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Women's names of Germanic origin in the *Ragman Roll* (1296)

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Abstract: The documents known as *Ragman Roll* collect the fealties and homages paid by Scottish nobility, prelates and burgesses to Edward I of England after the English invasion of Scotland in the spring and summer of 1296. The *Ragman Roll* shows c. 1900 given names and surnames/bynames, among them the names of c. 80 women who performed the fealty oath and the feudal homage, as representatives for their husbands or fathers or in their own right.

After examining the social role of the women cited in the documents, the analysis will touch on women's names of Germanic origin appearing in the *Ragman Roll*, their etymology, their linguistic and historical-cultural background and the ways through which they became part of the women's name stock in use in

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thirteenth-century Scotland. In a final appendix, the forms these names show both in the documents and in the extant seals attached to them will be discussed.

Keywords: *Ragman Roll*, Medieval Scotland, anthroponymy, Germanic personal names, women's names.

Noms féminins d'origine germanique dans le *Ragman Roll* (1296)

Résumé : Les documents catalogués sous le nom de *Ragman Roll* recueillent les serments de fidélité et les actes d'hommage faits par les nobles, prélats et bourgeois d'Ecosse à Édouard Ier d'Angleterre après l'invasion anglaise d'Ecosse durant le printemps et l'été 1296. Le *Ragman Roll* déploie c. 1900 noms propres et noms de famille, dont ceux de c. 80 femmes, en tant que représentantes de leurs pères et époux ou en leur propre droit.

Après avoir analysé le rôle social des femmes citées dans le document, il a été intéressant de relever les noms propres féminins de provenance germanique apparaissant dans le texte afin d'examiner leur étymologie, leur histoire linguistique et culturelle et de comprendre par quel biais ils font désormais partie du système des prénoms féminins utilisés dans l'Ecosse du XIIIe siècle. Quant à l'appendice final, il est consacré à l'analyse des formes que ces noms présentent dans les documents et sceaux survécus originairement apposés aux documents.

Mots-clés : *Ragman Roll*, Ecosse médiévale, anthroponymie, noms de personne d'origine germanique, noms de personne féminins.

Frauennamen germanischen Ursprungs in der *Ragman Roll* (1296)

Zusammenfassung: In den als *Ragman Roll* bekannten Urkundenreihen sind Huldigungen und Treueeide gesammelt, die schottische Adlige, Kleriker, Landbesitzer und *burgenses* dem englischen König Eduard I. im Jahre 1296 nach der englischen Invasion Schottlands leisteten. Die *Ragman Roll* stellt zirka 1900 Eigen-, Familien- und Beinamen vor, davon ungefähr 80, die Frauen zuzuschreiben sind, welche ihre Huldigung und Treueeide als Stellvertretende ihrer Ehemänner oder Väter oder in ihrem eigenen Recht leisteten. Zusammen mit der sozialen Rolle der zitierten Frauen wurden deren Namen unter dem etymologischen und sprachlich-geschichtlichen Gesichtspunkt untersucht, so dass der Weg dieser Namen nach Schottland zurückverfolgt werden konnte. Im Anhang werden die Formen verglichen, die diese Frauennamen sowohl in den Urkunden als auch in den ursprünglich an den Urkunden hängenden Siegeln annehmen.

Schlüsselbegriffe: *Ragman Roll*, mittelalterliches Schottland, Anthroponymie, germanische Personennamen, Frauennamen.

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Women's names of Germanic origin in the *Ragman Roll* (1296)*

VALERIA DI CLEMENTE

1. The *Ragman Roll*

The so-called *Ragman Roll* is a series of documents collecting submissions, homages and fealties paid by Scottish nobles, landowners, prelates, and towns to Edward I Plantagenet, immediately after the English invasion of Scotland of spring–summer 1296 which led to the deposition of John I Balliol, king of Scots, by the English king, then lord paramount of Scotland. The *Roll* shows c. 1900 names, for c. 1638–1666 individuals,[1] revealing itself as a precious source of thirteenth-century Scottish anthroponymy.

The most important and complete copies of the document were compiled c. 1306 by the Yorkshire notary Andrew de Tange (see Davies 2011a and 2011b);[2] c. 912 seals of the oath performers, which originally hung in groups from the parchment folios, have survived (see McAndrew 1999: 663–752, esp. 664–665). Some of the seals are described in Laing (1850 and 1866) and Macdonald (1904);[3] a thorough description is found in the appendices I–III to *CDS ii* and more recently in McAndrew (1999).

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* This article enlarges and gives a more detailed analysis of a topic already discussed in Di Clemente (2012). I would like to thank Denise Filmer and Claire Owen for their revision of the English text, Maria Cristina Pestarino and Marie Sandra Farruggio for respectively checking the German and the French abstract.

1 See Hammond (2012a). Some individuals appear more than once, as they performed the fealty or paid their homage under different juridical roles.

2 The oldest document witness is preserved at the National Archives, Kew, Scottish documents section, under the shelfmark E39/17/4, a copy of which is found at the Archives Nationales de France, see Stevenson, *Docs.*: no. CCCLXXII; described in Teulet (1839: 10–15, Trésor des chartes J 631 no. 6: 7, 8, 14–21) and cited in *CDS ii*: no. 821. Partial editions and descriptions of other copies are in *CDS ii*: nos. 813–815, 819–820, and Palgrave, *Docs.*: nos. L–LIII. The three copies by the hand of Andrew de Tange are also preserved at the National Archives, Scottish Documents section, under the shelfmarks C47/23/3, C47/23/4, C47/23/5. A first partial edition of C47/23/4 is Prynne (1672: 649–664); the reference edition is *IP*, based on C47/23/3. An English version of C47/23/4 in the form of a calendar is found in *CDS ii*: no. 823.

3 See also Stevenson & Wood (1940), which I could not consult; McAndrew (1999: 678, 683 and *passim*).

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Given that the Scottish anthroponymic system during the Central Middle Ages represents the result of the superposition/fusion of several linguistic and cultural layers, the names recorded in the *Ragman Roll* give the scholar material to examine to what extent the Germanic element (through direct or indirect influence) can be found in name-giving practices during the thirteenth century (see e.g. Murison 1974: 71–83). However, these names are mostly written in an early fourteenth-century Anglo-French dialect, while some parts of the document (notary's protocols and eschatocol, seal legends) are in Latin; an analysis of the different linguistic strata affecting the forms of the names is thus necessary, in addition to the research on their origin and etymology.

The anthroponymic forms have been collected from the *IP* edition and, where necessary, checked against the list provided in *CDS ii*. The readings of the surviving seal legends follow McAndrew (1999). (In the case of controversial readings, also *CDS ii*, appendices I–III.) I list here the number of occurrences of a given name in the documents and in the seal legends, in order to register all graphematic and morphological variants attested.

2. Women in the *Ragman Roll*: Social and institutional roles[4]

The *Ragman Roll* collects given names and surnames/bynames of c. 1638–1666 individuals, among whom c. 80 women who, like men, pay the fealty and the feudal homage; therefore, they had an official role as holder of an estate, fief or land as widows, daughters or heirs in their own right. Among the religious women, Ade de Fraser prioress of Eccles, Alianore prioress of Lincluden, Eue prioress of Hadington, Marjorie prioress of Halistan, Alice prioress of Manuel (Manwell), Ade prioress of Seint Boythan, Agneys prioress of South Berewyk are cited. The prioress of St Leonard near Perth, whose name is not preserved in the document, is styled *soror Thephania de Ederelmarn* 'sister Thephania of Ederelmarn' in the legend of her seal.[5] Some of the religious women, besides performing the fealty oath for themselves and their monastery, were also *tenauntes* on behalf of the king (e.g. Eue of Haddington, of Edinburghshire, was *tenante le roi*). Of the fourteen lay widows appearing in the document, three hold some of the king's estates, a duty they carried out in the place of their deceased husbands

[4] See Di Clemente (2012: 310–312).

[5] The legend reads *S' SORORIS THEPHANIE DE EDERELMARN* 'seal of sister Thephania of Ederelmarn' (*CDS ii*: App. I.2, no. 80; McAndrew 1999: no. 1280); her name is unreadable in the *instrumenta* ([…] *Prioresse de Seinte Leonard juxte la vile de Seinte Johan de Perth* '[…] prioress of St Leonard next to the town of St John of Perth'; *IP*: 128; *CDS ii*: 200) and is preserved in a single act of homage from the Perth area (*CDS ii*: no. 811); see Di Clemente (2012: 312, footnote 28).

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(Alice widow of Aleyn of Ormiston and Alice widow of Philip of Haliburton are *tenauntes le roi* in Edinburghshire and Roxburghshire respectively, Margerie widow of Thomas Banysleue is said to be *tenaunte le roi* in Berwickshire). Margarete, daughter of Nicol of Rutherford, is identified by her father's given name and surname, but it is not clear whether this form of identification is simply a relational cognomen or means that Margarete is a representative for her father.[6] In the case of *Sare la fielle Thomas Freysel* it is even probable that the name is a mistake; in Prynne (1672: 659) and *CDS ii*: 194, the name is *Saer le fiz Thomas Fre(y)sel*, i.e. a man.[7] For the other women their family relationships are not specified, which could mean that they were the legal heirs of these estates and swore for themselves.[8] An informative insight into the social and institutional roles of these women is provided by two short articles by Matthew Hammond (see Hammond 2012b and 2012c).

The data on these women's areas of provenance show a prevalence of South-East (Berwickshire, Edinburghshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire), South-West (Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire, Lanarkshire, Wigtownshire) and central regions (Fife, Forfar, Perthshire, Stirlingshire, Strathearn); Elizabeth of Rosseneth and *Eue qe fut la femme Maucolm Frendragh* are from Aberdeenshire (*del counte de Aberden/Abredene*), while Cristyn of Mar is the only representative of Inverness-shire.

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6 Sir Nicholas of Rutherford appears once as oath performer, see *IP*: 88, *CDS ii*: 194, and Di Clemente (2012: 310).

7 As in the sequence that shows the divergent readings *Sare la fielle* and *Saer le fiz* the name of *Margarete la fielle Nicol de Rutherford* immediately follows, one can hypothesise a diffraction *in praesentia*, due to a wrong reading of the given name *Saer*, most probably influenced by the appellative *fielle* 'daughter' in the preceding sequence *Margarete la fielle* etc.; this interpretation then led to an adjustment of the appellative and related definite article, whose grammatical gender has been changed. A Thomas Fraser or Fresel is historically known, but in the documentation I have consulted I found no traces of descendants of his called *Sara* or *Saer*. In the case of the seal legend *S' SARE FILIE RADULFI* (McAndrew 1999: no. 3627, see *infra*, Appendix II, no. 1) the person cited is most probably a woman. See Di Clemente (2012: 311–312).

8 There is almost a sure case: Christyn, daughter of Alan MacRuairi of Garmoran, who passed away in 1284 or 1285, and wife of Duncan, youngest son of earl Donald of Mar, is cited as *Christyn de Mar la femme Dunkan de Mar (del counte de Ildernesse)*, thus referring to her husband, but probably she performs the oath for her own hereditary lands in the Highland area (*counte de Ildernesse* = Inverness-shire), see *IP*: 129, *Index nominum*, 1296: xxxiii, and Barrow (2005: 219). *CDS ii*: 200 assigns the status of "widow" to Christyn, but in another passage of the *Ragman Roll* a *Dunkan fiz le comte de Mar del counte de Perth* appears: it seems that Duncan of Mar was alive at the end of August 1296 and swore the fealty and paid homage for some lands in Perthshire (*IP*: 131; *CDS ii*: 200). See Di Clemente (2012: 311, footnote 22).

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3. Women's names in the *Ragman Roll*: Attestation[9]

Frequent: *Agneys/Anneys* (Latin *A(n)gneta**, *Agnes**, in a seal legend the incomplete form *Angn*), *Alice* (Latin *Alicia**), *Isabele(l)e* (Latin *Isabella**), *Margarete* (Latin *Margareta*, *Margarita**), *Margerie/Marierie/Mariorie/Marjorie* (Latin *Marioria**); more than once *Ade*, *Anable* (Latin *Amabilla**), *Cristi*?, *Christyn*, *Cristiane* (Latin *Cristiana**), *Ele*, *Eue* (Latin *Eva**), *Eleyne*, *Emme*, *Gode*?,[10] *Jone* (Latin *Ioana**), *Marie* (Latin *Maria**), *Mariot*.[11] Only once *Alianore*, *Aline (Aliue?)*, *Beatrice*, *Constance*, *Deuorgoyl/Derworgoyl*, *Elice/Elizabeth* (Latin *E<li>sabetha**), *Edith* (*CDS ii: Edithe*), *Eufemme*, *Gunnyd*? (see *infra*), *Hauisa** (only Latin, in a seal legend),[12] *Mabille*, *Maut*, *Muriele*, *Peronel* (Latin *P<e>tronilla**), *Rose* (Prynne 1672: 663 reads *Refe*, *CDS ii*: *Roese*),[13] *Sara** (only Latin, in a seal legend),[14] *Thephania** (only Latin, in a seal legend; see above, footnote 5).

4. Women's names of Germanic origin in the *Ragman Roll*[15]

Ade 2x. It is a Continental German hypocorism, probably from the first element of a dithematic name containing the adjective **aþa(l)*- 'noble'.[16] The

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[9] I have taken into account the given names that appear in the document and surviving seals. The Latinised forms, most often in the genitive case, have been cited in the nominative case; this proceeding is highlighted by an asterisk immediately after the name; see Di Clemente (2012: 312).

[10] The name might be both feminine and masculine.

[11] *Mariot* is generally feminine, occasionally also masculine.

[12] *S'HAUISE DE ANESLEYE* (*CDS ii*: App. I, no. 3 (53); McAndrew 1999: no. 1364). According to McAndrew the partially broken legend reads *AN ... STERE*. The seal is assigned to Margerie widow of Thomas Banysleue, but the given name appearing in the seal is different. Even the surname seems to be different, not a simple mistake for *Banysleue*; *de Anesleye* occurs twice in the *Ragman Roll* (*John le fitz Johan de Anesleye*, of Lanarkshire, and *Johan de Anesleye de Crucfut*, of Roxburghshire); according to Black (2007) s.v. *Ainslie*, *Ainslee*, the surname derives from *Annesley* in Northumberland. For a summary, see Di Clemente (2012: 312).

[13] According to Black (2007) s.v. *Chilham*, *Roese de Chilham* is a man; Black could have linked the given name *Rose* to a masculine short and pet form (see Old High German *Rozo*), but it is likely that the person cited here is a woman belonging to the Scottish branch of the English noble family descended from an illegitimate son of King John Lackland, Richard le Fiz Roy, baron of Chilham in Kent, and his wife Rohese of Dover, see McAndrew (2006: 123). For a summary, see Di Clemente (2012: 312).

[14] *S'SARE FILIE RADULFI* (McAndrew 1999: no. 3627).

[15] This paragraph represents an enlargement and a more detailed analysis of Di Clemente (2012: 315–318).

[16] Förstemann (1900): cols. 151 ff. (ATHA), 158 ff. (ATHAL); Forssner (1916: 5–6); Morlet (1968: 13, 16, 19); Schlaug (1962: 47, 53). See also McClure & Rollason (2007: 44) and Di Clemente (2012: 315).

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name was imported to the British Isles by the Normans; it grew in popularity in Scotland from the twelfth century onwards, probably due to the marriage of Henry of Huntingdon to the Norman heiress Ada de Warenne.

Alice 4x. An Old French name, itself from Middle Latin *Adalheidis* (inflected as a third declension name), an adaptation of the Continental Germanic dithematic name formed by **aþa(l)-* (see above) and **haidi-* 'form, status, conformation, nature' (see Gothic *haidus* m. 'manner, way', Old English *hād* m. 'person, sex, degree, rank, order, condition, state, kind, nature, form', Old High German *heit* f. 'person, personality, sex, form, ecclesiastical rank, office', Old Saxon *hēd* f. 'rank'.[17] It cannot be excluded that this name is an outcome of *Adalhildis* or *Adalgīs(a)*.[18]

Aline x1. An Old French hypocorism, formed by adding a diminutive suffix to a syncopated form going back to the Germanic adjective **aþa(l)-* (see s.v. *Ade*).[19]

Aliue 1x?. In the *IP* version, *Aliue* is the name of a woman otherwise called *Aline de Veupont* in other witnesses of the document (see above; in the *IP* name index it appears as *Aline*). It is not clear whether *Aliue* is a scribal error (<u> instead of <n>, which is quite common) or the reference is to another name, such as the Middle English *Al(v)ive*, of Anglo-Saxon origin (*Ælfgifu*, from *ælf* < **alβi-* 'elf, supernatural being' + *gi(e)fu* f. < **geβō-* 'gift', a female name that enjoyed great popularity among Anglo-Saxon aristocracy and the royal family during the tenth and eleventh centuries).[20]

Edith(e) 1x. From the Old English dithematic name *Ēadgȳþ*, from Old English *ēad-* < Germanic **auþa-* 'prosperity, luck', and *gȳþ*, a variant of *gūþ* f., a term mainly used in compounds and in poetry < Germanic **gunþ(j)ō-* 'war, battle, fight'.[21]

Ele 2x. Probably from a Germanic adjective **ali-* 'other, different', with West Germanic gemination, then reduced in French, plus front mutation; or from **agila-* 'fear' (hypothesizing front mutation and palatalisation then assimilation of /g/, or a passage **agil* > **ail*, then Old French monophthongisation and palatalisation of /ai/); or from a Germanic stem

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[17] Streitberg (1910: 53), s.v. *haidus*; Bosworth & Toller (1898–1921) s.v. *hád*; Köbler (1993), s.v. *heit*; Köbler (2014), s.v. *hēd*; and Di Clemente (2012: 316).

[18] Di Clemente (2012: 316); Förstemann (1900): cols. 158 ff. (ATHAL), esp. 168–70, 172; Forssner (1916: 6–8); McClure & Rollason (2007: 44–46); Schlaug (1962: 47, 50, 53).

[19] It is the woman known as *Aline de Veupont* (Prynne 1672: 663 and *CDS ii*: 213) and *Aliue de Vypount* in *IP*: 167. She is recorded as *Alina de Vieuxpont* in PoMS (http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/18097/#).

[20] Di Clemente (2012: 316, footnote 46); Okasha (2011: 18, 58, 64, 70, 76); see also Insley & Rollason & McClure (2007: 82–83) and PASE, *Ælfgifu* 1–29.

[21] Di Clemente (2012: 317–318); Förstemann (1900), cols. 185–206 (AUDA), 693 ff. (GUNDA); Bosworth & Toller (1898–1921) s.vv. *ēad*, *gūþ*. Okasha (2011: 32–33, 58–59, 64); see also Insley & Rollason & McClure (2007: 105–106).

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**aljana-* represented by Old High German *ellan*, Old Saxon *ellian*, Old Norse *eljun* 'strength, courage, valour'.[22] Another hypothesis has the name *Ele* as a diminutive of Old French *Elene* < Greek *'Ελένη*, Latin *(H)elena*.[23]

Emme 2x. Probably a hypocorism from personal names showing a first element **erm(ina)-*, **erm(ana)-* 'high, elevated', with the assimilation of /r/ to the following /m/, or from **amja-* 'eager, zealous', with front mutation and gemination of /m/.[24]

Gode 1x, might be both masculine (Continental Germanic *Godo*, Old English *Goda*) and feminine (Continental Germanic *Goda*, Old English *Gode*), probably a short or pet form of a dithematic showing *gōd-* 'good' as the first element (Di Clemente 2012: 319–320).

HAUISE 1x genitive (on a seal legend).[25] It is the Latinate form of a dithematic showing as a first element Germanic **haðu-* 'duel, struggle' and as a second element perhaps Germanic **wīd-* 'wide, broad', through a Middle Latin form *Hadewidis*, then Old French *(H)avise*, with /w/ > /v/, dropping of the intervocalic central /d/ and subsequent contraction phenomena. The second element could also represent the outcome of the adjectives **wīsō-* 'wise (feminine)', **wisu-* 'good (feminine)' or have as an underlying form the substantive **wīgaz* 'duel, combat, struggle', with *Movierung*, or a contracted form of Germanic **wīhā-* 'temple, sanctuary' (but also a variant of **wīgaz* with *grammatischer Wechsel*), probably through a Middle Latin form **wīgis* > Old French *-wīs*, *-vis*.[26] The latter form may presuppose a

[22] Förstemann (1900), cols. 27 ff. (AGIL), 79 ff. (ALJA), 84 (ALJAN); Morlet (1968: 32); Stark (1868: 49); cf. Old Saxon *Alla*, *Ella* (Schlaug 1962: 77–78). It could be a hypocorism formed by isolating the first element of dithematic names such as *Aliberta*, *Eligardis*, *Eligildis*, *Alihild*, *Eliswind*, *Alitrudis* etc. (see Morlet 1968: 32) or by isolating/shortening the first element of *Ellianburc*, *Elindrud*, *Ellingard*, *Ellingund*, *Ellanhilda*, *Ellinlind*, *Ellinsind*, *Ellanswind*, *Ellinwich* (Förstemann 1900: cols. 85–87); with Old French simplification of a geminated consonant.

[23] See Hanks & Hardcastle & Hodges (2006), s.v. *Ella*; Di Clemente (2012: 314).

[24] Di Clemente (2012: 316). Förstemann (1900: cols. 949–955, 943–946, 87–88, 96) judges *aman-* to be obscure, but the stem is related to *am-*, itself linked to *amal-*, probably meaning 'work, fatigue' (Old Norse *ama* 'to annoy'), or *amma*, respectively 'grandma, nanny' e 'nanny, foster-mother' in Old Norse and Old High German (Forssner 1916: 69; Morlet 1968: 84–85; Müller 1901: 56; Schlaug 1962: 119–120). See also McClure & Rollason (2007: 52).

[25] McAndrew (1999: no. 1364): *S'HAUISE DE ANESLEYE*.

[26] See Förstemann (1900): cols. 788 ff. (ATHALA), esp. 797–799 for the different forms of the name, 1562 ff. (VID), 1576 ff. (VIGA); Forssner (1916: 144); Björkman (1912: 41–42), who maintains 'ich vermute dass der Name kontinentalgermanischen Ursprungs und mit den Normannen nach England gekommen ist'; Morlet (1968: 119) (*Hadewidis*, *Haduidis*, *Havidis*, *Hawis*). For the hypothesis *-uisa* < *wīsō-*, *wisu-*, see Morlet (1968: 119: *Hadewisa*, *Hadvisa*, *Hatuisa*, *Havisa*); Kaufmann (1968: 409); Fazzini Giovannucci (2004: 62–63). The phonetic evolution of *hade* > *ha-*, **wīd(is)* or **wīgaz* > *-wi-*, *-vi-* should have been produced by spirantisation and dropping of intervocalic /d/ or /g/, in the case of a postulated **wīgaz* the spirantised velar stop may have been assimilated to the

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Movierung of the second element.

Maut 1x. It is an Old French form of the Continental Germanic dithematic name *Mahthild*, from **mahti-* 'strength, wealth' and **hildjō* 'battle',[27] in a syncopated form (*Mald*), with rounding and vocalisation of /l/ after the vowel and before another consonant and devoicing of final /d/.

Ro(e)se 1x.[28] A hypocorism, isolating the first element of an originally dithematic name containing *hrōd* < Germanic *hrōþa-* (see *Robert*), to which a s-suffix was added (Morlet 1968: 136–137); or a form isolating a first element *hros-* m. ft. 'horse' (see *Roslindis*, *Rosmoda*, *Rosmunda*), or a contracted dithematic, perhaps **Hrōþgīs* (Germanic **gīsō* 'button, bud'). However, the form *Roese* seems to suggest the evolution of a Latinised dithematic *Hrōþhaidis* (see above, **hrōþ-* and **haid-*), showing monophthongisation of the Germanic diphthong, then Old French palatalisation of stressed /a:/.[29] The final *-e* shows that the name is inflected according the Old French first declension and/or perhaps there is an interference, by folk etymology, with the Old French flower name *rose* 'rose' (which was strongly associated to the cult of the Holy Virgin, mainly from the twelfth century onwards).

5. Doubtful cases

An uncertain case is that of *Gunnyd Broun,* whose seal is also preserved, bearing the legend *S'GUNNID DE BRWN* (MacAndrew 1999: no. 1352). *Gunnyd Broun* appears in the 1296 documents together with other oath performers, all of them male and qualified as "tenantz le roi del counte de Edeneburgh" (*IP*: 136), but Gunnyd could be a woman. The appearance of the name points to the Old Scandinavian dithematic name *Gunnhild(r)*, from **gunþjō-* 'war, battle' and **hildjō-* 'battle'.[30] The spelling of the name in the

preceding palatal vowel (or, if we hypothesise a form **wīha-*, intervocalic /x/ has been dropped). In the eleventh and twelfth century the first element is still attested as *had(e)-* (see for instance Guillaume de Jumièges: *Hadewis*). See also McClure & Rollason (2007: 57–58). Di Clemente (2012: 316–317).

[27] Di Clemente (2012: 316–317); Förstemann (1900), cols. 1082 (MAHTI), esp. 1083–4; 818 ff. (HILDI); Forssner (1916: 181–182); Morlet (1968: 166); Schlaug (1962: 129). See also McClure & Rollason (2007: 57–58).

[28] *Rose de Chilham* (*IP*: 170), *Roese de Chilham* (*CDS ii*: 282).

[29] Förstemann (1900), cols. 886 ff. (HROTHI), esp. 903; Forssner (1916: 220); Morlet (1968: 136–137). For the interference with the flower name, see Hanks & Hardcastle & Hodges (2006), s.v. *Rose*. See also PoMS (http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/18078/#); Di Clemente (2012: 317).

[30] Förstemann (1900), cols. 693 (GUNDI), 818 ff. (HILDI); Insley & Rollason (2007: 222); Naumann (1912: 42–43; the name is also used in France, see Morlet (1968: 139) and a couple of attestations come from Ostrogothic Italy (Francovich Onesti 2007: 56–57).

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Ragman Roll could be influenced by the Old French dialect used by the scribe.[31]

Three other feminine given names, whose interpretation is not as simple as it appears at first sight, can be included in this account:

- *Alianore* 1x;
- *Eue* 4x; seal legend: *EVE* 1x (in the genitive case);[32]
- *Sare* 1x? (uncertain);[33] seal legend: *SARE* 1x genitive (McAndrew 1999: no. 3627).

Alianore is a name coming from South-Western France and the Hiberian peninsula, which spread to the British Isles thanks to the Spanish and French queens of England (e.g. Eleanor of Aquitaine, Eleanor of Provence, Eleanor of Castile, the latter one descending from Eleanor of Aquitaine). It is said to contain the Germanic (West Gothic?) adjectival form **ali-* 'other' as a first element, but this explanation remains purely speculative (Hanks & Hardcastle & Hodges 2006, s.v. *Eleanor*).

For *Eue* and *Sara*, which are commonly believed to come from the Jewish personal names *Havvah* and *Sarah*, through Greek (*Ευα*, *Σάρρα*) and Latin (*Eua*, *Sar(r)a*), it is not impossible that these forms have been influenced by very usual Germanic hypocorisms which show stems such as **auja-* 'joy', **awjō-* 'isle, land surrounded by water' or **aiwō-* 'eternity' > Old French *ev(e)-*, and **sarwa-* 'cuirass', in an assimilated pet form *sar(r)-*.[34]

6. Form of the names

The given names that have been imported from the French name system, or have a French equivalent, appear in a Frenchified form in the document, see *Ade*, *Alianore*, *Aline*, *Alice*, *Emme*, *Eue*, *Gode?*, *Maut*, *Ro(e)se*, *Sare*. They show, for instance,

- weakened non-stressed vowels (final *-e*, which also represents the morphological mark of the nominative in Old French feminine first and partly third class, see Schwan & Behrens 1900: 150);

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[31] The Old French influence could be shown by loss of initial [h] of the second element and by the reduction [ild] > [id] (see Roncaglia 1971: 92). According to PoMS (http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/22665/#), the name is without doubt Gunnhild. For a summary, see Di Clemente (2012: 320).

[32] *CDS ii*: App. I, no. 3 (7); McAndrew (1999: no. 1307).

[33] This person appears as *Sare la fielle Thomas Freysel* in *IP*: 152, but as *Saer le fiz Thomas Fre(y)sel* (a man) in Prynne (1672: 659) and *CDS ii*: 194. A diffraction occurring in the two witnesses is hypothesised (Di Clemente 2012: 310–311 and footnote 21), see also above, footnote 7. PoMS records this person as *Sarah, daughter of Thomas Fraser*, according to Thomson's reading (PoMS, http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/19917/#).

[34] Förstemann (1900): cols. 49 ff. (AIVA), 217 ff. (AVI), 1299–1301 (SARVA); Morlet (1968: 195). See also Di Clemente (2012: 315, 319).

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- dropping of intervocalic voiced stops (*Adalhaidis*, *-gis*, *-hildis* > *Alice*, *Hrodhaidis* > *Ro(e)se*, see Schwan & Behrens 1900: 76–77);

- dropping of initial /h/, especially when the stems make the second element of a dithematic (*Adal-heidis*, *-hildis* > *Alice*, *Hrod-haidis* > *Ro(e)se*);

- rounding and vocalisation of /l/ in the cluster /a + l + other consonant/ (*Mald* > *Maut*, see Schwan & Behrens 1900: 44);

- devoicing of final /d/ (*Maud* > *Maut*, see Schwan & Behrens 1900: 81–82);

- Medieval Latin monophthogisation of Continental Germanic /ai/ > /a(:)/ (see Schwan & Behrens 1900: 22), which is then palatalised in Old French, being a stressed vowel in open syllable (*Hrodhaidis* > *Roese*, see Schwan & Behrens 1900: 45).

Other given names can be superficially Frenchified, e.g. *Gunnyd* < ?*Gunnhild*, where dropping of /h/ and rounding and dropping of /l/ in the /ild/ cluster are witnessed, and the form *Edithe* according to *CDS ii*, where the Middle English name shows what is probably the Old French morphological mark of the feminine of the first declension *-e*.

The latinised given names, such as *Eva*, *Hauisa* and *Sara*, follow the Latin first feminine declension, but they have undergone Old French phonetic evolutions; especially in the case of *Hauisa*, typical phonetic phenomena occur, such as dropping of voiced stop, and passage of /w/ > /v/ (but as a north-eastern form, it could also maintain the /w/ value). Initial /h/ disappears in Medieval Latin/Old French, so it possibly represents here only an etymological spelling or a slight aspiration, or /h/ has been reintroduced under the influence of Middle English.

7. Typological and etymological remarks

Most personal names of Germanic origin appearing in the *Ragman Roll* are the continuation of traditional dithematic names, following a specific + generic pattern. The stems occurring in first position are more numerous than those occurring in second position. The stem **haid-* only occurs in the second place (*Alice*, *Ro(e)se*), whilst **gunþ(j)ō-* is found both as first (*Gunnyd*) and second element (*Edith*).

Most dithematic names are determinative compounds, whose first element is in a case relationship with the second one (*Edith* 'battle for the riches', *Maut* 'struggle for might', *Ro(e)se* 'state of glory'), or is an adjective determining the second element (*Alice* 'nobility, noble nature'). Other dithematic names are more enigmatic: additional/semi-tautological or even determinative (*Gunnyd* = 'battle + battle', 'battle and fight', or 'fight for the battle')?

Some names can be monothematic or formed by isolation and

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shortening of a stem deriving from an ancient dithematic name (see *Ade*, *Gode*, probably *Ele*, and *Emme*), or represent the contraction/fusion of part of the stems of earlier dithematics (see *Maut*). Finally, there are diminutive forms where the stem is redetermined by adding a suffix to it (see *Aline*).

8. Cultural remarks

These names were already totally opaque in the thirteenth century, i.e. their lexical components were no longer immediately understandable, due to their passage through different language systems, but they etymologically allow a glance at the old Germanic name-giving practices. Old dithematic names generally show second elements having a grammatical gender corresponding to the sexual gender of the actual bearer (**gundjō*-, **hildjō*, **haidi*-? for women, see the Old High German feminine substantive *heit* 'state, conformation, nature' and Old Saxon *hēd* 'rank').

Among the semantic fields involved, there are war, social roles, positive or generic qualifications, ethnicity or provenance. In more than one case, however, it is difficult to understand which exact Germanic stem underlies the onomastic form of the *Ragman Roll*, especially those occupying the first position of a dithematic name, which have undergone strong phonetic reductions or changes.

The analysis has roughly individuated the area of origin of single names, often by help of their linguistic features; there are, however, other cultural reasons that explain their presence in thirteenth-century Scotland. Names of Anglo-Saxon descent, such as Edith, had been introduced into the Scottish royal family since the eleventh century by queen St. Margaret (in honour of her father's family), but the cult of the royal saint Edith of Wilton also played a role; others are typical Scandinavian names introduced during the English Viking age (presumably *Gunnyd*). Most names, however, came from the (Norman) French cultural and linguistic space and were spread throughout Scotland after the process of feudalisation and arrival of several Anglo-Norman nobles during the twelfth and thirteenth century. These names are mostly of (West) Frankish origin and a number of them had been adopted by the Scandinavians who settled in Normandy at the beginning of the tenth century for reasons of cultural prestige; they were used in the British Isles after the Conquest for the same reason (see for instance *Ade*, *Emme*, *Maut*, *Ro(e)se*; see Di Clemente 2012, *passim*).

9. Final remarks

The present study has been carried out by taking into account three major aspects: the social and historical roles of the women appearing in the

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Ragman Roll, which emerge from the documents and can be compared to other historical sources; the historical-anthroponymic level; and the specifically linguistic (etymological, interlinguistic, lexical) level. The quantitative, linguistic and etymological examination of the women's names attested in the *Ragman Roll* may contribute to a fuller knowledge of naming practices in Medieval Scotland and to promote an insight into how these were affected by cultural trends and cultural and linguistic exchanges. Moreover, the analysis of plurilinguistic documents, such as the *Ragman Roll*, may explain mechanisms of borrowing, adaptation, and folk etymology appearing in the thirteenth-century Scottish anthroponymic system.

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Appendix I. Women bearing Germanic names cited in the *instrumenta*[35]

Ade de Freser, prioresse de Eccles, del counte de Berewyk
Ade, prioresse de Seint Boythan, et le couent de mesme le leu
[Alianore prioresse de Lencludan, del counte de Dunfres]
Alice de Dunbar, del counte de Berewyk
Alice de Ormeston, del counte de Edeneburgh = Alice qe fut la femme Aleyn de Ormeston, tenaunte le roi du counte de Edeneburgh
Alice qe fut la femme Phelipp de Haliburton, tenaunte le roi du counte de Berewyk
Alice, prioresse de Manuel, et le couent de mesme le lu
Aline (Aliue?) de Veupont, del counte de Edeneburgh
Edith de Goldingham, del counte de Berewyk
[Ele de Ardros, del counte de Fyf
Ele de Fyf, del counte de Fyf]
Emme de Almere, del counte de Selkirk
Emme Spendeloue, del counte de Lanark
[Eue de Anegos, del counte de Forfare
Eue que fut la femme Maucolm Frendragh, del counte de Abreden
Eue, la prioresse de Hadinton, et le couent de mesme de lu, tenante le roi du counte de Edeneburgh]
Gode de Wynton, del counte de Edeneburgh?
[Gunnyd Broun, del counte de Edeneburgh]
Maut de Mounceaus, del counte de Rokesburgh
Rose de Chilham, del counte de Rokesburgh
[Sare la fielle Thomas Freysel?]

[35] Di Clemente (2012: 327–329).

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Appendix II. Seals: Form, figures and legends[36]

This appendix is subdivided into three further parts. First are considered the seals bearing names of individuals not cited in the *instrumenta*; in the second part seals appear bearing names of women cited in the documents too. In the third part, there are the seals that scholars have attributed to women cited in the *instrumenta*, although the name appearing in the seal legend is different.

1) Seals containing names not cited in the documents

[Oval, a fleur-de-lys. S'SARE FILIE RADULFI (McAndrew 1999: no. 3627).]

2) Seals containing names with reference to women cited in the documents

Alice de Dunbar. S' ALICIE DE DVNBAR (*CDS ii*: App. III, no. 563 describes the figure as "a large rose", McAndrew 1999: no. 3563 "a large roe").

[Eue la prioresse de Hadinton. Oval, and old person reading a book, a bird above. S'EVE DE COHEBVRN (*CDS ii*: App. I, no. 3 (7); McAndrew 1999: no. 1307).

Gunnyd Broun. A forearm bearing a spear. S' GUNNYD DE BRWN (McAndrew 1999: no. 1352).]

3) Seals containing different names but attributed to women whose names appear in the *instrumenta*

Alice qe fut la femme Aleyn de Ormiston. Almond, an emblem. S' AGNETIS 'DE ORMISTVN.'. The name attested in the document and the one of the seal do not correspond (*Alice* vs. *Agnes*) but *CDS ii*: App. I,3, no. 52 and McAndrew (1999: no. 1363) assign the seal to Alice of Ormiston.

Margerie qe fut la femme Thomas Banysleue. Oval, a bird regardant. S'HAUISE DE ANESLEYE (*CDS ii*: App. I, no. 3 (53); McAndrew 1999: no. 1364).

[36] Di Clemente (2012: 329–331).

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