.

Once you've got something to say, there are useful ways to say it. The most important thing to do in commentary is to tell everyone why you think something as well as what you think. Don't assume that others will know where your information comes from. Otherwise you can end up being embarrassed, or embarrassing someone else. Once, I returned a camel in kingdom because the depiction looked (to me) like an animal cookie, only to discover that the depiction was from *Saracenic Heraldry*; exactly that depiction had been used in period Arab heraldic designs.

Here are some examples of useful ways to phrase commentary:

- “In the Pic Dic, a narfing iron is clearly dated to 1589.”
- “The depictions of a wadget that have been registered in recent years, like that of John Doe, all have two arms rather than the four depicted here.”
- “Bardsley (s.n. Dumbell) makes it clear that Dumbell is not a period spelling; it's earliest date is 1669.”
- “Caccheroo” really is in Reaney and Wilson; Jeanne Marie Lacroix's “‘Misplaced’ Names in Reaney and Wilson” (<http://heraldry.sca.org/heraldry/laurel/names/misplacednames.htm>) dates this spelling to 1315–6.”
- “I've never seen an example of a sea-horse where the top half is the fish. Has anyone else?”

Commenters have, over time developed ways to talk about submissions. Here are some terms and ways of talking about submissions you should know:

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<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: Only users in the US will have full access to this website. Those outside of the US can often have luck substituting their country's domain for .com.

- s.n. (*sub nomine*): under the name. This is the best way to describe where things can be found in books with header forms, as there are an awful lot of names on a page of Reaney and Wilson, for example. In addition, different printings can have different page numbers.
- vanishingly rare: this has only been found once or twice, if at all in period.
- step from period practice/weirdness: one of the many things allowed that is not found in period, such as a combination of two languages, temporal incompatibility (see below) the use of “SCA compatible” names and charges, the use of a bird displayed other than an eagle, the use of New World flora and fauna not found in period armory, the use of items under the mundane name allowance, etc.
- temporal incompatibility: two name elements that are more than 300 years apart are said to be temporally incompatible, which is a step from period practice. Over 1000 years apart is unregistrable (though generally any names that far apart are in different languages anyway).

Good commentary creates a balance between being nice and being honest. On the one hand, you need to be professional in tone; there’s always the chance that the submitter (or a friend of the submitter) will see your commentary. Other commenters will read what you say, too. So, you need to be careful that you don’t unnecessarily upset someone. Think twice before you call a design ugly or an idea stupid. In relatively brief online communication, like commentary, it’s easy for a message to come across as insulting whether you intended to or not. In return, you should develop a thick skin; you’re going to be corrected a lot in commentary, even if you’re “the big expert.” You can’t take it personally, or you’ll drive yourself nuts.

On the other hand, you’ve got to be honest. Being nice doesn’t mean refusing to recognize problems. It just means focusing on issues of style (which is based on data) rather than attractiveness (which is based on opinion). So, instead of focusing on how ugly a drawing is, ask yourself if it’s identifiable. Instead of focusing on how unattractive a design is, ask yourself if it’s too complex, unbalanced, or otherwise not in period style. Instead of saying that a name is a fantastically bad idea, explain what the problems are. That doesn’t mean that you can’t have opinions; it just means that you should think twice before expressing them in print.

One part of this is to be careful about piling on to an argument. When there’s a question about whether a charge is recognizable or whether a name is obtrusively modern, many opinions help. It’s especially true that you should speak up if you disagree with a criticism; on the whole, it’s assumed you’re not speaking up because you agree with the opinions expressed. However, when there’s an issue with how a letter of intent is written, for example,

then repeating the criticism that someone else has already written doesn't help, but just makes the recipient feel worse.

The rule of thumb for tone is that you should always write commentary as if the submitter will see it (though you certainly don't need to keep the content at that level). However, the submitter never should. One rule of commentary is that you should never share commentary with a submitter. That doesn't mean that you can't let submitters know what the content of commentary is (though you need to be careful about this, as commentary can be wrong), but you should leave it at that. The actual words used by commenters (and indeed their identity) should never be shared with submitters. That allows commenters to be honest without worrying too much about hurting someone's feelings.

OSCAR has changed considerably the timing of commentary, as comments can be added to an item at any time, rather than in one group close to the end of the month. The ability to respond to items and other people's comments in multiple rounds, rather than just once or twice, has a lot of advantages. Since commentary on OSCAR is interactive, you need to do two things: you need to be aware of what others are saying and keep up with responses to your comments. Together, these are necessary to be part of the conversation that OSCAR has become. Some people like to look at items without reading other commentary; that's fine. But you need to look at what others have said after you do so. Your commentary needs to reflect the current state of the discussion and respond to the issues and concerns already raised. If you raise an issue that was already thoroughly discussed a month ago, you will generally be ignored. Even worse, those who have already discussed the issue may be upset with you or feel insulted. On the other hand, if you can respond to the existing discussion, adding new data or new opinions, you can push the discussion to continue.

After commenting on items, you need to be prepared to respond to questions and feedback. That doesn't mean that you need to respond to every comment, but you do need to do two things: regularly answer questions that people ask you and demonstrate that you're responding to criticism. Making mistakes is no big deal. Making the same mistake month after month annoys other commenters and even the Laurel team. So pay attention to the times when you're wrong. Not only will you learn new things, you'll be a better commenter.

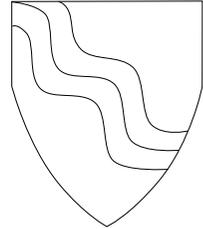
But rounds of responses require time. That means that commenting just before the deadline for commentary is a bad idea, because other commenters can't respond to any criticisms you make or problems you raise. That means, unfortunately, that commentary which raises new issues may well be ignored, as other commenters don't have a chance to evaluate it. That doesn't mean that you can never write comments at the last minute. If

that's when you get to it, that's when you get to it. In particular, going back and writing additional comments at the last minute can be useful. But be careful; systematically offering comments only at the last minute may be grounds for removal from OSCAR.

OSCAR makes it easy to do these things. You can look at a letter both with and without comments through the LoI page. You can set up your account (through Preferences) to send you e-mail when someone responds to your comments. Together, these tools allow you to become a participant in the OSCAR dialogue, not just a simple commenter.

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# Place names in Orkney from 16th- and 17th-century maps



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For this project, I recorded the Orkney Island placenames found on maps published in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. I compared those spellings to modern Ordnance Survey maps.

Nearly all placenames in Orkney are of Scandinavian origin, and very few are of Gaelic origin. Norse migration from the North completely superseded the previous, Pictish inhabitants of the islands. Especially characteristic are suffixes of Old Norse origin; *-ay* (meaning 'island'), *-holm* (meaning 'round topped or grassy islet') and *-skerry* (meaning 'rocky islet').

## The maps

I have organized the period maps at my disposal into two categories: those based upon early sixteenth century data, and those based upon the survey of Timothy Pont in the 1580s and 1590s. Maps in the former category were published in the late 16th C and very early 17th C. For simplicity sake, I refer to these maps as "16th-C Maps". Maps of the latter category were all published in the 17th C, after Pont's death. I refer to these maps as "17th-C Maps".

### 16th C maps

In the "16th-C Maps" category are the maps of Abraham Ortelius, Gerhard Mercator, and John Speed. These maps are based upon documentation completed in the early sixteenth century, which is now lost. In his article, "A History of Orkney Maps", John Chesters theorizes that Ortelius' map, circa 1575, was based upon an early draft of Gerhard Mercator's. The surviving Mercator map, published 1595 is slightly improved over that of Ortelius, but largely similar. While Chesters does not talk about John Speed's 1610 map, an examination of the coastal lines and placename spellings suggests that his map is related to Mercator's as well.

The general inaccuracy of shorelines on these earlier maps can make drawing parallels with modern maps very difficult. Particularly vexing is the tendency to label parishes, which can be very hard to find because the

churches have generally fallen into disuse and ruin. Many have disappeared entirely. However it is somewhat humorous to note the repetition of the church names, “Our Lady” and “St Peter’s”, on island after island. There were three “Our Lady” churches on the Orkney Mainland alone!

Mercator, Gerhard (1512–1594). “Scotiae Regnum [north sheet] per Gerardum Mercatorem” printed 1595. This map presents northern Scotland, the Orkney Islands, and the western Scottish islands in fine detail. A majority of the Orkney Islands are indicated with shorelines which do not closely match those of modern maps. As one follows the map northward, the shorelines become more and more vague. As is typical of sixteenth century maps, Mercator indicates the locations of several parishes and a few towns.

Ortelius, Abraham, (1527–1598). “Scotiae tabula / Abraham Ortelius” printed circa 1575. This is a truly beautiful map. While of a smaller scale than Mercator’s map, this map makes an equal attempt to name all the islands and the towns and parishes in the islands. It does a better job of naming waterways between the islands, which the cartographer calls ‘roads’. This map is oriented with west at the top of the page.

Speed, John (1552?–1629). “The Kingdome of Scotland / performed by Iohn Speed” printed 1610 [1627 issue?]. Though published in 1610, coastlines and spellings are consistent with the maps published in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Speed’s rendering of the Orkney Islands is very similar to Mercator’s, though at a smaller scale. Here the entire kingdom of Scotland is shown on a single sheet, the Orkney Islands being removed to an inset map in the upper right-hand corner of the sheet. Speed did not use Latinized names as other cartographers tended to (e.g., *The Yles of Orknay* rather than Mercator’s *ORCADES Insulæ*). Otherwise, the placenames are very similar to those of Mercator and Ortelius.

### 17th C maps

The second category of maps consists of those based upon Pont’s survey in the late sixteenth century. The earliest of these were prepared in the early seventeenth century and consist of the maps of Blaeu and Hondius. It is not clear whether one copied the other as competing publishing houses raced to publish their new maps. Despite the seventeenth century publication date, it is reasonable to assume that the spellings on the map are indicative of spellings from Pont’s time, at the end of the sixteenth century.

Pont’s influence on maps throughout the seventeenth century is easy to spot:

1. An improvement in the accuracy of the shorelines, except for the errors described in 2 and 3, below.
2. Due to a Renaissance copy-and-paste error, the north-western-most islands are rotated ninety degrees counter-clockwise from their proper

orientation. This error was copied from one cartographer to the next, throughout the 17th C and occasionally even into the 18th C.

3. A more subtle defect is the under-representation of the western highlands of the Orkney Mainland.
4. Finally, the characteristic spelling, *Øy* (Norse for ‘island’) on a majority of the larger islands.

Blaeu, John (Dutch, 1596–1673) and Gordon, Robert (English, 1580–1661). “*Scotia regnum cum insulis adjacentibus / Robertus Gordonius a Straloch descripsit*” published 1654 (Blaeu’s *Atlas Maior of 1654*). Though published in 1654, the engraving for this map was prepared by Willem Blaeu before 1628 [J. Chesters, in “A History of Orkney Maps” indicates this date is from “Moir (1973), *The Early Maps of Scotland*. Volume 1. p. 43, The Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Edinburgh”] This map of Orkney appears in a large inset map, along with the Shetland Islands. Additionally, the southern Orkney Islands are seen at the top of the main sheet map of Northern Scotland. The map has very fine detail and legibility. The characteristics of Pont’s survey are evident.

Hondius, Hendrik (Dutch, 1597–1651). “*Scotae pars septentrionalis*” engraved 1636 (the print I have access to was published 1662). As opposed to Blaeu’s engraving, the Orkney Islands on Hondius’ map are in the same frame as the rest of Northern Scotland. Due to this, the scale is smaller, detail is reduced and fewer placenames are listed. As with Blaeu, the northern islands are misaligned and the island names end in *Øy*.

### Modern maps

For modern reference I used the mapping system of the Ordnance Survey. This institution began in the nineteenth century, and set out to carefully map *everything* in the British Isles. I appreciate their commitment.

Ordnance Survey. Get-a-map™ (<http://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/oswebsite/getamap/>) ©2007. This is my primary source for modern spellings. This web-based application allows users to scroll about modern Ordnance Survey maps, at varying scales. The maps are extremely detailed for terrestrial features. They indicate topographical information, roads, and the locations of some buildings and other spots of historical interest. The maps are, unfortunately, somewhat less useful for determining names of water features between the islands. Also, the Get-a-map™ interface itself is very small, making one feel as though they are reading a map through a keyhole.

### Placenames list

This list of placenames is generally organized first by “major” island, starting with the Orkney Mainland. Each major island heads its own section.

Following the entry for the main island are any islands, towns, parishes or other features in the area in alphabetical order.

### How to read each placename entry

The **modern name** of the place appears first, if I can determine it, based upon the placename on the Ordinance Survey maps or in some other source, which will be indicated under “Notes”, below. If the attribution is questionable, a “?” appears after the name. If not known at all, the entry appears as **unknown church**, **unknown town**, etc. This is followed by a description of where in the islands the place is found.

**16th C:** This is the placename as listed on maps by Mercator, Ortelius or Speed. Text in *italics* indicate the spelling as it appears on the period map. Labels in [brackets] indicate the map (or maps) on which the preceding spelling appears.

**17th C:** This is the placename as listed on maps by Blaeu or Hondius. Text in *italics* indicate the spelling as it appears on the period map. Labels in [brackets] indicate the map (or maps) on which the preceding spelling appears. The Southern Orkney Islands appear twice on Blaeu’s map, once in an inset map, and also at the top of the main Scotland map. If spellings differ in these two places, I indicate first the spelling in the inset, then the spelling on the main sheet.

**Notes:** Under this label I place etymological information about the placename, discuss my logic in determining the modern placename, and admit any concerns I have about my accuracy.

### Abbreviations

**betw.** between

**C** Central

**E** East or Eastern

**G** Gaelic

**m-d** modern-day

**N** North or Northern

**ON** Old Norse

**S** South or Southern

**W** West or Western

### The region of the Orkney Islands

**Orkney Islands** Island chain. North of Scottish Mainland. **16th C:** *ORCADES Insulæ The Yles of Orknay* [9], *ORCADES INSVLÆ the isles of Orknay* [11], *The Yles of Orknay* [14]. **17th C:** *ORCADES INSULÆ* and *Orcadum Insular um pars* [1], *ORCADES Insulæ The Yles*

of *Orknay* [7]. **Notes:** The name of the island chain is ancient with the spelling *Orkas* dated to 330 B.C., and refers to the Pictish tribe, also called *the Ores* [3, p. 267, s.n. Orkney]. *Orka-* might be a Norse genitive plural and *Orkahaugr* could be taken as the ‘howe of the Orks’ [8].

### Mainland Orkney and vicinity

**Mainland Orkney** Island. Considered the “center” of the Orkney Islands.

**16th C:** *Pomonia ye Mainland or S. Magnus yle* [9], *Mayuelande* [11], *Pomonia* [14]. **17th C:** *Pomonia Ins. hodie Mainland* and *Maynland* [1], *Pomonia* [7]. **Notes:** Johnstone lists three possible (though doubtful) origins for *Pomona*, a name that is rarely seen today [3, pp. 276–77, s.n. Pomona]. *S. Magnus yle* refers to Magnus Erlendsson, first Earl of Orkney, martyred c. 1115. On Thomasso Poracci’s map (1572): *Meilan*.

**Ayre, Bay of and Ayre, Loch of (St Mary’s)** Village. SE Mainland.

**16th C:** *Air* [9, 14]. **Notes:** It appears that there is no longer a village of Ayre. Since the time of these maps, the town has become known as *St Mary’s*, after the nearby church, which is also listed on maps by Mercator and Speed. Water features in the area are still known by the name *Ayre*. See also: *St Mary’s*.

**Bay of Kirkwall & Wide Firth** Waterway N of Kirkwall, Mainland.

**17th C:** *Kirckwald road* [11]. **Notes:** See *Kirkwall*, below. [11] refers to navigable channels as “roads”. The label on [11] map appears to serve to identify both the town and waterway.

**Birsay, Brough of** Tidal islet. Off the W coast of Mainland, connected

at low tide by Brough Sounds. **16th C:** *Birsa* [9], *Birza* [14]. **17th C:** *Byrsa* [1], *Bjrsra* [7]. **Notes:** Period maps draw Birsay as an islet with no indication of connection to the Mainland.

**Breckan?** Church and/or Village (Our Lady #1). NE Mainland. **16th**

**C:** *Brencks* [9], *Orlady* [11], *Our Lady* [14]. **Notes:** Based solely on the general location on pre-Pont maps and the unique annotation on Mercator’s map, I took a guess this might refer to modern-day Breckan. I am not, however, overly confident in that attribution.

**Bring Deeps** Channel between Mainland and Hoy. **16th C:** *S Margret*

*roade* [11].

**Clumlie? Cumbra?** Church. W Mainland (Sandwick area?). **16th C:** *S.*

*Columban* [9, 11, 14]. **Notes:** In [8, p. 15], Hugh Marwick associates St Columbia (Columban) with *Clumlie*, a place he describes as “near Sandwick”. The Ordinance Maps show Clumlie S of Sandwick, and Cumbra, W of Sandwick.

- Copinsay** Islet E of Mainland **16th C:** *Kobunsa* [9], *Kobunza* [11, 14], **17th C:** *Coupins Oy* [1, 7]. **Notes:** Kolbein's or Colvin's isle [3, p. 139, s.n. Copinshay], Thomaso Poracci's map (1572): *Cobonsay*.
- Eynhallow** Islet. Between W Mainland and Rousay (in Eynhallow Sound). **16th C:** *Enhallo* [9]. **17th C:** *Alhallow* [1]. **Notes:** From ON for 'holy isle' [3, p. 173, s.n. Enhallow]. Due to distortion of W Mainland on maps based upon Pont's survey, Eynhallow appears much closer to the open sea than on earlier (and modern) maps.
- Firth, Bay of (and Grimbister)** Town? Mainland, W of Kirkwall. **17th C:** *Fyrth* [1]. **Notes:** *Firth* is a variant of *fjord* [3, p. 180, s.n. Firth]. Grimbister is situated on the Bay of Firth, which corresponds with the location on Blaeu's map.
- Foubister** Village. E Mainland. **17th C:** *Fowbuster* [1]. **Notes:** *Bister* is one of many derivations of ON *bolstaðr*, 'a dwelling-place' [3, p. 42]. Nothing to add for *fou-*.
- Gairsay** Islet. Off the N coast of Mainland, in the Gairsay Sound. **16th C:** *Gersoy* [9, 11]. **17th C:** *Gres Oy* [1]. **Notes:** 'Garek's island' [3, p. 185]. Thomaso Poracci's map (1572): *Grisay*.
- Graemsay?** Islet. Off the SW coast of Mainland between Mainland and Burray, in the Clestrain Sound. **16th C:** *Grainza* [9, 11], *Grisay* [14]. **17th C:** *Carestonholm* and *Careston holm* [1] **Notes:** Blaeu's map appears to label modern-day Graemsay. It seems reasonable that this may have been an older name and gave its name to the Clestrain Sound.
- Kirkwall** Town. Located on the isthmus midway across the Mainland. The capitol of the Orkney Islands. **16th C:** *Kirkwall* [9], *Kirkwald* [11], *Kirkwal* [14]. **17th C:** *Kirkwale* and *Kirkwall* [1], *Kirkewale* [7]. **Notes:** From ON for 'church on the bay' [3, p. 230].
- Lamb Holm** Islet. Off the SE coast of Mainland between Mainland and Hoy. **16th C:** *Glownsholme* [9], *Glown shome* [14]. **17th C:** *Labholm* [1]. **Notes:** *Holme* is a borrowing of common ON word *holmr* 'an island' [3, p. 203, s.n. Holm].
- Mull Head or Mull of Deerness** Point at Extreme NE Mainland. **17th C:** *Mul of Deerness* [1]. **Notes:** *Mull* is from G. "brow of a rock, cape" [3, p. 259, s.n. Mull of Deerness or Moulhead]. Johnstone also guesses Deerness is from N. for 'door-like', describing a recess in the headland there [3, p. 154, s.n. Deerness].
- Papley** SW Mainland. **17th C:** *Papla* [1], *Papley* [7]. **Notes:** Could not find on Ordinance Maps, though Johnstone mentions it. 'Little island of the priest'? [3, p. 269, s.n.n. Papill, Papley].

- Rendall Town.** On the N coast of the Mainland, W of the Bay of Firth. **17th C:** *Rendal* [1]. **Notes:** From ON for ‘stream valley’ [3, p. 283].
- Saint Dotto’s Church** Church or Monastery. Near Kirkwall. Mercator places the church NE of Kirkwall, Ortelius NW. **16th C:** *S. Dotto* [9, 11]. **Notes:** Saint Dotto’s church is said to exist today, but I could not find it on maps. It was named for a 9th Century abbot of a monastery in the Orkney Islands.
- Saint Magnus Church** Church. In Birsay, W Mainland. **16th C:** *S. Magnus* [9, 14], *S. Magionis* [11]. **Notes:** Not to be confused with Saint Magnus’ Cathedral in Kirkwall. The ruins of Saint Magnus Church are situated near ruins of Earl’s Palace. Named for Magnus Erlendsson, Earl of Orkney, who ruled half of the islands, but was slain by his brother Haakon’s men [17].
- Sandside** Village. NE Mainland. **17th C:** *Sandset* [1], *Sanset* [7]. **Notes:** From similar names, it does seem that *sand* is cognate with the English word [3, p. 290].
- Scalpa Flow** Betw. Mainland, Hoy and S-Ronaldsay. **16th C:** *Scalpa road* [9], *Ye road of Scalpa* [11]. **Notes:** *Scalpa* comes from ON *skálpr*, ‘boat’ [3, p. 299, s.n. Scalpa, Scalpay].
- St Mary’s** . Town named after its church (Our Lady #2). SE Mainland. **16th C:** *Owr Lady* [9], *Our Lady* [14]. **Notes:** The town has since taken on the name of the church. See also: *Ayre, Bay of & Ayre, Loch of*.
- Weyland** Village. Originally NE of Kirkwall, now absorbed into the larger town. **17th C:** *Wiland* [1]. **Notes:** ‘Land by the road(way)’? [3, p. 323, s.n. Weydale].
- Unknown islet** W of Gairsay on Mercator’s map, betw. Mainland and Gairsay on Ortelius’ map. **16th C:** *Gersol* [9], *Gershhol* [11]. **Notes:** Grass Holm is near Gairsay, though not particularly near the island indicated on either Mercator’s or Ortelius’ maps.
- Unknown village** On Gairsay. **17th C:** *Lie* [7].
- Unknown village** S coast of Mainland. **16th C:** *Linknes* [9, 14]. **Notes:** Unless a major error was made, this can’t be Modern day Linksness, as that town is on Hoy, not the Mainland. Judging by map location alone, this appears to refer to modern-day Midland Ness.
- Unknown church** (Our Lady #3). W Mainland. **16th C:** *Owr Lady vel S. Maria* [9], *Orlady* [11], *Our Lady* [14]. **Notes:** This is not to be confused with the other two ‘Our Lady’ churches listed on the Mainland on early maps.

**Unknown church** Stromness area, SW Mainland. **16th C:** *S. Brandao* [9, 14], *S. Brando* [11]. **Notes:** Strictly judging by its location on the 16th-C maps, this church was near or in m-d Stromness.

**Unknown church** On Pre-Pont maps, this church is situated E of Kirkwall. **16th C:** *S. Niclas* [9], *S. Nicola* [11], *S. Nichalas* [14]. **Notes:** There are remains of a St Nicholas's Church in Orphir, but that is far from the point indicated on the 16th-C maps.

### Hoy and vicinity

**Hoy** Island. S Orkney Islands. **16th C:** *Hoy* [9, 11, 14]. **17th C:** *Hoy* [1, 7]. **Notes:** from ON for 'high isle' [3, p. 205], referring to the highlands in W Hoy. On Thomaso Poracci's map (1572): *Hoye*.

**Brabuster?** Village. Western coast of Hoy. **17th C:** *Braburgh* and *Braburg* [1], *Brabrug* [7].

**Brim** Village. S Hoy. **17th C:** *Brimms* and *Brim* [1]. **Notes:** From the ON word for 'surf' [3, p. 115].

**Bu** Village. N Hoy (Just northwest of town of Hoy). **17th C:** *Bow* [7]. **Notes:** Perhaps the ON word *bú* 'farm, farm stock, cattle' [3, p. 113, s.n. Bowhill]. Bu Hill overlooks the village.

**Calf of Flotta** Islet. Just off the N coast of Flotta. **16th C:** *Calf of Flatta* [9], *Calfa* [11]. **Notes:** For origin of *Flotta*, see Flotta (island) below. *Calf* is ON cognate with the English word. Hence, the small island is the 'calf' of the larger [3, p. 121, s.n. Calf].

**Cava?** Islet. On Mercator's map, located just W of Fara. **16th C:** *Raua* [9]. **Notes:** Connection with modern-day Cava is based strictly on comparing relative locations of islets on Mercator's maps and modern maps. I do not have a high degree of confidence in the connection.

**Fara** Islet. Off E Coast of Hoy. **16th C:** *Fara* [9], *Faro* [11]. **17th C:** *Far(a)* and *Fara* [1], *Fara* [7]. **Notes:** On Blaeu's inset map the word is not legible, and appears almost like *Farn*. It seems that the islet has been uninhabited since the 1930s.

**Flotta** Islet. Off E Coast of Hoy. **16th C:** *Flatta* [9, 11, 14]i. **17th C:** *Flotta* [1, 7]. **Notes:** From ON for 'fleet island' [3, p. 181]. On Thomaso Poracci's map (1572): *Flata*.

**Hoy** Town. N Hoy (island). **16th C:** *Hoy* [9, 11, 14]. **Notes:** Town is named after the island. See also: Hoy (island) above.

**Hoy Hills** W Hoy. **16th C:** *The Hilles of Hoy Orcas Droment* [9]. **Notes:** The Hoy Hills include Ward Hill, the highest point in the Orkney Islands.

- Ore Farm (and Ore Bay)** Village. NW Hoy. **17th C:** *Ore* [7]. **Notes:** Perhaps from ON for ‘grey’ [3, p. 267, s.nn. Orr, Ore Water].
- Rackwick** Village. SW Hoy. **17th C:** *Rackwyk* and *Rakwyck* [1]. **Notes:** From ON, *rack* ‘seaweed’, *wick* (or *vic*) ‘bay’ [3, p. 281].
- Rysa Little?** Islet. On Mercator’s map, it is between Hoy and Raua. **16th C:** *Danza* [9]. **Notes:** Connection with modern-day Rysa Little is based strictly on comparing relative locations of islets on Mercator’s maps and Ordinance Survey maps. I do not have a high degree of confidence in the connection.
- Switha** Islet. E of Hoy. **17th C:** *Southa* [1, 7]. **Notes:** Uninhabited (Wikipedia).
- Unknown church** S Hoy. **16th C:** *Owr Lady* [9], *Orlady* [11], *Our Lady* [14].
- Unknown village** SE Hoy. **17th C:** *Snelster* [1], *Saelster* [7]. **Notes:** While nearby to modern-day Saltness, I doubt any connection exists.
- Unknown church** N Hoy. **16th C:** *S. Peter* [9, 11, 14].
- Unknown village** S Hoy. **16th C:** *Ways* [9, 14], *Wase* [11].

### South Ronaldsay and vicinity

- South Ronaldsay** Island. S of E-Mainland. **16th C:** *Soutrowassa insula* [9], *Soutrouassa* [11], *Soutroassa Ile* [14]. **17th C:** *South Ranalds Oÿ* [1], *South Ranals Oÿ* [7]. **Notes:** ‘Island of Ronald or Rognvald’. Note that S- and N-Ronaldsay derive from different names [3, p. 286, s.nn. Ronalds(h)ay, N. and S.].
- Burray** Island between Mainland and S Ronaldsay. Today it is part of a bridge system connecting the two major islands. **16th C:** *Barra* [9, 14]. **17th C:** *Burra* [1, 7]. **Notes:** Johnstone [3, p. 118, s.n. Burra] describes an island in Shetland. ON for ‘castle firth or bay’, from *borg*, ‘a fort’. I can only guess that perhaps this Burray shares etymology with the other.
- Cara** W coast of S-Ronaldsay. **17th C:** *Cara* [1, 7]. [6] indicates that the surname *Cara* is dated from the 16th C and derives from the placename.
- Hunda** Islet. Off the W shore of Burray. **16th C:** *Hunder* [9]. **17th C:** *Hunda* [1].
- Saint Margaret’s Hope** Town. N S-Ronaldsay. **17th C:** *S Margarets hope* [1]. **Notes:** Per [16], St Margaret’s Hope is where the ship of Margaret, Maid of Norway, went aground in a storm. Margaret was sole heir to the Scottish crown and was on her way to marry Prince

Edward of England. Unfortunately, she passed away here at the age of eight before being able to continue her journey.

**Saint Mary's Church or The South Church** In Burwick, S S-Ronaldsay.

**16th C:** *Owr Lady* [9], *Orlady* [11], *Or. Lady* [14]. **Notes:** Per [5], locals refer to Saint Mary's as "The South Church" as opposed to Saint Peter's, "The North Church".

**Saint Peter's Church or The North Church** N S-Ronaldsay. **16th C:**

*S. Peter* [9, 11, 14]. **Notes:** Per [5], locals refer to Saint Peter's as "The North Church" as opposed to Saint Mary's, "The South Church".

**Swona** Islet. SW of S-Ronaldsay. **16th C:** *Sewunas* [9], *Sownas* [11],

*Sownas* [14]. **17th C:** *Souna* and *Souna* [1], *Souna* [7]. **Notes:** From ON for 'swineherd island' [3, p. 305]. Uninhabited.

### **Pentland Firth and vicinity**

**Pentland Firth** Channel separating the Orkney Islands from Caithness,

to the S. **16th C:** *Pinthlande* [9], *Pithland Fyrth* [11], *Pinthland firth* [14]. **17th C:** *Pentland Fyrth* [1], *Pichtland Fyrth* [7]. **Notes:** Not a firth (*fjord*) at all. From ON 'Picts' land', a rare reference to the earlier inhabitants of the islands [3, p. 43]. On Thomaso Poracci's map (1572): *Pentlenser*.

**Pentland Skerries** Chain of Islets. S of S-Ronaldsay. **16th C:** *Pinthland*

*Skerries* [9], *Petland Skjyrres* [11], *Pinthland Skerrys* [14]. **17th C:** *Pentland Skerryes* [11], *Pentland* [7]. **Notes:** See Pentland Firth. *Skerries* (sing. *skeir*) is a common Norse word for rocky inlets [3, p. 295, s.nn. Skeir, Skerries]. The Pentland Skerries are tiny, smaller than many other islets which are not listed on period maps, yet they appear on all the maps I have. This is likely because they are important as navigational landmarks.

**Island of Stroma** Island in the Pentland Firth. **16th C:** *Stroma* [9, 11,

14]. **Notes:** 'Island in the stream/current', referring to the swift current in the Pentland Firth [3, p. 304]. Administratively, Stroma is now part of Caithness, on the Scottish mainland [18].

**Unknown currents?** Jagged lines in the Pentland Firth seem to indicate

currents. **16th C:** *The Boyer*, *The Heppers & The Swell* [9], *The bojyer*, *The Heppers & The Swell* [11].

### **Rousay and vicinity**

**Rousay** Island. N of W-Mainland. **16th C:** *Rosa* [9, 11, 14]. **17th C:** *Roos*

*Oy* and *Rous Oy* [1], *Roous Oy* [7]. **Notes:** *Rousay* means 'Rolf's isle' [3, p. 287].

**Egilsay** Island. E of Rousay. **16th C:** *Egelsey* [9], *Eglesey* [11]. **17th C:** *Eglis Oy* [9, 7]. **Notes:** Johnstone says “Prob. not fr. G. *eaglais*, ‘church,’ but fr. a man Egil” [3, p. 171, s.n. Egilshay]. On the other hand, Hugh Marwick [8] states a case for the Celtic origin, due to the large church on the island and proximity to Kili Holm, which the author infers is from G *ceall* ‘cell’; a retreat for the priest to meditate in.

**Rousay Sound** Channel betw. Rousay and Egilsay. **16th C:** *Rosa roade* [11]. **Notes:** Takes its name from the island. Here ‘roade’ refers to a navigable channel.

**St Mary’s Kirk** Near Westness, S Rousay **16th C:** *Owr Lady* [9], *Orlady* [11], *Our Lady* [14]. **Notes:** “The church probably dates back to the 1600s, though is thought to be on the site of a medieval church. . . dating back to around 1300” [16]. [15] indicates parts of St Mary’s Kirk have been repaired.

**Wyre** Islet. SE of Rousay. **16th C:** *Wyre* [9], *Wj̄er* [11]. **17th C:** *Wyer* [1]. **Notes:** [15] explains that this is from ON *vigr* ‘spear’, thus ‘spear-head shaped’ island.

**Unknown** NW of Rousay? **16th C:** *The belibreke of Rosa* [11]. **Notes:** It is unclear to me what location on Ortelius’ map this label refers to. A waterway or bay?

**Unknown church** W Rousay. **16th C:** *S. Peter* [9, 11], *S Peter* [14].

**Unknown village** W Rousay. **17th C:** *Burgh* [1], *Brug* [7]. **Notes:** Perhaps Westness area?

**Unknown village** N Rousay. **17th C:** *Stamsgord* [1]. **Notes:** Perhaps Wasbister area? Or Stennisgorn?

### Shapinsay and vicinity

**Shapinsay** Island. N of Mainland. **16th C:** *Schapun* [9], *Shalpasa* [11], *Schapun* [14]. **17th C:** *Siapins Oy* [1], *Siapins Oy* [7]. **Notes:** ‘Hjalpand’s isle’ [3, p. 293].

**Lady Kirk** SE Shapinsay. **16th C:** *Owr Lady* [9], *Orladij* [11]. **Notes:** Mentioned in [15], possibly from ca 1560? Now in ruins.

**Sandgarth, Bay of?** Town? S Shapinsay. **17th C:** *Sands* [1, 7]. **Notes:** Connection with modern-day Bay of Sandgarth is questionable.

**Unknown** N Shapinsay? **17th C:** *The Rowlings* [1]. **Notes:** The label appears just N of Shapinsay. It is not clear to me what location on Blaeu’s map this label refers to.

**Unknown church** SW Shapinsay. **16th C:** *S. Peter* [9, 11, 14]. **Notes:** Balfour Castle now occupies this area, though its construction began in 1782.

### Stronsay and vicinity

**Stronsay** Island. N Orkney Islands. (NE of Mainland) **16th C:** *Stronza* [9, 11]. **17th C:** *Stronsa* [1], *Stream's Oy* [7]. **Notes:** Johnstone indicates uncertainty about the origin of the name. Might be from ON for 'star-shaped island', or perhaps of Gaelic origin [3, p. 304].

**Auskerry** Islet. S of Stronsay. **16th C:** *Ouis Kelle* and *Ouis Kell Kyrles* [9], *Ouiskelle* and *Owijskyll Kyrles* [11], *Ouiskelle* and *Ouiskelle Kyrles* [14]. **17th C:** *Oulkerrie* [1], *Ouskerrie* [7]. **Notes:** From ON for 'eastern rock' [3, p. 295, s.nn. Skeir, Skerries]. The earlier maps invariably show a group of islets, *Ouis Kell Kyrles* (e.g.), where Auskerry appears on modern maps, plus a larger islet, *Ouiskelle* (e.g.) further NE, where nothing appears on m-d maps.

**Holland, Bay of** Bay, S Stronsay. **16th C:** *Holandes Wyk* [9, 11]. **Notes:** From ON 'high land bay' [3, p. 203, s.n. Holland; p. 324, s.n. Wick].

**Holm of Huip?** Islet. N. of Stronsay. **16th C:** *Sigleholm* [9], *Sigleholme* [11]. **17th C:** *Sigle holm* [1]. **Notes:** Connection to m-d Holm of Huip is based on location on maps relative to other islands.

**Linga Holm** Islet W of Stronsay in Linga Sound. **16th C:** *Lingholm* [9, 14], *Ling holme* [14]. **17th C:** *Linga* [1]. **Notes:** From ON for 'heather isle' [3, p. 239, s.n. Linga; p. 203, s.n. Holm].

**Little Linga** Islet. NW of Stronsay. **16th C:** *Lingalytel* [9], *Lingalittel* [11]. **Notes:** Smaller islet than Linga Holm, above.

**Papa Stronsay** Islet. NE of Stronsay. **16th C:** *Papa* [11]. **17th C:** *Papa* [1]. **Notes:** *Papa* is ON for 'priest' [3, p. 269, s.n. Papa]. Locals call the island simply *Papey* (pronounced \pop-eye\), but for clarity, the map name is *Papa Stronsay* (pronounced \papa\) [8].

**St Magnus Priory?** Church. N Stronsay. **16th C:** *S. Magnus* [9], *Magnus* [14]. **Notes:** There is a modern St Magnus' Priory on Stronsay, opposite Papa Stronsay. Due to the very general coastline of Stronsay on Mercator's and Speed's maps, which do not even show Papa Stronsay as a separate island, it is impossible to be certain they are the same place.

**Unknown church** Central Stronsay. **16th C:** *S. Niclas* [9], *Niclas* [14]. **17th C:** *Nicolas K.* [1] **Notes:** Blaeu rarely labels church locations, so this one must have been important.

**Unknown church** E Stronsay. **16th C:** *Soline* [9], *S. Oline* [11], *S. Olive* [14].

**Unknown islet** NE of Stronsay. **16th C:** *Lesha* [9, 14]. **Notes:** Nothing appears in the area indicated by Mercator and Speed.

### Eday and vicinity

**Eday** Island. N Orkney Islands, N of Central Mainland. **16th C:** *Etha* [9, 11, 14]. **17th C:** *Heth Øy* or *Eda* [1], *Heth Øy* [7]. **Notes:** From ON for ‘isthmus isle’ [3, p. 169]. On Thomasso Poracci’s map (1572): *Etay*.

**Calf Eday** Islet. NE of Eday. **16th C:** *Calf Etha* [9, 14], *Calfa* [11]. **17th C:** *Calf of Eda* [1], *Calf* [7]. **Notes:** This islet is the ‘calf’ of the larger [3, p. 121, s.n. Calf].

**Calf Sound** Channel separating Eday from Calf Eday. **16th C:** *The Sounde of Calfe* [9, 14], *The Sound of Calfa* [11]. **Notes:** The sound takes its name from the nearby islet.

**Faray** Island NW of Eday. **16th C:** *Fara* [9], *Faro* [11]. **17th C:** *Fara* [1, 7]. **Notes:** Apparently uninhabited after the 1930s.

**Green Holms?** Islets S of Eday. **17th C:** *Stroem holms* [1]. **Notes:** M-d Green Holms have approximately the correct size, shape and location to match Blaeu’s map.

**Greentoft** Village. E Eday. **17th C:** *Green tofts* [1], *Green Tostes?* [7]. **Notes:** Illegible on Hondius’ map.

**Lady Kirk** Skiall E Eday. **16th C:** *Owr Lady* [9], *Orlady* [11], *O Lady* [14]. **Notes:** [12] describes Lady Kirk as an eighteenth century structure but notes archeological evidence of older use.

**Red Holm** Islet NW of Eday. **16th C:** *Redholme* [9, 11]. **17th C:** *Red Holm* [1]. **Notes:** *holmr* is ON ‘islet’ [3, p. 203, s.n. Holm]. Perhaps ‘red’ is the coloration?

**Rusk Holm** Islet. W of Faray. **17th C:** *Roost holm* [1].

**Saint Magnus Church** On Stronsay. **16th C:** *S. Magnus* [9], *Magnus* [14]. **Notes:** There is a modern St Magnus Priory on Stronsay, but I do not have a map of its location or any history of it.

**Veness?** Point at SE Eday. **17th C:** *Spur ness* [1]. **Notes:** While *Spur ness* appears at the N point of Eday on Blaeu’s map, this is due to the incorrect orientation of the northern Orkney Islands. I chose Veness because it is the point “counterclockwise” from Greentoft.

### Sanday and vicinity

**Sanday** Island. N Orkney Islands, NE of Stronsay. **16th C:** *Sandes* [9, 11, 14]. **17th C:** *Sand Oÿ* [1, 7]. **Notes:** From ON and Danish, ‘sandy isle’ [3, p. 290, s.n. Sandaig]. On Thomaso Poracci’s map (1572): *Sanday*.

**Crosskirk?** Church/town S Sanday. **16th C:** *Croskirk* [9, 14], *Croskrick* [11]. **Notes:** Could not find on Ordinance maps, but found a 19th-C. reference to Crosskirk on Sanday. The intuitive derivation of ‘cross church’ seems supported by Johnstone [3, p. 146, s.n. Cross; p. 227, s.n. Kirkaby].

**Fea Hill** Village? W. Sanday. **17th C:** *Fia* [1]. **Notes:** G. [6, p. 24, s.n. Fea] gives a derivation for the word; “fm. ON ‘fia’, meaning ‘enemy’ or ‘fiend’...”

**Holm of Elsness and/or Els Ness** Islet S. of Sanday. **16th C:** *Halouys* [9]. **17th C:** *Elnes holm* [1].

**Lady** Village (and church) C Sanday. **16th C:** *Owr Lady* [9], *Orladÿ* [11], *Our Lady* [14]. **17th C:** *S. Mary* [1], *S. Marie* [7]. **Notes:** 18th-C. “Lady Kirk” now stands in ruins near the village of “Lady” and may have been built over earlier church site. An unusual way for a town to take on the name of its church, but the explanation seems to fit.

**Saint Colm’s Church** Church. In Burness, NW Sanday. **17th C:** *S. Colms k.* [1], *S. Kolmsk* [7]. **Notes:** The church no longer remains. On Hondius, *Kolms k.* is constricted into what appears to be a single word.

**Tressness, Bay of Bay**, S Sanday. **16th C:** *Trasohenes hauen* [11].

**Unknown church?** E Sanday. **16th C:** *S. Augustin* [9, 11], *S Augustin* [14].

**Unknown church** W Sanday. **16th C:** *S. Peter* [9, 11], *S Peter* [14].

### Westray and vicinity

**Westray** Island. Extreme NW Orkney Islands. **16th C:** *Pappa Westra* [9, 14], *Pappawestre* [11]. **17th C:** *Wester Oÿ* [1, 7], also *Westra* [7]. **Notes:** From ON for ‘western isle’ [3, p. 323, s.n. Westray and Papa Westray]. On Thomaso Poracci’s map (1572): *Vastray*.

**Holm of Papa** Islet E of Papa Westray. **16th C:** *The Skyre of Pappa Westra* [9], *The Skjre of Pappawe stra* [11]. **17th C:** *Holm of Papa* [1]. **Notes:** Perhaps *skyre* is from *skeir*, ‘a rock’. Thus ‘the rock off of Papa Westray’? (Based upon the etymology for *Skyeburn* [3, p. 297].)

**Papa (Westray)** Island NE of Westray. **16th C:** *Pappa* [9, 14], *Papa* [11]. **17th C:** *Papa* [1, 7]. **Notes:** ON for ‘priest’s isle (near western isle)’ [3, p. 323, s.nn. Westray, Papa Westray]. Locals call the island simply *Papey* (pronounced as \pop-eye\), but for clarity, the map name is *Papa Westray* (pronounced \papa\) [8].

### North Ronaldsay and vicinity

**North Ronaldsay** Island. Extreme NE Orkney Islands. **16th C:** *North Ronche* [9], *Nort Ronhe* and *Ronaldsa* [11]. **17th C:** *North Ranalds Oy* [1], *North Ranals Oy* [7]. **Notes:** ‘Ringan’s island’ [3, p. 286, s.n. Ronalds(h)ay N. and S.]. N- and S- Ronaldsay derive from different personal names. Ortelius’ map lists both *Nort Ronhe*, with a coastline matching that of N-Ronaldsay and *Ronaldsa* which resembles ‘Fair Isle’, beyond N-Ronaldsay to NE.

**Dennis Ness and Dennis Head** NE N-Ronaldsay. **17th C:** *Dunnas Ness* [1]. **Notes:** Ness of ‘din’, refers to the sound of the surf [3, p. 154]. Johnstone’s earliest dated spelling is from Blaeu.

**Seal Skerry** Islet N of N-Ronaldsay. **17th C:** *Selchs-Skery* [1]. **Notes:** Perhaps ‘seal islet’? (Based upon [3, p. 293, s.nn. Sellay, Shellay or Shilley] and intuition.)

**Twinyess** Point at W N-Ronaldsay. **17th C:** *Tumgnes* [1].

**Unknown church** On N Ronaldsay. **17th C:** *Sola kirk* [7].

### Special thanks

Thanks to my wife, Nicole and son Jordan, who supported my obsession with this project (or, at least, tolerated it). Thanks also to Baroness Angelina for her efforts proofreading this document.

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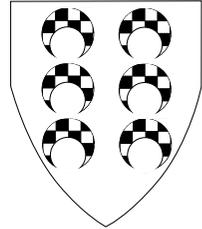
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# Heraldic titles: an overview

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Heraldic titles are one of the important, but often misunderstood, signs of heraldic rank and position. This article will explore the patterns of formation of heraldic titles using over 400 period heraldic titles from various parts of Europe.

## A brief history of heraldic titles

While heralds seem to have appeared in the 12th century, the first heraldic titles are somewhat later. The earliest indication of a titled herald is in England in 1276, when a *Petrus rex hyraudorum citra aquam de Trente ex parte boriali* ‘king of the heralds beyond the River Trent in the North’ is mentioned. By after 1300, there are the first mentions of titles such as the ones we find today in England (*Claroncell rex heraldus armorum*, *Walter le Rey Marchis*). By 1400, many titles have been created in France, what is today Spain, Germany, the Low Countries, England, Scotland, and the kingdoms of Scandinavia. While many of these heralds directly serve kings, many heralds serve private individuals, usually limited either to nobles or to nobles and knights. Indeed, some titles that today are used by the College of Arms of England and Scotland originated as private titles. While freelance heralds certainly existed during this time, they seem not to have had or used titles.

The creation of titles continued across the 15th century, but slowed to a crawl in the 16th century, in part reflecting the shift from private heralds to a monopoly of heralds by the state. Many of the titles discussed here were in use only briefly, sometimes only being mentioned once. Yet, whether in use for hundreds of years or for a brief time only, the patterns for creating heraldic titles remained the same.

Heraldic titles are associated with three ranks (and a handful of minor designations that have passed out of use). The ranks are: pursuivant, herald, and king of arms; while herald is used as a general term for specialists in heraldry, it also is the middle rank in this system. While some titles were used for all three ranks, certain patterns of naming were found in only one of these three ranks. In general terms, a pursuivant is an “apprentice”

herald, or one in a subordinate position to a herald. Therefore, the lowest rank in the Colleges of Arms of the various medieval kingdoms consists of pursuivants, greater nobles generally had only one herald with subordinate pursuivants, and some lesser nobles had only pursuivants. A herald is the middle rank in the Colleges of Arms, while the main specialist in heraldry working for greater nobles was known as a herald. Kings of arms were the chief heralds of kingdoms and their immediate subordinates; each was generally responsible for heraldic services (for which read “collecting fees”) in a part of the kingdom.

The link between title and rank is not entirely fixed. The majority of positions were of fixed rank, with individuals changing title as they change rank, so that Gilbert Dethick was appointed Hampnesh Pursuivant Extraordinary in 1535, then Rouge Croix Pursuivant in 1540, then Richmond Herald in the same year; in 1547, he was appointed Norroy King of Arms, and Garter in 1550. However, in other cases, the rank of titles was changed: Gloucester and Richmond both started as heralds, were promoted to king of arms, and then later demoted. This promotion happened for private heralds as well; when Thomas Grey was created Marquess of Dorset in 1475, his herald was promoted from Groby Pursuivant to Groby Herald. However, most heraldic titles do not change in rank over time.

In the English College of Arms at least, pursuivants, heralds, and kings of arms are divided into two sorts of positions. Fixed positions, which are always filled, are called “ordinary” positions, while positions that are created for specific people or for a certain period of time are called “extraordinary” positions. This term is used after the term pursuivant or herald. However, these terms were not used until the College of Arms and its membership was formalized. As far as I know, this distinction was not used anywhere other than England.

## **The heraldic titles and their sources**

Of the 418 titles discussed here, over 40% are English; there are several reasons for this. The first is simply that English language sources are more readily available to an American researcher. The second is the history of heraldry and heralds in the United Kingdom. The English College of Arms is, together with the Lyon Court, the only heraldic system that has continued from the Middle Ages to the present day without a break. Therefore, more materials were preserved; in addition, the scholarship by members of the College of Arms (especially Anthony Wagner) has made many rare sources readily available. Nonetheless, scholarship in other countries exists, and substantial numbers of titles from other countries have been identified: 172 English titles, 116 French titles, 53 Iberian titles (including Portugal, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and other Hapsburg possessions that would re-

FIGURE 1. Some medieval forms of the heraldic ranks in various languages

Language	King of Arms	Herald	Pursuivant
Middle English	king(e) of armes, kyng(e) of armes	heraud, herault, herald, harold	pursevaunt, porce- vaunt, pursuivant, pursefaunt
French	roy d'armes	herault hiraut, her- aut	po(u)rsivant, pour- sivans
Spanish	rey de armas	faraute, heraute	persevant, pers- vanta
German	Wappenkonig	herold, heraut	persevant
Latin	rex armorum	heraldus, heraldius, har- aldus, herodius	prosecutor (armo- rum) (England), signifer (Scots), also use vernacular form

main part of Spain until after 1600), 33 Scottish titles, 43 titles from the Low Countries and Germany, and 5 titles from Scandanavia.

One interesting finding is that I have found no native Italian titles. Heraldic titles are found in the northeastern region of Savoy (which included parts of France and Italy) and in the southern area of Naples and Sicily (which was dominated by French and Spanish overlords through the Middle Ages). None are found, however, in places like Florence, Venice, and the Papal States. This is presumably because at the time of the main creation of heraldic titles, in the 14th and 15th centuries, these areas were controlled by oligarchies or relatively weak rulers. As stronger monarchies arose in the 15th and 16th centuries, heralds became important, but they mostly seem not to have been given titles. Instead, they are described “the herald” of some person or entity.

While most heraldic titles in the SCA are based on charges, that’s not the most usual pattern for heraldic titles. Instead, the majority of heraldic titles are created from locations: some derived from noble titles, while others are derived from possessions (regions or cities) of the lord that the herald serves. However, this pattern is mostly found for heralds and kings of arms, while pursuivants are more likely to have titles based on charges and mottos. This pattern is even described in period (Spain; translation mine):

To the pursuivants one should give the name of a *devisa* [a badge with a motto],... and when the pursuivant is made a herald, he ought to be given the name of a city or province,... and when a herald is made a king of arms, he should be given the name of the province or kingdom [3].

These titles fall into three major and a few minor categories. The major

FIGURE 2. The heraldic titles by location and type

	English	Scots	French	Iberian	Other	Total	%
Place names	95	28	67	40	30	260	62.2%
Mottos	23	2	24	7	4	61	14.6%
Charges	29	2	2	2	1	36	8.6%
Unclear	12	1	12	3	4	32	7.7%
Order names	1	0	7	1	0	9	2.2%
Surnames	9	0	2	0	0	11	2.6%
Other	3	0	2	0	4	9	2.2%
Total	172	33	116	53	43	418	

categories match the descriptions above: place names account for over 62% of titles, with mottos and charge names (what de Torres describes as *devisas*), accounting for 23% of the titles (14.6% and 8.6% respectively). Of the remaining 15%, the majority were of certain origin. Nine (2%) were derived from order names, eleven (3%) from surnames (that were not also the names of locations), two (both English) from terms for regalia, two (both German) from terms of address, and two (both French) from plant names.

### Heraldic titles derived from locations

Locative heraldic titles have several independent origins. Many are derived from titles of nobility. Heralds who work for nobles rather than the crown often follow this pattern: *Huntingdon* Herald serves the Earl of Huntingdon while the *Bar* Herald serves the Duke of Bar. Royal titles, especially royal duchies, are an important source of herald's titles in England and Scotland: examples include *Albany* Herald in Scotland and *Lancaster* Herald in England. French titles include *Berry* (*Berri*) Herald, *Burgundy* (*Bourgogne*) Herald, and *Foix* Herald. In Spain, the names of kingdoms, including kingdoms that had long since ceased to exist, are used as heraldic titles: *Navarra*, *Castilla*, and *Aragon* are all titles for Kings of Arms, while *Asturias* is a herald's title. German and Dutch titles include both regions and cities: *Brandenburg* Herald, *Luxembourg* Herald, *Preußen* King of Arms, and *Beyren* Herald.

However, other heraldic titles are derived from locations that are not associated with noble titles. These include the names of both cities and regions. In England, such titles include *Dublin* Herald, *Agincourt* Herald, and *Bordeaux* Herald. In France, titles such as *Languedoc* Herald and *Saintonge* Herald follow this pattern. In Spain, *Pamplona* Herald, *Toledo* Herald, and *Jerusalem* Herald appear, while in Portugal, titles like *Ceuta* Herald, *Lisboa* Herald, and *Algarve* Herald are found. One must remember that medieval overlords often controlled areas that are not in the equivalent modern countries: thus *Bethune*, in northern France, is used as a Spanish title, because it

was a Hapsburg possession. However, some titles are clearly not real claims: Portugal has a *Constantinople* Herald, while a German herald was known as *Jerusalem*.

Finally, a group of titles are derived from surnames, most of which are locative in nature; this is only clearly found in England, where knights who had no noble domains from which to derive a surname were allowed pursuivants. Examples taken from surnames include *Claveley* Herald, *Chandos* Herald, and *Mowbray* Herald. There are a few heraldic titles derived from non-locative surnames in England; examples include *Talbot* Herald, *Bar-dolph* Herald, and *Fitzwalter* Pursuivant. I know of no examples derived from non-locative surnames from other countries, which may simply reflect patterns for the formation of noble family names, which generally are derived from the lands over which the family ruled.

Locative titles are, as stated above, over 60% of heraldic titles identified. They are slightly less common in England and France (where they account for around 55% of titles), and are far more common in Scotland, where 85% of titles follow this pattern. In Iberia, all Portuguese titles follow this pattern, while somewhat under 70% of Spanish titles follow this pattern. This pattern is rather underutilized in the Society.

### **Heraldic titles derived from mottos/desirable traits**

The second origin of heraldic titles is from descriptive terms and phrases: loyal, diligent, tell the truth. These seem to have two distinct origins: some are taken from the mottos of the lords for whom the herald worked, while others seem to be generic “desirable characteristics”. Examples that are clearly derived from mottoes include *Ich Dien* Pursuivant, *Il Faut Faire* Pursuivant, and the French *Montjoy* King of Arms. Examples that do not seem to have been taken from mottos include *Desirous* Pursuivant, *Secret* Pursuivant, and the French *Dis-le-Vrai* Pursuivant. In England and France, there are many examples of this pattern, both as single words and as phrases. There are two examples from Scotland (*Diligens* and *Endure*), and half a dozen examples from 15th century Spain, such as *Paine por joie* and *Veritat*, both pursuivants, and *Avanguardia*, a herald. The Dutch *Leal* Pursuivant and German *Zyt vor zyt* Herald demonstrate its use elsewhere. This type of title is mainly used for pursuivants, though there are continental examples of them for all levels. They are most common in France, where 20% of titles take this form, and least common in Scots, where only 6% of titles take this form. In the remaining areas, this pattern accounts for 9–13% of titles.

### **Heraldic titles derived from heraldic charges**

The next most common pattern for heraldic titles is charges. While there are examples of this in most countries (though not to date in the Low Countries), this pattern is most frequently found in the titles of English

pursuivants. In England, this pattern is more common than motto names. The majority of examples are single words: *Falcon Pursuivant/Herald/King of Arms*, *Unicorn Herald*, *Fuzil Pursuivant*, and *Frechas* (arrows) Pursuivant. English examples also combine a charge with a color, though the color is the normal word (usually in French) rather than the heraldic tincture: *Blanch Lyon Pursuivant*, *Rouge Croix Pursuivant*, *Noir Taureau Pursuivant*. Sometimes the tincture comes second: *Leon d'Or Pursuivant*, *Rose Blanche Pursuivant* and *Eagle Vert Pursuivant* (note that vert is the French word for green). There are no two word examples from outside England. While this patterns is relatively common in England, accounting for 16.8% of titles, they are uncommon elsewhere: 6% in Scotland, 4% in Iberia, and 2% each in France and Germany.

### **Heraldic titles derived from order names**

The names of important orders came into use as the titles of English and French Kings of Arms relatively early: *Garter King of Arms* (England), *Ermine King of Arms* (Brittany), *Toison d'Or King of Arms* (Burgundy). Later, the Spanish pursuivant's title *Banda*, also presumably derived from the order name, came into use. However, this was never a common pattern. Other titles were related to orders without being derived from order names: the English *Bluemantle* and *Collar Pursuivants* were based on order regalia, and the German *Eisvogel* (kingfisher) Herald comes from the badge of the Bohemian Company of the Towel.

### **Other patterns**

There remain titles that do not fit neatly into any of these categories. Some are simply unclear in origin, often because we know little about who the herald was or whom they served. However, two English heraldic titles are based on items of regalia: *Bluemantle Pursuivant* and *Collar Pursuivant*. Two French titles seem to be derived from the names of plants (*Dragance* 'dragonwort' and *Romarin* 'rosemary'). Two odd early titles are derived from locations but are not locations themselves: the English *Norroy* 'king of the northmen' and the German *Romreich* 'Roman realm' (for the Holy Roman Empire).

### **Title patterns by rank and location**

The number of individuals with each rank varies somewhat by country; overall, almost half (47%) of the identified titles belong to pursuivants, 42% to heralds, and just under 11% to kings of arms. However, there are differences between regions. The several states found in the Iberian peninsula, the Low Countries, and Germany lead to a relatively greater number of kings of arms (over 20% of Iberian titles are kings of arms). The English system has many titles that appear with multiple ranks over time,

giving the total by rank higher than the number of titles; the French has one example of the same. It's difficult to tell from relatively limited data whether titles in the other kingdoms similarly changed rank.

By rank	English	Scots	French	Iberian	Other	Totals
<b>King of Arms</b>	15	1	11	12	7	46
<b>Herald</b>	62	13	54	25	26	180
<b>Pursuivant</b>	107	19	50	16	9	201
<b>Totals</b>	184	33	115	53	42	427

**Kings of Arms** have interestingly diverse titles; this is presumably because many of their titles were created in the early days, before the standards for the creation of heraldic titles were clearly established. The English system makes this variability clear: *Garter* is derived from an order name, *Clarenceux* from a title (Clarence), and *Norroy* is an oddity, derived from a word meaning “northman” combined with (or just affected by) the French *roy* which also led to the surname Norreys. Other period English Kings of Arms (*Agincourt*, *Anjou*, *Aquitaine*, *Gloucester*, *Guyene*, *Ireland*, *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, *March*, *Normandy*, *Richmond*, and *Ulster*) seem to have been derived from place names (mostly royal titles). The only exception is *Falcon*, which is derived from the charge in a badge, and seems to have originated as a pursuivant's title. The Scottish *Lyon* is derived from a charge as well.

French Kings of Arms are also diverse. The title for the principal king of arms is derived from the royal motto or warcry, *Montjoy*. Other kings of arms are named after orders, such as *Toison d'Or* or *Ermine*, while others are named after regions, such as *Berry* or *Champagne*. It is worth noting that, unlike England, France was not well unified in the Middle Ages. Many of these Kings of Arms, then, originated in the service of the Dukes who functioned as independent monarchs (in Brittany, Burgundy, etc.) rather than functioning as subordinate kings of arms in a unified France.

Spanish Kings of Arms are named after the kingdoms in which they were the chief heraldic officer; examples include *Castilla*, *Aragon*, and *Navarra*. The same is true of Portugal, where *Portugal* is the main king of arms, and of Scandinavian countries. Dutch king of arms titles are locative, including *Brabant* and *Hainault*, though the logic of labeling individuals as kings of arms instead of heralds is unclear to me here. The German king of arms titles are also locative in origin; some are straightforward locatives, such as *Preußen* (Prussia), while the most famous, *Romreich* (essentially “Roman realm”) is more complex.

**Heralds** have much more uniform titles, with the vast majority of titles derived from locations, whether titles, cities, or surnames that are locative in nature. In England, over 90% of heralds (by rank) have titles derived from locations: titles (mostly noble) account for half, while other locations

account for the remainders. In Scotland, all herald's titles are derived from royal duchies, castles owned by the Crown, and similar locations.

In France, heralds are named after both regions (*Picardy, Languedoc*) and cities (*Toulouse, Orleans*). However, there seems to be a preference for regions. Whether these titles based on regions originate from heralds serving the nobles who ruled over these areas or not is not known at this time, but it seems likely.

In the Iberian peninsula, herald's titles are largely derived from cities (*Granada, Trastamara, Lisboa, Constantinople*), though there are examples of larger regions as well (*Cataluña, Peñafiel, Asturias*). Some, such as the aforementioned *Peñafiel*, are derived from royal titles (it was a royal duchy in Aragon), while others are simply locations within the kingdom. There are some fifteenth century herald's titles in Spain that appear to originate as mottos/desirable traits: *Conquista* (conquest) and *Avanguardia* (vanguard). It's hard to say a great deal about German titles by rank, as some authors use herald for both heralds and pursuivants. Thus, my classifications may have errors. However, locative titles dominate, though all sorts are found.

The pattern of **Pursuivants'** titles seems to depend on the origin of the pursuivant, at least in England. Those who serve nobles, rather than the king, tend to have locative titles, derived either from the primary title of a lesser noble (who would only rate a pursuivant) or from the lesser titles of a greater noble (who would normally have both a herald and subordinate pursuivants). Those who served the king tended to have titles derived from charges and mottos/desirable traits. There are counterexamples: *Il Faut Fair* was the title of John Falstaff's personal pursuivant.

In Scotland, royal pursuivants tend to have locative titles (mostly derived from royal possessions, such as *Carrick, Dingwall, and Kintyre*), though there is one title derived from a charge (*Unicorn*). Most private pursuivants' titles (*Slains, Finlaggin, Garioch*) are derived from locations, but one, *Endure* Pursuivant, is surely a motto/desirable trait.

French pursuivants' titles are similarly mixed, with many derived from place names, but also a substantial number derived from mottos/desirable traits: *Joli-Couer* (happy heart), *Loyauté* (loyalty), *Doulce Pensée* (sweet thoughts), and *Dis-le-Vrai* (speak the truth). One interesting thing is the substantial number of these derived from phrases rather than single words.

Iberian pursuivant's titles are a mixed bag. Some follow the locative pattern, referring to smaller and less significant locations than the titles of heralds and kings of arms (*Cintra, Fonterrabia, Malinas*). Others follow the motto/desirable trait pattern: *Desiros* (desirous), *Veritat* (truthfulness), *Paine por joie* (pain for joy). One (*Banda*) even follows the order name pattern. There are relatively few pursuivants' titles in Iberia compared to other ranks; it's not clear if this represents a difference in structure or is

simply an artifact of the data available.

We still know little about heraldic titles in Germany and the Low Countries. The few titles we have are mostly locative in nature: *Romreich*, *Luxembourg*, *Gelre*, *Beyren*. However, there are examples of titles derived from mottos, charges, and titles or terms of address (*Kayser* and *Burggraf*). I have identified five Scandanavian titles: all I have been able to locate are locative and are derived from the names of large regions. However, this sample is not large enough to draw any conclusions.

This study, then, offers the tools necessary to construct heraldic titles appropriate for a variety of places around Europe. Below is a complete list of the heraldic titles I was able to identify in their standardized forms. Most of these are suitable in spelling for at least the latter part of our period.

## The list of titles by origin and country

### Locative: English titles

Agincourt King of Arms	Clarence Herald
Alançon Herald	Clarenceux King of Arms
Anjou King of Arms	Clermont Pursuivant
Aquitaine King of Arms	Conde Pursuivant
Athlone Herald	Conke Pursuivant
Barnes Pursuivant	Cornwall Herald
Beaumont Herald	Darnaway Pursuivant
Bedford Herald	Derby Herald
Bellesme Pursuivant	Derval Herald
Berwick Pursuivant	Dorset Herald
Beul Pursuivant	Douglas Pursuivant
Blanquefort Pursuivant	Dublin Herald or Pursuivant
Bordeaux Herald	Ettrick Pursuivant
Boulogne Pursuivant	Exeter Herald
Broke Pursuivant	Gloucester King of Arms
Brunswick herald	Groby Herald or Pursuivant
Buckingham Herald	Harington Pursuivant
Bute Pursuivant	Hastings Pursuivant
Calais Pursuivant	Hereford Herald
Calveley Herald	Ireland Herald or King of Arms or Pursuivant
Cambridge Herald	Kildare Pursuivant
Candalle Herald	Lancaster Herald
Carlisle Herald	Leicester Herald or King of Arms
Chandos Herald or King of Arms	Lindsay Pursuivant
Chateaubleu Pursuivant	Maine Herald
Chester Herald	

Marenceux Pursuivant  
 Marleon de Aye Pursuivant  
 Monceux Pursuivant  
 Montagu Herald  
 Montorgueil Herald  
 Montrose Pursuivant  
 Mortain Herald  
 Mowbray Herald  
 Nazers Herald  
 Newhaven Pursuivant  
 Nogent Pursuivant  
 Norfolk Herald  
 Normandy King of Arms  
 Northampton Herald  
 Northumberland Herald  
 Nottingham Herald  
 Nucells Pursuivant  
 Pembroke Herald  
 Percy Herald  
 Portsmouth Pursuivant  
 Richmond Herald  
 Risebank Pursuivant

Rivers Herald  
 Rutland Herald  
 Salisbury Herald  
 Scales Pursuivant  
 Serreshall Pursuivant  
 Shrewsbury Herald or Pursuivant  
 Somerset Herald  
 Stafford Herald  
 Suffolk Herald  
 Surrey Herald  
 Thury Pursuivant  
 Torrington Pursuivant  
 Ulster King of Arms  
 Villebon Pursuivant  
 Wales Herald  
 Wallingford Pursuivant  
 Wark Pursuivant  
 Warwick Herald  
 Wexford Pursuivant  
 Windsor Herald  
 Worcester Herald  
 York Herald

**Locative: French titles**

Alsace Herald  
 Angeleme Herald  
 Anjou Herald  
 Artois Herald  
 Auvergne Herald  
 Bar Pursuivant  
 Béarn Herald  
 Beaumont Pursuivant  
 Beauvais Pursuivant  
 Berry King of Arms  
 Bethisy Pursuivant  
 Bourbon Herald  
 Bourbonnais Herald  
 Brittany Herald  
 Brosses Herald  
 Broussel Herald  
 Bruyere Pursuivant

Burgundy Herald  
 Calabre Herald  
 Camfier Pursuivant  
 Champagne King of Arms or Herald  
 Charolais Herald  
 Chastillon Herald  
 Dampierre Herald  
 Dauphin Herald  
 Espinette Pursuivant  
 Fesseaulx Pursuivant  
 Foix Herald  
 Fores Herald  
 Guienne and Aquitaine King of  
 Arms  
 Guienne King of Arms  
 Hollande Herald  
 Languedoc Herald

Le Sparre Pursuivant  
 Limousin Herald  
 Louvre Pursuivant  
 Low Navarre Herald  
 Lyonnais Herald  
 Maine Herald  
 Mongommery Herald  
 Monstereau-Bellay Pursuivant  
 Montmiral Herald  
 Montrensy or Mouzenzicy or  
 Moreusny Pursuivant  
 Namur Herald  
 Navarre Herald  
 Normandy King of Arms  
 Oreng Herald  
 Orleans Herald  
 Parthenay Pursuivant  
 Perigord Herald

Picardy Herald  
 Pierrepont Herald  
 Poitou Herald  
 Provence Herald  
 Saint Pol Herald  
 Saintonge Herald  
 Talant Pursuivant  
 Tornay Pursuivant  
 Torraine Herald  
 Toulouse Herald  
 Tudello Herald  
 Valois Herald  
 Vermandois Herald  
 Verrey Pursuivant  
 Viana Herald  
 Vignolles Pursuivant  
 Villiers Herald

#### **Locative: Scottish titles**

Albany Herald  
 Alishay Pursuivant  
 Angus Pursuivant  
 Armyldoun (Hamilton) Herald  
 Arundel Herald  
 Bruce Herald  
 Bute Pursuivant  
 Carrick Pursuivant  
 Dingwall Pursuivant  
 Dundee Herald  
 Falkland Pursuivant  
 Garioch Pursuivant  
 Guisnes Pursuivant  
 Hailes Pursuivant

Hampnes Pursuivant  
 Huntingdon Herald  
 Islay Herald  
 Kintyre Pursuivant  
 Linlithgow Pursuivant  
 Longchamp Pursuivant  
 Loveyn Pursuivant  
 Marchmont Herald  
 Orkney Herald  
 Ormond Pursuivant  
 Ross Herald  
 Rothesay Herald  
 Slains Pursuivant  
 Snowdoun Herald

#### **Locative: Iberian titles**

Algarve King of Arms  
 Aragon King of Arms  
 Asturias Herald  
 Beja Herald

Bethume Herald  
 Castilla King of Arms  
 Cataluña Herald  
 Ceuta Herald

Cintra Pursuivant  
 Cochim Pursuivant  
 Conimbres Herald  
 Constantinople Herald  
 Enghien Herald  
 Enghien Herald  
 Escama Herald  
 Estaramos Herald  
 Fonterrabia Pursuivant  
 Gerona Herald  
 Goa Herald  
 Granada King of Arms  
 India King of Arms  
 Jerusalem Herald  
 Leon King of Arms  
 Lisbon Herald

Malinas Pursuivant  
 Monreal Herald  
 Moxica King of Arms  
 Navarra King of Arms  
 Pamplona Herald  
 Peñafiel Herald  
 Portugal King of Arms  
 Sanqueria Herald  
 Santarem Pursuivant  
 Sicily Herald  
 Tavira Pursuivant  
 Toledo King of Arms  
 Trastamara Herald  
 Trinacria King of Arms  
 Valencia King of Arms  
 Villalobos Herald

**Locative: German/Dutch titles**

Beyren Herald  
 Brabant King of Arms  
 Brandenburg Herald  
 Deutschland Herald  
 Flanders King of Arms  
 Fleckenstein Herald  
 Gelre Herald  
 Georgenburg Herald  
 Germania Herald  
 Hainault King of Arms  
 Holland Herald  
 Horne Pursuivant  
 Jerusalem Herald

Jülich Herald  
 Kleve (Cleves) Herald  
 Königsberg Herald  
 Livland Herald  
 Luxembourg Herald  
 Middeler Herald  
 Missenland Herald  
 Merode Pursuivant  
 Österreich Herald  
 Preußen King of Arms  
 Samaiten Herald  
 Ungarn Herald

**Locative: Scandinavian titles**

Denmark King of Arms  
 Lolland Pursuivant  
 Norway King of Arms

Sealand Pursuivant  
 Sweden King of Arms

**Charges: English titles**

Antelope Pursuivant	Leopard Herald
Blanc Corsier Herald	Merlyne Pursuivant
Blanc Sanglier Pursuivant	Noir Lyon Pursuivant
Blanch Lyon Pursuivant	Noir Taureau Pursuivant
Corbin Pursuivant	Noyre Fawcone Herald
Crescent Pursuivant	Papillion Pursuivant
Croyslett Herald or Pursuivant	Portcullis Pursuivant
Drake Pursuivant	Racine Pursuivant
Eagle Pursuivant	Rose Blanche Pursuivant
Eagle Vert Pursuivant	Rose Herald
Estoile Volant Pursuivant	Rouge Croix Pursuivant
Falcon Pursuivant or King of Arms	Rouge Dragon Pursuivant
Fleur-de-Lys Herald	Rouge Rose Pursuivant
Griffin Pursuivant	Tyger Pursuivant
Leon d'Or Pursuivant	

**Charge: French titles**

Papillon (butterfly) Pursuivant	Fuzil Pursuivant
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**Charges: Scottish titles**

Lyon King of Arms	Unicorn Pursuivant
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**Charges: Iberian titles**

Frechas (arrows) Pursuivant	Restre (rustre) Pursuivant
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**Charges: German titles**

Eisvogel (kingfisher) Herald	
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**Mottos/desirable traits: English titles**

Bensilver Pursuivant	Bon Rapport pursuivant
Bien Alaunt Pursuivant	Bonaventure Pursuivant
Bien Colier Pursuivant	Bontemps Pursuivant
Biencele Pursuivant	Comfort Pursuivant
Biencele Pursuivant	Desirous Pursuivant
Biendelle Pursuivant	Devoir Pursuivant
Bon Espoir pursuivant	Diligent Pursuivant

Esperance Pursuivant  
 Espoir Pursuivant  
 Ich Dien Pursuivant  
 Il Faut Faire Pursuivant  
 Joieux Pursuivant

Joye Pursuivant  
 Loyante Pursuivant  
 Loyauté Pursuivant  
 Secret Pursuivant  
 Vallian King of Arms

### **Mottos/desirable traits: French titles**

Avant-garde Herald  
 Bataille Pursuivant  
 Bonne et Belle Pursuivant  
 Bonne Querelle Pursuivant  
 Confort Pursuivant  
 Desduit Pursuivant  
 Dieu y Pourvoye Pursuivant  
 Dis-le-Vrai Pursuivant  
 Douce-Pensée Pursuivant  
 Feu Gregois Pursuivant  
 Frontiere Pursuivant  
 Il dit vray Pursuivant  
 Joli-Couer Pursuivant

Los Herald  
 Loyaulte Pursuivant  
 Memoire Pursuivant  
 Mountjoie King of Arms  
 Patiens Pursuivant  
 Plus que nuls Pursuivant  
 Sans Repose Pursuivant  
 Toutain le Gras Pursuivant (or  
 maybe two titles)  
 Voit qui Peut Pursuivant  
 Vostre Veuil Pursuivant  
 Vray Desir Pursuivant

### **Mottos/desirable traits: Scottish titles**

Diligens Pursuivant

Endure Pursuivant

### **Mottos/desirable traits: Iberian titles**

Avanguardia Herald  
 Conquista Herald  
 Desiros Pursuivant  
 Laudes Pursuivant

Libertat Pursuivant  
 Paine por joie Pursuivant  
 Veritat Pursuivant

### **Mottos/desirable traits: German/Dutch titles**

Leal Pursuivant  
 Lob den Frumen Pursuivant

Verswig es nit Herald  
 Zyt vor zyt Herald

### **Order names: English**

Garter King of Arms

**Order names: French**

Ermine King of Arms  
 l'Estoille (star) Pursuivant  
 Couronne (Crown) Herald  
 Croissant (Crescent) King of Arms  
 Porc-Espic (Porcupine) King of

Arms  
 Toison d'Or (Golden Fleece) King  
 of Arms  
 Blanch Lyverer (White Greyhound)  
 Pursuivant

**Order names: Iberian**

Vanda (Band) Pursuivant

**Other heraldic titles****Regalia: English**

Bluemantle Pursuivant  
 Collar Pursuivant

**Banner: French**

Gonfanon Pursuivant

**Surnames: English**

Bardolf herald  
 Fitzwalter Pursuivant  
 Herbert Pursuivant  
 Lisle Pursuivant  
 Maltravers Herald  
 March Herald/King of  
 Arms/Pursuivant  
 Passavant Pursuivant  
 Purchase Pursuivant  
 Talbot Pursuivant

**Titles of unclear origin****Unclear origin: English**

Aulet Pursuivant  
 Aurtt Herald  
 Besource Pursuivant  
 Bucky Pursuivant  
 Cadran Herald = sundial  
 Codran Pursuivant  
 Colombys Pursuivant

**Surnames: French**

D'Olite Herald  
 D'Anville Pursuivant

**Plants: French**

Dragance Pursuivant = dragonwort  
 Romarin Pursuivant = rosemary

**Titles: German**

Burggraf Pursuivant  
 Kaiser Herald

**Complex Locatives:**

Norroy King of Arms (England)  
 Romreich Herald or King of Arms  
 (German)  
 Ruyers King of Arms (German)

Esperance Herbert Pursuivant  
 Eudelet Pursuivant  
 Hameltude Pursuivant  
 Hembre Pursuivant  
 Henlic Pursuivant

**Unclear origin: French**

Bayant Pursuivant

Cecille Herald  
 Empire-Ville Pursuivant  
 Estoutenay Pursuivant  
 Franche-comte Herald  
 Franchville (also Faucille)  
 Pursuivant  
 Hauter Herald  
 Hincy Herald  
 Lours or l'Ours Pursuivant  
 Malo King of Arms  
 Miaulde Pursuivant  
 Zuillant Pursuivant

**Unclear origin: Scottish**

Jop Herald

**Unclear origin: Iberian**

Helmenia Pursuivant  
 Rosavante Pursuivant  
 Stramos Herald

**Unclear origin: German/Dutch**

Maienblüte (May flowers)  
 Pursuivant  
 Mala Corona Herald  
 Suchenwirt Herald  
 Swethe Pursuivant

**Some 15th century examples of heraldic titles from dictionaries ([4], [10], [2])**

Beja, faraute del Duque de Beja 1477–91  
 Roche Dragon purcyfant 1491  
 Montroyse harrolde 1488  
 Rothssay and Montros harroldis 1488  
 Clarenewe, Kyng of Armes. . . Clarenew 1451  
 Lancastre Kyng of Armes 1455  
 Guyon, Kinge of Armes 1461  
 Clarenewe Kyng of Armes 1472  
 Blewmantell Poursevunte 1472  
 Esperance purcevunte 1472  
 Mr Garter, principall King of Armes. . . Marche, King of Armes,  
 Wyndesore herralde, Smowden herroude [vr. Herrauld] to ye King of  
 Scotcs, Blewmantell pursevant. 1472  
 Clarenceaux kyng of armes 1441  
 Gyen (kinge of armes) 1472  
 Mayster Gartier, Principall Kinge of Armes, Clarencieux, Kinge of Armes,  
 Norrey, Kinge of Armes, Marche, Kinge of Armes, Gyenne, Kinge of  
 Armes 1472  
 Clarenewe king of Armes 1454  
 Lancastre Kyng of Armes 1456  
 Libard Haraldo 1432  
 Cales, pursuyvant 1472  
 his pursivant Dragans 1436  
 Kentire pursevant 1494–5  
 Kintyr purseuant; c 1494

Dragance, servitori armorum 1434  
 Unicorn signifer regis; 1445  
 Albany signifero regis [cf. Albany le pursevant; 1448 Ib. 310]; 1451  
 Signifero dicto Endure; 1454  
 Lyone heralde,—Kinge of armes, 1474  
 Lindsay Herrold 1493  
 Halis pursewant 1492  
 Dragance le pursevant 1429  
 Albany le pursevaunt; 1449  
 Deligence pursewant 1474  
 Carrik pursewant 1488  
 Boneaumentur pursevant 1494-5

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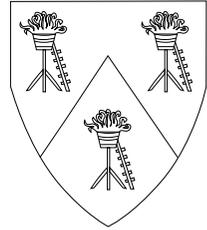
# Locative and toponymic bynames in 13th- and 14th-century West Yorkshire

Wenyeva atte grene

Wendi Dunlap

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## Introduction

The *Wakefield Court Rolls* are records of manorial court proceedings from the Wakefield Manor in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The earliest Roll extant is from 1274, and the records continue, with some breaks, until the 1920s. As records of the activity on the Manor, the Rolls contain many names of Wakefield-area residents. The most common names in thirteenth century records are locative and toponymic, and though relationship names become more common in fourteenth century Rolls, locative and toponymic names continue to be seen in high numbers during this period. These names provide us with many period place name spellings, some of which are not found in other references commonly used in SCA onomastic research.

The following names have been drawn from my unpublished research into the Rolls in 1274–75 and 1350–52. This content is much abbreviated for the purpose of this article; for reasons of space, I am only occasionally including etymologies of the place names included in these bynames.

I am working from 20th century reprints of the Rolls. The Rolls of 1274–75 were published in both English and Latin in 1901, and I double-checked the Latin record as needed. Given names here were generally normalized from the Latin forms by the modern translator, with some exceptions, so most of these entries are not useful for determining period given name spellings. The surnames are not normalized unless noted, and are given in Latin if that was the form used. Place names were in Yorkshire unless otherwise noted. Latin bynames are listed under their English translation, which is marked with a + if unattested in this collection of names.

Header forms are the most common form in the attested names; when this is not definitive, the header form is generally the earliest form, however, there are some exceptions (for example, Irland rather than Yreland) to place names under a header form that seemed more logical.

**Abbreviations:**

+ normalized English form of a Latin byname

(f) female

ME Middle English

OE Old English

OF Old French

ON Old Norse

poss. possibly

prob. probably

OWS<sub>Scand</sub> Old West Scandinavian

**del Abbey** “of the abbey”.

Thomas del Abbey 1350

**Acreland** from Acreland.

Simon Acreland 1350

Adam Acreland 1351

**de Aderichagate** from Addersgate.

Robert de Aderichagate 1350

**de Aldewrth** from Holdsworth.

Bate de Aldewrth 1275

John de Aldewrth 1275

**de Aldonlay** from Aldonley, a village that existed in the Almondbury area until the 18th century.

Alice de Aldonlay, Aldounlay (f) 1352

**de Almanbiry** from Almondbury.

Adam de Almanbiry 1274

**de Alstanley** from Austonley.

Gilbert de Alstanley 1274

Richard de Alstanley 1274

Gamel de Alstanley 1275

William de Alstanley 1275

Henry de Alstonlay, Altonlay 1350

**de Alvirthorpe** from Alverthorpe.

Adam de Alverthorpe, Alvirthorp 1274

Philip de Alvirthorp, Alvirthorpe 1274

Richard de Alvirthorpe 1274

Gerbot de Alvirthorpe, Alvirthorp 1274

**de Amyas** from Amiens, in France.

John de Amyas 1351

**del Apelyerd** from OE *æppel + gearð*, “apple orchard”.

Elyas del Apelyerd 1275

**de Asberne** from OE *\*ashburn*, “ash-tree stream”.

John de Asberne 1274

**de Astey** poss. from Ashday.

William de Astey 1275

Adam de Hastey 1275

Gilbert de Hasteye 1275

**Attewelle** “at the well”.

Adam Attewelle 1351

**Attoun** “at the town”.

Thomas Attoun 1350

**Attounend** “at the town’s end”.

Johannes ad capud ville de Soureby 1274

Hemricus ad capud ville 1275

Richard Attounend 1351

**de Avoden** from an unknown place name; the *-den* element here probably means “valley”, from OE *denu*.

Juliana de Avoden (f) 1351

Nicholas de Avoden 1351

Cecilia de Avoden (f) 1352

**de Aynesford** poss. from Eynsford in Kent.

William de Aynesford 1275

**de Ayrmyrn** from Airmyn.

William de Ayrmyrn 1351  
**de Bairstowe** from one of two Bairstows; one is in Sowerby Bridge, and one is now lost but was in Southowram.

Johanna de Bairstow, Bairstowe, Bairstawe (f) 1350

Richard de Bairstowe 1350  
**at the Bar+** from OF, ME *barre*, a gate or barrier.

Alicia ad Barram (f) 1274  
**de Barkeshere** from Barsey.  
 Hugh de Barkeshere 1274  
**de Barkesland** from Barkisland.

John de Barkesland 1275  
 William de Barkesland 1275  
 Thomas of Berkesland 1352

**del Barn** prob. "of the barn".  
 John del Barm or Barn 1274

**de Barneby** from Barnby or Barnby.  
 William de Barneby 1274  
 Richard de Barm' 1275

**del BARNEDSIDE** from Barnside, in Hepworth.

Elias del BARNEDSIDE, Barneside 1274

**de Bately** from Batley, NW of Wakefield.

John de Bately 1274  
 Richard de Bately, Bateley 1274  
 William de Bateley 1275

**de Bentlay** from Bentley.  
 Henry de Bentlay 1352  
**de Bentlayrod** from Bentley Royd.

Adam del, de Bentlayrod, Bentlay-  
 rode 1351

**de Berdeshill** from an unknown location.

Robert de Berdeshill 1352  
**del Birkenschawe** from Birkenshaw.  
 William del Birkenschawe 1274

Thomas de Birkynschagh 1351  
**del Birkes** "of the birches".

Richard del Birkes 1275  
**de Birstall** from Birstall.

John de Birstall, Birstal, Byrstal 1275

Richard de Birstall 1350  
**de Birton** prob. from Kirkburton.

William de Birton 1274  
 John de Birton, Byrton 1275  
 Robert de Birton 1351

**del Botham** poss. from Bootham, or also a name meaning "at the booths", from OWScand *búð*, *-um*. See also *del Bothun*.

William del Botham, Bothom 1350  
**de Bothemley** from Bottomley, near Halifax.

Hugh de Bothemley 1275  
**del Botherode** from Boothroyd, near Rastrick.

Adam del Botherode 1274  
 Gilbert de Bouderoode, Bouderood 1274

John del Botherode 1274  
 Margery de Bouderood (f) 1275  
 Thomas de Bouderoode 1275

John del Botherode 1350  
 John de Botherod 1351

John de Boudrod 1351  
 William Boudrod 1352  
**del Bothe, Bothes** "of the cow-house or herdman's hut".

Gilbert del Bothes 1274  
 Bate del Bothes 1275 (also "Bate son of Hugh del Bothes")

Hugh de, del Bothes 1275  
 Simon de Bothes 1275  
 Robert de, del Bothe 1350 (same as Robert del Bothes?)

Adam del Bothe 1351  
 Gilbert Bothe, del Bothe 1351  
 Robert del Bothes 1351 (same as Robert del Bothe?)

William del Bothe 1351  
 Alice del Both (f) 1352 servant  
 Eglent del Bothes (f?) 1352

Thomas del Bothe 1352  
**del Bothstede** from Booth Stead.

Adam del Bothstede 1352  
**del Bothun** *bothun* or *bothen* was a word for certain plants, including rosemary and corn marigold. This could be a locative name for one who lived or worked around such plants. See also *del Botham*.

Agnes del Bothun (f) 1275

**del Bourgh** “a city, a town, a small village”, a common place name element; from one of many places called Burgh.

Thomas de Burgo 1274

Amice del Bourgh (f) 1350

**del Brad** were this *le* and not *del*, this would probably be a nickname meaning “the broad” (large, fat). *Brad* was a common element in place names meaning “wide, open”.

Richard del Brad 1350

**de Bradeley** from Bradley.

William de Bradeley 1275

William de Bradelay, Bradeley 1350

**de Brampton** from Brampton Bierlow or Brampton en le Morthen.

Thomas de Brampton 1350

**de Brathewell** from Braithwell.

John de Brathewell 1352

**de Brerley** from Brearley.

Roger de Brerley, Brereley 1275

**de Bretton** from Monk Bretton or West Bretton.

Richard de Bretton 1274

John de Bretton 1275

Luvecok de Bretton 1275

Peter de Bretton 1275

Swayn de Bretton 1275

**del Brickhouses** Brighthouse (see Brighthouse, below) is a nearby place name meaning “houses by the bridge”, but this spelling may be a different word; none of the cited forms of Brighthouse in Smith contain a *c* or a *k*. The word Brickhouse is also a nearby place name, but it’s not cited in Smith until the 19th century.

John del Brickhouses 1275

**de Bridelington** from Bridlington.

William de Bridelington 1275

**del Brig** “of the bridge”.

Robert del Brig of Stanesfeld 1275

Richard del Brig, Brigg 1350

Robert del Brig, Brigg 1350

Roger del Brig 1350

William del Brig 1351

Gilbert del Brig 1352

John del Brig 1352

**del Brighous** from Brighthouse.

Richard de Briggheuses 1275

Susannah del Brighuses (f) 1275

Adam del Brighous 1352

John del Brighous senior 1352

**de Brocheles** from Brock Holes.

Richard de Brocheles, Brocholis 1275

**del Brodbothem** from Broad Bottom.

Alan de Brodbothem 1275

John del Brodbothem 1275

Adam del Brodbothem, de Brodebothem 1275

**de Brodheved** “by the broad headland”.

Richard de Brodheved 1350

**del Brounhill** from “Brown Hill,” of which there are several in West Yorkshire, or a more generic “dweller by the brown hill”.

John del Brounhill 1350

Adam del Brounhill 1352

**de Buterle** from Butterley.

Adam de Buttreley 1274

William de Buttreley, Buterle 1274

Herbert de Butterley, Buterle 1275

Roger de Buterle 1275

Thomas de Boterlay 1351

Thomas de Butirlay 1351

**de Bynglay** from Bingley.

William de Bynglay 1351

**de Byry** “at the manor house,” or “at the cow house”.

Henry de Bir’ 1275

Henry de Byry, Byrry 1275

John de Byre, Byry 1351

**Bytebrok** “by the brook”.

Henry Bythebrok 1350  
**del Bythestonhirst** “by the stoney hill,” but *del* is odd in this case.

Adam del Bythestonhirst 1352  
**Bythesyk** “by the small stream or ditch”.

John Bythesyk 1352  
**de Canford** poss. from Canford in Dorset.

Thomas de Canford 1351  
**de Cartewrth** from Cartworth.

Roger de Cartewrth 1274

Adam de Cartewrth 1275

Thomas de Cartewrth 1275

**de Castelford** from Castelford.

Richard de Castelford 1274

William de Castelford 1275

Richard de Castilf(ord?) 1275

Philip de Castelford 1351

**del Castell** “of the castle”. *de Castello* is Latin.

Agnes de Castello (f) 1274

William del Castell 1350

**de Caylly** from Cailly in Normandy.

John de Caylly, Kaylli 1274

**Chapel+** “of the chapel”.

Robertus de Capella 1275

**de Chayley** There is a modern *Shaley* in the area, but etymologically, the form *Chayley* doesn't quite fit during this period. 14th-century spellings in the Rolls are commonly *Shaghlay*, *Schaghlay*, though in the 15th C we see *Chaglayhous*. There is also a Chai-ley in Sussex, but during this period it was spelled *Chaggeleye*, *Chaggelegh*, *Chaggelye*, etc.

Thomas de Chayley 1350

**de Cheet** poss. from Chevet.

Thomas de Cheet 1351

**de Cheswaldlay** the Cheswold is a nearby river. *-lay* is probably from OE *lēah*, “a wood or clearing in a wood”, so this is “a clearing near the Cheswold”.

John de Cheswaldlay 1350

Margery de Cheswaldlay (f) 1352  
**de Chorlton** from Chorlton, in Lancashire.

Thomas de Chorlton 1351

**de Chydeshyll** from Chidswell.

Henry de Chydeshyll 1275

**de Chyvet** from Chevet.

Simon de Chyvet 1275

**del Clay** “of the clay”.

Roger del Clay 1350

**del Clayrod** “of the clay clearing”.

John del Clayrod 1350

**del Clif** “by a slope or bank”.

Adam del Clif 1274

Alecock, Alkoc del Clif 1274

John del Clif 1275

Lance del Clyf 1275

Nicholas del Clif 1275

Richard del Clif 1275

Henry del Cliff 1350

Robert del Cliff 1350

Thomas del Cliff 1351

William del Clif, Cliff 1352

**de Clifton** from Clifton.

Richard de Clifton 1274

Michael de Cliftones 1275

**de Cokcroft** from Cokcroft, near Rishworth.

John de Cokcroft 1351

Richard de Cokcroft 1351

**de Coldlay** from Coley.

Margery de Coldlay (f) 1352

**del Coldwell** from one of several Coldwells or Cold Wells in the West Riding.

Matilda de, del Coldwell (f) 1351

Thomas del Coldwell 1351

Richard de, del Coldwell 1352

**de Colley** from Coley.

Ralph de Colley 1275

**de Connale** poss. from Cownall, a place now lost.

Thomas de Connhal 1275

Adam de Connhale 1275

William de Connhale, Connal 1275

John de Connale 1351

**de Coplay** from Copley.

- Thomas de Coppeley 1274  
 Richard de Coppeley, Coppele 1274  
 Henry de Coppeley, Coppley 1274  
 Henry de Coplay 1350  
 Hugh de Coplay 1350  
 William de Coplay 1350  
 John de Copplay 1350  
 William de Copplay 1350  
 Matilda de Coplay (f) 1352
- de Coventre** from the name of a place in Yorkshire now lost, Coventry or Coventree.  
 Adam de Coventre, Coventry 1350
- de Craven** from the district of Craven.  
 William de Craven 1352
- de Crikeliston** from Crigglestone.  
 Pagan de Crigeliston 1274, 1275  
 Henry de Crigeliston, Crikeliston 1274  
 Alan de Crikeliston 1275  
 Bate de Crikeliston 1275
- del Croftes** "of the crofts".  
 Adam del Croftes 1274  
 William del Croft 1352
- de Crosland** from South Crosland.  
 Ranulf de Crosland 1274  
 Maude de Crosland (f) 1275
- at the Cross+** "by a cross".  
 Adam ad Crucem 1274
- de Cumberworth** from Lower and Upper Cumberworth.  
 Hugh de Cumberworth 1275  
 Richard de Cumbrewrth 1275
- de Cunigberg** from Conisbrough.  
 John de Cunigberg 1274
- Dacreland** Dacre is a village in North Yorkshire. However, see also *de Acreland*.  
 Jordan Dacreland 1350
- de Dalton** from Dalton.  
 Adam de Dalton 1275  
 Henry de Dalton 1275
- del Damme** "by the dam"; there are several places in the West Riding with "dam" as a name element.  
 Alan del Damme 1351
- Margaret del Damme, Dame (f) 1351
- de Danford** from an unknown place.  
 Thomas de Danford 1350
- de Denby** from one of the Yorkshire places called Denby.  
 John de Denby 1350  
 Margery de Deneby (f) 1351
- del Dene** modernly spelled *dean* or *-den*, this is a very common place name element in the West Riding, from OE *denu*, meaning "valley".  
 Jordan del Dene 1274  
 Richard del Dene 1274  
 John del Dene 1350  
 Margery del Dene (f) 1350  
 Robert del Dene 1350  
 William del Dene 1350  
 Richard del Dene 1351  
 Adam del Dene 1352
- de Denton** from Denton.  
 William de Denton 1274  
 Alan de Denton 1275
- de Dewysbiry** from Dewsbury.  
 John de Dewysbiry 1275  
 Margery de Dewysbiry, Dewisbiry (f) 1275
- de Donecastre** from Doncaster, the old Roman fort of *Danum* with OE *ceaster* "walled fort" added.  
 Raymond de Donecastre 1274  
 Robert de Donecastre 1275
- de Dounom** from Downholme, in the North Riding.  
 William de Dounom 1350 (also William Dounom)  
 William de Downon 1352 (prob. the same as William de Dounom)
- de Dranefeld** from a place now lost, from OE *drān* + *feld*, "drone's field".  
 Thomas de Dranefeld 1275
- de Dricker** prob. from Dirtcar or Dirk Carr.  
 Matthew de Dricker 1350
- de Ecclesley** from Exley.

William de Ecclesley, Ecclesey, Ecclesley, Eclisley, Eclisley 1274

**de Eland** from Elland.

John de Eland, Elaunde, Heland, Elaund 1274

**de Eldwardholes** a field name from the Fulstone area.

John de Elwardeholes, Heldwardholes, Eldwardholes 1274, 1275

Adam de Eldwardholes 1275

John de Elwoldehuls, Elwaldhuls, Eldwaldhuls 1350

Agnes de Elwaldhules (f) 1352

**de Elfletburgh** from Elphaborough Hall.

Adam de Elfletburgh 1351

**de Emeley** from Emley.

Henry de Emeley, Almeley, Ammeley, Emmeley 1275

**de Erdeslawe** from Ardsley.

Thomas de Erdeslawe, Erdeslew 1275

**de Ernschagh** from Earnshaw.

Adam de Ernschagh, Erneschagh 1351, 1352

**de Estwode** from Eastwood.

Richard de Estwode 1275

**de Everingham** from Everingham in the East Riding.

Adam de Everingham, Heveringham 1274

**de Ewod** prob. from Ewood.

Matilda de Ewod (f) 1352

**de Fetherstan** from Featherstone.

William de F[ether]stan, Phetherstan 1275

**de Farneley** from Farnley or Fearnley. There are several places of this name in the West Riding.

Alexander de Farneley 1275

**de Fekesby** from Fixby.

Hugh de Fekesby 1274

Thomas de Fekesby 1274

Alan de Fekesby 1275

**del Feld** "of the field or open country".

Thomas del Feld 1351

Richard del Feld 1352

**de Fenton** from Church Fenton in North Yorkshire.

Thomas de Fenton 1274

**de Fery** from Ferrybridge, which was frequently Feri, Fery, Feri, etc., during the 13th century.

William de Fery 1350

John de Feri de Horbure, Fery 1351

John atte Fery<sup>1</sup> 1351

**de Flanshowe** from Flanshaw.

Walter de Flanshowe 1274

**de Floketon** from Flockton.

Michael de Floketon 1275

Edmund de Flokton 1351

**del Foldes** "a fold, an enclosure".

Roger del Foldes 1275

Hugh del Foldis 1275

**de Fouleston** from Fulstone.

Adam de Fugeliston 1274

John de Fugeliston 1274

Thomas de Fugeliston 1274

Annabel de Fouleston (f) 1275

John de Fouleston 1275

Michael de Fouleston 1275

Sarah de Fouleston (f) 1275

William de Fouleston 1275

Michael de Fuleston 1275

Thomas de Foughelston 1351

**de Fresley** prob. Freasley, in Polesworth, Warwickshire, about 90 miles away from Wakefield.

Philip de Fresley, Frechley 1275

**de Friston** from Ferry Fryston.

William de Friston 1352 chaplain

**del Frith** "of the woods".

Alcok de Fryth, del Frith 1274

Walter del Fritht 1275

John del Frith 1350

**del Fyney** from Fenay.

<sup>1</sup> The *atte* may indicate that this person worked at a ferry rather than lived at Ferrybridge.

John del Fyney 1274  
**del Gledehul** from Gledhill.  
 William del Gledehul 1275  
**de Godeby** from Goadby or Goadby Marwood in Leicestershire.  
 Henry de Godeby 1274  
**de Godlay** from either Godly or the place now lost called Godley.  
 Henry Godley 1275 (this is possibly a nickname)  
 John de Godlay, Godley 1350  
 William de Godlay 1350  
 Johanna de Godlay (f) 1352  
**de Goldeley** from an unknown place.  
 Adam de Goldeley 1275  
 Alice de Goldeley (f) 1275  
**Goldhore** poss. "place where marigolds grow".  
 Nigel Goldhore 1351  
**de Goukethorp** from Gawthorpe.  
 Henry de Goukethorp 1274  
 Hanne de Goukethorp 1275  
 Robert de Goukethorp 1275  
**Grayne** "an inlet or fork of a river", from ON *grein*.  
 John Grayne 1352  
**del Grene** "by the village green".  
 Elias del Grene, Gren 1274  
 Richard del Grene 1274  
 Henry del Grene 1275  
 Thomas del Grene 1275  
 William del Grene of Ossete 1275  
 Edmund del Grene 1350  
 Richard del Grene 1350  
 William del Grene 1350  
 Adam del Grene 1351  
 John del Grene 1351  
 Margery del Grene (f) 1351  
 Robert del Grene 1351  
 Agnes del Grene (f) 1352  
 Henry del Grene of Criglestone 1352  
**del Grenhill** "by a green hill", or from Green Hill; there are several small places by this name in the West Riding.  
 Thomas del Grenhill 1350  
**del Grenhirst** from Greenhurst Hey,

or a more general reference to "a green wooded-hill".

John de, del Grenehirst, Grenhirst 1274

Robert del Grenhirst 1275

Nicholas del Grenhirst 1352

**del Grenwode** from High Greenwood, or just "of the green wood".

John del Grenwode 1275

Johanna de Grenwod (f) 1351

**de Gretton** poss. Girton (Cambridgeshire, Nottinghamshire) or Gretton (Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire). Perhaps instead an error for the Yorkshire place Grotton.

William de Gretton 1275

**de Grimeston** from Grimston, of which there are several.

Alan de Grimeston 1275

**de Grotton** from Grotton.

Robert de Grotton 1352

**de Habbas** from an unknown place.

Agnes de Habbas (f) 1351

**del Hage** from Haigh.

John del Hage 1351

**de Haldewrth** from Holdsworth.

John de Haldewrth 1275

William de Haldwrth 1350

John Haldwrth senior 1352

Otes de Haldwrth 1352

Richard de Haldwrth 1352

**de Halghton** prob. from Halton near Leeds, though there are several other Haltons including ones in Lancashire and North Yorkshire that could also be a source for this name.

William de Halghton 1350

**de Halifax** from Halifax.

Henry de Halifax 1274

Bate de Halifax 1275

John de Halifax 1275

William de Halifax 1275

John de Halifax 1350

Thomas de Halifax 1350

**del Halle** *aula* is Latin. The name probably refers to a servant at the hall.

- Adam de Aula de Sandal 1274  
 Thomas de Aula 1275  
 Thomas del Hall 1351  
 James del Halle 1350  
 James del Halle of Sandale 1351  
 John del Halle, Hall 1351
- de Halumschyre** from Hallam.  
 Thomas de Halumschyre of Brade-  
 ford, de Halumschyre 1275
- de Harrop** from one of several Harrops  
 in the West Riding.  
 Robert de Harrop, Harop 1274
- de Hartisheved** from Hartshead.  
 Matilda de Hartisheved (f) 1350
- del Haycroft** "of the the hay-croft".  
 Nicholas del Haycroft 1352
- de Haylay** "a hay clearing," or poss.  
 Hayley. See also Helay.  
 John de Haylay 1351
- de Heckeshill** from Eccleshill.  
 Richard de Heckeshill 1275
- de Hecmundewyk** from Heckmond-  
 wike.  
 John de Hecmundewyk 1275
- de Heydon** prob. from Hedon. See also  
 Heton.  
 Richard de Heydon, de Hedon 1275
- del Hekh** poss. "of the high," meaning  
 high ground.  
 Thomas del Hekh 1351
- de Hegrode** from Heyrod in Lan-  
 cashire; prob. "enclosed clearing", from  
 OE *(ge)hæg + rod*.  
 William de Hegrode 1275  
 Adam de Heyrod, Herod 1352
- de Helbroke** unknown, but see also  
 Holebroke.  
 Henry de Helbroke 1275
- de Heley** from one of several places  
 called Healey or Healaugh.  
 Adam de Heley, Helye, Heleys,  
 Helay 1275  
 Alot de Heley (f) 1275  
 William de Heley 1275  
 Roger de Heyleye, Heleyes 1275
- de Helgate** poss. from "Hall Gate", or  
 "Hallgate". See also Holgate.  
 Henry de Helgate 1275
- del Helgrene** from an unknown place.  
 Hugh del Helgrene 1275
- de Helistones** from Ellistones.  
 John de Helistones 1274  
 Michael de Helistones, Helyston,  
 Elistones, Helystones 1274
- del Helm** "of the cattle shelter".  
 Roger del Helm 1275  
 William del Helm 1275
- del Helyleigh** prob. from High Lee.  
 Thomas del Helyleigh, del Hay-  
 lyleght, del Hylleigh, del Hylileigh, del  
 Heyliligh, de Heylyligh, del Heylyligh,  
 del Hylyligh, del Hylilegh 1350, 1351
- del Hengandrod** from one of several  
 place names in West Yorkshire now  
 called Hanging Royd.  
 Adam del Hengandrod 1351  
 John del Hengandrod 1351  
 Alexander del Hengenrod 1351
- de Heppewrth** from Hepworth.  
 Adam de Heppewrth 1274  
 Henry de Heppewrth 1274  
 Jordan de Heppewrth 1274  
 Simon de Heppewrth 1274  
 Thomas de Heppewrth, Eppewrth  
 1274  
 Warin de Heppewrth 1275  
 Juliana de Hepwrth (f) 1351  
 Richard de Heppwrth 1351  
 William de Hepwrth 1351
- de Heptonstall** from Heptonstall.  
 Nalke de Heptonstall 1274
- del Heth** "of the heath".  
 Robert del Heth 1351
- de Heton** from Heaton. See also He-  
 don.  
 John de Heton 1274  
 Adam de Heton 1275  
 Henry de Heton 1275  
 Hugh de Heton 1275  
 Robert de Heton 1275  
 William de Heton 1275

- John de Heton 1351  
**del Heves** prob. "of the hives".  
 William del Heves 1352  
**del Hey** "of the enclosure".  
 Richard del Hey 1352  
**del Hill** "of the hill".  
 Henry del Hill 1351  
 John del Hille 1352  
**de Hilton** from Hilton in the North Riding, or from Hiltons in other counties.  
 John de Hilton 1351  
**de Hiperom** from Hipperholme.  
 Alice, Alote de Hyperum (f) 1275  
 Peter de Hyperum 1275  
 Richard de Hyperum 1275  
 Roger de Hyperum 1275  
 Adam de Hiperom 1350  
 Annabel de Hiperom (f) 1350  
 Thomas de Hiperom 1350  
 William de Hiperom 1351  
 Robert de Hiperom of Rothewell 1352  
**del Hirst** "of the wood or on the wooded hill".  
 William del Hirst, de Hyrst 1275  
**de Hogley** from Hogley.  
 Isabella de Hogley (f) 1351  
**de Holdfeld** from one of several modern places, including Oldfields and Lower & Upper Oldfield, or perhaps just "an old open field".  
 Richard de Holdfeld 1275  
 Roger del Holdfeld 1351  
**del Hole** "of a hollow".  
 Richard del Hole 1350  
 Thomas del Hole 1350  
 Alice del Hole (f) 1351  
 William del Hole 1351  
 Henry del Hole 1352  
**de Holebroke** poss. How Brook, or Holbrook in Derbyshire, about 60 miles from Wakefield. See also Helbroke. It is possible that Henry de Helbroke and Henry de Holebroke are the same.  
 Henry de Holebroke, de Holbrok 1274, 1275  
**de Holgate** from Holgate. See also Helgate.  
 Thomas de Holgate 1274  
 Henry de Holgate 1275  
 John de Holgate 1275  
 Cecelia, Cecilia de Holgate (f) 1350  
 Henry de Holgate 1351  
**del Holirakes** poss. from Hollin Rakes (Cowling), or the lost places listed in Smith as Hollinrake and Hollin Dracke.  
 Adam del Holirakes 1275  
**del Holm** "of the flat land in a fen". See also Holne.  
 William del Holm 1274  
 William del Holme 1351  
**de Holne** from Holme. See also Holm.  
 Benedict de Holne 1274  
 John de Holne 1274  
 Matthew de Holne 1274  
 William de Holne 1274  
 Brun de Holne 1275  
 Robert de Holne 1275  
 Thomas de Holne 1275  
 Thomas del Holme, de Holne 1351  
**de Holok** "by the little hollow".  
 John de, del Holok 1352  
**de Holway** "by a sunken road".  
 John de Holway 1350  
**de Honeley** from Honley.  
 John de Honeley 1274  
 Gilbert de Honley 1274  
**de Hoperburn** from an unknown place.  
 Adam de Hoperburn 1351  
**de Hopton** from Lower and Upper Hopton (Upper Hopton being the old village).  
 Thomas de Hopton, Opton 1274  
**de Horbiry** from Horbury.  
 John de Horbiry, Horbyry 1274  
 Adam de Horbiry, Horbure, Horbire 1350  
 Elias de Horbire, Horbiry 1350

- John de Horbure 1350  
**de Horn** poss. “near a spur or tongue of land”. Modern Horn Hill was Underhorne in 1307.  
 Richard de Horn 1275  
**del Horsfall** from Horsefall, in Todmorden.  
 Adam del Horsfall 1352  
**de Horton** prob. from Great Horton.  
 John de Horton 1274  
**de Houerum** from Northowram, Southowram, or just a name meaning “on the slopes”.  
 Richard de Houerum 1275  
**de Houwrth** from Haworth.  
 Roger de Houwrth 1275  
**de Hoverthoung** from Uppertthong.  
 Agnes de Hoverthoung (f) 1275  
**de Huclay** from an unknown place. Hawley in Lancashire seems unlikely.  
 John de Huclay 1351  
**de Hudresfeld** from Huddersfield.  
 Roger de Hudresfeld 1274  
 Adam de Hodresfeld 1275  
 William de Hudresfeld 1350  
**de Hyngcliff** from Hinchcliffe Mill.  
 William de Hyngcliff 1351  
 Johanna de Hyngclif (f) 1351  
 Thomas de Hyngcliff, Hyngcliff, Hynglif 1351  
**de Ilyngwrth** from Ilingworth.  
 John de Ilyngwrth, Ilingworth 1350  
 Matthew de Ilyngwrth, Ylingword 1350 (also just “Matthew Ilingwrth”)  
**de Irland** from Ireland.  
 Ralph de Hybernia 1274  
 Jacke de Yreland 1275<sup>2</sup>  
 John de Irland of Flotten 1351  
**de Karleton** from one of several places named Carlton or Carleton.  
 Jordan de Karleton 1275  
**de Kent** from (the county) Kent.  
 Thomas de Kent 1352  
**del Ker** “of the marsh or fen”.
- John del Ker 1275  
 Richard del Kerre 1351  
**de Kesburgh** from Kexbrough.  
 Margery de Kesburgh (f) 1351  
 John de Kessburgh 1352  
**de Ketilthorp** from Kettlethorpe Hall.  
 John de Ketelesthorp 1275  
 Thomas de Ketilthorp 1350  
 Elizabeth de Ketilthorp (f) 1352  
 Robert de Ketilthorp 1352  
**de Kipax** from Kippax.  
 William de Kipax 1352  
**del Kirk+** “one who lives by the church”, from ON *kirkja*. This was probably the vernacular form of this name, but the name in the 1275 Rolls is given in Latin. The Wakefield Rolls in 1333 include *Hugh del Kirk*.  
 Ricardus ad Ecclesiam 1275  
**de Kyrkeby** from one of the several Kirkbys in West Yorkshire.  
 John de Kirkeby, Kyrkeby 1275  
 Henry de Kyrkeby 1275  
**de Lache** prob. “by a stream or wet place”.  
 Henry de Lache 1275  
 John de Lache 1275  
**del Lane** “in the lane”.  
 Beatrice del Lane (f) 1350  
 Henry del Lane 1350  
 Margery del Lane (f) 1351  
 Thomas del Lane 1351  
 Henry del Lane the younger 1352  
**de Langfeud** from Longfield.  
 William de Langfeud 1274  
 John de Langefeld 1275  
 Robert de Langefeud 1275  
 Thomas de Langfeud, son of John (de Langefeld) 1275  
 Henry de Langfeld 1352  
**de Langlay** from one of several places with this name in the West Riding.  
 Juliana de Longeley (f) 1274  
 Hugh de Langlay 1350

<sup>2</sup> “stole a robe of burrell, trimmed with black lamb-skin, value 8s 6d. . . therefore let him be hanged”.

- Richard de Langlay 1350  
 Thomas de Langlay 1351
- de Lascy** from Lassy, in Normandy.  
 Aleysia de Lascy (f) 1275  
 Henry de Lascy 1275  
 Henry de Lascy 1352
- de Lethe** “of the barn”.  
 Adam de Lethe, Leth, Letthe,  
 Legthe 1275 John de Lethe, Leth, Let-  
 the 1275  
 John del Lathe 1350
- de Leighrod** prob. “woods/meadow  
 clearing”.  
 Richard de Leighrod 1350  
 Matilda del Leighrod (f) 1351
- de Letteby** from Leckby, in the North  
 Riding.  
 William de Letteby 1275
- de Leyton** prob. Layton in the North  
 Riding.  
 Henry de Leyton 1275
- atte Lidgate** from one of many places  
 of that name in Yorkshire, or “at the  
 swing-gate”.  
 Philip Attelidgate, atte Lidgate  
 1274, 1275
- de Litelwode** from Littlewood, or “of  
 the little wood”.  
 Geoffrey de Lyttlewode, Littlewode,  
 Litelwode 1274  
 Geppa de Litalwode, 1274  
 Hugh de Litelwode, Lytelwode 1274  
 John de Litelwode 1274  
 Nicholas de Litelwode 1275  
 William de Litelwode 1275
- de Lithclif** from Lightcliffe.  
 Roger de Lithclif 1275
- de Litheseles** from Lighthazles.  
 Agnes de Litheseles (f) 1274  
 Adam de Licheseles, Litheseles  
 1275  
 Henry de Lytheseles, Licheseles,  
 1275  
 Beatrix del Lyghthesels (f) 1351
- de Locwode** from Lockwood.  
 John de Locwode 1275
- William de Locwod 1351
- de Loftus** from Lofthouse.  
 Robert de Lofhus 1275 (prob. the  
 same as Robert the son of Hugh de Lof-  
 tus)  
 Anibil de Loftus (f) 1275  
 Hugh de Loftus 1275
- del Longbothom** “by the long valley-  
 bottom”.  
 Thomas de, del Longbottom, Long-  
 bothom 1350, 1351  
 Juliana del Longbothom (f) 1352
- de Loppisheved** from Lupset.  
 Ralph de Lopissheved 1275  
 Richard de Lupesheved 1275  
 Roger de Loppisheved 1275  
 William de Lupesheved, Lopi-  
 sheved, Loppesheved, Loppisheved  
 1275
- de Loudeham** poss. from Loudham in  
 Nottinghamshire or in Suffolk.  
 Thomas de Loudeham 1275
- de Loukes** from Luick (Liège).  
 John de Loukes 1351  
 William de Loukes 1350, 1351
- de Louthe** from Louth, in Lin-  
 colnshire.  
 Richard de Louthe 1275
- de Ludyngden** from Luddenden.  
 Thomas de Ludyngden, Ludingden  
 1350
- de Lye** from places named Lea, Lee,  
 Leigh, Leighs or Lye, or simply “of the  
 wood or clearing”.  
 Elias de Lye 1275
- de Lynlay** from Lindley.  
 Hugh de Lynley 1275  
 Jordan de Lynley 1275  
 Hugh de Lynlay 1350  
 John de Lynlay 1351  
 William de Lynlay 1352
- de Mallynges** Reaney [11] suggests  
 this name is from place names in either  
 Sussex or Kent. I haven’t found a simi-  
 lar place name in the West Riding.

John de Mallynges, Mallyngs 1352  
(also John Mallynges)  
**de Maltham** prob. from Meltham, in Almondbury.

Richard de Maltham 1351  
**de Mankanholes** from Mankinholes.  
Hugh de Mankanholes 1275

**de Marchesden** from Marsden.  
Robert de Marchesden 1274  
Walter de Marchesden, Marcheden 1275

Elias de Marchesden 1275  
Warin de Marcheden 1275  
**de Marton** from one of many places named Marton in Yorkshire (and elsewhere).

William de Marton 1275  
**de Maudeslay** from Mawdesley, in Lancashire.

John de Maudeslay, Mawdeslay, Mawdesley, Mawedesley 1352  
**de Mekesburgh** from Mexborough.

William de Mekesburgh 1351  
**del Mere** “of the lake”, from ME *mēre*.  
Thomas del Meire 1351 (see also *del Mire*.)

Isabella del Mere (f) 1352  
**del Mersshe** “of the marsh”.  
Thomas del Mersshe 1352

**de Metheley** from Methley.  
Henry de Metheley 1274  
Peter de Metheley 1275

**de Miggeley** from Midgley.  
John de Miggeley, Migeley, Miggele 1274

Adam de Miggele 1275  
Robert de Miggle 1275  
Thomas de Myglay 1350  
Margery de Miggeley (f) 1351  
John de Miggeley 1352

**del Milne** “of the mill”.  
Adam del Milne 1351

Margery del Milne (f) 1352  
**de Milnthorp** from Milnthorpe.

Thomas de Milnthorp 1352  
**del Mire** “of a marsh”, from ON *mýrr*.

Hugo del Mire 1274  
**de Mixenden** from Mixenden.

Henry de Mixenden 1274  
**de Monte** “of the mountain or hill”.  
There are several place names in the area modernly called Mount or The Mount.

Adam de Monte 1275  
**de la More** “of the moor”.

John de Mora 1274  
John de la More 1275  
Matthew del More, de Mora 1275  
Philip de Mora 1275  
Robert de la More 1275

**del Morehous** from one of many places in the West Riding called Moorhouse or Moor House.

William del Morehous junior 1350  
Richard del Morehous 1351  
William del Morehous 1351

**Moreman** “one who lives by the marsh”.  
William Moreman 1350

**de Morthyng** from Morthen.  
William de Morthyng 1274

**Mortimer** from Mortemer, in Normandy.

Robert Mortimer 1351  
**de Moscroft** from Molescroft, in the East Riding.

Ralph de Moscroft 1275  
**del Neubiggen** from New Biggin Hill or one of the other places that bore this or a similar name.

Adam del Neubiggen, Neubigging, Neubiggeng 1274

**de Neuriding** from an unknown place, or simply “new clearing”, from OE *nīwe* + *\*rydding* “clearing”.

John de Neuriding 1275  
**de Neusom** from Newsome.

Robert de Neusom 1275  
**de Neuton** from Newton.

Gemme de Neuton 1275  
**de Neville** from a French place name, either Névill or Neuville.

Geoffrey de Neville 1274 **de Northcliff** from North Cliffe.

John de Northcliff, Northclif 1350  
**del Northend** “of the north end (of a village, etc.)”.

John del Northend 1351  
**de Northland** from Norland.

Alan de Northland 1274  
John de Northland, Norlaund 1274  
William de Northlaund, Norlaund,  
Norland 1274

William de Northlaund 1274<sup>3</sup>  
Adam de Norland 1275  
Hugh de Norlaund 1275  
Richard de Northland 1351  
**de Northmanton** from Normanton.  
Henry de Normanton, Northmanton  
1275

Geoffrey de Northmanton 1275  
**de Northuuerum** from Northowram.  
Adam de Northouerum, Northu-  
uerum 1274

Jordan de Northuuerum 1274<sup>4</sup>  
Richard de Northouerum 1274  
Roger de Northuuerum 1274  
Thomas de Northuuerum 1274  
Henry de Northouerum 1275

**de Northwode** “of the north of the woods” or one of the places modernly called Northwood or Norwood.

Ivo de Northwode 1274  
John del Northwod 1352

**de Northwyche** poss. Northwich in Cheshire, or a “dweller at the north salt-works”.

Philip de Northwyche, Northwych  
1352

**de Nuteschawe** from Nutshaw in Lancashire, near Burnley.

John de Nuteschawe, Noteschawe  
1275

William de Nuteschawe, Noteschawe, Notesahe 1350

**de Okes** from one of several places in the West Riding called Oaks or The Oaks, or simply “of the oak trees”.

Henry de Okes 1350  
Thomas del Okes 1351

**del Oldfeld** “of the old field”.

William del Oldfeld 1350  
Roger del Oldfeld 1351

**de Ossett** from Ossett.  
Henry de Osset, Ossett 1275  
Serlo de Ossett 1275  
Richard de Ossett 1350  
John de Ossett 1351  
Richard de Ossett of Walton, Osset  
of Walton 1352

**de Otlay** from Otley.

John de Otlay 1352 servant  
**de Ouerum** from Northowram, Southowram, or just a name meaning “on the slopes”.

Adam de Ouerum 1274<sup>5</sup>  
**de Ovenden** from Ovenden.

Hugh de Ovenden 1275  
John de Ovenden 1275  
Ralph de Ovenden 1275  
William de Ovenden 1275  
Adam de Ovynden, Ovenden 1350  
Alexander de Ovynden 1351  
John de Ovynden 1351

**del Overhalle** “of the upper hall”.

John del Overhalle, Overhall 1350  
**del Pendaunt** “of a slope,” from Anglo-French *pendaunt*.

Richard del Pendant, Pondant, Pendaunt 1274

Margery del Pendaunt (f) 1275

**de Plegwyk** from Pledwick.

John de Plegwyk 1350  
**de Presteley** from Priestley Green.

<sup>3</sup> Listed as “Another William de Northlaund”, immediately after the other one.

<sup>4</sup> Prob. same as Jordan son of Thomas de Northuuerum mentioned in following paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> Poss. the same as Adam de Northouerum on the same page.

Richard de Presteley, Prestlay 1275  
**de Querneby** from Quarmby.

John de Querneby 1274

Adam de Querneby 1275

**de Quickeleden** from Wickleden.

Henry de Quickeleden 1275

Cecilia de Qwycleden (f) 1352

**de Quallay** from Whalley in Lancashire.

William de Qwallay, Quallay 1350

**de Rachedale** from Rochdale, in Lancashire.

Henry de Rachedale 1275

Marjory de Rachedale (f) 1275

Amora de Rachedale (f) 1351

Henry de Rachedale 1351

**de Rastrik** from Rastrick.

Hugh de Rastrik 1274

Reymund de Rastrik 1274

Roger de Rastrik 1274

John de Rastrik, Rastrick 1274

Ellen de Rastrik (f) 1350

John de Rastrik 1350

Matilda de Rastrik (f) 1350

**de Ravenesfeud** from Ravenfield.

John de Ravenesfeud 1274 “Bailiff of the Earl (of Warren)”

**del Rediker** from Redacre Wood, or another “reedy marsh”.

Richard del Rediker 1275

Alice del Redykar, Redykerre, Rodyker (f) 1352

**de Richemond** from Richmond, of which there is one in the North Riding and one in the West Riding.

Thomas de Richemond 1351

**del Ridyng** “of a cleared area”.

Henry atte, del Ridyng 1274

William del Ryding 1350

**de Roaldsete** from an unknown place. Poss. of Norse origin, maybe “Roald’s Seat”, from the name *Roald* + ON *sáti* “seat, outcrop of rock resembling a seat”.

John de Roaldsete 1274

Thomas de Roaldsete 1274

**del Rode, Rodes** “of the clearing”. In Yorkshire place names, this typically became modern “Royd” .

Alan del Rodes 1274

Richard del, de Rode, Rodes 1274

Henry del Rode 1275

Thomas del Rode 1275

William del Rode 1350

John del Rod, Rode 1351

Richard del Rode 1351

Alice del Rodes (f) 1351

Adam del Rode 1352

Henry del Rodes 1352

**del Rokes** “of the oaks”.

Jordan del Rokis, Rokes 1275

**Rollesby** from Rollesby, in Norfolk.

William de Rollesby 1274

**de Romesden** from Ramsden.

Matthew de Romesden, de Romesdene, Romesden (without de), Romesdon 1350

**de Routh** from Routh, in the East Riding.

Peter de Routh, Routhe 1351

**de Routonstal** from Rawtonstall.

William de Routonstall 1274

Michael de Routonstall 1275

**de Rylay** from Riley.

Robert de Rylay 1351

**de Rysshewrth** from Rishworth.

Elias de Richeurt 1275

Henry de Rissewrth, 1275

Henry de Rysshewrth 1351

Nicholas de Rysshewrth 1352

**de Saltonstal** from Saltonstall.

William de Saltonestall, Saltonstal 1274

Robert de Saltunstal, Saltonstal, Saltonstall 1275

William de Saltonstall 1350

Thomas de Saltonstall, of Saltonstall, Saltenstall 1351

John de Saltonstall 1352

**de Saltthwayth** from Slaithwaite.

Robert de Saltthwayth, Saltthweyt  
1275

**de Sandale** from Sandal Magna or Kirk Sandall.

Philipot de Sandale 1350

James de Sandale 1351

Robert de Sandale 1352

**de Santinglay** from Santingley.

Robert de Santinglay, Santynglay  
1352

**de Santon** from Sancton in the East Riding.

Peter de Santon 1275

**de Sayton** from one of several Seatons, including one in the East Riding.

William de Sayton, Seyton, also without the de. 1351

**de Schakeltonstal** from Shackleton.

Elkoc, Alkoc de Schakeltonstal, Chakeltonstell 1274

Jordan de Schakeltonstal, Schakeltonstall, Saltonstall (possibly in error)  
1274

William de Schakeltonstall 1274

**de Schefeld** from Sheffield.

Ralph de Schefeld, Schefeud, Chefeud, Sefeud 1274

**de Schelf** from Shelf.

Elias de Schelf 1275

Thomas de Schelf 1275

**de Schelfley** from Shelley.

Robert de Schelfley 1274

Elias de Schelfley 1275

**de Schelton** from Shelton (of which there are several, including one in Nottingham).

Roger de Schelton 1275

**de Schepeley** from Shepley.

Walter de Schepeley 1274

Agnes de Schepele (f) 1275

John de Schepley 1275

**de Schipeden** from Shibden.

William de Schipeden, Schypeden  
1274

Hugh de Schipeden 1275

**de Sckyrecode** from Skircoat.

Elias de Sckyrecode, Schyrecode  
1274

**del Scoles** from Scholes.

John del Scoles 1275

Matthew del Scolis, Scoles 1275

Peter del Scoles 1275

Richard del Scoles 1275

Simon de Scolis 1275

Hugh del Scoles 1350

John del, de Skoles 1350

**de Seyville** from Sauville (Ardennes, Vosges) or Sainville (Eure-et-Loir).

Baldwin de Seyville, Sayville, Seyvile, Ceyville, le Sceyville 1274

Henry Sayvill 1352

**del Shagh** "of the wood or forest".

Henry del Sagh, Shaghe, Shagh  
1351, 1352

Roger del Schaw 1351

**de Shaghlay** from Shaley.

Robert de Shaghlay 1350

**del Shee** uncertain; poss. "of the wood", from OE *sceaga*, *scaga*; the spelling *shee* seems untypical.

William del Shee 1352

**de Shellay** from Shelley.

Christiana de Shellay (f) 1351

Thomas de Shellay 1351

**de Shirclif** from Shirecliffe Hall, in Sheffield.

Margery de Shirclif (f) 1350

**del Shore** "of the shore".

John del Shore 1352

Margery del Shore (f) 1352

Matilda del Shore (f) 1352

**de Skulcote** from Sculcoates in the East Riding.

William de Sculecote, Sculecotes  
1275

Richard de Skulcote 1350

John de Skulcote 1352

**del Slac** "of the shallow valley".

Thomas del Slac 1275

William del Slak 1350

**de Slaneden** I do not know which place this is.

- John de Slaneden 1351  
**Smallegh** from Small Lees.  
 Agnes Smallegh (f) 1352  
**del Snape** from one of several places in the West Riding that carry this name, or just “a boggy piece of land”.  
 Hugh del Snape 1352  
**de Snappethorp** from Snapethorp.  
 Torald de Snappethorp 1275  
 Henry de Snappethorp 1275  
**de Soland** from Soyland.  
 Alice de Soland (f) 1274  
 Henry de Soland 1274  
 Ivo de Soland, Solaund 1274  
 Philip de Soland 1275  
**de Sothill** from Lower Sothill.  
 Matthew de Sothil 1275  
 Michael de Sothill 1275  
 John de Sothill 1350  
 Johanna de Sothill (f) 1351  
**de Sourby** from Sowerby Bridge.  
 Hayne de Soureby 1274  
 Malyna de Soureby (f) 1274  
 Nelle de Soureby 1274  
 Robert de Soureby, Sourby 1274  
 Soyer, Seyer de Soureby 1274  
 Alan de Sourby 1275  
 Alkoc de Sourby 1275  
 John de Sourby 1350  
 Robert de Sourby 1351  
 William de Sourby 1351  
**de Southourom** from Southwram.  
 Beatrice de Southourom (f) 1350  
**de Southwod** prob. Southwood Field, or another “south wood”.  
 Adam de Southwod 1351  
**de St. Oswald+** prob. from St. Oswald’s in Sowerby, near Thirsk, in North Yorkshire. This is not the same place as Sowerby Bridge, near Halifax.  
 Isolda de Sancto Osewaldo (f) 1275  
**del Stable+** “of the stable”.
- Johannes de Stabulo 1275<sup>6</sup>  
**de Stakwod** prob. Stagwood Hill.  
 Robert de Stakwod 1352  
**de Stanclif** from Stonecliff Lodge, Staincliffe, or Stancliffe.  
 Henry de Stanclif 1274  
 Hugh de Stanclif, Staneclyf, Stanclyf 1274  
 John de Stanclif 1274  
 John de Staynclif, Stayncliff 1351  
 Adam de Stayncliff, Steynclif 1352  
**de Stanley** from Stanley.  
 Thomas de Stanley 1274  
 Walter de Stanley 1274  
 William de Stanley, Staneley 1274  
 Anot de Stanley (f) 1275  
 Ralph de Stanley 1275  
**de Stansfeld** from Stansfield.  
 William de Stansfeld 1350  
**de Staynland** from Stainland.  
 Thomas de Stanland, Staynland 1275  
**Stelyng** from Stelling in Northumberland or Kent, or, “stall place, cattle fold” from a possible OE *\*steling*.  
 William Stelyng 1274  
**del Stevenrod** from Stephen Royd.  
 Richard del Stevenrod 1352  
**del Stockes** from Stocks, or “of the tree stumps”.  
 Richard del Stockes 1275  
 Robert del Stokkis, Stokis 1275  
 John del Stockes 1351  
 Nicholas del Stockes, Stookes 1352  
**de Stodley** from Stoodley.  
 Henry de Stodley 1274  
 William de Stodley 1274  
 William de Stodelay 1350  
**de Storthes** from Storthes Hall.  
 Matthew de Stordes 1275  
 William del, de Storthes 1350  
**de Sugden** from Sugden End or an-

<sup>6</sup> The translator gives this as *del Stabulo* which is possibly a mistranscription of the Latin version, or perhaps the Latin transcription has a typo; later Rolls seem to have the name *del Stable*, so I am listing this under that vernacular name.

other of the Sugden place names in the area.

Hugh de Sugden 1351

**de Sundreland** from High Sunderland in Northowram.

Alcok, Alcoc de Sundreland, Sondreland, Sunderland 1274

Mathew de Sundreland 1274

Henry de Sonderland 1352

**de Suthclif** from Sutcliff Wood.

Hugh de Suthclif 1274

**de Suthorp** from Southorpe in the East Riding.

Robert de Suthorp 1274

**de Swylington** from Swillington.

Henry de Swylington 1275

**de Swynesheved** from Swineshead.

William de Swynesheved 1274

**del Syk'** "of the ditch or small stream". Prob. an abbreviation for *Syke* or *Sykes*.

Richard del Syk' 1275

**de Tetlawe** from Tetlow, in Lancashire.

Hugh de Tetlawe 1352

**de Thirsk** from Thirsk in the North Riding.

John de Thirsk 1352 chaplain

**de Thorn'** prob. from Thornes (see below).

John de Thorn' 1274

**del Thorneleye** from Thornleigh.

Nelle del Thorneleye, Thornyley 1274

**de Thornes** from Thornes (typically referred to in this record as *Spinetum*, but that is a Latin translation of the vernacular).

Magge de Thornes (f) 1274

**de Thornetlay** from an unknown "thorn copse clearing" from OE *þornett* + *lēah* or "thorny clearing" from *þorniht* + *lēah*; Smith mentions a field name which may be the source, Thornetelay.

Cecilia de Thornetlay (f) 1351

John de Thornetlay 1351

**de Thorneton** from Thornton.

Thomas de Thorneton 1274

**de Thornhill** from Thornhill.

Richard de Thornhyll, Thornhill, Thornil, Thornhil 1274

Thomas de Thomil (prob. error for Thornil), Thornhill 1275

**de Thorniceley** from an unknown place.

William de Thorniceley 1275

**de Thornyales** from Thornhills according to Smith, but it may also be from a lost place in Rastrick.

Roger de Thornyales 1350

**del Thorp** from one of multiple Thorpes, including modern Thorpe on the Hill.

Peter de Thorp 1275

Richard del Thorp, Thorpe 1350

**de Thothyll** from Toothill.

Richard de Thothyll 1274

Henry de Totil 1275

**de Thurstanland** from Thurstonland.

Margery de Thurstanland (f) 1275

**de Thwong** from Uppertuong, or nearby Netherthong (both were cited with the *Thoung* spelling in this period).

John de Thwong 1274

Robert de Thwong 1274

William de Thweng, Thwong 1274

Nicholas de Thoung 1275

Thomas de Thoung 1275

Geoffrey de Thwong 1350

Simon de Thwong 1350

**del Toun** "of the village, the town".

Thomas del Toun 1352

**de Trimmingham** from Trimmingham.

William de Trimigham, Trimmingham 1274

**de Turnay** from Tournai, Tournay, or Tourny, in Normandy.

Thomas Turnay, de Turnay, de Tournay 1351

**de Uchethorp** from Ouchthorpe.

Philip de Uchethorp 1274

Ralph de Uchethorp 1274

- William de Uchethorp 1275  
**Underwode** "under the wood"  
 John Undrewode, Underwode 1275  
**Undreclif** "below a cliff or slope".  
 Thomas Undreclif 1274  
**de Waddeswrth** from Wadsworth Moor.  
 Adam de Waddiswrth, Waddeswrth 1274  
 John de Waddiswrth 1275  
 Adam de Waddeswrth 1351  
 John de Waddeswrth 1351  
 Richard of Waddeswrth 1351  
**de Wakefeud** from Wakefield. The *-feud* spelling is very common in the Rolls during this period.  
 Nigel de Wakefeud 1274  
 William de Wakefeud 1274  
**de Wales** prob. from the West Riding location called Wales rather than the country.  
 John de Wales 1351  
**de Wallay** prob. from Whalley in nearby Lancashire. But see also Wol-  
 lay, below.  
 Thomas de Wallay 1350  
 Hugh Wallay 1352  
**de Walton** from Walton.  
 Peter de Waletton, Walton 1274  
 Hugh de Walton 1275  
 Peter de Walton 1275  
 Serlo de Walton 1275  
 William de Walton 1352  
**de Wambewell** from Wombwell.  
 Robert de Wambewell, Wambewelle 1275  
**atte Welle** "by a spring".  
 Roger atte Welle 1350  
**de Welles** prob. "near a group of springs".  
 John de Welles 1351  
**de Werloweley** from Warley.  
 Adam de Warloweley, Werloweley 1274  
 Ivo de Werloweley, Werloley 1274  
 Jordan de Werloweley 1275<sup>7</sup>  
 William de Werloley 1275  
**del West** "from the west".  
 William del West 1352  
**le Western** "from the west".  
 Alice le Western (f) 1275  
**de Westwod** "from the west wood".  
 See also Estwode, above.  
 Thomas de Westwod 1274  
**de Whetlay** from Wheatley.  
 Edmund de Whetlay 1352  
**de Whitacre** prob. modern High Whitaker, in Padiham, Lancashire, not terribly far away from the Wakefield area.  
 Thomas de Whitacre 1350  
**de Whithill** from one of several places of this name both here and in Lancashire.  
 John de Whitill, Whithill 1350  
**del Whitlygh** from a very common place name in the West Riding; modern spellings include Whitley, White Lee, and Whiteley.  
 Richard del Whitlygh 1352  
**de Whitwod** from Whitwood.  
 Adam de Whitwod 1352  
**de Willeys** from an unknown place.  
 Henry de Willeys 1275  
**de Wllewro** from Wool Row.  
 Margery de Wllewro (f) 1275  
 Robert de Wlvewro 1275  
**de Wlvedale** from Wooldale.  
 Alan de Wlvedale 1274  
 Alcok, Alcoc de Wlvedale 1274 (may be the same as Alexander de Wlvedale)  
 Hanne de Wlvedale 1274  
 Henry de Wlvedale 1274  
 Adam de Wlvedale 1275  
 Alexander de Wlvedale 1275 (may be the same as Alcoc de Wlvedale)  
 Hugh de Wlvedale 1275  
 Lovekoc de Wlvedale 1275  
 Mary de Wlvedale (f) 1275

<sup>7</sup> "fined 6d for chattering in Court"—*pro multiloquio in Curia, finivit vjd.*

- Reginald de Wlvedale 1275  
 Thomas de Wlvedale 1275  
 Adam de Wolvedale, Wolfdale 1350  
 Alice de Wolfvedale (f) 1351  
 Nicholas de Wolfdale 1352  
 John de Wolfvedale 1352
- del Wode** “of the wood”. *de Bosco*, *ad Boscum* are Latin forms.  
 Ricardus de Bosco 1274  
 John del Wode 1274  
 Nelle ad Boscum 1274  
 Richard del Wode 1275  
 [...] del Wod 1350  
 Thomas del Wod 1351  
 William del Wod 1351  
 Thomas del Wod, Wode 1350  
 Isabella del Wode (f) 1351
- de Wodehuses** from one of many places in West Yorkshire called Woodhouse; this is probably modern Shelley Woodhouse. The plural form seen here is fairly common in medieval citations of the various Woodhouse places.  
 Adam de Wodehusing, Wodehusing 1274, 75
- de Wodhusum** from one many places in West Yorkshire called Woodhouse, but this one would have likely developed to a modern form Woodsome, as in modern Woodsome Hall. Plural forms are fairly common in medieval citations of the various Woodhouse places; this one seems to preserve an older form, the OE dative plural *wudu-hūsūm*.  
 Henry de Wodhusum 1275
- de Wodthorp** from Woodthorpe.  
 Henry de Wodthorp 1351
- de Wolhous** “of a wool-house”.  
 John de Willehuses 1275
- John del Wolhous, Wollhous 1350
- de Wolker** from an unknown place.  
 Richard de Wolker 1352
- de Wollay** from Woolley. But see also Wallay, above.  
 John de Wollay 'le masron' 1351
- del Woodheved** from Woodhead.  
 Thomas del Woodheved 1350
- de Wortlay** from Wortley.  
 William de Wortlay 1351
- de Wrenneclif** “of a cliff or slope populated by wrens”.  
 John de Wrenneclif 1275
- del Wroo** “a remote, isolated place, a nook”, from ON *vrá*.  
 Agnes del Wro (f) 1274  
 Adam del Wroo 1350  
 Thomas del Wroo 1351  
 William del Wroo 1351
- Wykes** “of a dairy farm (a wick)”.  
 Thomas Wykes 1275
- del Wyndybank** from Windy Bank.  
 Isabella del Wyndybank (f) 1350  
 John del Wyndybank 1350
- de Wynter** from an unknown place, but Smith mentions an unattested OE \**winter*, meaning “vineyard,” so this may be a locative name meaning “one who lives or works at the vineyard”.  
 Nelle de Wynter, de Wynt' 1274
- de Wyrunthorpe** from Wrenthorpe.  
 Roger de Wyrunthorpe 1275
- de Wytewrth** from Whitworth in Lancashire.  
 Geppe de Wytewrth 1274
- de Wytfeld** possibly this is Whitefield in Lancashire. There are Whitefields in the West Riding as well, but the place name isn't cited this early.  
 Richard de Wytfeld, Witfeld 1274

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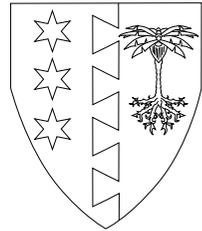
# Names from *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*

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Benjamin ben Jonah was a Jewish merchant, who lived in the city of Tudela in the northern Spanish Kingdom of Navarre in the second half of the Twelfth Century. Some time in 1165, he left the nearby city of Sargossa for a journey that would take him to Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Baghdad and beyond before he returned in 1173. He described that journey in a book, *The Itinerary of Benjamin* (*Masa'ot Binyamin*, also known as *Sefer ha-Masa'ot*, The Book of Travels). Hereafter, I will refer to his work as *The Itinerary*. The map in [14] shows his route.

*The Itinerary* describes the countries he visited, with an emphasis on the Jewish communities, including their total populations and the names of notable community leaders. He also described the customs and types of work of the local population, both Jewish and non-Jewish. There are also detailed descriptions of sites and landmarks he passed along the way, including lengthy descriptions of such cities as Rome, Constantinople, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Baghdad. He includes palaces, churches and synagogues, other important buildings, and tombs. Most notable of the latter is the tombs at the Cave of Machpela, where the Jewish patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah are buried.<sup>1</sup>

Benjamin is noted for the level of detail and accuracy of his material, which matches the information in other period sources. Historians regard him as highly trustworthy, although some of his material beyond Baghdad read more like something he was told, rather than something he experienced.

What makes *The Itinerary* of interest to heralds is that, for the Spain to Baghdad portion of his trip, he also mentioned the names of one or more Jewish leaders in each town. He referred to them mostly by their first names, always using the honorific, Reb. Occasionally, he added a patronymic or descriptive byname.

Since he often gives three names for a community, it has been suggested that those named are the members of the local Jewish court or Bet Din,

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<sup>1</sup> Adam and Eve are also said to have been buried at the site. Jacob's second wife, Rachel, the mother of Joseph, was buried by Jacob on the road to Efrat, just outside Bethlehem [5, 7].

which had jurisdiction over both religious and civil law.

This paper is an analysis of those names by country and region. The three regions I use here are: Western Europe (Spain France, and Italy; 108 individuals), the Byzantine (Greece and Turkey; 70 individuals), and the Middle East (From Antioch to Baghdad; 79 individuals). The regions reflect the three separate cultures and, most importantly, religions: Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Islam in which the Jews lived.

My primary sources in this paper were three versions of *The Itinerary*:

- *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: travels in the Middle Ages*, introduction by Michael A. Signer. (New York, New York: Joseph Simon Publisher, 1983).
- *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, critical text, translation, and commentary by Marcus Nathan Adler, M.A. (New York, New York: Phillip Feldheim, Inc., 1909).
- *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, translated by Abraham Asher, volume 1 “Text, Bibliography, and Translation”, volume 2 “Notes and Essays”. (New York, New York: Hakesheth Publishing Company, 1840). The Asher edition contains work by Leopold Zunz, philologist and writer on (among many other subjects) Jewish onomastics.<sup>2</sup>

I also used *The complete dictionary of English and Hebrew first names* by Alfred J. Kolatch [13]. The Kolatch book has not been favorably received by past Laurel Kings and Queens of Arms:

Kolatch is a modern babynome book, and as a source of information is completely unreliable [Baldwin of Erebor, LoAR dated 18 May XXI (1986)]

In discussion of the submission, Baldwin goes on to say that “it is reasonable to conclude that the entry in Kolatch is derived from modern usage”.<sup>3</sup>

Kolatch. . . is notorious for its lack of interest in drawing distinctions between traditional and modern names [Alisoun MacCoul of Elphane, LoAR dated 25 January XXI (1987)].<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> More information on Zunz may be found in [11]. The material was online on June 13, 2008, at <http://go.galegroup.com/navigator-stlib.passhe.edu/ps/start.do?p=GVRL&u=p12881>.

<sup>3</sup> Baldwin of Erebor, Letter of Acceptances and Returns (LoAR) dated 18 May XXI (1986). The LoAR was online at <http://heraldry.sca.org/heraldry/loar/1986/05/> on June 8, 2008.

<sup>4</sup> Alisoun MacCoul of Elphane, Letter of Acceptances and Returns (LoAR) dated 25 January XXI (1987). The LOAR was online at <http://heraldry.sca.org/heraldry/loar/1987/01/> on June 8, 2008.

I agree. Kolatch gives very little information regarding the time period in which a name was used. He will cite a place in the Bible where a name may be found or state that it was the name of one of the Sages of the Talmudic period (roughly 500 B.C.E. to 500 C.E.). That is his limit. However, I am not using him for that.

I am using him for the purpose that Balwin defines Kolatch, as a baby-name book: to find the correct English spelling of names (based on the Hebrew in the Adler version), their meanings, and any alternative forms. There was no point in using it to document the time period for a name, since I had three separate editions of the primary source in front of me.

The Signer edition was solely in English. The Adler edition contained the Hebrew text, but without the vowels. The Asher edition had vowels, but it was located in the reference section of the Hebrew University of Baltimore. I was unable to consult it until the very end of my research due to its non-circulating status and the 75-mile driving distance from my home to the library.

Hebrew vowel notation consists of marks made above, below, or next to a letter of the alphabet. The vowels are not themselves letter, and a frequently absent from important texts, most notably a scroll of the Torah, the Five Books of Moses, a portion of which is read every Jewish Sabbath and holiday. Hebrew has an advantage over English in being much more regular in its spelling.

To consider the importance of vowels to the understanding of a word, consider that, depending on the vowels used with them, the letters D-G can refer to DOG or EDGE.<sup>5</sup>

Kolatch contained most of the names found in *The Itinerary* with their vowels and with alternative spellings. This is exactly what any “modern babyname book” would contain, and that is how it was used.

The format for this paper will be a discussion of the names by country and region. For the most part, the names given are the original Hebrew in *The Itinerary*. There were a few names, such as Reb Ulsarnu of Lunel, France, for which the Hebrew was simply a transliteration of a name in the local vernacular. Also, the Hebrew name recorded by Benjamin of Tudela does not reflect local vernacular versions by which the individuals were known. Thus, a man with the Hebrew name Avraham was Abraham in France, Abramo in Italy, and Ibrahim in the Middle East.

Where a name appears more than once, a number is given in parentheses. If one or more instances of a given name are the father of an individual, they are separated from the others. For example, there are three individuals

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<sup>5</sup> For a lengthy discussion of the Hebrew system of vowels see [16]. The material was online on June 12, 2008 at <http://go.galegroup.com/navigator-stlib.passhe.edu/ps/start.do?p=GURL&u=p12881>.

in France with Abba Mari as a part of their name: Reb Abba Mari ben Yitzchak of Bourg de St. Giles, Reb Abba Mari of Arles, and Reb Yitzchak ben Abba Mari of Marseilles. For France, then, the name appears in the chart below as Abba Mari (2/1). If a name only appears as the name of a father, it also will be noted with parentheses, for example, also in France, Dovid (/1).

Following the frequency counts for the first names, there will be supplementary discussion of some of the first names, followed by a discussion of bynames. At the end of the paper, I'll show the Anglicized version of a number of the names.

### The Western European region (Fig. 1)

Spain, France, and Italy all three had some history of Jewish persecution, and it has been suggested that Benjamin of Tudela made his journey to see the condition the Jewish communities in these countries as well as to scout possible places of refuge if the persecutions returned or worsened [1, p. 26].<sup>6</sup>

#### Notes on Western European given names

Most of the comments here come from the notes in the Asher edition.

- Abu-al-Gir: This name means “father of the young lion.” Jews living in Islamic areas adopted the Arab custom of referring to a man as *Abu* (“father of”) and the name of his son, usually the oldest son. The next step was to reference a person in the Bible in the same name; for example, any man named Avraham would be called, in Arabic, *Abu Ishaq* “father of Isaac”. Since Abu also can mean “possessor of a given quality”, abstract concepts were applied, such as Abu al-Barakot, “son of blessings”. The Jewish surname *Abulafia* derives from *Abu-al-Fiya* “possessor of health” [4].<sup>7</sup> The individual in *The Itinerary* lived in Amalfi, Italy, which had long traded with Egypt. The Norman kings of Sicily and southern Italy, who lived at the time of Benjamin, tolerated Jews and Muslims and allowed them to settle where they wanted within their lands [6].

Jewish custom calls Jews to adopt a common name, the *kinnui*, for everyday matters. *Kinnui* could be:

- The Hebrew name translated into the vernacular, with *Berichiyah* “blessing” becoming *Benedict*;

<sup>6</sup> Signer suggests that Benjamin was also going *aliyah*; that is, making a religious pilgrimage to Palestine. Benjamin includes the mention of numerous synagogues and tombs in his work, as well as a visit to Jerusalem. That city was almost empty of Jews, since most were killed when the Crusaders took the City in 1099 and few were allowed in.

<sup>7</sup> The material was online on June 14, 2008 at <http://go.galegroup.com/navigator-stlib.passhe.edu/ps/start.do?p=GVRL&u=p12881>.

FIGURE 1. Western European Region

Spain	France		Italy	
Avraham	Abba Mari (2/1)	Moshe (3)	Abu-al-Gir	Menachem (2)
Binyamin	Aharon	Natan (2)	Achimatz	Moshe
Chisdai (/1)	Antolin	Natanel	Avraham (2)	Natan (3/1)
Shealtiel	Asher	Reuven	Binyamin	Pelit (/1)
Sheshet	Avraham (5)	Shimon	Chananel	Shabbetai (/1)
Shlomo	Benevist	Shlomo (5)	Chayim	Shallum
Yonah (/1)	Binyamin	Shmuel (2)	Chizkiah	Shlomo (1/1)
	Chalafta	Simeon	Conso	Shmuel
	Dovid (/1)	Tivon	Consoli (1/1)	Tzemach
	Eleazar	Todros (/2)	Daniel	Yechiel (2)
	Kalonymos	Tovi	Dovid (2)	Yehudah
	Levi (/1)	Ulsarnu	Elisha	Yisrael (2)
	Libero	Ya'akov (5/1)	Elijah	Yitzchak (3)
	Machir	Yehudah (3)	Hamon	Yo'ab
	Meir (/3)	Yeshaya	Kalev	Yosef (3)
	Melchi Tzaddik (/1)	Yitzchak (6/1)	Kalonymos	Zaken
	Menachem (/1)	Yosef	Mali	Zerach
	Meshulam	Zacharyah	Meir (2)	
	Mordechai			
Most Common Names in Region				
Yitzchak (9/1)	Ya'akov (7/1)	Meir (2/3)	Yehudah (3/1)	Dovid (3)
Avraham (8)	Yosef (6)	Natan (4/1)	Abba Mari (3)	Elijah (3)
Shlomo (7/1)	Moshe (5)	Shmuel (4)	Binyamin (3)	Menachem (2/1)

- A name similar in sound to—or using some of the letters in—the Hebrew name, such as *Robert* for *Reuben*;
- A nickname derived from the Hebrew name, such as *Hok* and *Copin*, derived from *Yitz-hok* and *Ya-a-kov*, respectively, or *Biket* from *Rebecca*;
- A Biblical link to the Hebrew name; for example, taking the references made by Jacob on his deathbed (Genesis 49) or Moses in his final oration to the Children of Israel (Deuteronomy 33), so that *Judah* became *Leon* (“Judah is a lion’s whelp” [Genesis 49:9]). Other times, a more obscure reference was used. Jacobs suggests that *Jornet*, coming from the word “jerkin” (jacket) was a *kinnui* for *Joseph*. And, in what seems to be a rare instance, the name *Belaset* was derived from *bella assez* (“fair to look upon”) and applied to *Rachel* (“Rachel was fair to look upon” [Genesis 29:17]).
- A reference to the day the individual was born, with *Bonevent* (“good day”) referred to a child born on a holiday, especially

### Passover [12].<sup>8</sup>

The phrase “al-Gir” may be a kinnui for the name Judah. The name Judah has been linked with a lion (or lion’s whelp) ever since Jacob blessed his sons in Genesis 49:9, with variants on “lion” serving as both a given name and a surname throughout Western Europe.

- *Conso* and *Consoli*: These may be kinnui for Moses, who was referred to as the master counselor of history. A later form, *Consiglio*, was used during the Renaissance [9, p. 140].
- *Chalافتa*: The name was mostly used in France [3, vol. 2, pp. 9–10].
- *Kalonymos* and *Todros*: Two of the three Greek names that have been used by Jews since ancient times. The third is *Alexander* (from Alexander the Great). *Kalonymos* means “beautiful name”, while *Todros* means “gift from G-d” and is akin to *Natan* (*Nathan*), which means the same in Hebrew.
- *Kalev*: The equivalent of the English name *Caleb*. Asher says that the name was more frequently found in Greece [3, vol. 2, p. 10]. The Byzantine Empire and their Muslim rivals fought over Southern Italy for several centuries before being driven out by the Normans around the year 1100. The Normans were tolerant of both cultures, which left remnants, including names.
- *Libero*: [3, vol. 1, p. 14] gives the alternate *L’varo*. The name may be a variant of *Levi*.
- *Melchi Tzaddik*: This name means “King of the Righteous” and may have been an honorific applied to a particular individual, rather than a given name.
- *Shabbattai*: According to [3, vol. 2, p. 20], prior to the 16th century, this name was found in Italy and Greece, rarely in Germany, and even more rarely in Spain.
- *Sheshet*: The name, which means “sixth (son)”, was used from the 11th to the 13th Centuries in Catalonia, Aragon, and Provence, but almost nowhere else. It may reflect the Roman (and Italian) habit of using cardinal numbers as given names.

### Notes on Western European bynames

Most of these bynames had the Hebrew prefix *ha*, which means “the”, in front; for example, *ha-Kohane* and *ha-Rophe* mean “the Cohane” and “the healer”, respectively.

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<sup>8</sup> The article was online on June 14, 2008 at <http://heraldry.sca.org/laurel/names/jewish.html>.

- *Darshan*: The term means “preacher” and refers to an individual who wrote and delivered homilies in a synagogue on the Sabbath.
- *Kohane*: The term means that individual is descended from the high priests of ancient Israel. Use of the byname is, thus, prescribed and should not be used by someone who is not a Cohane.
- *Paroosh*: This is an obscure term meaning “recluse” or “ascetic”.
- *Parnas* and *Rosh*: The text identifies two categories of community leader. The *Parnas* (warden) oversaw the collection and distribution of communal charity. The *Rosh* (head) was the chief officer of the community, sometimes with the responsibility of affixing his name to legal documents [1, pp. 143–144]. The titles were used in all three regions discussed in this paper.
- *Rophe*: The word means “healer”. The Hebrew name Raphael means “G-d will heal”. In modern times, it is usually translated as physician, but it could as well mean “herbalist”, “healer”, or “surgeon”, which was a different profession from a physician. *Rophe* also appears as a byname in the other regions.
- *Zakan*: The byname means “elder”. It may refer to the individual’s age or status.

There were also a number of locative bynames that reflect, to some extent, the mobility of the Jewish population.

- *M’Har Napos*: The prefix *M* translates as “of” or “from”, while “har” means “mountain”. This individual is from Mount Napos.
- *Narboni*: Reb Abraham Narboni (of Narbonne) lived in Salerno.
- *Perpignano*: This name may refer to the town of Perpignan in city in S. France, near the Spanish border, although the earliest mention of Jews in Perpignan dates from 1185 [8].<sup>9</sup> They are said to have owned real estate around this time, and Reb Ya’akov Perpignano was described in the text as “a wealthy man” [1, p. 62].
- *Sephardi* and *Yavani* mean that the individuals so named were from Spain (*Sepharad*) and Greece (*Yavan*); the individuals in *The Itinerary* were Reb Yehudah ben Tivon, the Spaniard, and Reb Eliyah, the Greek. *Sephardi* also can be found in the other regions discussed in this paper.

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<sup>9</sup> On June 13, 2008, this material was available online at <http://go.galegroup.com/navigator-stlib.passhe.edu/ps/start.do?p=GURL&u=p12881>.

### The Byzantine region (Fig. 2)

This region included all of the territory ruled from Constantinople. The influence of this Empire extended across the Mediterranean as far as Sicily and southern Italy and into the Balkans.

FIGURE 2. Byzantine Region

Greece		Turkey	
Aliv	Moshe	Abba	Shabbattai
Avraham	Netanya	Aharon	Shabtha
Chayim	Ork	Aviyah	Shamarya or Shmaiah
Chiyah	Shabbattai (3)	Avtalyion	Shlomo
Chizkiya	Shalom	Bechor	Ya'akov (2)
Elazar (2)	Shelachiah	Chananel	Yehudah
Eliab	Shilo	Elijah (3)	Yitzchak
Eliyah (3)	Shlomo (4)	Elyakim	Yoel
Emanuel	Shmuel (3)	Heiman (/1)	Yosef
Guri	Ya'akov (4)	Moshe	
Kalev	Yedayiah	Ovadya (2)	
Kuti	Yeshayah		
Leon	Yitzchak (3)		
Machir	Yoktan		
Micha'el (2)	Yosef (4)		
Most Common Names in Region			
Elijah (6)	Yosef (5)	Shmuel (3)	Moshe (2)
Ya'akov (6)	Shabbattai (4)	Elazar (2)	Ovadya (2)
Shlomo (5)	Yitzchak (4)	Micha'el (2)	

### Notes on Byzantine given names

Again, most of the comments here come from the notes in the Asher edition.

- *Bechor*: The word means “first-born” or “elder”. Kolatch says that it was used as a first name among Sephardic Jews [13, p. 34]. It should be noted that the Jews scattered across the Mediterranean after the Expulsion from Spain in 1492. The term ‘Sephardim’ now refers to most Mediterranean Jews, including those whose ancestors lived in the Byzantine region long before being joined by their Spanish co-religionists.
- *Guri*: This name means “lion” and may be a *kinnui* for *Yehudah*.
- *Kuti*: Adler suggests that this is a “pet name” for Yekutiel [3, vol. 1, p. 47].

- *Micha'el*: This name is only found among Greek Jews [3, vol. 2, p. 43].
- *Ork*: This name is the Hebrew version of the name of Reb Hercules of the Greek city of Arta.
- *Yoktan*: Asher describes the name as “rare” in [vol. 2, p. 37].

### Notes on Byzantine bynames

Most of the bynames in this region were physical descriptors:

- *Kapur*: “short” [3, vol. 2, p. 55].
- *Magas*: “big, tall” [3, vol. 2, p. 55].
- *Zutra*: “little” [3, vol. 2, p. 55].

Or locative bynames:

- *Lombardo*: “the Lombard”.
- *Mitzri*: “the Egyptian.”

The one exception was *Psalteri*. None of the editions explain or comment on this name. Since the word means a collection of the psalms, which were prayers intended to be sung, one possibility is that the byname was a *kinnui* for a singer of psalms; that is a *chazzan*, the person who leads the singing in communal prayer.

### The Middle Eastern region (Fig. 3)

This is the remainder of *The Itinerary* though Benjamin’s descriptions of the City of Baghdad, “the great city and the royal residence of the Caliph Emir al Muminin al Abbasi. . . the head of the Mohammedan religion” [1, p. 95].<sup>10</sup>

### Notes on Middle Eastern given names

- *Chen*: The name means “grace, charm”. It is the masculine form of the name, with *Channah* (*Anna*) as the feminine form of the same name.
- *Sar Shalom*: This name translates as “Prince of Peace”. (*Sar* is the masculine equivalent of *Sarah*.)
- *Yehosef*: This name is a variant of *Yosef*.
- *Zaken*: The name means “old” or “ancient”. There is a folk tradition in Judaism of renaming a very sick child with a name like *Chayim* (“life”) or *Zaken*, so that the Angel of Death can’t find him or her. “I’ve come for the child,” the Angel says, and the reply is that that there is only Zakan (the Old One). Confused, the Angel leaves, and the child survives [15, pp. 204–206].

<sup>10</sup> Benjamin’s description of Baghdad covers some six pages.

FIGURE 3. Middle Eastern Region

Aharon	Eli (/1)	Shlomo (4)
Avraham (4)	Ezra	Simchah
Azaryah	Heiman	Tahor
Bostanai (/1)	Ishmael	Tzadok (2)
Chagi	Matzliach	Tzemach (1/1)
Chanan	Meir (3)	Uziel
Chananyah	Mordechai	Ya'akov
Chayim (2)	Moshe (2)	Yavin
Chen	Mubchar	Yefet
Chisdah (/1)	Muchtar	Yehosef
Chiyah (2)	Nedib	Yehoyakim
Chizkiya	Netanel	Yitzchak (4)
Daniel (2)	Ovadaya	Yonah
Efrayim	Sar Shalom	Yosef (7)
Elazar (2)	Shmuel (2)	Zaken
Elchanan	Shet	Zakkai (3)
Most Common Names in Region		
Yosef (7)	Chayim (2)	Moshe (2)
Avraham (4)	Chiyah (2)	Shmuel (2)
Shlomo (4)	Daniel (2)	Tzadok (2)
Yitzchak (4)	Elazar (2)	Tzidkiya (2)
Meir (3)		

### Notes on Middle Eastern bynames

- *Chozah*: This term can be translated as “astronomer”, “astrologer”, “seer” or “prophet.”
- *Dayan*: This is the title of a member of the Jewish Courts that could be found in all three regions. Jewish communities were allowed a great deal of autonomy in matters covered by Talmudic Law, both religious and secular [10].
- *Nasi*: This title means “Prince”. In some cases, it denoted that the individual was descended from King David. In other cases, it was an appointed title for the head of the community.

There were several individuals with the locative bynames: *Constantani* (from Constantinople). People were also identified as coming from Tyre and the town of Carcassone.

**Anglicized names (Fig. 4)**

The table below shows the most common English language version of some of the names on the regional lists above. It is given here to allow for those who would want a more familiar version of the Hebrew name.

FIGURE 4. Anglicized Names

<b>Hebrew</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Hebrew</b>	<b>English</b>
Aharon	Aaron	Ovadya	Obediah
Avraham	Abraham	Reuven	Reuben
Avtalyion	Abtalion	Shlomo	Solomon
Binyamin	Benjamin	Shmuel	Samuel
Chagi	Haggi	Tivon	Tibbon
Chizkiya	Hezekiah	Ya'akov	Jacob
Dovid	David	Yehudah	Judah
Efrayim	Ephraim	Yitzchak	Isaac
Eliyah	Elijah	Yoel	Joel
Kalev	Caleb	Yonah	Jonah
Micha'el	Michael	Yosef	Joseph
Moshe	Moses	Zacharyah	Zachariah
Natan	Nathan		

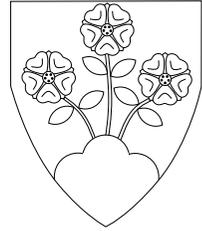
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# Names of property owners in northern Hungary, 1427



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The following data come from Engel Pál, *Kamarahaszna-összeírások 1427-ből* (Akadémiai kiadó, Budapest: 1989). This is an annotated edition of a primary source, namely, the five surviving booklets detailing the collection of a royal property tax in 1427.<sup>1</sup> The booklets were written up by county: Abaúj, Gömör, Sáros, Torna, and Ung. These counties cover an area which is mostly in modern Slovakia, though parts of Ung county are in Ukraine now, and 131 of the mentioned towns and villages are within Hungary's modern boundaries.

The documents are written in Latin, and all five booklets follow the same format: the county is divided into “circuits” (*reambulatio*), and after giving the name of the circuit judge (*iudicis* or *iudicis nobilium*, Hungarian “szolgabíró”), the scribe gives a list of items consisting of a placename, the name of the owner of property there, and the number of units assessed in that place under his name.<sup>2</sup> Because of this format, **most of the names are in Latin genitive (possessive) case**. The places are listed in no particular order, except for sections of Ung county, which show some effort to sort places by property owner.<sup>3</sup>

Notation: square brackets around a period spelling of a name (or part of a name) are reproduced from my source; I believe they indicate editorial expansion of an abbreviation or unreadable section. If a modern Hungarian

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<sup>1</sup> The tax was called in Latin *lucri camere* “profit of the chamber”, since it went directly to the royal treasury (called *Kamara* in Hungary up to the 19th century). The tax was assessed according to the number of “portals” or “gates” (Latin *porta*) belonging to a particular person. It didn't matter if two or more houses used one gate, or if one house had more than one gate.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the masculine pronoun is not accidental: only 5% of the property owners are women, all but two of them identified as widows—and one of the exceptions is the queen.

<sup>3</sup> Engel (the editor) hypothesizes that the random order is a result of the method of data collection, which probably involved some sort of improvised record at the scene of tax collection (perhaps slips of paper, perhaps even sticks of wood with the information carved onto them using the old Hungarian runic alphabet). The booklets are all in one scribe's handwriting, and appear to have been written up as a continuous task, with an eye toward permanence and presentability.

name is in square brackets, it means the name is not in use modernly (or not with the same gender). Latin nominatives in square brackets indicate the expected fully-Latinized form of names which don't really look Latinized in the data.

## 1 Name patterns

The following are the most common broad patterns of names found in this set of documents.

Frequency	Pattern	Details (see Key, below)	Examples
353, 27%	Given name with locative byname	GdL 257; GL94; other 2	Georgii de Dob, Danielis de Peren, Mychaelis Monak, Nicolai Thybay
304, 23%	Given name only	G de eadem 201; G 48; G eiusdem 29; eiusdem G 23; other 3	Joze de eadem, Andree, Johannis eiusdem, eiusdem Nicolai
180, 14%	Given name with patronymic byname	GfG 62; GP 43; GG 42; GfD 30; other 4	Petri filii Herricy, Ladislai Desew, Emerici Johannis, Nicolai filii palatini
172, 13%	Description only, no given name	D(d)L 90; D 30; D de eadem 25; other with D 18; other 9	dominorum de Palocha, abbatis, nobilium de eadem, episcopi Agriensis
149, 11%	Given name with descriptive byname	GB 124; GD 22; DG 3	Georgii Cinege, Mychaelis magni, Nicolai palatini, magistri Sebastiani de eadem

### Key:

**G** given name in Latin genitive case (e.g., *Georgii* “George’s”)

**L** Hungarian placename

**B** Hungarian byname (e.g., *Cinege* “titmouse”)

**D** Latin description (either an office or title like *prioris* “prior’s” or a translated byname like *magni* “the great’s”)

**P** Hungarian patronymic (father’s name)

**f** *fili* “son’s”

**d** *de* “of”

**de eadem** roughly, “of the same (place)”

**eiusdem** “as before, see previous item”

Other patterns include those where the taxpayer is not identified by name, for example (*Nagbrezna*) *Pazkasie . . . (Kysbrezna) eiusdem* “(Greater Brezna) Pazkasia’s . . . (Lesser Brezna) the same’s” (64 examples, 5%); specifically feminine taxpayers such as *relicte Jacobi* “Jacob’s widow’s” or *domine Cristine* “lady Christina’s” (57, 4%); and given names with multiple by-names, such as *Petri filii Sebastiani de Belse* “of Peter son of Sebastian of Belse” (7 examples, all but one of them circuit judges; 0.5%). Note that in this last pattern, all the examples are of the form GXdL, where X is D, B, (f)G, or P.

### Special note on feminine name patterns

Of the 1300 or so items in the data, only about 60 belong to women, and only 10 of them name the woman in question. Of these ten, six are given the title *domine* “lady’s”, one is described as *relicte* “widow’s”, and three are listed with just the lady’s given name. Most of the remaining women are listed using some version of the formula *relicte* [husband’s name]: rG (21), rGX (25), and even (in one instance) rB.

## 2 Masculine Given Names, sorted by frequency

I counted each property owner (as identified by the editor in the index) only once, to prevent the richer landowners’ names from skewing the numbers. I did keep track of the number of occurrences of each given name, and of the frequency of each variant spelling. The first column gives the modern Hungarian form of the name, and the next one is the most probable or usual Latin nominative form.

Modern Hungarian	Latin nominative	Number	Individuals	%	Spellings (Latin genitive)
János	Johannes	220	66	14.6%	Johannis 210, Joannis 1
László	Ladislaus	105	57	12.6	Ladislai
Miklós	Nicolaus	112	49	10.9	Nicolai
Péter	Petrus	67	34	7.5	Petri
István	Stephanus	48	26	5.8	Stephani
György	Georgius	71	24	5.3	Georgii
Jakab	Jacobus	42	21	4.7	Jacobi
András	Andreas	58	18	4.0	Andree
Mihály	Michael	19	14	3.1	Mychaelis 17, Michaelis 2
Pál	Paulus	19	14	3.1	Pauli
Tamás	Thomas	29	12	2.7	Thome

Balázs	Blasius	15	12	2.7	Blasii
Imre	Emericus	48	8	1.8	Emerici
Zsigmond	Sigismundus	24	7	1.6	Sigismundi
Simon	Simon	19	7	1.6	Sinka 10 <sup>4</sup> , Symonis 7, Symion 1, Sinkae 1
Gergely	Gregorius	10	6	1.3	Gregorii
Sebestyén	Sebastianus	7	6	1.3	Sebastiani
Benedek	Benedictus	6	6	1.3	Benedicti
Bertalan	Bartholomeus	13	5	1.1	Bartholomei
Mátyás	Mathias	7	5	1.1	Mathye
Lőrinc	Laurentius	5	5	1.1	Laurentii
Antal	Anthonius	4	4	0.9	Anthoni
Ferenc	Franciscus	19	3	0.7	Frank 10 <sup>5</sup> , Franciscy 8, Fran- cisci 1
Fülöp	Philipus	11	3	0.7	Philipi 9, Philipy 2
Dénes	Dyonisius	3	3	0.7	Dyonisii 2, Dyonissii 1
Illés	Elias	3	3	0.7	Elye
Dávid	David	3	2	0.4	Dauid
Ernye	<sup>6</sup>	2	2	0.4	Erne
Gáspár	Gaspar	2	2	0.4	Gaspar, Gasparis
Márton	Martinus	2	2	0.4	Martini
Szaniszló	Stanislaus	2	2	0.4	Stanizlay

The following each occurred as the name of a single individual.

Modern Hungarian	Latin nominative	Occurrences	Spellings (Latin genitive)
Mátyus	Matheus	18	Mathius 14, Mathyus 4
Dániel	Daniel	14	Danielis
Detre	Dettricus <sup>7</sup>	8	Dettricy

<sup>4</sup> Kázmér s.n. Sinka: < *Sinka* ~ *Simka* hypocoristic (shortened form of *Simon*, or possibly *Simjén* < Lat. *Simeon*, old ecclesiastic personal name + *-ka* diminutive suffix).

<sup>5</sup> Engel treats *Frank* as a different name from *Ferenc* (*Franciscus*); two landowners are named as the former, one as the latter.

<sup>6</sup> Kázmér s.n. Erne: < *Erne* ~ ? *Ernye* old secular personal name. Engel notes that this name was written in error for *Emerici*.

<sup>7</sup> From German *Dietrich*.

Henrik	Henricus	4	Herricy <sup>8</sup>
[Józsa]	[Joseph/Johannes] <sup>9</sup>	3	Joze
[Majos]	[Moses] <sup>10</sup>	3	Mayosse
Gyula	Gwla <sup>11</sup>	2	Gwle
Lukács	Lucas	2	Luce
Sándor	[Alexander] <sup>12</sup>	2	Sandor
Albert	Albertus	1	Alberti
Bálint	Valentinus	1	Valentini
Barnabás	Barnabas	1	Barnabe
Bereck	Briccius	1	Briccii
Domokos, Domonkos	Dominicus	1	Dominici
Egyed	Egidius	1	Egidii
Gál	Gallus	1	Galli
[Justus]	Justus	1	Justi
Kelemen	Clemens	1	Clementis
Tivadar	[Theodorus] <sup>13</sup>	1	Thiuarar

### 3 Feminine Names

Four feminine given names occur in the data, each as the name of a single individual: *Kathkow*, modern Hungarian *Katkó*, a diminutive of *Katalin*, Latin nominative *Catherina*; *Cristine*, modern *Krisztina*, Latin nominative *Cristina*; *Marthe* (twice) and *Marte* (once), modern *Márta*, Latin nominative *Martha*; and *Pascasye*, *Pazkase*, *Pazkasie*, *Pazkasye*, or *Paskhasye*, which the editor translates as *Paska*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Kázmér s.n. Herke notes that *Henrik* had a variant *Herrik*.

<sup>9</sup> Kázmér s.n. Józsa indicates that this can be a pet name for either *Joseph* or *Johannes*. Modernly, *Józsa* has changed genders: it's now used as a feminine counterpart of *József* "Joseph".

<sup>10</sup> Kázmér s.n. Majos indicates that this is a variant of *Moses* (through the form *Moy-ses*, shortened to *Mojs* ~ *Majs*). It's not uncommon as a patronymic.

<sup>11</sup> Kázmér s.n. Gyula: < *Gyula* old secular personal name. As a patronymic, it's usually spelled *Gyula* or *Gywla*, or sometimes *Giula*. In 12th–13th century documents, it appears as *Giula*, *Gyula*, *Gula*, and *Iula*. Its occurrence here as a given name is very surprising: like most "native" (non-Christian) names, *Gyula* went out of fashion during the 1300s, and wasn't revived until the 1800s. The name is modernly sometimes translated *Julius*.

<sup>12</sup> Ladó says Hungarian *Sándor* derives from an Italian or German diminutive of *Alexander*. The equivalence is not in question, but I have been unsuccessful so far in locating an example of a man identified both ways, or even of *Alexander* in use later than the 13th century.

<sup>13</sup> Kázmér says *Tivadar* derives from Latin *Theodorus*. Ladó concurs, and adds the derivation sequence *Teodor*, *Tiodor*, *Tiadar*, *Tivadar*.

<sup>14</sup> This is not a name that made it into the modern Hungarian name pool, and Kázmér doesn't mention it as a feminine name. (This individual is clearly a woman: she's called *domina* 'lady' several times.) Kázmér s.n. *Paska*: < *Paska* ~ *Páska* prob.

Based on other contemporary documents, the editor gives names for a few women who are mentioned in the data only by description or relationship (usually as *relicte X* “X’s widow’s”). These are: *Anna* (three individuals, Latin *Anna*), *Dorottya* (one person, Latin *Dorothea*), and *Margit* (one person, Latin *Margaretha*).

## 4 Patronymic bynames

Most of the names occurring as patronymics (father’s names) occur also as given names, but there are examples of what Kázmér Miklós categorizes as “old secular” names, most of which went out of use during the 1300s. The first column below gives the relevant (modern Hungarian) header name from Kázmér’s *Régi Magyar családnevek szótára* (Dictionary of Old Hungarian Family Names).

Header Name	Spellings	Frequency	Individuals	Notes
László	filii Ladislai 27, filii Ladislai 1, Ladislai 1	29	3	
Mihály	filii Mychaelis	6	3	
János	Johannis 16, filii Johannis 2	18	2	
Henrik	Herricy 8, filii Herricy 6, filii Herrichy 1	15	2	
Jakab	filii Jacobi 7, Jacobi 3	10	2	
Simon	Symonis 7, filii Symonis 1	8	2	
Benedek	filii Benedicti	3	2	
Pál	filii Pauli	3	2	
Lóránd	filii Lorandi, filii Lourand	2	2	variant of <i>Roland</i>
Sebestyén	Sebastiani, filii Sebastiani	2	2	
Ödén	filii Ewdyn 3, Ewdyn 3, Vdyn 2, Vdyni 1	9	1	( <i>Eugenius</i> )
Dezső	Desew	8	1	( <i>Desiderius</i> )
Úza	Vza 6, Wza 1	7	1	old secular
Dobó	Dobo	5	1	old sec.

hypocoristic (from *Paszkal* ~ Lat. *Paschalis* old ecclesiastic personal name’s earlier *Paskál* ~ ? *Páskál* variant). For a nominative form, my best guess is to replace the final ‘e’ with ‘a’: *Pascasia* and variants.

Imre	Emerici	5	1	
Korlát	Korlath	4	1	var. of <i>Konrad</i>
Basó	Bazo, Baso, Basow	3	1	diminutive of <i>Basil(eus)</i>
Ramocsa	Ramacha 2, Ramcha 1	3	1	old sec.
Bod	Bod, Bood	2	1	old sec.
Csató	Chathow	2	1	old sec.
Dacsó	Dacho, Dachow	2	1	dim. of <i>Dániel</i>
Dancs	Danch	2	1	dim. of <i>Dániel</i> , <i>Damo(n)kos</i> , or <i>Damján</i>
Elek	Allexi, Allexii	2	1	
Ferenc	Franciscy, filii Francisci	2	1	
István	filii Stephani	2	1	
Pető	Pethow, Pethw	2	1	dim. of <i>Péter</i>
Pongrác	filii Pangracii	2	1	( <i>Pancratius</i> )

The following each occurred once. Names in parentheses are the relevant (modern Hungarian) headwords in Kázmér: Adfya (Ad), filii Anthoni (Antal), filii Blasii (Balázs), filii Beke (Beke), Bewkes (Benkes), Bodou (Bodó), Boni (Bon, short for Bonifác), Bonch (Bonc), Ders (Derzs), Detricy (Detre), filii Dominici (Domonkos), filii Egidii (Egyed), Farkas (Farkas “wolf”), Forgach (Forgács), filii Georgii (György), Jwga<sup>15</sup>, Kompolth (Kompolt), Makow (Makó, dim. of Makarius), filii Mathyus (Mátyus), filii Nicolai (Miklós), filii Petri (Péter), Vyd (Vid), filii Wylhelmi (Vilmos).

## 5 Descriptive bynames

The following Hungarian bynames describe some aspect of the bearer (or an ancestor of his; some of these may be inherited). Some of them can also be patronymics, usually based on “old secular” names. The first column is the (modern Hungarian) byname as given by Engel in the index of landowners, and the third column is derivation information from Kázmér under that heading (or under a cross-reference).

<sup>15</sup> The editor identifies this person as the son of *Juga*, from Slavonia.

Index form	Spellings	Meaning	Frequency	Individuals
Apród	Aprod	“small”, “child”, or “page”	1	1
Baglyas	Baglos	“with owl, owl-y” (metaphor- ical), or “hay- stacker”, or “uncombed, tangle-haired”	1	1
Bánó	Bano	patronymic, or short for an occupa- tion “one who deals with X”, or “sad, grieving, re- gretful”	4	4
Bor	Bor	patronymic, or “wine”: metonymic	1	1
Bot	Boo[d], Bod	patronymic, or “stick, staff”: metonymic	2	2
Cinege	Cinige, Cinege	“titmouse” (bird)	2	1
Csirke	Chyrke	“chick, fledgling”, or patronymic	1	1
Cudar	Zudar	“rascally, base, mean”	37	1
Fácán	Facian	“pheasant” (bird)	2	1
Fakó	Fako	“faded, dull”	1	1
Fejér	Feyer	“white”	2	1
Fogas	Fogas	“big, good teeth” or “giant pike- perch” (fish)	12	1
Gombos	Gombus	“button- maker”	5	1
Herceg	Herceg	“prince”	1	1
Hős	Heues	“young, unmarried man”, or “hero”	1	1
Kakas	Kakas	“rooster” (bird)	1	1

Kaponyás	Kaponas, Kapo[nas]	“with a type of bucket”: metonymic	2	1
Kardos	Kardus	“with sword”: metonymic for a soldier or swordsmith	1	1
Kónya	Kona	“droopy”	1	1
Kövér	Kower	“fat, stout”	1	1
Lengyel	Lengend, Lengen	“Polish, from Poland”	2	1
Ördög	Erdegh, Wrdugh	“devil”	2	2
Orosz	Oroz, [Or]oz	“Russian, Ruthenian”	2	1
Orros	Oros, Orrus	“with (the) nose”	2	2
Pálca	Palcha	“wand, ba- ton; scepter”: metonymic	1	1
Perzselt	Perselth	“scorched”	1	1
Piros	Piros	“red” (or rarely, matronymic)	1	1
Polhos	Polhos	variant of “fluffy, soft”	1	1
Porkoláb	Porkolab	“castellan” or “warden, jailer”	1	1
Ravasz	Rawaz	“fox” or “clever”	2	2
Sánta	Santha	“lame; uneven gait”	1	1
Sós	Sos	“salty”: metonymic	6	2
Székely	Zekel	“Sekler, east- ern Transyl- vanian”	1	1
Tegzes	Texws	“with quiver”: metonymic for an archer or craftsman	1	1
Tompa	Thompa	“dull, slow (of wit)”, or “apathetic”	1	1
Tornyos	Tornus	“towering”: tall	3	1
Török	Thurok	“Turkish”	1	1
Törpe	Terpe	“dwarf”	1	1

Varjú	Waryas, Waruy, Wariu 2, Variu	“crow” (bird)	5	4
Véres	Veres	“red”	1	1
Zsoldos	Soldus 7, Soldos	“mercenary” (soldier)	8	1

It’s a stretch to consider them names, really, but the following Latin words occur as descriptions accompanying a given name. Both the given names (represented here as G) and the descriptions are in Latin genitive case. (In the last item, *condam* is a misspelling of Latin *quondam* ‘formerly’.)

Nominative	Meaning	Spellings	Individuals
banus	governor of a province in Hungary’s southern marches (Hungarian “bán”)	G bani	2
castellanus	castellan, castle warden (Hungarian “várnagy”)	G castellani 3	2
iudex	judge	G iudicis	3
litteratus	scribe, scholar (“lettered”)	G litterati	1
magister	master	magistri G	1
magnus	“big, great”: senior	G magni	2
palatinus	palatine (highest dignitary of Hungary, second only to the king; Hungarian “nádorispán”)	G filii palatini 21, G palatini 6, palatini G	3
parvus	“small”: junior	G parvi	1
plebanus	parish priest	G plebani 3	1
prior	prior (head of a priory)	prioris G	1
vaiuoda	voivode: governor of Transylvania (Hungarian “vajda”)	G filii vaiuode 8, G vaiuode, G condam waiuode	1

In addition, the following Latin titles or positions occur alone or with non-personal names (usually with placenames: *abbatis de Sceplak*, *civitatis*

*Cassa, episcopi Agriensis*, etc.): abbatis 12 times (4 individual entities; “abbot’s”), capituli 3 (1, “chapter’s”), civitatis 1 (“of the citizens”), despotis 7 (2, “governor [of Serbia]’s”), dominorum 61 (10, “of the lords”), episcopi 3 (2, “bishop’s”), heremitarum 1 (“of the anchorites”), nobilium 28 (23, “of the nobles”), and prepositi 26 (5, “provost’s”). There are also ten mentions of the king and queen, none of them by name: domine regine 2, regine 2, regis 6.

## 6 Locative bynames

Engel’s placename index lists nearly 1300 towns where tax was collected. Analyzing their names is beyond the scope of this article; I have restricted myself instead to listing the places which occur more than once in locative bynames of taxpayers. (A locative byname is based on the name of a place, and identifies where the person came from, where he lives, or where he owns property.) The modern placenames in the first column are based on the modernized names found in the index of property owners. For those places that appear in the placename index, I’ve noted the relevant county or counties (by initial: **A**baúj, **G**ömör, **S**áros, **T**orna, **U**ng).

Modern placename	County	Spellings	Occurrences	Individuals
Bárca	A	Barcha, Baroch	2	1
Beje	G	de Bey	2	1
Berzevice	S	de Brezeuice	20	3
Besenyő		Besenow	2	1
Budamér	S	Bodomer, de Bodomer 6	7	1
Csap	U	de Capy, de Chapy	2	1
Császlóc	U	Cascholch, Chascholch	2	1
Csetnek	G	Chithnyk, de Chethnek, de Chithnek 2, de Chithnyk 6, de Chythnek 4, de Chythnyk 3	17	3
Csoltó	G	de Colthow	2	2
Daróc	S, U	de Daroch	2	1
Derecsény	G	de Derenchen, de Derenchez, de Renchen	3	1

Dob		de Dob, de Doby 6, Doby 4	11	1
Dobó	S	de Dobo	3	2
Dobsza	A	de Dobow, de Dobsa	2	2
Eger		Agriensis	2	1
Füge	G	de Figey, de Fyge 2	3	2
Gagy	A	de Gaad, de Gad 5, Gaag	7	1
Gecse	A	de Geche	2	1
Helmec	U	de Helmech	2	2
Homonna		de Homonna 2, de Hompma 6, de Hompmona 3	11	2
Jánosi	G	de Janosy	2	1
Jászó	A	de Jazow	7	1
Kapi	S	de Kapy 7, Kapy 5	12	1
Lapispatak	S, A	de Lapispatak, de Lapispathak	2	2
Lelesz		de [Lelez], de Lelez 5	6	1
Liptó		de Liphthouia, Lypthow	2	2
Losonc		Lochonch	7	1
Lucska	S, U	de Luchka	2	1
Mislye	A	de Mysle	6	1
Németi	A, U	Nemphy	2	2
Pálóc	U	[de] Paloch, [Paloch], de Paloch 2, de Palocha 9, Paloch 11	24	4
Pásztó		de Pazthoh, Pa(zthoh)	2	1
Pelsóc	G	de Pelsewch 2, de Pelsewcz 3, de Pelsewlch, de Pelsowch 4, de Pelsowlch 15, de Pelsowlcz	26	3

Perény	A	[de Peren], de Peren 33, Peren 26	60	6
Putnok	G	de Puthnok	5	2
Recsk		de Reechk	7	1
Roskovány	S	de Roskouan	3	1
Rozgony	A	de Rozgon 3, Rozgon 4	7	3
Ruszka	A, U	de Ruzka	3	1
Sebes	S	de Sebes	8	1
Semse	A	de Scempse 4, de Scemse 5	9	2
Siroka	S	de Siroka	2	1
Somos	S	de Somos, de Somus 9, Somus 12	22	3
Sóvár	S	de Souar	3	1
Szalonna		de Zalona, de Zolna	2	2
Szécs	G	de Seech, de Zeech 7, Zeech	9	3
Szécsény		de Zechen	4	1
Szepes		Scepsyensis	3	1
Széplak	A	de Sceplak 3, Sceplak 3	6	2
Szeretva	U	de Seredahel, de Zerethwa	2	1
Szin	T	de Schyn 2, de Scyn 2, de Sczen, de Sczyn 4, de Zeen	10	1
Szuha	G	de Zwaha	2	2
Tarkó	S	de Tarcha 2, de Tarku, de Tarkw 7	10	3
Ternye	S	de Terne	2	2
Trocsány	S	de Trochan, Trochan	2	1
Upor		de Vpor	3	1

## 7 Undeciphered bynames

For completeness, the following are the fourteen bynames (27 occurrences, 2%) which I have been unable to decipher with any certainty. Names in parentheses are the forms (if any) found in the index of property owners.

All but Bebek and its variants<sup>16</sup> occur for a single individual: Akor (Akor); Bako (Bakó); Bebek 2, Bebuk, Bubek 4, Bwbek 3, filii Bebek (Bebek); Bodolo (Bodoló); Bonch; filii Buken; filii Fykche; Kecher 2, Kekcher 2 (Kecer); Koporch (Koporcs); Lanchelath (Lancelát); Ozolch (Osolt); Sor (Szor); Vidar (Vidar); Zobona (Szobonya).

## References

- [1] Engel Pál, *Kamarahaszná-összeírások 1427-ből*, in új Történelmi Tár: *Fontes Minores ad Historiam Hungariae Spectantes* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989).
- [2] Fehértói Katalin, *Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000–1301)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004).
- [3] Kázmér Miklós, *Régi Magyar családnevek szótára, XIV-XVII. század* (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1993).
- [4] Kiss Lajos, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára*. 2 volumes: A–K, L–Zs (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997).
- [5] Ladó János, *Magyar utónévkönyv* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984).

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<sup>16</sup> According to Kiss Lajos, there is (modernly) a hill called *Bebek* in the Bükk mountains, between the Szamos and Kraszna rivers (near modern-day Romania, I think), and another peak called *Bebek-tető* in Gömör county (modern-day Slovakia). He derives the placename from a personal name recorded in 1325: *Dominicum, dictum Bebek*, and says the personal name is of Slavic origin. Whatever its origins, the name is clearly functioning in these records as an inherited family name. It was a prosperous family: it's represented by four individual property owners, along with many items belonging to the family as a whole.

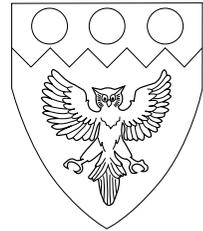
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# Manuscript and e-text sources from northern Europe

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Medieval manuscripts from the different Nordic countries are not always as easy to find. This is due to various factors; national borders changing, the destruction of medieval manuscripts, the cost of digitization and the fact that book production was never at such a high level as on the Continent. But there are some gems and hopefully this presentation will help more people discover them.

For more background information about Scandinavian (especially Swedish and Icelandic) archives and libraries. I recommend the CARA session articles from the University of Arizona [4]. Web URLs go to the English version of a site if such has been found.

## Collections

### **The Danish Royal Library [7] (Denmark)**

The largest collection of e-manuscripts in Scandinavia can be found on the website of the Danish Royal Library. The three, pre-16th century sections, are the “Codices Laitini Hauniensis” which contains Latin texts from the 7th until the 16th century, the “Fragmenta Latina Hauniensia” which contains 3350 fragments of various texts and the section “Middle Ages and Renaissance” which seems to be everything else.

When looking at the manuscripts another window opens and you are met by an introduction on the first page. The photos of the manuscript pages are quite clear and you are able to see the manuscript pages in two different grades of magnification. More decorated versals are provided with a close-up.

### **The manuscripts of Lund University [12] (Sweden)**

Of its 67 volumes the Manuscript Department of Lund University has to date digitized 64. The manuscripts are dated between the 10th—16th century and come from all over Europe. The digitization is fairly simple, you see a list of thumbnails which become a photo when clicked on, there is no magnification. Both an abbreviated and a detailed description with a bibliography are available for each manuscript.

## Medieval parchment fragments at the Bergen University Library [14] (Norway)

FRAGMENT, as the project is called, is an interesting little collection of various manuscript fragments. It's divided into three sections, "Latin fragments at the Bergen University Library", "Old Norse fragments at the Bergen University Library" and "Latin fragments at the Bergen State Archives". Each set of fragments are given a detailed description and you are able to get a close-up of the photos.

## Árni Magnússon Collection [1] (Iceland/Denmark)

Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) was an Icelandic professor who worked at Copenhagen University (the capital of not only Denmark but Norway and Iceland as well) and he was also an avid collector of Icelandic manuscripts. This huge collection (the largest in Europe) later became the property of the Arnamagnaen Foundation at Copenhagen University. In 1971 manuscripts of national significance to Iceland were returned and the rest were kept in Copenhagen. Unfortunately, none seem to be fully digitized, though 13 examples from the Copenhagen collection can be seen online at <http://arnamagnaensk.ku.dk/haandskriftssamlingen/eks>.

Each book has a photo of an example page with information in Danish. Especially the Codex Runicus is worth a look. It's from the oldest known version of the Skane book of Laws and although it was written around 1300 it's written completely in runes! More information about where various Icelandic manuscripts can be found at [3].

## Single manuscripts

### Codex Gigas—The Devil's Bible [6] (Sweden)

Measuring 89cm tall and 49cm wide (35"×19.5") the Codex Gigas is probably the largest surviving medieval manuscript in Europe. It derives its name not only from a vague legend that tells how the devil helped finish the book, but also from a huge picture of the devil seemingly pressed within the book on page f.290r. It's thought to have been made in Bohemia though its exact age and origin is unknown. The earliest known dating is 1295 which is due to the fact a note was found telling how the monks of Podlažice pawned it to the monastery at Sedlec. It was brought to Sweden during the 30 Years War (beginning of the 17th century) as loot from Prague and is currently on display in the National Library of Sweden (Kungliga biblioteket).

The Codex is composed not only of the Bible but several other books as well. Apart from the Old and New Testament it contains "The Antiquities" and "The Jewish War" by the first century author Flavius Josephus, an Encyclopedia by the Spanish sixth century author Isidor, a collection of medical texts, the "Chronicle of Bohemia" by Cosmas of Prague (who lived

during the 11th–12th centuries) as well as a few other shorter texts, in conclusion a whole library in one book.

The National Library has been very thorough when it comes to describing this book and it's well worth clicking on each link in the left-hand column to find all the sub-pages of information. The online version of the codex has been divided into folders according to text and each page can be magnified as well as be converted into a form that is printable.

### **Codex Argentus—The Silver Bible [5] (Sweden)**

The most extensive remaining Gothic language document is the Codex Argentus. The website doesn't state why it's called that but it's written in silver and gold on purple parchment as well as having a cover made out of chased silver so one can guess. The Codex was written in Ravenna in the 520s and contains the Gothic version of the four gospels as written by Bishop Ulfias (Wulfia) 300 years earlier. Of the original 336 leaves only 188 remain.

It too was a part of the loot from Bohemia but was given to Uppsala University in 1669 by Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (he also commissioned the silver cover) and is now on exhibit in the Carolina Rediviva Library Museum.

As for the digitization of the manuscript there is only a link to the e-text version of the book "Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis" from 1927. It has two color pictures as well as photos in black-and-white and is a study of the codex.

### **French book of hours [11] (Norway)**

This book of hours was digitized by the University of Bergen. Unfortunately the description is only in Norwegian but it's very easy to use. According to the description it was made in the North of France sometime during the 1470s. Although you you can set the page magnification as high as 200%, the photo resolution just becomes grainier and it's clearest at 100%.

### **Other websites of interest**

Although there is still much to do when it comes to digitizing manuscript in northern Europe there are several interesting sites where the text, if not the pictures of manuscripts have been made available, here are a few choice selections.

### **MENOTA—The Medieval Nordic Text Archive [13] (Scandinavia)**

This is the largest collection of links to Scandinavian medieval text and manuscript sources online. It contains a database of twelve medieval Nordic

texts (approximately 700,000 words) as well as various lexicographic sources and interesting links.

To properly view the texts you should download at least a few of the recommended fonts that are available for free on the site.

### **Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrev [18] and others (Sweden)**

I have found the Diplomatariums invaluable when for search for name references, especially the Swedish one. For although the database “Sveriges Medeltida Personnamn” (Swedens Medieval Personal Names) [20] is easier to use, it ends at *Holmger*. So if you want a name after *H* the Diplomatarium is very useful.

It’s a searchable database that contains approximately 11,200 letters written before the year 1540. Instructions in Swedish. The letters are searchable by “Brevnummer” (letter number), “Datering” (date), “Ortnamn” (place name) “Personnamn” (name of person) and “Brevtext” (letter text). The letters are usually transcribed. To see the original wording (if such exists) click on the link “visa brevtext”. When searching for a name I recommend trying various spellings.

For Viking names I recommend the “Nordiskt Runnamnslexikon” [15] which is an excellent collection of names taken directly from various runstones. A 5th edition [16] has now been published as a book and can be ordered via their website.

### **Diplomatarium Fennicum [8] (Finland)**

A simple searchable database that contains the materials of Finlands Medeltidsurkunder (Finlands Medieval Documents) and Abo Domkyrkas Svartbok (the black book of Abo Cathedral) (approximately 7000 letters). Instructions are in Swedish and Finnish. The database is searchable by period, by letter number and by text search. The texts have a Swedish abstract as well as the original text.

### **Diplomatarium Danicum [9] (Denmark)**

Contains the introductory e-text to the actual letters which can be found under the link “Danmarks Riges Breve” (The letters of the kingdom of Denmark). It contains approximately 2000 letters from between the years 1401–1412 and there is a text search function. Instructions are in Danish.

### **Diplomatarium Islandicum [10] (Iceland)**

This can be found in the Internet Archive where various fulltext versions have been made available. If I’ve understood it correctly it contains 725 letters. In the text format you can use word search and there is also a word search function in the flip book format.

### The Scaldic Project [19] (Iceland)

This edited database of Icelandic poetry is a collaboration between several different Universities. The most interesting part from a SCA heralds perspective is the section called “Scalds”. It lists the *fullnames* of 396 scalds in alphabetical order and gives a good overview of how Norse bynames were constructed.

### MICHAEL—Multilingual Inventory of Cultural Heritage in Europe [17] (Europe)

Lastly I wish to make a special mention of the MICHAEL database. It provides information of digital resources from libraries, archives museums etc. from all over Europe. Many links to various European Manuscripts can be found in it, though the search functions are a bit lacking and I recommend trying several different type of searches for the best results.

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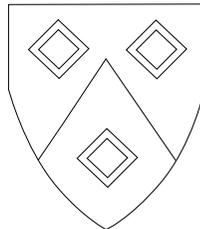
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# Mein büchlein—re-constructing Dürer’s sketchbook

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On his 1520 trip to the Netherlands to attend the coronation of Charles V (October 23, 1520), Albrecht Dürer took two small sketchbooks; one for silverpoint drawings and one for ink. Also, fortunate for historians, he kept a journal of his journey and noted in it when he made particular drawings in “mein büchlein.” Both books were taken apart into separate leaves (in the 19th century [13, Intro]) but we can tell from the size of the drawings that the ink sketchbook measured about 4 inches by 6.25 inches and the silverpoint book measured roughly 5 inches by 7.5 inches.<sup>1</sup>

This paper will examine the questions of how the artist’s sketchbook came to be the commonplace item we know today, its construction and use by artists of the early 16th century.

## When was the sketchbook invented?

Sketching must be an ancient art; it is the method used by artists to prepare for larger works and to study their craft. Modernly it’s hard to think of an artist without a sketchbook. . . but when did this ubiquitous accessory of the artist first really come to be?

In earlier centuries there are a great many copy books of templates or drawings by a master artist used by illuminators which may be regarded as an early sort of sketchbook. A 14th century wooden “Sketchbook” is likely a copy book where most of the drawings are not from life but preparations for miniature paintings.<sup>2</sup> Gessoed wooden panels could be used for drawing practice by artists where a simple damp cloth could wipe the slate clean for constant re-drawing much like even earlier wax tablets or the disappearing art of chalk on slate. The wooden sketchbook is just six pages of thin wood lashed together and we can only speculate at the reasons why it survived intact rather than being wiped clean.

While Dürer was still a young apprentice and journeyman (around 1480–1500), Leonardo da Vinci was filling his famous notebooks. While not

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<sup>1</sup> From numerous sources including [14, pp. 61–62].

<sup>2</sup> This particular “sketchbook” is examined in depth in [8].

strictly sketchbooks, these note books contained sketches as well as notes, research and theories. Drawing seems to appear almost as an overnight sensation in the 15th century. Most drawings that exist from earlier are models or preparatory sketches for paintings; we do not see drawings as the end product. Why suddenly do we see books for writing and sketching only at the end of the 15th century?

## The rise of paper

While most books were being made on paper in the Middle East for centuries, there was a remarkable resistance to paper in Europe until the mid 15th century when paper suddenly became a popular and profitable business. Why? Some point to the dynamic changes of the Italian Renaissance on the world of art, but I feel a more pragmatic answer is the real key; the advent of the printing press. Parchment and vellum are poor surfaces for printing while paper is both inexpensive and excellent for taking print. The rise of printing made books more available to the general public and demand for books increased the production. This affected artists profoundly; drawing—which had previously been an ephemeral art constantly erased or covered up—rose as its own medium. The earliest known collections of drawings date from 1500 [14, p. 13]; coincidentally in the middle years of Dürer’s illustrious career. Dürer himself holds notoriety as being one of the first artists to sign and date a drawing in 1485 [14, p. 15].

## What sort of paper?

Paper in northern Europe around 1520 would have been made of waste fabric, rags and sometimes raw plant fiber “laid” onto screens which leave a tell-tale pattern on the paper. While most paper of the time would be linen, it is possible that other fabrics used in clothing such as cotton, silk, hemp fabrics or blends of these fibers may have entered the mix of scraps of fabric being cut up and tossed into the paper-making pile. Most modern paper is made of cotton, while papers containing even a small portion of (now) expensive linen are hard to find. There was a cotton industry in Italy and southern Spain from the mid-twelfth century through the fifteenth century and cotton papers were reported as early as the mid-twelfth century according to Maureen Fennell Mazzaoui. However, “locally produced linen seems to have been preferred over cotton in the production of paper” [9, p. 270].

Dürer notes in his records frequently doing drawings on paper and purchasing paper for low costs; 3 stivers (a stiver being apparently 1/12th of a florin [8, p. 64]) as opposed to parchment which was purchased for 19 stivers. (Unfortunately, Dürer neglects to say how much paper and parchment was involved in the purchase!), and once doing a drawing on parchment for a

very important lady and taking much care with it [8, p. 54]. In [5], the authors note that most of the leadpoint drawings surveyed were on parchment, with a few on unprepared paper and of 63 silverpoint drawings, 6 were on unprepared parchment (sections 4 and 5.1). Blank books for sale most likely would have been destined to be for ledgers or accountants more often than artists and would have been made up of the less expensive paper; saving parchment for serious works.

## Binding the sketchbook

In the 16th century most books were not sold bound. Bindings could be more expensive than the book and owners would commission bindings to suit their tastes. Bound books most often had wooden boards forming the front and back covers (which would provide a good hard surface to draw upon.) However, Dürer, from his accounts, comes across as a fairly money conscious individual and not likely to spring for an expensive binding for his sketchbooks. I suspect they were bound if only to keep them tidy and intact in the rigors of travel. Limp binding was a less expensive option and the binding method of choice for musical scores, legal documents and student's text books. While it is hard to find any two 16th century bindings which are identical<sup>3</sup>, the historic "soft cover" book was most often one of two major varieties: The text block sewn to cords or leather thongs which were laced into a soft vellum cover (sewn on supports) or text block sewn with long stitches directly through the cover on to a leather spine reinforcement (long stitch ledger binding).

Either of these binding strategies would be possible for Dürer's sketchbook, I've not found a source yet which mentions the original binding (unfortunately bookbinding is historically an overlooked artform). I suspect that sewn to supports like the da Vinci notebook (and more prestigious unbound manuscripts) was more likely, if only because Dürer was a craftsman and would have appreciated the sturdier binding.

## Sewing the text block

For both the "long stitch" binding and sewing onto supports you need to first gather signatures of pages. These gatherings are pierced with a sharp tool (an awl, most likely) at measured distances where the stitching will be done with thread. Linen thread seems to be preferred. In long stitch these gatherings are simply stitched through the pages right to the binding. When binding on supports, the stitches are wound around cords (usually leather

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<sup>3</sup> Pickwood describes "a near bewildering array of different structural variants. I have so far found only three sets of bindings which are even nearly identical in terms of structure..." in a collection of books belonging to a particular family in 16th century France which he rather expected to find much more similarity given the limited geography and time frame [4, p. 131].

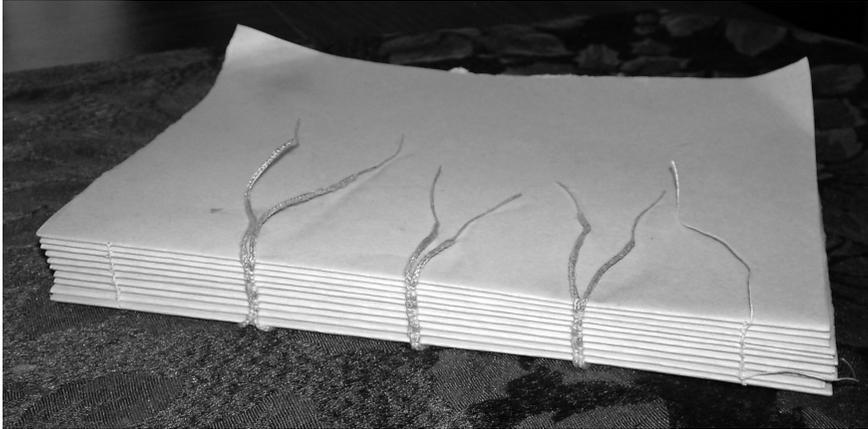


FIGURE 1. My attempt at a text block sewn on three paired supports of linen cord. Note the line of kettle stitch on either side of the supports.

or parchment, though cloth is known<sup>4</sup>). These supports can be single or double. Doubled supports were the norm in the 15th century, gradually supplanted by single supports for all but the more expensive bindings in the 17th century [4, p. 139]. In the 1520s, a good argument can be made for either single or double supports in Dürer’s sketchbook, did he select an older, sturdier style or a newer, cheaper one? In general the more supports the larger the book, though some small books even have several supports. The more supports, and if the supports are paired, the longer it takes to stitch the text block and the more the book would have cost [4, p. 134]. Three supports seems to be most common for small, limp bound books based both on Pickwood’s analysis of the Ramey collection and my own, less scientific, observation of photos of bindings of the period.

### “Comb” or “mull” and end papers

In modern bookbinding, a “mull” is a strip of fabric which covers the spine and extends a little past it between the text block, endpapers and the cover.<sup>5</sup> Some 16th century limp bindings seem to have a strip of parchment in the same position, as seen in Figure 2.

This is also an excellent image of an end paper which has wrinkled and torn along the parchment support. Pickwood describes a parchment comb

<sup>4</sup> Fabric cords are certainly rare. [12] mentions only one 16th century binding done with cords (on page 49) though notably Pearson is more interested in the tooling and decoration of the covers than with the inner structure of the bindings.

<sup>5</sup> Watson has a very accessible definition on page 18 of [17], with a diagram on page 14.



FIGURE 2. Photo courtesy of Edward L. Eisenstein; the book is a Baptismal Manual from Venice dated 1562.

lining, giving the practice either German or Italian origin first appearing in France at the beginning of the 16th century [4, p. 147]. He, unfortunately, doesn't explain exactly what he meant by comb, I suspect it is simply a folded piece of parchment with slots cut to make room for the sewing supports. Two alternatives for a comb spine support are a solid piece of paper or parchment without any slots to make room for the supports or separate pieces of paper for each space between the supports.

It appears that most surviving limp bindings do have end papers, though this is not always the case, Pickwoad notes that “binders were content even on calf-covered bindings to save on paper when the textblock provided blank leaves at the end” using the blank leaves as the paste down [4, p. 148]. A blank sketchbook would have had no text pages to consider so it is possible that the binder would have used the blank first and last pages as the end papers. Even if the sketchbook had separate end papers, they may not have been actually pasted down, in the mid-16th century binding pictured in Figure 4, the end paper was only held in place by the cover ties.

### **End bands or none?**

At the same time that end bands (the cording at the top and bottom of a book binding) were becoming purely decorative in hard bound books, they



FIGURE 3. Another photo from Edward L. Eisenstien showing the open side of the “comb” on a 16th century limp binding. Also note the three single support cords and two end bands with the thread wound around them.

became structural in limp bound books and appear more frequently. The point of transition is about in the mid 16th century so that looking at a limp bound manuscript if you see the tell-tale diagonal stitches at the corners, you are more likely looking at a later binding.<sup>6</sup> The 1520s was just before this change so it is most likely (though not certain) that Durer’s sketchbook lacked end bands.

### Straps to secure it shut

Straps and latches were important for limp bound volumes to keep the pages flat regardless of changes in humidity. Limp bound manuscripts would not be likely to have metal straps (the metal would tend to pull and tear at the vellum without wood to hold it stiff) and are rarely found without some sort of tie to keep the vellum covers from curling in heat. Many extant books have either ties or holes where they used to be. (See Figure 5.)

### Drawing media

Now that we have a book and pages, we need to draw upon them! For artists of the early 16th century three media were used for drawing, alone or mixed. Many drawings are extant with mixed media, for example sketched in chalk and silverpoint, then heightened with pen and ink and washes of ink and lead white added with brush.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Pickwood notes that limp bound manuscripts rarely have endbands before the 1560s; a reverse trend from hard bound books due to a change in limp bound technology [4, p. 145].

<sup>7</sup> For further reading on drawing media, I highly recommend [18] which goes into depth on all the media described lightly here.

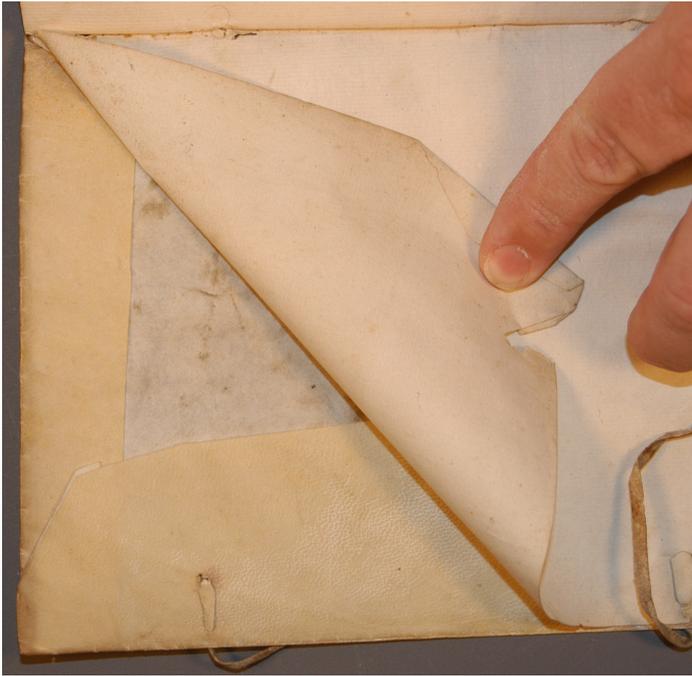


FIGURE 4. From Edward L. Eisenstien's collection.

### **Pen and ink**

Arguably the cheapest and most versatile media, a wing feather from a goose and inexpensive ink are all that is required. Ferrous inks such as oak gall ink were likely used, though simple thinned black paint can also add itself to drawing and some ink recipes do involve mixing black pigment with reactive inks. Durer's smaller sketchbook specifically was filled with ink drawings done with either pen or brush (it's hard to tell the difference between a fine brush and a soft, flexible feather pen!)

### **Chalk**

Black chalk, or charcoal was used frequently for the initial strokes of a drawing that might be covered over with a finer media, or for drawing on its own. White was either natural white chalk or lead white applied with a brush. Red chalk made from red earth (also called sanguine) is more often associated with Italian renaissance artists, but it was also employed by artists of the Northern renaissance. All three colors were frequently used together. These chalks were harder and finer grained than what we



FIGURE 5. Another photo from Edward L. Eisenstien showing a 16th century limp binding on two supports with two leather ties laced through the cover. Also note the diagonal stitches at the corners of the spine indicating end bands (and dating this book to most likely post 1560).

modernly think of as chalk. Red chalk drawings from the 16th century have a fineness to them you might expect of a modern mechanical pencil.

### Silverpoint

In [13] the authors note that Dürer's sketchbook used a silverpoint of an alloy of  $10.6 \pm 3.5$  wt.% of Cu and traces of Zn [13, p. 9]. In [5, §5.2.1] the authors note that the silverpoints were largely silver-copper alloys with zinc impurities: "The copper concentrations vary from less than 0.5% to more than 25%", the purity of the silverpoint varying greatly from artist to artist, workshop to workshop and country to country (and, I suspect, silver merchant to silver merchant!) It is helpful to note that modern sterling silver, having 7.5% impurity (usually of copper) falls well within the average range of these historic silver points, where modern silverpoint artists prefer fine silver (99.9% pure).

The paper would need to have been prepared to take the point before drawing. By preparing the whole sketchbook in advance, Dürer could draw upon it as freely as a modern artist does with a graphite pencil, without pause or preparation. One question is if the paper was prepared before the

book was bound or after. I suspect after only because the act of binding could possibly cause damage to the prepared surfaces and it is likely the book was bound without that purpose in mind. The extant silverpoint drawings have a pinkish tinted gesso.

According to Cennini [22], parchment should be prepared for silverpoint drawing with bone white: *On the parchment you may draw or sketch with this style of yours if you first put some of that bone, dry and powdered, like dust or pouncing rosin, all over the parchment, sprinkling it on, spreading it about, and dusting it off with a hare's foot.* Modern silverpoint artists use commercial gesso to prepare the paper. Both techniques are designed to create a more toothy or textured surface. The drawings on parchment that have survived do not have any gesso [5, §§4,5.1], likely because just the normal preparation for calligraphy of pouncing<sup>8</sup> the surface with pumice creates enough tooth for drawing. Whereas drawings on paper, like Dürer's sketchbook, most often have a thinly applied gesso. This gesso may have been made up of chalk or bone white mixed with a thin binder (like gum Arabic) and a little pigment for color.

The final piece of re-creating Dürer's sketchbook is to draw, though with less skill than the master!

## Appendix I: da Vinci's notebooks in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Paris

These are found on-line at the Reunion des Musees Nationaux: <http://www.photo.rmn.fr/cf/htm/Home.aspx>, accessed November 6, 2007.

**Manuscript A** 0.213 m. by 0.148 m. 1490–1492—flap

**Manuscript B** 0.232 m. by 0.165 m. 1485–1488—flap

**Manuscript C** 0.314 m. by 0.220 m. 1490–1491

**Manuscript D** 0.223 m. by 0.159 m. 1508–1509

**Manuscript E** 0.151 m. by 0.102 m. 1513–1515—four stitch holes

**Manuscript F** 0.145 m. by 0.100 m. 1508–1509—four stitch holes

**Manuscript G** 0.140 m. by 0.097 m. 1510–1516—four stitch holes

**Manuscript H** 0.102 m. by 0.074 m. 1493–1494

**Manuscript I** 0.100 m. by 0.074 m. 1494–1497—flap

**Manuscript K** 0.099 m. by 0.067 m. 1503–1508—rebound, 19th century?

<sup>8</sup> To pounce the paper or parchment, take some powdered pumice and put it into a square of cloth, fold up the corners and lightly tap and rub the bundle against the paper; tiny particles of pumice will go through the cloth onto the paper. Brush the excess away with a fluffy brush. Conversely, you can just sprinkle the page with the powdered pumice.

**Manuscript L** 0.109 m. by 0.072 m. 1497–1502—four stitch holes, original fold in!

**Manuscript M** 0.100 m. by 0.070 m. 1495–1499—four stitch holes

## Appendix II: List of extant drawings from Durer's sketchbook and their current location [13].

Title	Date drawn	Museum	Inventory number
Portrait of P. Topler and M. Pfinzig	Oct 1520	Berlin	KdZ 4179
Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle	Oct 1520	London	1895,0915.982
Town hall of Aix-la-Chapelle	Oct 1520	Chantilly	893(316)r
Portrait of Caspar Sturm	Oct 1520	Chantilly	893(316)v
Lying dog	1520	London	1848,1125.3r
Two women	1520	London	1848,1125.3v <sup>9</sup>
Portrait of a person in front of St. Michel of Antwerp abbey	Oct 1520	Chantilly	892(315)r
View of Bergen op Zoom	Dec 1520	Chantilly	892(315)v
Young and an old woman	Dec 1520	Chantilly	891(314)r
Lazarus Ravensburger and the tower of Liere	Nov–Dec 1520	Berlin	KdZ35r
Two girls	Dec 1520	Berlin	KdZ35v
A young woman of Bergen-op-Zoom and a girl of Goes	Dec 1520	Chantilly	891(314)v
Der Chor der Groote Kerk	?	Frankfurt	15269v
Marx Ulstat, beautiful woman of Antwerp	Feb/Mar 1521	Frankfurt	15269r
Sitting bishop and man with a fur cap	?	Berlin	KdZ34r
Lying dog	Apr 1521	Berlin	KdZ34v
Two studies of a lion	Apr 1521	Berlin	KdZ33v
Lying lion	1521	Vienna	22385 D 145v
Mortar	1521	Bremen	(until 1945)
Table with can	1521	London	1921,0714.2v
Coffer	1521	London	1921,0714.2r
Saddled horse from a pageant	1521	Nürnberg	HZ5488v
Tile design	1521	Nürnberg	HZ5488r
Head of a woman	1521	Bremen	(until 1945)
Woman in dress of Cologne (Agnes Dürer)	1521	Vienna	22385D143
Two castles	1521	Nürnberg	HZ5487
Portrait of a man and Krahnenberg next to Andernach	June 1521	Berlin	KdZ3r

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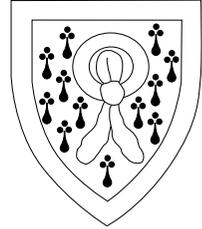
# Medieval college “diplomas”: determination announcements at the University of Vienna, a report and a reconstruction

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The “determination” was an essential part of life at a medieval university: a public discussion of a topic of debate (the *quaestio disputat*) in which an aspiring scholar presented a viewpoint and countered arguments from all comers. Such a discussion was the culmination of several years of academic study, and marked his acceptance as a bachelor of arts. While a student might have to obtain several certificates before the determination, no certificates marked its successful completion. Sometimes, though, there was a determination announcement—a brief notice posted in a public place to inform scholars and students of the upcoming disputation. Five from the University of Vienna have survived, some richly decorated. In this report I will place these announcements into their historical context, and describe how I have recreated a decorated one.

## The medieval university in Europe

The word *university* is derived from the Latin *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, “community of teachers and scholars”, and indicates its origins as a sort of guild of master and apprentice thinkers. The proper name for the institution was *studium generale*. Its graduates received the *ius ubique docendi*, the right to teach at all other universities without further examination.

Boys as young as 14 (but not girls) could matriculate into a university after completing preparatory study of the *trivium*—grammar, rhetoric, and logic—and the *quadrivium*—arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. These seven “liberal arts” remained the basis of six years of study in the faculty of arts, leading to the *baccalaureate* or bachelor’s degree. Once this degree had been conferred, the student could leave the university, or study for the master’s degree in one of the three other faculties—law, medicine, or theology (universities aimed to have four faculties, but not all could get the pope’s permission for a theological faculty). Early European universi-

ties include the University of Bologna (founded 1088), University of Paris (ca. 1100) and the University of Oxford (11th century). Universities proliferated in Spain and Italy during the 1200s, and elsewhere in Europe from 1300 on. The University of Vienna was the third university founded north of the Alps, founded in 1365 by Duke Rudolf IV of Austria and his two brothers (all contending for the throne at the time). Starting any university was a tricky affair, requiring political support and a local infrastructure amenable to growth. The University of Vienna itself had to be “reformed” (refounded) later, in 1385, after Albrecht III, Rudolf’s brother, succeeded to the throne. From this date it had all four faculties, and it became prominent in European affairs, such as the councils of Pisa (1409), Constance (1415–1417) and Basel (1432–1447). It drew many students from central and Eastern Europe, and counts among its professors and alumni Galeazzo di Santa Sofia of Padua, who conducted the first anatomical demonstration north of the Alps; astronomer Johannes von Gmunden; and two Renaissance popes, Enea Sylvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) and Enea’s nephew Francesco Todeschini (Pope Pius III).

## University debate and the determination

A medieval scholar’s worth was measured by his ability to marshal arguments in public disputation with other scholars. The framework for these mental gymnastics lay in the work of the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle. Aristotle was initially suspect, as a pagan whose work was received via Muslim scholars; but ultimately his work was brought into harmony with Christian thought by Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologiae*. The chief format for these debates was the *quaestio disputat*, a format used by medieval scholars to address a *quaestio* or problem, just as class lectures, conference papers or journal publications are used by scholars today.

The *quaestio disputat* consisted of five parts:

- The posing of the *quaestio*.
- Objections to the position that the scholar will ultimately defend.
- The *sed contra*: a quote or passage from an authority (perhaps Scripture or a Father of the Church) indicating the position that the scholar will defend.
- The *responsio*, or body (*corpus*); the scholar’s determination of the question, outlining his position.
- The scholar’s defense of his position and reply to each objection posed earlier.

## The process of determination

The baccalaureate examination was called a determination, and followed the above rules. The process differed to some extent among universities. At Oxford, it could be either closed to all but the masters, or open to the public; and it was part of a larger process, outlined as follows [16, p. 4]:

- Preparatory training on a selected topic (*quaestio*).
- Gathering testimonials to the candidate’s character and promise.
- Examination (the determination proper).
- Granting of the *licentia docendi* (license to teach).
- Swearing the “oath of obedience” to the statutes of the university.
- Public and formal reception by the masters, with conferring of title of master.
- Disputation, by selected masters.
- Lecture by the new master.
- Banquet for the masters.

As to the determination, one week beforehand the determiner would bring copies of the *quaestio* to the masters and graduated bachelors. The determination would be announced ahead of time—at Vienna, by posting a written announcement of the topic the day before the event. On the day of the determination, the lecture hall would fill with students—some sober, some not—and masters. Once the determiner officially posed the *quaestio*, students would begin to yell out objections from the audience. Perhaps a scribe would write down the objections. The determiner would present the *sed contra*, begin his *responsio*, reply to the objections, and offer his conclusion. The presiding master would end the affair with a passage from Sacred Scripture. The masters would then (usually) grant the determiner the license to teach.

The inception of the new master usually occurred within a few days, and was a separate public ceremony. The new master swore an oath of obedience, then received his tokens of membership in the “guild” of scholars—a biretta or scholar’s cap, a ring, perhaps a book, or a rod with which to discipline one’s students. Following a disputation by the masters, the new master would give his inaugural lecture. Then he would host a grand banquet for the masters. From this point on he might—and was often required to—give lectures at his university, or proceed to a higher degree.

To our point, there being no written final exams at medieval universities, the determination marked the rite of passage from student to baccalaureate, wherein the candidate proved he could perform the intellectual tasks of the master.

## The determination announcements

Further, it is important to note that at no point was a diploma issued to the student (there is no indication that granting the “license to teach” involved receipt of an actual written license). However, at Vienna during the 15th century, the required announcement of the determination took the form of a note written and posted in a public place. The five that have survived shared the same fate—to have been to be sent as scrap paper to local monasteries for reuse as end-papers in newly-bound books. These five have been identified by K.-G. Pfändler and Alois Haidinger [15]. [7, 8] notes that three, in the collections of the abbey of Klosterneuburg, date from 1471–1474 (though not dated themselves, they can be dated to within a few months with the help of the University student register). Two others are in other collections, and date from the 1450s.

I will discuss two of these announcements: one of the two from the 1450s, and one of the three from the 1470s.

The first announcement dates to 1454–1455, and announces a disputation to be held by Caspar Griessenpeck of Landshut, possibly an established doctor of medicine. It is preserved as an end-paper to Nicolaus de Lyra’s *Ambrosius* at the Franziskanerkloster in Graz, Austria (Cod. A 67/30, Nachsatzblatt). The book (and hence the sheet, though it was likely trimmed a bit) appears to measure about 7 × 11 inches. The entire text is present, in Latin, written in a competent batarde hand in brownish-black ink. It has no decoration other than a single swash capital. I guess it may have been a piece of routine work by a university scribe, and may represent the norm (or at least the norm of the 1450s).

It stands in stark contrast to the second, which dates to 1471, and announces the determination of Rupert Rindsmaul of Hall on the Ems, a student under Master Peter of Halsbach. It is preserved as an end-paper, unfortunately removed from an unidentified manuscript, in the Archive of the Abbey at Klosterneuburg near Vienna (Stiftsbibliothek Fragm. 340). It appears to measure about 11 × 15 inches (twice the estimated size of the first; it too appears to have been trimmed), and is cracked down the middle—likely it was pasted across both the inside cover and the first page of a book, and later split along the fold. Again, the entire text is present, written in a formal batarde hand with *textura quadrata* elements, in a black ink. It includes six penwork capitals, decorated borders with birds and gold drops, and an initial with gold leaf. The text, calligraphy, and decoration can be compared with one from 1474 (Stiftsbibliothek Fragm. 342, reproduced in [8, Abb. 6, p. 201]). The two are clearly from the same workshop.

## Comparison of the announcements

### Text

The announcements appear to share the same format and even spacing. The text includes the names of the determinors, the particular *quaestio*, and the time and place of the event. The only other difference is that the first concerns a master holding a disputation, perhaps as part of attaining a further degree, while the second concerns a student determining under a master.

(1454) Magister Caspar  
Griessenpeck de Lantzhut Artiu[m]  
et medicine Doctor Cras mane hora  
Qui[n]ta questione[m]  
infrascripta[m] ordinarie disputabit.  
V[trum] medicus p[er] arte[m]  
medicie[m] possit corp[us]  
huma[num] ab incurso febris  
pestilentialis p[re]seruare. vel actu  
infectu[m] ab huiusinoj[um] curare.  
In Scolis d[uci]noru[m] Medicoru[m].

Master Caspar Griessenpeck of  
Landshut, Doctor of Arts and  
Medicine, tomorrow morning at the  
fifth hour shall hold a disputation  
upon the *quaestio* written below:  
Whether a physician of medicine  
should stay with a human body by  
an attack of pestilential fever,  
though it lead to infection from this  
care. In the Duke’s Medical School.

(1471) Sub m[a]g[ist]ro P[etro] de  
Haslpach Cras hora Septima  
Ru[pertus] Rindsmaul de Hallis  
Vallis em s[u]bscriptam  
de[termi]nabit questionem. V[trum]  
arciu[m] liberaliu[m] no[titia] Sit  
p[ri]ncipibus Ac p[re]sidib[us]  
nec[essaria]. In Aula[m]  
Universitatis.

Under Master Peter of Haslpach,  
tomorrow at the seventh hour,  
Rupert Rindsmaul of Hall in the  
Ems Valley will determine on the  
selected *quaestio*: Whether the  
liberal arts are the foundation and  
guarantor of knowledge. In the  
University Auditorium.

The required elements of the determination announcement appear to be:

- Introduction of determiner: full name, with indication of status (may include name of master).
- Time of determination or disputation.
- Announcement of determination/disputation upon the *quaestio*.
- The *quaestio* is provided.
- Location of determination/disputation.

## Calligraphy and decoration

The calligraphy of the 1545 announcement is a very fine batarde hand in dark-brown ink, with the swash capitals. That of the announcements from the 1470s are a more formal version of batarde. [8] places the calligraphy of these later announcements in the context of the developing “Lehrbucherschriften” or “primer-hands” of 15th-century central Europe, a process originating in the batarde hands of Bohemia in the 1420s and leading to the typeface known as “Gebetbuchfraktur” used in the 1513 printed edition of the Prayer Book of Maximilian I—a typeface which lies at the origins of German fraktur typefaces. His exemplar of their calligraphy [8, p. 192, Fig. 5] is instructive.

Only the later announcements have any decoration. This consists of decorative capitals, delicately drawn with a fine-nibbed quill; intertwined vine-and-leaf borders in red, pink, green, blue and purple; and a decorated initial—a letter S on a gold-leaf background within a colored frame; the vine-and-leaf borders emanate from the letter. These leafy vines are typical of central European illuminations of the International Style period. Birds and the arms of Vienna (twice) also appear in the border.

As I note below, the decorated leafwork in the 1470s announcements have affinities to the Boskovice Bible (Prague, 1420–1425 [Fol. 426r]) and the Zamojski Bible (Prague, after 1430 [Fol. 95v]), which share a link to the important workshop of the master of the Krumlov Anthology; and with the Bible of Peter Grillinger (Salzburg, 1430 [Fol. 3r]) and the *Speculum Naturale* of Vicentius Bellovacensis (Salzburg, 1477 [Vol. 5 Fol. A-2]) from the circle of Ulrich Schreier, bookbinder and painter to Bernhard von Rohr, Archbishop of Salzburg from 1461–1483; the gradual (Vienna, 1478 [Fol. 96]). The origins of the decoration in 1420s Bohemia thus parallels the origin of the calligraphic hand.

## Comments

These announcements were not official university documents, but were notices of transitory value, and were recycled after use. This makes the elaborate decoration of the second one all the more striking. Why was it decorated at all? How common was this?

We might seek an answer in how much it might have cost. The Butzbach Bible of 1456, a near-contemporary decorated book, has 490 calligraphed and illuminated pages, and cost 24 Rhenish gulden (about \$125,000 today), of which 18 gulden went to copying, and 1½ gulden to its many initials. At about 1 gulden for every 25 pages, a single page of calligraphed text with decoration would cost \$200 in today’s money. This is not terribly expensive, yet it speaks to the intent to save the announcement rather than dispose of it.

We might also seek an answer by knowing for whom it was made. Every university kept matriculation books, and a list of masters and students at Vienna in the 1400s has survived. Caspar Griessenpeck de Landshut (1430?–1477) received his medical baccalaureate in December 1454, and became a master in the medical faculty. Peter von Haslpach and Rupert von Rindsmaul were likewise a master and a student at Vienna in 1471. Genealogical references to the Rindsmaul family in South Tyrol in the late 1400s list a Rupert von Rindsmaul who married Maria daughter of Heinrich Leopold von Schwarzhorn (a prominent family in the area), was listed as *Stadtrichter* (city justice) of Brixen/Bressasone in South Tyrol around 1500, and died in 1538—at about 85, if he were the same man as the one in our announcement. Another Rupert (perhaps the same man?) was secretary to archduke Sigmund of Tyrol around 1500, and had assisted in rebuilding and refurbishing the church in “Obertal” in 1486–1487, including statues and frescos of Saint Rupert and Saint Sigmund which bear the Rindsmaul arms.

Either of these men would have been able to afford a decorated scroll such as ours. But I would guess that our man wanted a unique souvenir of his college days and, after the event, paid for a fancy copy of the only document testifying to his successful determination, perhaps gluing inside the cover of his own book—not inconceivable if he were a patron of the arts in his later years. As Peter von Haslpach appears as master to two scholars mentioned in the 1470s announcements, perhaps he was connected with supplying fancy announcements to students of means.

## The 1471 announcement reproduced

Note: I reproduced the 1471 document before I learned of Pfändtner and Haidinger’s work [15], or the publication in 2008 of a photograph of the second decorated announcement.

1. Selection of paper: The original appears to be on light-weight laid paper.
2. Drafting: Estimated size: 12×18. Margins laid out as per the proportions of the original, with space added for the center crack. Margins may have been cropped to fit into book, but not by much.
3. Replacements in the text, to fit my persona:
  - (a) Choosing a master: replaced “P[etro] de Halspach” with a master under whom one’s persona studied (here “N[ikolaus Gross] de Jawor,” a master of arts at the University of Heidelberg in the early 1400s)

- (b) Replace the determiner's name with the new recipient (here "Jo [hannes] de Narrenstein")
- (c) The *quaestio* may be retained, or (as here) a new and appropriate one may be taken from a list appropriate to the work of the master; in Latin. Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* is a good source, composed as a series of articles, each addressing a single *quaestio*.
- (d) In the decoration, the arms of Vienna are replaced with those attributed to the university from which the recipient's persona graduated (see below).

#### 4. Reproduction of script:

- (a) Formal batarde with *textura quadrata* features; changes in wording use proper abbreviations.
- (b) Pen-drawn capitals: The full alphabet is impossible to reconstruct. I have found no antecedent yet for style of pen-drawn capitals. As the scribe borrowed the ductus of batarde swash-capitals, some transformations suggested themselves (A into I, H into N).

#### 5. Decoration:

- (a) Colors: orange-red, dark red, pink, purple, blue, green, and yellow. The exact colors are hard to identify accurately from the electronic image. However, I believe the orange-red pigment to be minium, the dark red to be either madder or brazil wood, the green to be a plant-based pigment, the yellow as lead tin yellow, and the pink, purple, and especially blue pigments, on account of their dark grayish cast, to be folium. I rely on Thompson for these assessments. He describes folium as a dye which ranges from red to blue depending on its acidity or alkalinity, rather like Litmus paper. Folium was used in the near-contemporary Göttingen Model Book (Rheinland, 1456), an instruction manual for decorating manuscripts.

Of these pigments, the only one I used was minium (orange-red). I substituted alizarin crimson (a lake color) for the madder/brazil wood and red folium (dark red and pink), and ultramarine darkened with indigo for the blue folium. Thompson identifies crimson lakes and indigo as contemporary pigments. I have yet to derive a plant-based pigment and store it in clothlets, as was period practice. I substituted chromium oxide green, not period but similar in hue. I used all hand-ground pigments with gum arabic binder, except for titanium white for highlights, Venetian

red to outline the minium, and indigo to darken the blue, all from a tube.

- (b) Leaf-work: While the style of leaf-work on the announcement derives from Bohemian and central European manuscript decoration of the early 1400s, it is a variation whose features and geographical context has been hard to identify, partly because the image’s low quality made it hard to see well. Where the body of the leaf diverges into lobes, a teardrop shape can be seen, usually a lighter color than the surrounding leaf. Also, the long stems of the leaves follow an atypical figure-8 pattern. Who might have painted it? In my research I discovered similar teardrops as early as the Boskovice Bible (Prague, 1420–1425; e.g., Fol. 426r) and the Zamojski Bible (Prague, after 1430; e.g., Fol. 95v), which works share a link to the workshop of the master of the Krumlov Anthology; also in borders of the Bible of Peter Grillinger (Salzburg, 1430; e.g., Fol. 3r). Later examples include the *Speculum Naturale* of Vicentius Bellovacensis (Salzburg, 1477; e.g., Vol. 5 Fol. A-2) from the circle of Ulrich Schreier, bookbinder and painter to Bernhard von Rohr, Archbishop of Salzburg from 1461–1483; and a gradual (Vienna, 1478; e.g., Fol. 96), whose leaf shapes are almost identical to those on the announcement; while a collection of works by Virgil and others (perhaps Melk Abbey, c. 1473; e.g., Fol. 4) has both teardrops and stem figure-8s. These show that the teardrops and stem figure-8s were regional Austrian features of the 1470s, and they let me know what I was painting so I could reproduce the leaf design.
- (c) Gold: The background of the initial S is gilded, and gilded droplets appear between the leaves, a feature typical of manuscripts of the period. The gilding appears to be flat rather than raised (I used gum ammoniac); but the initial also might be stamped in a pattern, typical of raised gilding.
- (d) Coats-of-arms: At the bottom of the announcement are two coats-of-arms; that on the left is a white cross on a red field (Vienna), that on the right appears to be the same. Universities had seals rather than arms, upon which appeared the founding ruler with the kingdom’s arms, the kingdom’s patron saint, and/or scholars (Vienna’s seal of 1365 has all these). But as use of coats-of-arms in central Europe spread, universities acquired them unofficially. Some copies of Ulrich von Richental’s *Chronik der Concilium zu Constanz* (ca. 1450) depict arms attributed to the universities whose masters attended the Council, and derived

from the arms of the cities or principalities in which each university was located. I replaced what appear to be the twin arms of Vienna with those attributed by the *Chronik* to the university where Nikolaus de Jawor taught and my persona studied (Heidelberg, a gold lion on a black field (the Palatinate) holding a book) and of the Palatinate (quarterly, the above and Bavaria).

## A final word

I have explained the academic and artistic contexts for the determination announcements I have discovered. Those contexts, though, have narrow limits chronologically, geographically, and economically. I can only speak of five viennese documents, separated by a bare twenty year span (1454 to 1474). Posting such announcements may have been a practice limited to the mid-15th-century and to the University of Vienna. The circumstances of their creation are just a guess. All that is certain is that it testaments to the academic success of some individuals were decorated lavishly by local artists, and, despite its decoration, it met the same fate as the others, a recycled endpaper.

That said, though, I think SCA scribes and illuminators should still take these announcements as opportunities to add to the scope of scribal activity by recreating such announcements, according to the limitations of textual format and decoration I have tried to establish; and, by making reproductions available to SCA members with 15th-century European academic experience in their personas, to enhance their experience.

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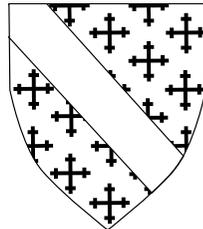
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# Use of heraldry in the Luttrell Psalter

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This brief survey is intended to accompany the in-class viewing of the Luttrell Psalter facsimile at KWHS 2008. For a richly decorated book, the Luttrell Psalter actually uses very little heraldry in its artwork. This article summarises the occurrences I've found of heraldic artwork in the psalter. I've drawn heavily on the introductory commentary in the facsimile to provide some context for the artwork. To translate the psalms I used a Douay-Rheims Bible (a Catholic translation) and a Clementine Vulgate, both available online, with modern verse numbers. The text of the psalter is actually Gallican Vulgate, but I couldn't find one easily.

The artwork is presented in the order it appears in the psalter.

## Page 23 recto

Line filler of three birds on a swirling blue ground, possibly referring indirectly to Geoffrey Luttrell's arms: Azure, a bend between six martlets argent. Commentary suggests that the watery background is triggered by the text 'In laqueo...' in Psalm 10 beneath it.

## Page 41 recto

Bas-de-page artwork of helm with a fan crest, and a shield with the arms of the Sutton family: Or, a lion rampant vert. Luttrell's family connections to Sutton and Scrope are prominent in the heraldic artwork.

## Page 51 recto

Bas-de-page artwork depicting the martyrdom of Thomas Becket, complete with the arms of one of his named murderers, FitzUrse (Gules, three bears' heads couped argent). It's not clear if these arms actually date back to 1170, the date of the murder, or are ascribed by tradition, with canting arms providing the visual cue to readers to the well-known martyrdom story. Papworth does not list a FitzUrse with these arms. The scratching-out of the saint's face follows the 1539 Henrician edict to erase images of Thomas Becket.

**Page 82 recto**

This bas-de-page artwork shows a Christian knight jousting against a Saracen. The knight bears the arms of England; the Saracen's caparison is hung with bells. Brown suggests the horses' playful poses, the belled caparison and the caricatured face of the Moor refer to a festive recreating of Richard Lionheart and Saladin, rather than a serious reference to the wars in the holy lands.

The verse directly above the image is part of Psalm 41:10 'I will say to God: Thou art my support...'

**Page 101 verso**

Herald angels (literally!) blow the trumpet of judgement over naked souls. The lowest pennant depicts a lion rampant, possibly a reference to Agnes Sutton, who died in 1340 (thus possibly while this book was being illuminated).

The verse directly above the art is Psalm 54:16: 'Let death come upon them, and let them go down alive into hell. For there is wickedness in their dwellings: in the midst of them.'

**Page 157 recto**

A rather gloomy looking herald carries a banner with the Luttrell arms on a spear, while a second man carries a helm, and wears a bellows on his head.

**Page 161 recto**

A herald-grotesque blows a trumpet bearing the arms of Scrope (Azure, a bend Or) with a label. This image is possibly a reference to the hope of a Scrope heir: Sir Geoffrey's only surviving son Andrew married Beatrice le Scrope, and this marriage was the Luttrell family's strongest 'dynastic' connection.

The verse on the page is Psalm 89:24 'My faithful love will be with him, and through my name his horn will be exalted.' Other horns appear in the line fillers, playing on the reference to a horn.

**Page 163 recto**

A bird grotesque bears the Luttrell arms on its wing, and a helm on its head. The bas-de-page shows a fashionably dressed man riding a horse carrying a falcon on its gauntlet, so this may be repeating a motif for emphasis.

**Page 171 recto**

A human-bird grotesque holds up the Luttrell arms, which are also hanging from a convenient tendril of floral decor. The arms on this page possibly connect to both the verse and the other artwork on this page. The verses are Psalm 94:4-7:

For in his hand are all the ends of the earth: and the heights of  
the mountains are his.

For the sea is his, and he made it: and his hands formed the dry  
land.

Come let us adore and fall down: and weep before the Lord that  
made us.

For he is the Lord our God: and we are the people of his pasture  
and the sheep of his hand.

The bas-de-page artwork is part of the series of agricultural scenes for which the psalter is so famous. On this page, a man is harrowing the field sown with seed, while a second man uses his sling to fend off crows. The agricultural references in the verse trigger the farm scenes. In turn, Sir Geoffrey's arms are hung prominently over the farming scene, to reinforce ownership, and the 'people of his pasture', his farm labourers.

### **Page 202 verso**

The well-known image of Geoffrey Luttrell depicted in armour, his banners, surcoat, shield and horse caparison showing his arms (though in some cases with a bend sinister). He is attended by his wife and daughter-in-law, both wearing marshalled heraldic surcoats to reflect their prominent ties to the Sutton and Scrope houses. This image is an idealised one of Sir Geoffrey's lifetime achievements, rather than a portrait. (In his youth, he would not yet have a grown daughter-in-law.) The image appears in the middle of Psalm 108, which includes on this page v.30–31:

I will give great thanks to the Lord with my mouth: and in the  
midst of many I will praise him.

Because he hath stood at the right hand of the poor, to save my  
soul from persecutors.

Perhaps this is how Sir Geoffrey saw himself, or wished to be seen: as a Christian knight standing up for the poor and oppressed.

### **Page 203 recto**

The page facing the image of Geoffrey Luttrell's family includes heraldic beasts from both his arms and those of the Sutton family lions rampant and martlets. If these figures were originally in silver gilt, they may have tarnished.

### **Page 208 recto**

The famous dining scene marks the end of the agricultural vignettes. The servers start on the opposite page, bringing dishes to the table of their lord. The hanging behind the table is strewn with martlets and ermine spots.

This page and the preceding page are part of Psalm 114 and 115, and the verses read:

The Lord hath been mindful of us, and hath blessed us.  
 He hath blessed the house of Israel: he hath blessed the house  
 of Aaron.  
 He hath blessed all that fear the Lord, both little and great.  
 May the Lord add blessings upon you: upon you, and upon your  
 children.  
 Blessed be you of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.  
 The heaven of heaven is the Lord's: but the earth he has given  
 to the children of men.  
 The dead shall not praise thee, O Lord: nor any of them that  
 go down to hell.  
 But we that live bless the Lord: from this time now and for ever.  
 I have loved, because the Lord will hear the voice of my prayer.  
 Because he hath inclined his ear unto me: and in my days I will  
 call upon him.  
 The sorrows of death have encompassed me: and the perils of  
 hell have found me. I met with trouble and sorrow:  
 and I called upon the name of the Lord. . .

This image of Sir Geoffrey lifting his cup, facing out from the page, may reflect this prayer that God bless his family, his properties and his servants.

### **Bonus image—page 185 verso**

This bas-de-page figure has no heraldic reference, but I think he's great. He appears on the page of Psalm 105, under this text:

Give glory to the Lord, and call upon his name: declare his  
 deeds among the Gentiles.  
 Sing to him, yea sing praises to him: relate all his wondrous  
 works.  
 Glory ye in his holy name: let the heart of them rejoice that  
 seek the Lord.

So either he's singing the praises of the Lord, as instructed, or the 'calling upon him' is interpreted as confession (the historiated initial shows a man confessing to God), and this is the counterpoint to confession—blowing hot air from both ends!

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FIGURE 1. Page 23 recto



FIGURE 2. Page 41 recto



FIGURE 3. Page 51 recto



FIGURE 4. Page 82 recto



FIGURE 5. Page 101 verso



FIGURE 6. Page 157 recto



FIGURE 7. Page 161 recto



FIGURE 8. Page 163 recto



FIGURE 9. Page 171 recto



FIGURE 10. Page 202 verso



FIGURE 11. Page 203 recto



FIGURE 12. Page 208 recto



FIGURE 13. Page 208 recto: closeup of the scene



FIGURE 14. Page 208 recto: second half of the table

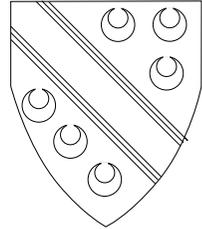


FIGURE 15. Page 185 verso



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# Canting arms: a comparison of two regional styles



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## Background

Canting (or allusive) arms are those that make reference to the name of their bearer through a visual pun. In French, these devices are called *armes parlantes* and in German *redende Wappen*, both meaning literally “arms that speak”, a lovely reference to the way in which such arms “speak” all or part of the owner’s name.

Adopting canting arms was a common practice across medieval Europe, found in virtually every heraldic jurisdiction. Pastoureau [12] has estimated that 20–25% of heraldic devices use cants, with even more in Germanic countries. Woodward [18] states that “by far the larger number of arms used in earlier times were phonetic in character.” He goes on to note that, while heraldic researchers at one time believed canting arms to be a later “degenerate” practice, this idea can easily be refuted by an examination of early rolls of arms. Pastoureau debunks yet another myth about canting arms, that they were used largely by commoners, noting that such arms are found frequently among the medieval nobility and in the arms of kingdoms such as Castile and León. Cants can even be found in attributed arms; Neubecker [9], for example, notes that German heralds attributed to the kingdom of Morocco arms depicting chess rooks. In German, Morocco is *Maroche* and chess rooks *Roche*.

Both Woodward and Pastoureau conclude that, with the exception of some parts of Scandinavia and Eastern Europe where heraldry arose late in the Middle Ages, the general practice is for arms to cant on an existing family name rather than for the name to be derived from the arms. This practice makes considerable sense when viewed in conjunction with the history of inherited surnames. Reaney and Wilson find clear evidence of hereditary surnames among the Anglo-Norman nobility as early as the 12th century and argue that the practice had become common by the end of the 14th century. The timing of this change closely matches that of the spread of inherited heraldry in the Anglo-Norman world, which as Pastoureau notes, began among the nobility in the 12th century and spread to the clergy,

the bourgeois, artisans, corporations, and civil and religious communities throughout the 13th and into the 14th centuries. Given the prevalence of canting arms in medieval heraldry, it seems plausible that these trends are linked as part of the general spread of feudalism in which signs of rank, personal identity, and feudal ties were of such importance.

Many of the meanings of canting arms have been lost over time because of obscure puns, linguistic changes, and the use of regional dialects and multiple languages. Bedingfeld and Gywnn-Jones [2], for example, discuss the use of martlets by the families of Arundel (*hirondelle* is French for swallow) and Valence (*volans* is French for flying). They also find that spades were used by the Gardner, Standelf, and Swettenham families and propose that spades were used by gardeners to delve in the earth and that digging leads to sweating. Oliver [10] notes that the Columball family used doves on their arms (*columb* is Latin for dove). In addition, cants often refer to the way a name was pronounced rather than to its original meaning. Pastoureau points out that the arms of the city of Lille depict a fleur-de-lys although the city's name derives from the French *l'isle* or island. Similarly, the Featherston family used feathers on their arms although the surname is a locative derived from the Old English *feother-stan* or place of four stones.

To add to the complexity of identifying canting arms, medieval families were sometimes known by more than one name. The family of Geneville were also the seigneurs de Broyes, which helps explain the horse-brays on their arms. During the Middle Ages, moreover, families sometimes adopted arms based on feudal ties. This practice, called cognate arms, has led to the spread of charges originally intended as cants to families that do not have the same surname. Bedingfeld and Gwynn-Jones, for instance, suggest that the cinquefoil may have originated as a stylized pimpernel flower, canting on the name of Robert FitzPernell, Earl of Leiceister. That earldom later passed to the de Montforts, some of whose followers adopted cinquefoils on their arms during the 13th century rebellion led by Simon de Montfort.

## **Analysis of canting in selected regional armorial styles**

The remainder of this article is analysis of samples of canting arms found in rolls of arms from two heraldic jurisdictions and time periods: 13th–14th century Anglo-Norman and 14th–16th Century Germanic. My goal in conducting this analysis was to attempt to better understand the way in which canting charges were used in specific regional armorial styles. I also looked at whether cants used the whole surname in question or only part of it and whether or not rebuses were used in canting arms. As the discussion above suggests, I suspect I have missed some cants from the rolls of due to their obscurity and my lack of fluency in French, German, and Latin.

In studying canting arms, I have found the best practice is to use as

many sources as possible in hopes of getting some clue as to the puns. In examining Anglo-Norman rolls of arms, for example, I used Brault's *Early blazon* [3] and Stalins's *Vocabulaire-atlas héraldique* [16] to identify French blazon terms, *A dictionary of English surnames* by Reaney and Wilson [14] to find the meanings of obscure surnames, and the on-line *Oxford English dictionary* [11] to trace etymologies. For Germanic rolls of arms, I used Bahlow's *Deutsches namenlexicon* [1] and Brechenmacher's *Etymologisches wörterbuch der Deutschen familiennamen* [4] for name meanings, together with Hussmann's *Über Deutsche wappenkuns* [7] and Leonhard's *Das grosse buch der wappenkunst* [8] for blazon terms. I also found German-English, French-English, and Latin-English dictionaries to be very useful.

### 13th–14th century Anglo-Norman armory

This analysis is based on 80 canting arms found in Humphrey-Smith's *Anglo-Norman armory two* [6] and Foster's *The dictionary of heraldry* [5].

In this sample, about 60% of the puns were based on the whole name (Arches, for example, has three arches). Another 35% derived from the beginning of the name. Thus, Swynburn's arms have a boar. The remaining 5% cant on the end of the name with Coupen bearing quill pens. There were no examples of rebus arms; Swinford had only a boar, not a boar and a ford as might be expected. Animals, bird, and fish represented about half the canting charges, and many of the remainder used plants or man-made artifacts of various sorts. A few examples of cants on blazon terms could be seen, including the bars gemel borne by Barry and the cross Moline borne by Molyneux.

The usage of canting charges followed general Anglo-Norman armorial style. 75% of the charges were primary, mostly in groups of three or alone on the field but sometimes as groups of two or six or strewn on the field. 15% of the charges appeared as secondaries, usually three charges around a chevron or fess. 10% appeared as tertiaries, usually three charges on a bend or chevron.

#### Animals:

Bear (Fitz Urs, Barlingham,  
Barnard)  
Dogs (Kennet, Malverer)  
Hedgehog—harrison (Herries)  
Calves (Vele)  
Boars (Swynforde, Boer, Swinburn)  
Deer (Malebis)  
Horses (Horsley)  
Lambs (Lambton)  
Oxen (Oxenden)

#### Birds:

Heron (Heron)  
Corbie (Corbett, Cormayles)  
Cock (Cockerel, Cockington)  
Falcon (Falconer)  
Martlets (Martel)  
Bird—volant (Valence)  
Swallows—hirondelles (Arundell,  
Swallow)  
Hawks (Hawkston)  
Pelican (Pelham)

Eagles (Eglesfield)

**Fish:**

Fish (Fisher, Fishman, Fishbourne)

Barbels (Bar)

Pike (Lucy, Geddes)

Herring (Heringod)

Escallop (Scales)

Whelk shells (Shelley)

**Plants:**

Pine cones (Pin)

Roses (Roseles)

Garb (Weteley)

Leaves (Elmrugge, Hasilrig)

Trees (Okestede, Periton)

Apples (Applegarth)

**Artifacts:**

Arches (Arches)

Cups (Bottiller)

Church Bells (Benet)

Towers (Towers)

Horseshoes (Ferrers)

Buckles—fermails (Malet,  
Bunkhulle)

Water buckets—bouches (Buci)

Pilgrim's staff—bourden (Borden)

Crooks (Crook)

Mallets (Martel)

Horns (Trumpington, Horne)

Maunch (Mounceus, Mohun)

Stockings (Hoese)

Trivet (Trivette)

Winnowing Fans (Septvans)

Long Bows (Bowes)

Castle (Castleton)

Keys (Chamberlain)

Quill Pens (Coupen)

Gauntlets (Gaunt)

Fireball (Fursdon)

Hammers (Hamerton)

Chess Rooks (Rookwood)

**Other:**

Gryphon (Griffith)

Gurges (Gorges)

Mullets (Moeles)

Hands (Malmains)

Wings (Wingfield)

Fretty (Maltravers)

Bars Gemel (Barry)

Cross Moline (Molyneux)

Vairy (Ferrers)

Ermine fur (Ermine)

### 14th–16th century Germanic armory

This analysis is based on 100 canting arms found in Pinches' and Wood's *A European armorial* [13], Siebmacher's *Wappenbuch von 1605* [15], and the online *Wappenrolle von Zürich* [17].

In this sample, about 45% of the puns were based on the whole name (e.g., Wuerfel bears dice and Brandt, a burning brand). Another 40% derived from the beginning of the name. Eberbach's arms, for example, have a boar. 5% cant on the end of the name so that, for instance, Landkron bears a crown. Rebuses were relatively common (at least 10% of the arms). Many of these rebuses were used for names ending in *-stein* (stone), *-berg* (mountain), or *-fels* (rock) and had a charge or charges standing on a mount (e.g., Hirschberg had a deer on a mount and Spiegelberg had three mirrors issuant from a mount). Others used varied charges; Oxenhausen has an ox emerging from a house and Reitmohren, a Moor riding a stag.

The usage of canting charges followed general Germanic armorial style.

More than 90% of the charges were primary, nearly always a single charge (reflecting a larger trend in Germanic armory towards the use of single charges). Cants using groups of identical charges were most often found in groups of two, cants using secondary charges were very rare, and cants using tertiaries usually involved charges on a fess or bend. As in the Anglo-Norman analysis, cants involving animals, birds, plants, and man-made artifacts were common, but around 10% of the German cants used human figures or body parts. Since human figures and body parts are more common in Germanic armory in any case, this raises the question of whether that trend derives from the use of cants or some other reason. Certainly, it seems likely that only a cant would lead someone to choose a corpse for their arms as in the case of *Leichnam* (*Leiche* means corpse in German).

**Animals:**

Bear (Berner, Berner, Bernfels)  
 Boar (Schweinbock, Eberspach)  
 Fox (Fuchs, Fuchsen)  
 Dog (Toggenburg, Hundt)  
 Elephant (Helfenstein)  
 Sheep (Ramsberg, Schafen, Bocken, Buchseck, Boxdorf)  
 Beaver (Biber, Beverforde)  
 Wolf (Wulfurt, Wulfingen)  
 Lion (Lowenberg, Löwen)  
 Ape (Affenstein)  
 Deer (Rechberg, Hirschberg)  
 Ox (Ochsenhausen)  
 Hare (Hasen)  
 Domestic cat (Katzen)  
 Stag's horn (Hirschhorn)

**Birds:**

Crane (Kranenberg, Kranich)  
 Hen (Henneberg, Hünerhusen)  
 Swan (Schwangau)  
 Bird (Vogelweide)  
 Crow (Kromair, Khroe)  
 Goose (Ganse)  
 Falcon (Falcke)

**Humans:**

Monk (Münich, Munchaü)  
 Beggar (Betler)  
 Woman (Frauenlob)

Man (Utmänner, Mandech)  
 Moor (Reitmohren, Morschsten)  
 Angel (Engelshofen)  
 Man Garbed Gules (Rotzmann)  
 Corpse (Leichnam)  
 Bare foot (Barfus)  
 Fist (Faust)

**Plants:**

Garb (Graser)  
 Rose (Rosenhurst, Rosenberg)  
 Leaves (Blattenberg)  
 Seeblätter (Laubgrosen, Seebach)  
 Turnip (Ruber)  
 Tree Branch (Birchen)  
 Apples (Holtzapfel)

**Artifacts:**

Gate (Portenau, Offenburg)  
 Dice (Wuerfel)  
 Hunting horns (Jagher, Horning, Gelbhorn)  
 Tower (Niedertorm, Trheim)  
 Firebrand (Brandt, Brandner)  
 Mirrors (Spiegelberg)  
 Torse (Ringenberg)  
 Ladders (Leiterberg, Leiter)  
 Flails (Pffegelberg)  
 Helm (Helmshoven)  
 Yokes (Joch)  
 House (Oxenhausen)

Shovel (Graben)	Sleigh (Schlitsted)
Crown (Landskron)	Ship's hull (Bothmer)
Hoes (Heügel)	<b>Other:</b>
Well (Bronner)	Fish (Karpfen)
Horseshoes (Eysen)	Fishbones (Gradner)
Millstone (Uhrmühl)	Snail Shell (Schnekhaus)
Saddle (Sattelin)	Gryphon (Gryffonstain)
Fish-hook (Angelloch)	Dragon (Wurm)
Belt (Belderstein)	Mountain peaks (Siebenbürger)
Mallets (Schlegerer)	Sun (Schienen, Sonnenberg)
Garden rakes (Hopgarten)	Stars (Sternberg, Stern)

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