

The *Durham Account Rolls* Vocabulary as Evidence of Trade Relations in Late Medieval England

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Abstract

Words are testimonies to the kinds of historical interactions that took place between the speakers of English and many other languages spoken far beyond Britain's continental neighbours. This article considers the process of lexical conversion from proper names (more specifically, place-names) to common names, as well as the use of descriptive adjectives or nouns denoting the geographical area from which commodities were exported present in the *Durham Account Rolls* (*DAR*). All these lexical items give important insights into the trade relations (direct or otherwise) between regions within and beyond Europe, including the Low Countries, France, the former Ottoman Empire, and the Baltic countries. The aim of this article is to offer a lexical analysis and a historical overview of the main commodities that were imported into the monastic community under the auspices of Durham Cathedral, by discussing the implications in the choice of vernacular lexical items over Medieval Latin equivalents in the multilingual environment that characterises the *DAR* in the broader context of late medieval England.

Keywords: lexicography; late medieval England; multilingual lexis; medieval trade; global history

Introduction

Words are testimonies to the kinds of historical interactions that took place between the speakers of English and of many other languages spoken far beyond France and Britain's continental neighbours. This article considers the process of lexical conversion from proper names, more specifically, place-names to common names as well as the use of descriptive adjectives or nouns denoting the geographical area from which commodities were exported (which did not necessarily have to coincide with the place of production) present in the multilingual vocabulary of the *Durham Account Rolls* (*DAR*), a shorthand for the *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham from the Original MSS* [1278-1538], edited by Fowler in three volumes (1898-1901). These words may not be borrowings but give some insights into the trade relations (direct or otherwise) between regions within and beyond Europe. An example of such a word is *Spanysyren*, with a final

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suspension mark (see Roig-Marín (2018) for an account of this lexical item, neglected in the *MED* and the *OED*):¹ Spanish iron was considered of a very high quality, second only to that produced in Sweden. These terms tend to occur in the vernaculars, as they would have been known at the time, and more rarely in Latin (in the *DAR*, e.g., *Spanish iron* is rendered as “ferri Hispan.”, “Ferr. Hisp.”, or, more rarely, “ferri de Spayne” in Rott. Bursar. 1360-1, 562). The distinctive features of these commodities which would make medieval and early modern speakers readily associate a particular set of extralinguistic traits with a given commodity from a named region or country are sometimes irrecoverable from the extant records: efforts have been made to attempt to reconstruct them as well as to endow them with a diachronic and diatopic dimension (e.g., did a Flemish chest mean the same in the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries and in different regions of England?). Naturally, this vocabulary only represents a small fraction of the overall lexical make-up of the *DAR* and of the goods purchased and/or consumed (sometimes internally produced) at Durham Cathedral. Yet, many specialised terms, often borrowings, would not provide such geographical references, so in this paper we can better explore the underlying connections of certain goods with particular regions within the British Isles, with Europe, and beyond. It is worth bearing in mind that the bulk of the data in the Appendix covers a turbulent period in Britain:² The Hundred Years’ War (1337-1453) and the first outbreak of the Plague, the Black Death, in the year 1348.

International trade seems to have played a significant part in the importation of the plague from Asia into (and then within) the West, so commerce and the mobility of merchants³ had larger socio-historical implications than the transportation of the commodities discussed in this

¹ The word has been included in the more recent *YHD* (s.v. *Spanish iron*). The first *YHD* attestation in English (in Latin/hybrid constructions there are antedatings) is from the same text discussed in that note (produced in York in the years 1453-4).

² The rolls here cited span the years 1278-1512, although most of the material is dated to the 14th and early 15th centuries; only one phrase of the short database in the Appendix, “rasinis corent.”, is attested in the early 16th century.

³ Apart from merchants, clerics, soldiers, emissaries, and other people also travelled by sea, but it seems that traders were probably the main carriers of ship-borne plague (see, e.g., Byrne 2012: 232).

article. Similarly, the languages of traders and their multilingual repertoires deserve special treatment and have been the object of recent scholarship (see, e.g., Wagner, Beinhoff, and Outhwaite 2017). Since the multilingual make-up of this kind of administrative text has been extensively described (on the language of the *DAR*, see Ingham (2009), Roig-Marín (forthcoming), and the references therein), I will not tackle this issue here. Instead, I will concentrate on what commodities may reveal about international relations. The structure of the present article is organised by geographical area. After an overview of the paramount importance of the Hanseatic League in Europe (Section 1), the individual sections have a narrower geographical focus: Section 2 is concerned with products from the Low Countries, (3) France, (4) other regions in central and eastern Europe, (5) the Nordic countries, (6) the Ottoman Empire, and (7) Britain and Ireland.

1. Continental Europe: The Hanseatic League

The timespan covered in the data of this article coincides temporally with the flourishing of the most powerful confederation of merchant guilds in Europe,⁴ namely The Hanseatic League (or Hansa), extending over northwestern and central Europe, from Zuiderzee to The Gulf of Finland (Sanders 1982). It developed from north-German merchant guilds into a complex network which would be able to negotiate trading agreements and privileges across the continent (including England), eventually becoming one of the leading economic and political organisations of premodern Europe. By the 15th century, Hansa merchants had significant privileges in England (e.g. they were exempt from the payment of customs duty which English merchants did have to pay, which generated tensions) and operated in English ports, like London, which became a *kontor* or trading post. The relations between the Hanseatic merchants and England, however, greatly deteriorated when the Merchant Adventurers of London attempted to break their monopoly by attempting to trade in areas which the Hanseatic traders considered their own (Nicolle, Embleton & Embleton 2014). For instance, English mariners attempted to fish directly off the coasts of Iceland rather than having to

⁴ The existence of the Hanse is generally dated to 1356, the year in which the first meeting of this organisation took place in Lübeck, even if its origins are much older.

buy Icelandic fish in Bergen, Norway, and the English also set their own competing wool business, as will be discussed below (see also Bucholz and Key 2020: 206). Confrontations persisted on several fronts until 1472 when England refused to accept the Hanseatic demands (see Sarnowsky 2015: 98 for details). The Hanseatic League would lose its superiority towards the end of the 16th century, but the production of the *DAR* runs in parallel to the history of the Hanse here outlined. In the following sections, I will concentrate on specific countries and the commodities associated with them in the *DAR*.

2. *The Low Countries*

The main commodity imported from the Netherlands and Belgium⁵ in the Middle Ages is cloth, so the presence of *Holandcloth* (x5) and *Flemyshcloth* is not surprising.⁶ In Threlfall-Holmes's (2005) study of Durham Priory obediatory accounts to trace the region's commercial activity, the bursar's purchase of Flemish and Holland cloths for the year 1468-9 took place in London, so it can be ascertained that they were sold in English territory. From the 14th century, Flemish cities focused on the production of luxuries, while 'the absence of a powerful noble elite in Holland and the strength of the urban middle classes there led to a focus on products for the latter, which also found markets elsewhere in north-west Europe' (van Bavel 2010: 348). During the 14th and early 15th centuries, the production of cloth in Holland diversified, producing cloths of different qualities, and increased exponentially: van Bavel (2010: 348) gives the figure of c. 10,000 pieces of cloth produced in 1400 just in Leiden. There are also references in the *DAR* to typically Flemish crafts such as weaving or embroidery, present in Latin: "Item vj

⁵ See also Pegolotti's distinction between "e che tucti i panni di fiandra e di brabant..." ('cloths from Flanders and Brabant') and those from France and "other places" bought by the merchants from Florence "e che tutti altri panni di Francia o d'oltre i monti che per li mercatanti di Firenze si comperassono". According to Evans (1936: xxxii), this is against the law of 1342, which precisely attempted to abolish this separation, thus proving that Pegolotti's work aligns closer with the rule of 1338 than with the later one.

⁶ The *MED* (s.v. *Holand* n. (c) ~ *tile*) also records *Holand tyle* 'a kind of tile made in or originating in Holland', which unlike the very frequent *Holland cloth*, is only found in a text from the 15th century.

qwysyhyns de opere Flandrensi cum scriptura de le Roy in eisdem” ((x2, 243-244, 246), ‘cushions of Flemish work with the writing of the King in them’).

More generally, there are also chests, coffers, or boxes from Flanders (see “*cista flaundrenensis (sic)*” (Rott. *Elemos.* 1465, 243), “*j cista Flandrensis*” (Rott. *Elemos.* 1515-6, 253), or “*ciste del Flawnders*” (Rott. *Bursar.* 1456-7, 635)).⁷ Chests were widely imported in the Middle Ages although their function is not entirely clear: they could have been used either as chests or as containers in the same way as barrels, which often also contained imported goods (Pickvance 2012: 111). Pickvance (2012) puts together several pieces of evidence suggesting that the term *chest* covered the two senses; in the Hull customs records (1453-90) *cistas* (in that text, ‘chests’) seem to be distinguished from coffers since the contents of the former were usually described while coffers were mentioned without any details.⁸ The fact that “by far the greatest number of references to imported chests refer to those from Flanders” (Eames 1977: 137) suggests that *cista* is in the *DAR* meant to be read as ‘a chest’ from Flanders, which would be “instantly recognizable” (Eames 1977: 137) and would therefore require no further explanation (cf. its various meanings in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*

⁷ I will only include the reference to the manuscript and edition where the date of occurrence of those words is contextually relevant or when a whole phrase is cited from a particular roll. The system used to cite the *DAR* material is as follows: roll reference (*Rotulus/-i = Rott.*) and its dating + the page number in which the roll can be found in Fowler’s (1898-1901) multi-volume edition. The page numbers across the three volumes are consecutive, which facilitates the finding of the reference. The abbreviations found after *Rott.* refer to the different departments of the monastic estate: Almoner’s (*Elemosinariorum = Elemos.*), Bursars’ (*Bursariorum = Bursar.*), Cellarer’s (*Celerariorum = Celer.*), Chamberlain’s (*Camerariorum = Camer.*), Feretrars’ (*Feretrariorum = Feretrar.*), Hostiller’s (*Hostillariorum = Hostill.*), Infirmer’s (*Magistrorum infirmarie = Magistr. Inf.*), and Sacrists’ (*Sacristarum = Sacrist.*) Rolls.

⁸ *Cista* (OSw *kista*, Ags. *ciste*) was also a well-known piece of furniture all over Scandinavia in the Middle Ages, used as a safe place for precious objects. They were also given names according to their main function: *bókakista*, *vápnakista* (Sturlunga saga), *gullkista* (Jómsvíkinga saga), *kyrkokista*, etc. The oldest extant chests made in Scandinavia are from the beginning of c. 1100, although it is possible that the early Scandinavian merchants used different types of chests in trading with Britain.

(*DMLBS*), s.v. *1 cista*). Eames (1977) assesses the different types of chests they could have represented, namely, light panelled chests (Macquoid and Edwards (1927)), iron bound, and carved chests (see Eames 1977: 136–142 and the references therein). If Flemish chests were identified with just one type, Eames discards the light panelled kind because most references to them come from the fourteenth century and it is “too early for chests of this form” (Eames 1977: 137). As Pickvance (2012) underscores, the origin of the chests is not necessarily Flanders but *imported* from Flanders, even if a native production of domed chests would be compatible with the extant records.

3. *France*

The larger-scale and incipiently (semi-)industrialised production in the tapestry industry established in the Netherlands during the fourteenth century had parallels in France:⁹ Paris was one of the first production nuclei until 1384, when Philip the Bold came to possess the territories of Artois and Flanders, and Arras would start to establish itself as a powerful centre of the tapestry industry and was put on the map internationally. In the *DAR* we find references to *aras* (“2 banquers de aras” Rott. Hostill. 1394-5, 135) ‘a rich tapestry fabric, in which figures and scenes are woven in colours’ (*OED* (1887), s.v. *arras*, n.) and *arreswerk* (Rott. Sacrist. 1404, 397) ‘tapestry, Arras, or something resembling Arras’ (*MED*, s.v. *arrās* n. 2. (b) ~ *werk*).¹⁰ Similarly, Chalons-sur-Marne also enjoyed a certain popularity for its tapestries: “j Schalonne” in the *DAR* (Rott. Hostill. c. 1380, 132) is an adaptation of Chalons[-sur-Marne], the final <s> being mute in French and not being incorporated into the loanword in its singular form (compare *Reynes* below). As in the case of *aras* and many other lexemes in this article, there was a metonymic process and *Schalonne* started to be used as ‘a figured woolen material named for Chalons-sur-Marne, a kind of

⁹ The production of tapestry in Europe, by no means, started at this point, but the earlier production was characterised by being more itinerant and artisanal. On the connection between France and the Netherlands in the tapestry industry, see, e.g., Weigert (1962).

¹⁰ Remarkably, all except for one of the *MED* attestations (*MED*, s.v. *arrās* n. 2. (b) ~ *werk*) are taken from northern records (from Coldingham, Yorkshire, and Durham).

tapestry; hence, a bedspread or hanging made of this material' (*MED*, s.v. *chalōun* (n.) (a)). A third and last term connected to the refined French textile industry is *reynes* 'a kind of fine linen cloth made in Rennes'. Among the French manufactured cloth—which bore strong resemblance to that of Holland—Bretagne was particularly prestigious in the Middle Ages.

England also imported salt from France: "salis grossi de Paytouse" (also *patters*, *pattow*, *Patews*) and in its version following the ME syntactic pattern, *Pattowsalt*, is 'imported salt from Poitou'. Poitou was a west-central French province whose capital was Poitiers (hence, the odd Anglicised spelling *patters* and variants) in which there were salt marshes but no defining characteristics of the salt found there transpire in the literature; in contrast, "bay salt" ("sale de Bayon") refers to 'a coarse grade of sea-salt, orig. salt from the Bay of Bourgneuf (Novum Castrum) south of the mouth of the Loire'. The salt from the Bay of Bourgneuf was, therefore, composed of large crystals, which is why it is generally known as "sal grossus" in Latin (see, e.g., "4 celdr. grossi salis" (Rott. Bursar. c. 1330, 519)). Bay of Bourgneuf was an abundant source of salt which was also exploited by towns from Zeeland (the Netherlands) once the nearby salt beds started to be depleted (Munro 1994: 160). No other places are mentioned as suppliers of salt for England, so salt from France, along with the supply of autochthonous salt pans in British territory, might have met the existing demands in Durham.

4. Other regions in central and eastern Europe

In the Middle Ages, wine-making would become a leading sector of farming after cereals.¹¹ Another popular wine (apart from *Cretan wine* discussed in Section 5) was at least twice as expensive as the competing French *claret* or wine from Gascony, is *ryniswyne* 'wine produced in the Rhine region', the main export commodity in the region of Cologne.¹² The chief export markets of Cologne were the Netherlands (mostly, Holland, Flanders, and Brabant), England, and the Baltic. Other products which evince the strong commercial connections between England and the Continent include *Westwale*, a kind of cloth, 'probably coarse linen

¹¹ On the wine trade in Medieval Europe, see Rose's (2011) monograph.

¹² From this area near the Rhine river were also *fats*, *gilders* (a coin), *pipes* (for wine), not mentioned in the *DAR* (cf. *MED*, s.v. *Rīnish* adj.).

or canvas' of Westphalian origin (see *OED* (2011), s.v. *westvale*, n.; *MED*, s.v. *West-vāl(e* n.) and “ferro de Sprois” and “sprwys fisc.” (also with inverted word order), iron and fish originated in or associated with Prussia, which used to be German territory. These spellings suggest influence from Latin (*AL Sprucia*) and from French (*Prusse, Puisse* > *sprois*). Like in the case of *ryniswyne*, a wider range of products are recorded in the *MED* under *spruce*: fish, iron, leather, plate, shield, and wax (*MED*, s.v. *Sprūce* n., 1, not to be confused with sense 2, ‘spruce wood’). According to Postan (2002: 290), “Hungarian copper, the high quality iron (osmund) of Sweden and local varieties of ordinary iron formed also quite an important category among Prussian imports”, so it might have been the case that the “ferro de Sprois” had been re-exported from Prussia.

Lastly, *caffatyne* (also *Skaffatyne*, where the insertion of the <s> in the former (as in *sprwys*) may be due to its association with other (s)*caff*-words (e.g. *scaffalde*)). *Caffatyne* derives from French *caféin*,¹³ whose ultimate etymon is probably Arabic, and denotes ‘a type of sugar, orig. from Caffa [modern-day Ukraine] in the Crimea’ (*MED*, s.v. *caffatīn* (n. & adj.)). Already in the second half of the 13th century, the pre-eminence of the Genoese in European trade with the Levant was unquestionable, reaching its climax at the end of the century (for more details, see Ashtor 1983: 10–11). The Genoese had regular trading routes with Egypt and Syria, which had “sizeable quantities of various kinds of sugar” (Ashtor 1983: 206). At the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries, however, many sugar factories halted their production although it was not completely discontinued. The Genoese ship line connected Caffa with both Syria and Egypt, which in fact “became a major axis of international trade” (Ashtor 1983: 11). This may explain why Caffa was also an important source of products like sugar.

At least from the thirteenth century, Italian merchants had kept regular trade with England. The main purpose of the journeys to England and Flanders (where Venice had galleys) was the acquisition of English wool, a key raw material for the growing textile industry in Italy—also in Catalonia—, but the Mediterranean traders would also supply Oriental spices among other goods, which gives a sense of the reciprocal

¹³ The *DMLBS* (s.v. † *caffatinus*) suggests a possible Italian etymon instead ‘It. *caffettino* (?)’.

arrangements made in the Middle Ages. In this context, we find a reference to *powderlomberd* ‘spice imported from or associated with Lombardy’ (*MED*, s.v. *poudre* n.(1), 5b). This spice was traded in that Italian northern region although it most likely came from further afield (Logan (2002: 122), e.g., suggests Syria). In the following section, I will delve into the connections between both Britain and Continental Europe and, on a micro-level, between Durham, other parts of England and, to a lesser extent, Ireland (see *irislams*) and Scotland (*Skotisadell*).

5. The Nordic countries

The relationship between Scandinavia and Britain and Ireland has a long history: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records one of the earliest encounters with Scandinavian raiders in Dorset already in 787. The first contacts involved seasonal plundering, but from the middle of the ninth century, the Scandinavians developed an interest in permanent settlement, which eventually led to the creation of a border establishing the territory in which the Scandinavians were allowed to settle, the Danelaw (see, inter alia, Keynes 1997; Townend 2002; Hadley 2006). The Danes created centres for trade and would then develop commercial transactions with other Baltic Sea countries and Scandinavia. In the Middle Ages, the consumption of fish was substantial, so it also plays an important role in the *DAR*: to “sprwys fisc.” we should add *Iselandfish*. The Scandinavian and Icelandic fishing industry operated on an international scale (in contrast to the English herring fisheries, see below), particularly that of stock-fish and the white herring (Postan 2002: 95). The prosperous fisheries of Iceland attracted foreign fleets, including from England, Ireland, and mainland Scandinavia which had already started “since times immemorial” (Postan 2002: 120), but intensified in the Late Middle Ages, partly because of new direct routes: for instance, seamen from Zealand (Denmark) probably opened up a new route to the Baltic c. the mid-14th century. Another representative product indicated as coming from “Eastland”, *estlandbordes*, “Baltic timber” (made of yew, pine, or fir) became one of the main attractions in the western markets and “one of the chief magnets which drew English

merchants to the Baltic regions” (Postan 2002: 98).¹⁴ The question of whether *Estland* (‘Eastland’) covered all the Baltic or a specific region diachronically is complex: in Scotland, Eastland boards were considered “Norwegian deals” and in the 15th century Norway was known as Eastland (Kerr 1877: 223). The possibility that Eastland boards arrived in Durham from Norway as well is, therefore, reasonable. It is worth restating that the boards shipped from the Baltic might have come from farther away (e.g. the Carpathian Mountains) and sometimes went through intermediary countries such as Hungary and Prussia (Hirsch 1858).

6. *The Ottoman Empire*

From the former Ottoman Empire, apart from spices, other products became fashionable in England: *baudekyn* ‘oriental cloth woven of silk, shot through with gold (or silver) thread, or brocaded’ from Babylon (*MED*, s.v. *baudekin* (n.(1)) (OF *baudekin*, *-quin* < ML *baldakinus*, *-ekinus* < Italian *Baldacco* ‘Bagdad’))¹⁵ and *crete* ‘a sweet wine, Cretan wine’ exemplify a couple of them.¹⁶ *Jordan* (pl.) ‘vessels used by physicians and alchemists’, presumably comes from *Jordan bottles*, a recipient containing water from the Jordan by pilgrims or crusaders. This word would broaden its meaning to encompass both the vessel and ‘a chamber-pot’ sensu stricto, and it was no longer identified as coming from that area at the time it was employed in the *DAR*. Similarly, *cowrans* (*Razynges*) (also *curawns* and variants (see Appendix); in Latin “acemi corenc.”) ‘raisins of Corinth’, would be imported from the Levant and other Mediterranean regions more generally, not just from the port of Corinth. The currant variety is one of the oldest ones—in the year 75

¹⁴ Because of the meaning of *bord*, the word can be traced back only to Old English *bord* ‘board’ and not to Old Norse *borð* ‘table’ (or derived meanings), the Old Norse sense(s) being rarely attested in Old English.

¹⁵ The same silk is mentioned often in Norwegian texts from the Middle Ages (in DS from 1270-1346, 50 times); the Viking merchants were interested in luxury (fine cloths and jewelry) and brought them back to Europe and probably sold part of them before getting home.

¹⁶ *Alisaunder* ‘black lovage, horse parsley’, native to southern Europe is apparently named after Alexander the Great (French *Alisander*), but since it is a proper name of a person, it has been excluded from this section.

A.D. Pliny already wrote about this small berry-size grape—, and from the early fourteenth century, *reysyns de Corauntz* were already recorded in English markets, becoming *raisins of Corinth* from the 16th century (Christensen 2000: 40). The phonologically-motivated changes from *Corinth* to *currant* evidence the progressive dissociation of the origin of these raisins. In general, the provenance of these materials was probably not transparent to an English audience (unlike *Holland cloth* or *Iceland fish* below) although the extra-linguistic referents should have been clear. All these words reflect the influx of French: as Rothwell (1999) underlines, French was the language used not only in English ports at least well into the second quarter of the fifteenth century but also on ships from far and wide in continental Europe. *La pratica della mercatura* gives insights into the multilingual milieu of trading beyond French, “nolo in più lingue latine” (‘freight in several Romance languages’), adding that “freto in fiammingo e inghilese e ispagnuolo” (Evans 1936: 16), signalling the use of Flemish, English, and Spanish along other Romance languages.¹⁷

The fourteenth century would also witness the rise of Cretan wine as an international landmark (Rackham and Moody 1996: 78). Among the main importers (also in the Mediterranean and the Balkans), the English custom of drinking a sweet dessert wine stewed in cooking-pots (cf. Rackham and Moody 1996: 78) would explain the popularity of *crete* in the *DAR* material.

7. Britain and Ireland

The English imports, chiefly cloth, were compact and valuable, while the Prussian exports, corn and sylvan products, were bulky and cheap. Thus the English merchants required larger shipping space for the westward than for the eastward journeys (Postan 2002: 290).

The exports of Prussia seemed to be in counterpoint to the English imports. Keen (1973: 148) correlates the decline of what had been an

¹⁷ The existence of an alleged European (French-Spanish-Italian) trade pidgin functioning as a lingua franca across the Mediterranean from the late Middle Ages to the mid-19th century has also been widely debated (see, e.g., Cifoletti 1989; Minervini 1996; Dakhliia 2008; Selbach 2017).

extremely buoyant industry, the export of wool,¹⁸ with a rise in the native English cloth industry which had started to be reinvigorated in the first half of the 14th century. After an initial boom (1420-1440), the English cloth trade faced difficulties prompted by the final phase of the Hundred Years War and demographic and commercial setbacks, but all the *DAR* terms relating to English production predate that date;¹⁹ the bulk of them, in fact, comes from the 14th century, when it had gained a great impetus, propelled by Edward III's campaign to boost domestic production and reduce the English exportations to Flanders in light of the richness amassed out of English wool in the Low Countries (Chamson 2014: 290).²⁰ We find mentions of several kinds of cloth which indicate their geographical origins (all of them lemmatised in the *MED* but not in the *OED*): *Aylsam* 'Cloth of Aylsham, in Norfolk', *bermegheham* (also 'panni de Berm'/Berm'h^am'), 'cloth made in Birmingham', *Totenays* 'Some sort of cloth, perh. serge', probably from Totenais, the French version of the town Totnes (*MED*, s.v. *totenais* (n.)), and *worset'* (also in its Latinised version, *worseto/-i*) 'woolen cloth of some kind used for making clothing, furnishings, etc., worsted', from Worstead in Norfolk (*MED*, s.v. *worsted* (n.)). Other English-origin textiles in the *DAR* are

¹⁸ See Lloyd's (1977) monograph on the topic. On the interrelations between the Flemish and English industries and the wider European connections in this realm, it is worth stating that there is a Flemish list of wool prices from monasteries in England from the middle of the 13th century (Varenbergh 1874: 214-217) which resembles Pegolotti's lengthier record, so Cunningham (1910: 628) proposes that Pegolotti could have drawn on a similar Flemish document (see also Whitwell's (1904)). The possibility that these lists circulated more widely is highly likely. Formal linguistic similarities in the adaptation of English names between the Flemish renderings and Pegolotti's lists might also be adduced to suggest a common source, although as Evans (1936: xxviii) points out, they may simply represent an Italian speaker's attempts to represent sounds which did not belong to his original phonological repertoire (see Evans (1936) for an assessment of the likelihood of Pegolotti's use of different preexisting sources).

¹⁹ On the history of this trade in relation to the Flemish and Brabantine draperies, see Munro (1994: 163-168).

²⁰ Edward recruited "malcontent" textile craftsmen from the Low countries who headed to and settled in England, particularly in the east, as well as in Scotland (Chamson 2014: 290). They were granted privileges, which produced some resentment in local textile workers.

Cogsale—the only one which is not in the *MED*—which the editor defines as ‘a textile so named from Coggeshall in Essex’, preceded in the text by “vocato” in “blodio mixto vocato Cogsale” (Rott. Bursar. c. 1419?, 616) and *Lyncolnesaye*, ‘a fine fabric made at Lincoln, a kind of say’ (*MED*, s.v. *Lincoln* (n.)). Along with *worset*, *Lyncolnesaye* is the sole term for which we have some associated quality characteristics in lexicographical resources, namely, that it is of a fine quality. The scribes of these Durham rolls would have been amply familiarised with these concepts, expect perhaps for *Cogsale*, on which the scribe elaborates (it is “blodio mixto” (Rott. Bursar. c. 1419?, 616)). It is not clear whether these fabrics would have been renowned internationally under the specific English toponyms. Based on the existing evidence, it is more likely that they were known under the more general label ‘English’ cloths/textiles (compare *Holandcloth* and *Flemyshcloth* above), unless they had specific traits that could stand out against textiles from other regions.

Apart from *hakenay* (‘a small saddle-horse’), an English-based creation (< *Hackney*, formerly a village in Middlesex, now in London) also found in Anglo-Norman (see *OED* (2016), s.v. *hackney*, n. and adj. and Roig-Marín (2019: 248)), another important source of terms derived from English place-names is the fish industry. The herring fishing grounds off the coastal areas of South Lincolnshire and Norfolk—especially, Yarmouth—were famed centres for local consumption, although it is not clear whether they also featured in international trading routes (Postan 2002: 95), unlike the large-scale cloth and wool industry. The two fish-related terms in the *DAR* are, nevertheless, from a location closer to Durham, Beadnell on the coast of Northumberland: *bednale fiss*’ and *bidnelcodlynge* (*MED*, s.v. *Bed(e)nal*, -el (n.)).

Non-English-centred terms are *irislams*, most likely, ‘Irish lambs’ (Fowler (1901: 926) is doubtful about this correspondence, possibly because of the assimilation of the , but it follows the pattern of *Antonlam*, ‘a St. Anthony lamb’, also in the *DAR*) and *Skotisadell* ‘a Scottish saddle’ (not in the *MED/OED*). The previous literature does not seem to have considered the importance or popularity of either Irish lambs or Scottish saddles in the Middle Ages, so we can only speculate that either their distinctiveness for a medieval audience has not been researched yet—or at least the evidence available does not afford it—or simply that the scribe just indicated that the lambs/saddles were coming

from Ireland and Scotland without any particular semantic nuance. In the multilingual background of the accounts, where most terms are partly or totally rendered in Latin (see the examples above and the full list of occurrences in the Appendix), the most likely explanation for their occurrence in the vernacular (both in terms of word-order and the choice of lexis) would be that *Irish lambs* and *Scottish saddles* would have functioned as common collocations in the scribes' discourse, hence their occurrence without any adaptation or integration into Medieval Latin.

Concluding Remarks

Overall, this short article illustrates the kinds of contributions that lexicography can make to our understanding of medieval economic history, by analysing commodities named after place-names or associated with particular locations both in Britain and Ireland and on the Continent. The circulation of these manuscript rolls, the *DAR*, was usually confined to the institution or businesses involved. This alleged archival seclusion, however, contrasts sharply with the dynamic nature of the commodities listed in these records: a significant number of the lexical items encountered in these accounts is expected to have circulated widely across the country and even travelled from far away (e.g. *estlandbordes* 'timber from eastern (Baltic) region'). Certainly, this does not preclude a local lexical development, that is, products—and, hence, the words denoting them—exclusively associated with a particular region. The fact that NPs like *Flemyshcloth* or *ryniswyne* are embedded in the rolls without being rendered (partially or totally) into Latin indicate that they would have been used like regular collocations in the scribes' speech and that the extralinguistic referents would have been sufficiently salient as to be readily identified.

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Appendix. Commodities linked to place-names ordered chronologically and alphabetically by region²¹

Aylsham

uln. de Aylsam Rott. Bursar. c. 1337, 534

Bagdad

baudekennys Rott. Sacrist. 1318, 374
 baudek'n (pl.) Rott. Sacrist. 1318, 374
 baudekynes (x2) Rott. Sacrist. 1338, 375
 baudekyn (x2) Rott. Sacrist. 1338, 375
 panni de baudekyn Rott. Elemos. 1338, 199
 pannus de baudekyn Rott. Elemos. 1343, 205
 pannus de baudekyn Rott. Elemos. 1352-3, 208
 baudekyn Rott. Sacrist. 1388-9, 391
 baudekyns (rec. del) Rott. Sacrist. 1388-9, 391

Beadnell

bednale fiss' (x3) Rott. Celer. 1389, 49
 bednalfish ((pl.) x2) Rott. Celer. 1409, 53
 bednall. Rott. Celer. 1409, 53
 bedenelfysh (pl.) Rott. Bursar. 1408-9, 608
 bednelfysch (pl.) Rott. Celer. 1442-3, 81
 bidnelcodlynge (del (pl.)) Rott. Bursar. 1449-50, 632

Birmingham

panni de Berm' Rott. Camer. 1324-5, 165
 panni de Berm'h^am Rott. Camer. 1324-5, 167
 ells de Bermegeham Rott. Camer. 1342-3, 169
 ulne de albo Bermegeham Rott. Camer. 1342-3, 171

Caffa

Skaffatyne (zukur. de) Rott. Bursar. c. 1348, 547
 Caffatyn (zukur. de) Rott. Bursar. 1348-9, 549
 caffatyne (pane de zukre) Rott. Bursar. c. 1360, 563

²¹ See footnote 7 for an explanation of the abbreviations here employed.

Coggeshall

blodio mixto vocato Cogsale Rott. Bursar. c. 1419?, 616

Corinth

Razynges cowrans Rott. Celer. 1388, 48
 racemis curawns Rott. Celer. 1390, 49
 Rasinez de corencz Rott. Hostill. 1415-6, 139
 Rasyns de Corencz Rott. Hostill. 1418-9, 140
 rasinis corent. Rott. Communiar. 1511-2, 291

Crete

Crete (1 pynte de) Rott. Bursar. c. 1360, 563

‘Eastland’ [here the Baltic regions]

bordis de Estland Rott. Elemos. 1338, 200
 bordis de Estland (panelli de) Rott. Sacrist. 1338, 376
 Estlandbordes Rott. Elemos. 1340?, 203
 bordis de Estland Rott. Camer. 1342-3, 170
 bord’ de Estland Rott. Sacrist. 1347-8, 380
 bord’ de Estland Rott. Sacrist. 1350, 381

Estlandborde Rott. Sacrist. 1359-60, 384
 estlandbordes Rott. Hostill. 1366-7, 128
 estlandburd (pl.) Rott. Camer. 1374-5, 180
 Estlandbord’ (spere de) Rott. Hostill. 1379, 131
 estlandbordes Rott. Feretrar. 1383-4, 425
 Estland burde (pl.) Rott. Sacrist. 1404, 396
 Estlandburdez Rott. Bursar. 1456-7, 635

Hackney

haken’ Rott. Bursar. c. 1337, 534
 hakenays Rott. Sacrist. 1338, 376
 hakenay Rott. Elemos. 1343, 205
 Hakenaysadyll Rott. Hostill. 1379, 131
 hakenaysadilles Rott. Elemos. 1398-9, 215
 hakenaysadil Rott. Camer. 1414-5, 184

Iceland

pisc. sals. de Iseland	Rott. Celer. 1417, 55
Iselandfish (pl.) (x2)	Rott. Celer. 1419, 56
yselandfish (pl.) (x2)	Rott. Celer. 1419, 56
yslandfyss'	Rott. Celer. c. 1420, 58
Iselandfishs	Rott. Celer. c. 1430, 60
pisc. sals. de yseland	Rott. Celer. 1442, 79

Ireland

furur. de irislands	Rott. Bursar. 1375-6, 582
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Jordan

Jornadum	Rott. Bursar. 1278, 486
iordanem	Liber de reliquiis 1383, 430
jurdanus	Rott. Magistr. Inf. 1384-5, 265
jordan (pl.)	Rott. Elemos. 1402-3, 217
jordan (pl.)	Rott. Sacrist. 1404, 398

Lincoln

ulnis de Lyncolnesaye	Rott. Bursar. 1310-11, 507
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Lombardy

powderlomberd (dell)	Rott. Celer. 1466-7, 91
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Poitou

salis de pattow	Rott. Celer. 1363-4, 565
salis de patters	Rott. Bursar. 1375-6, 583
Pattowsalt	Rott. Bursar. 1377-8, 586
salis de Patews	Rott. Bursar. 1408-9, 608
salis grossi de Paytouse	Rott. Celer. 1438-9, 72

Prussia

sprwys fisc. (pl.)	Rott. Celer. 1378, 47
spruisfische (pl.)	Rott. Bursar. 1388-9, 596
ferro de Sprois	Rott. Bursar. 1379-80, 588

Rennes

Reynes	Rott. Bursar. 1341, 542
reynes	Rott. Bursar. 1365-6, 568
panno de Reynes	Rott. Bursar. 1381-2, 592
reyns	Rott. Bursar. 1396-7, 600
Reynes	Rott. Bursar. 1421-2, 619

Rhine

rynyswyne	Rott. Bursar. 1375-6, 582
Rinischewyn (una pipa de)	Rott. Bursar. 1375-6, 582

Scotland

Skotisadell	Rott. Bursar. 1386-7, 595
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Totenais

panno de Totenays	Rott. Bursar. 1333-4?, 522
ulnis de Totenays	Rott. Bursar. 1334-35, 525

Westphalia

panni linei de Westwale	Rott. Bursar. c. 1380, 590
Westfal (uln. de)	Rott. Hostill. 1394-5, 135
panno lineo et Westwale	Rott. Bursar. 1394-5, 598

Worstead

pannis de worset'	Rott. Camer. 1344-5, 172
pannis de nigro worseto	Rott. Camer. 1350, 173
pannis et di. nigri worseti	Rott. Camer. 1360-70, 175
worsett	Rott. Camer. 1362-3, 178
lectus de worset'	Rott. Hostill. possibly 1369, 130
tribus roll de worset	Rott. Camer. 1378-9, 181
panno de Worset	Rott. Bursar. 1377-8, 586