

the initial revelation, through its many place-names, such as Abingdon, Hambledon, Maidenhead and Southend, at once so redolent of English traditions and so clearly traceable to Ossetian roots. Subsequently, the philological findings were confirmed by archaeology, in particular by Galsworthy's account of the many typically Scythian burial-mounds conspicuous in Southern England. It must have been, it is argued, through taking part in the Roman settlement of Britain that Alanian warriors, famous as mercenaries, were able to leave so deep an imprint on our landscape and our toponymy, not just in the Thames Valley but also in the Manchester area and in Northern Ireland (Armagh, for instance, means 'wrist' in Ossetian) [Soviet Weekly, 11.vii.81]. Is there not also the possibility of some reciprocal influence: of an infusion of Irish blood in these comrades with the rhyming names?

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No, I've by no means overlooked all that brouhaha about the naming of princelings, but felt it might be better recollected in tranquillity (cuttings and comments invited, for we aim at comprehensive coverage and consensus). So, à l'année prochaine, chers amis, à l'année prochaine!

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STOP PRESS. The hypothesis ventured on p.48 has been partly confirmed by a revelation about Mr [An] [h]ony [Wedgwood-]Benn, whose intimates, it seems, call him, not Tony, nor yet (unfortunately for my argument) Anthony, but Jimmy [see S. Crosland, Tony Crosland, London, 1982, p.204: a reference supplied by the less Right-minded sharer of the Mousehole].

THE EARLY PERSONAL NAMES OF KING'S LYNN:
AN ESSAY IN SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORY*

Part I - BAPTISMAL NAMES

Despite the advocacy and the examples, dating back at least sixty years, of Sir Frank Stenton and of other distinguished scholars,¹ personal names found until recently little favour as historical source-material.² But now their evidence, although not yet exploited for such purposes as often as that of place-names, is at last gaining more general recognition, in ways that suggest it may in time prove to have a certain edge over its better-established rival.³

For, whereas a place is represented by a single name, its scores, hundreds, even thousands of early inhabitants all bore baptismal names chosen by parents or godparents, and many also bore nicknames, patronyms and other by-names recognized and often created by the community at large. And, whereas place-names are, like language itself, communal and slow to change,⁴ each personal name not only recorded an individual and conscious response to custom and to the models available but died with its bearer. So, being datable and individually chosen as well as multitudinous, personal names reflected social composition and social attitudes, in their contemporaneous variety and in their evolution, far more sensitively than place-names ever could. They can thus reveal the balance between several competing cultures, not in black and white, nor once for all, but in a gradation shaded through time and space. They allow balances between cultures to be struck - admittedly, at only the most superficial level - for different places, or for different dates, and then compared.

Superficial the evidence and the conclusions will necessarily remain, because adoption of foreign names need imply no deep cultural allegiance. Some cultural contact it must, however, imply. Enthusiasm of response to an influence will be measured more easily than the latter's volume, because multiple instances of a single form (like William in twelfth-century England) may, or may not, all be traceable to a single celebrated bearer of it.⁵ Yet even evidence so ambiguous and so superficial may be valuable for times and areas otherwise sparsely documented: had nothing survived from eleventh- and twelfth-century England but lists of names, those would by themselves have allowed the Norman Conquest and settlement to be deduced and approximately dated.⁶ In many ways, indeed, twelfth-century England affords an ideal 'laboratory' for testing personal names as a source for social and cultural history; and, both as one of the 'new' towns of this period and as a port with wide and well-documented foreign contacts, Lynn offers special scope to the investigator.⁷ Because by c. 1300 the main patterns of naming seem provisionally established, that date has, somewhat arbitrarily, been taken as the later terminus of the present study.

* * *

Baptismal names current in twelfth-century England fell into several categories.⁸ The older name-stock, conveniently called 'insular' and comprising Old-English names⁹ plus Anglo-Scandinavian ones,¹⁰ was during the century and a half following the Conquest gradually being discarded in favour of 'continental' forms such as the new aristocracy bore.¹¹ These latter names themselves fell into

three main groups (certain minor ones, such as Breton and Normanno-Irish, being for the moment disregarded): Continental-Germanic names, in everyday use mostly Gallicized but in documents normally represented by archaic Latinized forms;¹² Franco-Scandinavian names;¹³ and also the classical and Biblical names, mainly 'Christian' in association,¹⁴ such as on the Continent itself were at this date gaining popularity at the expense of the Germanic ones.¹⁵ At Lynn the Norman-French influences being felt throughout England were supplemented and complicated by other, more localized foreign contacts arising through the town's trade with the Low Countries and with what were later to become the Hanseatic ports;¹⁶ and here therefore direct Low-German and even Baltic influences might also have been at work.

Analysis of any medieval name-sample is hampered by manifold difficulties, not least by the inadequacy of the reference-books currently available.¹⁷ Chronology can seldom, because of the life-long currency of every name, be more than approximate. Then, either because of the document's specialized purpose or through too limited a range, a sample may fail to represent the community fairly. How many individuals were indicated by repetitions of the same form often proves impossible to determine. For the name-stocks current in medieval England, moreover, the Germanic tradition shared by several of the categories makes many specimens etymologically ambiguous, at all events in their documentary forms: Wimundus, for instance, might with equal plausibility be referred to Old-English, Scandinavian or Norman origins;¹⁸ many Scandinavian names might indeed, with exactly opposite cultural implications, be classed either as proper to the Danelaw or as imported from Normandy.¹⁹ Spelling and dialect pose constant problems. Manifold uncertainties must therefore be borne in mind; and so only gross statistical discrepancies can be held significant.²⁰

Above all, the 'national' origins of names, whether Continental-Germanic or Scandinavian, must never be confused with those of their bearers. Names reflect cultural influences only, not 'racial' origins; and, although in times of scanty written communication cultural influence implies human contact and therefore some population-movement, the evidence which names give of such movements can be only indirect. What they do reflect are social attitudes.

i) Pre-Conquest elements

The Old-English names current in twelfth-century Lynn were in themselves hardly noteworthy.²¹ What invites study is the balance between these and the Anglo-Scandinavian ones stemming from the Viking settlement of over two centuries earlier.

Traditionally, clues to that settlement have been sought in place-names, especially those showing Scandinavian personal names compounded either with Scandinavian topographical terms or with English ones. From these a succession of scholars - among the most notable being in an earlier generation Ellert Ekwall and Sir Frank Stenton, and more recently Kenneth Cameron - have set out to map the Viking settlements according to relative dates and densities.²² But for East Anglia no adequately-published corpus of place-names is yet available.²³ Meanwhile, the density of Viking settlement here has excited some controversy, turning mainly on tenorial evidence.²⁴ Such brief studies of major Norfolk place-names as have

appeared show Scandinavian forms scattered thinly, except for a batch of -by-forms around Yarmouth. Towards the west, in Lynn's own hinterland, overtly Scandinavian place-names are rare, except for some -thorpes, usually interpreted as small secondary settlements.²⁵ In the main, therefore, Viking settlers in Norfolk may be supposed to have merged into the existing population rather than have remained in enclaves (for what such comparisons are worth, the Lincolnshire shores of the Wash likewise show fewer Scandinavian place-names than do other parts of that county, and are likewise believed to have seen the Vikings blending into the native population²⁶). About the likely density of the ninth-century settlement this tells us little.

Elsewhere in the Danelaw minor toponyms, and field-names in particular, have sometimes allowed Scandinavian influence to be assessed more precisely than through the corresponding major place-names.²⁷ On Norfolk little work has so far been done, but what has appeared suggests that here too minor names may show more such influence than do major ones.²⁸ Another potential source of evidence about linguistic and cultural patterns might have been early dialect, had it but been adequately recorded; but it is not.²⁹

Failing these sorts of evidence, perhaps personal names, which elsewhere have sometimes revealed Scandinavian influences where even well-studied place-names partly conceal it,³⁰ may help out. Admittedly, their evidence too has its limitations. Twelfth-century names, the earliest extant from most parts of the Danelaw in adequate numbers, cannot speak directly about a ninth-century settlement, nor even about the Cnutian hegemony, but only about the survival of certain superficial effects of these events. In such circumstances, varied name-forms will mean more than would great frequency of a few. Because in isolation the mere number of Scandinavian forms, and even their ratio to other elements, would have limited significance, an assessment may best be arrived at by comparison with contemporaneous materials from other areas. That being so, then, although the date allows of little discrimination between the effects of the ninth-century settlement and those of Cnut's enfeoffments of his followers,³¹ perhaps the latter, in so far as more or less common to the whole country, may not in the event confuse the pattern too gravely.³²

A specific limitation of personal-name evidence concerns the balance between the several Scandinavian 'nations'.³³ At Lynn, as normally in Eastern England, a good few names belong to the East-Scandinavian (that is, Danish and Swedish) stocks, for instance, Áki, Auti, Peinn, and perhaps Flikkr.³⁴ Exclusively West-Scandinavian currency of particular items is, on the other hand, always hard to prove, because Norwegian and Icelandic names happen to be more amply recorded than the Eastern ones; and this, in the context of Lynn's flourishing Norwegian trade, is disappointing. Even with those few forms, such as Steingrímur, which are identifiable as West-Scandinavian, it is hard to tell whether they stemmed from the original settlement or were brought in by later trade. Against the latter origin seems to argue the general failure of such items to survive the normal late-twelfth-century abandonment of the old 'insular' name-stock.

Thus, the basically Danish cast of Lynn's Scandinavian names seemingly shows this rapidly-growing town conforming with the surrounding area. How close this

conformity was must be a main question.³⁵ Veronica Smart's notable survey of Aethelredian moneyers' names has shown that - at least among this special group - Scandinavian influence was lighter in Norfolk than in mid-Lincolnshire, with only 15% to 20% of names Scandinavian here, beside some 40% at Lincoln;³⁶ but, as the pre-Conquest incidence among them of Continental-Germanic names shows,³⁷ moneyers were not wholly typical of the places for which they struck. It would not, therefore, be surprising to find Lynn's name-patterns differing from those of the Norfolk moneyers. The balance between English and Scandinavian forms here can, in any case, be determined only approximately. Several obstacles to precise analysis have already been cited. In particular, scribal conventions make it hard to tell Anglo-Scandinavian names from Franco-Scandinavian ones; still, rather as with Cnutian influences, an interference affecting the whole country may perhaps not falsify regional comparisons too greatly. Nor is the documentation available for Lynn as compact as that for some other towns. Figures must, therefore, remain somewhat rough.

In the event, the early Lynn materials fairly consistently show Scandinavian forms accounting for some 40% of the instances of insular names for men. As for the name-stocks, the English one has only a slight advantage, with just over 70 items beside some 65 Scandinavian ones (about 53%).³⁸ Beside the figures just quoted for Aethelredian moneyers' names, these Lynn ones at first look high - even with allowances made for some increase due both to Cnutian and to Norman influences; they prove in fact to agree fairly well with those for other post-Conquest Norfolk records. Thus, the cartulary of St. Benet of Holme (midway between Norwich and Yarmouth) shows Scandinavian forms accounting for over a third of insular name-occurrences, with the two stocks almost evenly balanced, at just under 35 Scandinavian items to just over 35 English ones.³⁹ Again, the insular names (some admittedly belonging to citizens of Lynn) appearing in the twelfth-century charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory represent a stock of some 40 items, likewise fairly evenly divided between the two elements.⁴⁰ The Norfolk Feet of Fines from 1198 to 1215 offer a masculine insular name-stock of some 135 items (partly, it is true, featuring there only as patronyms), of which about 60 are Scandinavian.⁴¹ So far, then, the name-patterns of the early citizens of Lynn look roughly compatible with those elsewhere in Norfolk.

These patterns must now be viewed in a wider perspective. Despite possible Cnutian reinforcement, incidence of Scandinavian names generally remained light outside the old Danelaw, so that in the Winton Domesday, for instance, they constitute only 8% of the insular name-stock characteristic of landholders TRE, providing a mere 4% of occurrences; and among the insular names surviving in the Canterbury 'Rental B', datable to the 1160s, show even lower ratios.⁴² With such figures those from the Northern Danelaw offer a marked contrast. Some late-twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century charters from Holland and Kesteven, not the most heavily Scandinavianized parts of Lincolnshire, show Scandinavian forms providing about 65% of the insular name-stock for men;⁴³ the Lincolnshire Feet of Fines from 1199 to 1216 likewise show about 65%, and the Lincolnshire Assize Rolls from 1202 to 1209 about 60%, with a Scandinavian name-vocabulary of some 80 items (in both, admittedly, some items are represented only by patronyms, which tend to favour the rarer names).⁴⁴ At Newark, in the heartland of the Five Boroughs, Scandinavian forms provided in 1177 nearly 60% of the insular names for men.⁴⁵

As for regions south of Lynn, the male peasants' names in the late-twelfth-century Ramsey survey, when analyzed according to the counties where the manors lay, agree roughly with the other records in showing for Norfolk an insular name-stock featuring some 40% of Scandinavian items, beside just under 30% for Huntingdonshire, about 25% for Cambridgeshire (agreeing with the ratio for the pre-Cnutian parts of Liber Eliensis⁴⁶), and 20% for Bedfordshire.⁴⁷ For Suffolk, Abbot Samson's survey shows about 45 Scandinavian items accounting for just over 30% of the masculine insular name-stock;⁴⁸ and similarly in the small insular name-stock of the Suffolk Feet of Fines from 1199 to 1214 some 16 Scandinavian items represent between 30% and 35% of the men's names.⁴⁹

True, the sources just quoted have not been strictly comparable with one another either in date or in scope; but, even so, certain outlines of name-distribution appear with fair consistency. Among the insular names for men the incidence of Scandinavian items forms a shaded pattern, with ratios varying from 60% to 65% in the Northern Danelaw down to half that in Suffolk and less still in Bedfordshire. Norfolk, with about 40% to 45% or more, is statistically as well as geographically intermediate. Such a pattern, in reasonable keeping with other (admittedly, sometimes controversial) evidence about the varying densities of Scandinavian settlement, is not in fact, despite the higher figures involved, altogether inconsistent with the profile derived from the pre-Cnutian moneyers' names. Such general consistency suggests that personal-name distributions are here reflecting real variations in cultural pattern. If so, then two main conclusions can be drawn: (a) that Viking influence in Norfolk, although less preponderant than in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, left a fair legacy; and (b) that the cultural patterns of Lynn, like those of another post-Conquest town previously investigated,⁵⁰ followed those of the surrounding region.

Too much should not be read into these findings. A 40% to 45% element in a name-stock by no means implies other cultural influences in like proportion. How dominant English speech-patterns remained here is emphasized by the frequent Anglicizations such as Swan for Swein, Stangrim for Steingrim, and Suartgar for Svartgeirr, as well as by the hybrid formations like Brunswain.⁵¹ So, although dominant enough to impose their own name-fashions, the Viking settlers in Norfolk cannot have been so numerous as profoundly to affect local speech-habits. And, although this name-survey may have suggested answers to certain questions, it ends by posing new ones. What, for instance, had been the social standing of Scandinavian names in pre-Conquest Eastern England? Was it just by accident that certain families prominent in twelfth-century Lynn favoured them?

ii) Continental influences

Throughout twelfth-century England the ratio of continental names to insular ones was, as already noted, rising rapidly enough to make dating crucial to a far greater degree than with the Scandinavian element.

For Lynn one dated, and in a sense homogeneous, sample is the list of certain of its citizens entered in the Pipe Roll for 1166. Here, if dubious forms and the Scandinavian ones probably of Norman origin are left aside, then insular names account for nearly 50% of occurrences; if all Scandinavian forms showing French spelling-influence were reckoned as 'continental' (and, given the likely

orthographical bias of royal clerks, that might be unwise), then insular forms would still amount to 45%. The name-stock shows about 40 insular items alongside some 32 continental ones (5 ambiguous Scandinavian ones being left out of the reckoning), with the former therefore amounting to around 55%. As for patronyms and metronyms, these, apart from not necessarily being truly representative of the name-stock, here qualify hardly more than a third of the individuals, and on both counts need treating with caution. For what they are worth, only three at most are not arguably insular: the abbreviated Ern', the ambivalent Oger, and the doubtful Amabil'.⁵² These patterns all square with the conclusion just drawn from analyzing the Scandinavian element here: that Lynn's early population was predominantly local in origin, rather than exotic.

That is by no means all. Such name-patterns seem to lag oddly behind the current fashion. Admittedly, the point is delicate, because records exactly comparable in date and scope are not easily come by. Perhaps Canterbury, for which in the 1160s Rental B shows insular men's names accounting for only 25% of occurrences and 35% of the stock, may be thought too cosmopolitan to be fairly compared with Lynn, and Winchester, with even lower figures already by 1148, even more so.⁵³ But Newark should be comparable with Lynn, and there only ten years later no more than 20% of men's names remained insular.⁵⁴ For Norfolk in general one estimate has suggested that by the late twelfth century only a quarter of current names (women's more traditional ones included⁵⁵) usually remained insular;⁵⁶ and certainly the abundant patronyms in the Feet of Fines from 1198 to 1202, presumably representing a generation flourishing in the late 1160s to 1170s, show only 30% to 35% of insular forms.⁵⁷ So, insular names running at nearly 50% make the Lynn burgesses listed in 1166 look somewhat old-fashioned. Sometimes a low ratio of continental names may be explained by humble status, in so far as the peasantry, although also coming to favour continental names, may have been rather slower in doing so than burgesses were; but citizens figuring in a Pipe Roll must have been prominent. Moreover, the burgesses of a 'new' town may be thought especially unlikely to have been uncommonly attached to traditional ways (indeed, as early as 1096 one Lynn notable was called 'William son of Stangrim'⁵⁸), and those of an active port least likely of all, given their constant exposure to foreign ways. All in all, the most acceptable explanation for this old-fashioned name-distribution may in the event be chronological: that is, whereas surveys like those from Canterbury and Newark included all householders of whatsoever age, the Pipe Roll may have been concerned only with certain senior burgesses, born about or before 1120 rather than in the 1130s or 1140s. This would explain also their predominantly insular patronyms and metronyms, as going back to the generation born in the late eleventh century, before the new fashions had taken great hold. Such an identification of this Pipe Roll group as consisting mainly of seniors is partly confirmed by the appearance of many of them as witnesses to a Norwich charter of ante 1150.⁵⁹

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Thus far, 'continental' names have been treated without regional distinction, as though all had alike reached England in the wake of the Norman Conquest. But, as has already been suggested, for this North Sea port no such assumption can be left untested. Trade was bringing Lynn foreign contacts far wider than the Conquest alone would have afforded, ranging from Picardy all along the Flemish and North German seaboard to the Baltic; and, in consequence, many different areas east of

the North Sea were sending immigrants to settle here.

Checking what effects such trade-links and consequent settlements may have had on name-fashions will not, however, be easy. The personal names favoured in the Low Countries and in northern Germany differed little - in their documentary forms, that is - from French ones, so that, for instance, names like the Folcardus and Gerardus here qualified as Estrenses could otherwise - with conventional spellings muffling their true pronunciations - just as well have been assigned to Flemish or even French provenances. Nor, indeed, are 'continental' names always readily distinguishable from native English ones, because the basic Germanic stocks partly overlapped and, although with some elements the English and the Low-German reflexes had diverged markedly (Ead-, later AEd-, beside Od-, for example), with others the documentary forms coincided: thus, Goding Flandrensis had a wife, Gerit[rud], whose name, phonologically continental as well as being widespread throughout Germany and the Low Countries, was specifically that of the patron saint of Nivelles,⁶⁰ but without the by-name his own could equally well have been native English,⁶¹ the same being true of many other Continental-Germanic [CG] forms. 'Christian' names too, like the Iohannes and the Thomas also qualified here as Estrenses, were common throughout Western Europe, and from the twelfth century on were being increasingly favoured by the English themselves. Some forms can nonetheless be tentatively assigned to particular provenances, the criteria being of two kinds, distributional and linguistic. For the latter, the present material, with its zealous Latinization, offers only limited scope: thus, as well as a few phonological divergences like that between English Ead- and CG Od- and also some specially French sound-changes, certain modes of formation too, hypocoristic ones in particular, can be noted as typical of certain areas - Bo(i)dekyn, for instance, being a hypocoristic for Baldwin of a type found mainly in Flanders (which includes Calais);⁶² but too few such pet-forms have reached the present records. As for distributions, although the wide currency of most name-forms seldom allows of pinning any item to a narrow area, some likely provenances can be approximately defined by consulting individual name-repertoires luckily available for a chain of localities stretching from Normandy and Picardy through Flanders, Frisia and Saxony to the Baltic coast.⁶³

Mainly on linguistic grounds, a few forms here are, not unexpectedly, identifiable as French, or sometimes Franco-Flemish.⁶⁴ These include: Anger, a Gallcized form either of Scandinavian Ásgeirr or of Frankish Ansger, and common in Normandy but not, apparently, farther east; Bertin, a short-form of names in Bert- or -bert (equalling OE Beorht-/Byrht-/Briht-) and current at least from Evreux to Ieper (Ypres); Deuduneth (Deodatus), a French form often, but not exclusively, figuring among those used by Jews to render their Hebrew names, in this case Nathaniel or Jonathan;⁶⁵ perhaps Doed, which looks like a variant of the Old French Doñ from CG Dodo/Dudo;⁶⁶ Ernis, a specifically French reflex of CG Arnegis; Firmyn, found thus at Eu, but in Picardy and farther east usually represented by Fremyn; Race (Raceus; here a vintner's name), which resembles the Rase found at Calais and likewise, albeit to a lesser degree, the Raisse found at Eu and at Arras for CG Razo, a hypocoristic of names in Rad-/Rat-; Terri, the specifically French reflex of CG Theodric; and Wybelot, a diminutive for Wigbald or Wigbert found, for instance, at Arras (cf. Wibelet at Eu and in Picardy).

For documentary forms offering no clue to their everyday counterparts,

possible provenances are deducible only from distributions. With most 'Christian' forms these are, as noted, too wide to serve great purpose: true, the frequent appearance at Lynn of names such as Clemens, Jacobus, Lambertus, Laurentius, Nicholas and Simon would square with influence from the Low Countries, but, in the absence of any typically Flemish forms, it proves nothing. Some Continental-Germanic names found here can, however, be traced through the name-repertoires to various localities from Flanders to the Baltic. Among these are: Cunrod, for Conrad, favoured in Ieper, Ghent, Cologne, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Rostock (but in northern France usually represented by the hypocoristic Conon); Godebald (-bold), found, for instance, in Ghent and in Saxony, and Godebert, found in Arras and Ghent and also in Saxony (the specifically French forms being Gobaut and Gobert/Gubert respectively); Godescalc, current in Arras as well as in Calais, Ieper and Ghent and in all five German ports; Hadebrand, rarer, but found in Saxony, and Herdeger likewise;⁶⁸ Hermannus, common from Ieper to Rostock, but found also in Evreux and in Metz; Hildebrand, current from Ieper to Rostock; Hungar, which, despite its Anglicized second element,⁶⁹ probably represented the CG Hunger common from Cologne to Rostock; Ricolf, an ambiguous form attributable either to Scandinavian Ríkulf or, and here perhaps more probably, to the CG Ricolf common from Ieper to Rostock; and Tidemannus, here qualified as le Ger', amply paralleled in all five German ports. Although distributions so widespread (and, at that, by no means complete) do nothing to pin any of the Lynn forms to a specific provenance, they are far from irrelevant. Except as surnames, few forms in this group seem to have been common in France proper after c.1000, although in Lorraine and in Wallonia they kept their popularity somewhat longer; and in a twelfth-century English context that itself is interesting. At Lynn, when set against the known trading-patterns, such predominantly Low-German distributions, imprecise and incomplete though they are, suggest that, on this level at least, cultural influences from Flanders, Frisia and the North-German and Baltic ports were hardly less strong than those from France.

For a few names no convincing sources or parallels have yet been found. These difficult cases include that of Heneg [or Heuk-]wald the tanner - a citizen prominent enough to have given his name to a fleet (creek), Henk[or Heuk-]waldsflēt, as well as to an alley, Eng [or Euk-]ualdislane. If it is right to prefer, from among the not only varied but even mutually contradictory spellings of this name, the forms in Hen-, these could perhaps represent a reflex of CG Ingwald or else of Scandinavian Ingvaldr.⁷⁰

iii) Women's names

So far statistics and commentary have referred only to men's names. Partly this has been because the Lynn materials, like most medieval records other than libri vitae, fail to include women's names in anything like due proportion to men's: outside the Gaywood Bede-Roll, women's names are rare except as metronyms, and the Pipe Roll and the Trinity Gild Bede-Roll, of their natures, offer none apart from metronyms.⁷¹ What dictates separate treatment is not so much, however, this paucity as the general tendency of women's names to follow fashions of their own, either because in some cultures principles of name-choice vary according to sex or else because at times the models for men's names and for women's differ in type. In twelfth-century England such contrasts in name-fashion were in fact marked.

One difference between women's names and men's, far from being local, or even typically English, was shared by most of Western Europe. When the Gaywood Roll shows 'Christian' forms amounting to half the total stock of women's names but to less than a third of men's, it reflects a pattern common at this time in, for instance, France and Flanders.⁷² Apart from the names of saints and of Biblical characters, such as had counterparts among men's names, women's names also included an element with no masculine equivalent: the abstract terms like Constancia, Leticia, Sapientia. If names encapsulate sponsors' wishes for their godchildren, the greater popularity for girls of 'Christian' names and of virtue-names implies conscious distinction between the qualities admired in women and in men - an attitude sharply contrasting with the older common Germanic tradition, where semantic distinctions between the names of the sexes had been minimal (the first elements of ditheatic names were wholly shared, and the second ones, although distinguished by grammatical gender, were not so by sense, with feminine -gýð and -hild both meaning 'battle' and masculine fríð, 'peace'). Contrasting attitudes (in scribal minds at least) may also underlie the somewhat freer admission to the records of colloquial diminutives for women's names, like Anote and Mariote, than of the corresponding forms for men's.

Other findings, however, at first suggest less rather than more innovation in the naming of girls. Throughout twelfth-century England women's names normally appear as about a generation more 'old-fashioned' - less 'continental', that is - than the corresponding men's: a time-lag elsewhere tentatively explained as reflecting a low proportion of women among the Norman settlers.⁷³ Norfolk records in general illustrate this clearly, with the current women's names in the Feet of Fines 1198 - 1215 showing about 25% of insular forms, in contrast with the mere 7% characterizing the men's. For Lynn itself relevant forms are too scarce to mean much; such as do occur suggest no departure from the general pattern. It may be added that, much as with men's names, the range of women's names found here would be compatible with - but by no means proves - some influence from the Low Countries.

What women's names from Lynn do show clearly is an incidence of Scandinavian forms lower than among men's: by contrast with the 40% to 45% of Scandinavian items in the masculine insular name-stock, the feminine stock (admittedly much smaller, and so less representative) shows only some 7% Scandinavian forms beside about two dozen ditheatic English ones plus an uncertain number of English short-forms⁷⁴ - well under half the masculine ratio, that is. By itself so small a sample would certainly have been dismissed as unrepresentative, did not other records show similar discrepancies: thus, the Norfolk Feet of Fines 1198 - 1215, with almost 45% of Scandinavian forms in the masculine insular name-stock, show only just over 20% for the feminine one, and the Lincolnshire Feet of Fines 1199 - 1216, with some 60% in the masculine stock, only about 40% for the feminine one; the Thorney Liber vitae, representing a 'catchment area' stretching from Holland to Bedfordshire, shows nearly 50% of Scandinavian forms among insular names for men, but only some 25% among those for women; and Abbot Samson's Bury survey, with over 30% among insular men's names, has under 20% among women's. Recognized for at least a quarter of a century (and perhaps for twice that time),⁷⁵ this regular discrepancy has been variously interpreted. Sir Frank Stenton (like Steenstrup before him) argued that the occurrence of any women's

names at all implied a 'genuine migration'; but on that Arngart cast doubt, pointing out how often 'women' accompanying Viking hordes seem to have been classed along with 'plunder'. The question will not be easily resolved. Archaeology cannot help, because goods in a woman's grave prove nothing about her own origins or cultural affinities. And name-evidence involves its own uncertainties. Certainly, in themselves Scandinavian names for women carry little weight, because a Viking with daughters by an English wife might well have named some of them according to his own family-traditions. On the other hand, perhaps the comparative paucity of such forms may, by an argument analogous to that already deployed concerning the Norman-French settlement, be thought to imply a low proportion of women among the Viking settlers too.⁷⁶

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[To be concluded in the next issue]

NOTES

* Originally, this essay was to have appeared as an appendix to the collection of King's Lynn materials being edited by Dorothy Owen and to be published in the British Academy's series of Records of Social and Economic History; but, for reasons of economy, that plan has had to be abandoned. My heartiest thanks are therefore due to the Editor - to whom I was already indebted for having read the work in draft and gently corrected many shortcomings - for having stepped into the breach and agreed to publish it in NOMINA. Because NOMINA VI will in the event be going to press sooner than the British Academy volume, certain intended cross-references are no longer possible; I hope that readers will appreciate the problem and take on trust the assertions now apparently unsupported. To Dorothy Owen herself, with whom I had constantly discussed the project as it evolved over more than five years, my debts are pervasive and unquantifiable.

For a research grant, awarded in March 1979, which assisted with my working expenses during the later stages of this study, I must express my gratitude to the British Academy.

1. See, for instance: F. M. [Sir Frank] Stenton, ed., Documents illustrative of the social and economic history of the Danelaw, &c. (Oxford, 1920), esp. xix, xcvi, cii, cxi-cxviii; *idem*, ed., The free peasantry of the Northern Danelaw (Oxford, 1969; repr. from Bulletin de la Société royale des Lettres de Lund, 1925-1926), esp. 17 and n.; and *idem*, 'The Danes in England', Proceedings of the British Academy [PBA] XIII (1927), 203-46, esp. 207-8, 227-33; D. C. Douglas, The social structure of medieval East Anglia (Oxford, 1927), 215; E. Ekwall, 'The proportion of Scandinavian settlers in the Danelaw', Saga-Book of the Viking Society XII (1937-1945), 19-34, esp. 20-1; and O. Arngart, 'Some aspects of the relation between the English and the Danish elements in the Danelaw', Studia Neophilologica XX (1947-1948), 73-87, esp. 77-80.
2. See, for instance: R. H. C. Davis, 'East Anglia and the Danelaw', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser. V (1955), 23-39, esp. 20-30;

P. H. Sawyer, 'The density of the Danish settlement in England', University of Birmingham Historical Journal VI (1957-1958), 1-17, esp. 13-14; and *idem*, The age of the Vikings, 2nd edn. (London, 1971), 157-8.

3. See, for instance, 'Clark's First Three Laws of Applied Anthroponymics', NOMINA III (1979), 13-19, and 'Battle c. 1110: an anthroponymist looks at an Anglo-Norman New Town', in R. Allen Brown, ed., Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies II: 1979 (Woodbridge, 1980), 21-41 and nn. 168-72. Rapprochements are also proceeding from the historians' side, see: A. Everitt's preface to R. A. McKinley, Norfolk and Suffolk surnames in the Middle Ages (London and Chichester, 1975), ix-xiii; and G. S. Barrow, The Anglo-Norman era in Scottish history, Ford Lectures 1977 (Oxford, 1980), *passim*.
4. F. T. Wainwright, Archaeology and place-names and history: an essay on problems of co-ordination (London, 1962), 46-7; cf. A. Dauzat, Les noms de personnes (Paris, 1925; repr. 1944), 4-6.
5. Thus, in Flanders the foreign names of several countesses were widely imitated (see J. Lindemans, 'Over de Infloed van enige Vorstinnennamen op de Naamgeving in de Middeleeuwen', Verlagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1950, 99-106) and in Normandy the names most favoured were those associated with the ducal house (see M. Le Pesant, 'Les noms de personne à Evreux du xii^e au xiv^e siècle', Annales de Normandie VI (1956), 47-74, esp. 55).
6. In the admissions lists of Hyde Abbey, for instance, continental names start to appear regularly, especially for 'pueri', from about the 1070s on, see W. de Gray Birch, ed., Liber vitae: register and martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Hampshire Record Society (London, 1892), esp. 36-7.
7. Cf. 'Battle', *passim*.
8. Cf. 'Women's names in post-Conquest England: observations and speculations', Speculum LIII (1978), 223-51, esp. 233-5, and 'Battle', 23-5.
9. For this element the main works of reference are: W. G. Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum (Cambridge, 1897) (for some shortcomings of which, see O. von Feilitzen, in H. Voittl *et alii*, eds., The study of the personal names of the British Isles: proceedings of a working conference at Erlangen, 21-24 September 1975 (Erlangen, 1976), 16-18); M. Redin, Studies on uncompounded personal names in Old English (Uppsala, 1919); M. Boehler, Die altenglischen Frauennamen, Germanische Studien XC VIII (Berlin, 1930); O. von Feilitzen, The pre-Conquest personal names of Domesday Book, Nomina Germanica III (Uppsala, 1937) [PNDB]; *idem*, 'Some unrecorded Old and Middle English personal names', Namn och Bygd, XXXIII (1945), 68-98; *idem*, 'Some Old English uncompounded personal names and by-names', Studia Neophilologica XL (1968), 5-16; *idem*, 'Personal names', in M. Biddle *et alii*, eds. and trss., Winchester in the early Middle Ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday, Winchester Studies I (Oxford, 1976) [PNWD], 143-229; *idem* and

- C. Blunt, 'Personal names on the coinage of Edgar', in P. Clemons and K. Hughes, eds., England before the Conquest: studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge, 1971), 183-214; also V. Smart, Cumulative index of volumes 1-20, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles XXVIII (London, 1981).
10. This term here denotes Scandinavian names current in England, not hybrid formations (for which, see n. 51 below). For this element, already touched on in several works listed in n. 9, see especially: E. Björkman, Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittelenglischer Zeit, Studien zur englischen Philologie XXXVII (Halle, 1910) and idem, Zur englischen Namenkunde, StEP XLVII (Halle, 1912), plus the review article by R. E. Zachrisson in Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap VI (1917), 269-98 (still useful, although dated); D. Whitelock, 'Scandinavian personal names in the Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey', Saga-Book XII (1937-1945), 127-53; O. von Feilitzen, PNDB, 18-20, and idem, 'Notes on some Scandinavian personal names in English twelfth-century records', in Personnamstudier 1964 tillägnade minnet av Ivar Modéer (1904-1960), Anthroponymica Suecana VI (Stockholm, 1965), 52-68; G. Fellows Jensen, Scandinavian personal names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (Copenhagen, 1968) (cf. the author's own comments in Conference at Erlangen, 43 et seq.); J. Insley, 'Regional variation in Scandinavian personal nomenclature in England', NOMINA III (1979), 52-60 (it is to be hoped that Dr. Insley's 1980 Nottingham thesis on Scandinavian personal names in Norfolk - see NOMINA IV (1980), 13 - will soon appear in print).
11. See: E. Ekwall, Early London personal names, Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis XLIII (Lund, 1947); P. H. Reaney, 'Pedigrees of villeins and freemen', Notes and Queries, May 1952, 222-5; idem, 'Notes on the survival of Old English personal names in Middle English', Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap XVIII (1953), 84-112; also idem, The origin of English surnames (London, 1967), 129-52; B. Seltén, The Anglo-Saxon heritage in Middle English personal names: East Anglia 1100-1399, Part I: Lund Studies in English XLIII (Lund, 1972) and Part II: Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis LXXIII (Lund, 1979) (see reviews in English Studies LIX (1978), 257-60, and LXII (1981), 473); G. Fellows Jensen, 'The names of the Lincolnshire tenants of the Bishop of Lincoln', in F. Sandgren, ed., Otium et negotium: studies in onomatology and library science presented to Olof von Feilitzen = Acta Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmiensis XVI (1973), 86-95.
12. For Germanic name-traditions in general, see: E. Förstemann, Altdeutsches Namenbuch, rev. edn., 3 vols. (Bonn, 1900-1916), I: Personennamen, plus H. Kaufmann, Ergänzungsband (Munich, 1968); H. B. Woolf, The Old Germanic principles of name-giving (Baltimore, 1939); W. Schlaug, Studien zu den altsächsischen Personennamen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, Lunder Germanistische Forschungen XXX (Lund, 1955) [I], and idem, Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000, LGF XXXVI (Lund, 1962) [II]. For further references, see nn. 14 and 60-3 below.
- For the impact of this tradition on England, see: T. Forssner, Continental-Germanic personal names in England in Old and Middle English times (Uppsala, 1916); O. von Feilitzen, PNDB, 26-9, and idem, 'Some Continental-Germanic personal names in England', in A. Brown and P. Foote, eds., Early English and Norse studies presented to Hugh Smith (London, 1963), 46-61; plus several further works already cited in nn. 9 and 11.
13. See J. Adigard des Gautries, Les noms de personnes scandinaves en Normandie de 911 à 1066, Nomina Germanica XI (Lund, 1954).
14. See, for instance, M.-Th. Morlet, Les noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du vi^e au xii^e siècle, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968-1972), II: Les noms latins ou transmis par le latin. Some studies listed in nn. 9 and 11 above and 60, 62 and 63 below include names of this type.
15. A topic touched on in most studies of medieval French and Flemish naming cited here: see in particular P. Aebischer, 'L'anthroponymie wallonne d'après quelques anciens cartulaires', Bulletin du dictionnaire wallon XIII (1924), 73-168, esp. 80, 112-16, 118-20, 123, 161-2; also O. Leys, 'La substitution des noms chrétiens aux noms pré-chrétiens en Flandre occidentale avant 1225', in Actes et mémoires du V^e Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie = Acta Salmanticensia (Filosofia y Letras) XI (1958), 2 pts., I. 403-12, and G. T. Beech, 'Les noms de personne poitevins du ix^e au xii^e siècles', Revue internationale d'onomastique [RIO] XXVI (1974), 81-100.
16. This topic will be fully treated by Dorothy Owen in her British Academy volume.
17. Cf. 'Battle', 25.
18. See, for instance, Seltén, Heritage, II. 167 and references there given.
19. Cf., for instance, SPLY, xxiv, lix-lxi; also PNWD, 191.
20. See 'Battle', 23; cf. K. Michaëlsson, 'L'anthroponymie et la statistique', in IV^e Congrès des sciences onomastiques (Uppsala, 1954), 380-94; O. Brattö, Notes d'anthroponymie messine, Göteborgs Universitets Årsskrift LXII/4, 1956, 22-9; also A. Ellegård, 'Notes on the use of statistical methods in the study of name-vocabularies', Studia Neophilologica XXX (1958), 214-31 (somewhat over-mathematical).
21. A provisional list of the Old-English names for men deducible from the present material, patronyms included, offers the following dithematic forms, here given in standardized West-Saxon spelling: perhaps Ächere; AEIfgār, AEIfhere, AEIfmāer, AEIfnōd, AEIfraēd, AEIfriC, AEIfsige, AEIfstān, AEIfweard, AEIfwine (Al- may sometimes, however, have represented not AEIf- but AEđel-, Eald- or Ealh-); AEđelmaer, AEđelriC, AEđelweald, AEđelweard, AEđelwīg, AEđelwine; Beorhtmaer, BeorhtriC, Beorhtsige; Blæcman; Brūnsunu; BurgrīC or Burgwīg; perhaps Cūdfriđ (see Seltén, Heritage, II. 56); Cynegār, Cynemann; Eadmund, EadrīC, Eadstān, Eadweard; perhaps Ealdræd (if Arled is a slip for Alred); (a rare Fordwine has been identified in Norfolk records - see Seltén, Heritage, II. 83 - but cannot be represented in the late forms like Fordewan, Fordewayne); Gōdhere, Gōdlamb,

Gōdman, Gōdrīc, Gōdwine; perhaps Goldrīc (rather than Cūðfrīð as above); Hereward; Hūnstān, Hūnwine; Lēofgēat, Lēofmann, Lēofmæ, Lēofrīc, Lēofwine, Ordrīc; Ōsfrīð; Sæliða, Sæmann, Sæward; Selemann, Selewine; Sigebeald, probably Sigerīc; perhaps Spilemann (but see Part II); Stānheard; Swētman; perhaps Wīgmun (cf. n. 18 above); Wulfrīð, Wulfhere, Wulfmæ, Wulfnōð, Wulfrīc, Wulfsige, Wulfwine; Wynfrīð.

Several -ing-forms such as became increasingly popular in the Late-Old-English period (see Smart, Index, xiv) occur here: Brūning, Cypping, Dunning, Golding, (but for Goding here, see p. 57 above and n. 61 below).

Among single-element names, always hard to classify, the following seem likely to be masculine, and English (cf. n. 74 below): Beorht, B(r)ord(a), perhaps Cola, Ecca, Lēof, Scott, Swift.

22. See the studies cited in nn. 1 and 2 above, and also: E. Ekwall, 'The Scandinavian element', in A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, eds., Introduction to the Survey of English place-names, EPNS I, pt. I (Cambridge, 1924), 55-92, and idem, 'The Scandinavian settlement', in H. C. Darby, ed., An historical geography of England before A.D. 1800 (Cambridge, 1936), 133-64; F. M. Stenton, 'Personal names and place-names', 'The historical bearing of place-name studies: the Danish settlement of Eastern England', and 'The Scandinavian colonies in England and Normandy' - all reprinted in D. M. Stenton, ed., Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 1970); K. Cameron, 'The significance of English place-names', PBA LXII (1976), 135-55, and idem, ed., Place-name evidence for the Anglo-Saxon invasion and Scandinavian settlements (Nottingham, 1977).
23. Unhappily, my one-time colleague, O. K. Schram, who had for many years been collecting Norfolk place-names, died before completing his work; responsibility for this county has now been transferred to Dr K. I. Sandred. See, however, Schram's short papers in Norwich and its region, British Association for the Advancement of Science (Norwich, 1961), 141-9, and in Sir Cyril Fox and B. Dickins, eds., The early cultures of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick memorial volume) (Cambridge, 1950), 429-41; and cf. Ekwall, 'The Scandinavian element', 76-7, 81-3, and idem, 'The Scandinavian settlement', 151-3, together with comments by Insley in Conference at Erlangen, 55. See also [Ordnance Survey,] Britain before the Norman Conquest (Southampton, 1973), 11-12 and map.
24. See the papers by Arngart, Ekwall, Davis and Sawyer cited in nn. 1 and 2 above.
25. See K. Cameron, 'Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence - II: Place-names in thorp', Medieval Scandinavia III (1970), 35-49 (repr. in Place-name evidence, 139-56).
26. See H. E. Hallam, The new lands of Elloe, University [College] of Leicester Department of English Local History: Occasional Papers VI (Leicester, 1954), 6-8.
27. See especially K. I. Sandred, 'Scandinavian place-names and appellatives in

Norfolk: a study of the medieval field-names of Flitcham', Namn och Bygd LXVII (1979), 98-122; cf. K. Cameron, 'Early field-names in an English-named Lincolnshire village', in Otium et negotium, 38-43, idem, 'The minor names and field-names of the Holland division of Lincolnshire', in T. Andersson and K. I. Sandred, eds., The Vikings (Uppsala, 1978), 81-8, and G. Fellows-Jensen, 'English field-names and the Danish settlement' in Festschrift til Kristian Hald (Copenhagen, 1974), 46-55; also J. Insley, 'Addenda to the Survey of English Place-Names: personal names in field- and minor names', Journal of the English Place-Name Society X (1977-1978), 41-72.

28. See especially K. I. Sandred, 'Ortnamns- och ordstudier i Englands Fenland', Ortnamnssällskapet i Uppsala Årsskrift 1972, 41-52 (English summary 51-2).
29. Although from c. 1375 onwards vernacular materials from Lynn itself are ample (see S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen, eds., The Book of Margery Kempe, Early English Text Society: Original Series 212 (Oxford, 1940), x-xi, xxxii; cf. A. McIntosh, 'The language of the extant versions of Havelok the Dane', Medium Aevum XLV (1976), 36-49), for earlier periods reliable dialect records from any part of Norfolk are scarce: for instance, the mid-thirteenth-century Genesis and Exodus cannot without circularity be used to exemplify Norfolk dialect, in so far as its localization depends wholly on linguistic argument (see O. S. Arngart, ed., Lund Studies in English [LSE] XXVI (Lund, 1968), 43, 45-7). Fifteenth-century usages, for what they are worth, tell somewhat against heavy Scandinavian influence, showing, for instance, h- rather than th- forms for 'them' and 'their', and this at a date when the latter were gaining popularity. As yet, comparative incidences of lexical loanwords have not been fully studied, but see A. Rynell, The rivalry of Scandinavian and native synonyms in Middle English, LSE XIII (Lund, 1948), 357 et seqq.; cf., more generally, A. McIntosh, 'Middle English word-geography: its potential rôle in the study of the long-term impact of the Scandinavian settlements upon English', in The Vikings, 124-30.
30. See, for instance, Ekwall, 'The Scandinavian element', 72-4; also idem, 'Proportion', 20-1, and Arngart, 'Aspects', 79-81. The main document concerned is BCS 1130, a late-tenth-century Northamptonshire memorandum (conveniently printed in A. J. Robertson, ed. and tr., Anglo-Saxon charters (Cambridge, 1939), 74-82).
31. An aspect of the Cnutian conquest usually passed over, with most accounts assuming that, generous though the new king was in rewarding his followers with estates, no settlement occurred at this time comparable with that of the late ninth century: thus H. R. Loyn, Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest (London, 1962), 62: 'There was no migration on the scale of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Canute's triumph was essentially political'; cf. Sir Frank Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), 413-4. See also n. 32 below.
32. Dr V. J. Smart, in her as-yet unpublished 1981 Nottingham Ph.D. thesis, Moneyers of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage 1016-1042, which follows on from her study of the Aethelredian moneyers' names cited in n. 36 below, shows that,

for this special group at least, neither Cnut's reign nor those of his two sons saw any significant shifts in naming-patterns (I am grateful to her for allowing me to refer to these findings). But, given the time-lags often intervening before changes in name-fashion become visible in records, definitive assessment of the Scandinavian hegemony's cultural effects must wait upon full analysis of the moneyers' and other personal names surviving from the Confessor's reign.

33. Cf. Insley, 'Regional variation', *passim*.
34. See von Feilitzen, *PNDB*, 21-3, also in *Personnamstudier*, 61-2; cf. *SPLY*, xxvi-xxviii.
35. In his Ph.D. thesis [n. 10 above] Insley describes as on the high side the incidence of Scandinavian personal names found in Lynn and its hinterland (I am grateful to him for allowing me to refer to this work).
36. V. J. Smart, 'Moneyers of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage, 973-1016', in *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum ix-xi in Suecia repertis II*, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar: Antikvariska serien XIX (Stockholm, 1968), 191-276, esp. 242-4; cf. *eadem*, 'A note on the moneyers of the mint of Lincoln', in H. R. Mossop *et alii*, *The Lincoln mint c. 890-1279* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1970), 20-9.
37. See Smart, 'Moneyers', *passim*, and esp. von Feilitzen and Blunt, 'Coinage of Edgar', 208-9; also C. E. Blunt, 'The St. Edmund memorial coinage', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* XXXI (1967-1969), 234-55, esp. 242.
38. A provisional list of the Scandinavian names for men deducible from the present material, patronyms included, offers the following items, given in normalized spelling and with no attempt to distinguish forms showing possible Norman influence: Aggi, Áki, Arketill, Ásbjörn, Ásgautr, Ásketill (-kell), Áslákr, Auti, Beli, Bolli, Bóndi, Brúni, Feggi or Feigr, perhaps Fenkell, Finnr, probably Flikkr, Gamall, probably Gauki, Gauti, Gunni, perhaps Hagni, Hákr, Halfdan, Hámundr, Havarðr, probably Horn, Hrólf, Húskarl, Ilhugi, perhaps Jarl, Kappi, Ketilbjörn, perhaps Kol(l)i, perhaps Kollingr, Lurkr, perhaps Milla, Oddi or Oddr, Oggi, Oðinn, Sæfugl, Sighvatr, perhaps Sigríkr, Skalli, Skarfr, Skjotr, Sprakaleggr, perhaps Spraekr, Steingrím, Steinn, Sumarliði, Sunnulfr, Svartgeirr, Sveinn, Tóki, Tóli, Póraldr, Pórketil, Pórmóðr, Pórsteinn, Ulfr, Ulfketill, Úspákr, perhaps Vigmundr, Víðarr, Víðr, Vrangr, Qunundr. For English names, cf. n.21 above.
39. J. R. West, ed., *St. Benet of Holme 1020-1210*, 2 vols. continuously paginated, Norfolk Record Society II and III (n.p., 1932), esp. II. 258-60 (some name-classifications there need adjustment).
40. B. Dodwell, ed., *The charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, pt. I, Pipe Roll Society [PRS]: new ser. XL (London, 1974).

41. B. Dodwell, ed., *Feet of Fines for the country of Norfolk for . . . 1198-1199 and . . . 1199-1202, &c.*, PRS: new ser. XXVII (London, 1952), and comments xxviii-xxxI; and *eadem*, ed., *Feet of Fines for the county of Norfolk . . . 1201-1215; for the county of Suffolk . . . 1199-1214, &c.*, PRS: new ser. XXXII, (London, 1958), and comments xxx-xxxI.
42. See *PNWD*, 184-5, and W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin kings* (London, 1967), 226-43. Because von Feilitzen's statistics lump men's names together with women's more old-fashioned ones (see p. 59 above), the strictly-comparable Winchester figures should be even lower.
43. K. Major, ed., *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, VII, Lincoln Record Society [LRS] XLVI (Hereford, 1953). Insular names occur here mainly among peasant occupiers, those of witnesses being predominantly 'continental'.
44. M. S. Walker, ed., *Feet of Fines for the county of Lincoln for . . . 1199-1216*, PRS: new ser. XXIX (London, 1954); D. M. Stenton, ed., *The earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls, A.D. 1202-1209*, LRS XXII (n.p., 1926).
45. M. W. Barley *et alii*, eds., *Documents concerning the manor and soke of Newark-on-Trent*, Thoroton Society Record Series XVI (Nottingham, 1956), 1-4, and notes by K. Cameron, xi-xv, 5-15.
46. E. O. Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis*, Camden Third Series XCII (London, 1962), 72-142 (studied in my paper, 'On dating *The Battle of Maldon*: certain evidence reviewed', forthcoming in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* for 1983).
47. W. A. Hart and P. A. Lyons, eds., *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, 3 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1884-1893), III. 218-315.
48. R. H. C. Davis, ed., *The kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds, &c.*, Camden Third Series LXXXIV (London, 1954), 3-77.
49. *FFSuffolk* [see n. 41].
50. See 'Battle', esp. 28, 30.
51. Such formations are discussed by von Feilitzen in *Personnamstudier*, 63-4; cf. Arngart, 'Aspects', 78-9.
52. *Ern'*: comparison of *Siñ. fil. Ern'* with the later *Seman fil. Ernisii* in the same document suggests that the suspension may represent, not an OE name in *Earn-* (see *PNDB*, 243-4, and Seltén, *Heritage*, II. 78-9), but *Erneis*, a specifically French reflex of CG *Arnegis* (see *PNDB*, 248, and *PNWD*, 156). *Oger*: either Scandinavian *Audgeirr* or CG *Otger* (see *SPLY*, 203); in a Pipe Roll the 'continental' spelling may not be significant, especially as the son's name, *Turchetil*, may favour the former etymology. *Amabil'*: either a Latinized nickname or, and perhaps more probably, a metronymic use of *Amabilia* (*Mabile* occurred as a by-name in fourteenth-

century Beauvais, see M.-Th. Morlet, 'Les noms de personne à Beauvais au xiv^e siècle', Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques 1955 et 1956 (Paris, 1957), 295-309, esp. 297).

Several etymologically-ambiguous short-forms, such as Biffe and Tette/Titte, seem on balance probably native and feminine (see further n.74 below).

53. See n. 42 above. Note that the caveat concerning the Winchester figures again applies.
54. See n. 45 above.
55. See p.59 above.
56. See Seltén, Heritage, I. 43 (the basis of calculation may differ from that used here).
57. See n. 41 above.
58. Norwich Cathedral Priory, 57-8. The case of the later Bartholomew of Farne, born Tosti but dubbed William by trendy playmates, shows that social pressure could cause replacement of old-fashioned names by more current ones.
59. Norwich Cathedral Priory, 70.
60. See, for instance, C. Tavernier-Vereecken, Gentse Naamkunde van ca. 1000 tot 1252: een bijdrage tot de kennis van het oudste Middelnederlands (Tongeren, 1968), 125; also Schlaug I, 98.
61. See PND, 265. In Flanders the commoner form was Godinus: see, for instance, C. Marynissen, Hypokoristische suffixen in oudnederlandse persoonsnamen, inz. de -z- en -l- suffixen, 2 vols. continuously paginated (Diss. Leuven, 1971), 206 (I am grateful to Dr. Folke Sandgren, of the Royal Library, Stockholm, who, as Olof von Fellitz's academic executor, procured me a copy of this dissertation); also other relevant works listed in n. 63.
62. See: M. Gysseling and P. Bougard, L'onomastique calaisienne à la fin du xiii^e siècle, Onomastica Neerlandica: Anthroponymica XIII (Leuven, 1963), 18; W. Beele, Studie van de ieperse persoonsnamen uit de stads- en baljuwsrekeningen 1250-1400, 2 vols. (Handzame, 1975), II. 73; and Tavernier-Vereecken, Gentse Naamkunde, 49.
63. The regional monographs and other studies consulted are, in roughly west-to-east order: M.-Th. Morlet, Gaule [see n. 14], esp. I: Les noms issus du germanique continental et les créations gallo-germaniques (for some limitations of this work, see the review by C. Wells in Medium Aevum XXXIX (1970), 358-64); eadem, 'Les noms de personne à Eu du xiii^e au xv^e siècle', RIO XI (1959), 131-48, 174-84, and XII (1960), 62-70, 137-48, and 205-19; eadem, 'Beauvais' [n. 52]; eadem, 'Les noms de personne à Amiens au xiv^e siècle', Bulletin philologique et historique 1960 (Paris, 1961), 527-52; eadem, 'Les

noms de personne à Corbie au xiv^e siècle', Bulletin 1967 (Paris, 1969), 739-78; eadem, Etude d'anthroponymie picarde: les noms de personne en Haute Picardie aux xiii^e, xiv^e, xv^e siècles (Amiens, 1967); Le Pesant, 'Evreux' [n. 5]; P. Bougard and M. Gysseling, L'impôt royal en Artois (1295-1302), Anthroponymica XVIII (Leuven, 1970); R. Berger, ed., Le nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194-1361), 2 vols. (Arras, 1963-1970); idem, 'Les anciens noms de famille d'Arras: anthroponymie et lexicologie', Annales de la Fédération historique et archéologique de Belgique: 35^e congrès, 1953, 107-21; H. Jacobsson, Etudes d'anthroponymie lorraine: les bans de tréfonds de Metz (1267-1298) (Göteborg, 1955) (cf. Brattö, Notes d'anthroponymie messine [n. 20]); E. Hlawitschka et alii, eds., Liber memorialis von Remiremont, 2 pts., Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Zürich and Dublin, 1970); Aebischer, 'L'anthroponymie wallonne' [n. 15]; Marynissen, Hypokoristische suffixen [n. 61]; Gysseling and Bougard, L'onomastique calaisienne [n. 62]; F. Debrabandere, Persoonsnamen in het Kortrijkse (1300-1350), Anthroponymica XIX (Leuven, 1971); Beele, De ieperse persoonsnamen [n. 62]; O. Leys, 'De anthroponymie van een 14^e-eeuws Renteboek uit Maritiem-Vlaanderen', Mededelingen van de Vereniging voor Naamkunde te Leuven, &c. [Naamkunde I] XXIX (1953), 125-46; idem, 'De bij-en beroepsnamen van Germaanse oorsprong in de Westvlaamse oorkonden tot 1225', Naamkunde I XXXIII (1957), 105-25, XXXIV (1958), 147-58, and XXXV (1959), 83-98, and 139-57; Tavernier-Vereecken, Gentse Naamkunde [n. 60]; J. Lindemans, Brabantse persoonsnamen in de xiii^e en de xiv^e eeuw, Anthroponymica I (Leuven, 1947); M. Gysseling, Overzicht over de noordnederlandse persoonsnamen tot 1225, Anthroponymica XVI (Leuven, 1966); S. Hagström, Kölner Beinamen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, Nomina Germanica VIII (Uppsala, 1949); F. Wagner, Studien über die Namengebung in Köln im zwölften Jahrhundert, I: Die Rufnamen (Diss. Göttingen, 1913); Schlaug I and II [n. 12]; K. Carstens, Beiträge zur Geschichte der bremischen Familiennamen (Diss. Marburg; Bremen, 1906); G. Mahnken, Die hamburgischen niederdeutschen Personennamen des 13. Jahrhunderts, Hamburgische Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Philologie II/4 (Dortmund, 1925); A. Reimpell, Die Lübecker Personennamen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Familiennamenbildung bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts (Diss. Hamburg, 1928); H. Brockmüller, Die rostocker Personennamen bis 1304 (Diss. Rostock, 1933).

Because these works are mostly alphabetically arranged and/or well-indexed, full references will only exceptionally be given.

64. French forms were early borrowed into Flemish areas: as well as relevant works listed in n. 63, see O. Leys, 'Romaanse leenwoorden in de Westvlaamse naamgeving tot 1225', Naamkunde I XXX (1954), 149-69. Although not pretending to offer any medieval documentation, A. Carnoy, Origines des noms de familles en Belgique (Louvain, 1953) not only gives helpful insights into name-patterns in these linguistic border-areas but also offers many forms analogous to those found in Lynn. For some further spread of French influence, see Hagström, Kölner Beinamen, 478-82.
65. Although it is a commonplace that medieval Jews in England often used French equivalents of their Hebrew names, no systematic study of the equations favoured seems yet available: see, however, C. Roth, A history of the Jews in England,

3rd edn. (Oxford, 1964), 93-4, and cf. *idem*, ed., *The Jews of medieval Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society n. s. IX (Oxford, 1951), 5 n. 4 and 113 n. 5; also the indexes of Jewish names in H. G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under Angevin kings* (London, 1960) and in V. D. Lipman, *The Jews of medieval Norwich* (London, 1967).

66. See E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste imprimées* (Paris, 1904), s. n. Doon de Maience; also W. Kalbow, *Die germanischen Personennamen des altfranzösischen Heldenepos und ihre lautliche Entwicklung* (Halle, 1913), 55, 65.
67. The son's name in the *Hildebrandslied*, but rare in real-life records: see Forssner, *Continental-Germanic personal names*, Schlaug I. 103, and Morlet, *Gaule*, I. 119a (although apparently noted from 'Gaul' only at early dates, perhaps it underlies the French surname *Habrand*, see A. Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France*, 2nd edn. rev. M.-Th. Morlet (Paris, 1969), 614, and cf. Carnoy, *Origines*, 295.
68. See Schlaug I. 105, also II. 99; but cf. Seltén, *Heritage*, II. 95, for the possibility of native origin.
69. See 'Battle', 24, also 39.
70. The problem here arises from the frequent -u-spellings, which produce a form hardly possible to 'etymologize'. The temptation is, therefore, to prefer the -n-forms, which at least allow of tentative attribution either to the CG *Ingwald* (*Ingoald*) noted in, for instance, Morlet, *Gaule*, I. 145a, and *Remirement*, 258, or else to the Scandinavian *Ingvaldr* / *Ingivaldr*, for which see G. Knudsen and M. Kristensen, *Danmarks gamle Personnavne, I - Fornavne*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1936-1938), col. 639 (but for *Ingold* as its usual ME reflex, see *SPLY*, 151-2).
71. For these two bede-rolls, see C. Clark and D. Owen, 'Lexicographical notes from King's Lynn', *Norfolk Archaeology* XXXVII (1978), 56-69, esp. 56 and nn. on 66.

Metronyms will be further considered in 'Part II - By-Names'.

72. See, for instance: Le Pesant, 'Evreux', 51, 63; Morlet, *Haute Picardie*, 23; Berger, *Nécrologe*, 306; and Leys, 'Substitution', 411.
73. See 'Women's names in post-Conquest England' [n. 8], *passim*.
74. Provisional lists of the insular women's names deducible from the present material, metronyms included, offer the following forms, again in standardized spelling: Old English - *AEIflæd*, *AEIlgifu*, *AEIlswýð*, *AEIlfwaru*, *AEðelgyð*, *AEðeldryð* (as with men's names, the true etymologies of ME forms in *Al-* are often uncertain, see n. 21 above), *Beorhtgifu*, *Burgwynn*, *Cūðwynn*, *Dēorlēofu* or *-lufu*, *Eadgyð*, *Eadhild*, *Eadwif*, *Eadwynn* (for these four items, cf. the short-forms *Ede*, *Edus*), *Ealdgyð*, *Eāstorhild*, *Gōdgifu*, *Hild(e)gyð*, *Hūnburg* (alternatively, but here less probably, CG), *Lēofcwēn*, *Lēofdaeg*, *Lēofgifu*,

Lēofrūn, *Lēofdryð* (for these five items, cf. the short-form *Lufe*), *Rædgýð*, *Sægifu*, *Sælēofu* or *-lufu*, *Wulfgifu*; Scandinavian - *Gufa*, *Gunnhildr*, *Hrafnhildr*, *Ingríðr*, *Ke(t)llog* (for which, see 'Part II', n. 19), *Langlíf*, *Sigríðr*; the original by-name *Dufe* could be of either origin.

Several short-forms, mainly found in Pipe Roll 1166 as metronyms and therefore probably garbed as Latin genitives, are uncertain in etymology, in so far as analogues are better recorded in CG materials than in English ones (see, for instance, Marynissen, *Hypokoristische suffixen*, s. nn.). Given the notorious underrecording of OE lower-class women's names, whether this lack of documentation is significant must be a matter of opinion. At all events, most such forms can easily be explained as possible childish contractions of common OE dithematic names: *Biffe* (perhaps from *Beorhtflæd* or *Beorhtgifu*), *Geve/Give* (if pronounced with initial [j]) and *Gode* (cf. *PNEB*, 260, 263), *Lelle* (perhaps from *Lēofflæd*; current also in the Northern Danelaw, see Stenton, *Free peasantry*, 92, 110-111). Well-authenticated OE names of this type found here include *Tette*, St. Guthlac's mother's name.

75. See Arngart, 'Aspects', *passim*, esp. 73-6 and references there given; cf. Stenton, 'The Danes in England', 231-2. The same references are noted, with little comment, by P. T. H. Unwin, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian occupation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire', *Journal EP-NS* XIV (1981-1982), 1-31, esp. 16.
76. Cf. 'First Three Laws', 17-18. The likelihood of widespread intermarriage is accepted by, for instance, Sawyer, 'Density', 8, and *Age of the Vikings*, 253 n. 60. Norman materials show in this respect an even more marked discrepancy between the names of the sexes, see Adigard, *Les noms de personnes*, 251-3.

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