

John Leland and the Welsh language



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JOHN LELAND AND THE WELSH LANGUAGE¹

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to establish the scope of John Leland's knowledge of Welsh. There is no direct evidence of his mastering the language, although the early biographers noticed Leland's command of various idioms of the British Isles alongside his deep knowledge of Latin. This study of Leland's writings, and particularly of his travel itineraries in Wales in the late 30s of the sixteenth century, makes it possible to come to certain conclusions and establish a range of sources contributing to his, as it turns out, quite limited, knowledge of the Welsh language. Nevertheless, his legacy remains extremely important not only for Welsh history and topography, but for the history of the Welsh language.

INTRODUCTION

JOHN Leland (c. 1503–52), sometimes called ‘the father of local English history’, remains one of the greatest antiquarians of the British Isles. His *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britanniae* (1544) on the historicity of King Arthur, his biographical dictionary of British authors *De uiris illustribus* (c. 1535–6 and c. 1543–6), as well as the compendium of extracts *Antiquitates Britanniae*, are incredibly important. Leland's notes and transcripts, compiled in 1533–6 and known as his *Collectanea*, of which several editions were published in a number of volumes in the eighteenth century by Thomas Hearne, are also a treasure. His topographical notes, compiled c. 1538–43 — the so-called *Itinerary* of John Leland — are a most important piece of geographical description of the country and an unparalleled collection of place-names and topographical observations. The data collected by him in this work constitute a most considerable contribution to the history and topography of the realm, and provide, as John S. Lee (2010: 4) observes, ‘a unique insight into Tudor England’. As is to be expected, his legacy has been the focus of scholarly attention for centuries, and the Lelandian bibliography is nowadays enormously vast, see, e.g., Shrank (2004: 65–103) or Cramsie (2015: 61–100). Leland's works, and particularly his *Itinerary*, *Assertio* and *Collectanea*, are extremely significant for Welsh studies. Although many of Leland's works related to Wales were never published or re-edited in more recent times, much has been done in the analysis of his presentation

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and discussion of the historical and mythological data (Brett 1990) and his description of Wales (cf. Williams 2008). It is also practically impossible to find a piece of comprehensive research on place-names in Wales which does not consider toponymic data collected by Leland. It is also of note that Leland was the first to record a good number of Welsh place-names, and it is thus not infrequent that the list of attestations of a given toponym in modern onomastic studies opens with a quotation from his works, and some of these cases will be noted below.

The major source for this data is of course Leland's *Itinerary*, a collection of topographical notes first published by the prolific English antiquary Thomas Hearne (1678–1735) in 1710–12 (second edition 1744–45); due to the efforts of Lucy Toulmin Smith (1838–1911), we have a current edition of the text published in five volumes.² The third of them appeared in 1906 and is entitled *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the Years 1536–1539*. The title aptly provides the chronological frame of the antiquary's travels in Wales, and the book also contains some relevant sections of Leland's *Collectanea* (cf. Hearne 1774, henceforward *Coll.*), similarly dedicated to this part of the kingdom. The publication of this separate volume (Toulmin Smith 1906, henceforward *It.*) was fully appreciated by a Welsh reviewer of the book (Anonymous 1907: 254–5), who also admitted that 'we probably have as perfect an edition as it is possible to produce', although it still lacked a comprehensive commentary.³ The reviewer commented on several passages himself, and since then a number of occasional notes and discussions of selected fragments of Leland's *Itinerary* in Wales have appeared. The edition of the *Itinerary* by Lucy Toulmin Smith remains indispensable, even though it lacks the *apparatus* standard in modern research and some of the remarks of J. Gwenogvryn Evans on Welsh geographical names published there are misleading. Her editorial methods, as they are stated in the preface (*It.* ix–x), are clear,⁴ but nevertheless on quite a number of occasions the reader might be confused as far as the authenticity of Leland's text is concerned. For example, in the description of Breconshire we find the following passage (*It.* 109):

Broynlles (a place wher [russhis] grouith) Castel in the midde way betwix the Hay and Breknok. It standith in the hundrede of Cantercelly. [Brwyn-llyo = the Court of (the *man*) Brwyn.]

Modern scholarship on the place-name, today Bronllys, prefers to etymologize it as 'possibly "court of Brwyn": a pers. n. *Brwyn*, perhaps identical to *brwyn*, "rushes", and *llys*, "court, palace, hall"' (Morgan and Powell 1999: 46). The

²At our disposal there is also a very useful modern English rendering of the *Itinerary* by John Chandler (1993), which omits the Welsh part of it, although it contains certain passages relevant for Welsh studies, as well as a very helpful introductory chapter.

³As John Cramsie (2015: 70) beautifully puts in, '[m]adness robbed Leland of the opportunity to leave much more than the notebooks of his travels', and thus in *It.* Toulmin Smith attempted in a way to present a full version of Leland's geographic and topographic observations.

⁴Cf. Toulmin Smith (1907: xx–xxxii); see also Chandler (1993: xxiii–xxiv) for a concise history of the various publications of Leland's *Itinerary*, and pp. xxxiii–xxxiv for a short list of corrections to the edition of Lucy Toulmin Smith, which however excludes the Welsh section.

quotation above includes both approaches, and according to the conventions accepted by the editor, *russhis* 'rushes' must have been supplied from the copy of the text made by John Stow (1524/5–1605), as the word is put in square brackets. The same interpretation is hardly applicable to the last passage of this quotation, while the word in italics should accordingly be traced to Thomas Burton's copy made in 1628. All this may be puzzling, and as John Chandler (1993: ix) admitted, the 'rather disjointed and complicated account' of Leland's travels in Wales 'requires specialist interpretation'. It has also been acknowledged by John Cramsie (2015: 70) that 'the printed editions have inevitably given Leland's journeys an unreal coherence. Like Worcestre's, Leland's *Itinerary* is a dynamic hodgepodge of experiences and remembrances'. He also adds that it is not 'a travel narrative in any traditional sense'. Thus, a new edition of the text (or, rather, texts, in view of the fact that Leland's comments in his other collections were also reproduced in the volume) remains a *desideratum*.

LELAND, FIELD-WORK AND LANGUAGES

The English antiquary travelled the realm extensively, and in his own words, generally 'there is almoste nother cape, nor bay, haven, creke or peere, river or confluence of rivers, breches, waschis, lakes, meres, fenny waters, montaynes, valleis, mores, hethes, forestes, wooddes, cities, burges, castelles, principale manor placis, monasteries, and colleges, but I have seene them, and notid yn so doing a whole worlde of thinges very memorable' (Toulmin Smith 1907: xli). This is certainly an exaggeration, and there were quite a few areas in England, Cornwall or Wales that he never visited. Objectively, there were rigid, reasonable limitations on the scope of his journey through the mid-sixteenth century landscape, which included such minute factors as taking a wrong way (cf. Hutton 1911: 95), that naturally limited the time afforded for his trips. Certainly, we cannot and should not expect a full encyclopaedic description of places that the antiquarian visited, and it has been noted that many stories relating to a number of locations were evidently not known to him, cf. North (1957: 218).

Leland obtained information that he recorded from various sources, and not only from his own observations. Apart from his personal 'field-work', which at times provides us with minute details of description taken through his own eyes, Leland was acquainted with a number of written sources, and he was at least aware of texts in Welsh (cf. Brett 1990: 171 or 177 on Leland's 'Welsh experience'). Occasionally he used written sources supplied by his informants, as his account of Anglesey places in the *Collectanea* (printed as Appendix B in *It.* 128–34) tells us. On top of that, Leland also recorded much of his information from various oral sources. In the words of May McKisack (1971: 11), 'he was a pioneer in the method of direct enquiry and first-hand observation', although both these methods had been used on British soil well before him, e.g. by Geoffrey of Monmouth (see Harris 2017: 55 *et passim*) in the twelfth century or William Worcestre (Harvey 1969) in the fifteenth. In fact, most of the early writers of topography followed (and indeed established), at least to

some extent, major methodologies which still are accepted in modern place-name research (see for that Taylor 2016: 73–5). ‘Leland’s ear for a good story served him well’ (Cramsie 2015: 82) on many occasions, but as we might expect, some of his informants occasionally erred, and the wrong data or faulty interpretations are found sporadically in Leland’s work. His uncritical use of the facts supplied by his informants is relevant also to conclusions regarding Leland’s command of the language. Furthermore, John S. Lee (2010: 4) draws attention to another type of oral evidence which was used by the antiquary, that is, the ‘common voice’, ‘what most people in the area agreed had happened in the past’, to which Leland might add a sceptical note, but this is basically irrelevant to linguistics. In any event, his field-work and consultation of the written texts presuppose a certain command of languages, and there are somewhat contradictory views expressed in the literature regarding Leland’s degree of knowledge of Welsh.

Leland’s own contemporaries admired his command of various idioms, modern and ancient. As John Bale (1495–1563) remarked in his commentary to Leland’s letter addressed to Henry VIII and entitled ‘New Year’s Gift’, which he published in 1549, ‘in thys parcell Leylande expressesthe, the most excellent wyttes, the knowledge of tongues’, and specifies them as *Hebrue*, *Greke* and *Latyne*.⁵ In the preface to this letter Bale describes the antiquary as learned in many languages, ‘Greke, Latyne, Frenche, Italian, Spanyshe, Brittyshe, Saxonyshe, Walshe, Englyshe and Scottyshe’; note the distinctiveness of *Brittyshe* and *Walshe* in this passage, and the lack of reference to Anglo-Saxon (‘Saxonyshe’ is ambivalent, but likely to be German here), for which see below. The knowledge of ancient languages achieved by Leland was remarkable indeed, and it has been observed by James P. Carley (1986: 2) that ‘the cultivation of the three tongues (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) represents for him one of the highest goals of education’. Certainly, Leland was ‘the product of a model humanist education’ (Shrank 2004: 66), and accordingly a ‘qualified classicist’, as Carley (1986: 20) called him. Leland’s proficiency in Latin may be illustrated by his own poetry in this language, and it may be remarked that the antiquarian himself believed that his Latin verses would bring him fame (Carley 1986: 1, cf. Cramsie 2015, 65).

In her valuable study May McKisack (1971: 2) refers to Leland’s expertise in ancient idioms, too, and also to that ‘in several modern languages’, which are not, however, identified. The eighteenth century biographer of Leland, describing his residence in All Souls College, Oxford, noted that there ‘he prosecuted his studies with great assiduity, and improved himself, not only with Greek and Latin Tongues, but in the Saxon and Welsch, the antient languages of his country’ (Huddesford 1772: 4). Generally, antiquarian and philological zeal at Oxford at the time Leland attended it has been noted (cf. Jones 1970: 65), and leaving aside classical languages, Leland’s knowledge

⁵ *The laboryouse journey & serche of John Leylande for Englandes antiquitees geven of hym as a Newe Yeares gyfte to Kynge Henry the VIII* by Bale was reproduced on a number of occasions, cf. Huddesford (1772: no pagination), or Chandler (1993: 8) for this phrase. *The Newe Yeares gyfte*, without Bale’s comments, is also printed in Toulmin Smith (1907: xxxvii–xliii).

of Anglo-Saxon has been evaluated in view of his treatment of the texts he copied (see, e.g., Buckalew 1978: 151 and 160, Carley 1986a: 110 and 117–18), while for that of Welsh the evidence is somewhat controversial due to the lack of direct testimony. According to Caroline Brett (1990: 177), Leland ‘never mastered the Welsh language, though he was interested in it and copied a Welsh wordlist’. However, this wordlist, entitled *Ex dictionario Britannico* (Coll. 2–6), is in fact not Welsh-Latin, but Breton-Latin; see Swanton (1977), and cf. Shrank (2004: 71–3) for Leland’s use of the notion of *Britannia*. As for Leland’s *Itinerary* in Wales, Derek Williams (2008: 21–2) notes that the antiquary ‘had difficulty in understanding Welsh place-names’. Therefore, there is no direct testimony for the degree of his knowledge of Welsh, although his interest in grammar-books of other languages is known — as James Carley (1986a: 111) observed, ‘[g]rammatical texts interested Leland and at Glastonbury he noted the grammars of Eutyches, Smaragdus and the more rare volume by Erchanbert of Freising’. There is no evidence that Leland’s attention was drawn to similar compositions when he was inspecting monastic libraries in Wales, and unlike another antiquarian, William Camden (1551–1623), he was not known to practise his Welsh with his servant. In fact, there is no confirmation, direct or otherwise, coming from external sources regarding Leland’s knowledge of Welsh, or him learning the idiom. Nevertheless, some of the fragments of his own legacy, and particularly of his *Itinerary* in Wales, written down in English but containing Welsh entries, provide us with certain, although limited, information regarding Leland’s command of the language. Moreover, the text itself points to the interest of its author in the semantic and morphological aspects of Welsh, which he treats (although not always) in a correct way, and provides evidence for Leland’s awareness of linguistic matters going beyond the lexical meaning of Welsh toponyms or of words that he surveyed. With this in mind, several layers of his work will be examined here.

ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography of Welsh words and place-names in Leland’s narrative is the layer of his work which naturally comes to one’s eyes first. Nowadays quite a few Welsh geographical names stand out to the modern reader in Leland’s English text, so what can be said about this aspect in the works of the sixteenth century English antiquary? It should be observed that at the time of Leland’s writings there was no commonly accepted orthographic norm of the Welsh language, and the orthographic reform of the sixteenth century had not yet achieved uniformity, see Jones (1970: 74). Medieval Welsh manuscripts did offer definite spelling consistency and regularity, but with an number of exceptions, of course, such that there might not be complete consistency in the transmission of place-name evidence in manuscripts. What about Leland’s knowledge of Welsh orthographic habits, then? Lucy Toulmin Smith observed that ‘the Englishman found the pronunciation and spelling of Welsh names in Tudor times pretty difficult; and though for the most part Leland’s spellings agree with those of the

Valor and of the Act 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, occasionally he is the more correct' (*It.* x); it may be recalled how, in briefly discussing the orthographic variations of place-names in early maps, F. J. North (1935: 59) noted that '[i]n many cases there would seem to have been no standard spelling'. He continued: 'Leland, for example, gives at least two forms for many of his names, and for Usk he gives seven — *Wisch, Wisk, Wiske, Wske, Wyske, Wysc, and Whisk*'. North concluded:

Many of the variations in the Welsh place-names arose, of course, from the inability on the part of topographers who could not speak Welsh to put into writing names given to them verbally. Leland for example wrote of a river (*Glas ffrwd*) that flows into the Teifi, 'The water as I heard say is caullid *Glasse rode*'; for a similar reason he gives *Rather gowy* for Rhaiadr Gwy. This factor, which has added so much to the variability of the spellings of Welsh names, may, on occasions, throw light upon the pronunciation in vogue at a particular time.

The passage which North quotes here reads '[t]he watar, as I hard say, is caullid Glesse rode' (*It.* 56), and the same fragment was reproduced accurately in his article published ten years later.⁶ This statement of North is certainly correct, and Leland's records of a number of place-names reflect phonetic rather than traditional spellings. It is also true that the antiquary used oral sources of information for his inquiries, and he regularly recorded the names of his informants in the text, cf., e.g., 'Grifin Dun Justice of Cairmardine tolde me that ther is a place about Strateflure caullyd Cregnaullin' (*It.* 56), or 'a monke of Strateflur told me that for a certenty Newport in Kemmisland is caullid Tredraith in Walsch' (*It.* 123). This oral information by default presupposes variations in pronunciation of geographical names as well as in how they were heard. The existence of orthographic variants in the toponyms used by Leland is slightly different on the whole from what F. J. North (1957: 214) called the 'inaccuracies' which crept into maps in the period, since these were mostly engraved by foreigners and can be explained by various reasons. Nevertheless, one common denominator remains — the command of the language.

Derek Williams (2008: 106–7) has already noted Leland's misunderstanding of the Welsh pronunciation of several names, and it has been remarked on a number of occasions that sometimes the evidence that Leland collected from these oral and secondary sources was incorrect or not precise (cf., e.g., Osborne 1989: 3–4, cf. also Breeze 2017 regarding written sources). Various aspects of such sources of information for modern place-name studies have been considered concisely by Simon Taylor (2016: 74–5 and *passim*), and it is important to note that Leland used phonetic spelling for many geographical names known to him from first-hand evidence. In order to make this point more clear, his modes of writing down Welsh toponymy may be compared with those of his contemporary Andrew Borde, the Englishman who recorded some Welsh in his *Fyrst*

⁶ '[w]e have a good illustration of an attempt at phonetic spelling in a note made by Leland concerning a river that flows into the Teifi [...], thus effectively disguising the real name, *Glas-ffrwd*' (North 1945: 37, cf. North 1957: 217).

Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge, completed in 1542 (Evans 2008: 93), as opposed to observations of the Welshman William Salesbury (c. 1520–c. 1584) in his *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* published in 1547 as well as the notes by another Welshman, Humphrey Llwyd (1527–68), made slightly later (e.g. Lhuyd 1572). For that purpose, a brief selection of consonants for which different graphemes were used in the two tongues may suffice. Before turning to that, however, a brief commentary on Leland's presentation of vowels will be appropriate. In fact, Leland's unawareness of certain Welsh convention has been regretted already by Humphrey Llwyd, who noted that 'in derivation of words our countrymen do often turn *u* into *y* (the ignorance whereof did cause much trouble to my friend Master Leland)' (Schwyzer 2011: 59; cf. Lhuyd 1572: 9a). Generally, there have been various strategies in rendering Welsh vowels from outside of the Welsh tradition in the Middle Ages and later (cf. e.g., Crawford 1982: 155–6 or Evans 2008: 101–3), and here one may note Leland's reluctance to use the grapheme <w>. It is found sporadically in his *Itinerary* (cf. *Yr hendwr*, *It.* 78), but normally Leland prefers <o> or <ou> instead, cf. *Comehere* (for Cwmhir, *It.* 52), *Comeustwith* (Cwm Ystwyth, *It.* 119), *Portdoure* (Porth Dwr, *It.* 105) or *Glindour* for Glyndŵr (*It.* 108). Leland's rendering of Welsh consonantism shows more diverse strategies.

WELSH CONSONANTISM AND LELAND

To start with, it may be noted that the Englishman Andrew Borde uses the graph <v> (<u>) to denote [v] in various lenited forms as in *Deu ven dicko* (for *Duw fendico*), *auedorough* to render *a fedrwch*, or *vara* which corresponds to *fara* (Evans 2008: 101–3). Leland's use of <v> for [v] is also consistent, as in 'Llan Vair a castel yn Base Venteland a ii. myles almost north from Cairguent' (*It.* 44) or *Llanvair Vadelen* (twice, *It.* 94), cf. *vaur* (lenited form of *mawr* 'big'), *vehan* (*bechan* 'little') or *velen* (*melen*) as in *It.* 121 and elsewhere in the text. Sometimes he notably uses <f> for [v], as in *Landaf*, rendered seventeen times exclusively in this spelling (*It.* 17–25), but this example is ambiguous as it may well conceal [f], as in *Llandaff*, and therefore is not reliable. It is important that to denote [f] Leland opts for a single letter *f* rather than the double *ff* which is accepted in Welsh usage. Thus, we find *Nant Franco* for Nant Ffrancon (*It.* 83), *Frode* for Ffrwd (*It.* 86), or *Fonnon* for Ffynnon (*It.* 98), and the same seems to be the practice of Andrew Borde, who uses it in *forth* for *ffordd* (Evans 2008: 102). However, for the word denoting 'valley' (W. *dyffryn*), Leland constantly uses the digraph, as in *Diffryn Risca* (for *Risca* and the identification of Leland's *Dyffryn Risca*, see Osborne 1989), which is frequent in the *Itinerary* (*It.* 13, 15, 17). In contrast, the Welshman William Salesbury (1547) categorically differentiates <f> and <ff>, while Humphrey Llwyd states that 'we use **F** always for *v* when it is a consonant, as *Llanfair* is in reading called 'Llanvair',

for **V** is always a vowel. Instead of the Latin *f* we use **PH** or **FF**.⁷ Whereas Andrew Borde renders Welsh [δ] by <d> (*deuardeck* for *deuwarddeg*) or <th> (*deyth* for *dydd*), see Evans (2008: 101–2), for Leland the usual grapheme is certainly <d>, cf. *L(l)andewi* for Llanddewi (*It.* 57, 117, 118, 123, etc.), although sometimes he also opts for <th> (*Llechuueth*, *It.* 83). According to Humphrey Llwyd, to denote this sound ‘double **DD**, as it is commonly written amongst our countrymen, or amongst the learned after this manner **DH**’ (Schwyzer 2011: 51, cf. Lhuyd 1572: 2b) were used in Wales.

It is rewarding to have a look at the spellings of the sounds which do not have exact correspondences in English. Thus, to render the resonant denoted in Welsh usage by <rh>,⁸ Leland uses <r> irrespective of its position, cf. *Rowse* and *Roose* for Rhôs (*It.* 64) or *Penryn*, *Penryne*, *Penrin* etc. for Penrhyn (*It.* 88–9). There are some unusual spellings as well, cf. *Rruchwin* for Rhychwyn (*It.* 80), contrast *Roughwyn* (*It.* 83), but these also find parallels in Welsh written sources, and as the editor of *Celtica* suggests, may point to the use of a written source in such cases. The substitution of <rh> by <r> is certainly expected, but at the same time we find <rh> in the personal name (Sir) *Rhese ap Thomas*, rendered in this particular spelling throughout the text (*It.* 52, 57, 60), while Andrew Borde renders the name with *r-* (*Rys*, Evans 2008: 102). Humphrey Llwyd observed that ‘CH expresseth the nature of χ, called *chi* among the Grecians, and hath no affinity with the pronunciation in French or English of the same aspiration’ (Schwyzer 2011: 51, cf. Lhuyd 1572, 2a), and William Salesbury (1547) stressed the fact that <ch> denoted different sounds in English and Welsh. To render this voiceless velar fricative Andrew Borde uses various strategies, as in *dawh* and *daws* for *dawch*, *uedorough* for *fedrwch*, *thiolphah* for *ddiolcha*, cf. *weh*, *weh*, *why*, *why* for *chwi* (Evans 2008: 92 and 102–3). He never uses the digraph <ch> to denote it, even though it is found very often in Leland’s ‘Itinerary’, such as in *Llechwedd* (several attestations in *It.* 79, cf. also *Llechuueth vcha* *It.* 83, with *uchaf*). Occasionally Leland uses <gh> instead, as *Castelle Gogh* (*It.* 18) and *Castel Cough* (*It.* 125), and contrast the attestations of *Rhychwyn* / *Roughwyn* mentioned above.

As Geraint Evans (2008: 92) observes, for Andrew Borde the Welsh voiceless lateral fricative caused considerable problems, and he conveyed it variously with the graphemes <cl>, <kl>, <th>, and <l>. Similar substitutions are found in other sources (cf. North 1945: 34–37) to denote the sound ‘sharp in the hissing’, as Llwyd characterised it (Schwyzer 2011: 52). <L> and the digraph <ll> were used in the Welsh tradition to denote different sounds, and the learned Welshman William Salesbury (1547) observes this dichotomy, while Humphrey Llwyd, whose own last name begins with this sound unfamiliar in English speech, noted that ‘[w]e have also a peculiar letter to ourselves, which the ruder sort fashion like **LL**, but the better-learned

⁷English translation quoted from Schwyzer (2011: 52). See Lhuyd (1572: 2b) for the Latin original.

⁸Cf. Schwyzer (2011: 52 and fn. 78). William Salesbury (1547) devotes a paragraph to this traditional spelling.

write with **LH'** (Schwyzer 2011: 52; cf. Lhuyd 1572: 2b). It has been noted that Leland himself was not consistent in his spellings (cf., e.g., North 1945: 35), but his use of the digraph <ll> to denote this sound, and only rarely for <l>, is noteworthy. Thus, he records the place-name Llandovery (Welsh *Llanymddyfri*) in various guises, *Llanameuery* being the most popular spelling, which is found alongside *Llanamuery*, used twice (*It.* 112–3), as well as the well-attested *Llanandeuery* (*It.* 115 and 121–2), all with *Ll-*. Explanations of the other variations in the spelling of this toponym are available: F. J. North (1945: 35) observes that ‘*Llanameuery* resulted from the accidental omission [sic] of a *d* but this led Leland into making a curious mistake, for he stated that the town was named after the brook which flows through it, which brook he accordingly called Euery (=Every or Eferi) Brook. There is of course no such brook and the one that flows through Llandovery is called Bawddwr’.⁹ What is remarkable, however, is that the edition of L. Toulmin Smith testifies only to a single attestation of this place-name with a single *L-* (*Lanamdeuery It.* 57), and it is not at all clear whether this was the original spelling as the sentence in which it occurs is put in brackets and is thus possibly not from Leland’s original. This raises once again the plea for a new edition of the text. Provisionally, however, it may be stressed that <ll> is the customary spelling of the sound in this toponym in the original text. However, as we have seen, renderings of other names with a single *l* do still occur, cf. *Landewi Brebui* (*It.* 118). One may even speculate that the word *llan* ‘enclosure, church’, etc., considered by Melville Richards (1998: 128) the most important element in Welsh place-names and certainly one with a very high frequency in records, was known to Leland in this particular spelling. Generally, and besides names in *llan*, the expected digraph is found abundantly in Leland’s records: *Lline* (*Llŷn*, *It.* 53, 80, etc.), *Llin Tyue* (*It.* 56), *Llechwed iha* (i.e. *uchaf*, *It.* 79), although a single *l* is used on a number of occasions, as in *Lochor* (*It.* 61).

Alternative spellings to render this Welsh sound also occur in Leland’s usage, but on a smaller scale, and mainly in non-initial position, although <ll> is found there as well, cf. ‘the montaine of Penllin’ (*It.* 74). The interesting case is Leland’s spelling of Llangollen, which appears as *Llangotlan* and *Llan Gotlan* (*It.* 90), where *llan* is spelled with <ll>, while the second — identical — sound is rendered by <tl>.¹⁰ Apart from <tl> word-internally we also find <thl>-, as in ‘Commote Pentthline’ (*It.* 77) or *Enisenthle* (*Ynys Enlli*, *It.* 81); cf. the spelling *Enthli* used by Gerald the Welshman, characterized by S. Zimmer (2003: 335) as ‘an early attestation of the common E[nglish] misrepresentation of the W[elsh] voiceless lateral, a phoneme unknown in E[nglish] as in

⁹See Lee (2010: 6) for Leland’s usage of the term ‘town’.

¹⁰As the editor of *Celtica* kindly reminds me, this is presumably because <tl> /tl/ was phonologically possible in the middle of English words but not at the beginning. It would be natural for someone used to English to make this substitution accordingly in the middle of the word but not at the beginning.

most languages of the world'¹¹. Non-canonical spellings are also found word-initially, and one may note the consistent usage of <kl>- to render the sound in the river-name Lleder, which Leland writes down four times as *Kledder* (River), *It.* 81–84. Some of his other examples do not offer possibilities for generalizations. Thus, the final digraph <ll> in *W. castell* 'castle' *vel sim.* (see Falileyev 2019: 90–3 for some problems of the analysis) is rendered differently: for Castell Coch, for example, he writes *Castelle Gogh* (*It.* 18), and also 'Castel Cough, in Englisch Redde Castel' (*It.* 125), cf. also *Castel Trogy* (*It.* 44) and *Trecastel* (*It.* 113). Various spellings for 'castle' are likewise used in his English text, as in 'the parte of the towne hillinge toward the castell' (*It.* 11), 'the castelle is on the este side of the toun' (*It.* 14) or 'the castel of Dinas Poys' (*It.* 23).

It is evident, therefore, that John Leland's acquaintance with Welsh traditional orthographic usage was insufficient to influence his spelling more than sporadically, and as F. J. North (1935: 43) noted long ago, 'there was so little uniformity' in his spelling of Welsh geographical names. It looks impossible to suggest that he ever studied Welsh, but nevertheless, in contrast to Andrew Borde, who was absolutely foreign to the written form of the Welsh language, some details of Leland's spelling point to the fact that he was somehow acquainted with the Welsh tradition of writing things down. Caroline Brett (1990: 171) was of the opinion that 'it is almost certain that Leland did see some historical manuscripts in Wales', and even if they were presumably in Latin, it may be expected that they contained Welsh geographical names spelled according to Welsh practice. Moreover, the antiquary himself does refer to 'Welsh sources' that he consulted, although this reference is found in the section of his *Itineraries* dedicated to Shropshire, not Wales. The passage on the names of Shrewsbury (Toulmin Smith 1908: 81–2) reads:

The towne of Shrobbesbyri standithe on a rokky hill of stone of a sadde redd earth, and Severne so girdethe in all the towne that savinge a litle pece by ... it wer an isle. It is comonly caullyd now in Walche Moythik. Writers in Walsche caul it Penguern, *id est, caput Alneti*. Schrobbesbyri is the very Englyshe word truly written, not mucche dissonant from Penguern, and Salapia in Latin goith far from the Walche name.

Ralf Higden in his description of Shrewsbury names the place as *Salopia* in Latin and notes that in English it is called *Schrobbesburia*, while 'Britannice vero vocatur Penguern, quod sonat Caput abietis', see on this passage Drinkwater (1882: 42). Higden could hardly be labelled as one of the 'writers in Walsche', but Gerald the Welshman may at least be qualified thus, and in his *Itinerarium Cambriae*, used by Leland on several occasions (see below), Gerald mentions the town under the name *Slopesburia*, and adds: 'Sonat autem

¹¹ As the anonymous reviewer notes, '[i]t's an attempt by writers (not necessarily English) to render the sound using the conventions of Anglo-Norman spelling familiar to them', and he or she suspects 'that these writers may quite often have been Welsh-speaking'.

Penguern caput alneti. In this passage (for it cf. also Zimmer 2003: 322), the explanation of *Penguern* is identical to that of Leland. Nevertheless, it has been admitted that Gerald's 'Welsh was not up to the required standard' (Putter 2009: 87),¹² and in any event his spelling of local geographical names was distant from practices accepted even slightly later. It will suffice to mention here in this respect that the famous *llan* is spelled by him as *lan* ('Lan enim locus ecclesiasticus sonat', see Zimmer 2003: 319 for this passage), and also in a number of place-names which he recorded; the spelling <ll> was not yet universal in Gerald's time. The works of Geoffrey of Monmouth were certainly known to and studied by Leland, and it is supposed that this famous author was familiar with Welsh orthographic usage, cf. Crawford (1982: 161).¹³ However, in his *Historia* we find Welsh onomastics in a heavily Latinized context and anyway Welsh names are certainly not very common there; to list Geoffrey among 'writers in Walsche' would be an inaccuracy. Nevertheless, this piece of evidence provides support for the suggestion that John Leland was acquainted with texts written by 'writers in Walsche' of various epochs (cf. also the passage on Anglesey which he received from a local informant in a written form, as mentioned above), although the actual degree of this acquaintance with Welsh orthographic habits remains by necessity disputable.

SEMANTICS AND GRAMMAR IN PLACE-NAMES

As we can see, observations on the antiquarian's orthography in rendering Welsh data in his text point to a certain degree of acquaintance with Welsh orthographic usage, which most likely is due to consulting various types of works by 'writers in Walsche'. In any event, it contrasts markedly with orthographic patterns used by another Englishman, Andrew Borde, who admitted that 'where I do not wryte true Welshe, I do write it that euery man may rede it and vnderstand it without any teachynge' (quoted in Cramsie 2015: 54). Obviously, Leland's acquaintance with the Welsh language becomes known to us mainly through his comments on Welsh onomastics. Although it has been observed by Cathy Shrank (2004: 89) that,

Leland converts vernacular place names into Latin, unlike his contemporary John Major. Leland thus defamiliarizes the landscape, a use of renaming that makes additional assault on Cornish and Welsh identity. Leland is in fact erasing the history encapsulated in vernacular place names by replacing them with Latin alternatives, rendering Cornwall and Wales uniform with England, to which he has applied the same technique,

¹²On the Welsh language of Gerald, see Zimmer (2003), Putter (2009: 86–7 and 99–101), cf. Harris (2017: 27, 114–19).

¹³As the author also notes, 'only an edition of the *Historia* based on all available MSS could permit us to ascertain whether his orthography of British names changed in the course of composition' (Crawford 1982: 161).

this valuable comment is not applicable to Leland's *Itinerary*. Indeed, he recorded an incredible number of place-names in Wales, and very often provided additional remarks on their meanings. It may also be noted in parenthesis that occasionally the *Itinerary* contains commentaries of a historical nature. Thus, for Llanddewi Brefi (Cardiganshire), it is stated that 'Landewi, as sum say, caullid Breui, bycause it stondith on Breuy Brooke' (*It.* 117). This is a fairly reasonable explanation as it indeed refers to the previous name of the settlement based on the hydronym, see Wmffre (2004: 2, 509–10) for a complete discussion. Only Leland's linguistic remarks are interesting for us here, however. Neither are we concerned with his records of toponyms which are known in two or more different names in various traditions, primarily Welsh and Latin. Indeed, examples like 'Llan Egwiste, alias Vallis Crucis' (*It.* 90) referring to Valle Crucis Abbey,¹⁴ or sentences of the type '[t]he chirche is caullid in Walsch Llan engan Brening, id est, Fanum Niniani Reguli' (*It.* 87), for Llan Engan Vrenhin (Caern.), are frequent. Similarly, Leland commonly records Welsh and English names of the same settlement, as 'Traflon [i.e. *Trallwng*], alias the Walsche Pole' (*It.* 73), 'Presteine, in Walche caullyd Llanandre' or 'Knightton, in Walche caullid Trebucllo' (*It.* 10), and these will not concern us here either.¹⁵

The antiquarian frequently explains vernacular names either in Latin or in English, cf. 'an hille [...] caullid Penbere, i.e. caput sepulcri' (*It.* 99), and these comments are important for our estimation of his reflections on the language. For example, mentioning *Ynys y Meirch* in Caernarvonshire he also translates the second part of the nesonym using a grammatically correct and semantically exact Latin form (gen. pl.) *equorum*: 'Ther is an other islet betwixt it and the shore, caullid Inis Mirach, i.e. equorum, having good grasse' (*It.* 88). Welsh *hen* in the river-name rendered in the text as *Hene Wy* is precisely glossed by 'old' (*It.* 109), cf. also 'Grifith ap Robert [V]ehan dwellith at Tale Henbont, i.e. *vet-eris pontis*, in Iuionith' (*It.* 85) with the interpretation provided in Latin. In his travels in Breconshire Leland reports that he 'left on the right honde Munnith du, the Blake Montaine' (*It.* 112), thus offering English parallels to two Welsh nouns,¹⁶ and he writes about 'Castel Cough, in Englisch Redde Castel' (*It.* 125) in Monmouthshire. Providing first attestations of a number of lake-names in Cardiganshire, he translates both the generic and the qualifying components: thus 'Llinher, longus lacus' (*It.* 120, Mod. Llynhir, see Wmffre 2004: 2, 585) or 'Llinne duy, i. lacus niger' (*It.* 121, Llynddu, see Wmffre 2004: 2, 584), and the list may be continued. It is worth mentioning that sometimes only one component is translated, as in *It.* 119 '[t]he first river be side Tyue that I passid over was Clardue, that is to say Blak Clare, no great streame but cumming thorough

¹⁴Welsh *Abaty Glyn Egwestl*; for Leland's visit there see also Williams (2008: 44–6).

¹⁵Leland also records (and explains) two Welsh names for Hereford in England, *Heneford* and *Treffarith* (Toulmin Smith 1908: 65–6, cf. Hutton 1911: 138).

¹⁶See, however, the discussion of the oronym in Morgan and Powell (1999: 40) and Owen and Morgan (2007: 34) which takes consideration only of Leland's 'Atterel Hylles ... in Walsche Meneth e Cadair', *recte* 'Atterel Hylles, the wich be cawled in Walsch Meneth e Cadair' (*It.* 104). Here we deal with the names in two languages, and the attempt to translate it into Latin is also provided, 'id est montes alti instar cathedrarium'.

cragges', for the history of the hydronym Claerddu also in Cardiganshire see Wmffre (2004: 3, 1235).

Some other quotations deserve attention, too. Thus, Leland writes, '[t]here is northward in Credine a bay or rode very goode for shippis, and that greate, caullid Carrig Gonnyon, *Anglice* White Stonys' (*It.* 89). The place-name in question is Cerrig Gwynion (Caern.), and although Leland's spelling is peculiar, it is noteworthy that his rendering in English correctly makes use of the plural form, like in his interpretation of *Ynys y Meirch* quoted above. Sometimes Leland's spellings are confusing, of course, and the plural form of the Welsh word can only be recognized on the basis of the gloss that he provides, as in 'Guenwynmyreth, i.e. Horsis Broke' (Caern., *It.* 86), where the second component is *W. meirch* (pl.) 'horses', cf. North (1957: 178). There are also examples where we find glosses in two languages. In his description of Pembrokeshire, Leland reports, 'Ther is a litle rille betuixt the ii. Gleves a caullid Killell, i.e. Cultellus' (*It.* 63), and slightly later in the *Itinerary* he recalls again the 'litle ryveret caullid in Walsch [Kyllell, the word was supplied by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, as the editor notes] in Englisch Knife' (*It.* 63–4). A number of Leland's translations also require attention. Thus, discussing Llyngorast (Card.), he writes: 'Linnygorres, not ii. miles from Llunduy. Gorsse in Walsche, a myer in Englisch' (*It.* 121). The name contains *gores* 'wasteland', see Wmffre (2004: 2, 584), and *gores*, *gores* 'open, uncultivated, waste, barren' (of land) is first attested according to GPC s.v. *gores*², *gores* only since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The word is found in Welsh toponymy recorded even earlier, see references in Wmffre (2004: 2, 584), but this note of Leland's allows us to move the date of the first attestation of the word in its non-toponymic usage nearly two centuries earlier than the previously accepted date. In his description of Breconshire Leland mentions the 'place caullid Porthamal, i.e. Porta copiae' (*It.* 108), thus providing translations for the parts of the compound, i.e. *W. porth* 'gate, door' and *aml* 'numerous, great', cf. *W. amyl* found in Salesbury's dictionary (1547) glossed by E. *plentuouse*. As R. Morgan and R. F. P. Powell (1999: 132) suspect, this may refer 'to the large gatehouse of Great Porthamal or elliptically to the large, important house itself'. Although the authors consider here other explanations, they turn non-committal, and one may note that *W. aml* is not found in the list of place-names elements in Owen and Morgan (2007).

Some knowledge of Welsh words is revealed not only in the glosses provided but in Leland's commentaries on selected toponyms. For example, he explains a church name and the corresponding village name in the following manner: 'it is caullid Llaneinis, by cause the chirch is set betwixt the ryvers of Cluid and Cluedog as in an isle' (*It.* 94). This explanation of Llanynys in Denbighshire is not only acceptable (cf. Owen and Morgan 2007: 290), but also points to the fact that *W. ynys* 'island' was known to Leland. Commenting on Cantre'r Gwaelod, the author notes: '2. commotes of good plentiful but low grounde caullid Cantre Gwaylode, i.e. *terra demissa vel subsidens planitie*, now cleene eatin away' (*It.* 77); on legends associated with this area and attempting to explain the phenomenon see North (1957: 147–62). As Cathy Shrank

(2004: 86) observed, '[i]n the notes to his Itinerary, England and Wales are depicted as tamed and productive landscapes', and apart from its illustration of the observation this passage also explains W. *gwaelod* 'lower ground' *vel sim*.

It is hardly possible to imagine that John Leland's comments on the semantics and grammar of Welsh place-names result from his monotonous cabinet studies of available books. Rather, it is most probable that his sources for the various strata of information were different, and furthermore, his *Itineraries* testify to that. Thus, describing Leominster in Herefordshire, England (Toulmin Smith 1908: 74), Leland states:

And it is suppoysyd of clerkis that the old name of this towne tooke begininge of the nunes, and was caulld in Walche Llan-llieni, idem *locus vel fanum monialium*, and not of a lyon that is writon to have apperyd to Kynge Merwalde,

and this quotation explicitly indicates the origin of the information. This passage contains not only a Latin rendering of two Welsh words, *llan* and *llieni* (plural of *lleian* 'nun') in the alleged compound, which is thus also identified as such, but also provides them in (mainly) Welsh orthography. It is also remarkable that the second component retains its radical according to Welsh grammatical rules, and is not lenited as happens to second constituents which contain other initial consonants. This accurate information on the meaning of the place-name comes from the non-identified *clerkis*, who were presumably also the source of the alongside appropriate Welsh orthography, correct morphological division and proper usage of the plural form. The fact that it is another example of folk etymology in Leland's writings should also be considered, and the sources of the information preserved in this passage may yet be traced.

PHONO-MORPHOLOGY

The most striking evidence of Leland's acquaintance with the Welsh language is, perhaps, his recognition of Welsh lenition. While 'the Greeks and Latins in the ends of their words have variations and cases, so this tongue contrarwise hath the same changing in the beginning of the words', observed Humphrey Llwyd slightly later (Schwyzer 2011: 53; cf. Lhuyd 1572: 3b), and Welsh mutations are often recorded in various guises by contemporary visitors to Wales. Thus, Andrew Borde writes down such phrases as *in hy* (for *yn nhy* 'in the house', cf. the unmutated form *ty*) or *moes imi gaws* 'give me some cheese', cf. the unlenited form *caws* 'cheese'. These were discussed by Geraint Evans (2008: 93), who comes to the conclusion that 'mutation is generally recorded in the orthography, as we would expect if a non-Welsh speaker were transcribing spoken Welsh'. For some of Borde's quotations Evans also suspects a written source, and the same approach could be applied to the study of Leland's notes, compiled several years later. What is important is that Leland's texts appear to show a certain amount of reflection by the author on this grammatical issue.

First of all, he recognises the radical form of the mutated word. Thus, for the place-name Llan Beulan in Anglesey he provides the comment, ‘alias Pulan, proprium nomen’ (*Coll.* 86 = *It.* 130), and although the personal name is in fact **Peulan* with a disputable pre-history (see Jones and Roberts 1996: 18), the recognition of the lenition in the toponym is correct. Similarly, for Llan-fair (also Anglesey, on it see Jones, Roberts 1996: 19), he comments, ‘Mair per se Maria’, and importantly notes: ‘sed alias Vair pro Mair sonant’ (*Coll.* 85 = *It.* 129). At the same time he occasionally fails to restore the lenited form of the word, as in his discussion of *Llinyuigin Velen*, where he rightly suggests that ‘Velen is yelow of the color of the mosse and corrupt gresse about hit’ (*It.* 12), whereas *melen* would have been the correct radical form. Also, he equates *Llan Tegla*, *Llantegla* (Denb.) with Lat. *Fanum Teclae* (*It.* 70–1). The equation is correct, but the lenition of the second component is not indicated by the antiquary (for the place-name see Owen and Morgan 2007: 228 s.v. *Llandegla*), and on a number of occasions he puts on record both lenited and radical forms for the same name, as in *Castelle Gogh* (*It.* 18) and *Castel Cough* (*It.* 125) for Castell Coch.

What is certainly extraordinary is that Leland verbally explains the lenition expected in the second part of compounded names when commenting on the origins of the toponym Ruddlan. He writes (*It.* 93):

Rethelan, communely caullid Rudelan, cummith of Rethe, that ys
to say roone color or pale redde, and glan, that is the shore’

and to explain *-lan* he adds,

but G when Glan is set with a worde præceding G is explodid,

that is, reduced to a zero sound, cf. Llwyd’s ‘G in the first place vanisheth away’, (Schwyzer 2011: 53). The etymological analysis of the place-name is correct (cf. Owen and Gruffydd 2017: 168), and it is this phono-morphological comment that requires the greatest attention. The same Welsh feature is also saliently illustrated by his equation of *Llanarmon* with *Fanum Germani* (*It.* 70): the antiquary is not alarmed by the fall of the initial *g-* in the second component due to the lenition, although the name in question is of course *Garmon*. It may be noted in parenthesis that knowledge of Welsh lenition, including the reduction of initial *g-* to a zero-sound, has been suspected for Geoffrey of Monmouth (cf. Harris 2017: 93).

In regard to the examples quoted above, the accurate equation of Latin personal names and their Welsh counterparts should be noted, cf. also ‘Peder, id est, Petrus. Patarne, id est, Patarnus’ (*Coll.* 91). Leland also correctly selects personal names from toponymy, as in ‘[t]his rok is caullid Guortheren, i.e. Vallis Vortegerni in Llene’ (*It.* 87, Craig Gwrtheyrn, Caernarvonshire), or Llangyric (*fanum Cyriaci*, *It.* 122), as it is found in the copy of the text made by Thomas Burton in 1628, and correctly identifies Dewi with David (*It.* 57). Occasionally, however, he makes mistakes. Thus, Leland, who was the first to put on record the medieval name of Ewloe Castle in Flintshire as *Castel Yollo*,

continues his note on 'Hoele ... a gentilman of Flyntshir': '[h]e hath also a ruinus castelet, or pile, at a place caullid Castel Yollo. This word Yollo is the same in Walsche that Lluelen ys, and Ludovicus in Latine' (*It.* 93). This interpretation of the toponym is erroneous. It is certainly English in origin, a compound containing *æwell* 'stream' and *hlāw* 'mound, hill', see the complete discussion in Owen (1994: 168–70). What is noteworthy for the analysis of this passage is the equation of personal names. In the commentary to Tomlin Smith's edition of the *Itinerary* it is stated that 'Yollo or Iolo stands for Edward in Welsh' (*It.* 93 fn. b), and it is most probable that Dr Gwenogvryn Evans was responsible for that.¹⁷ It should be pointed out that Evans's contribution to this volume was vehemently criticised by its early reviewer (Anonymous 1907: 254–5), and it may be mentioned that *Iolo* has long been viewed as the hypocoristic form of Iorwerth (cf. Morgan and Morgan 1985: 140). Moreover, in the comment on this passage in his edition of *The Description of Pembrokeshire* Henry Owen already observed: 'Lewis was of course a conventional way of translating Llywelyn, but Leland errs in mixing up Iolo, the pet form of the name Iorwerth, with Llelo, the pet form of Llywellyn. Llelo survives in Welsh place-names and as a surname in Shropshire. It is generally supposed that Ewloe Castle stands for Castell Iolo; but if that is so, it does not seem to be known who Iolo was' (quoted in Owen 1994: 173). Obviously, the correct interpretation of Ewloe Castle was not known to Leland's informant(s), but this attempt to play with personal names to explain it is worthy of attention.

Apart from Leland's recognition of Welsh mutations, one may pay attention to a passage in the *Itinerary* which touches upon another phono-morphological peculiarity of the language. Mentioning Hoele, 'a gentilman of Flyntshir' (cf. Williams 1956: 16), the antiquary notes: 'Hoele communely caullid in Engliche Poele, and, as sum say, it is the name that we caull (ms. *caullid*) Hughe' (*It.* 92). The commentary to this sentence in the edition reads as 'Poele or Powel = ap Howel, *i.e.*, son of Howel', and it is of course remarkable that Leland was aware of this derivation. Certainly, in modern scholarship it is commonly accepted that 'the formation *ab Howel* > *Powel*, *Powell* is obvious' (Morgan and Morgan 1985: 125), and the Englishman's awareness of the linguistic connection between Hoele and Poele is thus significant. His equation of the English name Hugh with the Welsh counterpart (Hywel), with a reference to the source not indicated directly, is also noteworthy. Substitutions of Hugh (Huw) for Howel (Hywel) are well known, particularly in North Walian records of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, but 'it is clear that Hugh did not displace Hywel in the north east to any great extent', see Morgan and Morgan (1985: 20 and 126). This reflection, therefore, correlates with the information provided in the *Itinerary*, and the historico-morphological analysis is once again perfectly correct.

An interesting comment is provided on Dyserth, Flintshire. Leland writes, 'Thisarte, or Disarte, Castelle yn Flyntshire, by the name yn Walsche is thus

¹⁷According to the editorial methods specified in the preface to the edition (Toulmin Smith 1906: ix), the words are not marked as those of the editor.

expoundid. This is *privativa particula* as *not*. Sarte is *stepe up*. Not stepe or cliuing up, that is to say playne' (*It.* 93). Here we deal with another attempt at morphological analysis of a word, as the negative particle following by the word for 'steep'. It is notable that W. *serth* 'steep' is consistently attested in this spelling, while the place-name is rendered with *-a-* regularly from its earliest record in the Domesday book, where we have *Dissard*. Although the analysis suggested in the *Itinerary* is wrong — in this and other similar names across Wales Latin *desertum* / *disertum* 'hermit's cell' is reflected¹⁸ — this folk etymology has been attractive though with a slight modification. As Hywel Owen and Ken Gruffydd (2017: 65) observed, 'the name was perceived to consist of the intensive prefix *dy-* and *serth* 'steep' from its location below Moel Hirad-dug (*Foel Diserth* 1730 PR)'; see also *loc. cit.* for the list of attestation on the toponym and its discussion. It is remarkable thus that the Welsh negative prefix *di-* apparently was known to Leland,¹⁹ and one may suppose that the source of this knowledge should be traced to information about the meaning of the particular toponym received orally. The anonymous reviewer of this paper pointed to the fact that the topography of the area is indeed very steep, so a reference to the intensive rather than negative prefix would certainly be more appropriate here. Therefore, it is possible that the confusion of prefixes should be traced to the misunderstanding of information which Leland received, and 'his almost instinctive unfamiliarity with Welsh topography' has already been noted (cf. Cramsie 2015: 87).

BEYOND PLACE-NAMES: LELAND AND WELSH ICHTHYONOMY

As we have seen, Leland shows some knowledge of the semantics of Welsh words and also prefixes deduced from toponymy. He rarely allows linguistic comments outside of his discussion of place-names, but such cases nevertheless occur. Thus, at the beginning of his *Itinerary* in Wales it is stated that '[g]lade is in the Walsch a country or a land' (*It.* 15), and it is obvious that he meant here *gwlad* (rendered in W. Salesbury's dictionary (1547) by 'a countre'). He provides the Welsh name for 'parish' (Leland's 'paroch'), that is *plouhe* (*It.* 72), cf. Salesbury's *plwyf* glossed by *a paryshe*, and this, as the anonymous reviewer of this article suggests, 'is presumably good evidence for oral information', since it shows the common loss of final /v/; the list may be continued. Interestingly, Leland was the first to record Welsh names of several fishes. Describing pools in North Wales he mentions 'redde bely fisches caullid Thorgoughe, id est, thori aut pectoris rubei' (*It.* 82) which are found there. This is the first attestation of W. *torgoch* 'id., red-bellied char, roach' (cf. *GPC* s.v.), and it is noteworthy that the antiquarian correctly explains the parts of this compound, i.e. 'belly' and 'red'. It may also be mentioned in parenthesis that, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED* s.v.), the borrowing

¹⁸Although the peer-reviewer of this article expressed doubts about that, see later in the paragraph.

¹⁹The anonymous reviewer aptly reminds me 'that Leland's observation is a century earlier than the first attestation of a grammatical analysis of this negative particle in *GPC*'.

torgoch is first recorded later: in 1612, John Speed's 'The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine' states that '[i]n the Pool Lin-Peris there is a kinde of fish called there Torcoch hauing a red belly, no where else seene', while Leland himself states that the fish is found in 'Linne Peris alias Nant Manach' (*It.* 82, with *Vallis monachus* inserted from a copy made by Thomas Burton in 1628).²⁰

Generally, Leland shows his interest in fishing regularly in his travels, naming various species found in lakes and rivers, as in his description of *Llin Seuathan*, that is Llangorse Lake in Breconshire,²¹ where he notes 'the principale fisch a great numbre of bremes', alongside others (*It.* 107). One of these passages deserves closer attention. The antiquary records, '[i]n Wy River be umbers, otherwise graylinges, yn Walsch, as I remembre, cawllid cau[gin]' (*It.* 49), and L. Toulmin Smith comments in the footnote that 'the word is at the end of a line and partly cut off'. She continues: 'Stow copied it "Caytas", Burton "Cangin"', and opts for the reconstruction of the word as **caugin*. Later in the text Leland writes, '[i]n the lak be umbers, yn Walsche cangans, and great store of pykes, wherof many cum into Wy River' (*It.* 105) The form used here — with the English plural ending — is the earliest and the only attestation of *W. cangen* in the meaning 'grayling', according to *GPC* s.v. *cangen*. The editors of *GPC* aptly consider here also the first example from the *Itinerary* quoted above. The standard Welsh word for 'grayling', *glasgangen*, is recorded first in the eighteenth century (*GPC* s.v. *glasgangen*), and we also find *cangen las* in the same meaning in a text dated to c. 1700 (*GPC* s.v. *cangen*). As has been observed, the body of the fish 'is characterised by an iridescent greenish-gold sheen', and from that it received its name in English (Jenkins 1923: 245). This certainly explains the presence of *glas* 'blue, greenish-blue' in its Welsh names; compare the semantics of the stem of its English correspondence. Whether Leland's use of the word without this colour modifier is correct or wrong is difficult to judge. Most probably, the antiquary knew the meaning of *W. glas*, cf. *Glascoit* correctly glossed by Lat. *viridis silva* (*It.* 93, from the copy of Burton), or the rendering of (*Aber*) *Glaslyn* as *blew poole* (*It.* 131, supplied from Stow). Did he twice omitt the modifier in his records of the fish through error or misapprehension, or was the simplex used indeed, perhaps in colloquial speech, in his time and in the areas he visited? It is impossible to decide, but it appears reasonable to treat the existence of the *W. simplex cangen* in the meaning 'grayling' with caution. In any event, the mystery of the difficult *cau[...]* in the first quotation is indeed happily resolved in favour of *cangen* vel sim., but these passages still deserve more attention.

Leland maintains that the fish comes into the river from '[t]he Lake of Brecnok', and advises the reader to '[l]ooke more diligently for this lake apon

²⁰J. T. Jenkins (1923: 237) notes that the fish is found, apart from in two lakes in Snowdonia, in Llyn Bodlyn (Merioneth.) and informs the reader that '[t]he Welsh name of Torgoch means Red belly'. For *Peris* in medieval Welsh onomastics see Lewis (2020: 143–6), and cf. Richards (1998: 137).

²¹*W. Llyn Syfaddon / Llyn Syfaddan*; for the name see Morgan and Powell (1999: 138) and cf. North (1957: 106–10, 116–17) for some early observations pertaining to the area.

Giraldus book cawled *Itinerarium Cambriae*. It should be remembered that the author of the *Itinerary* refers to several written sources in his text, and that Gerald of Wales, mentioned here and elsewhere,²² is not the only authority recognized by Leland. Thus, he also refers to Ptolemy ('Cirecestre, corruptely for Churnecestre, peraventure of Ptoleme cawled Coriminum', *It.* 101), and as is widely known, Leland makes use of various sorts of written information in his work (cf. North 1935: 42–3, Williams 1956: 17–9 *et passim*, or most recently Breeze 2017), such as is also part and parcel of any modern toponymic survey (Taylor 2016: 73–74). As for the richness of the river Wye in fish, this is certainly what we find stated in Gerald's *Itinerarium Kambriae* (I, 2): 'Egregiis vero, quas et Umbras vocant, sola thymallis Waia fecunda est'. Commenting on this passage, which he renders as 'The [river] Wye alone is alone very fruitful in excellent graylings (? *L. thymallus* < Gr ?), which they also call *umbrae*', S. Zimmer (2003: 333) writes: 'This is the L fish name *umbra*, Fr *ombre* 'salmo thymallus', called so for its 'shadowy' colour'. The 'shadowy' colour of the fish as the motivation for its name may be questioned, cf. the description of various species of graylings in Jenkins (1923: 245) and the meaning 'dark' is attested for Lat. *umbra*; one may note also earlier discussions of the fish-name in this particular attestation (cf., e.g., Holmes 1936: 113). In Gerald's passage we find the Latin word for grayling in the accusative case (plural), which is nearly identical with the plural form of its corresponding English form used in the fragment of Leland's *Itinerary*. However, it is also apparent that in this passage the English antiquary was not simply reporting the piece of evidence collected by Gerald the Welshman — in fact, the richness of the Wye has been noted by many observers. Thus, as William Worcestre observed in 1476, 'et yn Wye water sunt pisces trouthes cullys loches anguille, grayllynghes bolehedes penkys et salmons boni inter tempus vocate Seynt Mary dayes' that is 'in Wye water are fishes [called] trout, culls, loaches, eel, graylings, bullheads, pinks, and good salmons in the time called St. Mary's days' (Harvey 1969: 68–9). Similar to Leland, Worcestre mentions graylings in the list by name, but does not provide their alternative name. We find it twenty years later in the *Treatise on Fysshynge wyth an Angle* (1496), which observes that '[t]he grayllynge by a nother name callyd vmbre is a delycyous fysshe to mannys mouthe' (quoted from in *OED*, s.v. *umber*², where this is listed as the first its attestation). And half a century afterwards the Welsh name of the fish is recorded by Leland, and it is obvious, again, that the source of this information was oral.

CONCLUSIONS

In her valuable discussion of Leland's legacy, Cathy Shrank (2004: 66) maintained that he 'brought to medieval chronicles both a fashionable humanist Latin style and a historical approach which recognized the need to understand

²²Cf. 'The Archidiacon of Brekenok hath a house even there, and that is also fallen doune for the more part. Giraldus makith mention of this house', *It.* 109, see further references in Williams (2008: 69). As John Cramsie (2015: 83) formulated, '[a]long with Rous and Worcestre, Leland's journeys occurred in the intellectual footsteps of ethnographic writers like Gerald and Higden'.

the vernacular languages of Anglo-Saxon, Welsh, and Scots'. This recognition does not imply full implementation of such a programme, and it has been noted already that the antiquarian's command of Anglo-Saxon improved inch by inch, see Buckalew (1978: 160). For Leland's acquisition of Welsh a different scenario looks realistic. First, it is obvious, judging from the texts which he wrote, that his knowledge of this idiom was quite fragmentary and unsystematic. There is strong evidence that he consulted or was shown by his informants some passages which contained written Welsh, and this is also reflected in his consistent spellings of place-names with the component *llan*, or the representation of the initial consonant of the name Rhys by *rh-*. The main bulk of his information, however, comes from oral sources, and it is highly likely that he received it *in situ*. As for Leland's knowledge of individual Welsh words, it is most probable that it was based fundamentally on explanation of place-names and their components, while other words, such as fish terms, constitute a tiny minority of the Welsh *lexica* found in his work and certainly come from his local informants. Thus, all this shows a lack of any systematic approach and is different from the study that Leland applied to Anglo-Saxon.²³ Reflections on Welsh grammatical traits with which Leland explicitly or implicitly deals in his texts are to be traced most certainly to his informants, once again. The antiquarian does not go into such depth of etymological analysis of Welsh toponymic data as Geoffrey of Monmouth or Gerald of Wales had done before him.²⁴ Obviously, he had a different task, and to implement it Leland did not have to possess a solid command of Welsh. Nevertheless, the linguistic information of diverse nature, both oral and written, which Leland received while working on Welsh matters, is reflected in his *Itinerary*. The data found there provide interesting insights on linguistic reflections in the sixteenth century, and the text contains a number of early records of Welsh words not noticed before.

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²³Commenting on Leland's copy of Ælfric's glossary, R. E. Buckalew (1978: 151) observed: '[t]he general principle of selection seems to be the usefulness of the words for learning Old English. Readily familiar words, such as *fæder*, *modor*, *sunu* and *dohotor*, are omitted, as are the masculine forms *sangere* (for *cantor*) and *rædere* (for *lector*), the feminine forms being included, however'.

²⁴Cf. the following observation: 'Geoffrey's etymologies radically departed from classical precedent in their focus on the vernacular, encouraging his audience to reconsider the intellectual value of British. Unlike Isidore's etymological derivations, which were based on Latin, or, occasionally, on Greek, for Geoffrey, the evidence provided by the indigenous British language could sometimes be a more reliable indicator of the island's history than the tongues of its conquerors' (Harris 2017: 98). For Gerald of Wales as a linguist, see Zimmer (2003).

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