# THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT OF OLD ENGLISH WEALH

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The Old English noun *wealh*,[1] plural *wēalas*, originally meaning "Celt", gradually extended its meanings to "slave" and "foreigner" in general.[2] Its ultimate source may have been the name of the Celtic tribe, *Volcae*,[3] but on the Continent, in view of the Romanized nature of Gaul, it was extended by its Germanic users to include all peoples of Romance or Latin stock. Although the German *welsch* eventually came to have pejorative connotations,[4] it did not develop the other senses acquired by OE *wealh*, which was applied specifically to the Romano-Britons. When used of foreigners *Wealh* was virtually always qualified, as with the *Galwalas* of the *OE Chronicle*.[5] It would be useful, both for assessing the social status of the Britons in England and for determining the meaning of the element *wealh* in place-names, derivatives and compounds, if the date could be discovered at which the racial term acquired the secondary meaning of "slave". *Wealh* was only one of a number of OE words for "slave", each with its own shade of meaning, so if its connotations could be more accurately defined, they might throw some light on the image of the British. As *wealh* clearly has an ethnic sense in some texts and a status value in others, I shall discuss these examples first before proceeding to the debatable cases.

## Wealh *as an ethnic term.*

The first written occurrence of *Wealh* seems to be in the *Laws of Ine*,[6] which probably date between 688 and 694, although the earliest extant manuscript is about 925. In all the texts the forms and, to a lesser extent, the vocabulary have been altered to conform to late ninth-century usage, although the terms used need not necessarily have borne the same technical meanings in Ine's as in Alfred's time. These *Laws* reveal a society in which the *Wēalas* had not all been reduced to slavery, although they occupied an inferior position to their English counterparts. The highest ranking is the Briton holding 5 hides of land:

> Wealh, gif he hafað V hida, he bið syxhynde. (ch.xxiv,2)
> (A *Wealh*, if he has 5 hides, is a man of a 600 wergeld.)

The 600 shilling wergeld corresponds to that of the *syxhynde* class described in chs.xxvii and xxxix of the *Laws of Alfred*, falling between the *thegn* and the *ceorl*. The *syxhynde* class is not found in later laws, suggesting that it died out, probably during the Norse invasions. The actual composition of the ninth-century *syxhynde* class is debatable as there is no mention of *Wēalas* in Alfred's *Laws*. It probably included the descendants of those who held 5 hides in Ine's time, their racial origins forgotten, while other members may have been landless *thegns*.[7] At a later period a man owning 5 hides was entitled to a wergeld not of 600 but 1200 shillings and the rank of *thegn*.[8] As wergelds tended to remain stationary in value, it would appear that the *Wealh* of Ine's *Laws* is being accorded only half the value of his English counterpart, and this lowering in status would also seem to apply to the other British classes described:

> Wealh gafolgelda CXX scill., his sunu C, . . .
> (ch.xxiii,3)
> (A *Wealh gafolgelda* [has a wergeld of] 120 shillings, his son, 100, . . .)
>
> Gif Wilisc mon hæbbe hide londes, his wer bið CXX scill.; gif he þonne healfes hæbbe, LXXX scill.; gif he nænig hæbbe, LX scillinga.
> (ch.xxxii)
> (If a *Wealh* has a hide of land, his wergeld is 120 shillings; if, however, he has half [a hide], 80 *shillings; if he has none, 60 shillings.*)

The English *ceorl* was valued at 200 shillings,[9] so the *Wēalas* have wergelds ranging from three-tenths to six-tenths of this. While the wergelds are related to the amount of land held, it is obvious that they are calculated not from that of the Englishman holding the same amount of land, but in proportion to that of the *syxhynde Wealh*. Thus the man holding one hide of land is valued at 120 shillings, or one-fifth the wergeld of the *syxhynde* man of 5 hides, not at half that of the Englishman with one hide of land, which would have been 100 shillings. The one-hide man is also described as a *Wealh gafolgelda*, or a free man with his own household who paid *gafol*, or rent, to the king, rather than rendering services.[10] At the bottom of the scale is the landless man who was considered to be worth only 60 shillings, the same as a slave,[11] although the use of the term *wer* indicates that he was still free.

The conditions extended to the free *Wēalas* are not an innovation made on English soil but are based on standard Germanic practice. For example, under the Franks the *Romanus homo possessor*, or Gallo-Roman, was also given a half wergeld.[12] The inferior social position of the free *Wealh* is further shown in ch.xlvi of Ine's *Laws*, where a man charged with stealing or harbouring stolen cattle had to produce an oath of sixty hides if he were accused by a *Wealh*, whereas if the accuser were English the oath required was doubled. The division of the *Wēalas* into three classes is paralleled in ch.xxvi

of the *Laws of Æthelberht* by that of the *læts*, who were probably the free descendants of the Romano-British inhabitants of Kent.[13] It is possible that this tripartite division and the valuing of the son of the *Wealh gafolgelda* at five-sixths his father's wergeld are examples of the British being allowed to retain their own customs and of these being incorporated in the English legal codes.[14]

The *Laws of Ine* show that strong distinctions were made on racial grounds not only between freemen but also between slaves:

> Witeðeowne monnan Wyliscne mon sceal bedrifan be XII hidum swa ðeowne to swingum, Engliscne be feower 7 XXX hida.
>
> (ch.liv,2)
>
> (A penally enslaved *Wealh* shall be compelled to suffer a flogging as a slave by [an oath of] 12 hides, an Englishman by [an oath of] 34 hides.)

Once again the *Wealh* is placed in an inferior position, as the value of the oath required to have him flogged is almost one-third that for an English penal slave. The final piece of evidence that *wealh* could not yet stand alone to mean simply "a slave" but had to be qualified by *þeow*, comes from ch.lxxiv:

> Gif ðeowwealh Engliscne monnan ofslihð, þonne sceal se ðe hine ah weorpan hine to honda hlaforde 7 mægum oððe LX scill. gesellan wið his feore.
>
> 1. Gif he þonne þone ceap nelle foregesellan, þonne mot hine se hlaford gefreogean; gielden siððan his mægas þone wer, gif he mægburg hæbbe freo; gif he næbbe, heden his þa gefan.
>
> (If a *Wealh* who is a slave slays an Englishman, his owner shall hand him over to the dead man's lord and kinsmen, or purchase his life for 60 shillings.
>
> 1. If, however, the lord will not pay this price for him, he must liberate him; afterwards his kinsmen must pay the wergeld, if he has a free kindred; if he has not [a free kindred], then his enemies may deal with him.)

Although this law obviously refers to a British slave, the *ðēowwealh* is valued at the customary slave price of 60 shillings, not at a lower rate, but this may be related to the value of the victim and not to the status of the perpetrator. It is interesting that paragraph 1 above assumes that a *ðēowwealh* (who is not necessarily a *witeðēow*, who would originally have been born free) might have free kinsmen in the community. When Ine's *Laws* were reissued by Henry I, the amount to be paid was lowered to bring it into line with current slave prices.[15] In view, however, of the warfare between Wales and England in the 1090's and the fact that Henry's laws covered a wider geographical area than Ine's, it cannot be presumed that *seruus*

*Waliscus* conveyed the same meaning in the twelfth century as *ðeowwealh* in the seventh and that these later *serui* were descendents of the seventh-century slaves and not Welsh slaves.

It might be thought that Ine's laws dealing with *Wēalas* were passed to cover the British inhabitants of the newly acquired areas in the far west of the kingdom, but there was not necessarily a large British population requiring such legislation in these areas. The place-name evidence for Devon, which was probably relatively umpopulated at the end of the British period owing to the migrations to Brittany,[16] does not indicate stronger Romano-British survival there than in many areas in the east; indeed, the adjacent counties of Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset have many more Celtic place-names.[17] The constant hostilities with Cornwall and Wales make it unlikely that immigrants from these two areas would have been able to settle or acquire land in Wessex, and much more probably the seventh-century *Wēalas* of Ine's *Laws* descended from the original Romano-British inhabitants of southern England.[18]

Some of the descendants of Ine's *Wealas* may perhaps be included in the *Wealcyn* of *King Alfred's Will*, apparently dating between 873 and 889.[19] Here, Alfred bequeaths to his youngest son a number of estates, lying, as far as they can be identified, in Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset, Sussex, Wiltshire and, probably, Cornwall, concluding with æt *Liwtune 7 þa land* þe *þærto hyran*. Referring back to *þa land* "those lands" at *Liwtun*, he states that *þæt synd ealle* þe *ic on Wealcynne hæbbe buton Triconscire* "which are all that I have in *Wealcyn* except *Triconscir*".[20] Thus *Liwtun* and *Triconscir* are definitely located *on Wealcynne*. Although neither of these places can be positively identified, Lifton, Devon, has been suggested for *Liwtun* and Trigg, Cornwall, for *Triconscir*,[21] so that we might be inclined to take the people of Devon and Cornwall as the *Wealcyn*, especially as these are the two most westerly counties of England. Cornwall could certainly have been described as the land of the *Wēalas* at this period as it remained almost exclusively Celtic in speech and population for many generations, but Devon was rapidly Anglicized in speech, place-names and customs after the English settlement. Moreover, Alfred names *Liwtun* and *Triconscir* as the only places which he owns *on Wealcynne*, while listing at least four, and possibly six, other estates which are in Devon, two of which are as far west as the sites which have been suggested for *Liwtun*. Thus only the area around or belonging to *Liwtun* would seem to have been regarded as one of predominantly British settlement. The term *Wealcyn* may have been used as a contrast and parallel to that of *Angelcyn*, the *-cyn* element emphasising the nature of the people rather than the land itself. Certain areas, more heavily populated with *Wēalas*, might have been left undisturbed during the English settlement of Devon, as there was not a great scarcity of land for distribution among the conquerors and it was a Christian region settled after the conversion of the English.[22] The place-name evidence suggests an enclave of Celts around Lifton,[23] which lends strong support to the idea that this specific area of Devon only could have been designated as *on Wealcynne*. It is debatable whether these British groups would still have been identifiable in

Alfred's time, some two hundred years after the conquest of Devon; the term may have remained traditional for describing certain districts, although its use in a legal document may suggest some feeling for the original concept.

To see the terms in use c.900 for Britons living, not in Wales or Cornwall, but in England proper, it is necessary to turn to the first part of the *OE Chronicle*[24] (apparently written in Wessex) which, in dealing with the English invasions of Britain, contains numerous references to the Romano-Britons. The oldest manuscript of the *Chronicle*, the *Parker Text*, which Plummer denoted by the siglum *Ā*, is written in a late ninth-century hand which stops at the end of ann.891.[25] The *OE Chronicle* probably only dates from this period in its present form. The compilers, while tending to use contemporary terms, may have been influenced by Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* or earlier OE oral tradition.

*Wēalas/Wālas* and *Brittas/Brettas* are used interchangeably and indiscriminately throughout the text:

ann.457. Her Hengest 7 Æsc fuhton wiþ Brettas . . . þa Brettas þa forleton Centlond.
(In this year Hengest and Æsc fought against the British . . . the British then abandoned Kent.)

ann.473 . . . þa Walas flugon þa Englan swa fyr.
( . . . the British fled from the English as from fire.)

ann.552 . . . gefeaht wiþ Brettas . . . þa Bretwalas gefliemde.
(. . . fought against the British . . . the British fled.)

Only once, in the "Preface" to the Laud Manuscript, Plummer's *E*, is a distinction made between *Brittisc* and *Wilisc*. This occurs in the list of the six languages found in Britain which is obviously taken from Bede, who, however, gives only five,[26] as do the other versions of the *Chronicle*. In *E* Bede's *Brettonum* is translated as *Bryt Wylsc*. The scribe, a northerner writing in the twelfth century,[27] probably miscopied and split one word into two. He may have thought there was a difference between Cornish (*Brittisc*) and Welsh (*Wilisc*) but, if so, this is the only such usage recorded. The use of the combined form *Brytwalas*, which occurs occasionally in the *Chronicle*, may have been intended more emphatically to distinguish the British from foreign Celts such as the *Galwālas*, or Gauls.

When applied to such foreigners, usually of Romance or Roman stock, *Wealh* was generally qualified with a prefix, as when Widsiþ says that he was *mid Rumwalum* "with the Romans".[28] He does describe the kingdom ruled by *Casere* simply as *Wala rice* (line 78), but the poet may have felt that the mention of Caesar was a sufficient

qualification. One of the very rare cases of *Wealh* standing alone with the meaning of "Roman" or "a person of Romance stock", exists in Ælfric's tenth-century *Vocabulary* where *Jus quiritum* "full Roman citizenship"[29] is translated by *Wealas sunderriht*,[30] but elsewhere by *reht Romwala* or *Romwara sundorriht*.[31]

Moving to the north of England in the early eleventh century, we find the *Norðleoda Laga*[32] compiled by Archbishop Wulfstan II of York.[33] Unlike Wessex there are no early laws extant from Mercia or Northumbria to elucidate the position of the British substratum, but the *Norðleoda Laga* seems to be based on much earlier traditions and includes clauses dealing with *Wealas*:

> And gif Wilisman [*variant readings* Wilisc man, Wealiscmon, Waliscus] geþeo, þæt he hæbbe hiwisc landes 7 mæge cyninges gafol forðbringan, þonne bið his wergild CXX scill. [other texts read CCXX].
> (ch.vii)
> (And if a *Wealh* prospers so that he has a hide of land and can produce the king's tribute, then his wergeld is 120 shillings.)
>
> And gif he ne geþeo buton to healfre hide, þonne si his wer LXXX scill.
> (ch.vii,1)
> (And if he does not prosper beyond half a hide, then his wergeld is to be 80 shillings.)
>
> And gif he ænig land næbbe 7 þeah freoh sy, forgilde hine man mid LXX scill.
> (ch.viii)
> (And if he has no land and nevertheless is free, one is to pay for him with 70 shillings.)

These Wēalas, even those without any land, are obviously free. If the amounts given in *Text D* of the *Laga* are accepted, the *Wēalas* in chs,vii and vii,1 have the same wergelds as their counterparts in seventh-century Wessex, but the landless man is valued at 10 shillings more in Northumbria. The *Wealh* is once again worth approximately half his English (and Danish) equivalent. It is probable that these laws reflect early Northumbrian custom, recorded for the first time during the Viking settlements in order to form a basis for settling the wergelds of the Danes and English respectively. Whether the *Wealh* was still identifiable as a Celt at that time is debatable, although if his descendants still retained their lowered wergelds some feeling for the class could have survived. Certain areas of Northumbria were not conquered and settled by the English before the seventh century, and enclaves of *Wēalas* may have survived for some time in the more mountainous regions of the Pennines.

Apart from its appearance in various texts, *Wealh* also occurs in a number of compounds, generally with its derived meaning of "foreign", as in *wealh-hnutu* "foreign nut, walnut", *wealh-more*

"foreign root, carrot, parsnip", *wealh-hafoc* "foreign hawk, gerfalcon", and *wealh-wyrt* "wall-wort, dwarf elder".[34] *Wealhstod*, meaning "an interpreter", must originally have referred to someone who could understand the languages both of the *Wēalas* and the English and so could act as the medium between the two. It is more likely that such a person would have been a *Wealh*, although *Wealhstod* also occurs as an OE personal name. It is recorded, for example, as the name of a bishop of Hereford (729-34) which, it may be noted, is a border area where Celts and Saxons probably mixed freely, and also as the name of a monk at Lindisfarne (685); it appears again in 744 and in the *Durham Liber Vitae*.[35] The name could have been applied to a man working as a translator, although the interpreter between Hengist and Vortigern is given his own name, *Ceretic*.[36] It would, however, also have been a most appropriate name for the child of a mixed marriage and may eventually have been used without consideration for its meaning. As Professor Tolkien[37] points out, it is interesting that there seems to be one example of a Welsh borrowing (in the form *Gwalstawt*) of the OE name as a common noun applied to a man who understood all languages, showing contact and communication between the two races. Certainly by Alfred's time it was no longer restricted specifically to one knowledgeable in the Celtic languages and its meaning had been extended to include that of "literary interpreter" or "translator". For example, in the Preface to the *Pastoral Care* the Romans are described as translating from Greek and Hebrew into Latin *ðurh wise wealhstodas*.[38]

*Wealh as a status term.*

The *Laws of Ine* contain not only the first recorded use of *Wealh* "Briton" but also "slave". The full text of ch.xxiii,3, discussed above (p. 21 ), states:

> Wealh gafolgelda CXX scill., his sunu C, ðeowne LX, somhwelcne fiftegum; weales hyd twelfum.
> (A *Wealh gafolgelda* [has a wergeld of] 120 shillings, his son, 100: a slave [is to be paid for with] 60, sometimes 50; a *wealh* shall pay 12 [shillings to avoid a flogging].)

According to contemporary Kentish laws,[39] a slave paid only 6 shillings to avoid a flogging, half that laid down here, suggesting that the above reference is to a British slave. This is confirmed by the phrasing of the law. Since the *gafolgelda* has been specifically designated as a *Wealh*, whereas the statement on slave prices uses *þēow*, the return to *wealh* should indicate that *wēales hyd twelfum* refers to a British slave. A great deal of emphasis is laid on nationality throughout the whole of the code. For example, in two of the three cases where *witeþēowas*, or penal slaves, are mentioned, it is laid down whether an English or British *witeþēow* is meant (chs.xxiv and liv), while ch.xi prohibits the sale overseas of West Saxons, slave or free. On the one occasion, therefore, when *wealh* is used instead of *þēow*, *esne* or *man*, it seems highly probable

that the compiler was fully aware of the racial connotations, even if later scribes were not.

The next recorded occurrence of *wealh* is in the tenth-century West Saxon translation of the *Gospel of St. Matthew* xxiv.50. In a comparison between the coming of the lord to a good and an evil servant, *þanne cymð þas weales hlaford on þam daige þe he ne wenð. . .* translates *Veniet dominus servi illius in die, qua non sperat . . .*[40] As an earlier gloss on *servus* is *þeow*,[41] it is interesting that *servi illius* is rendered *ðrælas ðæs* in the tenth-century gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*,[42] especially as Aldred, the glossator, carefully chose words suited to the context. For example, he glossed (*fidelis*) *seruus* with (*geleaf-full*) *ðegn* (St Matthew xxiv.45), the title of one of the highest ranks in society which, however, originally meant "one who serves another, implying a personal relationship". Thus it was suitable to describe a faithful servant in contrast to (*yfle*) *ðræl* glossing (*malus*) *seruus* (St Matthew xxiv.48). As *þēow(a)* is employed throughout the rest of the West Saxon translation of the *Gospel*, it is possible that the use of *wealh* in this one instance was intended to convey a pejorative sense paralleled by the unpleasant connotations suggested by the comparison between *ðræl* and *þegn* in the Lindisfarne gloss.

No such overtones can be discerned in the Old Testament glosses[43] nor in Ælfric's use of *wealh* eight times in his *Grammar*,[44] on three occasions with the Latin equivalent *mancipium* "a slave acquired by purchase".[45] In Ælfric's *Vocabulary*,[46] the term *canum seruitor* is equated with *hundwæalh*, meaning "the slave who looked after the dogs", just as *wineardwealas* is used for *vinatores* in the eleventh-century OE version of the eighth-century *Chrodegang's Rule*.[47] Only where Ælfric, the homilist, refers to *we ðe næron wurðe beon his wealas gecigde* "we who were not worthy to be called his [ i.e. God's] slaves",[48] may he deliberately be choosing the most significant term available.

*Wealh* also appears divorced from its racial connections in some of the eleventh-century laws, as in II Æthelred, ch.vi,2, where *7 þæt naðor ne hy ne we ne underfon oðres wealh ne oðres ðeof ne oðres gefan* is rendered in the *Quadripartitus* version as *Et ut nec ipsi neque nos alterius seruum uel inimicum receptemus*, with *seruum* equating *wealh*. From the eleventh century also come several fragments of a life of the Kentish royal saint Mildred including the lines:

> ðritteȝum ȝearum ne ȝestilde næfre stefen cearciendes
> wænes ne ceoriendes wales.[49]

Cockayne (p. 431) interprets this as meaning that for thirty years the sound of "jarring wain nor screaming wheel never ceased", whereas Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *wealh*, give "creaking wain and chiding thrall". *Ceoriend* I accept as "chiding" or "complaining" and *wales* as equalling *wēales*, "slave", since the OE for "wheel" was *hweol*, genitive singular *hweo(h)les*.[50]

The last appearance of *wealh* noted is in the Cotton Caligula manuscript of Laȝamon's *Brut*, which dates from the late thirteenth century[51] (the contemporary Cotton Otho manuscript omits these lines), and which includes archaized forms.[52] Speaking of the freeing of the slaves, Laȝamon writes:

> Habbe alc god mon. his rihte ȝif Godd hit an.
> 7 ælc þrel 7 ælc wælh. wurðe iuroeid.[53]

*Disputable examples of* Wealh.

In only one case amongst all the instances of *wealh* in the *Laws of Ine* is the meaning in question:

> Cyninges horswealh, se ðe him mæge geærendian, ðæs wergield bið CC scill.
>
> (ch.xxxiii)
>
> (The king's *horswealh*, who can carry his messages, his wergeld is 200 shillings.)

This cannot mean "the king's horse servant", if only because such care for the racial meaning of *wealh* is apparent throughout the rest of the *Laws*. It is unthinkable that a mere horse slave would be valued at 200 shillings, and the man must be free as the amount is described as *wergeld*. A *Wealh* with a wergeld higher than that of his fellow *gafolgelda* and socially equal to an English *ceorl* must be of importance. *Horswēalas* were probably British horsemen serving the king, perhaps under the *horsðegn* mentioned in the *OE Chronicle*, ann. 897 (on which see foot of this page), and possibly as couriers with a higher wergeld to enforce proper respect for them and to guarantee their safe passage. They may, therefore, be comparable to the *Romanus homo conviva Regis* of the *Lex Salica* (ch.xli), who held an official position of trust serving the Frankish king and was accorded a triple wergeld. Possibly the *horswēalas* fulfilled the same functions as the Domesday *radknihts*.[54]

Another legal code where the interpretation of *wealh* is uncertain is *VI Æthelstan*, ch.vi,3, dating from the second quarter of the tenth century. Here it is decreed that a runaway slave (*þeow*) is to be treated in the same way as *þam Wyliscean þeofe*. Attenborough translates this as "a Welsh thief",[55] but nowhere do the codes lay down how a Welsh, British or foreign thief was to be punished. They do, however, state that a slave who stole was to be condemned to death by stoning (*IV Æthelstan*, ch.vi,5), which is the fate ordained here for the runaway slave. So *wealh* in Æthelstan's *Law* seems to have the connotation simply of "slave" without the racial overtones.

One interesting use of *wealh* occurs in the OE *Chronicle:*

> ann.897 Þy ilcan gere forðferde Wulfric cynges horsðegn,

se wæs eac wealh gefera.

(*Parker Manuscript*)

(That same year died Wulfric, the king's marshall, who was also the *wealh gefera*.)

A *horsðegn* could apparently be quite lowly. In the eighth-century *Epinal-Erfurt Glossaries* the word glosses the Latin *mulio*,[56] which usually means "mule-keeper", although this may be an attempt to find a suitable OE word. In the eighth and ninth centuries a *thegn* was of noble birth with a wergeld six times that of a *ceorl*,[57] so that the rank of *cynges horsðegn* was presumably one of importance in Alfred's day, perhaps like the marshall, or *magister equitum*, of later times. Certainly Wulfric was no muleteer but a man of some substance to have had his death noted in the *Chronicle*. It is probable that the *cynges horsðegn* was responsible for horsemen serving the king. Some authorities[58] take the reading *gefera* to suggest that Wulfric was the commander of a body of troops, which would accord with his rank of *horsðegn* and with the existence in Ine's time of *horswealas* who rode for the king. The slightly later B and D texts have the reading *gerefa* "reeve, bailiff". The King's reeve could occupy a very important and trusted position, the Latin equivalent being *praefectus*, which was also equated with early West Saxon *ealdorman*.[59] If, as a *praefectus* the king's *gerefa* could lead troops, the variant readings *gerefa* and *gefera* need not necessarily be contradictory.

The exact meaning of *wealh* in relation to *gefera* is uncertain. If it meant that Wulfric looked after Alfred's slaves or was in charge of British horsemen, *wealh* would be rendered as the genitive plural, *wēala*, whereas its singular form indicates that it forms a compound with *gefera*. The reference may be to a Celtic area outside Wessex proper: Wales bordered on Mercia, but Cornwall (which had only been finally subdued by Egbert in 838,[60] some sixty years before Wulfric's death) lay on the frontiers of Wessex. It was probably necessary to keep some check, preferably backed by military force, on the Cornish,[61] and it may be that this was the task of the *wealhgefera*.

Other examples where it has been claimed that *wealh* refers to Celts from outside the boundaries of England come from the Riddles of the *Exeter Book*.[62] The great period of Latin riddle composition was the eighth century, and many of the OE riddles extant in the tenth-century *Exeter Book* may have been composed at that time.[63] The word *wealh* is recorded in three riddles:

1. Gif me feorh losað, fæste binde
   swearte wealas, hwilum sellan men.
   Hwilum . . .
   . . . hwilum feorran broht
   wonfeax wale, wegeð ond þyð,
   dol druncmennen deorcum nihtum,
   wæteð in wætre, . . .
   (Riddle xii: oxhide or leather)[64]

(If life leaves me, I then bind fast the swarthy *wēalas*, and sometimes better men. Sometimes . . . sometimes the dark haired *wealh*, brought from afar, stupid and drunk on dark nights, lifts and presses me, soaks me in water , . . .)

2. Þara oþrum wæs an getenge
wonfah wale, seo weold hyra
bega siþa bendum fæstra.
(Riddle lii: two buckets or a flail)
(Close to one of them was a dark skinned *wealh*.
She controlled them both by fast fetters.)

3. . . . siþade widdor,
mearcpaþas walas træd, moras pæðde.
(Riddle lxxi: an ox)
(. . . I travelled farther, trod to the *wealh* marches, traversed the moors.)

Baum translated *wēalas* as "Welsh" and *wāle* as "Welsh girl" but he is probably mistaken. Oxhide would naturally have been used to bind slaves in contrast to *sellan men*: racial prejudice might have led to English men being regarded as "better" than the *Wēalas* but there is no indication that the comparison here is with English people, especially as Aldhelm's Latin version, on which Riddle xii was based, has the neutral *Nexibus horrendis homines constringere possum*[65] without racial implications. Nor are the dark *wēalas* of the first two riddles likely to be anything more than ordinary female slaves, although *feorran broht* in Riddle xii might suggest that this *wealh* had come from Wales, which before the Norse invasions supplied the Anglo-Saxons with slaves taken in border raids.[66] The swarthiness and dark hair of the slaves do not prove, as F. Tupper[67] believes, that there was a large Celtic proportion in the slave population as all Anglo-Saxons were not fair either. The Germanic peoples may have preferred fair hair and so ascribed the opposite characteristics to the lowest ranks of society, just as in Cornwall bondmen were often referred to as "black".[68]

In Riddle lxxi, *wealh* may have the general meaning of "foreign", conveying the impression of moors distant from home. *Mearc* in OE could mean "a boundary", which might suggest paths on the Welsh borders, but combined with *pæð* it seems to have meant "path leading through a country",[69] and to have acquired the connotations of "distant moors" or "desolate moors", as in the description of Grendel as *mære mearcstapa*.[70] Hacikyan [71] regards this riddle as one of a group depicting a typical East Anglian fen landscape, and from their phonology, morphology and vocabulary of predominantly Anglian origin.[72]

Also of Mercian origin are the eleventh-century Cambridge guild regulations which lay down:

7 gif aenig gilda hwilcne man ofstlea 7 he neadwraca si. 7 his bismer bete. 7 se ofstlagana twelfhende sy.

> fylste ælc gegylda he[alf] mearc to fylste. Gyf se ofstlagena ceorl si. twegen oran. gif he wylisc si. anne oran.[73]
> (If any guild brother slays a man and does it as an avenger by necessity, and the slain man's wergeld is 1200 shillings, to compensate for the insult let each guild brother contribute half a mark [4 *orae*] for his aid; and if the slain man is a *ceorl*, 2 *orae*; if he is a *wealh*, 1 *ore*.

John Morris[74] believes these *wēalas* to be the descendants of the original British inhabitants of the area, not slaves, while Professor Whitelock[75] suggests that the provision could be insurance against the slaying of Welshmen encountered by the wealthy members of the guild while travelling to attend the king's council or on their estates outside the Cambridge region. As the guild brother is, however, covered against killing a noble or a *ceorl*, it would be reasonable to expect him also to be covered for the third major element in Anglo-Saxon society. No such provision is made elsewhere in the text, so that the translation of *wealh* as "slave" seems more likely here, especially as there would have been a greater likelihood of the guild member encountering and killing a slave than a Welshman. Each member had to contribute towards the total, and the probable explanation as to why the amount levied on each member is a half of that required for a *ceorl* rather than the thirty per cent one might have expected for a slave, is that one *ore* was a convenient sum for collection as well as being the lowest denominator in the Scandinavian currency.[76]

When used in compounds, the meaning of "foreign" is usually self-evident, except for *wilisc ealað* and *wēalawīn*, which are referred to amongst a number of types of ale and wine in OE but without explanation of their nature. In the *Laws of Ine* (ch.lxx,1), *XII ambra wilisc ealað* are included in the food rent for 10 hides, while, probably in 806, Earl Oswulf granted Lympne *ombra godes uuelesces aloð*.[77] Liebermann (*Gesetze*, II, p.312) thought that this ale could be that produced in Celtic areas and that the name was later applied to a particular type of ale. The nature of the wine as opposed to the ale is suggested in Ælfric's *Vocabulary*,[78] where *wēala wīn* is equated with *crudum uinum*, which means "rough, unmatured wine", as against *hlāforda wīn* for *honorarium uinum*. The use of the genitive plurals, *wēala* and *hlāforda* obviously refer to the social classes who would be drinking the wines, so *wēala wīn* would be the wine of the slaves and *wealh* a status term rather than an ethnic one.

### Wealh *in personal names*

*Wealh* is also recorded as a personal name element in the four main OE dialects. It is quite common alone, as in *Walh presbiteri* (690-716) and *Ualh* (c.757),[79] and even more so compounded as a first element, as in *Wealhfrith* (d.765),[80] and as a second, as in *Penwalh*[81] and *Cenwealh*.[82] It is also common in place-names (see further below),

but whether as a descriptive term or a personal name is uncertain except where a genitive singular form is recorded, as in Walshford (Yorkshire), earlier *Walesford* (1227) "*Wealh*'s ford".[83] Other OE terms for "slave" also formed personal names, such as *esne*, recorded as a personal name from the eighth to the eleventh centuries as in *Esne cyninges ðegne*,[84] and *þeow* in compounds. Often borne by men of rank, they possibly had the more exalted meaning of "servant" or "servant of God".[85]

Similarly, *wealh* is more likely to mean "Briton" (not "slave"), especially as it is found in the names of four members of the royal house of Mercia, and of one member each of the West Saxon and Sussex royal houses, in the seventh century. It is scarcely conceivable that six royal children would have been given names implying servility, particularly as the royal houses showed great care in the selection of the names given to their members.[86] Moreover, the elements with which they and many of the other *wealh* names are compounded indicate nobility, such as:

> OE æþele "noble, famous" *Aedilualch*; OE cūþ "known, famous" *Cūthwalh* (var. *Cundwalh*); OE cōene, cēne "bold" *Cōenwalh, Cēnwealh*.[87]

The interpretation of the *wealh* personal names as meaning "Briton" gains support from the bestowal on members of the aristocracy of the name *Cumbra*,[88] derived from Primitive Welsh **Commri*, Welsh *Cymry*, which unequivocally meant "a Briton".[89] This is recorded as *Cumbran præfecti regis*[90] and as the name of the ealdorman avenged by a swineherd (see the OE *Chronicle*, ann. 755).

As the *wealh* names are English formations borne by English people of rank at an early date, the use of this element should indicate that the holder had some Celtic blood, as might already be suspected on other grounds in at least the West Saxon royal house. Although it is probable that the *wealh* name-element was used originally to indicate a person of mixed parentage, it was eventually adopted into the personal name stock and used without thought for its real meaning, as children were often given meaningless names in the later Anglo-Saxon period.[91]

Wealh *in place-names.*

The identification and interpretation of *wealh* in place-names presents a number of problems as *wald* "forest", *wall* "wall" and the Mercian form *wælla* "well, stream" all tended to develop to the same form *wal* as did *wealh*;[92] for example:

> Walgrave (Northants.), *Waldgrave* (1086) OE *wald* + *grāf* "grove"; Walsoken (Norfolk), *Walsocna* (974) "the soke by the wall"; Walford (Hereford), *Welleford* (1242) "ford over the stream."

The topography of individual places, as well as their history, often determines whether they once stood close to a forest or a wall (usually Roman), as with Walltown (Northumberland), *Waltona* (1279) "*tūn* on the wall", on Hadrian's Wall.[93] If none can be found it may indicate that the first element is *wealh*, but with Mercian examples the possibility of a well from which the place might have been named must be considered. The only names where a reasonably positive identification of the *wealh* element can be made are those containing an *-e-* inflexion, indicating weakening of *a* of the genitive plural *wēala* "of the Celts". Some may have lost the *-e-* before they were first recorded, a not uncommon occurrence in place-names,[94] but it is safer to reject all *wal* names unless the *-e-* is present rather than risk distorting the picture of the distribution of *wealh* place-names.

It has sometimes been suggested that *wealh* place-names formed after the first settlement period could possibly refer to settlements of groups of slaves,[95] many of whom, even if not Celtic-speaking, would have been of British descent. There are, however, no indications that the Anglo-Saxons established separate villages for their slaves, and no place-names are recorded containing *þeow*, the most common term for a slave. On the other hand, references to other groups which formed minorities in the Anglo-Saxon population are not uncommon, for example, Canterton (Hampshire) "the *tūn* of the Kentishmen" or Normanton, which occurs in a number of counties, "the *tūn* of the Northmen".[96] There are also ample examples of names unquestionably referring to Britons, such as Bretby (Derbyshire), *Bretebi* (1086) "the *bȳ* of the Britons",[97] so it would seem that *wealh* villages are much more likely settlements of Romano-Britons rather than slaves. These may have been allowed to maintain a separate existence for a time, especially those on poor soil or at some distance from the English settlements. For example to the south of Wensleydale in Yorkshire is Walden, *Waledene* (1321) "the valley of the Britons" with the hybrid Celtic/English place-name Penhill close by, suggesting that after Wensleydale had been settled by the English in the seventh century, a separate group of Britons may have continued to live undisturbed on the less fertile land to the south.[98] Names such as Saffron Walden (Essex), *Waledana* (1086) "the valley of the Britons",[99] which embrace wider areas than individual village sites, would seem to indicate a greater awareness of the British nature of the area. It should be remembered though that as place-names are chosen to distinguish between places and so are based on outstanding, distinctive features, the fact that villages were picked out as "British" implies that they were a rarity in the landscape. Moreover, the frequency with which the suffixes *cot* and *tūn* appear combined with *wealh* indicate that these were insignificant settlements.

The date of the formation of most of the *wealh* names is unknown. *Tūn* is certainly a very old English place-name element, although later than *hām*, but it continued to be used until after the Norman Conquest.[100] Virtually none of the *wealh* names is recorded till post-Conquest times - another indication of their lack of importance or size. Thus they could have been formed at any time during the OE period, although names referring to groups of Britons

would probably have been relatively early formations as such settlements must eventually have been absorbed into the English community.[101] It is of interest that the names are distributed fairly evenly throughout England with more than half of the counties having at least one example, including eastern counties such as Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Kent, although the numbers increase in the more western counties of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. On the other hand, the names formed from *Cumbre/Cumbra*, derived from the Celts' own word for themselves, are concentrated in the West Midlands and North-West England, the best example being the old county name itself: Cumberland, *Cumbraland* (945) "the land of the Cumbrians, i.e. Britons".[102] These, as A.H. Smith[103] points out, were regions where a separate and recognisable British population survived until a late date, and where the tenurial systems seem to be Celtic rather than English in origin.[104] This suggests that in areas where the British were able to retain their identity and some influence on the government, their own term, which never acquired any unpleasant overtones, was able to take its place alongside the intrusive Old English name, whereas in the eastern areas which were settled first only the *wealh* form was employed.

*Derivative Forms from* Wealh

The verbal and adjectival forms derived from *wealh* reveal further extensions of its meanings and connotations. Ælfric uses the verb *wealian* with the meaning "to be bold, impudent, wanton": *He cwæð þæt he nolde and wealode mid wordum* "He said that he would not and was insolent in his speech".[105] Clearly related to this meaning is *walana*[106] translating Aldhelm's *protervorum* "shameless people"[107] in the Old English gloss of unknown date contained in a tenth-century manuscript,[108] and *wealh* "wanton" in *Ic eom ondetta ðæt ic onfeng on minne muð wealworda*[109] in a tenth-century fragment from a Latin *liber poenitentialis*. Finally, in the eleventh-century glossary which seems to have been compiled from a number of glossed manuscripts, the Latin *barbarus*, which has the sense "foreign, uncultivated or ignorant"[110] and in the thirteenth century meant "barbarian",[111] is glossed by *walch siue ungerad*.[112] *Ungerad* usually has the sense "rude, unskilled, foolish, ignorant",[113] so again the more negative aspects of *wealh* are stressed.

*Summary*

When the English entered Britain during the course of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, the noun *wealh* which they brought simply meant "a Celt". It is not known whether the Anglo-Saxons brought any Germanic slaves with them from the Continent. There must, however, already have been a considerable number of British slaves owned by the local population so that, whether the English settled peacefully alongside them or took over some of the Romano-British estates by force, the majority of slaves in the earliest settlement period would presumably have been British in origin. It was therefore perhaps natural that the secondary meaning of "slave"

should arise as most slaves were *Wealas* even if the *Wēalas* were by no means all slaves. Indeed even in the seventh century, to judge from the *Laws of Ine* and the position of the Kentish *læts*, who were probably Romano-Britons, many of the *Wēalas* were still landowners although occupying an inferior legal position.

In theory the secondary meaning could have arisen at any time during the Anglo-Saxon settlement or during the westward expansion into the Celtic regions, which was not completed in the main until the eighth century. A relatively early date, before the slave population contained a substantial English element, would seem probable for this development but there is no evidence that it had taken place to any great extent by the seventh century, certainly not sufficiently to be preferred in the written texts to any variant for "slave". The personal names in use in the seventh century, and possibly also the place-names, support the view that the main meaning of *wealh* was then still "Briton".

The derived meaning of "slave" was definitely in existence by the end of the seventh century, but a close examination of the *Laws of Ine* would seem to justify our supposing that it continued to have strong racial connotations. There were still sufficient *Wēalas* forming distinct classes in West Saxon society for separate provision to be made for them in the laws, and their presence, in addition to that of the British slaves, meant that people would have been well aware of the ethnic implications in *wealh*. When used to denote a slave, *wealh* signified a British as opposed to an English slave, so that the two meanings of "Briton" and "slave" were still inextricably linked.

The date at which *wealh* meaning "a slave" ceased to have any racial overtones is unknown as there is virtually no material to demonstrate its usage in the eighth century. The evidence for the date of the Riddles of the *Exeter Book* is so tenuous that little can be built on their hints that, in these poems, a *wealh* was not necessarily British. The complete separation of the two senses must have come some time between the end of the seventh century and the second half of the ninth, when they are well differentiated. *Wealh* may still have been applied to Britons resident within English territories, as well as those in the freedom of their own kingdoms, if Alfred's reference to *Wealcyn* can be taken to mean Devon and Cornwall, and if the *Wealhgefera* was involved with Cornwall. The later *Laws of Henry I* probably refer to slaves brought from Wales, although the evidence from the *Norðleoda Laga* implies that at least a memory remained in northern England of separate classes of *Wēalas*. By the eleventh century, however, almost all these must have been absorbed into the general population and thereafter *Wēalas* could be applied only to the Celts of Wales and Cornwall.

*Wealh* meaning "slave" does not seem to have been widely adopted, and is used most frequently in law codes, though, to judge from such secular documents as the wills and charters,[114] *þeow* was usually preferred. *Wealh* also apparently acquired certain pejorative overtones, not necessarily because of the character of the British

but because a term for "slave" additional to *þeow* was unnecessary unless it had a technical meaning as *esne* and *witeþeow* did. This was not the case with *wealh* once the "Britishness" of the Romano-Celtic slaves had disappeared, and so *wealh* had to develop a more definite force if it were to survive alongside *þeow*. Thus there is a hint that the choice of *wealh* in the translation of the West Saxon Gospel of St Matthew may have been intended to convey disapproval of the evil servant. The low esteem in which the *wēalas* of the Riddles are held is apparent from the contrast with "better men" and the description of them as drunk, stupid and swarthy, just as the *wealh* of St Mildred's *Life* is represented as querulous. Words derived from *wealh*, such as the verb *wealian*, reflect this negative attitude as they convey the impressions of misery, shamelessness, wantoness, impudence and ignorance, whereas those derived from *þēow* are more neutral in tone, (for example *þeowet* "service", *þēowwracian* "to threaten").[115] Similarly, *wealh* never seems to have been used in the wider sense of "one who serves" as *þeow* was, except possibly in personal names. People in religious orders are often described as *Godes þēowas*, but *Godes wēalas* would apparently have been unthinkable. *Þēow* conveyed the idea both of servitude and of service; *wealh* was surrounded by all the unpleasant implications of bondage. It is possible that a similar relationship developed between *Wealh* and *Cumbra*. It may have been more polite to refer to a Celt by his own name for himself than by the English *Wealh*, which had perhaps taken on some of the insulting aura of *wealh*, but there is insufficient evidence to be certain about this.

These derogatory connotations do not, however, seem to have become attached to words containing *wealh* as an element, such as personal names or terms like *wealhstod*, as these had been formed and assimilated into the language at an early period before the full development of the secondary meaning. The same is likely to be true of the place-names containing *wealh* as an element although these may already have had a lowly status despite their being settlements of Romano-Britons not of slaves.

It has also been suggested that *wealh* was employed only in Wessex and not in Mercia or Northumbria,[116] as it appears only in West Saxon texts and in those which cannot be ascribed without question to a particular dialect area. Thus it occurs in the *West Saxon Gospel* where the Northumbrian gloss has *ðræl* and *esne*, and even in its meaning of "Celt" it seems to be avoided in the Mercian version of Bede,[117] whereas the West Saxon *OE Chronicle* uses *Wēalas* and *Brettas* interchangeably. It must be remembered, however, that the great majority of our extant texts are written in West Saxon and that *wealh* is rare even in these. So it cannot be assumed that it was not in use elsewhere simply because it does not appear in the few texts which are definitely from non-West Saxon areas. Moreover, at least one of the Riddles in which *wealh* appears without any racial overtones is likely to have been of Mercian composition, while the *wealh* referred to in the guild regulations at Cambridge was probably a slave and not a Celt. So a purely West Saxon provenance for *wealh* cannot be substantiated.

When the Anglo-Saxon culture was replaced by a feudal society, the old class terms were replaced by ones suited to the new conditions: *þeow, witeþeow, esne, fedesl* and *wealh* gave way to the feudal *serf*. After the tenth century *wealh* virtually disappears and, appropriately enough, comes to the end of its life as a common noun with La$_3$amon's reference to the liberation of the slaves. Yet it is doubtful whether it was the Norman Conquest alone which caused its demise: it was never a very common or popular word and tended to have moral connotations or a legal usage, although to what extent it was employed in everyday speech as a term of abuse we shall never know.

So, at the end, only the original meaning survived in the place-name "Wales" and the adjective "Welsh". *Wealh* had served its purpose as a comment on the social and legal position of many of the Romano-Britons, and in future it would be used to refer only to one particular group of Celts and the land which they inhabited.

## NOTES

1 Throughout I use the form *wealh* when it means "slave" and in all doubtful cases, and the form *Wealh* when it means "Briton". I am extremely grateful to Dr A.L. Meaney and Mr R.L. Thomson for all their assistance in the preparation of this article, but the views expressed remain my responsibility.

2 Dr C.L. Barber has pointed out to me that *wealh* may have been generalised in Germanic to mean "foreigner" while the Anglo-Saxons were still continental. If they came to England with *wealh* already meaning "foreigner" and all the foreigners with whom they dealt were Celts, it could then have been specialised in OE to mean "Celt".

3 J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898-1921), (hereafter referred to as Bosworth-Toller), s.v. *wealh*; A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, English Place-Name Society, XXVI, 2 parts (Cambridge, 1956), ii, s.v. *walh* ; J.R.R. Tolkien, "English and Welsh", *Angles and Britons: the O'Donnell Lectures* (Cardiff, 1963), pp.1-42, esp. p.26, n.1. The name is recorded by Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, ed. R. du Pontet (Oxford, 1900; reprint 1972), VI, xxiv, 2; VII, vii, 4; VII, lxiv, 6.

4 F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, ed. Walther Mitzka, 19th ed. Berlin, 1963), s.v. *welsch*: adj. *welsch* < MHG *wälhisch* < OHG *wal(a)hisc*.

5 *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle (Oxford, 1892), ann. 380.

6 The texts and translations of the laws discussed here are from *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. F.L. Attenborough (Cambridge, 1922; reprint New York, 1963). For information on the date and text of the *Laws of Ine* see Attenborough, p. 35.

7 H.P.R. Finberg, "Anglo-Saxon England in 1042", *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ed. H.P.R. Finberg (Cambridge, 1972), I, ii, pp. 385-532, esp. p. 450; R.H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1952), p. 594, and H.M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 92, discuss this further.

8 *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols. (Halle, 1903-16), I, pp. 456 and 460.

9 *Laws of Ine*, ch. xxxiv, 1; *Laws of Alfred*, ch. xxvi; *Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum*, ch. ii.

10 Finberg, "Anglo-Saxon England", p. 447.

11 *Laws of Ine*, ch. xxiii, 3.

12 *The Lex Salica*, ed. H.F.W.D. Fischer, Leges Barbarorum: Textus Minores, III (Leiden, 1948), i, ch. xli, 5-7, *The Lex Ribuaria*, XVI (Leiden, 1951), ii, ch. xxxvi.

13 For a full discussion of the *læts* see M.L. Faull, "Linguistic and archaeological sources for the survival of the Romano-Celts and their relationship with the Anglo-Saxons during and after the settlement period",

M.A. (Hons.) Diss., Macquarie University, 1970, pp. 157-75.

14 F. Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales*, 2nd ed. (London, 1904), pp. 108-109.

15 Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, p. 588, *Leges Henrici*, ch. lxx, 5.

16 N.K. Chadwick, "The colonisation of Brittany from Celtic Britain", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 51 (1965), 235-301.

17 E. Ekwall, "The Celtic element", *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, ed. A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, EPNS, I (1924), pp. 15-35, esp. p. 28; K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 223-24; J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Devon*, EPNS, VIII (1931-2), p. xxi.

18 For similar views see L. Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (Aylesbury, 1971), pp. 312-13 and G.R.J. Jones, "Early territorial organisation in England and Wales", *Geografiska Annaler*, 43 (1961), 174-81.

19 *Select Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. F.E. Harmer (Cambridge, 1914), p. 92.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 17, ll. 33-4.

21 E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1960), pp. 297-98, 480; Gover *et al.*, *Devon Place-Names*, pp. 188-89; *English Historical Documents c. 500-1042*, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1954), p. 494.

22 F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947), pp. 64, 68, 72.

23 Gover *et al.*, *Devon Place-Names*, p. xxi.

24 Plummer and Earle, *Chronicles*.

25 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. D. Whitelock, D.C. Douglas and S.I. Tucker (London, 1961), p. xi.

26 Bede, *Opera Historica*, ed. J.E. King (London, 1930), I, 1, p. 16.

27 Whitelock *et al.*, *Chronicle*, p. xvi.

28 *The Exeter Book*, ed. G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie (London, 1936), p. 151, l. 69. *The Exeter Book* is late tenth-century (p. x) but *Widsiþ* probably belongs to the seventh or eighth (p. xlv).

29 C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), s.v. *Quiris*.

30 T. Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2nd ed. (London, 1884), I, col. 115, l. 25; *sundor riht* "a special right, a right peculiar to a class", Bosworth-Toller, s.v.

31 Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *wealh*.

32 Liebermann, *Gesetze*, pp. 458-61.

33 D. Bethurum, "Six anonymous Old English codes", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 49 (1950), 449-63, esp. 459.

34 Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *wealh* and *wealh-*.

35 W.G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum: a list of Anglo-Saxon proper names from the time of Beda to that of King John* (Cambridge, 1897), p.481.

36 Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi, XIII (Berlin, 1898), ch. xxxvii, p. 177.

37 "English and Welsh", p. 25.

38 *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, EETS, OS 45 (1871), p. 7, l. 4.

39 *Laws of Wihtred*, chs. x, xiii, xv.

40 *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions*, ed. W.W. Skeat (Cambridge, 1887), p. 200.

41 For example in the ninth-century *Vespasian Psalter* in *The Oldest English Texts*, ed. H. Sweet, EETS, OS 83 (1885), pp. 18 ff.

42 Skeat, *Gospel*, p. 201. The Rushworth text, *ibid.*, reads þæs *esnes*.

43 Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *wealh*.

44 *Ælfric's Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. J. Zupitza (Berlin, 1880), pp. 18, 19, 101, 102.

45 Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v.

46 Wright, *Vocabularies*, I, col. 111, l.25.

47 *The Old English Version with Latin Original of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. A.S. Napier, EETS, OS 150 (1916), p. 68, l. 2.

48 *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1846), p. 316, line 23.

49 London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 427 quoted in *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, ed. O. Cockayne (London, 1864-66), III, p. 430, ll. 31-33.

50 Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *hweogul*.

51 *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ed. N.R. Ker, EETS, OS 251 (1963), p. ix.

52 E.G. Stanley, "La$_3$amon's antiquarian sentiments", *Medium Ævum*, 38 (1969), 23-37. I am grateful to Dr Betty Hill for drawing my attention to this reference and that in the preceding note.

53 *La3amon's Brut*, ed. G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie, EETS, OS 250 (1963), I, p. 384, ll. 7411-12.

54 Stenton, *A-S England*, pp. 475, 477.

55 *Laws*, p. 161.

56 Sweet, *Texts*, p. 79, l. 1346.

57 Stenton, *A-S England*, pp. 481-82.

58 Plummer and Earle, *Chronicles*, II, p. 112; Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *wealh-gefera*.

59 Stenton, *A-S England*, p. 302, n. 5.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

61 It had taken many campaigns to subdue Cornwall, which continued to have its own king until the tenth century (H.P.R. Finberg, "Sherborne, Glastonbury and the expansion of Wessex", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., 3 (1953), 101-24, esp. 117-18; also W.G. Hoskins, *The Westward Expansion of Wessex*, Department of English Local History Occasional Papers, No. 13 (Leicester, 1960), 19-22).

62 A. Hacikyan, *A Linguistic and Literary Analysis of Old English Riddles* (Montreal, 1966), pp. 73-94, gives a full bibliography for the riddles.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

64 Riddle numbers cited are those of Krapp and Dobbie, *Exeter Book* (fn. 28 above). Translations are based on those of P.F. Baum, *Anglo-Saxon Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Durham, North Carolina, 1963), p. 25.

65 *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctorum Antiquissorum, XV (Berlin, 1919), p. 136.

66 E.I. Bromberg, "Wales and the mediaeval slave trade", *Speculum*, 17 (1942), 263-69, esp. 263.

67 Ed., *The Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Boston, 1910), p. 95.

68 I am grateful to Professor G.R.J. Jones for this information.

69 Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *mearc*.

70 *Beowulf*, ed. Fr. Klaeber, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1950), l. 103.

71 *Riddles*, p. 39.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

73 *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici: A Collection of English Charters*, ed. and trans. B. Thorpe (London, 1865), pp. 611-12.

74 *The Age of Arthur* (London, 1973), p. 314.

75 *Documents*, p. 557.

76 1 *ore* = 16 English pence: Stenton, *A-S England*, p. 510.

77 Harmer, *Documents*, No. 1.

78 Wright, *Vocabularies*, I, col. 128, ll. 25, 27.

79 M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919), p. 8, gives a full list.

80 Searle, *Onomasticon*, pp. 480-81, gives a complete list.

81 *Felix's Life of St Guthlac*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), ch. ii.

82 *OE Chronicle*, ann. 641.

83 Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 494; Smith, *Elements*, ii, p. 243.

84 Sweet, *Texts*, p. 34, l. 10.

85 E.V. Gordon, "*Wealþeow* and related names", *Medium Ævum*, 4 (1935), 168-75 discusses this, and points out that *Wealhþeow* in *Beowulf* is not an example of a *wealh-* name.

86 Faull, "Linguistic and archaeological sources", pp. 66-85.

87 H. Ström, *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History* (Lund, 1939), p. 11; Redin, *Personal Names*, p. 12.

88 I am grateful to Mr J.McN. Dodgson for drawing my attention to the importance of *Cumbra* in this connection.

89 K.H. Jackson, "Addenda and corrigenda to the Survey of English Place-Names", *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 1 (1968-9), 43-52, esp. 46.

90 Redin, *Personal Names*, p. 91.

91 *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

92 Ekwall, *Dictionary*, pp. 491-504 and Smith, *Elements*, ii. pp. 242-44, discuss this and give a full list of examples.

93 For further instances see O.K. Schram, "The Celtic stratum in the place-name nomenclature of East Anglia", *Aberystwyth Studies*, 11 (1929), 23-43, esp. 38-39; K. Cameron, *English Place-Names* (London, 1961) p. 42; P.H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Place-Names* (London, 1960), p. 84

94 Cameron, p. 23.

95 Smith, *Elements*, ii, pp. 242-43.

96 Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 85.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

98 G.R.J. Jones, "The cultural landscape of Yorkshire", *Transactions of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (1966), 45-57, esp. 47-8; M.L. Faull, "Roman and Anglian settlement patterns in Yorkshire", *Northern History*, 9 (1974), 1-25, esp. 21.

99 Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 492.

100 *Ibid.*, p. xv; Smith, *Elements*, ii, pp. 191-92.

101 It may not prove possible to distinguish *wealh* settlements in the archaeological record, as excavations at two possible *wealh* villages indicate that the inhabitants, whatever their racial origins, had adopted the Anglo-Saxon cultural tradition. The presence of two *grũbenhauser* (typical Anglo-Saxon sunken huts), one containing grass-tempered and decorated pottery and the other two bone combs, suggest that Walton, Aylesbury, Bucks., may have been a *wealh* settlement, despite the absence of an inflexional *-e-* in the earliest recorded forms (*Waltona*, 1090: Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 495). Walton, North Bretton, Huntingdon, is not discussed by Ekwall but its combination with Bretton points to a *wealh* name: after the abandonment of the substantial Romano-British farm, which had occupied the site here from the second to the fourth centuries, a short period of Anglo-Saxon occupation is indicated by a ditch system and a possible *grũbenhaus: Council for British Archaeology Calendar of Excavations: Summaries* (London, 1973), pp. 9, 17.

102 Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 136.

103 *Elements*, i, pp. 119-20.

104 W. Rees, "Survivals of ancient Celtic custom in medieval England", *Angles and Britons* (see fn. 3 above), pp. 148-68.

105 *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints*, ed. W. Skeat, EETS, OS 76 (1881), I, p. 264, l. 48.

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107 R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List* (London, 1965), s.v. *protervia*; Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *protervus*.

108 G. van Langenhove, *Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis with Latin and Old English Glosses* (Bruges, 1941), p. 10.

109 H. Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora", *Anglia*, 11 (1889), 97-120, esp. 98.

110 Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v.

111 Latham, *Latin Word List*, s.v. *barbarius*.

112 Wright, *Vocabularies*, I, col. 361, l. 29.

113 Bosworth-Toller, s.v.

114 *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A.J. Robertson, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1956); *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock (Cambridge, 1930).

115 Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *þeow*.

116 Morris, *Age of Arthur*, p. 315.

117 *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. T. Miller (Oxford, 1891, reprint 1959) p. lvii.