

games or where animals played’,¹² the Cumberland editors’ interpretation is to be preferred, and corresponds to sense 1.2.d of the *OED* entry for the verb *play*: ‘Of a male bird: to strut, dance, or engage in other forms of sexual display.’¹³ Indeed, a doublet has recently come to light in southern Scotland, where Márkus explains that Cockplay in Dalry, Kirkcudbrightshire, ‘must refer to the “lecking” of such birds, when the males clear a place and flap and display in order to attract a female during mating season’.¹⁴

Like Cumberland, Norfolk was an area of Scandinavian settlement during the medieval period, with considerable Norse influence on the local dialect and toponymy.¹⁵ It is therefore relevant that ME *cocklayk* is of Norse origin, the second element being ON *leikr* ‘play’. This may account for the second ‘k’ of the 1324 spelling *Cocklikleye* for Cockley Cley, as well as explaining the absence of a medial vowel between the first two syllables. An original **cocklayk-clæg* would inevitably lead to the simplification of the double /k/-k/ sound before and after the syllable boundary, so that the plosive would be expected to survive in one position or the other, but not both.

As the most common topographical element in English place-names, OE *lēah* can affect the development of names from other elements through analogy, as in Cockley Hill mentioned above from OE *hlāw* ‘hill, mound’, and others such as the Berkshire place-names Hawksley, also from OE *hlāw* ‘hill, mound’, *Notley* from OE *clyf* ‘slope’, and Grazeley from OE *sol* ‘wallowing-place’.¹⁶ It is thus not unlikely that *cocklayk* would have developed into Cockley, even without the duplication of /k/ across the syllable boundary with Cley.

In conclusion, there can be no certainty with regard to the affix of Cockley Cley. However, an

existing place-name from ME *cocklayk* ‘place where cocks display to attract a mate’ seems to be at least as likely as one from OE **cocca-lēah* ‘cocks’ wood’ or a manorial affix from a rare family name originating in the West Riding of Yorkshire or Suffolk. I therefore suggest that ME *cocklayk* should be considered as a further possibility.

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GAIMAR’S *ESTOIRE DES ENGLEIS*, LINE 6460: WHAT GAIMAR DID WITH THE BOOKS OF THE WELSH

Geffrei Gaimar’s *Estoire des Engleis* (c.1137),¹ the earliest extant Old French chronicle, originally combined translations from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The former section of Gaimar’s text, translating the *HRB* and conventionally known as the *Estoire des Bretuns*, is now lost.² But the *HRB*, or at least a translation made for Earl Robert of Gloucester ‘solum les livres as Walesis’ (l. 6451; according to the books of the Welsh),³ features prominently in the remarkable list of sources given in the epilogue to Gaimar’s *Estoire* that uniquely survives in the early fourteenth-century London, British Library, Royal MS 13 A XXI. The passage describing Gaimar’s additions to the *HRB* has long proved problematic. In his excellent edition, Ian Short renders the lines in question as follows: ‘Geffrei Gaimar cel livre

¹² Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II, 67.

¹³ <<https://www.oed.com>> accessed 28 Dec. 2023.

¹⁴ Gilbert Márkus, *Glenkens Place-Names: A Window on our Past* (Castle Douglas, 2023), 12. Further information is available on the associated website at <<https://kcb-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk>> accessed 28 Dec. 2023.

¹⁵ The extent of Scandinavian influence varies in different parts of Norfolk, as demonstrated by David N. Parsons, ‘Field-name statistics, Norfolk and the Danelaw’, in Peder Gammeltoft and Bent Jørgensen (eds.), *Names Through the Looking-Glass: Festschrift in Honour of Gillian Fellows-Jensen July 5th 2006* (Copenhagen, 2006), 165–88.

¹⁶ Carole Hough, ‘Linguistic Levels: Onomastics’, in Alexander Bergs and Laurel J. Brinton (eds.), *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook* (Berlin and Boston, 2012), I, 212–23, at 221.

This research was undertaken during my tenure of the E. K. Chambers Studentship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, quotations are from Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis*, ed. and trans. Ian Short (Oxford, 2009). All translations are my own.

² See Ian Short, ‘What Was Gaimar’s *Estoire des Bretuns*?’, *Cultura Neolatina* lxxi (2011), 143–45. The division of Gaimar’s *Estoire* into two clearly distinct books, however, seems to be scribal rather than authorial: see Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis*, ed. and trans. Short, n. to ll. 1–4.

³ Geoffrey’s *HRB* was originally dedicated to Robert of Gloucester: see E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1927), 41–44. For its identification with the translation mentioned by Gaimar, see Ian Short, ‘Gaimar’s Epilogue and Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Liber vetustissimus*’, *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 327.

escri[s]t[e] les transsa[n]dances i mist/ke li Waleis ourent leissé' (ll. 6459–61), which he translates as: 'Geffrei Gaimar made a written copy of this book and added to it the supplementary material that the Welsh had omitted'. The crucial term, seemingly reading 'transsadanfes' in the manuscript (fol. 149v) as seen in Figure 1, is hard to make out due to scribal corrections. Short probably correctly takes **f** to be the result of a **c** superimposed onto long **s**. His further emendation to 'transsa[n]dances', translated as 'supplementary material', then produces a reading that is in line with previous suppositions of what the term must mean in context.⁴ I believe, however, that there may be a more likely reading of the term that does not require further emendation, and which results in a slight shift in meaning that provides a better perspective on the *Estoire's* historiographical stance.

It is worth speculating what word the scribe initially wrote to better disentangle the correction. H. L. D. Ward thought the underlying reading to be 'translaciances';⁵ this only seems partly correct. The scribe probably wrote something closer to 'translacions' (translations). While Alexander Bell rightly noted the differences in letter forms from the word 'translator' (translate) ten lines above,⁶ the letter forms still visible do match those of the rubric by the same scribe, shown in Figure 2 (fol. 113r),⁷ which introduces 'la translacion maistre geffrei gaimar' (the translation of Master Geffrei Gaimar), including its markedly angular **o**.

In any case, this would have been an easy copying error to make when faced with another word beginning in <tr>, since forms of *translator* occur three times within the epilogue's first 15 lines (ll. 6436; 6440; 6450).

The scribe, having realized his error, then set out to correct it. It appears he did this by turning **l** into a second long **s**, superimposing **i** onto **c** (marked by a visible stroke) and **l** onto **i**, which

⁴ Gaimar, *Estoire des Anglais*, ed. and trans. Short, n. to l. 6460. See also Short, 'Gaimar's Epilogue', 341 n. 79; Geffrei Gaimar, *Lestoire des Anglais*, ed. Alexander Bell (Oxford, 1960), 278, n. to l. 6454; Ronald N. Walpole, 'A New Edition of Geffrei Gaimar's *Estoire des Anglais*', *Philological Quarterly*, xli (1962), 382.

⁵ H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1883), I, 267.

⁶ Gaimar, *Lestoire des Anglais*, ed. Bell, 278, n. to l. 6454.

⁷ That the same scribe is responsible for both Gaimar's *Estoire* and its rubrication and marginal annotations is argued in *An Anglo-Norman Brut*, ed. Alexander Bell (Oxford, 1969), xi.

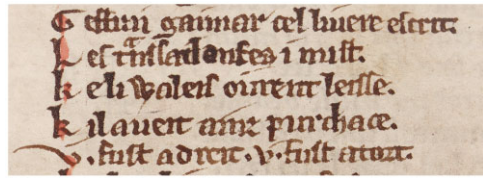


Figure 1. BL, Royal MS 13 A XXI, fol. 149v (detail) © British Library Board.

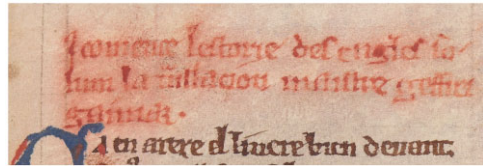


Figure 2. BL, Royal MS 13 A XXI, fol. 113r (detail) © British Library Board.

together look like a straight-backed **d** though 'quite distinct from his usual *d*',⁸ then turning **o** into **a**, and finally superimposing **c** onto long **s**, before continuing to write the last letters of a word seemingly intended to read 'transsailances'. While this word form is not recorded elsewhere, it is a plausible nominalization of the verb *tressaillir*, which can mean 'omit, skip, miss out'.⁹ Gaimar himself uses this verb later in the epilogue, 'Ore dit Gaimar k'il tressailli' (l. 6508; now Gaimar says that he omits this), and an even closer spelling is found in the thirteenth-century *Britton*: 'sauntz nuli transsailler' (without omitting any).¹⁰ If this is indeed closer to the intended reading of the passage, it sheds new light on the *Estoire's* central aim. This is emphatically not to add 'supplementary material', but simply to restore the supposed historiographical omissions of the books of the Welsh.

This may seem like only a small difference in meaning, but it potentially reveals an additional connection with Geoffrey's *HRB*, in that Gaimar seems to play on Geoffrey's supposed use of his own source. After all, Geoffrey claims to

⁸ Gaimar, *Lestoire des Anglais*, ed. Bell, 278, n. to l. 6454.

⁹ 'tressaillir (s.xii^{1/3})', in *Anglo-Norman Dictionary: AND² Online Edition*, ed. William Rothwell and others <<https://anglo-norman.net>> (accessed 27 July 2023). Cf. the analogous nominalization of *defaillir* as *defaillance*: see 'defaillance (1273–82)', in *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*.

¹⁰ *Britton*, ed. and trans. Francis Morgan Nichols (Oxford, 1865), II, 320.

translate ‘quendam Britannici sermonis librum uetustissimum’ (some very old book in the British tongue) into Latin in order to fill a gap in the historiography of Britain:

in mirum contuli quod infra mentionem quam de eis Gildas et Bede luculento tractatu fecerant nichil de regibus qui ante incarnationem Christi inhabitauerant, nichil etiam de Arturo ceterisque compluribus qui post incarnationem successerunt reperissem

(I was surprised to find that after the mention that Gildas and Bede had made of them in their splendid treatises, I had discovered nothing about the kings who dwelt here before the incarnation of Christ, nor anything about Arthur and the many others who succeeded after the incarnation.)¹¹

Gaimar’s insistence on the incompleteness of the *HRB* itself then appears to be an ironic nod to Geoffrey’s claims to historiographical authority. In stark contrast to the single source invoked in Geoffrey’s *HRB*,¹² Gaimar stresses the multilingualism of his sources, covering the three main literary languages of twelfth-century England: ‘Il purchaça maint esamplaire, / livres engleis e par gramaire / e en romanz e en latin’ (ll. 6441–43; he obtained many copies of books in English and, through learned study, both in Romance and in Latin). This is also the context in which we should see Gaimar’s repeated use of the verb *translater*. Peter Damian-Grint argues that here, in its earliest known occurrences, it still primarily refers to compilation and interpretation rather than specifically translation,¹³ but a process of multilingual comparison and translation clearly stands at the centre of Gaimar’s project of producing a complete history of England.

Beyond reprising Geoffrey’s complaint about a historiographical gap, Gaimar thus also implies that history-writing in any language, just like the books of the Welsh, is by nature incomplete.

¹¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the ‘De gestis Britonum’ [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), 5.

¹² Short, ‘Gaimar’s Epilogue’, 340.

¹³ Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge, 1999), 24–30; ‘Translation as Enarratio and Hermeneutic Theory in Twelfth-Century Vernacular Learned Literature’, *Neophilologus*, 83 (1999), 349–67.

These books are accordingly only one of many incomplete sources on the multilingual history of England. Other sources include, in another nod to Geoffrey, ‘le bon livre dē Oxford/ki fust Walter l’arcedaien’ (ll. 6464–65; the good book of Oxford that belonged to Walter the archdeacon), Geoffrey’s own supposed source, of which he was jealously protective.¹⁴ On this basis, Short even suggests that Gaimar may have used material pre-dating the *HRB*,¹⁵ which David W. Burchmore has more recently, and controversially, identified as the *HRB*’s First Variant Version.¹⁶ Gaimar also combines these sources on British history with ‘l’estorie de Wincestre’ (l. 6467; the history of Winchester), probably a copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that was kept at Washingborough in Lincolnshire.¹⁷ Consequently, Cristian Bratu compellingly describes Gaimar’s *Estoire* as a ‘critical edition with a detailed critical apparatus’,¹⁸ and this is only further confirmed by a potential reading of ‘trassailances’ in l. 6460. Gaimar professes not so much to bring together separate sources as to collate the books of the Welsh and the books of the English in order to complete a full translation of the history of England.

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¹⁴ See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain*, 5; 281.

¹⁵ Short, ‘Gaimar’s Epilogue’, 340.

¹⁶ *The History of the Kings of Britain: The First Variant Version*, ed. and trans. David W. Burchmore (Cambridge, MA, 2019), xv–xvii.

¹⁷ See Short, ‘Gaimar’s Epilogue’, 329.

¹⁸ Cristian Bratu, ‘Clerc, Chevalier, Aucteur: The Authorial Personae of French Medieval Historians from the 12th to the 15th Centuries’, in *Authority and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Chronicles*, ed. Juliana Dresvina and Nicholas Sparks (Newcastle, 2012), 238.

CHAUCER’S *TRUTH* AND PHILLIPPS MS 11409: A RETRACTION

In 1879 F. J. Furnivall printed, in one of the numerous and sometimes bewildering publications of his Chaucer Society, six parallel texts of the