

REGIONAL VARIATION IN SCANDINAVIAN PERSONAL NOMENCLATURE
IN ENGLAND*

That the Scandinavian settlers in England came from different areas in Scandinavia itself is a commonplace which hardly needs repeating but the extent to which regional variations in the personal nomenclature of the Scandinavian homelands are reflected in the personal nomenclature of Scandinavian origin which is found in English records and the extent to which such variations follow regional patterns in England have never been properly investigated. I do not propose to attempt a systematic analysis here - I merely intend to indicate some possible lines of inquiry.

In Scandinavia itself the evidence for the personal nomenclature in use in the two main dialect areas, i.e. OWScand (Norwegian and Icelandic) and OEScand (Danish, Swedish and Gutnish) during the Viking and early medieval periods is uneven but adequate. For OWScand there is no reason to suppose that the Landnámabók, which records many of the names of the original settlers of Iceland, and the Icelandic literary sources relating to the Viking Age do not give an accurate picture of the personal nomenclature in use during this period, though of course, phonologically modernized in accordance with the state of OIcel at the time when the texts in question were committed to writing in the 12th and 13th centuries. In OSwed there is a vast corpus of largely 11th century runic inscriptions - almost 1200 in the province of Uppland alone - which provides a good picture of the personal nomenclature in use in Sweden during the later part of the Viking period. In Norway and Denmark the runic material from the Viking period is much slighter but in the case of Denmark it can to some extent be supplemented by the personal names forming the first elements of place-names in -THORP, the bulk of which seem to belong to the period 900-1100.¹ The early evidence can also be supplemented by medieval charter material but this must be used with care since it belongs to a much later period, only becoming frequent after the latter part of the 13th century.²

Within Viking and early medieval Scandinavia two types of variation in personal nomenclature can be distinguished. The first can be designated 'horizontal variation', that is, variation between different regions. Thus GRIMKELL and STEINGRÍMR are characteristically OWScand throughout the Middle Ages. RUNOLFR, SIGFUSS and VIGFUSS are typically Icelandic while SUMARLIÐI seems to have originated in the Norse settlements of the Western Isles. BÖNDI and TÖKI are characteristically Danish in the Viking and early medieval periods and only spread later to Norway and Sweden. Typically Swedish are ÆGN, ÞIALFI and dithematic names in FAST-, -FASTR, HOLM- and KÆTIL-.³

The second type of variation can be designated 'vertical variation', that is, variation in nomenclature between different social groups. Thus in Viking Age Scandinavia such names as EIRÍKR, HÁKON, HÁLFDAN, ÓLÁFR (< *Anu-laiþar; in the earlier Viking period the original nasalization was still apparent, cf. ANLAF in OE sources) and RQGNVALDR seem to have been confined to royal families and to the very highest aristocracy⁴ while names in ÞÓR-, which are relatively young, having apparently come into use at the beginning of the Viking period, occur frequently among the upper ranks of the non-royal landowning classes - they are common in the Icelandic Landnámabók and in the Swedish runic inscriptions.⁵ It is significant that names in ÞÓR- occur among the names of the holds and earls of the Danelaw in OE records and as the first elements of such Danelaw hybrid -TŪN names as Thurgarton and Thrussington. The popularity of the name

element ÞÓR- among the landowning and military classes of Viking Scandinavia from whose ranks the commanders of the Viking expeditions came and the relative frequency of personal names in ÞÓR- as the first element of the hybrid -TŪN place-names of the Danelaw would fit well with the theory that these place-names for the most part result from the re-naming of pre-existing English estates seized by the leaders of the late 9th century Danish armies.

The Scandinavian pattern of onomastic distribution cannot be transposed onto the Danelaw. The Scandinavian pattern belonged to a relatively homogeneous population which was not subject to external penetration whereas in England the heterogeneous nature of the various elements involved in the social and historical developments which took place between the time of Alfred and the Norman Conquest implies a totally different situation.

In England any examination of the regional differences in Scandinavian personal nomenclature can only be partial in view of the uneven distribution of the source material in the OE period. The bulk of OE charter material is from the south and the west. There is comparatively little from East Anglia and only a few records from the true Danelaw between the Tees and the Welland have come down to us. The moneyers' names are also of less value in this respect than might first appear to be the case since they reflect only a specific group in an urban milieu where conditions were likely to have been different to those found in the countryside. The geographically uneven nature of the OE material has, however, one advantage in that it allows an impression of how far Scandinavians or men of Scandinavian descent spread into areas outside the Danelaw in the OE period. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this. Thus in a Cornish manumission of c. 960-1000 (Förster 30) two Cornish serfs, a woman Onzynebel and her son zyðiccael, were purchased at Þurcilde 'from Þurcild' at Bodmin. ÞURCILD represents a form of ODan ÞURKIL whose second element has been Anglicized through association with OE -CILD as in the pers. n. LĒOFCILD or with the appellative OE cild n. 'child'. The same document also refers to one MACCOSS who is described as hundredes mann, a designation which is used in the 10th century Hundredal Ordinance to denote the chief official of the Hundred.⁶ Von Feilitzen (PNDB 323 and n. 1) took MACCOSS to be here Cornish in origin but it would seem rather to represent the Irish MACCUS, a name characteristic of the Hiberno-Norse areas around the Irish Sea. It would be plausible to suggest that Þurcild and Maccoss were men from the Scand areas of England who had reached Co in the service of the West Saxon king. Similarly the will of Bishop Ælfweald of Crediton (Crawf 10) drawn up between 1008 and 1012 includes a legacy to a kinsman of the bishop whose name is GRIMKYTEL, an Anglicized form of ON GRÍMKELL, and a legacy to a man with the Irish name MÆLPATRIK. Finally a list of sureties for the estate of Stoke Canon D drawn up between 969 and 993 (R 47) contains the names CYTEL and DENISC. CYTEL represents a form of the common Scand pers. n. KETILL which has been Anglicized through association with OE (WSax) cytel m. 'kettle' while DENISC is an original byname formed from OE denisc 'Danish'. The south-west is an area which one would not normally associate with Scandinavians yet we find here examples of both OEScand and OWScand pers. ns. as well as of Irish names of a type plentiful in Y and in the other Hiberno-Norse areas of northern England. It is true that these Scand names are confined here to a narrow section of the upper class but they nevertheless show the mobility of Scand nomenclature already in the period before the reign of Cnut. After Cnut's accession Scand landowners become widespread throughout England. Thus a charter of Bishop Ealdred of Worcester of the period 1046-1053 concerning Ditchford in Blockley Gl (R 111) includes among its witnesses men with the characteristically Danish

pers. ns. ATSUR (ODan AZUR), ESEBEARN (ODan ~~Æ~~SBIORN) and WAGAN (ODan WAGHN). A charter of 1045 or 1046 (R 105) records an agreement between Bishop Ælfweald of Sherborne and one CARE TOKIES SUNA⁷ about an estate at Holcombe Rogus D.

These, however, all belong to an aristocratic milieu and the same is true of men with Scand names who appear in Domesday Book outside the Danelaw. It is interesting to note that whereas landowners with Scand names are not uncommon outside the Danelaw in the late OE period moneyers with Scand names are only really common at York and, to a lesser extent, at Lincoln and Chester, though they do occur sporadically elsewhere, e.g. at Exeter under Cnut moneyers named CARLA, SCULA and ÆRIGOD are on record. It is noticeable that in the areas outside the Danelaw Scand names hardly appear at all at the lower end of the social scale in OE records - the only example I have been able to find is that of a man called GRIM at Standon Hrt who was freed in the latter part of the 10th century in the will of the Lady Ælfgifu.⁸ Post-Conquest records in East Anglia and the northern Danelaw show, however, that in these areas Scand pers. ns. were widespread in all social groups apart from the Norman aristocracy which used only a few stereotyped forms such as ANSKETIL, TUROLD, and TURSTIN. There is no reason to suppose that this was not the case in the OE period - indeed it is confirmed by Domesday Book. There is a vast gap in wealth, power, and status between a man such as TOCHI son of OUTI one of the greatest landowners of the northern Danelaw in 1066 and the thegn ASLAC who at the same time held but one bovate of land at Normanton on Trent Nt but both have Scand names.⁹ In the late 11th century Feudal Book of Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds¹⁰ there are numerous examples of free tenants with Scand names who are recorded as only possessing a few acres but even in the post-Conquest period there are men with Scand names in England who had more substantial holdings. Thus a document of c. 1170 confirmed to the monks of Castle Acre a yearly rent of four shillings at Fincham Nf due from the sons of one TURLACH¹¹ (CAcre, fol. 85v). By way of comparison, the Pipe Roll of 1161-1162 records that *militēs solidarii*, paid knights, received a daily wage of eight pence.¹² The TURLACH of this Nf document was a small free tenant and he can be paralleled in numerous 12th and 13th century documents from the northern Danelaw. A still more substantial example of a post-Conquest tenant with a Scand name is provided by the La landowner ORM son of AILWARD who lived in the time of Henry I and was the ancestor of a noted family of the La gentry, the Kirkbys of Kirkby Irleth.¹³

The use of Scand names in all sections of the peasantry in the 12th and early 13th centuries is characteristic of East Anglia, the northern Danelaw, La, Cu, and We. Outside these areas the use of Scand pers. ns. is less frequent. Nevertheless, certain Scand pers. ns. (in addition to the really common ones such as ÁSKETILL, ÞÓRALDR, ÞORSTEINN etc. whose use was often reinforced by Norman practice, cf. the Norman forms ANSKETIL, TUROLD and TURSTIN) have a surprising ubiquity in English sources. Thus examples of KETILBIQRN, which seems to have been characteristically Swedish in the Viking period, have been noted in Bd, C, Hu, Lei, L, Nf, Sa, Sx, Wa, Wo, and WRY in post-Conquest English records.

This brings one to the question of the distributional patterns taken by OEScand and OWScand elements in English sources. It is generally accepted that the predominant Scand element in the population in La, Cu, We, and parts of western Y was Norse (or rather Hiberno-Norse) while in East Anglia and the East Midlands it is generally taken to have been

largely Danish. This is to a large extent borne out by the evidence of pers. ns. Thus the typically Danish names BÓNDI and TÓKI are extremely frequent in medieval Nf but are extremely rare in La while, on the other hand, the characteristically OWScand names STEINÓLFR, ÞORFINNR, and VALÞÍÓFR are not found at all in medieval Nf but are common in documents from La. The situation is, however, nowhere clear cut. It is rendered difficult by the fact that only a relatively small proportion of the Scand pers. ns. found in England can be assigned with any degree of certainty to any one Scand dialect area - some really common names such as ÁSKETILL, ÞORSTEINN and the like are known throughout Scandinavia. Nor are phonological criteria much help either. The monophthongization of PrScand *au* and *ei* in OEScand to *ǫ* and *ē* respectively took place after the settlement of the Danelaw¹⁴ as did the OWScand secondary u-mutation which resulted in such pers. n. forms as ON *ǫgmundr* (cf. OSwed *AGHMUND*) and ON *ǫnundr* (cf. ODan, OSwed *ANUND*).¹⁵ It is true that the secondary i-mutation of OScand *ās-* resulting in OEScand *ēs-* in such pers. ns. as ODan *ÆSBIORN* and *ÆSGER* does occasionally occur in England where it is a consequence of the renewed Scand influence of the time of Cnut but the distribution of forms containing this feature does not follow any distinct pattern. I have noted examples of ODan *ÆSBIORN* in K, L, Nf, Wo, and Y. The only reliable test is thus the lexical test using names and name elements which can be assigned with reasonable certainty to one dialect area or the other. Following this method some interesting results can be obtained. Thus in the largely OWScand area of western La some specifically OEScand names have been noted, e.g. ODan *AUTI* and ODan, OSwed (runic) *ULFKIL*. In the largely OEScand area of East Anglia ON *STEINGRÍMR*, which is one of the most frequent names in medieval Iceland, is well represented in medieval Nf while a 13th century Bury St Edmunds record contains several examples of the rare ON *SQNDÓLFR*.¹⁶

A closer analysis of the La evidence reveals the complexity of the various elements in medieval Scand personal nomenclature in England. An examination of medieval records, place-names, and field names has revealed 53 different Scand pers. ns. and one name (SIWARD) which can be either Scand or OE. Of these 54 names 33 can be described as 'Common Scandinavian', that is, they appear in medieval records in both the OEScand and the OWScand areas, albeit with varying degrees of intensity. A further 8 (EYKR, GUÞRÍÐR (f), GRÍMKELL, HRAFNKELL, IÞUNN (f), ÞORBRANDR, ÞORFINNR and VALÞÍÓFR) are only found in OWScand and 4 (or 5 if SIWARD is regarded as Scand) are OEScand (ALGUT, AUTI, FLÍK and ULFKIL). A further 8 names (LAGHMAN, *LANGUS (f), *LEYSINGI, *LÍKOLF, *LIOLF, *SKIQLDMARR, *SKIQLDULFR and *TOKKA) are AScand, that is, names formed on English soil from Scand elements. Of the 33 'Common Scandinavian' names, 3 (ÁSGAUTR, BÓNDI and TÓKI) were confined to the OEScand area in the Viking period, while another 4 (HALLVARÐR, HÁVARÐR, HRÓALDR and STEINÓLFR) were largely OWScand. The issue is, however, complicated by the forms taken by some of these 33 'Common Scandinavian' names. Thus ON *ARNKELL* etc. is represented by a specifically OEScand form in the field names *ARKILTERNE* 1200-1225 (1268) Cockersand 1010 (f. n. in Dalton in Burton in Kendal) and *ARCHILLESLACH* c. 1240 (c. 1342) Whalley 619, 620 (f. n. in THRESFELD near Marland in Rochdale) while the OWScand variant is found in the early forms of the stream name *Artlebeck* in Lonsdale H (*ARKELBEC* 1190-1215 (1268) Cockersand 826 etc.; see also PN La 168). ON *ÁSKELL* etc. occurs in its OWScand form in *ASKELCROS* 1180-1184 (1268) Cockersand 758, *ASKELESCROS* 1186-1190 (1268) Ibid. 757, the old name for the site of Cockersand Abbey (see PN La 171), and is found in independent use as *OSCHIL*, *ANKETIL*, *ANKETIN* and *ASTIN*. The first of these represents an Anglicized form of an OEScand **ÁSKIL* while the other three are all Norman

variants of the name. ON ÁSGAUTR etc. is only attested in an Anglicized variant in the form THURSTANO FILIO OSGOTH (witn.) e. 13 (c. 1342) Whalley 570 (the document concerns Garston in Liverpool). The common Scand pers. n. ÞORSTEINN is only represented by the Anglicized T(H)URSTAN and the Norman TURSTIN.

A further factor which comes into play is the quantitative factor. The most common Scand masc. pers. n. in medieval La is ON ORMR, ODan ORM, OSwed ORM(B)ER, whose use in La continued right up to the end of the 13th century. ORMR is common throughout Scandinavia but in the Viking period it appears to have been more common in Norway and Iceland than in Denmark and Sweden. The most common Scand fem. name in La seems to have been SIGRÍÐR, which was also found throughout Scandinavia but was frequent in Norway, Sweden and Iceland and rare in Denmark. These statistics for La should not be regarded as in any way definitive since they are based on only a selection of the material available. Nevertheless the body of material excerpted is large enough to be called representative and it is probable that the broad picture is accurate enough. It might be significant that ORMR and SIGRÍÐR are also frequent in Y but are rare in L and hardly found at all in Nf.

On the other hand, ANUNDR, which is common throughout Scandinavia in the Viking and medieval periods, is well attested in Nf and its immediate environs but hardly occurs at all in the northern Danelaw. Similarly the characteristically Danish BÖNDI, which is one of the most frequent Scand names in medieval Nf, is only found sporadically in the north and the east Midlands. These variations in distribution do not follow a strictly dialect based pattern. It is true that BÖNDI is specifically Danish but its frequency in Nf and its rarity in L, an area also largely settled by Danes, is remarkable.

An example of a name element which appears to follow a clear regional pattern in English sources is that of OScand -KÆTILL as a second element of dithematic pers. ns. In Scandinavia itself the full form -KÆTILL is found in Norse skaldic verse and in Swedish runic inscriptions but the syncopated form, ON -KELL, OEScand -KIL, is much more frequent. At the time of the initial Scand settlements in England in the last quarter of the 9th century the full form seems to have still been usual in Scandinavia, cf. Anglicized OSCYTEL 875 (c. 900) ASC (A), ÞURCYTEL 918 (c. 925) ASC (A). The syncopation of -KÆTILL > -KELL, -KIL began early in the 10th century and it was earliest and most thorough in Danish.¹⁷ In the north and the east Midlands in such names as ARNKELL, ÞORKELL and ULFKELL the syncopated forms are usual and the more conservative full form appears extremely sporadically except in the case of ÁSKETILL where its survival was doubtless due to the influence of the Norman forms ANSKETILL, ANKETIL etc. In Nf, however, the full form, usually Anglicized as -C(H)ETEL, -KETEL, is the rule. This distinction between Nf and the northern Danelaw has a remarkable consistency. There are, it is true, a few examples of an OEScand *ÁSKIL in Nf but the only name showing a fairly substantial collection of forms with the syncopated -KIL in Nf is OEScand ÞURKIL. These forms doubtless reflect the renewed Scand influence of Cnut's time. In general, however, the conservatism of East Anglia as regards the prevalence of the full form -KÆTILL in records of the ME period would suggest that there was little further contact with Scandinavia itself after the initial invasion and settlement at the end of the 9th century - the popularity of ÞURKIL might be plausibly explained as a result of the fame of the Viking leader Þurkil the Tall who was for a time Cnut's earl of East Anglia - whereas in the northern Danelaw close contacts with Scandinavia lasted long enough for the

full form -KÆTILL to be generally supplanted by the syncopated -KELL, -KIL. It is noteworthy that in Normandy, where there was no substantial Scand settlement after the earlier part of the 10th century, the full form is almost universal.

These examples have shown that certain regional variations do exist in the Scand personal nomenclature found in English sources but it could be argued that the factors making for uniformity of usage were even stronger. Certain names such as ÁSKELL, GAMALL, ÞORSTEINN and ÚLFR are found throughout the Scand areas of England and also in areas which never saw extensive Scand settlement. Anglicization is found everywhere - the AS cand forms OSGOT < ON ÁSGAUTR etc. and ÞURSTAN, T(H)URSTAN < ON ÞORSTEINN etc. are found from La to Mx and also in the areas west of Watling Street where there was never any large scale settlement of Scandinavians. An interesting example of Anglicization is provided by OSCYTEL/OSKETEL, an Anglicized variant of the Scand ÁSKETILL. OSCYTEL, as mentioned above, occurs already in the A text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle sub anno 875, where it is used to render the name of one of the leaders of the Danish armies in England. It is a completely Anglicized form of the Scand name, the first element having been replaced by the corresponding OE ōs- and the second element having been modified through the influence of the appellative OE (WSax) cytel. This specifically WSax form occurs in OE sources as the name of a famous 10th century Archbishop of York who seems to have belonged to an Anglo-Danish family from the eastern Danelaw.¹⁸ It also appears as the name of moneyers at Chester, Cambridge and London in the time of Æthelred the Unready¹⁹ and is found (as OSKYTEL) in an 11th century Bury St Edmunds record (R 104). After the Conquest the WSax standard disappears and this Anglicized form appears as OSKETEL, OSCHETEL (with Angl cetel modifying the second element). It should be noted that this specific form of ON ÁSKELL etc. is almost entirely confined to Nf and Sf in the post-Conquest period.

It is also noticeable that Anglicized forms of Scand pers. ns. are common as the first elements of the hybrid -TŪN p. ns. e.g. AS cand ÞURGĀR < ON ÞORGEIRR etc. forms the first element of Thurgarton Nf and Nt, AS cand ÞURMŌD < ON ÞORMŌÐR etc. forms the first element of Thurmaston Lei, Thrumpton Nt and the lost Nf THURMODETUN (1202 FF. 454). In this context it is interesting to note that ON ÞORMŌÐR etc. is also contained in Thormanby NRY, the DB forms of which, TURMOZ-, TORMOZBI, were taken by Ekwall (IPN 62) to reflect the original Scand genitive (OS cand ÞORMŌÐSBÝ).

Anglicized variants often co-exist with spellings which retain the original Scand form in the corpus of Scand pers. ns. found in English records. Thus in Nf ON STEINGRÍMR is represented by forms which preserve the original Scand diphthong ei and by Anglicized forms showing the replacement of ON STEIN- by the corresponding OE STĀN-. The p. n. Osgodby NRY, which contains ON ÁSGAUTR etc., has early forms with Scand AS-, OE OS- and Norman AN- in the first element (PN NRY 104).

English records also sometimes show chronologically distinct variants of the same name. The earlier mentioned -KÆTILL/-KELL/-KIL group illustrates this. Another case in point is ON ÓLÁFR etc. This name goes back to a PrScand *Anu-laiðar and is represented in England by such forms as ANLAF, ALEIF, ALLEF and OLAF. ANLAF represents the original form retaining the initial nasalization - it is an early loan but not common since it seems chiefly to have been a royal name in the Viking period. ALLEF, the name of a TRE tenant in L in DB, represents the later ON ÁLEIFR, OSwed (runic) ALÆIFR, and Gillian Fellows Jensen was undoubtedly correct in regarding it as the name of an 11th century migrant (SPNLY civ). The same is doubtless also

true of ALEIF, ALEOF, the name of one of the Confessor's York moneyers.²⁰ The final form, OLAF, which appears in areas as far apart as Du and O, probably does not reflect any later migration from Scandinavia but is most likely merely a reflection of the popularity in England of the cult of St Olaf of Norway (ob. 1030).

A differentiated approach is also necessary with MAGNÚS. MAGNÚS first appears in Scandinavia in the 11th century and its appearance in 12th century L was taken by Stenton (DCh cxvii and n. 7) to reflect continuing contact up to at least the 11th century between England and Scandinavia. The appearance of the name in L, however, probably reflects the fame of the first recorded Scand bearer of the name, King Magnús the Good of Norway (ob. 1047). The first recorded English bearer of the name was a son of King Harold II Godwinsson and it is highly likely that he was named after Magnús the Good. On the other hand Stenton (*loc. cit.*) was right to take the L name RUMFARI, which is an original byname denoting a man who had made a pilgrimage to Rome, to be evidence of relatively late English contacts with Scandinavia since the concept of pilgrimage to Rome in Scandinavia cannot predate the conversion to Christianity in the 11th century.

The picture I have given here of various aspects of Scand personal nomenclature in the different regions of English is of necessity fragmentary and incomplete. There are questions which I have not examined such as that of the specifically AS cand pers. ns. - here too there are regional differences, e.g. LEYSING, LEISING < ON *leysingi* 'freedman' is common in the north but does not appear in Nf and is rare in L, while BRUNSWEIN is confined to Nf. It is not possible to divide the Danelaw into onomastic zones but as a rough rule it is possible to say that the personal nomenclature patterns in Y and La are closer to each other than either are to the regions south of the Humber. It is clear that the Scand settlement in certain areas was far-reaching and dense - this is proved by the place-name and field name evidence, by the survival of Scand inflections in place-names and by the vitality of the Scand name-giving tradition which led to the formation of the specifically AS cand name formations mentioned above. On the other hand the appearance everywhere of Anglicized forms shows that the importance of the English element, even in the most heavily Scandinavian parts of the Danelaw, should not be underestimated. The appearance of a not inconsiderable number of Scand pers. ns. in the ME period in areas outside the Danelaw might be interpreted as suggesting that the mobility of individual Scandinavians, especially in the landowning classes, in the OE period might have been greater than would at first appear. On the other hand, these names might well be merely a relic of the prestige undoubtedly enjoyed by Scand pers. ns. among the landowning classes in the reign of Cnut. Much remains to be done in the field of Scand personal nomenclature in England but it is clear that it cannot be regarded as a merely linguistic problem. The lexical and phonological problems associated with these names are, of course, essential for their elucidation, but they must be treated as part of a whole which includes the historical factors which are of equal importance.

NOTES

*This is a slightly modified version of a paper delivered at the eleventh annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies, Nottingham, 1979.

1. This evidence must be used with care, however, since it is possible that in some cases the pers. ns. which form the first elements of these

p. ns. when they first appear in medieval records have replaced earlier pers. ns. or appellatives. For actually documented examples of such change in the first elements of Danish p. ns. in -THORP see C. Lisse, 'Gøkstorp qvod nunc Knutstorp dicitur. Om middelalderlige landsbynavneskifter', *Festskrift til Kristian Hald* (Copenhagen 1974), 117-127.

2. For the source material for the personal nomenclature of Viking and medieval Scandinavia see the articles of E.F. Halvorsen, R. Otterbjörk, K. Hald, K. Vilkuña and C.-E. Thors, *KLNM* 13. 199-226, 229-234, s.v. *Personnavn*.
3. For regional differences in the personal nomenclature of Viking and medieval Scandinavia see E. Wessén, *Nordiska namnstudier* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1927:3), 97-109, and *KLNM* 13. 199-226, 229-234, s.v. *Personnavn*.
4. See the comments of E. Wessén, *Sveriges Runinskrifter* 7 (Stockholm 1943-1946), 427, and of R. Otterbjörk, *KLNM* 13. 212.
5. For the pers. n. element ÞÓR- see E. Wessén, *Nordiska namnstudier*, 72-74, and K. Hald, *Personnavne i Danmark: I. Oldtiden* (Copenhagen 1971), 42-50.
6. The text of the Hundredal Ordinance is printed by F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I (Halle 1903-1916), 192-195.
7. Both these names are Scand. CARE is ON KÁRI, ODan KĀRI, OSwed KĀRE, a name which is more common in OWScand than in OEScand, while TOKIES (gen.) represents the typically Danish TŌKI.
8. *The Will of Æthelgifu. A Tenth Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript*, trans. and examined by Dorothy Whitelock, with Neil Ker and Lord Rennell, for the Roxburghe Club (Oxford 1968), 9.
9. For Tochi son of Outi see PND 385 and n. 5 and the references given there. For the Nt thegn Aslac of Normanton on Trent see F.M. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw* (Oxford 1910), 58-59, 64.
10. Edited by D.C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* (London 1932), 3-44.
11. The form TURLACH represents ON ÞORLÁKR, ODan, OSwed THORLĀK, AS cand ÞURLĀC.
12. A.L. Poole, *The Obligations of Society in the XII and XIII Centuries* (Oxford 1946), 52 and n. 1.
13. For Orm son of Ailward and his descendant see W. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Early Lancashire Charters* (Liverpool 1902), 403-406. The pers. n. ORM is ON ORMR, ODan, OSwed ORM, while AILWARD is the normal ME form of OE ÆPELWEARD.
14. For the monophthongization of PrScand *au* and *ei* in OEScand see J. Brøndum-Nielsen, *Gammeldansk Grammatik* I (2nd ed.) (Copenhagen 1950), 330-333, and A. Noreen, *Altschwedische Grammatik* (Halle 1904), 114-117.
15. For the OWScand secondary *u*-mutation see A. Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* (4th ed.) (Halle 1923), 78-79.
16. For examples of ODan AUTI and ODan, OSwed (runic) ULFKIL in La and of ON SONDULFR in Sf see J. Insley, 'Medieval Settlement: the Interdisciplinary Approach', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 11 (1978-1979).
17. Cf. Brøndum-Nielsen, *Gammeldansk Grammatik* I, 248, and H. Andersen, 'Nogle runedanske Navneled', *Namn och Bygd* 24 (1936), 84-85.
18. For the family connections of Archbishop Oscytel of York see D. Whitelock, 'The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw', *Saga Book of the Viking Society* 12 (1937-1945), 169-170, 174-175, and D. Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes (London 1959), 75-76.

19. V.J. Smart, 'Moneyers of the late Anglo-Saxon Coinage 973-1016', Commentationes de nummis saeculorum ix - xi in Suecia repertis II (Stockholm 1968), 220, 245, 254, 255.
20. For this moneyer see E.J.E. Pirie, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 21 (London 1975), xlvi, xlix.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASC	The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle(s); <u>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</u> , ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer (Oxford 1892-1899).
CAcre	The Cartulary of Castle Acre Priory (British Library, Harley 2110).
Cockersand	The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey, ed. W. Farrer, Chetham Society New Series 38-40, 43, 56, 57, 64 (1898-1909).
Crawf	The Crawford College of Early Charters and Documents, ed. A.S. Napier and W.H. Stevenson (Oxford 1895).
DCh	Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw, ed. F.M. Stenton (London 1920).
f, fem.	feminine.
FF	Feet of Fines for the County of Norfolk 1198-1202, ed. B. Dodwell, Pipe Roll Society New Series 27 (1952).
Förster	M. Förster, 'Die Freilassungsurkunden des Bodmin-Evangeliars', <u>A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen on his Seventieth Birthday</u> (Copenhagen 1930), 77-99.
fol.	folio.
H	Hundred.
KLNM	Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder (Copenhagen 1956 ff.).
masc.	masculine.
PND	O. von Feilitzen, <u>The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book</u> (Uppsala 1937).
R	A.J. Robertson, <u>Anglo-Saxon Charters</u> (Cambridge 1939).
SPNLY	G. Fellows Jensen, <u>Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire</u> (Copenhagen 1968).
Whalley	The Coucher Book or Chartulary of Whalley Abbey, ed. W.A. Hulton, Chetham Society Old Series 10, 11, 16, 20 (1847-1849).
witn.	witness.

All other abbreviations follow the usage of the publications of the English Place-Name Society. In the present article the page or column number is given, except in the cases of Crawf, FF, Förster and R, where the number of the document is given.

JOHN INSLEY

Bad Königshofen im Grabfeld.

A THOUSAND YEARS OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON DANISH
MASCULINE NOMENCLATURE*

I) Moneyers

The names of moneyers punched into our 11th-century coinage belong to our earliest national onomastic sources. It is a well-known fact that our first coinage was modelled on the Æthelrædian penny of the Viking period, and that the moneyers operating at the royal mints were to a very large extent English. Although the coin material is unique in being precisely datable and localizable, yet the foreignness of its models and of many of its producers makes it evidence which should be approached with the utmost caution. DgP (p. vii), our national thesaurus of personal names, has consistently excluded the moneyers before 1076 on the grounds that they were prevailingly foreign; other authorities - nothing daunted - have considered the coins to be products of Danish craftsmen, enlisting the services of their names, where they appeared most suitable, to date and antedate Danish sound laws (e.g. Jacobsen, Noreen).

To form a reliable estimate of English influence on our early nomenclature, it is vital to segregate the names that are to all intents and purposes English from two other groups, one with indigenous Danish names, and another more problematic one with names that constitute a mixture of speechforms, anglicized names. While this grouping of the coin names can be performed on the basis of fairly well-defined linguistic and onomastic criteria, the problem of assessing the nationality of the name bearers - crucial for the scope of the present paper - is bound to operate on varying levels of probability.

A) English names (Table I)

The names are from Hauberg's lists of early Danish moneyers down to 1146 (Erik Lam). All blundered or doubtful inscriptions have been excluded. The signatures accredit the moneyers to the following mints: Å(rhus), Ål(borg), B(orgeby), H(edeby), L(und), O(dense), R(oskilde), Ra(nders), Ri(be), R(ing)s(ted), S(lagelse), T(humathorp), To(ftum), V(iborg), Ø(rbæk).

How should we interpret these names? Are they names of English craftsmen operating at Danish mints? We know that our early monetary system was copied from England, and some of our moneyers are expressly referred to as foreigners in other sources. Purely numismatic evidence points the same way (e.g. the reference to Canute alternately as Rex Danorum and Rex Anglorum, the frequent employment of adverse and reverse dies known from English mints, etc.). There is also the perplexing probability that some names on the coinage have been copied by Danish craftsmen from English coins, and in that case represent people who never set foot in the country. The fact that names like Leofnop, Ælfric, Leofsige, and Leofwine appear on coins struck in Denmark for Canute, Harthicanute and Magnus (see Haub. pp. 94 and 96) with Winchester, Gifelceaster and Lincoln as mints of issue is a warning that this eventuality should not be entirely disregarded.

It is the entrenched view of our onomastic authorities, however, that the bearers of English names were prevailingly foreign, but does that also apply to long strings of names at the same mints spanning the reigns