The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clause

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Charter boundary clauses are of primary significance to place-name scholars, supplying as they do early forms of many toponyms and otherwise unrecorded topographical information. As such, they are of interest to those concerned with patterns of settlement, estate history and historical geography. They also constitute some of our earliest and most extensive evidence of non-literary texts in Old English. Well over eight hundred sets of boundary clauses survive in charters dating or purporting to date from the Anglo-Saxon period. Most of these are attached to Latin diplomas. A significant number also appear in leases. Comparatively few boundary clauses, however, survive in contemporary, or near contemporary form. The rest exist only as texts contained in medieval cartularies, copied, for the most part, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The reliability of these texts rests entirely on the competence of the scribes responsible for their transmission. Comparison of the single sheets with later copies does not generally inspire confidence in their abilities.

1 The chief exponent of this form of evidence is D. Hooke, whose work traces the boundaries of many estates. See, for example, Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 2 (Woodbridge, 1990); Pre-Conquest Charter-Bounds of Devon and Cornwall (Woodbridge, 1994). The reader should, however, note the reservations of C. Hough in her review of Hooke’s later work in Nomina, 18 (1995), 145–49.

2 Important work in this field has been undertaken by P. R. Kitson, ‘Quantifying qualifiers in Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries’, Folia Linguistica Historica, 14 (1993), 29–82; ‘The nature of Old English dialect distributions, mainly as exhibited in charter boundaries’, in Medieval Dialectology, edited by J. Fisiak (Berlin and New York, 1995), Trends in Linguistic Studies and Monographs, 79, pp. 43–135. His forthcoming work, Guide to the Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries, promises to be of the highest significance to the further study of these texts.

3 I have looked at cartulary copies of vernacular wills in “As fre as thowt?”
one which is particularly apparent in texts of this nature, is the possibility of interpolation. Unless a charter survives in demonstrably contemporary, single-sheet form, it is extremely difficult to tell whether its boundary clause is original to it or whether a separate survey has been incorporated into it thirty, or even three hundred, years later. In this article I identify a corpus of contemporary single-sheet diplomas dating from the Anglo-Saxon period, and use the result to establish a chronology of the introduction and development of the boundary clause over the period. Such a task has been greatly facilitated by the availability of two important research tools generously made available to me before publication: Susan Kelly’s revised edition of Peter Sawyer’s *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, and Simon Keynes’s forthcoming *Anglo-Saxon Charters: Archives and Single Sheets*.  

A list of these charters forms the Appendix. Charters are here referred to by their now-standard Sawyer number (abbreviated to S).

The production of boundary clauses

Up until the end of the ninth century, diplomas were produced in religious communities, but from the 930s and 940s some kind of centralized production appears to have become the norm. Whether this was carried out by a dedicated body of scribes forming a peripatetic royal chancery or by a rather less formal selection of major ecclesiastics from various scriptoria remains an issue of contention.  


4 P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Society Historical Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968). Kelly’s new edition includes the listing of several texts omitted by Sawyer (for example, the *Codex Aureus* inscription), and some additional material which has come to light since 1968.

5 S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred ‘the Unready’* 978-1016, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 13 (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 14–83, is a proponent of the former, Pierre Chaplais of the latter view (‘The origin and authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon diploma’, and ‘The Anglo-Saxon chancery from the diploma to the writ’, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1965–66), 48–61 and 160–76, reprinted in *Prisca Munimenta*, earlier diplomas show signs of having been compiled in stages, it seems that, from the tenth century onwards, the whole text (including witness-list and boundary clause) was generally written by a single scribe.  

Although the diploma was produced in some sense centrally, the boundary details were necessarily local affairs, undertaken by those with knowledge of the area to be surveyed. The resulting survey would be incorporated into the diploma by the main text scribe. It is important to recognize that the language of a boundary clause contained in a diploma dated after the 930s therefore stands at one level of copying removed from the original, independent of the status of the diploma itself.  

This has obvious implications for the study of dialectology.

Two unattached boundary clauses exist in single-sheet form: S 15468 and S 1547, both datable on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh century. These may have constituted the original texts of the estates surveyed. Occasionally the clause has been inserted into a space originally left blank on the surviving single sheet, suggesting that the survey was not available to the scribe when he copied the main text.  

Kelly lists a further sixty-eight unattached boundary clauses surviving in cartularies and registers, many of which may well have derived from such scribal memoranda.  

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*Olim* S 255 MS 2.

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6 The following single-sheet charters appear, however, to have had their boundary clauses inserted by the main text scribe into spaces left blank for the purpose: S 512 (App. 51), S 535 (App. 56), S 717 (App. 75).

7 Keynes notes, however, that there may have been a movement in Edward the Confessor’s reign to authorize ecclesiastics to draw up their own charters (‘Regembald the Chancellor (sic)’, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 185–222 (p. 213)).

8 M. P. Parsons discussed early scribal memoranda in ‘Some scribal memoranda for Anglo-Saxon charters of the 8th and 9th centuries’, *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtforschung*, 14 (1939), 13–32.

9 See note 6 above.
The corpus
The Appendix lists those diplomas (excluding royal grants of privileges and restorations of property) which survive in contemporary, single-sheet form.\textsuperscript{11} Figure 1 shows the distribution of those diplomas over the Anglo-Saxon period. They are binned into fifty-year intervals based on their earliest possible date of issue. The histogram distinguishes between those diplomas which contain no boundary clauses, those which incorporate boundary clauses in Latin, and those which have boundary clauses in Old English. In every case I have accepted Kelly’s summary dating of the single sheet, even where the notes to the charter appear to challenge such a date. Opinion varies as to the exact status of many of the single sheets, particularly as to whether any given diploma is an original, a contemporary, or even slightly later copy. However, the bins (which accord with the practice of dating charters palaeographically to the nearest half century) are sufficiently wide that the distinction is rendered largely irrelevant. Where Kelly offers two alternative datings for a single sheet, I have included the charter in the Appendix, but omitted it from the dataset.\textsuperscript{12} The Appendix gives details of each single sheet, together with edition and facsimile details.

Some revisions to the Sawyer and Kelly’s handlists are necessary, and are noted below.\textsuperscript{13} A couple of alterations, however, require more discussion. The two earliest single sheets listed in Kelly’s revision of Sawyer to contain boundary clauses in English are S 56 (App. 7; dated AD 759) and S 59 (App. 10; dated AD 770). These two charters predate the next example (S 298 App. 33; AD 846\textsuperscript{14}) by over three quarters of a century. S 56 reads:

\begin{center}
donavimus... decem cassatorum. et ONNANFORDA confinie tamen ejusdem terrae. ab australi plaga Uuisleag. ab occidente Rindburna, a septentrioniale Meosgelegaeo; ab oriente vero Onnanduun\textsuperscript{15}
\end{center}

S 59 reads:

Hiis sunt termini donationis istius saluuerpæ cymedes halh huitan stan readan solo.\textsuperscript{16}

It is hard to justify the description of the bounds to S 56 as English, housing as it does topographical terms within Latin compass directions, and I have therefore reclassified it as Latin with bounds. S 59 is more problematic. However, examination of the facsimile of the charter reveals that the boundary clause has been added by the main text scribe to the bottom right of the sheet. It seems probable that the scribe appears simply to have omitted the compass directions in his haste.\textsuperscript{17} Something similar has presumably happened with S 204 (App. 31; datable to AD 844 \times 845), an anomalous charter in the vernacular. The boundary clause (not noted by Kelly) as edited by Baines reads ‘\textit{cissæbeorbi feowertrewewhel} & eanburge mere. Tihhahyl &ut bieght ‘\textit{tu} higida lond’\textsuperscript{18}. Kelly has plausibly suggested that the whole document may

\textsuperscript{11} Excluded from the Appendix are those charters accepted as forgeries or which are demonstrably later copies.
\textsuperscript{12} The status of S 546 (App. 57), S 704 (App. 73) and S 768 (App. 77) remains unclear. See the notes to the individual entries in the Appendix.
\textsuperscript{13} S 19 App. 2 Latin with bounds; S 204 App. 31 Latin with bounds; S 214 App. 40 Latin with English (no bounds); S 338 App. 39 Latin with bounds, S 344 App. 41 Latin with English, Latin bounds; S 768 App. 77 Latin with English bounds; S 922 App. 88 Latin with English bounds.
\textsuperscript{14} Excluding the anomalous S 204 (on which, see pp. 67–68).
\textsuperscript{15} W. de Gray Birch, Cartularium Saxonum, 3 vols and index (London, 1885–99), no. 187.
\textsuperscript{16} Birch, no. 203.
\textsuperscript{17} I have excluded this charter from the dataset. It should also be noted that I have classified S 35 as wholly in Latin. Boundaries of meadows belonging to the estate are added in a hand of the ninth century to the original eighth-century single sheet.
\textsuperscript{18} A. H. J. Baines, ‘The boundaries of Wotton Underwood’, Records of Buckinghamshire, 21 (1979), 141–153 (p. 141). The precise interpretation of the boundary clause is difficult. Baines plausibly argues that \textit{Cissæbeorbi} and ‘\textit{Four-Tree Hill}’ describe the same point, giving four, rather than five, boundary marks to the estate (p. 144). ‘\textit{Ut bieght}’ should be understood in conjunction with the following phrase ‘\textit{tu} higida lond’, giving ‘and land of (two) hides out along the Yeat’. Michael Reed identifies a different series of land-marks in M. Gelling, The Early Charters of the Thames Valley, Studies in Early English History, 6 (Leicester, 1979), pp. 186–87.
have been a temporary record which was intended to be rewritten in a 
more formal manner (presumably in Latin) at a later stage, and certainly 
the form of the boundary clause lacking directional compass points 
supports this notion. As the charter’s status in this respect is unclear, 
it is omitted from the dataset.

The development of the boundary clause in Anglo-Saxon England
The earliest single-sheet charter to have survived in contemporary form 
is S 8 (App. 1; AD 679). Although it includes no boundary clause, a 
statement within it notes that the estate lies ‘iuxta notissimos terminos a 
me demonstratus et procuratoribus meis’. The few single-sheet 
diplomas surviving from the eighth century to contain boundary clauses 
typically are formed by supplying vernacular place-names within a 
framework of compass directions and landmarks in Latin. S 23 (App. 3; 
AD 732) is an early example of the type:

termini vero terrae illius sunt. ab oriente terrae regis. ab austro fluvius 
qui dicitur Liminaeae. ab occidente et in septentrione hudson flet.21

The first vernacular boundary clause is S 298 (App. 33, datable to AD 
846). It contains a level of detail which is particularly marked given the 
taciturnity of the contemporary clauses in Latin:

Ærest on merce cumb ðonne on arenan pytt ðonne on ðone turr ðat 
mercecumbe æwilme ðonne on ðene waldes stan ðonne on ðone die ðær 
Esne ðone weg fordealf ðonon on ðune on ðæs wælles heafod ðonne ðær 
of ðune on ðroc of ðidesford ðonne up on ðroc of ðeotdes ðie to ðær 
flodan from ðær flodan of ðune ðær ðuxan die to ðroc ge ðon ðonne of 
ðune on ðroc of ðær. ðonne from ðyrelan stan on ðroc of ðænal 

19 ‘Anglo-Saxon lay society and the written word’, in The Uses of Literacy in 
Early Medieval Europe, edited by R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), 36-62 
(pp. 55-56).
20 Birch, no. 45. This formulation can be compared with the next earliest single- 
sheet charter to have survived, S 19 (App. 2, AD 697 or 712), which includes 
brief boundary markers at the end of a similar phrase: ‘juxta notissimos terminos 
id est bereueg. et meguines paed et stretleg’ (Birch, no. 97).
21 Birch, no. 148.

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cumb fram smalan cumbes heafde to græwian stan ðonon wicðfan ðæs 
wælles heafod on odenœc ðonon on ðone healdan weg wið hiusan stanæs 
ðonon to ðæm beorge de mon hatæd at ðæm holne ðonon an ðaran stan 
ðonon on secgwælles heafod ðonon on ða burg eastewearde ðonon on ða 
lytan burg westewearde ðonon to stræte ðonan beniðdan wuda on geryhte 
üt on hreôcpol ðonne up on afene oððet æ se alda sunihaga ustcioted to 
afene ðonon be ðæm hagan on an bean beorg ðonne on suerdæage wæle 
ðonon on wulfwælles heafod ðonon on wealweg on ðone stan æ ðære 
flodan from ðæm stan ford on ðone herepæd on ðone dic ðonon of ðune 
of wealdenes ford ðonon on ðone holan weg ðonon of ðune on ðroc on 
hunburgeflæt 7 ðæt to ðæt.22

Only two other single-sheet diplomas containing a boundary clause in 
Old English survive from the ninth century (S 327 App. 36 AD ‘790’ for 
860; S 331 App. 37; AD 862). The latter retains a compass-point 
structure reminiscent of the Latin boundary clauses:

Danæ sint des londes gemæra an westhealf Scipriot an nordhalfe 
Meodewægæ an easthælfo Lieofynneæmæ danæ fram Cildryðelonde 
west be ðære aldan stræte swæ sio twoentig ðæræ.23

After the beginning of the following century the use of the vernacular 
becomes properly established and Latin boundary clauses cease to be 
used altogether. Typical of a mid-tenth century example of a vernacular 
boundary clause is S 649 App. 66 (AD 957), which proceeds logically 
from marker to marker in the course of its circular route:

Istis terminis ambitor predicta tellus. bis synt ða land gemæra to cunic 
tune. ærest of bugla fenne 7 lang ða riscwæges on eneda wylle ðonon on 
ðone mere of ðam mere on holan ðroc 7 lang ðroes to upwylle ðonon to 
glaeduninge wege of ðam wege on earnings stræte ðonon on seaxa 
ðroc 7 lang ðroes on grywuan ðen ða eft on bugla ðen.24

22 Birch, no. 451.
23 A. Campbell, Charters of Rochester, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 1 (Oxford, 
24 Birch, no. 1003.
It was clearly regular practice to include vernacular bounds in diplomas from the beginning of the tenth century; only two single-sheet diplomas produced thereafter lack such clauses. One of these charters is S 221 (App. 43; AD 883 × 911), a grant of land at two separate locations by Æthelred and Æthelfled in exchange for another two pieces of land. It may well be that diplomas already existed for the estates in question and no new survey was required. The single remaining exception is S 646 (App. 65; AD 957), which appears to be a straightforward grant of land by King Eadwig to Archbishop Oda at Heilig (presumably Ely).

Comparison with cartulary copies of genuine charters
For purposes of comparison, Figure 2 presents data from cartulary copies of genuine diplomas. Later single-sheet copies of earlier diplomas are also included here, including those listed in the Appendix, but excluded from the dataset of Figure 1. A charter was classed as genuine if it was considered to be so by the opinions of modern authorities summarized in Kelly’s revision of Sawyer. No sustained attempt was made to check the accuracy of Kelly’s entries. Those diplomas specifically flagged in the notes by Kelly as having later boundary clauses were excluded from the dataset.

25 Eleven of the nineteen diplomas involving exchanges of land included in the datasets of Figures 1 and 2 lack boundary clauses. Only two of the charters containing bounds are dated to before AD 970.
26 The following may, however, be noted: S 160 Latin with bounds; S 287 Latin with English, Latin bounds; S 481 Latin with English bounds; S 691 Latin with English (no bounds); S 1015 Latin with English bounds. The last of these is particularly interesting. It survives in two fifteenth-century manuscripts, one of which (Chelmsford, Essex Record Office Z18/1) translates the vernacular bounds into Latin. The translation, according to Hart, is ‘by one well versed in Latin but ignorant of OE’. Fortunately, the second manuscript (Rosen, Arch. dép., Seine inférieure, 14. H. 145), believed to have been copied from an eleventh-century exemplar, preserves the Old English text. See further C. R. Hart, The Early Charters of Eastern England, Studies in Early English History, 5 (Leicester, 1966), pp. 251–52.

28 Latin with English bounds.
29 It is possible that S 602 is an original, hence Kelly’s alternative dating and its inclusion in the Appendix (no. 61).
continuation of use throughout the period of diplomas lacking any form of boundary clauses within this dataset can largely be explained by the practices of cartulary scribes, many of whom evidently found Old English beyond their abilities. It is certainly true that particular archives contain suspiciously long runs of charters lacking boundary clauses: no diplomas with boundary clauses survive in the series of charters witnessed only in a recently-discovered sixteenth-century transcript of a last cartulary from Barking Abbey for example; and boundary clauses are omitted from sixteen of the nineteen charters which survive in cartulary copies alone from Burton Abbey. However, thirteen of these retain the Latin phrase introducing the boundary section, indicating that the clauses were once there. Of the three lacking an introductory clause, one (S 853) concerns common land. It is exceptionally unusual for charters involving common land to include boundary clauses: only two of the fifteen charters from either dataset contain them, one of which is spurious.\(^{31}\)

Practice can, of course, vary within a particular manuscript. The early thirteenth-century Bury cartularist of Cambridge University Library, Mm.4.19, for example, painstakingly reproduces the text of the boundary clause in the second diploma he tackles (S 507), then, clearly finding the whole business laborious and troublesome, leaves spaces elsewhere for a linguistically more competent scribe to fill with the Old English versions of the charters he copies (including the bounds to S 703). A couple of gaps, overlooked by the second scribe, remain unplugged.\(^{32}\)

While vernacular boundary clauses are an easy (and obvious) target for omission from these later cartulary copies, there is no reason why

31 S 214, S 323, S 581, S 634, S 668, S 691, S 700, S 719, S 730, S 780, S 839, S 853, S 886, S 1022 (with boundary clause), S 1025 (spurious; with boundary clause). Interestingly, bounds are given for five of the hides in S 668; the other five are described with this note ‘Ponne syndon pa fif hida be Eastun tune gemannes landes on gemeare meare swa swa swa hit par to be limped.’ (Birch, no. 1145). All these charters form part of the dataset under discussion with the exception of S 214 (included in the dataset of Figure 1), S 323 (a confirmation charter) and S 1025 (spurious), with consequent inflation of the numbers of charters appearing to lack boundary clauses.

32 The first scribe, for example, leaves a gap of twenty lines on fo.108rv for a vernacular copy of the will of Ælfric Modercop (S 1490).

scribes would leave out the terse Latin boundary clauses characteristic of the eighth and ninth centuries. It therefore seems likely that very early diplomas did not routinely include boundary clauses: none of the ten charters dating from the seventh century accepted here as genuine contains them.\(^{33}\) The earliest charter to include a vernacular boundary clause is S 286 (AD 838), which retains an essentially NSEW structure comparable to Latin bounds of a similar date:

Hiis autem notissimis predictus agellulus circumcingitur terminis. On eastan ealles folcesweg. 7 an suban se weg se ðe lib to ðam ican lande ðoð done hyge. 7 swa up be trinideganhrucce. þurh done wude fodor be culuframsola ðoðe dic. 7 an westen sealta dic. norð to rode. 7 on norðan siolita roda. ðoð ða east roda.\(^{34}\)

This charter is dated eight years earlier than S 298 (AD 846), the earliest single-sheet charter containing a vernacular boundary clause, which, as we saw above, presented an extremely detailed set of bounds.\(^{35}\) S 286 represents a kind of a midpoint between the short Latin compass-directed bounds and the more detailed circumnavagatory style of the later vernacular bounds, and as such may indicate that vernacular bounds with a simple structure initially derived from that of Latin bounds were developed somewhat earlier in the ninth century than surviving examples suggest. The differences between the style of these two charters (S 286 from Christ Church, Canterbury, S 298 from Old Minster, Winchester) may, of course, also be a result of differing practices of different archives: the individual foundations responsible for the production of these early charters doubtless influence the form that they take. Unfortunately, the patchy survival of early charters from these foundations makes direct comparison difficult. Any attempts to plot the development of boundary clauses within a particular archive is complicated by the whole problem of centralized production later in the

33 S 7 (AD 675), S 8 (AD 679), S 235 (AD 685 \(\times\) 787), S 12 (AD 689), S 45 (AD 692), S 65a (AD 693 \(\times\) 709), S 65b (AD 693 \(\times\) 706), S 15 (AD 694), S 16 (AD 699), S 20 (AD 699).

34 Birch, no. 419.

35 See pp. 68–69 above.
period.\textsuperscript{36} It should also be emphasised that the survival of a charter in a particular archive does not necessarily mean that the document was originally produced at that foundation. Among the early charters, S 178 (App. 26), for example, was apparently drawn up in Mercia for an estate in Kent and follows the formulas of the Worcester scriptorium, although it is preserved in the archives of Christ Church, Canterbury.\textsuperscript{37}

**Conclusion**

The following pattern of development suggests itself from the material presented above: boundary clauses in Latin appear in charters from about AD 700, containing vernacular terms housed within compass directions. The earliest surviving vernacular boundary clauses, dating from the first half of the ninth century, show variation in form, although it seems likely that they would initially have retained a comparatively simple structure like their Latin counterparts. The vernacular type of boundary clause establishes itself during the ninth century, and becomes predominant by the beginning of the tenth, after which point boundary clauses in Latin cease to be used. The corpus of later copies of authentic charters appears to show continuous use of the diploma lacking any form of bounds over the entire Anglo-Saxon period. However, investigation reveals that vernacular clauses were very often omitted by cartulary scribes, who seem to have found the exercise taxing on both their patience and their linguistic skills. It is in fact clear from the evidence supplied by the single-sheet corpus that it was normal practice to include vernacular boundary clauses in all diplomas from the tenth century onwards.

\textsuperscript{36} See p. 64 above. A starting-point towards this end might be to compare the language of those scribes known to have been responsible for a number of charters from various archives. They are listed below in the Appendix.

\textsuperscript{37} N. P. Brooks, The Early History of the Church of Canterbury, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester, 1984), p. 169. Similarly, as Kelly observes in her notes to the charter, there appears to be no good reason why S 649 (App. 66) has been preserved at Winchester, as the estate was claimed by Thorney. S 1005 (App. 99), which survives from Christ Church, deals with land in Cornwall and is noted by Kelly as being a stray from a West Country archive.
2. S 19
   Date: AD 697 or 712
   Language: Latin with bounds
   SS: BL Stowe Ch. 1 (s.vii/viii)
   Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 1
   Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from Lyminge)
   Edited: B 97

3. S 23
   Date: AD 732
   Language: Latin with bounds
   SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 91 (s.viii)
   Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 6
   Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from Lyminge)
   Edited: B 148

4. S 89
   Date: AD 736
   Language: Latin with bounds
   SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 3 (s.viii)
   Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 7
   Archive: Worcester
   Edited: B 154

5. S 24
   Date: AD 741
   Language: Latin
   SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 101 (s.viii)
   Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 8
   Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from Lyminge)
   Edited: B 160

6. S 31
   Date: c. AD 748 × 762
   Language: Latin
   SS: BL Stowe Ch. 3 (s.viii or s.viii/ix; excluded from dataset)
   Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 3
   Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from Reculver)
   Edited: B 199

7. S 56
   Date: AD 759
   Language: Latin with bounds
   SS: BL Add. Ch. 19789 (s.viii med)
   Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 2
   Archive: Worcester
   Edited: B 187

8. S 96
   Date: AD 757
   Language: Latin
   SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 3 (s.viii or s.ix; excluded from dataset)
   Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 3
   Archive: Uncertain (possibly Malmesbury)
   Edited: B 181

9. S 106
   Date: AD 764 for 767
   Language: Latin
   SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 26, 27 (s.viii)
   Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, i. 9
   Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
   Edited: B 201

10. S 59
    Date: AD 770
    Language: Latin with English bounds
    SS: Worcester D. & C. Additional MS in safe (s.viii or s.ix; excluded from dataset)
    Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Worcester Charter
    Archive: Worcester
    Edited: B 203

11. S 35
    Date: AD 778
    Language: Latin (with later vernacular bounds excluded from dataset)
    SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 34 (s.viii)
    Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 4
    Archive: Rochester
    Edited: *Rochester, 9*
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<td>20.</td>
<td>S 163</td>
<td>AD 808</td>
<td>Latin with bounds</td>
<td>BL Cotton Augustus ii. 98</td>
<td>BM Facs., ii. 9</td>
<td>Christ Church, Canterbury</td>
<td>B 326</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>S 165</td>
<td>AD 811</td>
<td>Latin with bounds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The scribe is also believed to have written S 188, S 1268 (witnesses only), S 1436, S 1482 (main text only)
80 NOMINA 21

SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 31 (s.ix')
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 10
Archive: Rochester
Edited: Rochester, 17

22. S 168
Date: AD 811
Language: Latin
SS 1: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 10 (s.ix')
SS 2: BL Stowe Ch. 10 (s.x') with Latin and vernacular bounds; excluded from the dataset
Facsimile 1: *BM Facs.*, i. 14
Facsimile 2: *OS Facs.*, iii.10
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 335
Note: The scribe of MS 1 is thought to have written S 177 (no. 25) below.

23. S 169
Date: AD 812
Language: Latin
SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. C. 1278 (s.ix')
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 6
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 341

24. S 173
Date: AD 814
Language: Latin
SS: BL Harley Ch. 83 A. 1 (s.ix')
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 14
Archive: Bath or Worcester
Edited: B 343

25. S 177
Date: AD 814
Language: Latin with bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 74 (s.ix')
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 13
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury

LOWE

Edited: B 348
Note: See note to S 168 (no. 22) above.

26. S 178
Date: AD 815
Language: Latin with bounds
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 12 (s.ix')
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 12
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 353

27. S 186
Date: AD 822
Language: Latin with bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 93 (s.ix')
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 15
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 370
Note: The scribe is also believed to have written S 187 (no. 28) below.

28. S 187
Date: AD 823
Language: Latin with bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 75 (s.ix')
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 16
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 373
Note: See note to S 186 (no. 27) above.

29. S 188
Date: AD 831
Language: Latin with bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 94 (s.ix')
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 20
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 400
Note: See note to S 153 (no. 16) above.

30. S 293
Date: AD 843
Language: Latin with bounds
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 17 (s.ix')
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 17
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 442

31. S 204
Date: AD 844 × 845
Language: English, with bounds
SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. C. 1280 (s.ix': excluded from
dataset, see pp. 67-68 above)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 83
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth
and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), no. 3.

32. S 296
Date: AD 845
Language: Latin
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 60 (s.ix med)
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 29
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 449
Note: The same scribe is thought to have written S 1194 and S 1510.

33. S 298
Date: AD 847 [= 846]
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 36 (s.ix med)
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 30
Archive: Old Minster, Winchester
Edited: B 451

34. S 316
Date: AD 855 for ? 853
Language: Latin with bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 71 (s.ix med)

34 Not 18, *pace* Kelly/Sawyer.
SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. M 14 (s.ix med)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 10
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 507
Note: See note to S 316 (no. 34) above.

39. S 338
Date: AD 867
Language: Latin with bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 95 (s.ix²)
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 37
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 516

40. S 214
Date: AD 869
Language: Latin with English (s.ix or s.x?; excluded from dataset)
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 76
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, ii. 39
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 524

41. S 344
Date: AD 873
Language: Latin with English, Latin bounds
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 19 (s.ix²)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 19
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 536
Note: See note to S 316 (no. 34) above.

42. S 350
Date: AD 898
Language: Latin with English, English bounds
SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. F. 150 (s.ix/s.x)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 12
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 576

43. S 221

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Date: AD 901
Language: Latin
SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 22 (s.ix/s.x)
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 1
Archive: Much Wenlock
Edited: B 587

44. S 367
Date: AD 903
Language: Latin with English bounds (excluded from dataset, see note below)
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 22 (s.x)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, iii. 3
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 603
Note: Some authorities believe that this charter, while tenth-century, is not contemporary. The bounds are written in a different, later hand from the main text of the charter.

45. S 416
Date: AD 931
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Charter viii. 16 (s.x²)
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 3
Archive: Old Minster, Winchester
Edited: B 677
Note: The same scribe is believed to have written S 425 (no. 46).

46. S 425
Date: AD 934
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 65 (s.x²)
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 5
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 702
Note: See note to S 416 (no. 45) above.

47. S 447
Date: AD 939
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 23 (s.x')
Facsimile: BM Facs., iii. 9
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 741
Note: The scribe is also believed to have written S 464 (no. 49), S 512 (no. 51) below.

48. S 449
Date: AD 939
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Charter viii. 22 (s.x')
Facsimile: BM Facs., iii. 8
Archive: Old Minster, Winchester
Edited: B 734

49. S 464
Date: AD 940
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 62 (s.x med)
Facsimile: BM Facs., iii. 10
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 753
Note: See note to S 447 (no. 47) above.

50. S 470
Date: AD 940
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Winchester College, Muniment Room, Cabinet 7, Drawer 2, no. 2 (s.x med)
Facsimile: OS Facs., ii. Winchester College 3
Archive: New Minster, Winchester
Edited: B 748

51. S 512
Date: AD 943
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Stowe Charter 24 (s.x med)
Facsimile: OS Facs., ii. 25
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 780

Note: See note to S 447 (no. 47) above. The boundary clause has been inserted in a space originally left blank.

52. S 495
Date: AD 944
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 63 (s.x med)
Facsimile: BM Facs., iii. 1
Archive: Evesham
Edited: B 792

53. S 497
Date: AD 944
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 25 (s.x med)
Facsimile: OS Facs., iii. 26
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 791
Note: The same scribe is believed to have written S 510 (no. 54), S 528 (no. 55), S 535 (no. 56), S 552 (no. 58).

54. S 510
Date: AD 946
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 73 (s.x med)
Facsimile: BM Facs., iii. 12
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 813
Note: See note to S 497 (no. 53) above.

55. S 528
Date: AD 947
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 83 (s.x med)
Facsimile: BM Facs., iii. 13
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 820
Note: See note to S 497 (no. 53) above.

56. S 535
57.  
Date: AD 949  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 26  
Facsimile: OS Facs., iii. 27  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: B 869  
Note: See note to S 497 (no. 53) above. The boundary clause has been inserted into a space originally left blank.

58.  
Date: AD 949  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. R. 14 (s. x ?; excluded from dataset)  
SS 2: BL. Cotton Augustus ii. 57 (s.xi)  
Facsimile 1: OS Facs., i. 15  
Facsimile 2: BM Facs., iii. 15  
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury  
Edited: B 880  
Note: It is thought that this diploma could be an early forgery.

59.  
Date: AD 955  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: Marquess of Bath, Longleat, Muniments 10565 (s.x med)  
Facsimile: OS Facs., ii. Marquess of Bath 2  
Archive: Glastonbury  
Edited: B 903

60.  
Date: AD 956  
Language: Latin with English bounds  
SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 12 (s.x med)
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iii. 21
Archive: Old Minster, Winchester
Edited: B 926
Note: The last sentence of the boundary clause has been added by a different scribe.

65. S 646
Date: AD 957
Language: Latin
SS: Bodleian Eng. hist. a. 2, no. V (s.x med)
Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 5
Archive: Uncertain (probably Ely)
Edited: B 999
Note: Possibly by the same scribe as S 624 (see no. 63 above)

66. S 649
Date: AD 957
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Winchester D. & C. Library Showcase (s.x med)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Winchester 2
Archive: Old Minster, Winchester
Edited: B 1003

67. S 677
Date: AD 958
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Wells D. & C. Wells Cathedral Charter 1 (s.x med)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Wells
Archive: Wells
Edited: B 1040
Note: Part of the boundary clause has been added in a different hand over an erasure.

68. S 684
Date: AD 960
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Exeter D. & C. 2522 (s.x med)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Exeter 5
Archive: Exeter
Edited: B 1056
from dataset; see note below)

Facsimile: BA Facs., 6
Archive: Buckfast
Note: The MS could be an eleventh-century imitative forgery. The boundary clause, dating clause and witness-list has been added after folding.
Edited: F. Rose-Troup. 'The Anglo-Saxon charter of Ottery St Mary', Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 71 (1939), 201-20 (pp. 250-51)

74. S 706
Date: AD 962
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 28 (s.x')
Facsimile: BM Facs., iii. 24
Archive: Uncertain
Edited: B 1083
Note: See note to S 690 (no. 69) above.

75. S 717
Date: AD 963
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 29 (s.x')
Facsimile: OS Facs., iii. 30
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: B 1101
Note: See note to S 690 (no. 69) above. The boundary clause has been inserted into a space originally left blank.

76. S 736
Date: AD 965
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Dorchester, Dorset Record Office, D. 124 (s.x')
Facsimile: OS Facs., ii. Earl of Ilchester 1
Archive: Abbotsbury
Edited: B 1165

77. S 768
Date: AD 968
Language: Latin with English bounds

SS: Stafford, William Salt Library, 84/2/41 (s.x; omitted from dataset; see note below)
Facsimile: BA Facs., 7
Archive: Burton
Edited: Sawyer, Burton, 23
Note: The MS could be an eleventh-century imitative forgery

78. S 772
Date: AD 969
Language: Latin with English bounds (s.x' or s.x'1; omitted from dataset)
SS: BL Add. Ch. 19793
Facsimile: BM Facs., iii. 29
Archive: Worce
Edited: B 1229

79. S 795
Date: AD 974
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: PRO, PRO 30/26/11 (s.x')
Facsimile: OS Facs., ii. PRO
Archive: Exeter (from Crediton)
Edited: B 1303

80. S 830
Date: AD 976
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Exeter D. & C. 2523 (s.x')
Facsimile: OS Facs., ii. Exeter 7
Archive: Exeter (from Crediton)
Edited: Davidson, pp. 281-83

81. S 864
Date: AD 987
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Ch. viii. 14 (s.x')
Facsimile: BM Facs., iii. 36
Archive: Rochester
Edited: Rochester 30

82. S 1863
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>Facsimile</th>
<th>Archive</th>
<th>Edited</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td>c. AD 987</td>
<td>Burton-on-Trent Museum, Burton Muniment 3 (s.x' or s.xi med; omitted from dataset)</td>
<td><em>BA Facs.</em>, 10</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>H. P. R. Finberg, 'Supplement to the early charters of Devon and Cornwall', in W. G. Hoskins, <em>The Western Expansion of Wessex</em>, University of Leicester, Occasional Paper 13 (Leicester, 1960), pp. 23-35 (pp. 33-35)</td>
<td>The charter has been damaged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.</td>
<td>AD 996</td>
<td>Stafford, William Salt Library, 84/3/41 (s.x')</td>
<td><em>BA Facs.</em>, 12</td>
<td>Burton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85.</td>
<td>AD 998</td>
<td>BL Stowe Ch. 34 (s.x/s.xi)</td>
<td><em>OS Facs.</em>, iii. 35</td>
<td>Exeter</td>
<td></td>
<td>The scribe is also believed to have written S 1492. Additional bounds have been added on the dorse of this charter, datable to the second half of the eleventh century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.</td>
<td>AD 998</td>
<td>Bodleian, Eng. hist. a. 2 no. VI (s.x/s.xi)</td>
<td><em>BA Facs.</em>, 13</td>
<td>Coventry</td>
<td>N &amp; S, 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AD 1001</td>
<td>BL Cotton Augustus ii. 22 (s.x/s.xi)</td>
<td><em>BM Facs.</em>, iv. 12</td>
<td>Coventry</td>
<td>K 705</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87.</td>
<td>AD 1007</td>
<td>Bodleian, Eng. hist. a. 2 no. VII (s.xi')</td>
<td><em>BA Facs.</em>, 16</td>
<td>St Albans</td>
<td>N &amp; S, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88.</td>
<td>S 922</td>
<td>Stafford, William Salt Library, 84/5/41 (s.xi')</td>
<td><em>BA Facs.</em>, 17</td>
<td>Burton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89.</td>
<td>S 950</td>
<td>BL Stowe Ch. 38 (s.xi')</td>
<td><em>OS Facs.</em>, iii. 39</td>
<td>Christ Church, Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90.</td>
<td>S 977</td>
<td>BL Cotton Augustus ii. 24 (s.xi')</td>
<td><em>BM Facs.</em>, iv. 16</td>
<td>Evesham</td>
<td>K 736</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AD 1021 × 1023</td>
<td>BL Cotton Augustus ii. 25 (s.xii')</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
91.
Date: AD 1024
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Dorchester, Dorchester Record Office, D 124 (s.xi)
Facsimile: OS Facs., ii. Earl of Ilchester 2
Archive: Abbotsbury
Edited: K 741

92.
Date: AD 1031
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 69 (s.xi)
Facsimile: BM Facs., iv. 18
Archive: Exeter (from Crediton)
Edited: K 744

93.
Date: AD 1031
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS 1: Exeter D. & C. 2525 (s.xi)
SS 2: Canterbury D. & C. Ch. Ant. C 1311 (s.xi; fragment: excluded from dataset)
Facsimile 1: OS Facs., ii. Exeter 11
Facsimile 2: B4 Facs., no. 31
Archive: Exeter/Christ Church, Canterbury (? from Crediton)
Edited: Davidson, pp. 290–92

94.
Date: AD 1035
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Stowe Ch. 41 (s.xi)
Facsimile: OS Facs., iii. 42
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: OS Facs., iii. 42

95.
Date: AD 1042
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Harley Ch. 43. C. 8 (s.xi med)
Facsimile: BM Facs., iv. 24

96.
Archive: Old Minster, Winchester
Edited: K 763

96. S 1044
Date: AD 1042 × 1044
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL Cotton Augustus ii. 68 (s.xi med)
Facsimile: BM Facs., iv. 25
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: K 769

97.
Date: AD 1044
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Exeter D. & C. 2526 (s.xi)
Facsimile: OS Facs., ii. Exeter 12
Archive: Exeter

98.
Date: AD 1044
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Dorchester, Dorset Record Office, D. 124 (s.xi med)
Facsimile: OS Facs., ii. Earl of Ilchester 3
Archive: Abbotsbury
Edited: OS Facs., ii. Earl of Ilchester 3

99.
Date: AD 1044
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL, Cotton Augustus ii. 59 (s.xi med)
Facsimile: BM Facs., iv. 26
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury
Edited: K 770

100.
Date: AD 1045
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: BL, Cotton Ch. viii. 9 (s.xi med)
Facsimile: *BM Facs.*, iv. 31
Archive: Old Minster, Winchester
Edited: K 781

101. S 1019
Date: AD 1049
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Canterbury D. & C. Chart. Ant. C. 1281 (s.xi med)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, i. 24
Archive: Christ Church, Canterbury (from St Petroc’s, Bodmin)
Edited: *OS Facs.*, i. 24

102. S 1027
Date: AD 1059
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Exeter D. & C. 2527 (s.xi med)
Facsimile: *OS Facs.*, ii. Exeter 14
Archive: Exeter
Edited: Davidson, pp. 296–98

103. S 1028
Date: AD 1059
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Paris, Archives nationales, Cartons des rois, K. 19 no. 6 (s.xi med)
Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 21
Archive: St Denis
(Manchester, 1952), pp. 538–39

104. S 1031
Date: AD 1060
Language: Latin with English bounds
SS: Hertford, Herts. Record Office, D/ELw Z 22/4 (s.xi med)
Facsimile: *BA Facs.*, 22
Archive: Westminster

Figure 1: contemporary single-sheet diplomas
The Interpretation of Hypocoristic Forms of Middle English Baptismal Names

Peter McClure
University of Hull

Most of the name forms I am going to discuss are correctly termed Middle English, but a few are possibly Welsh or Gaelic (or are Anglo-Celtic hybrids) and a handful belong truly to Scots. For our evidence of the spoken forms of medieval names we are of course entirely dependent on written sources, particularly administrative, fiscal and legal records where, until well into the fifteenth century, scribes generally represented baptismal names in conventional latinised forms. Nevertheless, colloquial forms do appear in these records, sometimes as forenames, more often as bynames or surnames, and from this large body of evidence we can be sure that baptismal names were used in a wide variety of hypocoristic or pet forms, especially by ordinary folk.¹ The problem is to know

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Figure 2: non-contemporary copies of genuine diplomas