

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.

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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 prevaillingly 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 prevaillingly foreign, but does that also apply to long strings of names at the same mints spanning the reigns

current w. sax. spelling capitalized	Svein Forkbeard (985-1014)	Canute the Great (1018-1035)	Hardicanute (1035-1042)	Magnus (1042-1047)	Sven Estrithson (1047-1075)	Harald Hen (1075-1080)	Canute the Holy (1080-1086)	Oluf (1086-1095)	Erik Ejegod (1095-1103)	Niels (1104-1134)	Eric Emune (1134-1137)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ADA											
Adi							L				
ELFMER											
Alfmer					L						
ALFNOD											
Alfnod	L O	L R	O								
Alfnath					L O						
ELFRIC											
Alfric			L		L Ri						
ELFWEALD											
Alfvold						L					
ELFWEARD											
Alfward	L	L	L	L							
Alfwart						Rs					
Alfvard								Rs			
Alfvord							Rs	Rs			
Altward					LL						
ELFWINE											
Alfwine	L	L									
Alwini										L	
Elfwinn						L					
ELNOD											
Ailnod						R					
BALDWINE											
Baldvine								Ra			
BYRHYNOD											
Berhtnod	L										
BRIHTRIC											
Brihtric	S										
BRUNMAN											
Brunman	V		R	L							
CEADWINE											
Ciadwine		A									
EADGER											
Edger									Al		
EADRIC											
Iadrif					L						
Iaruci					V						
Edric						V					
EADWEARD											
Edvard						V					
Edvart							V				
EADWINE											
Edwine				L							
EASTMUND											
Easmun								L			
Eastmund									L		
Estmun											
Estmund										L	
GODFERD											
Godferd					L						
GODINC											
Godelic					V						
Godinc					V						
GODNOD											
Godnod				L							

TABLE I

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
GODWINE											
Godwine	L	L			L						
Godvine										L	
Godwini					L						
Godvini					L						
Godvne						E					
Gudwin					L						
LEOFNOD											
Leofnod		L									
LEOFSIGE											
Lefsi				L To	L						
Liffci				H	H						
Lifsig				A							
LEOFDEGN											
Lefden		Ø									
Lefdei			Ø								
LEOFWEARD											
Liofwerd		L									
LEOFWINE											
Leavin										L	
Lefvine				Al Ø						L T	
Lefwine				L S	L	L B					
Leofwine			L			L					
Leovine		L									
Lieofwin						L					
Liofvin							L				
Liofvine								L			
LIFINC											
Lifinc						L					
ORSTAN											
Orstan						L				V	
OELRIC											
Oelric								L			
PAPENING											
Papening										R	cf.Dgp 1077
SEWINE											
Sewine						L					
Sevina						L					
SIRIC											
Siric			Ri								
DEODRED											
Deodred				L							
WULFGEAT											
Ulfiet						L		L			
Wulfet						L		L			
Wulfiat						L					
Wulfiet								L			
WULSTAN											
Wulst						L					
WUNHERE											
Wunnere		Ø									

TABLE I

of three, four or even five kings? Could the same Leofwine have been striking coins for three kings at five different mints (or perhaps even more if we take the chance of discovery into consideration)? But there could of course have been more than one English moneyer of that not very unusual name.

It is on the whole the name/name-bearer relationship which defies uniqueness of interpretation. On what criteria should a name be attributed to an English moneyer, or to a Dane named after his English instructor, as the name *Asferþ Uki* (below) might seem to suggest? Are some names only calques on inscriptions prevailing on English prototype-pennies? Numismatists may lend us a hand here, though they have always seemed reluctant to come to grips with precisely such issues.

But there is evidence, however tenuous it may appear, suggesting that some names might actually have been used in Denmark and by Danes. There are indications that a few names may have come to enjoy some, albeit ephemeral, currency here, witness the growing need, as we move down Hauberg's lists, to make them distinctive by adding by-names: *GODWINI PETIRMAN* (Haub. 218), *ASFERÐ UKI* (= "young *Asferþ*"), Haub. 218, *ALWARD KIDBIARD* (Haub. 217), *ALWARD KNIRDA* (Haub. 217), *SÆWINE ULFIETS FRNTA* (= "U.'s relative"), all moneyers to Sven Estrithson.

Similarly there are in the same reign when the coins also begin to assume a distinctly non-English design, names like *Brunman*, *Godwine*, *Leafsige*, *Asferþ*, *Leafwine*, *Sæwine*, *Ælfmær* punched in runic script. It is tempting to assume that these could be the work of native craftsmen, the more so since this feature has in many cases been coupled with the abandonment of the traditional OE preposition *on* in favour of our native *i*, e.g. *LIFVIN I BORB* (Haub. p. 219). But again the coins provide no tangible proof.

PN evidence, it is true, would be a reliable pointer to English settlement or the survival of English names in Denmark, but only two names are relevant. One is *Endrup* (ValdJb *EDWINÆTHORP*; 1458 *ÆTDENTHORP*), another is *Bolstrup* (RoskJb *BOTHELSTORP*) from *Botulf*, the name of the English saint referred to below. Two other names have been tentatively connected with England, one is the field name *BRUNEMANDTZ JORD* (1500) cf. DgP 167, which may contain the personal name *Bruneman*. The other is the PN *Englerup*,¹ which might be interpreted as the "thorpe of the English" (see Kr. Hald (1974) p. 14).

B) Anglicized names

A distinctively English feature in our early inventory of coin names is the widespread use of the graphs <P> (=w) and <Ð>.² They are adopted also by Danish moneyers as will appear from the following contrasting pairs: *SPEN* (Haub. p. 222), *GODPINE* (Haub. p. 190); *ØÐENCAR* (Haub. p. 203), *BERHTNOÐ* (Haub. p. 190). Intervocalic <f> with the value of /v/ is another English feature: *SWAFA* (Haub. p. 100) cp. *SVAVA* (Haub. p. 103).

Numerous dithematic names that are otherwise well attested in our national inventory occur with the second (less usually the first) morpheme anglicized. Most common are -gar (*ESGAR*, Haub. p. 101), Gar- (*GARFIN*, Haub. p. 102), -stan (*ÐORSTAN*, Haub. p. 224), Os- (*OSGVT*, Haub. p. 193), -ferð (*ASFERÐ*, Haub. p. 192), -god (*ÐURGOD*, Haub. p. 224), -barnd (*SWARTBARND*, Haub. p. 218).

In a few cases, inversely, an English name has been made to conform to Danish spelling practice: *ULFCIE*, (Haub. p. 226) (cf. OE *Wulfsige*), *ULFIET/WULFIET*, Haub. p. 214) (cf. OE *Wulfgeat*).

Some Danish monothematic names of the weak declension in -i assume corresponding English variant forms in -a, e.g. *MANA* (Haub. p. 96), *BOSA* (Haub. p. 98),³ *BANA* (Haub. p. 97), *SUNA/(SUNU)* (Haub. p. 103/102), *SWAWA* (Haub. p. 103).

A handful of names have variant forms like *ou* for *ON* *o*⁴: *OVÐENCAR* (Haub. p. 209), cp. *ØÐENCAR* (Haub. p. 203), or -ei- for *ON* -eg-: *FARÐEIN* (Haub. p. 193), cp. *WScand Farþegn*. Both forms are probably influenced by OE where such spellings are frequently met with (see Keary II pp. 511, 522, and York-list *Farþain*).

Similarly variant forms in -d and -t of names like *Osgod*, *Algod*, etc. are products of Anglo-Danish interference, and not, as traditionally maintained, due to Anglo-Norman spelling.⁵

C) Archaisms

It is a curious fact that particularly on Sven Estrithson's coinage there is a marked reversion to older name forms. The frequent use of nominative -r, which was at that time being superseded by the accusative Ø-form (e.g. *ÐORGUTR* (Haub. p. 218), *ASMUTR* (Haub. p. 218)) has by some authorities (e.g. *Skautrup I*, p. 113) been explained as a conscious adoption of a more national coin style. The gradual abandonment of the OE preposition *on* in favour of Danish *i* before the mint of issue (e.g. *KETIL I ROINDI*, Haub. p. 220), and of the OE graphs <P> and <Ð> has been similarly interpreted.

This may well be so, but only as far as the latter two features are concerned. For in addition to nominative -r we meet with other archaisms such as the return of the old diphthongs *ai* and *au*, which began to be monophthongized in Danish as early as 900 (e.g. *ÐORSTAIN* (Haub. p. 218), *SVEIN* (Haub. p. 218), *OUÐBIRN* (Haub. p. 218), *OUÐCEL* (Haub. p. 200)). The same diphthongs, however, are amply attested in *Danelaw* names; so if Kr. Hald (1934) p. 187 is right in his cautious footnote such archaic nameforms might well constitute a quaint facet of English influence, namely that of preserving and giving us back variants that belong to earlier strata of our onomastic inventory.

Again it would be tempting to apply this explanation also to the instances of nominative -r morpheme, but there are two factors that tend to obscure the picture, one being that nominative -r is very poorly attested in Danish names in England (Fellows Jensen (1968) § 144), the other that the examples from the coins all belong to Lund (Scania), the dialect area where it survived longest (see *Skautrup I*, p. 266).

Names like *Grimkil*, *Arngrim*, *Sumerful*, *Sumerled*, *Swartool*, *Farman*, *Farþein*, *Ingimund*, *Garfin*, *Ringulf*, *Osward*, *Arnulf* are unrecorded in our national sources till they appear on the coinage. Since, however, the great majority of them can be found at *Danelaw* mints, or can be attested in *WScand*, and since they contain onomastic morphemes that are familiar to our national tradition, they are best regarded as indigenous material only accidentally unrecorded.

II The Church

The struggle of the early Danish church to free herself from the dominance of the Archbishopric Hamburg-Bremen, of which she ranked only as a northern mission field, provides another fertile source of English influence, for the competitive zeal of the Anglo-Saxon church was cleverly exploited by Danish kings as a trump in that game. Much of our present ecclesiastical word stock is derived from OE,⁶ which shows that throughout the dual monarchy at least, the influence from England had come to overshadow that of Hamburg-Bremen.

We know from Sven Aggesón, and particularly from the jealous comments of Adam of Bremen, that Canute brought many bishops to Denmark from the rival church beyond the Channel. We know that many Anglo-Saxon prelates took refuge in Denmark after the Norman take-over, but we also know that the relationship between the Danish and the Anglo-Norman churches, despite our Crown's political claims on England, had continued to remain one of fruitful co-operation. Many Danish abbeys were modelled on English lines, and run by English abbots (Odense, Øm, Sorø).

A particular bearing on the subject in hand has the veneration of English saints, whose names - as we shall see below - soon begin to swell Danish martyrologies and calendars. The close bonds with England in matters ecclesiastic continue till well on into the 13th century, and another wave of English names may well have been released by the petitions first of King Valdemar I to English church dignitaries, and later by Jacob Erlandsen in 1245 to Robert Grossetete, bishop of Lincoln, to ship over responsible men to help reform Danish monastic life (see Ellen Jørgensen (1909) p. 25).

We possess no direct evidence that the requests were ever followed up by any active commitment; however, our monastic registers and necrologies of the time warrant a strong presumption that the appeals did not fall on deaf ears. They are full of English or potentially English names.

A) Names mainly clerical

The arrow ← indicates that the name dies out after its shortlived clerical use. The arrow → indicates that the name seems to be continued and transferred also to non-clerical bearers.

Alanus	1254 conversus, Lund. Alanus, 1253, priest in Bergen ←
Albold	(OE Apel beald) 12c LDLund, monk ←
Alferth	1366, supertonsori, Lund. ←
Alfrath	12c LDLund, conversus; ValdJb Alurædh, peasant. No other examples in DgP. ←
Alfrik	11c bishop of Børglum; 12c NocrLund, priest. → ; but most examples are German Alb- spellings.
Alfwin	12c LDLund Alwinus, priest; NocrLund Alwinus canon in Dalby ← . Some of DGP's examples show interference from German Aluwin.
Arnulf	1254 monk. From OE Earnwulf or Danelaw Danish? ←

As-/Osfrith	OE-erþ variants only in moneyers. → but post-1300 forms seem to coalesce with Astrath into Ostrid. The spelling O- stands for Aa [ā].
Brikmar	(OE Bricmæ) 12c LDLund Brigmarus, priest and canon; 12c NocrLund Bricmarus ←
Edward	12c LDLund Edwardus, priest; Eduard, footman ←
Egin	1070 Eginus, bishop of Lund (English born); 12c LDLund Egin (gen.). Probably curtailed form of OE Egin- ←
Elnoth	1095 Ailnothus, priest in Odense (from Canterbury) ←
Ethmer	(OE Eadmæ) 1461 CalNæstv. frater noster ←
Folkmar	(OE Folcmæ) 1160, first abbot of Esrum. → later forms probably German.
Forthhold	12c LDLund Fortholdus, monk (OE Forþweald) ←
Fromald	12c LDLund Fromaldus, monk (OE Frumweald) ←
Gaufrith	1190 Gavridus, English abbot of Sorø. ←
Godebald	Early 11c, English bishop of Scania; 12c NocrLund Godeboldi (gen.) ←
Godwin	12c NocrLund Godwinus, Diaconus, canon in Rosk.; LDLund Godwinus, monk and conversus, etc. → but coalescence with German Godowin.
Hergerd	1352 Hergerdus, peasant Ribe (OE Heregeard) ←
Hubald	12c English bishop of Odense; 12c NocrLund Hubaldus, etc. ← (OE Hunbeald)
Kotte	1266 Kotte, priest; 1397 Kottoni (dat.); 1428 Ghunne Kottes. Probably from OE Cotta a by-name (= "fat, round") cf. Tengvik p. 307. →
Lewine	12c NocrLund Lewinus, laicus!; LDLund Levinus Laicus! ←
Oliver	1253 frater Oliuerus ← Also latinized form of Ølvir
Ordger	CalNæstv. priest and conversus. ← (OE Ordgar).
Osmund	12c NocrLund, canon and priest → but coalescence with German Osmund.
Pain	1177 abbot in Ringsted (OE Pagen from paganus). Probably a by-name, cf. Tengvik p. 193 ←
Rathulf	1070 English bishop of Slesvig; Radulphi (gen.) bishop of Ribe, 1169; Radulfum (Saxo) English; etc. → but coalescence with German Radulf.
Rikhard	12c NocrLund, Subdeacon; 1135 Richardus, abbot in Roskilde; etc. → but coalescence with German Rikhart and Rikwart.

Robert	1144 Robertus, monk; 1161 Robertus, abbot in Sorø Rubert 1137, abbot in Herisvad; etc. → but coalescence with German Hrodebert.
Robin	13c LDLund, Robinus, conversus. ←
Rothger	12c Neclæg, Rothgerus, founder of Løgum Kloster, 12c LDLund Rozierus, priest and canon; etc. → but coalescence with German Rothgar.
Uffi	12c moneyer, Lund; 12c Neclund Uffo, Laicus!; etc. → The name has never been satisfactorily explained. Probably, like the Uffe legend, introduced from England after the Viking period (OE Offa), see DgP 1517. Later coalescence with German Uffo.
Uldan	1268 Uldan Nichlissen ← Cf. OE Ultan < Ul(f)stan with loss of consonant in three-consonant cluster (cp. OE Ultainus from Wulfstan), see also Björkman NP p. 169.
Ulfiat	12c Neclund Bovi f: Uluet (OE Wulfgeat). ←
Ulfrik	11c priest in Vestervig; 12c Neclund Ulfric, canon, etc. ← but probably later absorbed by Ulrik.
Ulfsten	12c LDLund Ulstanus, priest (OE Wulfstan) ←
Walbert	11c Walbertus, abbot in Esrum; etc. (OE Wealhbeorht) → but coalescence with Fris. Walbert, Wolber.
Wingot	12c Neclund Suni Wingut s: ←

Most of the above names from DgP have nothing but some probability to recommend them. The list includes names of immediate as well as ultimate origin. A few of the names, it is true, are not English, but there is some probability that they might have been introduced into Denmark from England. For English provenance, however, speaks their early appearance in the 11th and 12th centuries when the ties with the English church were particularly strong (Canute the Great, the founding of the monasteries, etc.). The fact also that the majority seem to die out again with their first clerical bearers points the same way, for soon after 1300 a massive German influence on our nomenclature sets in, and may well have reinforced the names had they been sufficiently current in German at the time. Reinforcement and infiltration of some names, as will appear from the list, did in fact take place, and is responsible for their survival beyond the Middle Ages.

Again as with the names of the moneyers we are in no sure position to ascertain the nationality of the name bearers. Can a link be established between the moneyers and some of the early clerical names? Was there any permanent English settlement in the country as a trickle of place-names and the Englethorpes mentioned earlier might seem to suggest? The English names in the monastic necrologies were probably all borne by Englishmen, but dare we warily interpret entries marked "laicus" as Danes? Or shall we settle for only some contributory influence together with the German, Low German, and Frisian names? The answer, as we have seen, is based on everything but purely onomastic evidence.

B) Saints' names

The missionary zeal of the Anglo-Saxon church in Denmark is reflected by a wholesale introduction of local saints otherwise unknown to the country. The Ribe Martyrology of the 13th c., which is based on an earlier Winchester prototype (now lost), contains the following names of English saints: Byrinus, Byrnstan, Frithestan, Swithun, Æthelwold (Ellen Jørgensen (1908) p. 202). None of these, however, seem to have left any lasting imprint on our nomenclature. Nor have names like Bede, Cuthbert, Guthlac, Dunstan, Eadmund, Oswald mentioned in the Vallentuna Missale (Ellen Jørgensen (1908) p. 202).

Names that have remained in our onomastic records are:

Alban	1308 Alban, villicus ← English martyr and saint whose relics were brought to Odense by Canute the Holy. Wooden church of St Alban already in the 11th c. (Ellen Jørgensen (1909) p. 17f).
Anselm	1275 Ansam, citizen in Copenhagen; 1349 Anselmo (abl.) dean in Slesvig; etc. → English and German saint. Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1104). The form Ansam points to Low German influence, cf. Wilhelm Willum.
Botulf	12c Neclund Botulfus, abbot; 12c LDLund Botulfus, laicus!; 12c LDLund Bothulphus, priest and conversus; etc. → pres. day surnames Bodelsen, Boelsen, Churches: Budolfi (Ålborg), Bodilsker (Bornholm). PN Bolstrup. English saint Botolphus (7th c.) whose worship was brought to Denmark in the 11th c. from Danelaw East Anglia (Ellen Jørgensen (1908) p. 204 and (1909) p. 17).
Clemens	12c LDLund Clemens, priest; LDLund Clemens, abbot; etc. → later forms Klement (from Lat. oblique cases), Klemmen(sen). Churches: St Klement's (Århus), Klemmensker (Bornholm). PN Klemmenstrup. The cult of St Clement, the patron saint of sea-faring men, was not very common on the Continent, and it probably reached Denmark via England (Ellen Jørgensen (1908) p. 203). ⁷ The Danes in London in the 11th c. had a church so named. Over 40 church dedications in England.
Thomas	12c abbot in Odense; 1188 canon in Århus; 1188 priest in Ribe, etc. → Numerous names of parishes, shrines and chapels throughout the country (Capella Beati Thome (Ribe), Altarium Sancti Thome of Cantelberg (Rosk.), etc.) Ellen Jørgensen (1909) p. 20. PN Tommestrup. Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, d. 1170, canonized 1173. However, both Thomas the Apostle and Thomas Aquino (canonized 1323) appear in Danish mediaeval calendars, and should be included as contributory sources.

- Thythger
(OE ðeodgar) 11c priest in Vestervig; 1260 Tøger Hors, etc. →
pres. day form Tøger; PN Tøgerstof. Numerous
names of parishes, shrines and churches through-
out the country (St. Thøger Kloster, Skt. Tøgers
Kirke, - kilde, etc.) Patron saint of North
Jutland. Thuringian-born, but came to
Scandinavia from England.
- Willehad 1304 Willatus, canon; 1375 Welatus, the Queen's
reeve, etc. → pres. day form Villads
(with -s from Lat. -us). PN Vilstrup.
St. Willehad, d. 789, Anglo-Saxon bishop of
Bremen (Ellen Jørgensen (1909) p. 20). Several
churches in Jutland (e.g. Viborg) dedicated to
him. Patron saint of Friesland, from where his
name probably reached us.

C) Celtic names

The Viking period brought Denmark into only intermittent contact with the Celtic speaking peoples, so unlike Iceland and Norway traces of Celtic names in our onomastic inventory are slight.⁸ A few of the earliest names are found embedded in place-names in Southern Jutland, and must have been introduced via Hedeby, the Viking trading post near Slesvig. In the 15th and 16th centuries there were Scots colonies in Copenhagen and Elsinore, popularly referred to as "Elsinore Scots". The Scots craftsmen were organized in their own St Ninian's Guild, and had altars in Copenhagen and Elsinore churches, dedicated to St Andrew and St Ninian.⁹ Perhaps the murals representing St. Brendan in St Mary's Church, Helsingborg, point to Scots activities also beyond the Sound (Ellen Jørgensen (1909) p. 41). The place-name Skotterup south of Elsinore is another trace of Scots immigration. Celtic names, however, are few and far between.

- Biolan Found as a personal name only in Norway, but
is in Denmark contained in the PN Bylderup
(13c Biulethorp) Kr. Hald (1974) p. 10.
- Brian 1170 Briennum (acc.) abbot in Øm; 1181
Brieno (dat.) abbot in Kalø; Brianus
citizen in Copenhagen. ←
Breton name probably introduced into Denmark
from Norman England (Kr. Hald (1974) p. 11).
- Duncan 1498 Andreas Dwnckansen, citizen in Copenhagen.
Father probably Scots. ←
- Kiarval Only in the PN Karlsmark (1462 Keruelsmark)
(Irish Saxo: Kervillus.
Cerball)
- Patrick Probably in the field name Patriesholm (mentioned
in 1273, Løgum Book). No doubt a scribal error
for Patricsholm (Kr. Hald (1974) p. 10f) ←
- Sander 1511 Sander Skotthe, the King's captain; 1645
("Sandy") Sander Glenn, Elsinore. → but
indistinguishable from German and Danish bearers.
In both languages short for Alexander (cf. PN
Sandershøj).

The Celtic Ossianic names will be dealt with below.

The DgP ends about 1600, and a thesaurus of post-mediaeval names is yet to come, so we are faced with a temporary gap extending right down to the present day. Hence our knowledge of the entire history of English names in Denmark is bound to be inadequate. Denmark's cultural and political surfaces of contact with England were slender down to about 1800, and the events of 1801 and 1807 precluded for further decades any amicable relations between the two countries. There also seems to be a remarkable consensus in our specialist literature dealing with that unfathomed period of our onomastic history: the English names with a few exceptions all disappear in the course of the Middle Ages, and there are no signal accretions to our inventory from that quarter till the 19th century. Some of the saints' names mentioned above linger on, it is true, but in weirdly distorted forms: Bodel, Thøger, Villads. Thomas is soon lost among the scriptural names.

To bridge the gap, however, I have checked all relevant sources for traces of names that might with any plausibility be looked upon as English.¹⁰ But there were only names that formally qualify, i.e. stray examples of Albert (usually spelt -bret), Edward, Herbert, Rikard and Robert - names that are common property to both England and Germany, and now culturally due to the latter source. Some of these names seem to have enjoyed particular currency among the clergy. Lengnick (1847)¹¹ lists Edward and Richard from the 18th century, besides one example of Alfred and one of William. The latter name is particularly noteworthy in that we here have an unequivocally English contribution, probably reflecting the growing interest in Shakespeare.

The last period of English influence is the one from 1800 down to 1950. It will be covered in a very summary form, however, as a more detailed exposition is forthcoming in the proceedings of the Cracow conference.¹² The year 1800 has been chosen as a convenient terminus a quo in a period where English names had been virtually non-existent for several hundred years. My conclusions are based on a corpus of some 10,000 English names culled from the eight parish registers of the town of Aarhus, today about 250,000 inhabitants. However it is only the period down to about 1900 which is divisible into onomastically well-defined strata of English influence.

The influence from Shakespeare. The names that owe their currency wholly or partially to Shakespeare are Edmund, Edward, Oswald, Richard, Robert, and (immediately attributable to the poet) William.¹³ It should be noted that Shakespeare was introduced into Denmark from Germany, so the names that first caught on here were names that had identical English and German forms. This is the reason why we owe Henry (cf. German and Danish national variants Heinrich, Henrik) to much later influences although it is the commonest Shakespearean name. It is a further characteristic of the names that there were exceptional instances of them in earlier sources, due mainly to German influence. From about 1820, however, they achieve a sudden popularity; from about 1850 onwards they belong to the top ten of our English names.

The almost near-absence of coherent and sustained research into post-mediaeval sources, however, precludes us from deciding whether the period of Shakespearean influence should rightly be regarded as one of revival or reinforcement of some residual German names, or one of reintroduction from England.

The name Albert also belongs to our early inventory; a few of the earliest recordings are in the German -br- form. The name remains sporadic until about 1840, but is among the top five after 1850, retaining its popularity throughout the century. The model here as well as in England, where the name seems to have died out about 1600 (Withycombe), is unquestionably Queen Victoria's Prince Albert. Another case of a moribund name revived or reintroduced via England.

The influence from Dickens is noticeable shortly after 1850. Unilaterally Dickensian names are Oliver, Jemmy,¹⁴ Edwin, Ralph, and Harriet (used as a boy's name!). Charles, which is in regular evidence from 1855 and amongst the top five throughout the century, is directly attributable to the popular novelist.

The influence from Marryat. The second most popular novelist in the second half of the 19th century was Captain Marryat, to judge from the numerous reprints and serializations of his novels. His influence is testified to by a number of distinctive names like Percy/Percival (Keene),¹⁵ Terry/Terrence (O'Brien), (Mr) Harvey, Corny (O'Toole), Humphrey (Armitage), (Sir Charles) Wilmot, (Mr) Trevor, (Capt.) Irving, Jerry (O'Toole), (Mr) Evelyn.

The name Henry, of which there are only two instances down to 1870, becomes one of the most popular English names already in the 1880's. For reasons set out above it can hardly be attributed to Shakespeare. Since its sudden proliferation coincides fairly closely with the emergence of Livingstone (1887) and Stanley (1885) used as christian names, there is every possibility that the African explorer is the ultimate model. At the close of the century Henry tops the list of English names in all parishes.

The influence from Walter Scott. The last well-defined literary influence to which we are able to attribute names with any degree of certainty is that of Walter Scott. The names with few exceptions all cluster round the turn of the century. They are Gilbert, Guy, Quentin, Reginald, Roy, Vernon, Wilfred, and possibly Roland and Hamish. As harder evidence we may adduce christian names like Scott and Ivanhoe.

Minor literary sources down to 1900. The simultaneous appearance of Edgar (1895) and Allan (1885) in many church registers may lead to the cautious assumption that the popularity of Edgar Allan Poe's ghost and horror stories may be a likely source. Arthur is current from about 1870, and might be due to Arthur Conan Doyle, whose popularity at the time is reflected by the appearance of both Sherlock and Holmes as christian names. Names like Bret Harte, Washington (Irving), Mark Twain, and Eliot given at the font in the last decades of the 19th century reflect contributory literary sources responsible for the ever increasing influx of English names. However, most of the names that turn up in the latter half of the 19th century, on the increase by about 25 per cent per decade, are not very distinctive and therefore difficult to assign to any specific literary model. This applies to names like Alfred, Andrew, Andy, Anthony, Bernard, Bertie, Bertrand, Donald, Eddie, Elwin, Ernest, Eugene, Francis, Freddie, Gerald, Harry, James, Jesse, John(nie), Leonard, Norman, Raymond, Reynold, Robin, Ronald, Tom(my), Tony, Willy.

After the turn of the century the Danish book market becomes virtually glutted by cheap English pulp literature, glossy magazines, and other mass

produced light reading in penny editions (type: Buffalo Bill, Nat Pinkerton, Billy Brown). Again a veritable spate of names is released, but again only in rare cases identifiable. In what measure they reflect penny novel or cartoon protagonists, boxing or football idols, or heroes from the budding silents industry, however, we shall never be able to tell. Typical names of this period are: Algy, Archie, Barney, Barry, Ben(ny), Bert, Bill(y), Bonnie, Brian, Chris, Clifford, Clive, Danny, Dennis, Dick, Earl, Fred, Hardy, Harris, Homer, Ian, Jack(ie), Jerry, Jimmy, Joe, Keith, Kelly, Ken(neth), Kenny, Kent, Kim(ball), Mack, Nick, Perry, Ricky, Robby, Roddy, Roger, Ron(nie), Sandy, Sid(ney). Sonny, Teddy, Tim, Will.

A few of the more distinctive names can be safely attributed to the world of entertainment, e.g. Glen (Miller), Bing (Crosby), King (Cole), Charlie (Chaplin), Gary (Cooper), (Humphrey) Bogart. The almost simultaneous emergence in the 1940's of Leslie and Howard points tellingly to the probable model. The impact of the entertainment industry is continuous also after the period under consideration, right down to our present-day Elvis, or the newcomer Sean, named after the illustrious agent 007.

The Ossianic names. A small handful of names are due, directly or indirectly, to the Celtic bard. They are Oscar, Orla, Fingal, of which only the former two have survived to the present day. Oscar in Denmark, however, is primarily due to the influence of the Swedish Royal House where the name was bestowed upon the son of Bernadotte (1799) by the Ossian votary Napoleon I. The name enjoyed great popularity throughout the century, but its subsequent disfavour is not, as in England and the USA, connected with the Wilde scandal, but with the fact that its royal background disappeared when the Swedish kings in 1907 changed to Gustaf. The Ossianic name Orla, strangely enough, seems to have survived only in Denmark, where its popularity is due to one of its earliest bearers, the statesman Orla Lehmann (d. 1870).

Quasi-English names and hybrids. English names of the hypocoristic -y/-ie type (e.g. Freddy, Charlie) begin to be recurrent late in the 19th century, and could in some measure be ascribed to Dickens. It is to Marryat, however, that we owe the later craze for the hypocoristic alternatives of the English names. The trick of alternating between full, syncopated, and hypocoristic name forms (William - Will - Willy; James - Jem - Jemmy) is typical of Dickens, but Marryat exploits it to the point of mannerism. The example set by him, and reinforced in its turn by the cheap penny literature after 1900, are doubtless the two main factors behind the epidemic of names in -y/-ie. Many particularly from the lower classes even went the length of also extending the suffix to non-English roots, witness solecisms like Ajly, Andry, Arny, Bendy, Bjarny, Cenny, Condy, Dally, Danly, Darly, Engly, Fenny, Gunny, Gandry, Hendy, Horley Most of these quasi-English names, however, die out again in the course of the 1930's and 1940's.

English surnames used as christian names. As we have already noted, a fairly reliable pointer to the ultimate models of our English names is the co-occurrence of surnames used as christian names. The model for Henry was indicated by a great many Stanleys. Similarly Charles cannot have been attributable to Dickens alone, for shortly after 1900 Darwin, Wesley and Gordon begin to appear quite regularly in the records.

The first example of an English family name given in baptism is from 1819 when a boy was christened Arthur Welleslei (sic!) Wellington Victor

Kristian Brygman, to be followed later by a younger brother Blücher, another hero from Waterloo. These two names usher in a period of nearly 150 years (until the Parliament Act of 1961) when surnames, Danish as well as foreign, were freely used as christian names, particularly by the lower classes. Hero worship, the urge for identification with the brave and the successful reflected by name-giving practices.¹⁶ The following examples, however, are but the English items in a broad spectrum of names from all over the world.

Religion and spiritual revival. The influence of the Methodists is amply borne out by the numerous more or less scandinavianized versions of the name Wesley, and concentrated particularly around World War I. The missionary endeavours of the same movement is conspicuous also in names like Moody and Sankey, gospel singers and revivalist preachers, who toured the Continent at the turn of the century. The Mormons have given us Brigham (Young) and perhaps Cummings. The name Irving in numerous variants could be at least partially ascribable to the Irvingites, the religious community founded on principles promulgated by Edward Irving. However, the identification of the cultural background of that name is complicated by potential models like (Washington) Irving, Irving (Berlin), etc.

Authors. Names like Marryat, Eliot, Scott, Mark Twain, Milton, (Edw.S.) Ellis, Ossian. Eliot and Milton, particularly, are commonly used in the first position, e.g. Eliot Nielsen, Milton Hansen.

Scientists and inventors. Most common of all and popular also in the first position is Darwin. Besides there are names like Wilbur (Wright), Jenner, Franklin, Fulton.

Politics. Lloyd (George), Roosevelt, Churchill, Henry George, Palmerston, Russell.

Exploration. Besides Stanley and Livingstone, already mentioned, also Burton and Lindbergh (in the hypocoristic form Lindy). Cases of Scott shortly after 1900 may also qualify here.

Tycoons. Astor, Morgan, Cecil Rhodes, John Blair.

Generals. Wellington, Gordon (of Khartoum), de Lancy, George Washington, Montgomery (in the hypocoristic form Monty).

English name versus occupational status. The socio-economic background of our English names from about 1850-1950 was dealt with in some detail (statistics and itemized surveys of selected 10-year periods) in the Cracow report. Although the inquiry was conducted on the basis of samples, some tendencies in their social stratification stood out clearly.

The first givers of English names were extremely bourgeois, civil servants, wholesale dealers, and people connected with shipping. As long as these names presupposed foreign connexions or literary taste (Shakespeare, Dickens), their congenial soil would naturally be the upper classes. The later constant gravitation of the English names towards low-class status, however, is due to the interaction of a number of factors.

a) Extension of English names to lower classes through serialized novels, magazines and other kinds of light popular literature.

b) Rootedness of the middle and upper classes in a fixed onomastic convention drawing largely upon the old national stock of names - Scandinavian names, Scriptural names (and preferably the national variants thereof). Their naming practices, however, are rarely open to innovation, and if so, usually only to revivals from the national inventory. Classical, French, Ossianic, English names, it is true, have been adopted over the centuries, but only maintained for as long as their exotic nature conveyed some nimbus of culture and taste. The names were shunned the moment they were imitated by the classes below.

c) The urge for identification and idol worship are important psychological mechanisms responsible for an incontinent derivation of English names by the lower classes from popular literature, film, TV, the sporting world, etc.

d) A national sensitiveness to the name/social-class issue, which tends to confine certain names to certain classes once adopted there.

NOTES

*A paper given at The Eleventh Conference of the Council for Name Studies at Nottingham University, April 8th 1979.

1. There are two such names, one in Kirke Sonnerup s. Bramsnæs h., and one in Sigersted s. Ringsted h.
2. The OE graph <Æ> also occurs, but rarely in names: DÆNORVM (Haub. p. 190), RÆX (Haub. p. 199), and perhaps in ÆLFRIC (Haub. p. 206). It is used only by moneys with English names.
3. Kr. Hald (1934) p. 183 lists Bosa as English, but this applies probably only to the weak morpheme, cp. Bosi (Haub. p. 101).
4. OE usually renders ON au by ō or ou, cf. Oðgrim/Ouðgrim, Oðbeorn/Ouðbeorn, etc. This interchange of o and ou has here, etymologically unwarranted, been transferred to Ouðencar (ON Othinkar).
5. See Kisbye "OSGOD/OSGOT on Anglo-Danish Coinage. The Provenance of some Names in -god reassessed in the Light of Numismatic Evidence" (Publ. of the Dept. of English, Univ. of Copenhagen, vol. VIII, 1979).
6. Some of these words, however, may have been introduced at second hand through Saxon (see Skautrup I p. 168 ff.) For a more "pro-English" view see Olaf Olsen, "Die alte Gesellschaft und die neue Kirche," Acta Visbyensia III (1967), pp. 43-54.
7. For a different view see Matthias Zender, "Heiligenverehrung im Hanseraum" (Hansische Gesichtsblätter 92 (1974), pp. 1-15: "Der hl. Klemens ist wohl in der Missionszeit wie andere im Rheinland verehrte Heilige ... aus dem Niederrhein in Dänemark bekannt geworden."
8. On Celtic names in Norway and Iceland, see Janzén: De Fornvästnordiska Personnamnen, Nordisk Kultur VII, 1947 p. 139 f.
9. On the Scots in Denmark, see Barbara Crawford "Scotland's foreign relations" (:Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed. Jennifer Brown, pp. 84-111 (London 1977)).

10. Besides the literature already mentioned in the present paper, the following works have been consulted: Wegener (1978), Kjær (1978), Meldgaard (1965), Stæt Andersen (1978), Hald II (1974), Skautrup I-VI (1944-68). The following land registers Herlufsholm Birk 1630-33, Aasum Herred 1640-48, Skast Herred 1636-40, Viborg Landsting 1624-37. Eva Meldgaard, who is working on a study of the names of Copenhagen citizens, has found no relevant names in the period down to 1683.
11. A collection of about 4000 names of members of the Danish clergy in the 18th century.
12. Torben Kisbye: Name-borrowing mechanisms (XIIIth International Conference of Onomastic Sciences. Cracow, August 1978).
13. On the distaff side we may add Beatrice, Cordelia, Ophelia, Sylvia, Viola.
14. It is worthy of note that the old -e- spelling typical of Dickens, but also found in Marryat, precedes the -i- variant by several decades.
15. The brackets indicate the full form of the name, or that under which it usually appears in Marryat's novels.
16. For a more detailed analysis of such "idol" names and their sociological backgrounds, see Torben Kisbye, "Alfred Dreyfus Nielsen - Identifikationsmodeller i dansk navneskik belyst gennem drengenavnene i Aarhus 1800-1950", Convivium IV (Copenhagen 1979). With an English summary.

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