

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE - 1985

The XVIIth Annual Conference was held at Christ's College, Cambridge, from Friday 22 March to Monday 25 March 1985. The lecture-programme, arranged by Miss C.Clark, opened on the Friday evening with a paper by Professor John McNeal Dodgson on post-Conquest personal-name forms in Domesday Book. On the Saturday morning Mr O.J.Padel spoke on Cornish surnames in 1327, Mr R.L.Thomson on Manx personal names, Dr T.Kisbye (Aarhus) on the adoption in Scandinavia of Ossianic personal names, and Dr T.Schmidt (Oslo) on Norwegian approaches to anthroponymics; in the afternoon Miss Clark gave a paper on the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey, Dr G.Fellows-Jensen considered, with special reference to Lincolnshire, the onomastic problems connected with identification of Domesday landholders, and Dr K.I.Sandred illustrated the survival in Norfolk place-names of OE terms for social groups. On the Sunday morning Dr G.Redmonds discussed some minor Yorkshire place-names formed on family-names, Dr D.M.Owen used toponymic by-names to throw light on the medieval peopling of King's Lynn, and Dr J.Insley exhibited transitional features in the name-patterns of the bishop of Ely's tenants in 1251. (Articles based upon the papers by Miss Clark, Professor Dodgson, Dr Fellows-Jensen, Dr Kisbye, Mr Padel, Dr Redmonds, Dr Sandred and Mr Thomson appear in this issue; owing to pressure of other duties, Dr Owen has elected to reserve her paper for NOMINA X, and Dr Insley's paper has appeared elsewhere.)

As curtain-raiser to the afternoon's excursion, the Sunday-morning session concluded with a brief talk by Dr M.Gelling on Fenland place-names. This excursion, which Dr Gelling led, took the party through the territory between Newmarket and Ely; we admired the docks at Reach, strolled along the not-very-diabolical Dyke, and had graven on our minds the distinction between a *-dūn* and an *-ēg*. Proceedings concluded with the ritual cream-tea, taken at the Old Fire-Engine House, Ely. Back in Cambridge, we dined ceremonially in Hall; Dr Sandred proposed a vote of thanks to the organisers, who fittingly acknowledged his appreciation.

FROM THE KING'S RETAINERS TO UNFREE PEASANTS: SOME REFLEXES OF ANGLIAN SOCIAL-CLASS GROUPS IN NORFOLK PLACE-NAMES*

If we look at the place-name research that has been carried out in Sweden in recent years, we find that a central field of interest at Uppsala has been the relationship between place-names and the organisation of the society that gave rise to them. A great number of young researchers have been engaged in a project called 'Place-Names and Society' which has resulted in a series of publications, *Ortnamn och samh lle*, edited by Professors T. Andersson and L. Hellberg (Uppsala University: Uppsala).¹ Most of the subjects treated have a historical bias. I mention this in order to give the current Swedish background to my talk, because in the work on my own project 'The Place-Names of Norfolk' there has been a mutual exchange of views and sometimes lively discussions with members of the project 'Place-Names and Society'.

Turning to England, I would like to say that I have benefitted from a great many works that could be ranged under the same title, dating from the days of Stenton and Mawer to Cameron. In my work on Norfolk I have had occasion to refer to such studies many times. More particularly, I have recently come across place-names in Norfolk which seem to give a few glimpses of Anglian social-class groups, and which have given me occasion to make comparisons with Sweden. This is what I am going to do briefly here.

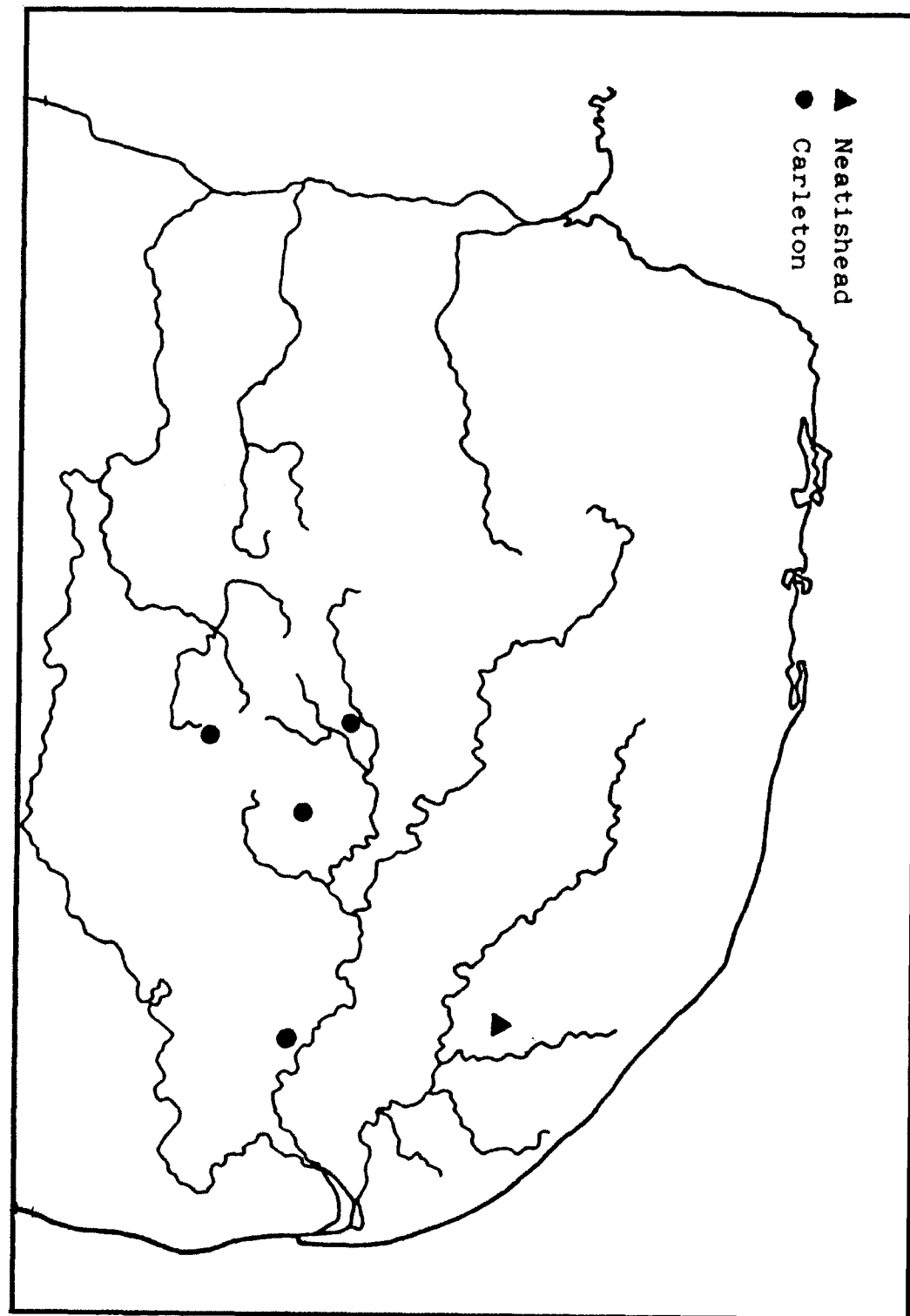
Now you may well ask what this has got to do with the theme of this conference, which is personal names. The answer is that several of these place-names were until recently considered to contain personal names, or are still considered to do so, although their first elements can, more plausibly I believe, be explained as terms for members of social-class groups which are known from other sources to have had important functions in Anglo-Saxon society. This paper is a discussion of onomastic evidence for two of these groups in the light of recent research.²

NEATISHEAD

I should like to start by drawing attention to the place-name Neatishead in Norfolk (see Map 1). This name was explained by Ekwall as OE *Sn tes h red* 'Sn t's household' (DEPN, s.n.), an explanation which still seems to be generally accepted. He thought it should be compared with Nottingham, where initial *S-* has unquestionably been dropped due to Anglo-Norman influence. It is true that such alteration of initial consonant-combinations has taken place many times, as was made clear by Zachrisson in his study of Anglo-Norman influence on English place-names.³ However, there are several reasons for not accepting this explanation in the present case. We have a fairly extensive set of Middle English spellings, but there is not a single spelling with initial *S-* except for the one in Little Domesday Book (see Appendix, below). A comparison with Nottingham shows that for the latter we have a dozen spellings beginning with *Sn-* (PNNt 13). Ekwall's conclusion was probably based on limited material. It is far more likely that we are here dealing with a case of inverted spelling in Little Domesday Book. This was also Zachrisson's opinion.⁴ Moreover, it should be noted that, in Norfolk, initial *S-* does not as a rule drop before *n*. It is preserved in a number of names, for instance Snettisham, Snetterton, Snoring, Snarehill (DEPN, s.nn).

The spellings certainly suggest that the second element is OE *h red* 'household'. To explain the first element as OE *n at* 'cattle', as has been suggested,⁵ seems absurd to me. Instead I venture to explain this name as OE *gen ates h red* 'the household of the *gen at*', *gen at* being a term for a member of a class of retainers.

Map 1. Distribution of Neatishhead and Carleton in Norfolk



According to Smith (EPN I. 197), the prefix ge- normally disappears in place-names, although traces of it are occasionally found. As an illustrative example one could quote the oldest forms of names in which the first element is OE gemyōe 'a confluence of rivers', which seems always to lose its ge-.

Myton Wa: Mytun 1033 (c.1200) KCD 751 (Sawyer 967), Muitone 1086 DB, Muton 1205 ClR, 1262 Ass (PNWa 265)

Mitton Wo: Myttun 841 (11th) BCS 433 (Sawyer 195), Muttone 11th Heming, Mitune 1086 DB (DEPN, s.n.; PNWo 254)

For more examples, see DEPN, s.nn. Mitton and Myt(t)on.

It should be noted that, among the examples mentioned by Smith where occasional traces of ge- can be seen, in all instances ge- belongs to the second element of the place-name, for instance:

Cattawade Sf: Cattiwad 1247 Cl (OE gewād 'ford')

Framilode Gl: Framilade 1086 DB (OE gelād 'passage')

See DEPN, s.nn.

It is true that I have not found the OE term genēat in any other place-names, but I have not yet had time to make a thorough investigation either. At the same time, I would like to emphasise what Schram said about this part of Norfolk (Happing and Tunstead Hundreds): 'In many of the English formations of this area personal names and place-name elements occur of a very archaic type and of which there are no other traces, either in other areas in the county or in other English counties. The number of names for which no parallels can be found in England is remarkable.'⁶

Exactly what type of retainer might have been referred to by this name is, of course, impossible to know. The status of a genēat is likely to have been higher in the early Anglo-Saxon period than later. This is the impression one gets from the little information there is about him in the Anglo-Saxon laws. According to the laws of Ine, the wergild of a King's genēat (cyninges genēat) amounted to 1,200 shillings, the same sum as that prescribed for a gesiōcund man (i.e. a nobleman),⁷ and in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle a King's genēat is mentioned alongside the King's reeve in a list of people fallen in battle.⁸ But although the sources suggest a lordly origin, it is also clear from both the laws of Ine and the so-called Rectitudines singularum personarum (an eleventh-century treatise which sets out the dues and services which a lord might expect to receive from his peasants) that an ordinary genēat could be of lower status, even a mere rent-and-service-paying peasant, though higher than a serf.⁹

CARLETON

The next place-name I am going to discuss is Carleton. It is found four times in Norfolk (see Map 1); in all four cases it refers to old villages which are recorded in the Domesday Survey (for a full series of old spellings, see Appendix, below).

It has occasionally been suggested in the past that a place-name Carleton contains the weak OS cand personal name Karli in the genitive, i.e. *Karlātūn. This is formally perfectly possible, as pointed out by Fellows Jensen with reference to Carltons in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire but, as she immediately adds, 'The very frequency of occurrence of the names, however, indicates that they are rather orig. karla-tūn 'village of the karls'.¹⁰ Since her work focuses on the personal names in the place-names, there is no discussion of what function Scandinavian karlar could have had in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. In discussing the Carl(e)tons in Yorkshire, Smith noted that this is a common type of place-name in Yorkshire and 'in all probability a Scandinavian form of the common OE ceorla-tūn "farmstead of the churls or ordinary freemen".¹¹

These Norfolk place-names belong to a type which is found all over England. Finberg called attention to it in an article in 1964. They appear as Charl(e)ton in the South and West, but as Carl(e)ton in the North and East, in the area which was in the hands of the Scandinavians in the Viking period. Finberg assumes (with a reference to Ekwall) that Scand karl has been substituted for OE ceorl as the first element. In seven cases the form of the name is Chorleton, all in the North-West and West, which is to be explained as the result of shifting of stress in the OE diphthong. ¹²

These names offer no serious problem as regards their formation. They are to be derived from ceorlatūn (OE ceorl, in the gen. plur. form ceorla, plus OE tūn), which in the case of the Carl(e)tons (assuming Smith and Ekwall are right) was Scandinavianised to karlatun, i.e. from the gen. plur. of the corresponding OScand karl and OE tūn, the latter type being a hybrid, though of a different kind than the Grimston hybrids. The problem is the significance of ceorl and karl and the function of these place-names in the onomastic context. The meaning of OE ceorl is generally given as 'free peasant' but, as Nicolaisen et al. point out, a name with the meaning 'the farm of the peasants' would not seem a very good way of distinguishing a few villages from others at a time when all settlements were farmed mainly by men of the social class termed ceorlas. ¹³

When, in Norfolk, the corresponding OScand designation is involved, it seems natural to discuss the Norfolk Carl(e)tons in the light of a recent discussion of a corresponding group of Swedish and Danish names. Like the OE ceorl, the OScand karl is explained simply as 'man' and 'free peasant' in our dictionaries. ¹⁴ Finberg gives a short survey of the meanings given for OE ceorl in dictionaries and other works by earlier scholars. Lexicographers are at one in ascribing the meaning 'free peasant' to the word ceorl. OE texts show that the basic meaning was 'man' and 'husband' as correlative to 'wife'. Then it comes to mean 'the head of a peasant household, a husbandman'. In texts for which Latin counterparts are available it corresponds to Latin rusticus. Stenton, Ekwall and Smith all stress the freedom of the ceorl, though Ekwall makes the reservation that the word also came to be used about a villein. ¹⁵ As Finberg emphasises, there is no etymological foundation for the notion 'free' in the meaning of the word. The root meaning implies no connotation of either freedom or unfreedom. Finberg quotes material which suggests that, in King Alfred's time, the ceorl was not considered free, only half-free. He needed a further act of emancipation before he could enjoy the full status of a free man.

But quite possibly the ceorl had been freer in earlier periods. In a recent article called 'Accelerating Social Mobility: the Case of Anglo-Saxon England', W.G. Runciman argues that both upward and downward social mobility increased in the Anglo-Saxon period. In this process the peasantry suffered, especially the ceorlas. ¹⁶ According to the author, 'the once independent peasantry were reduced to serfs and cottagers'. Runciman moreover points out that the role of the genēat, who was of a higher rank, also changed so that, from being a real warrior in the seventh century, he became not much above a serf in the eleventh century.

Irrespective of whether the Carletons in Norfolk contain OE ceorl in a Scandinavianised form or were from the start formed with the ODan karl plus OE tūn, a brief survey of a recent discussion of the corresponding East Scandinavian names and some comparisons will be of interest.

Professor Lars Hellberg of Uppsala, who is engaged in research on place-name evidence for old Swedish administrative centres, i.e. centres in the territory of the king of the Svear, has recently drawn attention to the corresponding class of people in Sweden, evidenced especially in the place-

names Karl(a)by, in which the first element is the gen. plur. of OSw karl. Karlar seem to have formed an institution in old Swedish society which survived longer there than in other parts of the Germanic settlement area. There are 35 Karlabys in Sweden itself and 7 in Swedish Finland. ¹⁷ In Denmark about a dozen examples are found. No examples have been found in Norway. In addition there are, as Hellberg emphasises, many karla-names ending in other elements, for instance -berg, -häll, -vi. Such names are not unknown in England, where we have a Carlford Hundred in Suffolk, explained by Arngart as a Scandinavianised form of OE *Ceorlaford. ¹⁸

One would assume that the Karl(a)by-names are the counterparts of the English Charl(e)tons and Carl(e)tons. In Finberg's investigation it appears that the latter were appendages of old royal manors, indicating where the king's own husbandmen lived. The evidence emphasises the part played by such villages in the economy of the royal estates. According to Finberg, the ceorlas tilled 'the soil partly on their own account, but partly also, and perhaps chiefly for the king'. ¹⁹

In his investigation of the Swedish situation, Hellberg has drawn special attention to the onomastic context in which the Karl(a)by-names are found. He finds that such places form part of what he calls administrative centres and occur as appendages to estates which occupy central, strategically important positions in the administration of the king of the Svear. In most cases the nuclear settlements themselves have names in -tuna, which is a pre-Viking element in Sweden. In some cases places with the name Rinkaby appear in connection with these centres. The first element of Rinkaby is OSw *rinker 'warrior'. ²⁰ People of this category will have had military duties to perform, and the same undoubtedly applied to the karlar, who were thus, it seems, employed both in farming and in defence. Hellberg thinks it is likely that these names reflect conditions as far back as the Migration and Merovingian periods.

Hellberg also draws attention to the Swedish Karl(a)by-names in Finland. ²¹ They can be safely dated, for the great Swedish expansion into Finland took place in the early twelfth century, and this apparently led to the creation of a number of such place-names, which would seem to indicate that there was still a demand for the type of peasant soldier which the karl represented. According to Hellberg, the Swedish place-nomenclature in Finland at the time of the Swedish settlement there reflects a social organisation which had preserved a peculiar archaic character. Whereas karlar had otherwise been superseded in the military organisation, which had to rely on more professional warriors, in Finland they appear as settlers to whom land had been allotted in places which were at the same time settlements and centres for maintaining the rulers' power in the settled area.

The social status of the karlar would seem to have varied through the centuries. If we turn our attention to Denmark, we find that such informative settlement patterns around old administrative centres as can be seen in Sweden have not been discovered in studies of the Danish Karl(a)by-names. It is clear, however, that the karlar had a particular social role to play in Denmark also. This is shown by the Danish use of the term huskarl in the Viking period. That this is a peculiar Danish development, probably at the Dano-English court, has been shown by Lindow in a study of North Germanic institutional vocabulary. ²² In Hellberg's opinion, the eleventh-century use of ODan huskarl arose among the Danes in England from the need to distinguish the Danish karl, who was a member of the comitatus with a position among the king's closest retainers, and thus had a personal relationship to his lord, from the English ceorl, who had a much lower status. The Danish huskarl was a member of the corps of retainers in the service of the king or of a leading

nobleman. It is worth noting that huskarl also appears as a personal name, apparently among the Danish aristocracy in England, recently exemplified by Insley.²³ This may be compared with the earlier adoption of the simplex karl as a personal name among the Franks, the earliest known bearer of which is Karl Martell (d. 741), grandfather of Charlemagne (Karl der Grosse), and of course in Scandinavia, where Karl seems to have been more common in the East originally, especially Sweden.²⁴

The above background would seem necessary for a discussion of the carlatūn-names in the Danelaw, and I am here only concerned with these names in Norfolk. A comparison with the situation in Anglo-Saxon England shows that the OE ceorlas had a military role to play also. This is clear from both the Anglo-Saxon laws and a passage in Bede. In the seventh century there appear to have been soldiers of two classes in the forces, judging by the way Bede describes the fate of a soldier taken prisoner, the two classes being milites (OE Bede cyninges þagnas) and rustici (OE Bede folclice men).²⁵ The latter undoubtedly belonged to the class of ceorlas.

According to the laws of Ine, military service was compulsory not only for a person classed as a gesiðcund man (i.e. a nobleman) but also for a cierlisc man. The law states that, if the former neglects his military service, he is fined 120 shillings and loses his land; if such a person does not hold any land, he shall pay 60 shillings. In case of non-appearance for military service, a commoner (cierlisc man) is fined 30 shillings.²⁶

A man can rise in rank, by acquiring five hides of land under the king (þæt he hæbbe V hida landes to cynges utware). In the same connection it is stressed that, if he possesses a helmet, a coat of mail and a sword ornamented with gold, but does not have the land, it will not be enough to raise him from the rank of ceorl (he bið ceorl swa þeah).²⁷

In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we read in the entry about the Viking attacks in the year 892 that the Viking here came up into the estuary of the river Lympe in 250 ships and landed four miles up river when they reached the forest of Andred. They captured a fort in which there were a few cierlisc men, but the fort was not more than half-completed. One would like to assume that these cierlisc men were part of the garrison and were supposed to defend the fort, perhaps while they were working to complete it.²⁸

In concluding these observations about Carleton-names in Norfolk, we have to return to the question whether the places with this name really functioned as settlements of Danish karlar, which we would expect if they were real Grimston hybrids, or if they are simply Scandinavianised pre-Viking Charletons, settlements of English ceorlas playing their important role in the economy of royal Anglian estates, as outlined above. In view of the even distribution of Charl(e)tons and Carl(e)tons all over England, I think we have to accept the latter view. They are probably Scandinavianised names which reflect a pre-Viking Anglian institution, though their exact age would seem difficult to determine from onomastic evidence alone. The fact that not a single Karlaby-name has been found in the Danelaw in England, although there are so many other names in -by, also speaks in favour of this view.

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APPENDIX OF SPELLINGS

The abbreviations for sources are the standard EPNS ones (except that LDB is used for Little Domesday Book). The following are specific to Norfolk:

NfA = Norfolk Archaeology, Norwich 1847- (in progress).

NfD = Ancient Deeds belonging to the Duke of Norfolk (HMC VII), 1914.

NoD = A Short Calendar of the Deeds relating to Norwich 1285-1306, ed. W.Rye, Norwich, 1903. A Calendar of Norwich Deeds 1307-1341, ed. W.Rye, Norwich, 1915.

NoRec = The Records of the City of Norwich, edd. W.Hudson and J.C.Tingey, 2 vols., Norwich, 1906-10.

NEATISHEAD, Tunstead Hundred

Netheshird 1020x1022 (1. 13) KCD 740 (Sawyer 984)

Neteshirda 1044x1047 (1. 13) KCD 785 (Sawyer 1055)

Snateshirda 1086 LDB, Neteshird(e) 1127x1134 Holme, 1150 BM, 1254 Val, NfA, 1295 Ipm, 1299 Pat, 1314 FF, 1317, 1349 Pat, 1330 SR, 1332 FF, 1346 FA,

Netheshirde 1153x1161 Holme, Netesherd(e) 1214 RP, 1215 Ch, 1317 InqAqd, 1337 Deeds, 1339 NoD, 1349, 1395 Pat, 1389 NoRec, 1407, 1410 FF, Neteshyrde 1257, 1269, 1286 Ass, Netishird(e) 1275 RH, 1311 Deeds, 1316 FA, 1317 Bodl, 1334 FF, Netisherd(e) 1275 RH, 1309 Deeds, 1315 AD, 1383 Pat, 1489 Ipm, 1535 VE, Netishurde 1365 Inq, Netysherd 1544 VE, Neetisherde 1552 NfA

Netteshird 1204 Bodl, Nettisheade 1591 NfA, Netteshead 1593 ib

CARLETON RODE, Depwade Hundred

Carletune (7x) 1086 LDB, Carletone(rode) 1202 FF, 1257, 1286 Ass, Karleton' (p) c. 1250 HMC, Karleton(e) 1254 Val, 1257 Ass, Carleton(Rode) 1257 Ch, 1298 to 1372 Ipm, 1302 to 1428 FA, 1309 to 1486 Pat, 1327 Banco, 1328, 1388 FF, 1435 Fine, Rodecarlton 1267 FF, 1380 Cl, Rodecarleton(e) (p) 1269 Ass, 1309 FF, 1392 Pat, Careltun 1275 RH, Cariltun 1275 ib, Rode Careleton 1278 Inq, Carelton 1284 Ch, Bokenham Carleton 1331-2 NoD, Carleton iuxta Bokenham 1361 FF, Carlton 1380 Cl

CARLETON FOREHOE, Forehoe Hundred

Kasletuna, Carletuna (2x) 1086 LDB, Karletona, Carletona 1163x1168 Holme, Carleton(e) 1194 P, 1202 FF, 1257 (3x) Ass, 1275 RH, 1331 Cl, (Fourehough) 1331 Pat, (Fourehowe) 1350, 1363 ib, (Fourho) 1372 FF, (Fourhowe) 1373 Pat, (fourhowe) 1375 Bodl, (Fowerhowe) 1535 VE, Karleton(e) 1202 FF, (Fouherho, Fourhowe) 1250 to 1269 Ass, (forro) 1268 FF, Carlton' c. 1230 BS, Karletun 1275 RH

EAST CARLETON, Humbleyard Hundred

Karletuna, Carletuna (4x) 1086 LDB, Carleton(e) 1195, 1196 P, 1212 Fees, 1256, (Est) 1306, 1307 Ipm, 1269, 1286 Ass, (Est) 1319 to 1388 FF, (Est) 1339, 1357, 1360 Cl, 1346, 1401-2, 1428 FA, 1347, (Cursones) 1348, (Est) 1351, 1368 Pat, (Curszon) 1349 NfD, (Est) 1438, 1555 Brabourne, (Marie) 1535 VE, Karleton(e) t. Hy III, (Est) 1329 Ipm, (Sci Petri, Sci Marie) 1254 Val, 1257 Ass, (Est) 1311 BM, 1365 FF, Karlton 1228 Fees, Carilton 1234 FF, Karlethon 1236 Fees, Estkareltun 1275 RH, Estcarlton 1350 BM, Cursonscarleton 1385 FF

CARLETON ST PETER, Loddon Hundred

Carletuna, Karlentona (5x) 1086 LDB, Carleton(e) 1202, (iuxta Langele) 1322 FF, 1220 Cur, 1257, 1269, 1286 Ass, 1254 Val, 1302, 1316, 1346 FA, 1327 Banco, 1336 Cl, 1350, 1363, 1378 Pat, (Sci Petri) 1535 VE, Karleton(e) 1204 FF, 1235 Cl, 1257, 1269 Ass, Carlton 1342 Pat

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ASC = Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, edd. J.Earle and C.Plummer, 2 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892-9.
- Bede = Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, edd. B.Colgrave and R.A.B.Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969. OE Bede = The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. T.Miller, 2 vols. (Early English Text Society. Orig. Series 95-6, 110-11). London, 1890-8.
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- OE Bede = see Bede.
- PNNT = J.E.B.Gover, A.Mawer and F.M.Stenton, 1940, The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire (EPNS 17). Cambridge University Press.

- PNwa = J.E.B.Gover, A.Mawer and F.M.Stenton, 1936, The Place-Names of Warwickshire (EPNS 13). Cambridge University Press.
- PNwo = A.Mawer and F.M.Stenton, 1927, The Place-Names of Worcestershire (EPNS 4). Cambridge University Press.
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NOTES

- * This is a shortened version of the paper given on March 23rd 1985 at the XVIIth Annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies held at Christ's College, Cambridge.
- To date eight volumes have appeared: 1. T.Andersson, Det nordiska projektet Ortnamn och samhälle, 1977; 2. L.Hellberg, Ortnamnen och den svenska bosättningen på Åland, 1980; 3. H.Walther, Gesellschafts-entwicklung und Namenwandel, 1978; 4. B.Westberg, Litteratur om svenska distriktsbeteckningar och distriktsnamn, 1978; 5. L.Hellberg (ed.), Uppsalastudier i namnforskning, 1979; 6. A.Oberg, Olika typer av sockennamn i Sverige, 1979; 7. S.Lagman, Östergötlands medeltida sockennamn, 1981; 8. S.Brink, Ortnamnen och kulturlandskapet, 1983.
 - In my lecture at the conference I also discussed the first element Ing- in the place-names Ingham (in Norfolk and Suffolk) and Ingworth (in Norfolk). This part of my paper will be published separately.
 - Zachrisson (1909), 51 ff.
 - Ibid. 54.
 - Schram (1926), 210.
 - Ibid. 221.
 - Ine's laws 19 (Liebermann I.96).
 - ASC, s.a. 897 (Earle and Plummer I.91: Æðelferð cynges geneat).
 - Liebermann I.98 and 445.
 - Fellows Jensen (1968), 162.
 - PNYW II.71.
 - Finberg (1964), 144-160. For the shifting of stress, see Jordan (1934) § 84 Anm. 4 and Boman (1944), 143.
 - Nicolaisen et al. (1970), 73.
 - Söderwall (1884-1953), s.v.; Fritzner (1886-96), s.v.

15. Stenton (1911), 25; DEPN 96; EPN I. 89, II. 2.
16. Runciman (1984), 18.
17. Hellberg (1975), 103 ff.
18. EHN I. 91 f. According to Arngart, there was a place called Kalletuna in LDB in this hundred, which is referred to as Carletuna 1086 in the Inquisitio Eliensis.
19. Finberg (1964), 158. Ekwall (DEPN 96) noted that the Charltons are often found near important centres.
20. Hellberg (1975), 105. See also Hellberg's article 'Aktuell forskning om tuna-nammen' in the Uppsala Nya Tidning 20.11.1984.
21. Hellberg (1984), 85 ff.
22. Lindow (1976), 119 f.
23. Insley (1982), 84.
24. Lind Supplement, 553.
25. Bede IV. 22.
26. Ine's Laws 51 (Liebermann I. 112).
27. Norðleoda Laga 9-10 (Liebermann I. 460).
28. ASC, s.a. 892 (Earle and Plummer I.84; This is the date of the original scribe of the Parker MS (A). It was wrongly corrected to 893 by a later scribe, and this date was kept by Earle and Plummer. Later editors have usually printed this entry as referring to 892 (see for instance Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader. Third ed. New York etc.: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1971, 153; Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, rev. by Dorothy Whitelock. Fifteenth ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, 34).

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF DOMESDAY TENANTS IN LINCOLNSHIRE*

A correct interpretation of a personal name ideally requires establishment of a genealogy for it (Redmonds 1976). While the toponymist would hesitate to interpret a place-name unless he had a range of forms on which to base an etymology, the anthroponymist often has to attempt to explain a personal name on the basis of a single recorded form. This form may be unambiguous. There is no reason to doubt, for example, that the forms recorded in Great Domesday Book (GDB) of the names of the pre-Conquest tenants of Gate Burton LW, Gonneuuate and Godric (347a; 12/1), represent Scandinavian Gunnhvatr and Old English Godric respectively. Some other pre-Conquest tenants' names are, on the other hand, recorded in forms which could equally well represent two or more personal names. The name of one of the tenants of Hackthorn LW, for example, is recorded as Aluunus (GDB 339b; 2/17). Von Feilitzen notes that this could represent any one of four OE names, Elfwine, Æðelwine, Ealdwine or the rare Ealhwine (PNDB 158-60). Identity of name-form is not in itself, moreover, proof that Aluunus of Hackthorn is identical with, let us say, Aluunus of North Ormsby LN (GDB 360b; 30/21). In fact there is no reason to believe that he is, and an anthroponymist, aware that the name-elements Elf-, Æðel-, Eald- and -wine are all very common, would never be tempted to identify the two tenants with each other simply because of the identity of name-form. Occasionally the recorded form simply defies interpretation. The name of the pre-Conquest tenant of Willingham by Stow LW, for example, is recorded as Deincora (GDB 353b; 20/4). Von Feilitzen, noting that this form is obscure, suggests that the first element might be Continental Germanic Thegan-, Degan- (PNDB 223). The cognate OE Pegen- and Scand Pegn- are other possibilities. No suggestions have been made about the second element.

There is a further problem connected with the name-forms in DB that has hitherto not been fully appreciated. In the course of an analysis of the pre-Conquest landowners in Lincolnshire, Peter Sawyer became aware that the names of several identifiable individuals appear at different points in the text in forms so disparate that they have been treated as separate names by von Feilitzen in PNDB and, where relevant, by the present writer in SPLY. Sawyer discussed his identifications with me in 1982, and at my suggestion he submitted a draft note on them to Nomina. This draft was read and commented on by Cecily Clark, John Insley, Brian Levy, Peter McClure and Alexander Rumble and their comments were communicated to Sawyer for his consideration. Partly because he was pressed for time and partly because he felt that the philological problems involved would best be dealt with by a name-scholar, Sawyer then asked me to prepare this material for publication. The Cambridge conference seemed to be a suitable occasion at which to present it to an audience for whom Sawyer's arguments for applying prosopographical evidence to the study of the personal names in DB would obviously be of the utmost significance and who might well have comments of their own on some of the problems which remain unsolved. I am grateful to Peter Sawyer for entrusting me with his draft paper and allowing me to deal with the material as I have thought fit and to expand the scope of the original note, and also to the scholars consulted for giving me permission to incorporate their comments into this paper.

The Domesday inquiry was commissioned by William I at Christmas 1085 and the survey-work seems to have been completed within a year. Sawyer has described the compilation of Domesday Book as 'a remarkable achievement that depended as much on the English administrative apparatus as on the drive and efficiency with which the Normans manipulated it' (Sawyer 1978, 254). The process of compilation was complex and has been the subject of much