LIFE OF PIKELET

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Food excites passion. It isn't limited to those that make food part of their professional lives, but almost everyone will, at times, have a passionate argument, or at the very least a heated discussion, about some aspect of food preference. Does the milk go in the cup before the tea or after? Loose-leaf or teabag? Pyramid teabag, circular or square? To hard-boil eggs, do you start them in hot water or cold? Is 'scone' pronounced 'skon' or 'scohne'? In a cream tea, which goes on the skon/scohne first, the jam or the cream?

Equally divisive, although less publicly debated, is the crumpet/pikelet question. Arguments can range from the alleged existence of a north/south divide and/or either one or the other being a regional delicacy, to details relating to their shape, size and the thickness. This element of uncertainty, the lack of clear-cut division over precisely what is being disputed, is probably the reason the discussion is more low-key than those mentioned above. Nevertheless, it is an intriguing one, brought home to me recently in a conversation about crumpets and pikelets with my own family. My understanding of crumpets is that they are circular, 2–3cm thick, their surface covered with holes, pale and soft, and require toasting before being buttered and eaten. Pikelets are similar in appearance in that they too are covered in holes and require the same preparation, but are thinner, with a less defined shape, more oval and free-form than crumpets. I was therefore rather taken aback when my rug of certainty was whisked from beneath my feet by the responses. Far from confirming my understanding, it transpired that what I have spent decades calling a crumpet, my mother's generation identifies as a pikelet (perfectly circular, with holes on top), and their crumpet is my notion of a muffin (flattened, yeasted, bread roll, cooked on a

bakestone). Disagreements relating to any of the above reasons are understandable when each side comes from a different place, discovering variation within my own family took me completely by surprise. Instead of clarifying, the conversation had introduced yet another dimension over which to disagree.

So I set off in search of answers, and when I am in search of answers, I invariably turn first to the dictionary. In this instance, *The Diner's Dictionary* by John Ayto is the perfect resource with which to begin, as it specifically covers the word origins of food and drink. The entry for pikelets reads as follows:

> Pikelet: A West Midlands dialect term for a small flat crumpet. It comes from Welsh *bara pyglyd* 'pitchy bread'[1]

A straightforward definition and a bonus etymology, but one with which I found myself taking issue on a number of points, namely the West Midlands location, the flattened crumpet appearance and the Welsh bread derivation.

Originally from the West Midlands myself, I find the notion that pikelet is a regional affectation puzzling, since as already mentioned, I understood pikelets and crumpets to be identifiably different. In fact, despite growing up in the region, I was completely unaware of pikelets altogether until I was an adult. Lastly, the etymology stemming from a Welsh bread seemed a bit of a stretch. The use of the word 'pitchy' just doesn't ring true. The insides of a crumpet/pikelet are moist, certainly. Sticky, even. But like pitch? That implies a darkness in colour as well as a sticky texture and with their pale and flabby appearance, crumpets and pikelets are almost the complete opposite. It's not as if the incredibly rich and lyrical Welsh language lacks adjectives for 'sticky'; on the contrary there are many.[2] At the same time, due to the aforementioned flabbiness, it is a struggle to see either crumpets or pikelets as the bread that the word *bara* implies.

Turning to the *Oxford English Dictionary* in the hope of a definitive answer on the sticky pikelet question, I was rather surprised to find the following entry:

PIKELET, n. Chiefly *Eng. regional* (*north*. and *midl.*). A thin kind of crumpet; (also) a type of small round teacake made of fine flour; a muffin.

Types of *pikelet* vary according to locality.[3]

No mention of Wales per se, but concession that pikelets are *chiefly* (and therefore one could assume not exclusively) not only a regional crumpet but also a muffin-like (and hence bread-like) tea-cake. In addition there was the suggestion that pikelets vary geographically. The only geographical differences as regards pikelets that I am aware of have centred on how closely or not they resemble the similarly structured crumpet, with the pikelet of the north merely being a flattened version of the round crumpet of the south, but perhaps this is a misconception. The possibility that the real differences lie in both location *and* type, being a bread in one part of the country and a half-baked griddle cake in another, was intriguing. Since the details provided in the definition were scant, this seemed as good a place to start as any to start looking for more.

Regional dialects have been of interest for centuries and the mid-to-latter half of the nineteenth century saw a blossoming of academic interest in English dialects in particular. The English Dialect Society, founded in 1873 by Walter Skeat,[4] published over 80 works in its 23 year existence, culminating in the multi-volume *English Dialect Dictionary* in 1898. Many of these publications are out of both print and copyright but increasingly are being made available online to read and download as digitised editions. A total of sixty-four of these digitised regional glossaries and dialect dictionaries of the nineteenth century were retrieved and searched for records of the use of the word *pikelet.* Not every text proved fruitful, however the results of those that were are presented in Table 1.[5] It can be seen that the results fall neatly into three groups: those that refer to a bread-like pikelet (Table 1a), those that refer to a crumpet-like pikelet (Table 1c) and just three ambiguous entries, which appear to reference both types of pikelet (Table 1b). The most interesting aspect of these results becomes apparent

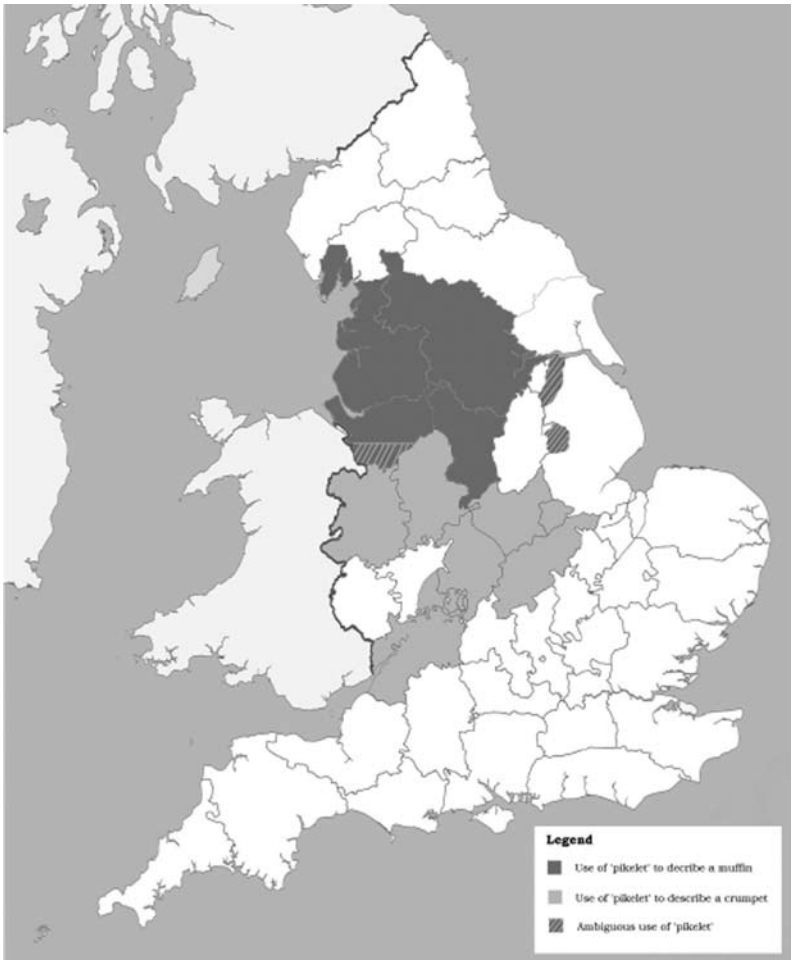

Figure 1. Use of the term 'pikelet' grouped according to definition.

when they are transposed onto a mid-nineteenth century map of the old counties of England (Figure 1).

Although data was not available for all English counties, the information displayed in Figure 1 is sufficient to show a distinct north-south divide, with the northern counties favouring pikelets resembling a bread-like cake and the more southerly midlands using 'pikelet' to refer to a crumpet-like item. The areas of ambiguous usage clearly fall in the borderlands. The southern region of Cheshire draws influences from both Shropshire and

Staffordshire, and although no information was available for Nottinghamshire, the data available in the three Lincolnshire wapentakes clearly indicates that a mixture of opinions existed.

With division lines so clearly drawn, the task of researching each form of pikelet became easier. In the nineteenth century, the pikelet of the southern midlands counties was most frequently compared to a crumpet, and occasionally even interchangeably. Before considering how a southern midlands pikelet was related to a crumpet, it is necessary first to look at the history and nature of a crumpet itself.

The Stuart playwright Thomas Nabbes includes one of the earliest[6] mentions of crumpets in his masque *The Springs Glorie* (1638) when the character of Lent addresses Shrovetide thus:

> Why thou *Helluo* of hennes and bakon, thou larderhouse of collops and egges ; thou that makest the kitchin proclaime its employment through the neighbourhood, with the sent of thy Lard and crumpets, what canst thou boast of?[7]

Although he lived and wrote in London, Nabbes was originally a native of Worcestershire and would have been familiar with the buckwheat crumpets which were a feature of the area, but possibly unaware of them being quite so regional. It would be more than fifty years before buckwheat crumpets would be noted in a wider context. In 1695 it was remarked that

> *Triticum Multiplex,* or *double-ear'd Wheat*, hath been manur'd here at *Rowley-Regis* in this County; and the *French* or *Buck Wheat*, (not that it is like Wheat in the growth or Grain, but rather called so, because it serveth the meaner sort of People to make Bread, in those parts where it is sown, as it is in the *barren Land* of this *County*, being sown alone, or with *Barly*) is sweetish as *Sugar*, and vended in the Markets, at about eighteen pence a Measure; they make Cakes of it in these parts, as they do *Oat-cakes*, and call it *Crumpit.*[8]

Later, in the mid-eighteenth century, gentleman farmer William Ellis remarked on the use of buckwheat in Shropshire, even

going so far as attributing the longevity of Old Parr[9] to his diet of buckwheat crumpets.

> It may be sown in July or August for cattle to graze on it in November, or sooner. In Shropshire they grind French wheat very fine, and make their cakes on a back or bake-stone which is two or three feet in diameter, on which they put a sort of batter made of this flour, milk, and yeast ; and when it is turned and done enough they butter and eat it, drinking butter-milk with it : this cake is called jannock or crumpet, and is what old Parr of this country eat all his life.[10]

Crumpets appear to have been, initially at least, a food of the poor or labouring classes because of the low opinion in which buckwheat was held by the majority of those involved in agriculture. In a late eighteenth-century book on British plants,[11] when not being regarded as a weed amongst mainstream crops, buckwheat is noted as being an excellent fertiliser crop, deliberately sown and then ploughed-in when mature to improve the quality of the soil. The same entry likewise notes that buckwheat, also known regionally as bucke, branks, and crap, can be used as fodder for farm animals, that the seeds are excellent feed for poultry and, almost as an afterthought, 'it is made into thin cakes in some parts of England, called Crumpits.'

Crumpets' origins appear to be both exceedingly humble and specifically regional. Originally made from the ground up seeds of a plant considered at best an animal feed or fertiliser, and so generally disparaged that people were literally eating crap cakes, the fortunes of crumpets certainly managed to turn around with astonishing swiftness. Their popularity spread, the buckwheat was discarded in favour of regular flour, that powerhouse of British cookery Mrs Raffald included a recipe for them in the second edition of her bestselling book and by the early nineteenth century, crumpets were considered a teatime delicacy[12] although its popularity, as testified by the occasionally terse definitions in Table 1c, appears to have been less than universal, at least among dialect glossary compilers.

Without additional details, it is not possible to give any definitive answers to either the form or shape these crumpets took, although it is probable that, given their origins in the cottages of the poor and as in the first printed recipe Mrs Raffald's book of 1771,[13] they were free-form, poured or spooned directly onto the bakestone. Crumpet rings or hoops start to appear in recipes around the middle of the nineteenth century, possibly for aesthetic reasons, stemming from a desire for neater crumpets. Or perhaps it was more practical; it is a more efficient use of the bakestone/griddle to have crumpets of a fixed diameter. The use of hoops was definitely key in the development of the modern crumpet form as, with the flow of batter contained, the only way for the crumpets to expand as they cook is upwards, thus creating their formal and easily recognised shape and depth.

It is possible that the introduction of baking rings or hoops signified the modern distinction between crumpets and pikelets. The *Salopia Antiqua*[14] of 1841 (see Table 1c) contains the earliest definition of a pikelet of the crumpet variety, although it is not referenced directly until the entry in *The Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*[15] in 1852. In north Staffordshire, a regional example of the free-form variety is known as the *oatcake*; large, pan-sized, mixed grain, yeasted griddle cakes popular for breakfasts and suppers. The *pikelet* of the region is characterised by the addition of dried fruit to this mixture. One of the many local businesses[16] specialising in the production of both oatcakes and pikelets defines *pikelets* on their website[17] as, 'It's a sort of female oatcake – Smaller, thicker, sweeter,' which is succinct, if not altogether flattering.

The modern crumpet is more easily mass-manufactured than the less rigidly defined pikelets, and consequently has a wider area of recognition, although occasionally both can nowadays occasionally be seen on supermarket shelves. Made predominantly from white wheat flour instead of buckwheat and sold in plastic packets, they are pale and soft but with a definite form and shape, usually round but also occasionally square, 1–2cm deep and full of holes on the surface. It would appear that the only characteristic

left linking the original buckwheat crumpets with the modern incarnation is the requirement of toasting before they can be enjoyed with butter. In the Midland and Welsh border counties of England, the term *pikelet* was associated with the early version of crumpets, similar in size and shape but in a thinner form, with the same distinctive dimpled surface. It is not clear where the term *pikelet* originated, nor does there appear to be a connection to Wales for this style of *pikelet*.

Turning to the other version of *pikelet, The Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* mentioned above also contains the following clue to the origins of the bread-like item familiar to the northern counties indicated on Figure 1.

> Bara Picklet: – Bread made of fine flour, leavened, and made into small round cakes.[18]

This is interesting on two counts; the use of *bara* strongly suggests a Welsh derivation and in the similarity of *picklet* to *pikelet*, a possible link to the muffin-like item from the *OED* pikelet definition. Using this phrase as the focus for a search revealed a rich array of both definitions and spellings, extending back more than a century before the common usage of *pikelet* as a term was noted. The combined results for both terms are presented in Table 2.[19]

This linguistic trail is almost exclusively that of a bread-like, yeast-raised bread. The persistent use of the term *bara* is evidence of a Welsh origin. Curiously, the mid-nineteenth century and specifically the definitions contained in *The Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* appear to signal not only the start of the confusion between *pikelets* and *bara picklets* but also the decline of the latter. So much so that by the end of the century, at least one source suggests *bara picklet* is an obsolete term. But where did this phrase originate? It was in common-enough usage in 1704 to warrant inclusion in the *Dictionarium Rusticum & Urbanicum,* so must have originated even earlier, and so it is to the seventeenth century that we now turn.

The earliest written mention of *pikelets* has been attributed to the seventeenth-century lexicographer Randle Cotgrave who, in

1611, published his English–French dictionary.[20] His definition of the French confection *popelins* was given as

> soft cakes made of fine flower, kneaded with milk, sweet butter and yolks of eggs and fashioned and buttered, like our Welch Barrapyclids.

Whatever form *popelins* took, it was similar to *Welch Barrapyclids,* so in order to understand them, we must first understand *popelins*. Although online sources suggest *popelins* are generally thought to have been made from an ancestor of the choux pastry of the modern age, there is a lack of any concrete evidence. Numerous web pages and personal blogs repeat the story that *popelins* were created in 1540 by Popelini,[21] one of Catherine de Medici's Italian pastry chefs, and that they were formed from a warm paste that had been dried on the fire. Three hundred years later, this hot paste (*pâte à chaud*), after being further improved by both Jean Avice, pastry chef of the French politician and diplomat Talleyrand, and the great Antonin Carême, would supposedly evolve into the modern *pâte à choux* or choux paste. Whilst this tale of a recipe progression, complete with a ready-made cast of larger-than-life characters, touched by the glamour of royalty, makes for an enchanting narrative, it doesn't appear to be supported by anything other than anecdotal evidence.

The modern notion of the early seventeenth-century *popelins* being equated with a proto-choux recipe is erroneous, primarily because there is evidence that choux pastry was already known and products being advertised under that name in the sixteenth century. Cotgrave's dictionary even includes an entry for them which, being made with cheese, have great similarity with modern choux pastry *gougères,* viz.

> *Tichous* : m. Little cakes made of eggs, and flower, with a little butter (and sometimes cheese among) eaten ordinarily with sugar and rosewater.

The name given by Cotgrave as *tichous* is conceivably a corruption of '*petits choux*', the existence of which was certainly known as far back as the sixteenth century.[22] A detailed description of the

making of *petits choux* can be found in a contemporary cookery book, the *Thrésor de Santé* (1607).[23] This also contains a recipe for *popelins*[24] which is specific in details of both ingredients, form and shape, closely matching that described in Cotgrave's dictionary entry. The differences between these two French delicacies can be summarised as follows: *tichous/petits choux* were formed from a mixture of flour, fat cheese and eggs; *popelins* (and by extension Cotgrave's *Welch barrapyclids*) were made from the finest flour (*fleur de farine*), egg yolks, milk and fresh butter, formed into flat round cakes, cooked in the oven, split and buttered hot, and served with sugar and rosewater.

Having gained an initial understanding of the nature of the *Welch barrapyclids* known to Randle Cotgrave in the early 1600s, confirmation from another source comes in the latter half of the century. In 1688, Randle Holme, a heraldic painter from Chester, published the first three books in his magnificent compendium, *The Academie of Armorie.* Ostensibly about heraldry, in reality it was filled with fascinating details on a much wider range of subjects, including food, drink and their associated trades. The book contains two references to these 'pikelets', although they differ slightly in their definitions and are separated by about two hundred pages and no doubt countless hours of writing. In a section on bakers and baking terms, Holme includes the following description amongst a list of breads:

> *BARRA PICKLED* a light bread made in round cakes[25]

In a later chapter, the following appears in a separate list of baked goods:

> *BARA-PIKLETT* is a Bread made of fine flour, and knodden up with Bearm, which makes it very light and spungy, its form is round, about an hand's breadth[26]

Unlike Cotgrave, Holme doesn't specifically state that it is a Welsh item, however the *bara/barra* in the name is sufficiently strong evidence to support this. In both lists, they sit comfortably amongst a variety of baked produce, some of which we nowadays

might view as regional as well as better-known items. Holme's descriptions of this bread do not rely on Cotgrave's, implying that he wrote them without reference to the earlier work and thus essentially provides a second independent testimony of its form, its shape (albeit obliquely in Cotgrave's case), its size, form and texture. Holme's familiarity with *bara picklett* is not altogether a surprise, since both he and Cotgrave hailed from Chester, situated close alongside the border with North Wales and thus might even have seen them being sold in the streets of the town.

A further seventeenth-century mention comes in the 1694 translation from French of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*;[27] the *Poupelins* in the original becoming *Welch Barrapyclids*. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know whether the translator, Monsieur Motteux, was familiar with the both the French and Welsh bakery items, or whether he was merely using Cotgrave's dictionary to help with the translation.

With these several accounts, it is significant that there is no indication that these items are anything other than a form of bread, and no mention of either pancakes or batter or of anything under-cooked. The suggested ingredients are of the highest quality, the kneaded dough is enriched with both butter and eggs, and the form is small, round and flattened. Cotgrave is particular to mention that the mode of buttering *popelins* is the same as for *Welch barrapyclids*, and from the *Thrésor de Santé* (1607), we learn that this is done after splitting them whilst hot.[28] The use of the word 'split' to describe the preparation is also significant. It is not a 'cut through', which on hot bread would compact the dough into heaviness, but a 'tearing apart'. It is precisely the method advocated by Hannah Glasse in *The Art of Cookery* (1747) when discussing the correct manner of preparing and serving muffins. It is therefore possible to assert that, at the start of the seventeenth century, the ingredients, form and manner of serving *Welch barrapyclids* suggests a flattened, yeasted cake of enriched dough with an immediately recognisable form that was well enough known to warrant mention in printed sources of the day.

Linguistically, it is fairly straightforward to see a link between

barrapyclid and *bara picklet.* What is intriguing is the phrase *barrapyclid* itself. Having grown up in a Welsh border county and having lived in Wales itself for several years, I am familiar with the richness of the Welsh language. *Bara* has a general meaning of bread in Welsh and is usually qualified with an adjective, i.e. *bara barlys* (barley bread), *bara brwd* (fresh or newly-baked bread), *bara gwenith* (wheat bread), and so forth. Separating *barrapyclid* into two parts, and setting aside *barra* as an obvious rendition of the Welsh *bara,* leaves *pyclid* as the word describing the specific kind of bread and is thus, potentially, the key to unlocking the mystery of the bread-like pikelet's origins.

As previously stated, Welsh is a rich language, and consequently there are many terms for bread, some of them finely nuanced. Additionally, there are differences in both vocabulary and accent between the mountainous north of the country and the lush hills of the south. With this in mind, and for the sake of thoroughness, numerous Welsh language sources were consulted in order to create as comprehensive a collection of Welsh bread terms as possible. The results are presented in Table 3 and it doesn't take more than a moment to note that the term *bara pyclid* isn't listed.[29]

However, what *is* listed is *bara peilliad/bara peilliaid,* which has meanings of white wheat bread, manchet, muffin, white bread, manchet, white bread, a kind of cake like a muffin made on a frying-pan.[30] Meanings which all fit exceedingly well with the definitions of *bara picklet* presented in Table 2. The combination of the spelling, the pronunciation and the definitions make a strong case for *bara peilliaid* being the actual linguistic origin of *pikelet,* and not the oft-quoted *bara pyglyd.*

The key to this theory lies with Randle Cotgrave. As previously mentioned, he was from Chester, very close to the Welsh border, and was familiar enough with *Welch barrapyclids* that he recognised the French *popelins* as being significantly similar. Cotgrave was composing his dictionary a time long before any Welsh reference books were available.[31] Consequently, when he wrote about his *Welch barrapyclids,* he wrote the name phonetically. To an Englishman's ear, even one living as close to the border as Chester,

bara peilliaid sounds like *barrapyclid.* And he was not the only Englishman to think so. Randle Holme would also attempt to set down the name of the bread with which he was familiar. Pronounce Holme's *pickled* not with a modern vocalization, but with emphasis on the first syllable and a long 'i', (*pie-kled)* and it is very close to Cotgrave's *pyclid.* Holme's second attempt is even closer to the *bara-picklet* that occurs and re-occurs in print for the next 150 years.

bara peilliaid
➛ barrapyclid
➛ barra pickled
➛ bara-piklett
➛ bara-picklet

This theory isn't entirely new.[32] It can also be found quietly tucked away, and seemingly ignored for the last 150 years, in the pages of the quarterly publication, *Notes & Queries*. The topic of *pikelets* in its myriad spellings appears several times during the nineteenth century, but the question posed by one F.J. Overton from Walsall in the West Midlands in 1884[33] elicited the following comprehensive response which summarises the linguistic element so eloquently it is quoted in full:

> PIKELET (6th S. x. 448). *Pikelet* or *piclate* is (or was in the early part of the century) a familiar delicacy of the midland counties. The fuller form *bara-pyclid*, as it was formerly written, shows that the name (together, doubtless, with the preparation itself) was borrowed from the Welsh. Cotgrave, in his *French and English Dictionary*, explains the word *popelins* as signifying 'soft cakes made of fine flour, kneaded with milk, sweet butter, and yolks of eggs, and fashioned and buttered like our Welsh *Barra-pyclids*.' Bailey (1737) spells it *bara-picklet*. The first half of the word is, of course, the W. *bara*, bread. The second element is to be explained from the W. *peillio*, to searce or bolt flour ; whence *peillied*, bolted or fine flour, and *bara-peilliaid*, fine flour bread *(Owen's Welsh and English Dictionary)*. The insertion of the k, which does not appear in the Welsh word, is in order to represent the aspirated sound

of the Welsh *ll*, which cannot be correctly conveyed to an English ear. It is usually sounded as *thl* or *tl* in the English pronunciation of Welsh names, as in Mallwyd, pronounced Ma*thl*ewyd, or Machynlleth, pronounced Mahun*tl*eth.

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The most persuasive evidence for a long lost Welsh manchet bread is the fact that the phrase *bara peilliaid/bara peillaid* has been appearing in written Welsh for centuries. The online Welsh dictionary even cites the following example from the fourteenth century, in *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn.*

Yna y duc y|wreic idaỽ bara peilleit … achic gwarthec.[34]

In addition, each of the dictionaries consulted to create Table 3 also contains an entry for *bara peilliaid,* one of only two entries (the other being *bara haidd/barley bread)* that are present in all five sources.

In putting forward this alternative theory of etymology, it is fitting also to discuss the traditional *bara pyglyd* theory quoted at the start of this paper. Thomas Darlington discussed this concept in his publication on the dialect of south Cheshire.[35] Darlington includes an extract of his correspondence with the great Welsh scholar Sir John Rhys,[36] where he appears to query the viability of a Welsh origin of *bara-picklet.* He deemed the professor's response pertinent enough to include in the glossary definition:

Having communicated my doubts of the Welsh origin of the word to Professor Rhys, I received a letter from him on the subject, part of which I translate here: 'The difficulty is that *bara-peiclat* [i.e., baar'.aa-pa'y.klaat] is the pronunciation in Carnarvonshire, consequently I cannot at present see that it is Welsh as regards its root. If it regarded *bara pyglyd* [i.e., pitchy or pitch-like bread], I cannot see what reason there could be for the change of pronunciation; … nor do I see what appropriateness there would be in the name.'

For Sir John, considered by many to be the foremost Welsh scholar of his day, not only is the pronunciation of *pikelet* wrong, but the

meaning, the suggestion that it might be derived from the Welsh for 'pitchy bread', is also illogical. It is ironic that this comment by Sir John appears to be the origin in print of the phrase *bara pyglyd*, which has subsequently been cited down the years as the origin of the word *pikelet*. There is no earlier mention of this combination of *bara* and *pyglyd*, than this exchange. It appears that the phrase, together with Sir John's name and reputation, has been seized upon and repeated, irrespective of the fact that the eminent scholar was actually refuting the speculation. It is doubly ironic because in his rebuttal, in mentioning the Carnarvonshire pronunciation [baar'.aa-pa'y.klaat] Sir John presents a perfect example of the anglicised pronunciation of *bara peilliaid* discussed in the *Notes & Queries* response of H. Wedgwood.

Just as the most persuasive evidence for the etymology of pikelet from *bara peilliaid* is the numerous instances of it appearing in print over centuries, the most damning evidence against *bara pyglyd* is that there are none. No instances were encountered whilst compiling the list of Welsh bread terms for Table 3. The Welsh online dictionary, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*,[37] which contains over two million citations from the very earliest of Welsh manuscripts down through the ages to modern times, has no entry for *bara pyglyd*. In fact, the *only* instances of it occurring anywhere are when academics and linguists discuss a theoretical origin of *pikelet,* and none of these instances pre-dates the above exchange published in 1887.

Putting forward a theory of a long-lost food is one thing, but to do so without making an attempt to recreate it, is only ever going to be half the story. As with the linguistic trail, wisps and echoes of *bara peilliaid* are still floating around, if you look carefully, and when gathered together, they can paint a surprisingly detailed picture.

Snippets of information were found in an edition of *Notes and Queries*,[38] in response to yet another of the occasional requests for information on the phrase *barapicklet,* and have been highlighted below in bold text:

> Bara-picklet is equivalent to the Cymric *bara-planc* or griddle-bread i.e. **small flat cakes** baked on a portable iron plate, which is suspended a

few inches above the fireplace. *Bara*, baked after this primitive fashion, **constitutes the ordinary diet of the Welsh peasantry at this day**; and, **when properly made, surpasses all other kinds of bread**.

W.

An **oval** cake about **the size of one's hand**, **slightly sweetened**, and **not thicker than half a muffin**, to be eaten toasted.

CYWRM, Porth y Aur, Carnarvon[39]

Previously unpublished manuscripts recently digitised by the Wellcome Library have revealed two handwritten recipes for *pikelets* dating from the early nineteenth century. Personally, I always have a greater degree of confidence in a handwritten recipe over a printed one: there's simply no way to tell whether a printed recipe has ever been made, but a recipe that someone took the time to write out for themselves is more likely to have been prompted by personal experience, which thus increases the liklihood of it being well used. The ingredients for both handwritten recipes are essentially the same, but in each it is the authors' notes that provide the most interesting details. The first[40] differs from Mrs Raffald's recipe in that it makes a thick batter, rather than a dough, however it is similar in that it suggests the barm-raised mixture be allowed to stand to prove overnight. The recipe also contains a very clear admonition not to stir before baking, ensuring that as much of the air generated during the first rise is retained as possible, and thus making the cooked items exceedingly light and spongy. A different[41] but essentially similar recipe also contains notes from the author, viz., 'They are very good if made with fine oatmeal instead of flour,' and, 'I understand muffins may be made in the same way with a little more yeast & baked thicker.'

These comments prompted me to consider of the type of flour that might have been used to make the *Welch barrapyclids* so familiar to the Randles Cotgrave and Holme. The mountainous region and poor soils of north Wales were, and are, far from ideal for growing the finest wheat flour. The general consensus in eighteenth and early nineteenth century agricultural publications is that bread in this region was made from a mixture of grains,

either of wheat and oats/barley/rye or a mixture containing no wheat at all.[42]

There's no way of knowing which particular mix of grains was used, if any, but there's a strong case to be made for a mixture of oat and wheat flours; *bara peilliaid* are described as being made of fine flour, and of rye, barley and oats it is the latter that, when sifted, is the palest and most similar to the finest sifted wheat flour, except for a further interesting detail.

Cotgrave describes *bara peilliaid* as being enriched with both eggs and butter. Modern breads enriched with these ingredients, such as challah and brioche, tend to advertise their richness by having a distinctive golden colouring and tender crumb. The interesting detail mentioned above is that this rich, golden colouring can also be seen in items baked with a significant proportion of oat flour. The *popelins* described by Cotgrave probably did indeed get their richness from eggs and butter, as well as being made from a much finer flour. However, these additional ingredients are expensive. A canny baker could use the much cheaper oat flour and still achieve a luxurious appearance without incurring any of the cost. A non-baker, unaware of such practices, would see the golden colour and assume it came from the inclusion of eggs and butter.

In a similar vein, the use of butter as an ingredient in addition to being a serving suggestion should probably be disputed. Serving these baked items 'hot and buttered' is a frequent instruction, and having a dough enriched with butter that is subsequently served dripping in butter would be excessive, even for the most indulgent of gourmands. It is obviously economically advantageous for a baker if people infer from the colour of his wares that they are made with butter. Furthermore, if he were then to recommend they be eaten *with* butter, the cost of the butter is borne by the customer and not himself. In terms more practical and less prone to speculative flights of fancy, baking experience bears out that a significant proportion of butter in the dough actually renders it heavier in texture than without, and in doing so the resultant bread loses the 'light and spungy' texture of the *bara peilliaid* so frequently praised and admired.

Figure 2. Sample crumb of mixed-grain bara peilliaid *experimentation: (left) 100% barley; (centre) barley/wheat; (right) oat/wheat. The oat/wheat mixture is more golden in colour.*

Unfortunately, the use of oat flour alone, even taking only the finest and whitest siftings, makes for a rather dense and heavy bread. A more pleasing result is achieved when the oat flour is mixed with at least an equal proportion of white wheat flour. The addition of whole beaten eggs, which add richness and contribute both to the colour and lightness to the dough, is also less wasteful than using only the yolks.

The texture of *bara peilliaid* is one aspect on which there seems to have been agreement. Randle Holme's definitions provide information on their form, size and texture: 'Light and spungy' is his phrase, and it is one which is oft repeated down the years, and also not unreasonable grounds for making *bara peilliaid* a muffin-like bread. I would contend that the phrase 'light and spungy' refers to the interior rather than the exterior appearance. A feature of both crumpets and the crumpet-like pikelets is their dimpled appearance and the many holes that are visible on their surfaces. None of the descriptions of *bara peilliaid* mention holes or pits at all, only their lightness and sponginess, which are characteristics of the very best handmade muffins.

The texture of muffins is derived mostly from the consistency of the dough, which in turn is determined by the degree and type of liquid used in the mixing. The higher the hydration, the softer the crumb and the lighter the texture of the whole. Too much liquid, however, and the dough becomes too saturated to

hold its shape and then tips over into becoming a batter. In a standard muffin recipe, whilst eggs provide a small proportion of liquid, most of the moisture in a muffin comes from the liquid used to bring the dough together. With regular bread, it is usually water, whilst enriched doughs tend to be mixed with a proportion of either milk or cream and water. Milk is mentioned by Cotgrave, although there is no way of knowing whether this is speculation or fact as regards *bara peilliaid*. Whilst milk certainly can add softness to the crumb of a loaf, unless the loaf is further enriched with fruit and peel, using all milk to mix the dough has a detrimental effect on the consistency of the crumb. An optimum consistency is achievable when a proportion of half milk and half water is used, providing maximum tenderness without negatively impacting the texture of the crumb.

Unfortunately space does not permit the inclusion of a detailed recipe in this paper, however it is possible to summarise the details gleaned from all of the sources available, and to create a reasonable description of this lost manchet from four centuries ago.

In the early years of the seventeenth century, *bara peilliaid* appear to have been Welsh griddle breads of finely sifted oat and wheat flour, similar in size and form to muffins. Mixed with milk and eggs, raised with barm/yeast, they were baked as small round cakes the breadth of a hand on an iron plate or bakestone. They were enjoyed split and buttered.

Bara peilliaid remained popular for around 150 years, until the middle of the nineteenth century. Their name became anglicised to bara-picklets and in the latter half of the nineteenth century their popularity declined to such an extent that by 1900, the term bara-picklet was deemed obsolete. The reasons for this decline are neither clear nor obvious. It could well be a combination of several factors such as increased industrialisation, a decline in home baking, poor harvests, or a myriad of other reasons, none especially damaging, but each contributing a little to the decline until no-one bakes them any more. Then again, perhaps *bara peilliaid* didn't disappear at all, just reinvented itself as the muffin and remains with us to this day, hiding in plain sight.

The process of investigation of pikelets has turned up several interesting facts about a range of traditional bakestone delicacies. For the author it has also highlighted an aspect of historical recipes that had not previously been considered to any great extent; the life of a recipe. Recipes have an existence of their own, they evolve over time, drop old ingredients and acquire new ones, change their names and, occasionally, fade away. An early version of a recipe might differ greatly from the modern incarnation but that isn't to say that the current version is better than the original, nor is it necessarily worse. It is only different. There's no reason why we cannot enjoy many interpretations of the same recipe, each unique in its own right, and there's also nothing stopping us resurrecting recipes that have fallen into disuse, so that we may enjoy them once again in celebration of the rich food heritage of this country.

Figure 3. An imagining of bara peilliaid*: toasted and split, with lashings of butter.*

TABLES 1a–c: GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF 'PIKELET' OCCURRENCE & DIALECT MEANING

TABLE 1a: USAGE OF PIKELET TO DESCRIBE A SMALL BREAD	
The Dialect of Craven, 1828, by a native of Craven, p.45.	PIKELET, A small cake or muffin.
A Glossary of North Country Words In Use, 1829, John Trotter Brockett, p. 231.	PIKELET: a small round light cake—a sort of muffin.
A Glossary of the Dialect of the Hundred of Lonsdale, 1869, Robert Backhouse Peacock, p. 63.	PIKELET, PIKELIN: a sort of muffin.
West Riding Words, 1811, Robert Willan.	PICKLETS, PIKELETS, PIKELINGS sb. pl. Small round cakes of fine flour, raised with yeast.
A Glossary of the Lancashire Dialect, 1875, John H. Nodal, George Milner, p. 213.	PIKELET (gen.) } sb. a kind of thin cake or PIKELIN (Cartmel)} muffin ; in Scotland called a *scone.*
A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, 1878, J.O. Halliwell, Volume 1 A–I, p. 141.	BARA-PICKLET: Bread made of fine flour, leavened, and made into small round cakes.
A glossary of words used in the County of Chester, 1886, Robert Holland, p. 259.	PIKELET, s. a muffin.
A Glossary of Words used in the Neighbourhood of Sheffield, 1888, Sidney Oldall Addy, p. 174.	PIKELET: A thin, round cake, made of flour, eggs, milk and yeast.
Two collections of Derbicisms, 1896, Samuel Pegge, p. 115.	PIKELETS: muffins ; small round cakes buttered and eaten with tea.
TABLE 1b: AMBIGUOUS USAGE OF PIKELET TO DESCRIBE A SMALL BREAD/CRUMPET	
T*he Folk Speech of South Cheshire*, 1887, Thomas Darlington, p. 293.	PIKELET : a tea-crumpet.
A Glossary of Words Used in South-West Lincolnshire (Wapentake of Graffoe), 1886, Rev. R.E.G. Cole, p. 114.	PYKLET, PYCLET, PIKELET, PIKLET, PYFLET *s.*— a crumpet, or kind of muffin, eaten hot and buttered. Spelt in all of the above ways.
A Glossary of Words used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire, 1889, Edward Peacock, p. 405.	PIKELET, PIFELET— A soft cake baked on an iron plate ; a crumpet

TABLE IC: USAGE OF PIKELET TO DESCRIBE A CRUMPET	
Salopia Antiqua, 1841, C.H. Hartshorn, p. 531.	PIKELET: a small, indigestible, circular, piece of half-baked dough, which being covered with butter is esteemed dainty tea-table fare
A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, 1852, J.O. Halliwell, Volume 2 J–Z, p623	PIKELET: a kind of crumpet ; a thin, circular tea-cake. *Var. dial.*
A Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases, 1854, Anne Elizabeth Baker, Vol. 2, p. 112.	PIKELET: a small, thin, circular, half-baked tea-cake; more commonly called crumpet, both very inappropriate names.
A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, 1878, J.O. Halliwell, Volume 2 J–Z, p.623.	PIKELET: a kind of crumpet ; a thin, circular tea-cake. *Var. dial.*
Shropshire Word Book, 1879, Georgina F. Jackson, p. 324.	PIKELET: a tea-crumpet
Leicestershire Words, Phrases and Proverbs, 1881, Arthur Benoni Evans, p. 212.	PIKELET, sb. a common tea-table delicacy occupying a position almost exactly intermediate between the popular pan-cake and the ordinary crumpet of commerce. On the Warwickshire side the word is sometimes written and pronounced 'pyflet.' PIKELET-STONE, sb. a flat piece of iron on which to bake pikelets. It is placed on the 'lazy-back' when in use.
Ibid., p. 220.	PYFLET *sb., i. q.* Pikelet, *q. v.*
A Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield, 1883, Alfred Easther, p. 101	PIKELET (pronounced pawklet ; gl. pauk·let), a crumpet : also used in Monmouthshire.
A Glossary of Dialect and Archaic Words used in the County of Gloucester, 1890, J. Drummond Robertson, p. 120.	PIKELETS: Crumpets [V.of Glos.] [Hund. of Berk]
A Glossary of Words and Phrases used in S.E. Worcestershire, 1893, Jesse Salisbury, p. 28.	PIKELET n. a crumpet ; a sort of cake composed of flour and water.

TABLE 2: DEFINITIONS OF BARA-PICKLETS/PIKELETS

1704	BARA-PICKLET: is Bread made of fine Flower, and knead up with Barm, which makes it very light and spungy. Its form is round, about an Hands breadth.[43]
1706	BARA-PICKLET: Bread made of fine Flower, and kneaded up with Barm, or Yeft, which makes it very light and spungy. [44]
1725	BARA-PICKLET: Bread made of fine Flower, and knead up with Barm, which makes it very light and spungy. Its form is round, about a Hand's breadth.[45]
1726	BARA-PICKLET: Bread made of fine flour, kneaded up with Yeast.[46]
1730	BARA-PICKLET: a sort of Bread made of fine Flour and kneaded up with Yeast or Barm.[47]
1733	BARA-PICKLET: Bread made of fine flour, kneaded with Yeast.[48]
1735	BARA-PICKLET: Bread made of fine flour, kneaded with Yeast.[49]
1736	BARA-PICKLET: Bread made of fine flour, and kneaded up with barm, which makes it very light and spungy, it's form is round and about a hand's breadth.[50]
1747	BARA-PICKLET: [*Welsh*] Cakes made of fine Flour, kneaded with Yeast.[51]
1768	BARA-PICKLET: (Welsh.) Cakes made of fine Flour, knaded with Yeast. [52]
1772	BARAPICKLET: Bread made of fine Flower, and knead up with Barm, which makes it very light and spungy. Its form is round, about a Hand breadth. [53]
1775	BARAPICKLET: (a local word, fr. the Brit.), a kind of cake made with fine flour[54]
1781	PIKELIN: a bun or muffin[55]
1810	BARA PICKLET: bread made of fine flour kneaded with barm, which makes it very light and spongy: *bara* being the Welsh for bread. In the north of England it is formed into flat cakes, which are called *picklets*.[56]
1811	PICKLETS, PIKELETS, PIKELINGS, sb. pi. small round cakes of fine flour, raised with yeast.[57]
1813	BARA PICKLET: bread made of fine flour kneaded with barm, which makes it very light and spongy: bara being the Welch for bread. In the north of England it is formed into flat cakes, which are called picklets.[58]
1814	PICKLETS, PIKELETS, OR PIKELINGS, s small round cakes of fine flour, raised with yeast[59]
1819	BARA-PICKLET Bread made of fine flour kneaded with barm, which makes it very light and spongey: bara being the Welch for bread.[60]
1825	PIKELET or PIKELIN: In the North of England, a light cake, a kind of muffin.[61]

1828	Pikelets, A small cake or muffin[62]
1829	Pikelets: a small round light cake—a sort of muffin.[63]
1841	pikelet: a small, indigestible, circular, piece of half-baked dough, which being covered with butter is esteemed dainty tea-table fare[64]
1852	Bara Picklet: – Bread made of fine flour, leavened, and made into small round cakes.[65]
1852	Pikelet A kind of crumpet : a thin circular tea-cake. Var. dial.[66]
1854	Pikelet. A small, thin, circular, half-baked tea-cake; more commonly called crumpet: both very inappropriate names.[67]
1857	Pikelet or Picklet.—A Staffordshire word for 'crumpet.' I believe that this word is derived from the O.Norse *picka*, which is explained by Haldorson—*frequenter pungere*—in allusion to the numerous perforations or spongelike surface of the edible in question[68].
1866	Pyclet Pyflets A kind of muffin made and baked upon a marble slab[69]
1869	Pikelet or Pikelin: a sort of muffin[70]
1875	Pikelet: (gen.) } sb. a kind of thin cake or muffin; in Scotland called a scone.[71]
1876	Pyflets Pyclets peiflets peiklets: a leathery kind of cakes called crumpets in London.[72]
1877	Pikelet: a muffin 'She sells pikelets and likecakes' (light-cakes)[73]
1878	Bara Picklet: Bread made of fine flour, leavened, and made into small round cakes. Dict. Rust. Cf. Holme's Academy, iii, 86[74]
1878	pikelet: a kind of crumpet; a thin, circular tea-cake. Var. dial.[75]
1878	pikelet: A kind of thin crumpet answering to Fr. popelins, soft cakes of fine flour, like our Welsh barra-pyclids. – Cot. From w. peillied, fine flour; bara-peilliaid, fine wheaten bread.[76]
1875	Pikelet: (gen.) } sb. a kind of thin cake or muffin; in Scotland called a scone.[77]
1876	Pyflets Pyclets peiflets peiklets: a leathery kind of cakes called crumpets in London.[78]
1877	Pikelet: a muffin 'She sells pikelets and likecakes' (light-cakes)[79]
1878	Bara Picklet: Bread made of fine flour, leavened, and made into small round cakes. Dict. Rust. Cf. Holme's Academy, iii, 86[80]
1878	pikelet: a kind of crumpet; a thin, circular tea-cake. Var. dial.[81]
1878	pikelet: A kind of thin crumpet answering to Fr. popelins, soft cakes of fine flour, like our Welsh barra-pyclids. – Cot. From w. peillied, fine flour; bara-peilliaid, fine wheaten bread.[82]
1879	pikelet: a tea crumpet (Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Bridgnorth, Newport)[83]

1881	PIKELET: sb. a common tea-table delicacy occupying a position almost exactly intermediate between the popular pan-cake and the ordinary crumpet of commerce. On the Warwickshire side the word is sometimes written and pronounced 'pyflet.'
1883	PIKELET: (pronounced pawklet ; gl. pauk·let), a crumpet : also used in Monmouthshire.[86]
1886	PIKELET: s. a muffin. Randle Holme calls it a Bara-Piklett. It "is bread made of fine flour, and knodden up with Bearm, which makes it very light and spungy, its form is round about an hands breadth." *Academy of Armory*, Bk. III., ch. iii., p. 293. [*Author note: reference is incorrect, should be ch.vi*] Bara is the Welsh for bread. [87]
1886	PYKLET, PYCLET, PIKELET, PIKLET, PYFLET : A crumpet or kind of muffin, eaten hot and buttered. Spelt in all of the above ways. *Fresh muffins and pyklets every day.* [88]
1887	PIKELET: a tea-crumpet. [89]
1888	PIKELET: sb a thin, round cake, made of flour, eggs, milk and yeast.[90]
1889	PIKELET, PIFELET: – A soft cake baked on an iron plate ; a crumpet.[91]
1890	PIKELET: Crumpets [V.of Glos.] [Hund. of Berk][92]
1893	PIKELET: n. a crumpet ; a sort of cake composed of flour and water.[93]
1896	PIKELETS: muffins ; small round cakes buttered and eaten with tea.[94]
1898	BARA-PICKLET Obs. Wal. Cakes made of fine flour, kneaded with yeast... Wel. *bara* bread + E. *pikelet* (a kind of cake), q.v.]][95]

TABLE 3: GLOSSARY OF WELSH BREAD TERMS

a bara croyw	unleavened bread[1]
a bara greidell	griddle bread[1]
bara angylion bara angelion	bread of angels, fig.[1]
bara amyd	maslin bread, of mixed grain, brown bread[1], brown or household bread[2], brown bread, or rye and wheat, or barley and wheat mixed. maslin bread[4]
bara anghras	dough-bread[2]
bara barlys	barley bread[1], barley bread[4]
bara beunyddiol	daily bread[1, 4]
bara brith	currant bread, plum cake, fruit cake[1] , currant loaf[5]
bara brithyd	maslin bread, bread of mixed grain[1], maslin bread[4]
bara briw	diced/crumbled bread[1]
bara brwd	fresh or newly-baked bread[1], bread fresh from the oven[5]
bara bwff	sour-oat pancake[1]
bara byr	biscuit[1]
bara calan	cake-bread, bun[1], cake-bread[2], cake bread, fritters[4]
bara caled	hard bread, ship's biscuit, rusk[1], biscuit bread, ship bread[4]
bara can	white bread, manchet[1, 2], white bread[4], (kan)white bread[5]
bara canrhyg	wheat/rye bread, brown bread[1], brown bread or rhy and wheat mixt[3], brown bread, or rye and wheat, or barley and wheat mixed[4], bara kanorig[5]
bara cartref	home-baked bread[1]
bara ceirch	oat bread/cakes[1], oaten bread[2], oat bread[3], oaten bread, oat bread[4]
bara cetel	pot-oven bread[1]
bara chwiawg	cake-bread, muffin, manchet, simnel cake[1], cake-bread[2]
bara clatsh	badly-risen bread, doughy bread[1], unwholesome, doughy, heavy bread[5]
bara clwt	griddle bread[1]
bara coch	brown/barley bread[1], brown bread[3], brown bread, or rye and wheat, or barley and wheat mixed[4]
bara coesed	manchet[1], white bread, manchet[2], white bread[3], manchet bread[4]
bara crai	unleavened bread[1], unleavened bread[4], bread made without barm[5]

bara cras bara crasu	toast[1]
bara crasedig	baked bread[4]
bara cri	unleavened bread[1, 2, 3, 4]
bara croglith	hot cross buns[1]
bara croyw	unleavened bread[1,2,4], croew: unleavened bread[3],
bara cwrw	bread soaked in beer[1]
bara chwiawg	sugar bread[4]
bara chwiog	sugar bread[2], bara chwiawg: sugar bread[5]
bara chwisoglog	light-bread[2]
bara cyfraith	Eucharist[1]
bara cymmun	Eucharist bread[4]
bara cymysg	bread of mixed wheat and barley[1], wheat and barley bread[5]
bara cyrens bara cwrens	currant bread[1]
bara cystudd	bread of affliction[1]
bara dan badal	bread baked in an oven under a pan[5]
bara dangos	shewbread, show bread[1], show bread[4]
bara dau flawd	wheat and barley bread[1], bara day vlaud[5]
bara deugras	biscuit[1], bisket bread[2], biscuit bread, ship bread[4]
bara diberygl	sinecure[1]
bara di-gras	dough-bread[2, 4]
bara diod	bread soaked in beer[1]
bara drwg	bad bread[1]
bara efferen	Eucharist-bread[2]
bara eilflawd	brown or household bread[2]
bara elusen	alms-bread[1]
bara ffenest	shop bread[1]
bara ffrengig	French bread[1]
bara ffwrn	oven-baked bread[1]
bara fres	fresh bread[5]
bara gofidiau bara gofidus	bread of sorrows[1]
bara gosod	shewbread, show bread[1], gosawd: shew bread[3], show bread[4]
bara gradell bara radell	griddle bread[1,4], greidell: household cake bread baked on a griddle[3]

bar gwaelod	cottage loaf, oven-bottom loaf[1]
bara gwenith	wheat bread[1], wheaten bread[2], wheaten bread, white bread[4], wheaten bread, white bread[5]
bara gwenith peilliaid	wheat bread of fine flour, white bread[1]
bara gwenith trwyddo	brown bread, wholemeal bread[1], brown or household bread[2]
bara gwersyll	ammunition bread[2,3,4]
bara gwyddel	Irish bread[1]
Bara gwyn	white bread[1,2,3]
bara gwyn manbaill	white bread of fine flour[4]
bara haidd	barley bread[1,2,3,4,5]
bara henbob	stale bread[1]
bara ing	bread of affliction[1]
bara lawr; bara llawfan; bara llafan; bara lefain	laver bread[1,2,3,4]
bara lefeinllyd	leavened bread[1,2,4], bara levan[5]
bara llaeth bara a llaeth	bread and milk[1], milksop; a piece of bread sopped in milk[4]
bara llech	household cake bread, baked on a griddle[1,2], griddle bread[4]
bara llechfaen bara llechwan bara llechwan	bakestone bread, griddle bread, unfermented bread[1], unfermented bread[3], unfermented bread-cake[4]
bara llongau bara llongwyr	ship's biscuit[1], bisket bread[2], biscuit bread, ship bread[4]
bara llwyd	mouldy bread[2,4]
bara llysieuog bara llyseuog	spice cake, marzipan cake[1]
bara maen	bakestone bread[1]
bara masw	Light-bread[2,4]
bara manbaill	cocket bread[4]
bara man-gan bara man-gant	white bread, manchet, cake[1], white bread, manchet[2], white bread[3,4]
bara meirch	horse bread[1]
bara melus	cake-bread[2], cake bread, fritters[4]

bara miod	pancake, pancakes, fritter, fritters, wafer, wafers, cake, bun, manchet[1], cake-bread[2], fritters[3], manchet bread, cake bread, fritters[4]
bara mws	mouldy bread[2,4]
bara nefol	bread of heaven, mannah[1]
bara offeren	Eucharist bread[2,4]
bara peilliad bara peilliaid	white wheat bread, manchet, muffin[1], white bread, manchet[2], white bread[3,4], a kind of cake like a muffin made on a frying pan[5] white wheat bread, manchet, muffin[1], white bread, manchet[2], white bread[3,4], a kind of cake like a muffin made on a frying pan[5]
bara peinioel bara penioel	brown bread, household bread[1, 2]
bara planc	bakestone bread, griddle-bread[1], household cake bread baked on a griddle[3], griddle bread[4]
bara plymbryd bara prwmlid bara prymlid bara plymryd	bakestone bread, muffins[1], muffins and the like sort of bread[3, 4]
bara pob	baked bread[4]
bara poeth bara perboeth	gingerbread, hot bread[1], gingerbread[4]
bara pryn	bought bread[1,2]
bara pys	pease bread[1]
bara radal	bread baked on a griddle on a peat fire with a pan over it and the whole covered with peat[5]
bara ropin	mildewed bread[1]
bara rhuddion	bran bread, horse bread[1] , bread made from wheat flour mixed with bran[5]
bara rhyg	rye bread[1,2,3,4]
bara rhynion	bread made of shelled oats[1], bread made of oats cleared of the husks[5]
bara saim	fried bread[1]
bara sinsir bara sinsirog	gingerbread[1,2,4]
bara siprys	bread of mixed grain[1]
bara sugr	sugar bread[4]
bara surgeirch	sour oat pancakes, light cakes[1], bread made, like lightcakes, of wheat or barley mixed with oatmeal and barm added[5]
bara surdoes	sourdough bread[1], leavened-bread[2,3,4]

bara tablen	bread and beer[1]
bara dan cidl bara dan cil	bread baked under cover[1]
bara dan badell	bread baked under a pan[1]
bara teisen	cake-bread[2]
bara tenau	oatcakes/barley cakes made on a bakestone[1]
bara toeslyd	dough-bread[2,4]
bara troi a rhuglo	a kind of muffin or round flat loaf baked in a frying pan[1]
bara trwyddio bara drwyddio	brown bread, wholemeal bread[1], brown bread, or rye and wheat, or barley and wheat mixed[4]
bara trwy'r dwr	unleavened bread[1]
bara ty bara tylwyth bara tuylwyth	household bread of inferior flour[1], brown or household bread[2,4]
bara wan tw	currant loaf[1]
bara ysgafn	light-bread[2,4]
bara yslafan	laver bread[4]

NOTES TO TABLE 3

1. *A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (online) http://geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html
2. *An English and Welsh Dictionary*, Volume 1, John Walters, T. Gee, Denbigh, Clwydian Press, 1828
3. *A dictionary of the Welsh language. [Preceded by] A grammar of the Welsh*, William Owen Pughe, Denbigh, printed and published by Thomas Gee, 1832
4. *A National Dictionary of the Welsh Languages*, Third edition, Owen Pugh, edited & enlarged by Robert Pryce, Denbigh, Thomas Gee, 1866
5. *The Welsh vocabulary of the Bangor district*, by O.H.Fynes-Clinton, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1913

NOTES

1. Ayto, p. 277.
2. Including but not limited to: clats, cyffeithlyd, cyffeithus, cyflyn, gliwaidd, glud, gludaidd, gludiog, gludiol, glŷn, glynedig, glynllyd, glynog, glynol, hylyn, iraf, llinynnaf, lludiog, stic, sticlyd, toes, toeslyd. Retrieved from *A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (online) http://geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html, 30/04/2017.
3. *OED* (b).
4. Walter W. Skeat, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge University.
5. See Appendix 1.
6. Although earlier, Wyclif's mention of 'crompid cake' in his bible translation of 1382 describes an altogether different item and is similar only in name. 'The

crumpet is not necessarily the same now as when it was first so called.' *OED* (a).

7. Nabbes, pp. 8–9.
8. Westmacott, p. 220.
9. Thomas Parr, of Shropshire, renowned for his longevity. Allegedly born in Winnington in 1483 and dying in London in 1635 at the age of 152. There is speculation that his birth date has been confused with that of his grandfather.
10. Ellis, i, p. 30–31.
11. Withering, pp. 414–5.
12. '...in some places is manufactured into thin cakes, called crumpits, which are a delicacy of the tea-table.' Pitt, p. 110.
13. 'To make Tea-Crumpets', Raffald, p. 384.
14. Hartshorn, p. 531.
15. Halliwell-Phillipps, Vol. 2., p. 623.
16. The Oatcake Kitchen, Station Road, Endon.
17. http://www.staffordshireoatcakes.com/pikelet_mix.php, (retrieved April 21, 2017).
18. Halliwell-Phillipps, Vol 1, p. 141.
19. See Appendix 2.
20. A dictionarie of the French and English tongues. 1611 Compiled by Randle Cotgrave, Printer/Publisher Adam Islip, London.
21. Wikipedia.
22. Records exist of a 16th-century street cry of 'choux, petits choux, tout chauds'. See Franklin, p. 213. Also Kastner, Planche IV, No. 44.
23. Le Thresor de santé, p. 34.
24. Ibid., p. 32.
25. Holme, Book III, Chap iii, p. 86.
26. Holme, Book III, Chap vi, p. 293.
27. Rabelais, p. 234.
28. *'Estans cuits on les fend tous chauds'* Le Thresor de santé, p. 34.
29. See Appendix 3.
30. See Table 3 for individual sources.
31. The only Welsh English dictionary available at the time was William Salesbury's 1547 *A dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe.*
32. 'pikelet: A kind of thin crumpet answering to Fr. popelins, soft cakes of fine flour, like our Welsh barra-pyclids. – Cot. From w. peillied, fine flour; bara-peilliaid, fine wheaten bread', in Wedgwood, p. 474.
33. 'PIKELET. This word, applied to a species of muffin, is omitted from many English dictionaries. What is its derivation? F.J. OVERTON. Walsall', *Notes & Queries*, 6th series, X, Dec. 6th 1884, p. 448.
34. NLW MS. Peniarth 5.
35. Darlington, p. 293.
36. Sir John Rhys, 1840–1915, Welsh scholar, first Professor of Celtic at Oxford University.
37. http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html.
38. *Notes & Queries*, 3rd Series, p. 113.
39. *Notes & Queries*, 3rd Series, pp. 169–170.
40. MS1835.

41. MS4645.
42. '...white bread, which is here considered as a luxury, the inhabitants generally subsisting on oat cake or barley bread.' Written of CERRIG Y DRUIDION (CERYG Y DRUDION), a parish in the hundred of Isaled, county of Denbigh, in *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 1834, published by S. Lewis & Co., London.

'...the wheaten bread is found mixed with different proportions of rye and barley, or wholly superseded by oatmeal cake.' Of Denbighshire. Ibid.

'The common bread of the inhabitants is oatmeal cake ... rye bread, and bread made from muncorn, or rye and wheat blended, are also in ordinary consumption.' Of Merionethshire. Ibid.

'The mode of living of the mountaineers is particularly simple : their bread, called in Welsh bara ceirch, is of oats' Of Carnarvonshire. Ibid.

'...the bread of the agricultural population ... in the more elevated and less cultivated districts it is frequently made from a mixture of wheat and rye called muncorn, or of wheat and barley and sometimes from barley alone.' Of Breknockshire. Ibid.

'About 50 years ago, rye was more generally cultivated than either wheat or barley' *General view of the agriculture of Flintshire,* in Kay, p. 10.
43. Worlidge, Bailey.
44. Phillips.
45. Chomel.
46. Bailey, 1726.
47. Miller.
48. Bailey, 1733.
49. Bailey, 1735.
50. Bailey, 1736.
51. Bailey, 1747.
52. Buys, p. 198.
53. *A new royal and universal dictionary of arts and sciences.*
54. Ash.
55. Hutton, p. 94.
56. John Wilkes, 1810, p. 704.
57. Willan, p. 92.
58. Good, Gregory & Bosworth.
59. *Archaeologia*, p. 154.
60. Curtis (ed.), p. 517.
61. Wilkes, 1825, p. 432/3.
62. A native of Craven, p. 45.
63. Brockett, p. 231.
64. Hartshorn, p. 531.
65. Halliwell-Phillipps, Vol 1, p. 141.
66. Halliwell-Phillipps, Vol 2, p. 623.
67. Baker, Vol II, p. 112.
68. Coleridge, p. 99.
69. Brogden, p. 157.
70. Peacock, R., p. 63.
71. Nodal & Milner, p. 213.

72. English Dialect Society, p. 199.
73. Powys-land Club, p. 301.
74. J.O.Halliwell, Volume 1 A–I, p. 141.
75. J.O.Halliwell, Volume 2 J–Z, p. 623.
76. Wedgwood, p. 474.
77. Nodal & Milner, p. 213.
78. English Dialect Society, p. 199.
79. Powys-land Club, p. 301.
80. J.O. Halliwell, Volume 1 A–I, p. 141.
81. J.O. Halliwell, Volume 2 J–Z, p. 623.
82. Wedgwood, p. 474.
83. Jackson, p. 324.
84. Evans, p. 212.
85. Evans, p. 220.
86. Easther, p. 101.
87. Holland, p. 259.
88. Cole, p. 114.
89. Darlington, p. 293.
90. Addy, p. 174.
91. Edward Peacock, p. 405.
92. Robertson, p. 120.
93. Salisbury, p. 28.
94. Pegge, p. 115.
95. Wright, p. 160.

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