



Advanced studies on the archaeology and history of hunting
edited by the ZBSA

Karl-Heinz Gersmann · Oliver Grimm (eds.)

Raptor and human – falconry and bird symbolism throughout the millennia on a global scale

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**Raptor and human –
falconry and bird symbolism throughout the
millennia on a global scale**

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Raptor and human – falconry and bird symbolism throughout the millennia on a global scale

1/3

Edited by
Karl-Heinz Gersmann and Oliver Grimm

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Cover picture: Skilled eagle master. Western Mongolia, August 2011 (photo used with the permission of Dr. Takuya Soma).

*Top to the left: Seal of the Danish king Knud IV (late 11th century). Redrawing. Taken from M. Andersen/G. Tegnér, *Middelalderlige segl-stamper i Norden* (Roskilde 2002) 129.*

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The global perspective of the book. Orange: Eurasian steppe (presumed area of origin of falconry); green: the areas considered in the book (map Jürgen Schüller, ZBSA).

Falconry definition

Falconry is defined as the taking of quarry in its natural state and habitat by means of trained birds of prey (according to the International Association for Falconry and Conservation of Birds of Prey [IAF] = www.iaf.org).



Frederick II of Hohenstaufen with a bird of prey. Miniature in his falconry book (folio 1v, Codex Pal. lat. 1071, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg/Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana). Redrawing. After: Hunting in Northern Europe (Neumünster 2013) 344 fig. 1.

Frederick II of Hohenstaufen was an early global actor in the 13th century, bringing together falconers and falconry traditions from far and wide.



UNESCO recognition of falconry as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (cf. HEWICKER in this book, Fig. 6).

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The charter evidence for falconry and falcon-catching in England and Wales, c. 600–c. 1100

By Eric Lacey

Keywords: Anglo-Saxon, Wales, charters, falconry, early medieval (c. 500–c. 1100), hawks, place-names

Abstract: The Anglo-Saxon charters, official documents dating from the 7th to 11th centuries, were used to record land-grants. The surviving documents – whether in original form or as later copies – are largely from the south-west of England and largely date from the 10th century. They are useful not only for their explicit records of falconers and bequeathed birds, but for place-names preserved within them which may demarcate places in the landscape where hawks could be captured or where they could be flown for food and/or sport. That the place-names indicated this may be supported not only by consideration of the topographies of these areas, but also by consultation of later falconry treatises (especially that written by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen in the 13th century) and present-day ornithological research. Moreover, this charter evidence provides new insight into the transmission of falconry from England to Wales in the early medieval period. The present chapter also surveys the textual evidence for falconry in Anglo-Saxon England and points out the inadequate grounds for stating that the practice was solely the prerogative of the upper classes, as well as the problems of trying to meticulously separate ‘hawking’ and ‘falconry’ and ‘hawks’ and ‘falcons’ in England at this time.

INTRODUCTION

Generally speaking, little has been written about falconry in Anglo-Saxon England. The present volume goes some way to remedying this state of affairs, and we are fortunate in that what has been written has mostly been high quality scholarship. Part of the reason for the dearth of scholarship on the topic is the dearth of evidence: hawks and falcons are mentioned only fleetingly in the literary and documentary evidence; they are rare in archaeological sites and iconography; and their archaeological and iconographic presence can be difficult to relate to practices of falconry (PRUMMEL 1997; OGGINS 2004). The evidence from outside these areas can be difficult to interpret or outright misleading: the surname ‘Hawkins’ and its variants, for example, reflect diminutive names or place-names rather than attest any link to falconry (REANEY/WILSON 1991, 1534). Place-names offer a relatively untapped source of evidence, but the study of them carries two major inherent difficulties. The first is that many place-names of Anglo-Saxon antiquity do not survive in Old English (c. 500–c. 1100), or even in Middle English (c. 1100–c. 1550), but in modern English sources. This is especially true of microtoponyms – the names of small places such as fields and farms – but can be true of any sort of place-name. Identification of the antiquity of (relatively) recently attested place-name is possible, but it requires close analysis of its elements, of the language (and language history) of the local

dialect, and must be done on a case by case basis. Such an undertaking is no easy task, and requires a significant expenditure of time and energy. It may also not yield conclusive results, as name elements can become confused over time (particularly with homonyms and near-homonyms), and are subject to folk-etymologising. As discussed below, it can also be difficult to distinguish personal names and animal names. The second major difficulty is that even if the antiquity of a place-name can be verified, and even if we can identify its separate elements conclusively, it can be difficult to understand the motivation behind a place-name (also discussed below).

While Old English place-names have been examined in relation to bird-names, including hawks (SMITH 1970a; 1970b; KITSON 1997; 1998; HOOKE 2015), they have not been explored as sources that might grant insight into the practice of falconry. This is the purpose of the present chapter. More specifically, this chapter examines the charter documents for place-name evidence that might illuminate the practices of falconry and falcon catching in Anglo-Saxon England. This is because charters present us with the most detailed information on places and place-names. We may map out charters onto the present-day environment and thereby gain some understanding of the Anglo-Saxon topography; we can also make inferences about the topography from nearby place-names in the charters. Charters also grant us insight into places that fall outside the elite and ecclesiastical interests that pervade much of the other literary and documentary sources in this period, as they contain place-names which reflect the daily usage of the region's inhabitants more generally. The nature of charters and their advantages are discussed below. However, before we use the charter evidence to illuminate Anglo-Saxon falconry, it is useful to survey what we currently do know about this practice.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND – FALCONRY IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

The historical evidence for falconry in Anglo-Saxon England has been discussed fulsomely by OGGINS (1981; updated and expanded in OGGINS 2004), and subsequent studies in the subject, while offering additional evidence and insights of their own, are indebted to his pioneering work (cf. also ALMOND, GIESE, HOROBIN and POOLE in this book). It is helpful to briefly summarise, and in some cases elaborate on, Oggins' observations on the textual sources before considering the nature of charters and the evidence for falconry that can be garnered from them. The archaeological material is not discussed here because it is dealt with comprehensively by Kristopher POOLE in this book.

Throughout the chapter, the terms 'falconry' and 'hawking' are used interchangeably, as often happens in common usage. This is not my principle reason for doing so, however. In Old English (c. 500–1100), both the birds we call 'falcons' and 'hawks' today were called *hafocas* (pl.; *hafoc* sing.): we thus find *spearhafoc* ('sparrowhawk'), *goshafuc* ('goshawk') and *wealh hafoc* ('peregrine falcon') all identified as kinds of *hafoc* (KITSON 1998, 11). To impose a distinction between 'falcons' and 'hawks', and 'falconry' and 'hawking', therefore, is anachronistic. Those who suggest that there was some such distinction in Anglo-Saxon England cite Asser's ninth-century royal biography of king Alfred, the *Life of Alfred*, ch. 76, where we are told that Alfred not only actively pursued a range of interests outside his political career, but that he was so masterful in them that he spent time "giving instruction to all his goldsmiths and craftsmen as well as to his falconers, hawk-trainers and dog-keepers" (KEYNES/LAPIDGE 1983, 91; *aurifices et artifices suos omnes et falconarios et accipitrarios canicularios quoque docere*, STEVENSON 1904, 59). OGGINS (2004, 40), for example, takes this as evidence for a division between those who looked after Alfred's falcons (*falconarii*) and those who looked after his hawks (*accipitrarii*), and that falconers and hawkers, and therefore falcons and hawks, were distinguished. Asser's phrasing, however, seems to owe something to a formula which crops up in several purportedly early ninth-century charters, and this will be discussed further, below. For now,

it is sufficient to note that this evidence is not as clear an indication of the neat separation of falconry and hawking as OGGINS (2004) would have it.

The association of Anglo-Saxon kings with falconry has been covered quite extensively, and so will not be rehearsed in detail here (e.g. CARRINGTON 1996; HICKS 1986; HUFF 1998; DOBNEY/JAQUES 2002; OGGINS 2004). The earliest reliable evidence for falconry is not, as is sometimes suggested, the Penitential of Theodore. This text is actually early eighth-century and not late seventh-century (FRANTZEN 1983, 27), but the main issue is that its proscription is against *finding* and eating an animal killed by a hawk (OGGINS 2004, 38). The first unequivocal reference is in a letter from the West-Saxon missionary Boniface in 745 or 746, during his mission in parts of present-day Germany, to king



Fig. 1. General distribution of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (map J. Schüller, ZBSA, after E. Lacey).

Æthelbald of Mercia (for an indication of these – and the other principle Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, see Fig. 1). In the letter, Boniface mentions gifts he is sending the king, including “one hawk and two falcons” (*accipitrem unum et duos falcones*, TANGL 1916, no. 69). Within a few years, sometime between 748 and 754, king Æthelbert of Kent wrote to Boniface asking for crane-hunting hawks (ibid. no. 105).¹ His phrasing here is of interest, and will be revisited when we discuss *falco/accipiter*, below. These letters give us a *terminus ante quem* for falconry in England, though they cannot tell us how much earlier it may have been known. The nature of our evidence at this date, however, consisting of royal and ecclesiastical letters, and also theological treatises and literary texts in Latin, means we cannot use them to reliably infer much about the practice of falconry in all parts of society: only kings and ecclesiasts are really represented in the literary record at this stage.

The Old English vernacular literature can give us a slightly broader picture: its audience was more diverse than the readerships of the earlier Latin texts, and references to falconry are more detailed in the Old English than the Latin. We have *termini ante quem* for these texts in the (usually) tenth/eleventh-century manuscripts they are preserved in (GNEUSS/LAPIDGE 2014),² though they may be much older. It is usually impossible to say just how much earlier these texts may be, however. The memorial poem *The Battle*

of Maldon, describing an Anglo-Saxon defeat against a Viking skirmish in 991, relates how the doomed ealdorman Byrhtnoth released his hawk from his hand before the battle started (SCRAGG

1 Translations of Boniface’s correspondence can be found in EMERTON (2000).

2 In-text references are to editions in the original; all the Old English poetry cited here can be found in translation in BRADLEY (1982), and most can also be found in CROSSLEY-HOLLAND (1999).

1981).³ This passage is one of several often cited to show that hawking was the prerogative of the elite, and to this may be added a brief reference in *Beowulf* (on which see below) and the preface to the translation of St Augustine’s *Soliloquies*, which was carried out under the auspices of King Alfred (reigned 871–899):⁴

... *ælcne man lyst, siððan he ænig cotlyf on his blafordes læne myd his fultume getimbred hæfð, þæt he mote hwilum þaron gerestan, and huntigan, and fuglian, and fiscian, and his on gehwilce wisan to þere lænan tilian, ægpær ge on se ge on lande, oð þone fyrst þe he bocland and æce yrfe þurb his blafordes miltse geearnige.* (CARNICELLI 1969)

...each man desires, after he has built any homestead with the assistance of his lord’s granted land, that he can remain there for some time to hunt and to fowl and to fish, and in each way toil that granted property for himself, both in water or on land, until that time when he can earn bookland and a permanent inheritance through his lord’s graciousness.

FRANTZEN (2012, 142) remarks that “in this context Alfred would seem to mean only wealthy land-owners in the service of more powerful men like himself”. However, there is no reason why we must assume this: late Anglo-Saxon legal texts demonstrate that a *ceorl*, one of the lowest classes in society, could possess land (SMITH 2012, 5), and hunting, fishing and hawking for food (discussed below) would be the remit of any member of society. Indeed, the elite associations of falconry in Anglo-Saxon England seem to have been frequently overstated.⁵ An oft-cited passage in *Beowulf* can illustrate this. The poem is preserved in a single manuscript in London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv datable on palaeographic grounds to somewhere around the year 1000 (KER 1957; DUMVILLE 1988; KIERNAN 1996), and is argued by NORTH (2006) to have been composed in the years 826 and 827, though it is usually placed more vaguely somewhere between the 8th and late 10th century (NEWTON 1993; CHASE 1997; FULK et al. 2008; for a different view, see the essays in NEIDORF 2014). Before describing how the aged Beowulf died slaying a dragon in defence of his homeland, the *Beowulf*-poet relates the so-called “Lament (or “Lay”) of the Last Survivor”: the speech of the last member of an ancient society burying their treasure in what would eventually become the dragon’s barrow-horde. He mourns the pointlessness of wealth after his companions’ deaths, and describes how:

... *Næs hearpan wyn,
gomen gleobeames, ne god hafoc
geond sæl swinged, ne swifta mearh
burhstede beated. Bealocwealm hafað
fela feorhcynna forð onsended!*
ll. 2262b–2266 (FULK et al. 2008)

... There was no pleasure of the harp, the entertainment of the music-beam (i.e. the harp), nor does a good hawk swing through the hall, nor a swift steed hoof the fortified home. Baleful slaughter has sent on many kinds of living thing!

3 ll. 7–8: *he let him þa of handon leofne fleogan / hafoc wið þæs holtes, and to þære hilde stop*: ‘he then let the dear hawk fly from his hand into the woods, and stepped on to the battle’.

4 Up-to-date translations of this can be found in NORTH et al. (2011) and KEYNES/LAPIDGE (1983). The date of the text is unclear, not least because its sole manuscript witness (the Southwick Codex, now part of London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xv) dates to the mid-12th c.

5 Frequently – but not always. A more qualified view (albeit of hunting more generally) is expressed, e.g., by SYKES (2010, 184). See also the comments of POOLE in this book, where he notes that the association with the elites develops alongside the increasing stratification of Anglo-Saxon society.

FULK et al. (2008, 240) see these as symbols of “the good life as lived by people of rank, and their absence, in a manner corresponding to synecdoche, connotes a comprehensive loss of felicity.”⁶ This interpretation, however, assumes that having a *hafoc* (‘hawk’) was the remit of “people of rank”, and this passage could be otherwise interpreted as stressing the degree of destruction that befell this ancient race: not just warriors, but harpists, horses and hawks were butchered. While halls are rightly thought of as elite sites (HAMEROW 1999), we must remember that in some capacities – particularly as mead-hall or feast-hall – these buildings were for communal use (MAGENNIS 1996; BROWN 1998; FRANTZEN 2012, 122–125). Until the so-called ‘Late Saxon’ period (beginning c. 850), entrance to the hall, and participation in its activities, was open to most of society (GAUTIER 2006), and this access was only gradually restricted as the ‘Late Saxon’ period advanced. Indeed, Bede, writing in the early 8th century, implies that Caedmon, a man who seems to have been near the nadir of society (to judge from his lack of education, his marked secular identity, and his habit of watching over horses at night), would habitually attend the ‘entertainments’ (*convivio*) in the hall (*Ecclesiastical History of the English Peoples* IV.24; COLGRAVE/MYNORS 1992; McCLURE/COLLINS 2008). It is also worth noting that where we are explicitly given some indicator of social standing of a falconer in Old English, the rank is not particularly clear. In the poem *The Fortunes of Men*, found in the late tenth-century manuscript known as the Exeter Book (KER 1957; CONNER 1993; MUIR 2000; GNEUSS/LAPIDGE 2014) it is said that:

<p><i>Sum sceal wildne fugel wloncne atemian, heafoc on honda, oppæt seo heoroswealwe wynsum weorþeð; deþ he wyrþlas on, fedeþ swa on feterum fiþrum dealne, lepeþ lyftswiftne lytlum gieflum, oppæt se wælisca wædum ond dædum his ætgiefan eaðmod weorþeð ond to hagatealdes honda gelæred. ll. 84–92 (MUIR 2000)⁷</i></p>	<p>One shall tame the proud wild bird, the hawk on the hand, until the sword-swallow becomes pleasing. He puts the varvels on it, feeds it thus in fetters, proud of its feathers, he weakens the sky-swift one with little food, until the foreigner [i.e. the bird]⁸ becomes submissive to his provider in clothes and deeds, and trained to the hand of the <i>hagateald</i>.</p>
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I have left *hagateald* untranslated because the term has no easy modern counterpart. The most widely-used Old English dictionary defines *hagateald* as ‘one living in the lord’s household, an unmarried person, a young person, a young warrior’; it also notes that the Germanic cognates mean lower status men such as ‘servant’ or ‘young man’ (Old Saxon *hagastald*) and ‘bachelor’, ‘mercenary’ or ‘labourer’ (Old High German *hagastali*) (BOSWORTH/TOLLER 1898, 504). Elsewhere in poetry it refers to a warrior (*The Descent into Hell* ll. 21b–22a) or a treasure-receiving member of the *comitatus* or ‘war-band’ (Exeter Book Riddle 12, l. 2 and Riddle 18, l. 31).⁹ Outside of poetry it occurs in the form *hebstald*, where it is written in Old English glosses to the Latin words *uirgo*, *uirginem* and *uirginitate* in the Bible (SKEAT 1871–1887). It would appear, then, that the *hagateald* is young and

6 *Synecdoche* is a rhetorical term, which describes when part of something stands for the whole. In this case, FULK et al. (2008) argue that the absence of the objects, which once entertained the elite, symbolises the absence of the elite themselves, and that, in turn, their absence stands for the loss of everybody’s means for happiness. For a more detailed description of synecdoche, with illustrations, see CUDDON (1999, 890).

7 MUIR (2000) is the most thorough edition and commentary available for the poems of the manuscript known as the Exeter Book, but rather confusingly he gives alternate titles to some poems. Thus, *The Fortunes of Men* is *The Fates of Mortals* (ibid. 244) and *The Gifts of Men*, which I discuss below, is *God’s Gifts to Humankind* (ibid. 220).

8 There is a pun here: *wælisca* means both ‘foreign one’ and ‘servile one’.

9 The numbering here follows that of WILLIAMSON (1977); sometimes the enumeration of KRAPP/DOBBIE (1936) is used. By the latter enumeration, the relevant riddles are Riddle 14 and 20; the line numbers do not differ in these cases.

associated with a lord, but is not necessarily a member of the elite. This is further borne out by another reference we have to fowlers in Old English. The poem called *The Gifts of Men* mentions how *sum bið fugelbona/hafeces cræftig* (ll. 80b–81a ‘one is a fowler [literally ‘bird-slayer’], skilled with the hawk’), and an educational text called *Ælfric’s Colloquy*, by Ælfric of Eynsham, written about 1000 CE and designed to help monks learn Latin, gives us a bit more insight into what an Anglo-Saxon fowler was like. It is useful to quote the entirety of the fowler’s dialogue here (see also HOROBIN in this book):¹⁰

- | | | |
|----------|---|--|
| Teacher: | <i>Hwæt sægst þu, fugelere? Hu beswicst þu fugelas?</i> | What do you say, fowler? How do you catch birds? |
| Fowler: | <i>On feala wisan ic beswice fugelas: hwilum mid netum, hwilum mid grinum, hwilum mid lime, hwilum mid hwistlunge, hwilum mid hafone, hwilum mid treppum.</i> | I catch birds in many ways: sometimes with nets, with snares, with bird-lime, with whistling, ¹¹ with a hawk, with traps. |
| Teacher: | <i>Hæfst þu hafoc?</i> | Have you a hawk? |
| Fowler: | <i> Ic hæbbe.</i> | I have. |
| Teacher: | <i>Canst þu temian hig?</i> | Can you tame them? |
| Fowler: | <i>Gea, ic cann. Hwæt sceoldon hig me buton ic cupe temian hig?</i> | Yes, I can. What use be they to me unless I know how to tame them? |
| Hunter: | <i>Sylle me æne hafoc</i> | Give me a hawk. |
| Fowler: | <i> Ic sylle lustlice, gyf þu sylst me æne swiftne hund. Hwilcne hafoc wilt þu habban, þone maran hwæper þe þæne læssan?</i> | I shall, gladly, if you give me a swift hound. What kind of hawk would you have, a large or small one? |
| Hunter: | <i>Syle me þæne maran.</i> | Give me a large one. |
| Teacher: | <i>Hu afest þu hafocas þine?</i> | How do you feed your hawks? |
| Fowler: | <i>Hig fedað hig sylfe ond me on wintra, ond on lencgten ic læte hig ætwindan to wuda, ond genyme me briddas on hærfæste, ond temige hig.</i> | They feed themselves and me in winter, and in spring I allow them to fly off into the wood, and I catch the young hawks in autumn and tame them. |
| Teacher: | <i>Ond forhwi forlæst þu þa getemedon ætwindan fram þe?</i> | And why do you allow the tamed ones to fly away from you? |
| Fowler: | <i>Forþam ic nelle fedan hig on sumera, forþamþe hig þearle etað.</i> | Because I don’t want to feed them in summer, because they need to eat [too much]. |
| Teacher: | <i>Ond manige fedað þa getemodon ofer sumor, þæt eft hig hig habban gearuwe.</i> | But many feed the tamed ones over summer, so that they can have them prepared again. |
| Fowler: | <i>Gea, swa hig doþ, ac ic nelle swa deorfan ofer hig, forþam ic cann oþre, na þæt æne, ac eac swilce manige gefon.</i> | Yes, so they do, but I don’t want to labour so much over them, because I can catch others. Not just one, but also catch many others. |

10 This is my own translation of GARMONSWAY (1939); an accessible translation of the entire colloquy can be found in CROSSLEY-HOLLAND (1999, 220–227).

11 *Hwistlung* is used elsewhere for the call of birds – mimicry of bird-calls is meant here.

This fowler, who relies on his hawk to feed him through winter and who cannot afford to maintain hawks over summer, can hardly be a member of the elite.¹² OGGINS (2004, 45) observes that the hawking habits of the fowler here in Ælfric's *Colloquy* seem to distinguish him from the falconry of the elite. Two eleventh-century calendars (discussed further below), which illustrate the customary activities for each month, show well-dressed figures (one of which is on horseback) hawking in October. Although the age and social status of Ælfric's fowler are otherwise not mentioned, it is tempting to link him with both the previously mentioned *bagosteald* – a young man in service to a lord – and with the hawkers mentioned amongst the king's men in some Anglo-Saxon charters (ibid. 39–40; see also below). Even though the fowler in Ælfric's *Colloquy* does not mention being in someone's employment (like the hunter does), his final claim about being able to catch many hawks suggests that he was obligated to someone – or to several people – in some capacity nonetheless.

Some elements of the Anglo-Saxon practice of falconry might further suggest its currency outside of the highest ranks of society. In the previously mentioned eleventh-century calendars (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B.v; MS Cotton Julius A.vi), there is an illustration of falconry (fol. 7v. in both cases; the Tiberius B.v image is printed in OGGINS 2004, 45; see also HOROBIN in this book). They are nearly identical, differing only in that the Tiberius B.v image is coloured while the Julius A.vi image is not. In the middle of the illustration is a small pool, with a clearly-drawn common crane (*Grus grus*) and some unidentifiable ducks. To the right-hand side is a man on a horse carrying a hawk or falcon in his right hand, but on the left is a man standing with a hawk/falcon in his right hand and a perch held in his left hand. Both figures are well-dressed and wearing cloaks, which suggests that neither is meant to be of a particularly low rank. Two different interpretations suggest themselves for this scene: either the illustrations depict two different ways of hawking (i.e. on horse-back and by foot) or it depicts two people involved in the same event. If it is the former, then it does not furnish us with further evidence for non-elite falconry. However, if the latter, it might profitably be read alongside a digression in the mid-thirteenth-century text *De arte venandi cum avibus* ('On the art of hunting with birds'), by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. In Book III, ch. XIII, Frederick describes how those people "who live in Britain, who are called the Anglians" (*qui habitant Britanniam, quae vocatur Anglia*) have peculiar ways of luring their hunting birds back to the falconer: "they do not lure on horseback, nor do they call out" (*quoniam nunquam loyrant equites neque vociferant*). This idiosyncratic tradition, it is reported, persists because it was the way of their ancestors and the way things have always been done (WOOD/FYFE 1943, 243; WILLEMSEN 1942b, 24). We can safely assume the reliability of Frederick II's reports here, as he employed English falconers himself and also received falconers from the English king Henry III on the occasion of Frederick's marriage to Henry's sister in 1225 (OGGINS 2004, 5). The implication of this passage is that the calendar illustrations in the Tiberius and Julius manuscripts, then, possibly show an upper-class falconer, on horseback, and a non-elite falconer in the former's employment, perhaps responsible for luring birds back and collecting game, going about on foot.

The textual evidence, then, suggests that falconry was not necessarily the remit of only an elite class. This evidence is strongest in Ælfric's *Colloquy*, which is our most detailed account of falconry in Anglo-Saxon England, but a reappraisal of other textual evidence shows that elite associations

12 In relation to this it is interesting to note that Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, discussed further below, reports on many aspects of falconry in detail, but is very cursory in his discussion of the capture of hawks (Book II, ch. XXXII), suggesting that such manual labour was left to people much lower down the social hierarchy (see also Book II, ch. XLIII). This suggestion is further borne out by his disparaging remarks on those "falconers" who only care to use the birds to acquire food (Book II, ch. XLVIII). Throughout this chapter I reference the six-book edition of *De arte venandi cum avibus*: the standard English translation to this text is WOOD/FYFE (1942), and the Latin text consulted is WILLEMSEN (1942a; 1942b).

are often imposed where they need not be. There is one kind of textual evidence which has not been considered in relation to falconry above, however, despite the implications it might have for its practitioners and the extent of the practice in Anglo-Saxon England: the Anglo-Saxon charter.

CHARTERS – BACKGROUNDS, METHODS AND PROBLEMS

The Anglo-Saxon charters are diplomatic documents that record the granting of land and/or privileges between parties. Ordinarily, this is from a king to an individual or to a community (most often a church community), though a series of charters are granted by the laity (S 1164–1243a) or by ecclesiasts like bishops, archbishops and abbots (S 1244–1428).¹³ The charter documents are rather formulaic, and comprise an invocation, disposition, boundary clause and witness list (KEYNES 2000). Although they are slightly different formally (and in terms of associated ceremonies), writs and wills are often included in the general term of “charters” in Anglo-Saxon England, as all of these documents contain similar details of land-grants, and subsequently, boundary clauses describing the geographical extent of these land-grants. SAWYER (1968) collects and tabulates some 1875 charter documents (where ‘charter’ is used in its broadest sense, including writs and wills), which, particularly in light of the chance survival of documentary evidence from this period, stands testimony to their prominence (Fig. 2).

The boundary clauses (sometimes called ‘bounds’ or ‘charter bounds’) are, even in charters written predominately in Latin, in the Old English vernacular. They record the geographical delimitation of the land granted by picking landscape features and tracing lines between these points. Here is an illustrative passage from what is allegedly the oldest charter from Anglo-Saxon England, which records King Æthelberht of Kent granting land at Rochester to the church of St Andrew in 604 CE:

Hic est terminus mei doni. *Fram suðgeate west andlanges wealles oð norðlanan to stræte 7 swa east fram stræte oð Doddinghyrnan ongean bradgeat. ...* (S 1; CAMPBELL 1973, no. 1)

Here is the boundary of my donation. From the south-gate west along the walls until the north-lane to the street and so east from the street until Doddinghyrnan (“the corner of the people of Dodd”) opposite the broad-gate. ...

The charter is entirely in Latin, except for the bounds given in Old English. The reason for the code-switching is a practical one: the bounds are marked out by well-known geographical features, identifiable to, and identified by, speakers of the vernacular (HOWE 2008, 33–34). The focal points were geographical features that Old English-speaking residents – across the class spectrum – saw, used, and otherwise encountered on a daily basis. Some of these are innocuous, such as the *stræt* (‘street’), mentioned in S1, above. Others, however, are more telling of contemporary beliefs or practice (GELLING 1978). Toponyms such as *denbære*, *wealdbære*, *fearnleswe*, and the like referred to seasonal swine-pastures (HOOKE 2015, 259), indicating places, subsequently used as boundary markers (e.g. S 123, S 885, S 1623), that were presumably named for their usefulness to swineherds. Further evidence for the widespread familiarity of these toponyms and the features they designate is to be

13 The convention in charter scholarship is to refer to charters by their “Sawyer number”, which is the enumeration found in SAWYER (1968). Most of these charters (and their bounds) are available online, and can be searched for by their Sawyer numbers, at www.esawyer.org.uk. Where more recent editions of the charters are used, further references are given, and the convention in such instances is to list both the Sawyer number and that of the modern edition.

found in procedures for the settlement of disputes. In these cases, the testimony of local inhabitants was drawn upon to give evidence for the history – and the boundaries – of the disputed territory (KENNEDY 1985; WORMALD 1986). The bounds seem to have been so well known, in fact, that in another of the earliest charters of this period, which records a grant of land from King Hlothhere of Kent to the monastery at Reculver in 679, they did not even have to be stated:

... *ego Hlotharius rex Cantuariorum pro remedium animae meae dono terram ... iuxta notissimos terminos a me demonstratus et proacuratoribus meis.* (S8; BROOKS/KELLY 2013a, no. 2)

... I, Hlothhere, king of the people of Kent, for the salvation of my soul give land ... with its well-known boundaries pointed out by me and my officers.

Boundary clauses, then, preserve locally-known place-names, many of which do not survive to the present-day. This is valuable for historians of falconry. Firstly, the toponyms can indicate previously extant features that have now vanished without any other trace, and we can compare these lexicalised landscapes with what we know about the preferred habitats for the birds employed in falconry. Secondly, we may interrogate the motivation for a particular toponym. In the case of personal names, this motivation is usually a relatively transparent case of ownership or genealogical identity. For example, in the case of the personal name *Dodd* in *Doddinghyrnan* (in S 1, above), the descendants of Dodd are associated with the *hyrnan* ('corner'). While the precise nature of the relationship is unclear – it might be ownership, long-standing tenancy or the site of a momentous occasion in family history – some form of personal connection with these people is readily discernible. However, the motivation for animal names is not always so clear. In some cases, it may simply be the species that most prominently features in that landscape, though the reasons for their prominence might vary. Some may stand out for their gregariousness, such as rooks (*Corvus frugilegus*) and roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), or some might for other reasons: buzzards (*Buteo buteo*) for their conspicuous soaring, or wolves for the potential dangers they pose (HOOKE 2015). In other cases, such as insect-names, this prominence may stem from their value as resources or their annoyance as pests (BAKER 2015). Hawks and falcons may be prominent for a variety of reasons: they have distinctive flights and, in some cases, conspicuous perches. In terms of falconry, they are also valuable resources, and locations would have been noted both for their supply of hawks and falcons as well as their suitability for hawking with them. Therefore, we must examine the topography surrounding our place-names too, to see which reason is most likely.

There are three further details which must be borne in mind during studies of this kind. Firstly, where apparent animal names occur in the singular, there is the possibility that it actually reflects a theriophoric personal name (i.e. names which contain – or are – animal names; GREEN 1998, 80–83). For example: Ravenstone, Leicestershire (Fig. 3), presents us with an Old English *hræfnes tun*: the second element is clearly *tun* 'settlement', but the first element could be either *hræfn* 'raven', or a proper name *Hræfn*. In such cases, the topography and history of the location are the deciding factor: in the case of Ravenstone, the fact it is a *tun* renders the personal name far more probable than the animal name (GELLING 1978, 165). Secondly, it is worth noting that, as far as we are concerned, the authenticity of the charter is more or less irrelevant, and forgeries can be informative in their own right (HIATT 2004; SNOOK 2015, 13). A forged charter is supposed to look authentic, and is usually intended to prove ownership of land which is disputed (or to reclaim a grant which had been revoked, as in the case of S 414). If the place-names in the boundary clauses did not match up with known toponyms, then the charter would have been exposed as clearly fraudulent. This brings us back to S1. The charter is unlikely to be authentic, although, most commentators agree, it either has authentic elements or is a forgery based on an authentic charter (LEVISON 1946; CAMPBELL 1973; SCHARER 1982;

BROOKS 2000, 187). Whatever the precise circumstances, it makes use of well-known and verifiable places, and it is safe to say that any forgeries would need to do the same in order to express their claims! The final detail that must be borne in mind is the chance survival and preservation of these documents. The result is that our charter evidence is skewed both geographically and chronologically: almost all extant charter bounds relate to the southern west midlands and the north-western parts of south-western England (Fig. 2), and the overwhelming majority purport to date from the mid-10th century (HILL 1981). Any identification of trends and patterns, therefore, must take these biases into account.



Fig. 2. Geographical distribution of regions described in charter boundary clauses (map J. Schüller, ZBSA, after HILL 1981).

One final methodological issue remains before we venture into the charters properly, though this is an issue which charters can help to shed light on. We have already seen that our modern-day distinction between ‘hawks’ and ‘falcons’ was not present in Old English, but that some scholars (like OGGINS 2004) have argued that a distinction was made based on Latin texts which employ both *falco* and *accipiter*. I have also mentioned, too, that the testimony of Asser, which mentions both *falconarii* and *accipitarii*, seems to echo what is presumably a legalistic formula found in three early-mid ninth-century charters.

The charter which is generally accepted to be authentic (if abbreviated) is S 1271 (KELLY 2000, no. 12). This records king Berhtwulf of Mercia receiving land at Pangbourne from the bishop of Leicester (Fig. 3), in 843, in return for freedom from maintaining some of the king’s men, including those “who carry hawks or falcons or lead dogs or horses” (*qui osceptros uel falcones portant aut canes aut cabellos ducunt*). The use of conjunction here is interesting: *uel* does not necessarily indicate exclusivity, and this could imply that *osceptros* (for *accipitres*) and *falcones* are differing terms for the same thing. This list is repeated almost verbatim in two other spurious charters, though in both cases something authentic lies behind them. S 183 purportedly reports king Coenwulf of Mercia granting the same privileges to Abingdon Abbey (Fig. 3) in 821 (KELLY 2000, no. 9), but seems to have been based on an authentic charter issued by this king (EDWARDS 1988; THACKER 1988). S 278 alleges a similar grant to Abingdon by Egbert of Wessex in 835 (KELLY 2000, no. 11), and again it seems to draw on pre-existing authentic material (EDWARDS 1988; KEYNES 1994). Asser’s listing of *falconarios et accipitrarios*, then, could derive from a formula describing the various retainers involved in hunting which he had encountered in West Saxon legal documentation while at Alfred’s court.

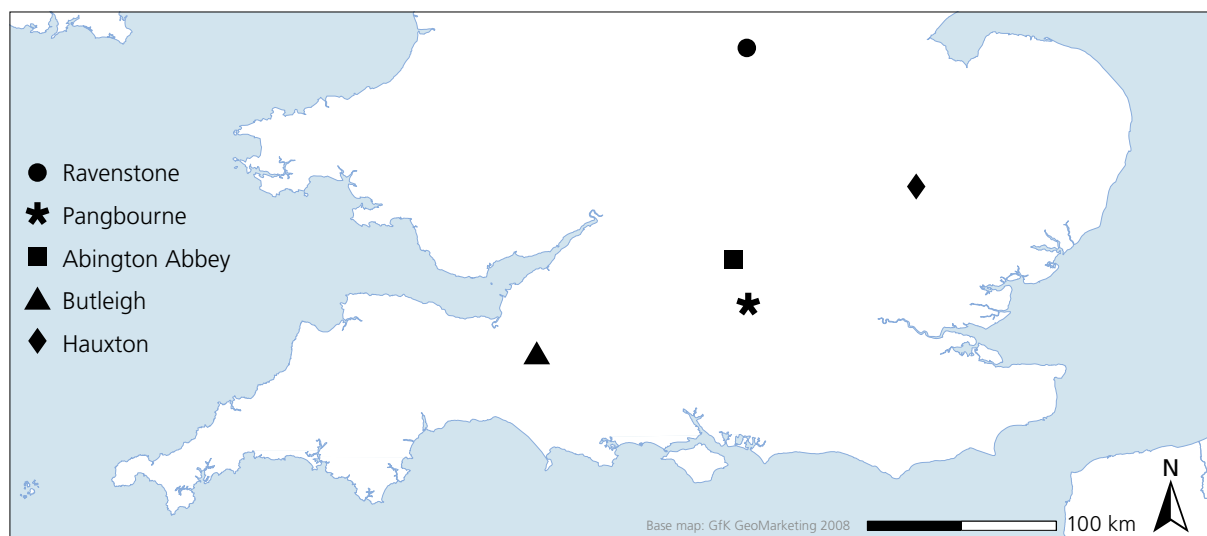


Fig. 3. Place-names discussed which do not contain “hawk” or “falcon” (map J. Schüller, ZBSA, after E. Lacey).

Another indication that the Anglo-Saxons considered *falco* and *accipiter* the same bird is found in king Æthelbert of Kent’s letter to Boniface, mentioned above. He requests that Boniface acquire for him “two falcons” (*duos falcones*) because few “hawks of this kind” (*huius generis accipitres*) can be found in Kent (TANGL 1916, no. 105). This clearly shows that a *falco* was a kind of *accipiter*, and this squares quite neatly with modern folk-taxonomical categorisation of hawks and falcons (i.e. not all hawks are falcons, but all falcons are hawks). This also matches tidily with the Old English evidence, where the birds we know today as falcons are covered by *hafoc* (‘hawk’), as well as with the

tendency to call these hunting birds *accipiter* in the early Germanic lawcodes (such as the *Lex Salica*; see also DUSIL in this book) – even the *cranohari*, the ‘crane-hunter’.¹⁴ Moreover, it explains why the medieval Welsh borrowing, *hebog* (< Old English *hafoc*), could both refer to falcons and gloss *accipiter* (JENKINS 1990; SHAW 2013).

This leaves just one problem: Boniface explicitly telling Æthelbald of Mercia that he is sending *accipitrem unum et duos falcones*. The solution to this may lie in specificity: as in Æthelbert’s letter, the *falco* might refer specifically to those foreign birds, whereas *accipiter* could refer to both the former and the hawks available in England. In this case, Boniface would have been specifying the exclusively foreign birds (probably a Gyrfalcon, *Falco rusticolus*) as distinct from the birds available in England. Whether or not this is the exact reasoning underlying Boniface’s separation of the two, the evidence suggests that, in a situation much like present-day non-specialist usage, both falcons and hawks are subsumed under *hafoc*, and that, therefore, we should not impose a meticulous separation of hawk and falcon and hawking and falconry in our evidence.¹⁵

FALCONRY IN ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS

These charters have previously been discussed as evidence of falconry in Anglo-Saxon England, though with regards to their stipulations rather than their records of place-names (OGGINS 2004). In addition to those which grant privileges absolving the recipient of duties to maintain the king’s falconers (S 134, S 183, S 186, S 197, S 198, S 207, S 271, S 278, S 373, S 1271), there is a late tenth-century will in which laymen bequeath ‘two hawks’ (*twegen hafocas*, S 1511) to the king (OGGINS 2004). The earliest Anglo-Saxon charter containing evidence of falconry dates to 792 (S 134), but shortly afterwards, in 801, I argue, is the first charter to present a place-name that evidences falconry. This charter records land granted by a king ‘Edbirtus’ (probably Egbert of Wessex, d. 839; ABRAMS 1996) to his minister Eadgils, at what is now Butleigh in Somerset (Fig. 4) (S 270a). The charter never mentions hawks by name, but it does mention a place called *cranhunterestone* (‘crane-hunter-stone’).

This charter, therefore, can tell us that a stone in Somerset was noted for being frequented by a creature capable of hunting a *cran*. The identification of Old English *cran* with the common crane (*Grus grus*) is relatively secure, though there is the possibility that both the grey heron (*Ardea cinerea*) and the common crane were covered by OE *cran* (LOCKWOOD 1984, 48).¹⁶ Whichever of these large birds it is, though, the only native species physically capable of doing this are goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis*) and peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*). The non-native gyrfalcon (*Falco rusticolus*) is capable of this feat, too (OGGINS 2004, 13–16), and it is possible that gyrfalcons were once resident in Britain:

14 The word used across all these early lawcodes is consistently *accipiter* (‘hawk’), despite a tendency among some to translate it ‘falcon’. Translations are RIVERS (1977) and DREW (1972; 1973; 1991); ref. to the primary source editions may be found therein.

15 This overlap seems to carry on into the 14th century, too. The so-called Auchinleck manuscript (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.2.1, datable to c. 1330) contains a version of the Middle English romance *Sir Orfeo* in which a troop of sixty ladies is spotted, *and ich a faucoun on hond bere, / and riden on haukin bi o rivere*, (ll. 307–308), “and each carried a *falcon* in hand, and rode in *hawking* beside the river”, emphasis mine). For an edition of this text, see SHEPHERD (1995).

16 It should be noted in connection with this, too, that almost all of the *cran* place-names we have from Anglo-Saxon England refer to habitats that could support either cranes or herons (CRAMP et al. 1977, 303; 1980, 618). This is particularly true for the majority of *cran* place-names which refer to bodies of water. There are at least eight places named *cranmere* (‘crane-pool’: S 911 [Eynsham], S 630 [Iwerne minster], S 727 [Steeple Ashton], S 765 [Edington], S 790 [Harwell], S 1314 [Didcot], S 656 [Thornton]; both S 588 and S 1574 note a *cranmere* in Wormleighton), one names *cranmeresporn* (‘crane-pool’s thorn-bush’: S 847 [Thames Ditton]), and one names *cranwylle* (‘crane-well’: S 672 [Harwell]). See also SMITH (1970a, 111). For more on the problem of avian speciation see LACEY (2015; 2016).

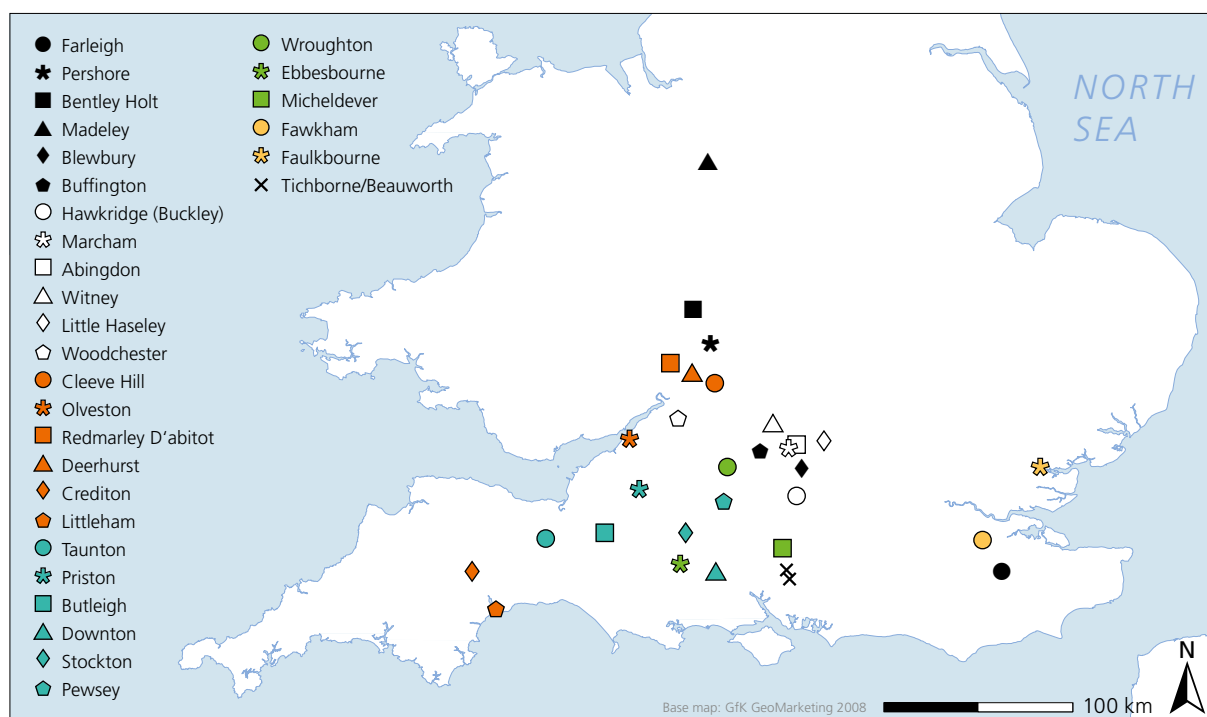


Fig. 4. All place-names containing “hawk” or “falcon” in Anglo-Saxon charters (map J. Schüller, ZBSA, after E. Lacey).

they are (poorly) attested in the archaeological record (YALDEN/ALBARELLA 2009, 138), though we must bear in mind the difficulties in recovering bird-bones archaeologically (POOLE/LACEY 2014; SERJEANTSON 2009). In light of the earlier correspondence between Boniface and king Æthelberht of Kent (after c. 748–755; OGGINS 2004, 38; TANGL 1916, 23; EMERTON 2000, 157), it would seem quite natural to read this toponym as referring to a rock frequented by some such species of hawk that is able to bring down a crane, despite the fact that none of these birds habitually perch on stones in flat, open environments like Butleigh (CRAMP et al. 1980, 149; 351; 362).

There is a morphological issue that complicates this intuitive reading of *cranhuntere* as referring to a bird.¹⁷ The second element of *cranhunterestone*, *huntere*, is derived from the verb *huntian* (‘to hunt’) and bears the suffix *-ere*, which forms agent nouns (QUIRK 1963, 116; KASTOVSKY 2008, 239).¹⁸ The suffix *-ere* can either modify roots derived from nouns, such as *scipere* (‘sailor’, < *scip*, ‘ship’) or *fuglere* (‘fowler’, < *fugl*, ‘fowl’), or modify roots derived from verbs, such as *cwellere* (‘killer’, < *cwellan* ‘to kill’) or *leornere* (‘learner’, < *leornan*, ‘to learn’). Many more examples could be given, of which the following are just a few: *bocere* (‘scholar’, < *boc* ‘book’), *godspellere* (‘evangelist’, < *godspell*, ‘gospel’), *scohere* (‘shoe-maker’, < *scoh*, ‘shoe’), *rypere* (‘plunderer’, < *ripan*, ‘to plunder’), *wiglere* (‘diviner’, < *wigl* ‘divination’), *bæcere* (‘baker’, < *bacan*, ‘to bake’) and so on. In all of these listed cases, the suffix denotes the human agent which performs the (associated) action, and this implies that *cranhuntere-stone* refers to a stone of interest to a falconer (i.e. the person who hunts cranes) rather than a stone

17 In light of the technical nature of the ensuing discussions and the varied backgrounds of readers (hopefully) interested in Anglo-Saxon falconry, a glossary of linguistic terms is provided at the end of this chapter.

18 ‘Agent nouns’ are nouns which either 1) describe a noun which does a verb (such as the noun ‘writer’, from the verb ‘write’) or 2) perform an action associated with another noun. Examples of the latter are rarer in present-day English, but one is ‘villager’, from the noun ‘village’, where the villager performs an action associated with the place (i.e. habitation). Another is ‘header’, from the noun ‘head’, where a ‘header’ is something associated with the ‘head’ of an object (such as a title).

frequented by a crane-hunting bird. It is worth noting that while the suffix *-ere* sometimes refers to non-human agents, these exceptions refer to inanimate objects; thus *sceawere* ('mirror', < *sceawian*, 'to reveal') and *punere* ('pestle', < *punian*, 'to pound'). As birds are neither inanimate nor human, it seems rather more likely (though it is not certain) that *cranhunterestone*, then, refers to the falconer.¹⁹

The reason that this linguistic pedantry is important is because this toponym, rather than presenting us with an interesting ornithological observation ('stone of the crane-hunting bird'), seems to represent a location used by an Anglo-Saxon falconer. The land granted was previously royal land, as the wording of the charter makes it very clear that 'Edbirtus', be he Egbert or not, was *rex* (*Ego Edbirtus rex*, 'I king Edbirtus', S 270a), and our earliest evidence for Anglo-Saxon falconry indicates its close association with kings (OGGINS 2004; CARRINGTON 1996; HICKS 1986). This close association is especially true when it comes to crane-hunting, as can be seen in both Æthelbert of Kent's letter, mentioned above, and the discussions throughout the later *De arte venandi cum avibus* by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (WOOD/FYFE 1943; WILLEMSEN 1942b). Furthermore, by the late eighth century – and so just before the purported date of Egbert's grant to Eadgils – we have a number of charter documents which bear witness to falconers among the king's men in Mercia (OGGINS 2004, 39). The charters in question (S 134, S 183, S 186, S 198, S 197, S 198, S 207, S 271, S 278, S 373, and S 1271), mentioned above, invariably grant immunities to the recipients against the duty to support the king's retainers – among them falconers – during the royal circuit. The historical context of S270a, then, further suggests that our *cranhuntere* is a falconer rather than hawk or falcon, and that, therefore, the *cranhunterestone* in Butleigh was a stone frequented by a crane-hunting falconer who numbered among the king's men. Reading *cranhunterestone* in this way, I argue, has implications for some of 'hawk' place-names found in Old English charters: they too may bear witness to falconers and falconry.

OLD ENGLISH 'HAWK' NAMES IN CHARTERS

An exhaustive collection of these (from the Old English evidence) follows in the table below (cf. Fig. 4).²⁰ They are broken down into their constituent parts of specifier and topographical generic: the generic is, as the name implies, a generic landscape feature (e.g. 'hill', 'stream', 'meadow'), whereas the specific is what specifies or otherwise defines this generic. In this case, all the specifics are 'hawk' words.

Place-names, which probably do not refer to the birds, have not been included. *Hafocunga leahge* (S 50) means 'the clearing of the descendents of Hafoc' (i.e. comprising the elements *hafoc*, *inga*, 'descendents of', and *leah*, 'clearing'), where Hafoc here clearly refers to a personal name. Similarly, S 1051,

19 An issue here is whether *museri* glossing Latin *alietum* (a form of *haliaetus* 'sea-eagle'; MERITT 1945, 44; ANDRÉ 1967, 90) in Leviticus 11:13 in St Gallen MS 913 is representative of Old English or not (BISCHOFF/LAPIDGE 1994, 535; MERITT 1945, 44). On palaeographical grounds, the manuscript is dated to the early-mid 8th century and located somewhere in the Anglo-Saxon mission area in Germany (LAPIDGE 1996, 167). The majority of St Gallen MS 914 comprises Old High German (OHG) glosses, rather than OE, of Latin (WEST 2004, 42; BAESECKE 1933). On the one hand, SUOLAHTI (1909, xvi, 352–356) suggests that this form is influenced by OHG and that the word is not the otherwise unattested *mus + ere* ('mouser'), but a formation akin to that of *sparwari* ('sparrow-eagle') or *cranohari* ('crane-eagle'), the Germanic terms for kinds of hawks frequently found in the early Germanic laws such as the *Lex Salica*. On the other hand, reading *museri* as a variant of OE *musere* is phonologically plausible in this period (RINGE/TAYLOR 2014, 332–334). There is not the space here to attempt to resolve the issue of whether *museri* is OHG or OE, nor which suffix it bears.

20 Two things need to be stated here. Firstly, place-names from post-Anglo-Saxon sources are not considered as they are beyond the scope of this study. Secondly, consultation of KEMBLE (1839–1848) would yield many more toponyms containing *hafoc* (or its variants), but these stem from misreadings. For example, Kemble's No. 89 includes a *habeccabam* (apparently 'home of the hawks'), but the correct reading of this charter (S 190) is *hæccabam* ('enclosure of the fences/gates').

mentions *Hauekestune* ('town of Hafoc'), present-day Hauxton, Cambridgeshire (Fig. 3), which is more likely to reflect a personal name than an animal name (WATTS 2011; MILLS 2011), though this is by no means certain: some cases of *tun* ('town') modified by animal names are attested (SMITH 1970b, 196).

Place-names that include the element **f(e)alca/*f(e)alcen* ('falcon') are rare: there are two possible attestations in Old English charters (*fealcnaham* and *fealcnes forda*), and one (*falcheburna*) in the Domesday Book, a sprawling document dating from 1086, which was commissioned by William the Conqueror to assess land-holdings and land-usage for tax purposes. Part of the difficulty with this word is its disputed etymology. Previously, the consensus was that it was a borrowing into English from Old French or Latin (SKEAT 1888; LOCKWOOD 1984), but recently some historical linguists have been inclined to view it as a Common Germanic word that was subsequently borrowed into other languages (OREL 2003; KROONEN 2013). The jury is still out, though the latter squares better with the deuterothermatic ancestral name *Westerfalca* found in the 'C' manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno* 560 (O'BRIEN O'KEEFE 2001). However, it is also possible that a theriophoric personal name **Fealca* lies behind our place-names rather than a word for 'falcon'. Such a monothematic personal name seems to lie behind the place-name *fealcing rip* (S 510), which, like *hafocunga leahge*, above, probably represents a folk-name ('the descendents of **Fealca*'). This particular line in the charter bound of S 510 is rather difficult: the topographical generic, *rip*, is poorly attested, but seems to mean 'slope' (SMITH 1970b, 84), and so the line *sud fealcing rip of sæ* should probably translate 'South: the slope of the people of Fealca until [it meets] the sea'. The final issue with **f(e)alca/f(e)alcen* is that there seem to be two slightly different words for the bird here: one without an /n/ containing affix, and one with. The variant forms may go back to common Germanic (cf. OREL 2003; KROONEN 2013), or **f(e)alcen* may have come about under the influence of Latin *falcones*.

Fealcnaham (present-day Fawkham, Kent) is attested in two charters, which purport to be roughly contemporary (S 1457, S 1511). The presence of a settlement topographical generic suggests that we are looking at a personal name (SMITH 1970a, 229). If so, we may be looking at an unattested personal name **Fealcen*, which can be viewed as either a theriophoric name based on **f(e)alcen*, or comprising **fealca* plus an /n/-containing hypocoristic suffix (COLMAN 2014, 140; REDIN 1919, 160–161). This is the view of WATTS (2011), who analyses *Fealcnaham* as 'home of **Fealcen*', and who connects this personal name with the nearby *fealcnes forda* (S 350; present-day Farleigh, Kent). However, there seem to be two different suffixes at work here. The *-es* suffix of *fealcnes forda* suggests a genitive singular subject ('fords of **Fealcen*' or 'fords of a/the falcon'); the *-na* suffix of *fealcnaham* suggests a syncopated genitive plural subject (**fealca <*fealcena*). The plurality of the specific here means it is rather more likely that an animal is meant than a person in *Fealcnaham* (i.e. 'home of the falcons'), and so it is included despite the generic's expected association with people. The place-name from the Domesday Book, *Falcheburna*, technically falls beyond the scope of this chapter, but is considered in terms of what it can tell us about the place-names attested in the Old English charters; it is therefore also included on the list below.

Tab. 1. Toponyms referring to hawks (hafoc) and falcons (fealca/fealcen) in the Anglo-Saxon charters. The 'x' is used to indicate that the event occurred at a single point in time between the two dates (but that we do not know the date of this event more precisely); this contrasts with a dash, which is used to indicate a duration of time.

Sawyer No.	Recent edition/ translation	Toponym	Topographical generic	Toponym translation	Location	Purported Date
		<i>Hafoc</i>				
103		<i>Habocumb</i>	<i>Cumb</i> = 'hollow', 'valley', 'combe'	"hawk-combe"	Woodchester, Gloucestershire	716 x 745

Sawyer No.	Recent edition/ translation	Toponym	Topographical generic	Toponym translation	Location	Pur- ported Date
<i>Hafoc</i>						
141		<i>Heafocwyl</i>	<i>Wylle</i> = ‘spring’ or ‘well’	“hawk-spring”	<i>Wendlesclif</i> (possibly Cleeve Hill; GELLING 1984, 131–136), Gloucestershire	777 x 779
255		<i>Hafoccomb</i>	<i>Cumb</i>	“hawk-combe”	Crediton, Devon	739
275		<i>Hafuc blince</i>	<i>Hlinc</i> = ‘ridge’ or ‘bank’	“hawk-ridge”	Downton, Wiltshire	826
311		<i>Hafucalbras</i> <i>Hafucford</i>	<i>Alras</i> = ‘alder’ <i>Ford</i> = ‘stream- crossing’	“hawk-alders” “hawk-ford”	Taunton, Somerset	854
360	MILLER 2001, no. 3	<i>Hafoc blinc</i>	<i>Hlinc</i>	“hawk-ridge”	Micheldever, Hampshire	900
362		<i>Hafocwylle</i>	<i>Wylle</i>	“hawk-spring”	Stockton, Wiltshire	901
414	KELLY 2007, no. 5	<i>Hafoc wylle</i>	<i>Wylle</i>	“hawk-spring”	Priston, Somerset	931
444		<i>Hafeces del</i>	<i>Dæl/del</i> = ‘pit’, pos- sibly also ‘gully of a stream’ (SMITH 1970a, 128–129)	“gully of the hawk”	Tichborne/Beauworth, Hampshire	938
470	MILLER 2001, no. 12	<i>Hafoc enollum</i>	<i>Cnoll</i> = ‘hilltop’	“hawk-hilltops”	Pewsey, Wiltshire	940
496	KELLY 2000, no. 36; GELLING 1978, 198	<i>Hafuc þorne</i>	<i>Þorn</i> = ‘thorn-tree’	“hawk-thorn”	Blewbury, Berkshire	944 (prob- ably for 942)
561	KELLY 2000, no. 48	<i>Hafoces hlæw</i>	<i>Hlæw</i> = ‘mound’ or ‘hill’.	“mound of the hawk”	Uffington, Berkshire	953
567	KELLY 2001, no. 51A/B	<i>Heafoces oran</i>	<i>Ora</i> = ‘slope’ or ‘bank’ or ‘shore’	“bank of the hawk”	Abingdon, Oxfordshire	955
585		<i>Hafuc þornæ</i>	<i>Þorne</i>	“hawk-thorn”	Wroughton, Wiltshire	956
605	KELLY 2001, no. 52	<i>Hafoces oran</i>	<i>Ora</i>	“bank of the hawk”	Abingdon, Oxfordshire	955 x 956
607	KELLY 2001, no. 57	<i>Heafoc hrycg</i>	<i>Hrycg</i> = ‘ridge’	“hawk-ridge”	Hawkridge, identified on the north side of Buckley by GELLING (1973; 1976), Berkshire	956
640		<i>Hafoc blinc</i>	<i>Hlinc</i>	“hawk-ridge”	Ebbesborne, Wiltshire	957
664	KELLY 2007, no. 12	<i>Hafoc hylle</i>	<i>Hyll</i> = ‘hill’ or ‘pro- tuberance’	“hawk-hill”	Olveston, Gloucestershire	955 x 959
734	KELLY 2001, no. 102; GEL- LING 1976, 710–711	<i>Heafoces hamme</i>	<i>Hamm</i> = ‘meadow’ or ‘enclosure’	“meadow/ enclosure of the hawk”	Marcham, Berkshire	965
771		<i>Hafoces blewe</i>	<i>Hlæw</i>	“mound of the hawk”	Witney, Oxfordshire	969
786		<i>Heafoc rycg</i>	<i>Hrycg</i>	“hawk-ridge”	Pershore, Worcestershire	972
801	HOOKE 1983, 108–109	<i>Heafca bæce</i>	<i>Bæc</i> = ‘stream’	“stream of the hawks”	Madeley, Staffordshire	975 (perhaps for 974)
902	KELLY 2001, no. 131	<i>Hafoc gelad</i>	(ge) <i>lad</i> = ‘stream’	“hawk-stream”	Little Haseley, Oxford- shire	1002
998	O’DONOVAN 1988, no. 21	<i>Hafocys setle</i>	<i>Setl</i> = ‘seat’	“seat of the hawk”	Littleham, Exmouth, Devon	1042
1001		<i>Hafocys hlæwe</i>	<i>Hlæw</i>	“mound of the hawk”	Witney, Oxfordshire	1044

Sawyer No.	Recent edition/ translation	Toponym	Topographical generic	Toponym translation	Location	Purported Date
<i>Hafoc</i>						
1208	KELLY 2000, no. 28	<i>Hafeces hlæwe</i>	<i>Hlæw</i>	“mound of the hawk”	Uffington, Berkshire	931
1301		<i>Heafuc brycge</i> (HOOKE 1990, 248)	<i>Hrycg</i>	“hawk-ridge”	Bentley Holt, Worcestershire	962
1306		<i>Hafoc broc</i>	<i>Broc</i> = ‘brook’	“hawk-brook”	Redmarley D’abito, Gloucestershire	963
1551		<i>Hafoc beorge</i>	<i>Beorg</i> = ‘hill’ or ‘mound’ or ‘ridge’	“hawk-mound”	Deerhurst, Gloucestershire	?
1604	KELLY 2000, no. 24	<i>Hafoces pyt</i>	<i>Pyt</i> = ‘pit’ or ‘well’	“well of the hawk”	<i>Bultbeswurþe</i> , near Abingdon, Oxfordshire	?
1819		<i>Hafucalras</i> ? < <i>Hafoc</i> > <i>ford</i> (conjectural reading based on S 311: TURNER 1953)	<i>Alras</i> <i>Ford</i>	“hawk-alders” “hawk-ford”	Taunton, Somerset	c. 900
*F(e)alca/*F(e)alcen						
350	BROOKS/KELLY 2013b, no. 99	<i>Fealcnes forda</i>	<i>Ford</i>	“ford of the falcon”	Farleigh, Kent	898
1457	CAMPBELL 1973, no. 36	<i>Fealcnaham</i>	<i>Ham</i> = ‘home’, ‘settlement’	“home of the falcons”	Fawkham Green, Kent	? 980 x 987
1511	CAMPBELL 1973, no. 35	<i>Fealcnaham</i>	<i>Ham</i>	“home of the falcons”	Fawkham Green, Kent	975 x 987
-	<i>Domesday Book</i> (RUMBLE 1983)	<i>Falcheburna</i>	<i>Burna</i> = ‘stream’	“falcon-stream”	Faulkbourne, Essex	1086

A few of these interpretations need justification, though some general remarks can be made first. The data conforms more or less to the geographical biases outlined above, as does the dating. Only two place-names note the birds in the plural (*heafca bæce*, S 801; *Fealcnaham*, S 1457, S 1511); all the others are in the singular. Another reason these fall in the minority is that they express genitival relationships. Of the 31 place-names represented here (five are repeated: S 771 and S 1001, S 561 and S 1208, S 567 and S 605, S 311 and S 1819, and S 1457 and S 1511), 22 are compounds and nine are genitival. While the sample size is too small for particularly meaningful statistics, it appears that there is a preference for compounding *hafuc* in place-names (e.g. *hafoccumbe* ‘hawk-combe’) rather than genitival names (e.g. *hafeces del* ‘pit of the hawk’).

The generic *wylle* has consistently been rendered ‘spring’ to best match the topography presented by the charters. For example, S 141 describes that the boundary from *heafocwyl* as then following ‘along the small stream to the Tyrl’ (*7lang riðes on tyrl*), suggesting a network of tributary streams. A similar network of streams is seen in the boundary clause of S 414, which follows a spring to the Hyle and then along the Hyle to *hafoc wylle*, and S 362 follows the river Mead to *hafocwylle* (GRUNDY 1919). S 444 has the generic *del*, which can be interpreted a variety of ways (SMITH 1970b; GELLING 1984), though the place-name *hafeces del* has been identified as a field on the bank of the river Itchen, suggesting, perhaps, an artificial gulley (GRUNDY 1921). *Bæc*, found in S 801, is similarly prone to a variety of interpretations (SMITH 1970a; GELLING 1984), but has been identified as a stream situated near a brook and marsh (HOOKE 1983). *Pyt*, which can refer to a hunter’s trap (HOOKE 2015), among other things (SMITH 1970b), seems to be a well of some kind, as the charter bound continues from *hafoces pyt* along a small stream (*riðe*, S 1604).

The topography surrounding *fealcnes forda* (S 350) suggests that the bird is meant rather than a personal name. The boundary clause indicates the presence of several shallow waterways and scrub-land bordering forest on relatively flat land, which means that this spot would have been ideal for any of these birds, as well as peregrines, sparrowhawks and goshawks (CRAMP et al. 1980), whether wild or tamed and flown by a falconer. It is interesting to note that all the **f(e)alca/*f(e)alcen* names are in the south-east of England. If I am correct about Latin *falco/falcones* being used of non-British birds (above), then these places in the south-east could reflect points of contact for imported birds or places where vagrant foreign falcons (lanners, sakers, and gyrfalcons, if the latter were not indeed resident at the time) were seen or even captured. In this respect, it is especially tempting to speculate that *Fealcnaham* ('home of the falcons') might have been a hub for trading imported falcons. In any case, we are on much firmer ground with both *fealcnes forda* and the Domesday Book's *Falcheburna*, which both refer to small waterways.

Taking all of these attestations together, there is a clear preference for some particular topographical generics, which occur more often than others. Accounting for the fact that some toponyms referring to the same place occur across several charters, we find the following topographical generics more than once:

Tab. 2. Recurring topographical generics in Anglo-Saxon 'hawk' place-names in charters.

Frequency	Topographical generic	Location	Sawyer numbers
3	<i>Wyll</i> 'stream'	<i>Wendlesclif</i> , Glouces.	141
		Stockton, Wilts.	362
		Priston, Somerset.	414
3	<i>Hlinc</i> 'ridge'	Downton, Wilts.	275
		Micheldever, Hants.	360
		Ebbesbourne, Wilts.	640
3	<i>Hrycg</i> 'ridge'	Hawkridge (Buckley), Berks.	607
		Pershore, Worcs.	786
		Bentley Holt, Worcs.	1301
2	<i>Cumb</i> 'combe'	Woodchester, Glouces.	103
		Crediton, Devon.	255
2	<i>Ford</i> 'ford'	Taunton, Somerset.	311/?1819
		Farleigh, Kent.	350
2	<i>Ɔorn</i> 'thorn'	Blewbury, Berks.	496
		Wroughton, Wilts.	585
2	<i>Hlew</i> 'mound'	Witney, Oxon.	771/1001
		Uffington, Berks.	561/1208

At first, these place names seem rather innocuous. The elevated ground of ridges, mounds and combs fit the preferred nests and roosts of peregrines, and the *Accipitridae* (like sparrowhawks and goshawks) are content with these features as long as they border woodland. These topographies can also host merlins (*Falco columbarius*), one of the smaller falcons used in falconry, but are not hospitable for the hobby (*Falco subbuteo*), one of the other similarly employed smaller falcons (CRAMP et al. 1980).

The frequency of watery features – *wyll* and *ford* – are less easy to explain, particularly when we note that this semantic field is very frequently represented in 'hawk' place-names.

Tab. 3. Recurring semantics in Anglo-Saxon 'hawk' place-names in charters.

Frequency	Geographic semantics	Generic	Sawyer numbers
14	Hilly	<i>Cumb</i> (x 2)	103, 255
		<i>Hlinc</i> (x 3)	275, 360, 640
		<i>Cnoll</i> (x 1)	470
		<i>Hlæw</i> (x 2)	561/1208, 771/1001
		<i>Ora</i> (x 1)	567/605
		<i>Hrycg</i> (x 3)	607, 786, 1301
		<i>Hylle</i> (x 1)	664
		<i>Beorge</i> (x 1)	1551
10	Small/shallow bodies of water	<i>Wyll</i> (x 3)	141, 362, 414
		<i>Ford</i> (x 2)	311/1819, 350
		<i>Bæc</i> (x 1)	801
		<i>Gelad</i> (x 1)	902
		<i>Broc</i> (x 1)	1306
		<i>Pyt</i> (x 1)	1604
		<i>Burna</i> (x1)	-
3	Trees	<i>Alras</i> (x 1)	311/1819
		<i>Porn</i> (x 2)	496, 585
2	Field	<i>Hamm</i> (x 1)	734
		<i>Del</i> (x 1)	444
1	Unclear (Stone? Tree?)	<i>Setl</i> (x 1)	998

A strictly biological approach to the charters would suggest that the hilly and woodland landscapes are named after hawks because these two environments represent the preferred habitats of falcons and hawks, and that the watery places are perhaps places where these birds had been spotted drinking, or, in the case of goshawks and sparrowhawks, spotted hunting at streams near their woodland homes. The interpretation of *cranhunteresstone*, above, however, suggests that we may want to look at this more carefully and at least consider the possibility that these names do not (necessarily) refer to where wild hawks live, but where falconers' hawks were flown.

Despite being quite a bit later than the Old English charters, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen's *De arte venandi cum avibus* may shed light on the association of hawks with these small bodies of water.²¹ In Book II, ch. XLIV, he notes that peregrines are best captured near streams, and that these are good locations for catching other falcons, too. He also notes, throughout Book VI, that streams and brooks are the best places to fly falcons in pursuit of waterfowl. Although it is problematic arguing from negative evidence, it is interesting that we do not have any large bodies of water associated with *hafoc* or **f(e)alca/*f(e)alcen*, and that Frederick II explicitly cautions against hawking at these locations.

Similarly, practical considerations in falconry may underlie the other landscapes. Open hilly environments without large stretches of deep water are, according to Frederick II, the best areas for crane and heron hunting, and open fields near rivers are also good as both edible waterfowl, cranes and herons can be driven inland from such sites (Book IV, ch. V; Book V, ch. VII). He does not comment on the best locations for hunting with sparrowhawks and goshawks, but presumably these locations

21 All references to *De arte venandi cum avibus* are from WOOD/FYFE (1943) and WILLEMSSEN (1942a; 1942b).

would not vary too much from the normal hunting habitats of these birds, which is where they are used for hunting in later records (CRAMP et al. 1980; OGGINS 2004). In light of this, *hafoces blæw* in Witney (S 771, S 1001) might present us with a place where these birds were flown. Here *hafoces blæw* is near ‘willow row’, and the north-west of this area, replete with woodland terms, was once heavily tree-lined and was later logged for timber (BLAIR 1994, 130–131). The ‘tree’ names (*alras* and *þorn*) might, alongside *hafocys setl* (S 585), be places where hawks were captured: Frederick notes that nests are excellent sites for taking young birds (Book II, ch. XLIV). Indeed, the non-waterway sites could be motivated either as hawk-catching places or as places for falconry – but in either case there is some connection to the practice. Reading these places as having some connection to hunting also sheds light on the motivation for other place-names in their environs: right next to *hafoces blæw* in Uffington, Berkshire, is *hundes blæw* (‘mound of the dog’; S 561, S 1208). These two mounds might have been places in the landscape where hawks and hounds were used together for hunting.

WELSH CHARTER EVIDENCE

Further support for the possibility that these ‘hawk’ place-names in Old English bear witness to places of falconry can be found in the unlikely source of the Welsh charters preserved in the Book of Llandaff. The Welsh charter material is almost identical to the Anglo-Saxon in form and function, though more so in the latter than the former. They record the donors, recipients, and boundaries of land-grants, and serve as documentary evidence of the ownership of property. Immunities granted to the land – or duties imposed upon it – are recorded in these charters, too. The so-called ‘Celtic charter tradition’ is characterised by the presence of disposition, witness list and sanction, and the common inclusion of boundary clauses and narrations. Where they differ from contemporary European charters, however, is that they do not include ‘formal protocol’: initial invocations, formal titles and addresses, final dating clauses, and subscriptions (DAVIES 2006, 403). Three major collections of charters survive. From largest to smallest, these are the Llandaff collection, the Llancarfan collection, and the Llandeilo collection.²² Each of these collections is concerned with substantiating the ownership claims of churches (Llandaff, Llancarfan and Llandeilo Fawr), and clarifying the privileges that ownership of this land conferred. Only the Llandaff collection, which is the most studied, will be discussed here.²³

The 12th-century Book of Llandaff contains a collection of earlier Welsh charters, some of which purport to date back to the 6th century, but most of which claim to date from the 8th and 9th centuries (DAVIES 1979; 1982a). The linguistic evidence generally supports these claims (KOCH 1985/1986; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1991). The Welsh in the Book of Llandaff is often called “late Old Welsh”: while the manuscript itself was written at the beginning of the Middle Welsh period, the charters themselves are copied from older material (KOCH 2006b; DAVIES 1979).²⁴ Structurally, these charters are similar (but not identical) to the Anglo-Saxon material, and both probably have origins in Roman charters (DAVIES 1982b). Similarly to the Anglo-Saxon material, the charters tend to be in Latin with Welsh boundary clauses, which suggest similar circumstances to those relating to the Old English bounds, discussed above. While the authenticity of the charters is suspect (BROOKE 1986), they are unlikely to be totally spurious (DAVIES 1979; 2003; CHARLES-EDWARDS 2013). In any case, as discussed above in relation to the Anglo-Saxon charters, the authenticity of the material is more or less irrelevant

22 For the places discussed in Wales, see Fig. 5.

23 For more detail on the Welsh charters see CHARLES-EDWARDS 2013; DAVIES 1978; 1979; 1982b; 1998 and 2006.

24 The definitions of ‘Old Welsh’ and ‘Middle Welsh’ are linguistic, and linguistic periodization is ultimately arbitrary. I follow the conventions set out in KOCH (2006c): the Old Welsh period is c. 800–c. 1100; Middle Welsh is c. 1100–c. 1500.

to the study of toponyms: forgeries would need to use well-known and extant place-names in their boundary clauses in the same way as authentic documents.

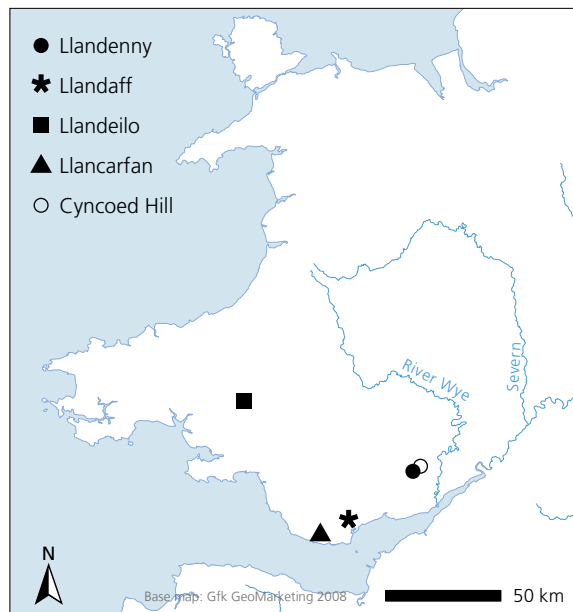


Fig. 5. Place-names containing “hawk” in medieval Welsh charters (map J. Schüller, ZBSA, after E. Lacey).

There are two charters of interest to us here: Llandaff charter 77 (c. 1080–c. 1120s) and charter 159 (c. 1000–1025),²⁵ which describe the boundaries of land belonging to Llandeilo Fawr and Llanerthill (near Llandenny; see Fig. 5), respectively (COE 2001). At Llandeilo Fawr one of the boundary-markers is called *yr hebauc mein* (‘the hawk-stones’), and at Llanerthill one is called *nant yr hebauc* (‘stream of the hawk’).²⁶ They are of interest for two reasons: firstly, the element *hebauc* is a borrowing of Old English *hafoc* (more on which below); secondly, these two place-names seem to be influenced by Old English naming conventions. We will return to this latter point, below, as it follows from the first.

The original context for borrowing Old English *hafoc* seems to have been in association with falconry. In the early Welsh laws, contained in manuscripts from the 13th century but evidenced from the 9th (CHARLES-EDWARDS 1989), *hebog* (a later form of *hebauc*) is used as the technical

term for a falcon (JENKINS 2000). This seems to reflect an earlier period of exchange, both generally and in relation to falconry. In the Old English period, another Old English ‘hawk’, *wealhafoc*, was borrowed into Welsh as *gwalch* (SHAW 2013; RÜBEKEIL 2015), and William of Malmesbury, writing in the 12th century, notes that the Anglo-Saxon king Æthelstan (reigned 924/5–939) levied an annual tribute from the *Britonum Aquilonalium* (‘Northern Britons’) which included hawks or falcons of some kind (MYNORS et al. 1998, 214–217).²⁷ JENKINS (2000, 261) also suggests that the Welsh king Hywel Dda (reigned 942–950) might have encountered falconry first-hand when visiting the aforementioned king Æthelstan. There are potentially earlier attestations of *hebog*, embedded in the *Canu Urien* (‘songs of Urien’), *Canu Heledd* (‘songs of Heledd’) and *Claf Abercuawg* (‘The Leper of Abercuawg’), which may be 9th or 10th-century in date (ROWLAND 1990; JOHNSTON 2006; KOCH 2006a). In two of these instances, in the *Canu Heledd*, and *Claf Abercuawg*, there is no relation to falconry. The former, Cynddylan, of the Cyndrwynyn dynasty of Powys, is described as having ‘the heart of a hawk’ (*callon hebauc*, st. 8; ROWLAND 1990).²⁸ In the latter, there is the ornithological observation of the cuckoo’s hawk-like flight (*tuth hebauc*, st. 10, ROWLAND 1990). The *Canu Urien*, in one of the stanzas known as ‘Aelwyd Rheged’ (‘The Hearth of Rheged’), provides us with a remarkable parallel to the *Beowulf* passage cited above, however:

25 The convention for referencing the Llandaff charters is not particularly intuitive: the charter numbers are not sequential, but instead refer to the pages of RHYS/EVANS (1893).

26 The orthography has been normalised here. In charter 77 the form of the place-name is *irhebauc mein* or *hebauc mein*, in charter 159 it is *nant irhebauc* (RHYS/EVANS 1839; COE 2001). The article in these charters, *ir*, is Old Welsh; in Middle Welsh this article is *yr*.

27 The Latin reads *uolucres quae aliarum avium predam per inane uenari nossent*, ‘birds of prey skilled in pursuing other birds through empty air’.

28 This section of the *Canu Heledd* is sometimes called the ‘Marwnad Cynddylan’, and it should not be confused with the older *Marwnad Cynddylan* (KOCH 2013).

*Llawer ki geilic a hebawc wyrennic
a lithiwyt ar y llawr.
kynn bu er lleon llawedrawr.
Canu Urien st. 48 (ROWLAND 1990)*

Many a lively dog and feisty hawk
were fed on the floor
before this place was rubble.
...

The placement of hawk and dog alongside each other must be a reference to those animals used in hunting, and their provision in the hall can only indicate that they were valuable enough to be sheltered from the outside world.²⁹ Comparative evidence, too, suggests that the Anglo-Saxons were responsible for transmitting the practice of falconry beyond their borders: Old Irish borrowed *hafoc* as *seboic* ('hawk'), and the Pictish Kirriemur stone 2 has a falconer on foot on its front (ALCOCK 2003, 418) with the kind of t-shaped staff that OGGINS (2004) notes on some Anglo-Saxon coins and the Bewcastle cross, as well as found by the falconer on foot in the Anglo-Saxon calendars (discussed above; see also OEHRL in this book). It would seem, too, that there is possible evidence that the Anglo-Saxon falconers who brought the practice of falconry into Wales were not particularly prestigious. Only the word for hawk, *hebauc*, was borrowed: the word for 'falconer', *hebogydd*, was an independent formation within Welsh (of *hebog* and the agentive suffix *-ydd*, WILLIAMS 1960; JENKINS 1986). This is despite the fact that names for prestigious positions were borrowed from Old English into Welsh at the same time: Old English *disc-ðegn* ('dish-lord') was the food officer in Anglo-Saxon halls, and that title was borrowed for the high prestige position of *distain* (CHARLES-EDWARDS et al. 2000, *passim*).

If the *hebawc* was borrowed into Welsh in the contexts of falconry, then what is the motivation for the place-names noted above? My suggestion is that these place-names also pertain to falconry. Both *nant* ('stream' when *nant* is feminine) and *maen* ('stone') are common in Welsh place-names, as are their English equivalents ('stone' and 'well' or 'brook' as well as 'stream'), but it is irregular that the place-name generic comes second in compounds (OWEN/MORGAN 2007). Thus, while *nant yr hebauc* is formally regular, *yr hebauc mein* is not. Moreover, *yr hebauc mein* differs from *nant yr hebauc* in that the former expresses a genitival relationship, but the latter must be a compound due to the placement of the definite article (EVANS 1964).³⁰ It is very regular, however, for compounds to be in this order in English, and, as we have seen, for hawks to be associated with these topographies (e.g. *cranhunterestone*, *hafucalras*, *heafocwyl*). Indeed, *nant yr hebauc*, a tributary of the river called the *Guefrduur*, is situated by Cyncoed hill (Fig. 5; cf. COE 2001), where the latter name means 'wooded ridge' (*cefn*, 'ridge' + *coed* 'wood'; OWEN/MORGAN 2007); this combination of hill, small waterways and woodland would have been apt for both capturing hawks and/or hawking. Similarly, *yr hebauc mein* is situated on gently sloping land next to *Cruc Petill Bechan*, which is a *crug* ('knoll'), some other streams (such as the *Duglas Bisgueiliauc*, 'the dung-coloured dark stream'), and another ridge, *Cecin Meirch* (*cecin*, 'ridge', + *march*, pl. 'horse'; so 'ridge of the horses'; COE 2001; OWEN/MORGAN 2007). I propose, therefore, that in amidst the falconry milieu, which facilitated the Welsh borrowing of *hafoc*, some kind of contact between Welsh and Anglo-Saxon falconers and fowlers was the motivation for these Welsh place-names – particularly *yr hebauc mein* and its Old English-like structure.

29 The placement of these hunting animals might suggest that these animals are associated with the elite, but it does not necessarily mean this. In Wales, as in England, the hall was the hub of social interaction, and there are indications that non-elites were to be found in early medieval Welsh halls. On the one hand, there are references in the laws to villains entertaining the king in his own hall (alongside the provision of *gwestfa*, 'hospitality', by those subjects with their own houses that might accommodate the king on his royal circuit) (CHARLES-EDWARDS 1993, 376–378); on the other hand, there are references to villains fostering royal children (CHARLES-EDWARDS 2013, 298).

30 EVANS (1964, 25) states that "the article [*yr*] is not used before a definite noun on which another definite noun depends", but that "there are a number of examples where it is found before both". This means that **yr hebauc y mein* or **hebauc y mein* would make sense as 'the stones of the hawk'. The alternative reading of *yr hebauc mein* as 'the hawk of stones' does not make sense.

Interpreting place-names in this fashion is necessarily speculative. We have no conclusive means by which we can verify an interpretation of a place as a site for hawk-catching, although we can build reasonable cases for this based on what we know about hawks and their habitat, how they were acquired for falconry, and the historical contexts we can recover from other sources. This chapter began by closely examining the textual evidence for falconry and arguing that extant evidence does not permit us limiting the practice of falconry to just one part of society: characters like Ælfric's fowler, figuring in a line-up of labourers from hound-keepers to fishermen, provides us with a falconer who uses the birds to feed himself and not for sport. Many of the other literary references identify the falconer as the *hagosteald*, a member of a lord's retinue identified chiefly by his youth. We then surveyed the Anglo-Saxon charter material and highlighted that place-names mentioned in boundary-clauses had to be well-known, and noted that the motivation for place-names could be practically oriented. The corpus of 'hawk' place-names suggests this, too: while trees, fields and slopes might conceivably be named for residential hawks and falcons, this is unlikely to be the case for small waterways like brooks and streams. These shallow aquatic environments, however, were praised for their suitability for hunting with birds, and they would have yielded both high-status quarry, like herons and cranes, as well as lower-status edible quarry like waterfowl. They might also have been places where young hawks and falcons were caught as they pursued their own hunting. Indeed, the topographies of places with field and slope names are also suitable for falconry and hawk-catching, and they might have been named after hawks and falcons for this reason too. The evidence from Wales also suggests this, in its use of *hebauc* in falconry-specific contexts and in geographically and semantically similar toponyms to the Old English. The Welsh evidence might also corroborate the survey at the beginning of this study: while the name for the bird was borrowed from Old English within the framework of falconry, the word for a falconer was not, suggesting that not all Anglo-Saxon falconers were men with prestigious positions.

There are some further implications of particular note. The number and extent of 'hawk' place-names in the charters, located on boundaries, could implicate the clerical recipients of these land-grants in the practice of falconry. Yet their positions on the boundary could also mark them out as domains under nobody's ownership, and accessible to the general populace. These names, in turn, could have acted as practical signposts, indicating the most productive locations for safely flying birds or catching them. This study might also signal, like BAKER (2015), that place-names are a tapestry of communal knowledge and human interaction with their environment: the natural world was, after all, both resource and habitat. Similarly, the Welsh *hebauc* place-names might reflect such well-known locations, and possibly evidence that there were a number of falconers, like Ælfric's fowler, who were not upper-class and would engage in the practice for sustenance. These place-names could indicate places for capturing the hawks they had to provide as tribute (as well as keep for themselves). They might also reveal the presence of those non-elite Anglo-Saxon falconers (we might call them professional falconers), imported to teach the various skills of the profession (such as catching, "manning", and trade), but whose titles were not sufficiently prestigious, unlike the birds they trained, to warrant borrowing.

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- Affix:* An affix is any kind of element which is added to the beginning or end of a word.
- Compound/Compounding:* A compound is when two or more elements are put together and function as a single word. 'Bedroom' is a compound, comprising the elements 'bed' and 'room', and it acts as a single word.
- Deuterotheme:* A deuterotheme is a name which comprises two elements. *Wulfram* is deuterothematic, as it has the elements *wulf* ('wolf') and *bramm* ('raven') in it.
- Genitival relationship:* A genitival relationship is one which indicates possession or ownership. In *heafca bæce* the *heafca* is genitival ('of the hawks') as the name suggests that the *bæce* ('stream') belongs to the hawks.
- Homonym:* Homonyms are words that are both spelled and pronounced identically, but have differing meanings. They may be etymologically or historically related, as in the noun 'arm' and the verb 'to arm', or they might not be, as in the adjective 'left' (e.g. 'on the left hand side') and the past tense of the verb 'to leave' (e.g. 'he left the building'). Near-homonyms can be words which are pronounced and spelled similarly but not identically (e.g. 'ship' and 'sheep'). They can also be *homophones*, which are spelled differently but sound similar (e.g. 'night' and 'knight'), or *homographs*, which are spelled similarly but sound different (e.g. 'permit' as a noun versus 'permit' as a verb).
- Hypocorism:* An hypocorism is a diminutive name which denotes familiarity. It is preferred to the term 'diminutive' because 'diminutive' suggests smallness of stature.
- Monotheme:* A monotheme is a name which comprises only one element. *Wulf* is monothematic, as it only has the element *wulf* in it.
- Prefix:* An affix which comes at the beginning of a word.
- Suffix:* An affix which comes at the end of a word.
- Syncope/Syncopation:* Syncope is when a vowel is deleted in the middle of a word.
- Theriphoric:* A name is theriphoric when it is comprised of animal-name elements. *Wulf* ('wolf') and *Wulfram* ('wolf-raven') are both theriphoric.
- Topographical Generic:* In relation to place-names, this refers to the generic element that is specified by the previous element. For example, Ramsey, from Old English *brefnesey*, has two elements: *brefn* ('raven') and *ey* ('island'). The generic is *ey*, which occurs in other place-names (e.g. Bardney, from Old English **Beardan ey*, 'the island of [a man called] Bearda').
- Topographical Specific:* In relation to place-names, this refers to the specifier, which differentiates generics from each other. For example, Swanbourne, (Swan-*burna*, i.e. 'swan-stream') has the specifier 'swan'. This differentiates it from other *-burna* place-names (e.g. Brockburn, from *broches burna*, i.e. '*burna* of the badger').

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