

SECRETARIAL ASSISTANCE

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Willelmus Rex? vel alius Willelmus?

Cecily Clark

Post-Conquest English personal-name fashions have scarcely had their due. Between the late eleventh century and the mid thirteenth, the baptismal-name stock was almost wholly renewed, forms like *Ælfgifu*, *Godwine*, *Gunnild*, *Lēofprȳð*, *Ōscytel* and *Wulfstān* being discarded in favour of ones still current today, such as (to give their modern forms) *Alice*, *John*, *Margery*, *Robert*, *Susan* and *William*.¹ Little close study has, however, been made of this process, let alone of its social context. Unannotated data-bases of restricted availability apart, there is, for instance, as yet no onomasticon for the 1086 stratum of Domesday Book.² It is as though historians and philologists alike were — with some honourable exceptions³ — taking it as natural and inevitable for true-born Englishmen to be called *Alan*, *Geoffrey*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Simon*, *Thomas*, *Walter*, and so on: too natural and inevitable to need investigation. This disregard contrasts with the enthusiasm as well as learning lavished upon pre-Conquest name-styles and their brief post-Conquest survival.⁴

The shift of fashion was swift, comprehensive, and quasi-permanent. Even among the peasantry, names of post-Conquest types appear in, for instance, a Bury St Edmunds estate-survey datable possibly as early as *c.* 1100:⁵ a date which, if accepted, implies — unless we postulate post-baptismal renaming — christenings *ante* 1080. Renaming could occur: thus, in perhaps the early 1130s, the future St Bartholomew of Farne, a Northumbrian boy baptized by the Anglo-Scandinavian name of *Tósti*, was constrained by his playmates' mockery to adopt the more up-to-date one of *William*.⁶ Yet, even if renaming were conceded to play some part, the chronology based on the extant records would need adjusting only by a dozen or so years; and, more importantly, the renaming would itself testify to the dominance of the new fashions. These spread apace, so that by *c.* 1200 names of pre-Conquest types had become rare except among the peasantry, and were within two further generations virtually extinct.⁷ A few, notably *Edmund* and *Edward*, did survive into the later Middle Ages and beyond, but these were mostly ones tacitly reclassified as 'saints' names', and especially royal saints' names popularized through readoption by later royalty.

Received wisdom concerning this change seems to be that it reflects 'fashion': a banal aping by the lower orders of the customs of their betters.⁸ True enough, no doubt; but matters cannot rest there. Which of their betters were twelfth-century English people aping? Why, in the aftermath of a conquest followed by widespread expropriations, were they moved to imitate their new masters at all, let alone as early and as eagerly as they did? In any detail, 'Why?' must be unanswerable; but 'Whom did post-Conquest English people imitate?' may not be beyond all conjecture. Among the peasantry, acquaintance with the styles characteristic of the foreign settlers must have come from two main sources: from the lords of their own and of neighbouring vills; and from rumours of magnates further afield.

The greatest magnate was the king, and for the first thirty-five years after the Conquest the two successive kings were called *William*. That name soon became favoured in post-Conquest England, among all classes, being by the 1130s, as noted, commonplace enough for the future Bartholomew of Farne to adopt it as protective colouring. Other instances from *Vitae* of its adoption in non-aristocratic English milieux involve St William of Norwich, the apprentice furrier supposedly martyred in 1144, and, two generations earlier, St Godric of Finchale's brother, probably baptized in the 1080s.⁹ In thirteenth-century estate-surveys, *William* regularly figures among the most frequent names.¹⁰ Was it then mainly royalty whom humbler people were aping?¹¹ A seeming parallel might be adduced with Normandy itself, where names associated with the ducal house enjoyed a great vogue and *Guillaume* alone accounted for some 12% of the men's names recorded during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in, for instance, Évreux.¹² For neither country can one, however, be sure what models and motivations underlay recorded usages. The Conqueror and Rufus were merely the most prestigious of many Williams to be found in late eleventh-century England. Only a little less prominent were the tenants-in-chief of that name, including several bishops; lower down the scale, but far from inconspicuous in their own neighbourhoods, there were many under-tenants so named,¹³ and that is without counting lesser clergy or foreign merchants. When evidence does survive of the inspiration behind a christening, the model may prove to have been near at hand: thus, the half-French boy who grew up to be the chronicler Orderic Vitalis received his Old English name of *Ordrīc* in compliment to the priest who baptized him.¹⁴ That instance, dating from 1075, admittedly goes against the tide, but it by no means follows that its social, human motivation was atypical.

The Bury list of (?) c. 1100 offers only a single instance of *Willelm*, beside two each of *Raulf* and of *Salomon* and over half-a-dozen of *Ro(d)bert*: this hardly suggests royalty as the chief influence. Nor are any pre-Conquest kings' names much favoured there: *Alfred* occurs once, *Edgar* and *Edward* twice each, *Edmund* three times, *Cnut* and *Harold* not at all.¹⁵ Nor, in later times, did *Henry* become more than moderately frequent, despite having been borne by two twelfth-century kings and an early thirteenth-century one who were all effective and respected rulers.¹⁶ These observations likewise point to models near at hand rather than far afield in distant courts.

Determining the dominant name-models for any particular district will not be easy. As at Orderic Vitalis's christening, such a model might have been a parish priest or other person of merely local prestige and of whom no record need therefore survive (for women, under-recording affects even the nobility). Motivation is more speculative still. A name like *Robertus filius Siflet*, showing a man as bearing a post-Conquest name even though his mother had had the purely Old English one of *Sigeflæd*, might inspire a guess as to his possibly being the illegitimate son of an immigrant after whom he had been named:¹⁷ plausible perhaps, but unverifiable. Even less verifiable is another possibility: that sometimes a peasant woman might have named a child of her own after an aristocratic one that she had nursed.

The best to be hoped for is documentary evidence suggesting links between early instances of Continental-type names in use among the native English, the peasantry especially, and styles current among local nobility, gentry and clergy. Demonstration can never be exact, partly because no early medieval records offer more than partial and, onomastically speaking, random samples of the population, and also because little can be said about transmission of the overwhelmingly frequent names like *Robert* and *William*. If, however, sporadic and imperfect correspondences between peasants' names and those of local gentry have any value for socio-onomastic history, some can be exhibited.

The Bury St Edmunds survey of (?) c. 1100 preserves the names not only of the *feudati homines* holding by knight-service (all but a few corresponding with those listed in Little Domesday Book) but also of over 600 peasant landholders (free, paying rent, holding parcels of land ranging from a quarter of an acre to more than eighty acres, and some also following other occupations besides farming). This latter schedule covers, however, only three out of the eight and a half hundreds over which the abbey had special rights, and so, given the variation in name-choice from vill to vill,

offers an incomplete view of current usages. Interpretation of it also presents problems. The only surviving text, preserved in Cambridge University Library MS. Mm.iv.19, fos 134v-143v, postdates compilation by about a century.¹⁸ Its vernacular orthography is — as often at such a date — capricious and ambivalent: the only Anglo-Saxon letter retained is *æ*; *d* represents [ð] as well as [d], and *t* represents [θ] as well as [t]; *u* stands for [v] and for [w] as well as for [u]. Some confusion occurs between reflexes of OE *Ædel-*, which regularly gave late OE *Æil-* or *Æl-*, and those of OE *Ælf-*, which before a deutertheme beginning with a consonant could sometimes give *Æl-*.¹⁹ Certain originally Scandinavian items might in theory be classed either as Norman imports or as naturalized into late Old English (the low incidence here of unambiguously post-Conquest items, which account for only some 8% of the stock, suggests that most belong in the latter category). Other items are classifiable alternatively as native (or naturalized) Old English or as adopted from Continental Germanic.²⁰ Uncertainties arise also from the structure of the survey: some peasants held more than one plot, sometimes in more than one vill, as is on occasion signalled by use of *item* to introduce a supplementary entry or else of a toponymic byname that identifies a landholder as domiciled in a different vill; but how systematically such signalling was carried through is not clear. Precise figures are thus out of the question; and such statistics as are offered below will intentionally be couched in terms so vague as to engender no illusions about the exactitude attainable.²¹

The shortcomings of the Bury document are all the more frustrating because of its precision in other respects. As well as being poised upon the cusp of a major shift in name-fashions, this is one of the earliest known English estate-surveys to be compiled upon a territorial plan, vill by vill; and thus furnishes some of our earliest insights into name-distributions as perceived in everyday life. The familiar assertion, based mainly upon attestations to royal diplomas, of a late Old English loss of variety from personal-naming has never been claimed as more than a half-truth, uncertainly applicable to the peasantry.²² Here, such loss of variety as appears is specific and limited. The pre-Conquest name-styles represented consist — apart from some extraneous items to be discussed below — of a mixture of Old English forms and Scandinavian ones, with the latter accounting for some 18% of the stock. Between 160 and 165 masculine name-forms are distributed among about 600 men: although falling short of the 'one name — one person' principle generally supposed by modern scholars to have been the old Germanic ideal, such a level of

variety might — on the assumption that it was complemented by a comparable range of feminine forms²³ — seem ample for any group numbering up to some 350 souls all told, i.e., for a village of fifty to seventy households. Onomastic behaviour here was, however, neither systematic nor wholly traditional. Observance of the Germanic tradition in its supposed original form would have entailed generating enough additional names to obviate repetition within any local group. Systematic deployment of 165 names among 600 men would have meant bestowing them in rotation, at maximum geographical as well as chronological spacings, and thus using each three or four times. In fact, *Godwine* occurs in the Bury lists over forty times, *Godric* over thirty times, and *Ælfric*, *Ælfwine* and *Wulfric* between twenty-five and thirty times each. Conversely, about half the names in the stock occur only once each, and a further 15% only twice each. Popular names and rare ones alike tend, besides, to occur in local clusters, thus further reducing the variety experienced in practice.²⁴

The inconveniences of this habit of repetition were mitigated — in this document, at all events — by using bynames to aid identification of almost half those listed: at Hinderclay, for instance, four out of the eleven men were called *Godric* and were distinguished by patronymic and occupational bynames.²⁵ Of the bynames found, about half are of familial kinds, mainly patronymic; and the baptismal names involved set the current stock in some perspective. As recorded here, the current names are mainly dithematic; of the rare single-element forms, about half look Anglo-Scandinavian.²⁶ Among the smaller corpus of patronyms, single-element forms are relatively more frequent and include a higher proportion of Old English ones:²⁷ a contrast, as it happens, in keeping with common, but inadequately tested, assumptions about non-aristocratic Old English name-styles.²⁸ Such a seeming shift of fashion raises the question whether, between the christenings of the present tenants' fathers and their own,²⁹ the Bury peasantry had come partly to eschew short-forms; if so, the shift might be taken as a delayed reflection of the similar one alleged to have affected aristocratic usages *c.* 900. That is not, however, the only explanation possible: patronyms might have been recorded in more colloquial a style than were current baptismal names — a practice not unknown in later Middle English times; and this view is supported, albeit shakily, by a brief list of Bury peasants' names from (probably early in) the Conqueror's reign.³⁰ However that may be, no great statistical weight should be laid upon patronyms, which often provide only small samples (that here being hardly more than a fifth the size of

the current stock) and are likely to be biased towards the rarer, more distinctive forms. This caveat lends an ambivalence to the observation that, already among the patronyms, *Ælfwine*, *Godric* and *Godwine* were, at five instances each, disproportionately frequent (and not one of these, be it noted, had ever been a characteristically royal name).

The development of disproportionate frequencies was, at all events, what had given the current name-stock its monotonous look. The currency here of a good few rare forms, and especially of Anglo-Scandinavian hybrids, implies little loss of ability to create fresh forms or of willingness to accept them from outside.³¹ Nor had element-permutation been abandoned, for in some two dozen instances a man's name echoes an element from a relative's, usually his father's.³² Probably this latter practice was indeed what produced disproportionate frequencies, because within any familial or local group the element-range must generally have been so limited as to put expressions of onomastic piety at constant risk of repetitiousness. Whatever its causation, repetitiousness was no purely English problem, but manifested itself throughout the old Germanic area, and already characterized the styles which the Norman Conquest was about to introduce into England.³³ Repetition of whole names had, in short, come to oust permutation as the chief means of marking familial links.

Such was, in outline, the late-eleventh-century Suffolk name-system upon which this Bury survey shows post-Conquest fashions as having, probably by *c.* 1080, begun to impinge. In practice, detecting new adoptions is less straightforward than the summary may have made it sound; for several strata of non-native (or uncertainly native) forms have to be dissected out.

Some names shown by phonology or distribution (or both) to be of Continental-Germanic origin had by 1066 been known in England for up to a century. *Fulcard* had in the mid to late tenth century appeared in East Anglia as a moneyer's name and also that of a landholder associated with Ely Abbey. The naturalization of *Grimbald* is underlined by its appearing here in patronymics that qualify classic Old English names and date probably *ante* 1060 (at latest, *ante* 1080), possibly even as early as *c.* 970. *Sebode* represents the CG *Sigibodo* seen in the name of Æthelred II's moneyer Siboda (the same unEnglish *-bodo* figures also in the rare *Titebud*, apparently a reflex of CG *Theodbodo*). *Ærcebriht*, although in late Old English usage apparently an import, is Anglicized in a way implying naturalization. A further name that for practical purposes belongs in this category is the originally OIr

Col(e)man, adopted into German usage and known in England from at least the early eleventh century.

Against that background, certain other forms look explicable, often almost indifferently, as either Continental or native (which latter category embraces, in this context, Anglo-Scandinavian forms as well as purely Old English ones). Formally, the parental *Thede* is ambiguous in gender as well as in etymology.³⁴ *Harduin* could represent either CG/OFr *Harduin(us)*, or an OE **Heardwine*: the latter seems supported by the occurrence in the same vill of the analogous *Hardman*, the former by that of a *Hardwynus* among the otherwise Continental-named followers of a pre-DB Bury under-tenant called Peter. *Ulbern* might, in the orthography of this document, represent CG *Wulfbern*, or Anglo-Scand *Ulfbeorn* < *Ulfbjörn*, or else a fresh compound between OE *Wulf*- and Anglo-Scand *-beorn*. For *Frebern*, here denoting at least two, possibly three, individuals and found several times in other post-Conquest materials, the etymologies suggested involve either an OE **Frēobeorn* or a Gallicized reflex (*sc.* with the intervocalic dental effaced) of CG *Fridebern*/*Fredebern*: against the former are alleged both the rarity of OE *Frēo-* and the uncertainly native standing of *-beorn*; in favour of the latter stands the occurrence in Suffolk *TRE*, not only of *Fridebern*, but also of its supposed OFr reflex *Friebern*, given as the name of an Edwardian king's-thegn (LDB, 25/28, 32/6). A French form need not be incongruous in the latter context (the Confessor's earl of Norfolk, to look no further, bore the CG/OFr name of *Raulf*); nor would its reappearance among the Bury peasantry conflict with the present thesis of name-transmission through local gentry. Yet native origins cannot be ruled out, for the Scandinavian-influenced Bury name-stock certainly included *-beorn*, and for Suffolk *TRE* OE *Frēo-* seems attested by the form *Freowinus* (LDB, 7/121). There is also a middle road: recreation in native terms of the CG/OFr *Friebern*. As for *Osbern*, formally explicable as Anglo-Scandinavian, as Norman, or as Old Saxon, it may, or may not, be relevant to its appearance five times in the Bury survey that already in the Confessor's reign (although not, it seems, specifically in East Anglia) it had become associated with immigrant nobles and churchmen.

An etymological decision (if to be taken at all) may thus depend upon weighing probabilities, sometimes upon accepting some convergence of influences. The masculines *Godlef*, found twice here and several times elsewhere, and **Redlef*, deducible from a patronym here, are commonly ascribed to Low-German origins, on the grounds that, although *Lēof-* is among the most frequent of

OE protothemes, no corresponding masculine deutertheme is securely attested; yet, with the *-le(o)f* compounds recorded in England numbering over half a dozen, that argument itself could be deemed insecure. *Giulf*, explicable variously as a Gallicized spelling (*sc.* with *G-* for *W-*) of Anglo-Scand *Wi(g)ulf* < *Vigolfr*, or else as an OFr reflex either of the Normanno-Scand equivalent or of CG *Wigulf*, might perhaps be taken as French, in so far as *G-* for *W-* does not otherwise occur in the list of free peasants (though it does in that of the Bury knights), not even in certainly Continental names; this interpretation would, if accepted, bear upon that of the *Guiolfus* found, in addition to *Wicolfus*, in Suffolk *TRE* (LDB, 8/56). *Odin*, found five times here, could represent either CG *Odin(us)* or ODanish *Øthin* < *Audunn*; the frequency in Abbot Samson's late-twelfth-century *Kalendar* of an apparent OFr reflex of the former, to wit, *Othin(us)*, might support assigning the present examples also to an Old-French etymology.

That, then, is the already variegated background against which must be studied the names that the free peasants of Bury shared with the abbey's *feudati homines*: *Durand*, *Fulcher*, *Hubert*, *Ralph*, *Reeri*, *Richard*, *Robert*, *Walter*, *Warin*, *William*, and perhaps *Fredo*; as well as the famous late-eleventh-century abbot's own name of *Baldwin*. Although accounting for only 8% of the recorded stock and a yet smaller proportion of occurrences, these are the crucial names both for later developments in English personal-naming and for the present investigation into possible lines of transmission. Again interpretations prove less straightforward than at first sight they might have seemed.

Not all these names were post-Conquest novelties. *Baldwin* and *Durand* had both appeared sporadically in pre-Conquest England, as names of minor landholders as well as of moneyers. *Durand* — seemingly current *TRE* mainly in East Anglia³⁵ — perhaps ranked among naturalized imports; in post-Conquest Suffolk it looks to be more commonly found among the more modest class of landholder.

Many of the shared names fall, besides, among those too frequent, in Normandy as well as in England, to have traceable transmission-patterns. *William*, some two dozen bearers of which figure in the Suffolk Domesday material, is a prime instance of this, despite the neatness of its appearing once among the Bury knights and once among the peasants. So too with the post-Conquest name most frequent among the latter: *Robert*, the nine instances of which denoted probably six or seven individuals. As well as figuring in England as a tenth-century moneyer's name, this had, during the Confessor's reign, been borne by the

quasi-national figure, Robert (Champart) of Jumièges, bishop of London from 1044 and archbishop of Canterbury 1051–1052, and also by the Suffolk landholder Robert fitzWymarc, a supposed kinsman of the king and probably sheriff of Essex.³⁶ Post-Conquest Suffolk magnates of the name included Robert Corbucion, Robert Gernon, Robert Malet, Robert of Mortain, Robert of Tosny, Robert of Verly and, in particular, Robert Blund, not only a major tenant-in-chief, but also one of the abbey's *feudati homines*. *Raulf* (so spelt in the Bury survey, just as in the contemporary *ASC* annals), the three instances of which here denoted two individuals, had also long been familiar in pre-Conquest East Anglia, partly through the Confessor's Breton earl, Ralph the Staller, and then through the latter's son, Ralph of Gaël, banished for treason in 1075;³⁷ for Suffolk *TRW* it appears as the name of some half-dozen tenants-in-chief as well as of the abbey's under-tenant, *Radulfus Crassus*, and of a good few others of similar rank. *Walter*, not apparently known in pre-Conquest Suffolk (the *TRE* instances in Domesday Book all concern the Lotharingian bishop of Hereford), had by 1086 well over a dozen bearers recorded there, ranging from the magnate Walter Giffard to an indeterminate number of under-tenants, among them Bury's 'nepos of Peter the clerk'. Thus, in late-eleventh-century England, names like *Ralph* and *Robert* were simply in the air, trailing clouds of prestige, and scarcely traceable to specific models. Often their adoption by English people may have been of multiple inspiration: *Hugo*, for instance, appears twice among our free peasants, although not at all among the relevant *feudati homines*; Domesday Book shows it as borne *TRW* by Suffolk magnates like Hugh of Avranches, Hugh of Grandmesnil and Hugh of Montfort, as well as by some half-dozen under-tenants throughout the county.

Surprisingly, *Richard* does not, in the present context, exhibit a like degree of over-frequency: in the *TRE* stratum of Domesday Book it refers mainly to the *protégé* whom the Confessor settled in the Welsh Marches; and, even for 1086, the Suffolk record offers only the magnate Richard fitzGilbert of Clare and a few under-tenants, among them Bury's *Ricardus Calvus* and Richard *Houerel*/*Hoverel*. For certain other names, still sparser distributions — at all events, as far as the records go — suggest some possibly significant connections. *Fulcher* (or, given the ambivalence of the *-ch-* spelling here, *Fulker*) appears twice among the Bury peasants; Suffolk Domesday offers only two bearers of the name, Fulcher the Breton and Fulcher of Mesnières, both under-tenants of the abbey. For *Hubert*, found once among the free peasants and once for a post-Domesday knight of Bury, the

only Suffolk bearer recorded in Domesday Book is a minor tenant-in-chief, Hubert of Mont-Canisy. For *Warin*, also found once among the peasants and once among the Bury knights, the only Suffolk bearers in Domesday Book are two or three under-tenants, the abbey's man among them.

The problems of frequency pale beside those of rarity. Names attributed to Bury peasants include *Fredo* and *Reeri*: both reappear, applied to others, in Abbot Samson's *Kalendar*. Each presents a cryptic similarity with an anomalous variant of an under-tenant's name: *Fredo* appears in Domesday Book as a variant, or error, for *Frodo*, the name of Abbot Baldwin's brother, a major East-Anglian landholder as well as an under-tenant of the abbey (LDB, 14/65); *Rerius* occurs in the abbey's own schedule of under-tenants as a variant, or error, for the name elsewhere Latinized as *Roricus* (possibly, but not certainly, an OFr reflex of CG *Hrodricus*). The problem seems each time to be one that is too often glossed over: the discrepancy between spoken name-forms and their conventional Latinizations, *Raulf*/*Radulfus* being a classic instance. *Fredo* is, in itself, an authentic form, a shortening of CG dithematic names in *Fride*-/*Frede*-, like the *Fredebern* already cited. The questions are, first, why an LDB scribe on just one occasion substituted it for an otherwise regular *Frodo* and, second, how the form *Fredo* came to be ascribed to several Bury peasants. The former seems scarcely answerable. The latter could perhaps be met by supposing documentary *Fredo* here to represent an Anglicized reflex of Scand *Friði*. *Reeri* remains enigmatic.

For three non-Germanic names of post-Conquest types, problems lie not with etymology but with transmission. The two entries of *Salomon* in the survey have an uncertain relationship with the mentions in Bury documents datable 1121 × 1148 and 1148 × 1156 of a *Salomon* (*clericus*). The specifically OFr *Russel* (etymologically a nickname, 'small man with red hair') was familiar elsewhere in late-eleventh-century England, including Colchester. Then there is *Crispin*, given as the patronym of a man with the unambiguously Old English name of *Stānmæ̅r*. For such a saint's name to have been borne by an English peasant baptized probably before 1060 — and, at that, one apparently without clerical connections — would be unexpected; even more so would be occurrence here of the Old French nickname 'curly' (the byname *Crispin* given to a witness of a Bury document datable 1186 × 1198 can have no bearing on the form in the survey). Provisionally, a scribal explanation might be proposed: later 'improvement' of a less exotic Latinized *Crispi filius*, as seen elsewhere in the survey.

That does not exhaust the problems. A major flaw in the evidential pattern is that only a minority of the early knights' names reappear among the free peasants of (?) c. 1100. Given the selectivity of the record, such negative evidence is not to be pressed. Indeed, later Bury records fill some of the gaps, showing further knightly names, including *Anselm*, *Berard*, *Burchard*, *Elias* and *Peter*, appearing among people of English stock. Even so, the thesis of name-transmission through local gentry looks less cogent than it did when tentatively put forward a dozen years ago. Coincidences of the sort exhibited bear little weight, because ones no less close can be found almost at random: late-eleventh-century records from, for instance, the Norman town of Sées, offer parallels for the peasants' names *Baldwin*, *Durand*, *Fulcher*, *Harduin*, *Hubert*, *Hugo*, *Osbern*, *Ralph*, *Richard*, *Robert*, *Walter* and *William*³⁸ — but no-one claims any special relationship between Bury and Sées. Failure to substantiate the thesis by no means, however, discredits localized studies of the present kind. For, if fuller understanding is to be achieved of historical socio-onomastic processes, it must surely come from focusing upon local (or, perhaps, professional) groups, rather than, as in the pioneering days of anthroponymics, upon particular categories of name.³⁹ Signs are that continuities of name-choice may be traceable within individual villis.⁴⁰

In the broader sense, too, focusing upon name-fashions of the immediate post-Conquest period is salutary. At this time, as a mainstream historian has recently acknowledged, name-usage constitutes 'a better indicator of attitudes to foreign rule than are isolated statements in chronicles'.⁴¹ True, we cannot uncover the motivations behind eleventh- and twelfth-century English christenings; we cannot find out whether the English followers of imported name-fashions were moved by simple snobbery, by desire to curry favour, by the charm of novelty, or by genuine admiration for the name-bearers whom they copied. What we can observe among these Suffolk peasants is what Ekwall observed forty years ago among the contemporaneous bourgeoisie of London: apparent absence of any nationalistic or xenophobic reaction against the cultural patterns associated with the new rulers and settlers.⁴²

Old Chesterton, CAMBRIDGE

NOTES

This is a revised version of the paper delivered on 26 March 1987 at the XIXth Annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland, held at the University of Nottingham.

Additional abbreviations

- AS** O. von Feilitzen, 'Notes on some Scandinavian personal names in English 12th-century records', in *Personnamnsstudier 1964*, *Anthroponymica Suecana* VI (Stockholm, 1964), 52-68.
- EENS** O. von Feilitzen, '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.
- ELPN** E. Ekwall, *Early London Personal Names*, *Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* XLIII (Lund, 1947).
- F&B** O. von Feilitzen and C. Blunt, 'Personal names on the coinage of Edgar', in P. Clemons and K. Hughes, eds, *England before the Conquest* (Cambridge, 1971), 183-214.
- Fauroux** M. Fauroux, ed., *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911-1066)* (Caen, 1961), esp. index.
- FDB** D. C. Douglas, ed., *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds* (London, 1932).
- Forssner** Th. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England* (Uppsala, 1916).
- KS** R. H. C. Davis, ed., *The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds*, *Camden Third Series* LXXXIV (London, 1954).
- LDB** A. R. Rumble, ed., *Domesday Book*, XXXIV: *Suffolk*, 2 pts (Chichester, 1986).
- Marynissen** C. Marynissen, *Hypokoristische Suffixen in oudenederlandse Persoonsnamen, inz. de -z- en -l- Suffixen* (Ghent, 1986).
- Morlet I, II** M.-Th. Morlet, *Les Noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1968-72): I = *Les Noms issus du germanique continental*; II = *Les Noms latins ou transmis par le latin*.
- NoB XXXIII** O. von Feilitzen, 'Some unrecorded Old and Middle English personal names', *NoB* XXXIII (1945), 69-98.
- NPE** E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England*, *Studien zur englischen Philologie* XXXVIII (Halle, 1910).
- OEPN** H. Ström, *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History*, *Lund Studies in English* VIII (Lund, 1939).

- PNWD** O. von Feilitzen, 'The personal names and bynames of the Winton Domesday', in M. Biddle *et alii*, eds, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1976), 143-229.
- Redin** M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919).
- Schlaug I, II** W. Schlaug: I = *Studien zu den altsächsischen Personennamen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, *Lunder Germanistische Forschungen* XXX (Lund, 1955); II = *Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000*, *LGF* XXXVI (Lund, 1962).
- Seltén I, II** B. Seltén, *The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names: East Anglia 1100-1399*: I = *Lund Studies in English* XLIII (Lund, 1972); II = *Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* LXXII (Lund, 1979).
- Smart, Index** V. Smart, *Cumulative Index of Volumes 1-20*, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* XXVIII (London, 1981).
- Smart, '973-1016'** V. 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.
- SMS** P. H. Reaney, 'Notes on the survival of Old English personal names in Middle English', *Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap* XVIII (1953), 84-112.
- SN** O. von Feilitzen, 'Some Old English uncompounded personal names and bynames', *Studia Neophilologica* XL (1968), 5-16.
- SPLY** G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1968).
- Tengvik** G. Tengvik, *Old English Bynames*, *Nomina Germanica* IV (Uppsala, 1938).
- TRE** *Tempore Regis Edwardi, before 1066.*
- TRW** *Tempore Regis Willelmi, after 1066.*
- TV** C. Tavernier-Verecken, *Gentse Naamkunde van ca. 1100 tot 1252* (Tongeren, 1968).
- ZEN** E. Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, *Studien zur englischen Philologie* XLVII (Halle, 1912).

1. The earlier name-stock, comprising Anglo-Scand as well as native OE items, will be termed 'pre-Conquest' and the later, consisting chiefly of CG items and ones with Christian associations (both types often Gallicized), either 'post-Conquest' or 'Continental', according to context.

2. The lists in H. Ellis, *A General Introduction to Domesday Book*, 2 vols (London, 1833), retain only limited value; but Professor J. McN. Dodgson's projected *Index* to the Phillimore edition of DB, expected shortly, should go some way towards remedying the lack of an onomasticon for the 1086 stratum. For data-bases, see, for instance, J. Palmer, 'Domesday Book and the computer', in P. Sawyer, ed., *Domesday Book: A Reassessment* (London, 1985), 164-74, and R. Fleming, 'Domesday Book and the tenurial revolution', *Anglo-Norman Studies IX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1986* (Woodbridge, 1987), 87-102, esp. 87-8.
3. E.g.: *ELPN*, 91-100; *PNWD*; J. McN. Dodgson, 'Some Domesday personal-names, mainly post-Conquest', *Nomina IX* (1985), 41-51. Forssner, although treating relevant material, approached it from a different point of view.
4. E.g., the works by Redin, Ström, Reaney and Seltén listed above under *Additional Abbreviations*, together with several of those by von Feilitzen.
5. *FDB*, 25-44 (checked against CUL MS. Mm.iv.19, fos 134v-143v). For the dating, see: *FDB*, pp. xlvi-xlix, lvii-lxvii (*ante* 1098); V. H. Galbraith, 'The making of Domesday Book', *EHR* LVII (1942), 161-77, esp. 168 n. 1, and R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135* (Oxford, 1959), 359 n. 1 ('the early part of Henry I's reign' and *ante* 1119, respectively, but neither sets out evidence); Davis, *KS*, p. xxxviii and n. 4 (1098 × 1119); A. Gransden, 'Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds, 1065-1097', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies IV: 1981* (Woodbridge, 1982), 65-76 and 187-95, esp. 68 (consonant with Baldwin's known policies). Although no onomastic analysis of this document has appeared, forms from it have often been discussed (cf. below, nn. 26, 27, 31); for some provisional comments on the name-patterns to be examined, see C. Clark, 'Women's names in post-Conquest England: observations and speculations', *Speculum* LIII (1978), 223-51, esp. 239-40 and n. 80.
6. T. Arnold, ed., *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, 2 vols (London, 1882-5), I, 296. For *William* (*Willelm*) and other names discussed here, see the Onomastic Appendix below. (I am happy to acknowledge the help towards compiling it that I have derived from the von Feilitzen papers in my care.)
7. See, e.g., C. Clark, 'The early personal names of King's Lynn — I', *Nomina VI* (1982), 51-71, esp. 55-6; *ELPN*, 87; Seltén I, 38-46; cf. also the articles cited in n. 10 below. A popular account, now dated, appears in P. H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London, 1967), 101-7, 128-49; that given by E. G. Withycombe, *Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1977), pp. xxv-xxviii, is unreliable.
8. E.g., 'It became fashionable for Englishmen to give their children French names. . . . But what those new names were, and for how long they were fashionable, these are problems which have never been

- satisfactorily discussed': Reaney, *Origin*, 102, 129-30.
9. A. Jessop and M. R. James, eds, *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich* (Cambridge, 1896); [J. Stevenson, ed.,] *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici*, Surtees Society XX (London and Edinburgh, 1845), 23.
10. See, e.g., G. Fellows-Jensen, 'The names of the Lincolnshire tenants of the bishop of Lincoln c. 1225', in F. Sandgren, ed., *Otium et Negotium*, Acta Bibliothecae Universitatis Stockholmiensis XVI (Stockholm, 1973), 85-95, esp. 87, where *William* is said to account for 14% of name-occurrences; and J. Insley, 'The names of the tenants of the bishop of Ely in 1251', *Ortnamnssällskapet i Uppsala Årsskrift* 1985, 58-78, esp. 75-6.
11. Cf. 'A fact of . . . significance is that "William" became and remained the single most common recorded name in the twelfth century, which suggests that William the Conqueror and William Rufus were not as unpopular as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle made out': M. T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066-1272* (London, 1983), 57.
12. M. Le Pesant, 'Les noms de personne à Évreux du xii^e au xiv^e siècle', *Annales de Normandie* VI (1956), 47-74, esp. 55. The fashions go back well into the eleventh century: e.g., Fauroux offers almost five columns of *Willelmus* and four of *Robertus*, beside single entries for many other names.
13. For DB tenants, see Ellis, *Index*, I, 510-12, and II, 411-14; for bishops, see D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, eds, *English Historical Documents 1042-1189*, 2nd edn (London, 1981), 1070-5 (four of the name appointed *ante* 1100).
14. M. Chibnall, ed., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-80), III, 6.
15. For the names in fact disproportionately favoured here, see above, 11.
16. See, e.g., E. Ekwall, ed., *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls*, Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis XLVIII (Lund, 1951), 35 (1292: *Henry* 33x, *John* 143x, *William* 117x) and 36 (1319: *Henry* 61x, *John* 431x, *William* 246x). Note that *KS* and other documents show the popularity of *John*, a saint's name before it was a king's, as beginning well before 1199.
17. C. Clark, 'Battle c. 1110; an anthroponymist looks at an Anglo-Norman New Town', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies II: 1979* (Woodbridge, 1980), 21-41 and 168-72, esp. 31.
18. R. M. Thomson, *The Archives of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, Suffolk Record Society XXI (Woodbridge, 1980), item 1277, 119-21, dates the extant copy *post* 1207. (I am grateful to Miss Jayne Ringrose of Cambridge University Library for her advice concerning the manuscript.)
19. See *PNDB*, 142, sub *Al-*; also F. Colman, 'The name-element *Ædel-* and related problems', *Notes and Queries* CCVI (1981), 195-201.
20. See above, 13-14.

21. See further my paper, 'Historical linguistics — linguistic archaeology', forthcoming in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics*.
22. See F. M. Stenton, 'Personal names in place-names', in A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, eds, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, EPNS I/i (Cambridge, 1924), 165–89, esp. 176–9; cf. the comments by G. Fellows-Jensen and O. von Feilitzen in H. Voigt *et alii*, eds, *The Study of the Personal Names of the British Isles* (Erlangen, 1976), 48–9, 57–8.
- Little is known about OE peasant fashions: the relevant names given in the late-10th-cent. will of Æthelgifu (ed. D. Whitelock, Roxburghe Club [Oxford, 1968]), those of serfs associated c. 1000 with Hatfield, Herts., and, even more, those of the mid-11th-cent. ones at Wouldham, Kent, all show dithematic forms predominating: see D. A. E. Pelteret, 'Two Old English lists of serfs', *Mediaeval Studies* XLVIII (1986), 470–513, cf. A. R. Rumble, *Nomina VIII* (1984), 50–1.
23. Feminine names (including metronyms) found here represent between 30 and 35 forms (five of which, about 15%, are probably of Scand origin), accounting for 50 to 55 occurrences. The most frequent are: *Ælflæd* 5x, *Ælfgifu* 4x, *Beorhtflæd* 3x, *Beorhtgifu* 3x, *Godgifu* 4x and *Wulfgifu* 3x. There are none of post-Conquest types.
24. Both instances of *Spearhafoc* occur in Troston, and clusters of names in *-cetel* appear in Honington and in Coney Weston; for the frequency of *Godric* in the Hinderclay list, see the following paragraph.
25. *FDB* 40–1.
26. The current short and single-element names found here are: *Achy* (Scand *Áki*: *SPLY*, 3–5), *Ællic* (*PNDB*, 182), *Æuic* (Redin, 150–1; *PNDB*, 172), *Boio* (*PNDB*, 205 and n. 1; F&B, 189–91; cf. Schlaug I, 179, II, 63–4), *Bondo* (Scand *Bóndi*: *SPLY*, 60–1; *PNDB*, 206), *Brother* (*SPLY*, 65; cf. *PNDB*, 208), *Brun* 2x (Redin, 11–12; *PNDB*, 209; cf. *SPLY*, 66), *Bruning* (Redin, 165; *PNDB*, 210; *SMS*, 86–7; *PNWD*, 152; *ELPN*, 22–3), *Challi* (Scand *Kalli*: *AS*, 57–8), *Chetel* 3x (Scand *Ketill*: *SPLY*, 166–70), *Cole* (OE *Cola*: *PNDB*, 217–8; or Scand *Kol(l)i*: *SPLY*, 176–7), *Fader* (*SPLY*, 79; cf. *PNDB*, 250), *Goding* (*PNDB*, 265), *Hagene* 3x (Scand *Hagni*: *SPLY*, 122; *PNDB*, 282; *ELPN*, 77), *Hune* (OE *Hūna*: Redin, 67; *PNDB*, 295; *ELPN*, 49; and cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Hunn*; or Scand *Húni*: *SPLY*, 145–6; *PNWD*, 162), *Hunting* (*NoB XXXIII*, 84), *Labbe* (Scand *Labbi*: *AS*, 58), *Lotene* (Scand *Lodinn*: *NPE*, 92–3; *SPLY*, 190; *PNDB*, 321), *Lunting* (*SN*, 9), *Lut(t)ing* 2x (Redin, 174; *PNDB*, 322; cf. Scand *Lúti*, *Lútr*: *AS*, 58; *SPLY*, 191), *Manne* (OE *Manna*: Redin, 52; *PNDB*, 324; or Scand *Manni*: *SPLY*, 194–5), *Neue* (? OE *nefa* or Scand *nefi* 'nephew'; cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Neave*), *Oppe* (cf. *KS*, 14; *SN*, 10), *Tate* (OE *Tāta* masc., *Tāte* fem.: Redin, 114; *SN*, 11, s.n. *Tætig*; cf. Scand *Teitr*: *PNDB*, 382), *Tuuida* (*SN*, 12), *Suarche* (also *KS*, 47; ? short

- for Scand *Svartkollr*: *PNDB*, 379; *SPLY*, 276; cf. n. 31 below), *Ulf* (Scand *Ulfr*: *SPLY*, 321–4; or OE *Wulf*: Redin, 10). For some further Scand forms, see n. 27 below. Names from the survey by no means exhaust the local stock of Scand short-forms: e.g., *Threm* (*FDB*, 138, 147–8; *KS*, 50, also 49, where *Thoem* is a misprint) represents Scand *Brymr* (*NPE*, 154).
27. Distinguishing between postposed nicknames and asyndetic patronyms is not easy. The short and single-element names best taken as patronyms are: *Ade sune* (OE *Ad[d]a*: Redin, 81–2), *Ædesdohter* (cf. *LDB* *Ædi*: *PNDB*, 171–2; cf. also OE *Ædda*, *Æddi*: Redin, 82, 131), *Ællice sune* (n. 26), *Becce f[ilius]* 2x (OE *Beocca*: Redin, 84; Tengvik, 173; *DBS*, s.n. *Beck*; cf. Anglo-Scand **Bekki*: *SPLY*, 51), *Boie f.* (n. 26), *Brune f.* 2x/*Brune sune*/*Brune stepsune* (Scand *Brúni*: *SPLY*, 66; *PNWD*, 152; cf. OE *Brūn*: n. 26), *Bruningi f.* (n. 26; cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Browning*), *Celing* (Tengvik, 301; cf. OE *Cēol[la]*: Redin, 46), *Chebbel* (Tengvik, 301; *PNWD*, 209 n. 5; cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Keeble*), *Ceteli f.* (n. 26), *Chippingi f.* (OE *Cypping*: Redin, 173; *PNDB*, 221–2; *PNWD*, 153), *Cobbe* (cf. *LDB*, 7/36: ? OE **Cobba*, or short for *Colbein*, as at *FDB*, 39; cf. Tengvik, 305–6, and *DBS*, s.n. *Cobb*), *Cocce sune* (? OE **Coc[a]*: Tengvik, 153; cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Cock*), *Cole sune* (n. 26), *Crauwe f.* 2x (OE *Crāwa*: *PNDB*, 219 — Suffolk; or OE *Crāwe* fem.: Redin, 115; cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Crow*), *Crite* (cf. OE *Cretta*: Redin, 90; Tengvik, 308), *Dages* (? Scand *Dagr*: cf. *NPE*, 31, and Tengvik, 208), *Dere f.* (OE *Dēora*: Redin, 47; *PNWD*, 154), *Dod/Dode/Doddes* (OE *Dodd*, *Dodda*: Redin, 16, 62; *PNDB*, 223–5; cf. Tengvik, 154, 179, 208, 310–11), *Frost* (Tengvik, 376; *NoB XXXIII*, 80; *PNWD*, 157, s.n. *Forst*; *DBS*, s.n.; cf. Scand *Frosti*: *SPLY*, 87–8), *Gode f.* (OE *Gōda*: Redin, 49, cf. 114; *PNDB*, 263; *DBS*, s.n. *Good*), *Gott* (? Scand *Gautr*: *SPLY*, 98; *PNWD*, 160; cf. *DBS*, s.n.), *Grelling* (Redin, 166–7; Tengvik, 143–4), *Hert* (OE *Heort*: *SN*, 8), *Hune f.* 2x (n. 26), *Hunte sune* (OE *Hunta*, or the underlying occupational term: Redin, 87; *PNDB*, 296; cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Hunt*), *Letig* (? OE *lytig* 'sly': Tengvik, 348; but cf. Scand *Leði*: *PNDB*, 319, *Leiðr*: *PNDB*, 309, and *Liótr*: *PNDB*, 320, and *SPLY*, 190), *Lute f.* (cf. *Lut[t]ing*: n. 26), *Moce sun* (OE *Mocca*, *Mucca*: Redin, 100–1; cf. Scand *Mukki*: *SPLY*, 198), *Pape* (Tengvik, 262–3), *Paue f.* (OE *pāwa* 'peacock': Tengvik, 194; *DBS*, s.n. *Paw*), *Puse sune* (OE *Pusa*: Redin, 78; cf. Scand *Pósi*: *SPLY*, 209), *Scule f.* (Scand *Skúli*: *PNDB*, 366; *SPLY*, 254); *Suete f.* (OE *Swēta*: Redin, 54; *PNDB*, 381; *PNWD*, 173), *Tates* (n. 26), *Thede f.* (see 32 below), *Torce* (? Anglo-Scand *Turke*: *AS*, 66), *Trege* (cf. *Trehes* [gen.]: *KS*, 15, in same vill; Scand *Tryggr*: *ZEN*, 84; *SPLY*, 292), *Uere f.* (? OE *Wæra*: Tengvik, 203–4). Note that citation of a reference does not necessarily imply endorsement of any opinion expressed.
- Alongside the prevailing *filius*-formulas, all three vernacular patronymic strategies occur: asyndetic apposition; gen. phrases in *dohtor/sunu*; simple gen. of the parental name.

28. Redin, 184-9; cf. n. 22 above.
29. On the assumptions (a) of a date *c.* 1100 for the survey and (b) of a life-span of up to 65 years, the current tenants might be supposed to have been baptized at dates ranging from *c.* 1035 to *c.* 1080, and their fathers at ones ranging from *c.* 970 to *c.* 1060 (*c.* 1055-*c.* 1100 and *c.* 990-*c.* 1080 respectively, if the document be assigned to its latest possible date of 1119).
30. *FDB*, 151-2 (a notification of enfeoffment, datable 1066 × 1087, 'probably early' in that period), offers a list of peasants' names containing nine OE dithematic masc. forms, four Scand and two ambivalent ones, plus *Brother* (also one CG dithematic masc. form, three OE dithematic fem. ones, the apparently fem. OE monothematic *Lufe* and two blundered forms).
31. Unusual names here include: *Achulf* (also *FDB*, 151 [cf. n. 30 above]; *PNDB*, 140, from Norfolk and Suffolk), *Gangulf* (patronym: *AS*, 55), *Glauard* (patronym, also *KS*, 19; *SMS*, 93), *Godhug* (*DBS*, s.n. *Goodhew*; cf. *AS*, 57), *Goldrauen* (*NoB XXXIII*, 82; cf. the moneyers' names *Goldcyta*, *Goldhavoc*), *Hafcuine* (*NoB XXXIII*, 82), *Lefchetel* (*PNDB*, 313; *SPLY*, 186), *Lefthein* (*SMS*, 97), *Litemode* (patronym or metronym: *NoB XXXIII*, 85), *Mantat* (*SMS*, 97-8; *Will of Æthelgifu*, 6), *Meruin* 2x (? OE **Mærwine* or *Merewine*: *PNDB*, 327), *Moregrim* (also, as patronym, *KS*, 13; *PNDB*, 329), *Morstan* (*NoB XXXIII*, 86), *Mundingus* (*PNDB*, 330), *Sedemode* (patronym or metronym: *NoB XXXIII*, 88), *Sibman* (*NoB XXXIII*, 88), *Spileman* (*PNWD*, 173), *Strangman* (*NoB XXXIII*, 89), *Stubhard* (*PNDB*, 376-7; *SMS*, 103), *Suacheil* (? for Scand *Svartkollr* or **Svartke[ti]ll*; cf. *Swarche* in n. 26 above), *Winterhard* (CG: Forssner, 258), *Udelac* (patronym: *SMS*, 106).
32. E.g., *Æluric Ælfede f.*, 28, 29; *Æluricus Sistrici f.*, 43; *Goduin Aluini f.*, 25; *Goding Goduuini f.*, 25; *Lemmer Brihtmer*, 29; *Ordric Uuihtrici nepos*, 26; *Stanard Lefstani f.*, 29. For 12th-cent. East-Anglian instances of permutation, see Seltén I, 24-5.
33. For some Continental usages, see, for instance, P. Aebischer, 'L'anthroponymie wallonne d'après quelques anciens cartulaires', *Bulletin du dictionnaire wallon XIII* (1924), 73-168, and G. T. Beech, 'Les noms de personne poitevins du IX^e au XII^e siècle', *Revue internationale d'onomastique*, XXVI (1974), 81-100.
34. Almost certainly masc., like most other gen. forms in *-e* found here (either < OE weak *-an* or else due to fusion of gen. *-s* with the initial of following *-sune*).
35. Not too much should be read into contrasts in name-distribution between LDB and GDB, because these may reflect only the former's wider social coverage.
36. For Robert of Jumièges, see *DNB*, 1244-5, and F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London, 1970), passim and esp. 50, 79, 104-8, 114-16, 124-6. For Robert fitzWymarc 'the Staller', see *DNB*, 1245, and Barlow, *op. cit.*, esp. 94, 165.

37. Ralph the Staller is discussed in *DNB*, 757, under his son Ralph Guader (= 'of Gaël'); see also *Complete Peerage*, IX, 568-71, and Barlow, *Confessor*, 165, 191.
38. See J. Adigard des Gautries, 'Les noms de personnes attestés à Sées de 1055 environ à 1108', *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne LXXXII* (1964), 17-27.
39. Cf., for instance, J. Insley, 'Some aspects of regional variation in Early Middle English personal nomenclature', in *Studies in Honour of Kenneth Cameron = Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. XVIII (1987), 183-99.
40. References to the same individuals apart, less frequent names reappearing in the same localities include: *Coleman* (*FDB*, 35; Rushbrooke: *KS*, 21, 22); *Hagene/Hahene* (*FDB*, 42; Hopton: *KS*, 51, 52); *Odin/Ohin* (*FDB*, 40 2x; Hepworth: *KS*, 45; cf. below and also 14 above); also the apparently patronymic byname *Glauard* (*FDB*, 28; Rougham: *KS*, 19); but the occupational *croperer/croppars* may be descriptive rather than onomastic (*FDB*, 28, with second *-er* probably dittographic: Rougham; *KS*, 18, where the whole name is in gen.; cf. *MED*, s.v. *cropper[e]*).
- Continuities in name-stock help to confirm emendations: e.g., *Thurferdi* for (f.) *Hurefdi* is backed by the *Turuferdi* (f.) in the earlier list for the same vill (*KS*, 46; Wattisfield: *FDB*, 39), plus the *Hurketel* for *Thurketel* found elsewhere in *KS* itself (15).
41. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 56-7.
42. 'There is no trace in London of such an opposition [*sc.* to the Normans] or of English national consciousness in the history of personal nomenclature': *ELPN*, 91-6, 98-100.

ONOMASTIC APPENDIX

N.B. The manuscript of the Bury survey of (?) *c.* 1100 in general capitalizes the initial of the first item only in any group. In transcribing, capitalization has been extended to all regular names, recognizable patronyms included.

Terra Aelun, *KS*, 69 (Melford).

Possibly < OE *Ædelhūn* (so Seltén II, 30; cf. *OEPN*, 156, and *PNDB*, 154, s.n. *Alun*); but in *KS* OE *Ædel-* usually appears as *Ail-* or *Eil-*. In LDB an apparent OFr *cas-sujet* form *Aelons* corresponds with the unusual *Adelund* used elsewhere of the same Bury u-t (14/32, 36, 58, 98) and with *Adelo* in *FDB* (21; for this as hypocoristic of CG names in *Adel-*, see Schlaug I, 169, Marynissen, 50-1, and Morlet I, 19a).

Godric anger, *FDB*, 36 (Timworth, 4 acres); *Lefuine anger*, *FDB*, 41 (Barningham, 4 acres).

The byname *anger* could represent either a nickname based upon the Scand loanword meaning 'distress, wrath' (von Feilitzen in *NoB*

XXVII, 126; cf. *MED*, s.v.) or an asyndetic patronym; but, although LDB has *Angarus* (32/4, 66/100) varying with *Ansgarus* and *Esgarus* for the name of Esgar the Staller, an Anglo-Dane who was a major *TRE* landholder in East Anglia and elsewhere (*PNDDB*, 166-7; cf. below s.n. *Æfger*), colloquial currency of Norman *An-* < Scand *Ans-* (> *Ás-*) may seem unlikely in pre-Conquest England.

Anselmi (gen.), *FDB*, 148 (son of Oswald; *fl.* at Thurston a generation *ante* 1156 × 1180); *Anselmus colt*, *KS*, 12.

CG *Anshelm* (Schlaug I, 71; Morlet I, 39a), borne not only by the abbot of Bury 1121-1148 but also by the abbey's 1086 u-t, *Anselmus homo Frodonis* (LDB, 14/139; cf. *FDB*, 10). (*Osw[e]ard*, not uncommon in the Bury vill, is either OE or Anglo-Scand [*PNDDB*, 340-1; *SPLY*, 35-6; Seltén II, 129] rather than OSaxon [as Schlaug II, 140].)

Æfger, *FDB*, 312 ×. Read: *Æsger*.

Æsger/*Esger*, an 11th-cent. Danish reflex of Scand *Ásgeirr*; introduced into England under the Cnutian hegemony (*PNBD*, 166-7; *SPLY*, 22-4; J. Insley, in *NoB* LXX (1982), 77-93, esp. 82; cf. above s.n. *anger*).

Æilgild, *FDB*, 33. Read: *Æilgid*.

Therefore cancel note at *EENS*, 48.

Ærcabriht, *FDB*, 41 (Hinderclay, 1 acre).

Whereas OE *Eorconbeorht* seems confined to the early period (*OEPN*, 166; not in *PNDDB*), CG *Ercanbert* is widely, though not heavily, attested (Schlaug II, 79; TV, 69; Morlet I, 80a; for pre-Conquest English occurrences of other CG names in *Ercan-*, see: Forssner, 75-7, *PNDDB*, 247, Smart, '973-1016', 243, and *Index*, 35).

Baldwin, *FDB*, 25 (Barton, 3 acres); cf. *Folcardus f. Baldewini*, *KS*, 94 (former landholder in Barton; *ante* 1182 × 1200).

CG *Baldwin* (Schlaug I, 73; TV, 40; Morlet I, 50b; Fauroux, 479-80), found sporadically in England from mid 10th cent. on, mainly as a moneyer's name (Forssner, 41-2; *PNDDB*, 191; F&B, 188; Smart, *Index*, 16). For Baldwin, abbot of Bury 1065-1098, a former monk of Saint-Denis and prominent at the Confessor's court, see Gransden, 'Baldwin' (n. 5 above).

Berardo (dat.) *f. Aldstani*, *FDB*, 116 (kinsman *Wlurici Aquenesune*; 1121 × 1148), 126-7 (1134 × 1148); *Berardus nepos* [of *Leomerus de Berningeham*], 115 (witness; 1121 × 1138).

CG *Berhard* (Morlet I, 52a; cf. Forssner, 282), borne by a 1086 u-t of the abbey (LDB, 14/16; cf. *FDB*, 20). (*Accwæn* or *Ácwynn* fem., *Ealdstān*, *Lēofmǣr* and *Wulfric* are all typical OE forms [*PNDDB*, 242, 313, 423-4; *SMS*, 85].)

Goduine blurf, *FDB*, 27 (Pakenham, 3 acres).

The byname *blurf* may be a blundered asyndetic patronym, perhaps OE **Brūnwulf* (deduced from place-names: *NoB* XXXIII, 76) via a spelling **brūulf* (*Brūn* appears in the same vill and also, together with related compounds, elsewhere in the survey; cf. nn. 26, 27 above).

Brihtled, *FDB*, 26 (Rougham, 1 acre); *Brihtled et Siuuard*, 34 (Whelnetham, 30 acres).

Brihtled, found also elsewhere, represents OE *Beorhtflæd* fem. (so *FDB*, index, 199a) with the consonant-group at the element-junction simplified (analogy with *Ælf[ʃ]læd* and *Lēof[ʃ]læd* might have aided acceptance of *-led* as a second element); so cancel note at *SMS*, 86.

Burchardus, *FDB*, 111 (brother of *Lemmerus*; witness, 1114 × 1119).

Either OE *Burgh(e)ard* (*PNDDB*, 211-12; Seltén II, 51-2) or CG *Burghard* (Schlaug I, 76-9, II, 67; Morlet I, 62ab; cf. Forssner, 53-4). A *Burchardus/Bucardus*, said to have a brother Peter, was the abbey's 1086 u-t in Bardwell, Barningham and Hunston (LDB, 14/81, 82, 95; cf. 14/17 and *FDB*, 19). (The witness's brother *Lemmerus* [OE *Lēofmǣr*] might have been the one at Barningham with a *nepos* called *Berardus* [q.v. above].)

Coleman, *FDB*, 35 (Rushbrooke, 1 acre).

Ultimately < OIr *Columbanus* (*LHEB*, 509) but adopted in Germany, perhaps in memory of the saint martyred at Würzburg c. 689; found in England from mid 10th cent., mainly as a moneyer's name and with a distribution including EAnglia (Forssner, 55-6; *PNDDB*, 28; *ELPN*, 24; Smart, '973-1016', 256, and *Index*, 24). Borne also by a minor 1086 u-t of the abbey and by a monk of Bury witnessing in 1112, it reappears in Rushbrooke in the later 12th cent. (LDB, 14/24; *FDB*, 154, cf. 128; *KS*, 21-2).

Stanmer crispini f., *FDB*, 42 (Hopton, 4 acres).

A patronym involving the saint's name *Crispin* (Morlet II, 37) would be unexpected at this date and social level, especially with an OE baptismal name like *Stānmǣr*; so, equally, would be nickname use of the OFr adj. *crispin* 'curly-haired', the explanation given by the family itself for the Norman family-name *Crispin* (J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster* [Cambridge, 1911], 13-18; cf. von Feilitzen in *NoB* XXVII, 127). Perhaps the form here represents scribal 'improvement' of a patronym like that of *Odin crīpi f.* (see below), that is, a re-Latinization of the OE byname based on the Latin loanword *crīps/cyrps* 'curly-haired' (Tengvik, 179; *PNWD*, 210).

Alduine duluert, *FDB*, 27 (Rougham, 15 acres).

The byname could represent miscopying of *chiluert*, a frequent spelling for Anglo-Scand **Ketilfrōdr* (*NPE*, 81; *ZEN*, 54; *PNDDB*, 215; *SPLY*, 171; but Tengvik, 217, suggests *Þórfrodr*).

Durand Æilmari f., *FDB*, 38 (Langham, 9 acres).

Romance-based *Durand* (Morlet II, 43; cf. I, 76b; Fauroux, 494), found in England from mid-10th cent., mainly as a moneyer's name, with a distribution including Suffolk (Forssner, 62; *PNDDB*, 229; *PNWD*, 155 and n. 3; F&B, 193-4; Smart, '973-1016', 223, and *Index*, 28). The abbey's 1086 u-ts included a *Durandus clericus* (LDB, 14/119; cf. *FDB*, II, 24). (The patronym is OE *Æðelmær* [*PNDDB*, 184-5].)

Elyas f. Lefwini, *KS*, 133 (minor landholder; ante 1182 × 1200).

The Biblical name (Morlet II, 45b). An Helias *de Bolonia* witnessed a Bury charter of 1121 × 1148, and an Helias *de Pressenni* (? Pressigny, *dép.* Seine-Maritime), who held by knight-service, witnessed one of 1156 × 1178 (*FDB*, 125, 169 n. 9). The diminutive *Elyot* also occurs among late-12th-cent. Bury peasants (*KS*, 4, 13). (The patronym is OE *Lēofwine* [*PNDDB*, 317-19].)

Ermand, *FDB*, 29 (Rougham, 18 acres).

Perhaps representing CG *Ermeno* or CG *Her(e)man* (Morlet I, 83b, 126ab; Forssner, 80).

Stanard Euengiue f., *FDB*, 29 (Rougham, 16 acres). Read: *cuengiue*.

So cancel note at *NoB XXXIII*, 79. OE *Cwēngifu* fem. (*PNDDB*, 220; *SMS*, 87; Seltén II, 57) was borne by a *TRE* tenant of the abbey, and evidently underlay the late-12th-cent. entry for *Reri* (gen.) *f. qūheue* (LDB, 14/117; cf. *FDB*, 16; *KS*, 4; see further *sub Reeri* below).

Fanri, *FDB*, 33 (Woolpit, 1½ acres). Read: *Tanri*.

John Insley, who has independently established this reading, suggests that it may represent CG *Thankric* (Schlaug I, 82, II, 159).

Frebern, *FDB*, 31 (Hessett, 16 acres); 35 (Timworth, 60 acres); *Frebern presbiter*, 43 (*Huntefelde*, 5 acres).

For a possible OE **Frēobeorn*, see *SMS*, 92, also s.n. *Frēowine*, and Seltén II, 83. For CG *Fridebern* and its appearances in England, see Schlaug I, 94, II, 87 (the name is not in Morlet or Fauroux) and *PNDDB*, 253-4, esp. 254 n. 2.

Fredo et fratres sui, *FDB*, 27 (Pakenham, 19 acres jointly).

This name reappears in the late 12th cent., denoting several individuals, one of them at Pakenham (*KS*, 4, 9, 10, 18, 19, 20, 21, 52). Although there was a CG *Fredo*, short for names in *Frid-/fridus* (Marynissen, 118; Morlet I, 94a), here this form might represent a reflex of Scand *Friði* (*SPLY*, 87; *ELPN*, 76; Adigard, 204-6, classes it as ambivalently Scand/Frankish).

Fulcard, *FDB*, 26 (Barton, 15 acres); *Folcardus presbiter (de Bertonia)*, 125, 133 n.10, 135 (witness; 1121 × 1148, 1148 × 1156, 1156 × 1160); cf. *Osberto* (dat.) *f. Folcardi de Bertona*, *KS*, 94 (grantee; 1182 × 1200); see also above *sub Balduin*.

CG Folcard, Fulcard (Schlaug I, 93, II, 84-5; TV, 43; Morlet I, 95a), found in England, mainly as a moneyer's name, from mid 10th cent. on (Forssner, 98; *PNDDB*, 256 and n.2 - all from Suffolk; F&B, 195-6; Smart, '973-1016', 234 - Norwich, 244 - Thetford, and *Index*, 36).

Fulcher, *FDB*, 38 (Honington, 2 acres); 41 (Hopton, 6 acres); *Fulcherius frater Godrici*, 111; cf. *Fulcherius frater Edrici*, 110 n. 9 (witnesses, in lists otherwise similar; 1114 × 1119; *FDB* records an Ædric and a Godric for Honington and a Godric for Hopton); cf. *Godwinus f. Folcheri*, *KS*, 51 (Hopton).

CG Folchere (Schlaug I, 93, II, 85; TV, 62; Morlet I, 95a), seemingly hardly known in pre-Conquest England (not in Forssner; *PNDDB*, 256 and n. 6; cf. *PNWD*, 157, and *ELPN*, 112-13); borne by two of the abbey's 1086 u-ts (LDB, 14/11, 78, 80 [Hopton], 89, 90, 99, cf. *FDB*, 17-18; LDB, 14/22, cf. *FDB*, 21).

Giulf cum fratribus, *FDB*, 43 (*Huntefelde*, 30 acres jointly).

A Gallicized spelling either of the 10th-cent. 'English' *Wiulf*, probably < the rare Scand *Vigulfr* (not in *NPN*, *SPLY* or Adigard; see *PNDDB*, 404-5 and n., with instances all from EAnglia), or of CG *Wigulf* (Morlet I, 223b).

Godlef crepunder hwitel, *FDB*, 28 (Barton, ¾ acre); *Godlef equarius*, 32 (Woolpit, 4 acres); cf. *Ulmer Redleui f.*, 39 (Wattisfield, 1½ acres).

God(e)le(o)f., found in England as a moneyer's name from late 10th cent. (Smart, '973-1016', 237, and *Index*, 38-9 - Stamford, Huntingdon, Thetford, London), is usually attributed, along with other masc. names in *-le(o)f*, to CG origins (*EENS*, 49, 55, 56, 57, 58; but cf. *SMS*, 93, 99, and esp. Seltén II, 156, 185; whether Scand *-leifr* might be implicated seems unexplored).

Grimbold Ulurici f., *FDB*, 28 (Rougham, 5 acres); *Godui Grimboldi f.*, 25 (Barton, 7 acres); *Lefuine Grimboldi f.*, 28 (Rougham, 20 acres); cf. *Grimbaldus presbiter*, 151 (1066 × 1087).

CG Grimbold (Schlaug II, 97; Morlet I, 115a), known in England from the early 10th cent. (Forssner, 130-1; *PNDDB*, 275; *PNWD*, 160).

Harduin, *FDB*, 25 (Barton, 4 acres).

Either CG *Hardwin* (Schlaug I, 106, II, 99; TV, 17; Morlet I, 124ab; cf. Forssner, 143, and *PNDDB*, 186-7, with instances all from EAnglia) or OE *Hardwine* (Seltén II, 95-6; in *FDB*, *Hardman* occurs in the same list). A *Hardwynus* figures 1066 × 1087 among witnesses, otherwise all with Continental names, to a document for an u-t of the abbey called Peter (*FDB*, 152).

Hared, *FDB*, 37 (Troston, 5 acres).

PNDDB, 287 and n. 1, refers *Haret*, also from Suffolk, either to OE *Hereræd* or to OE *H(e)aduræd*; other possible etyma include OE

Heardræd (ELPN, 47), with assimilation and simplification of medial [rdr], and OE *Hēahræd*.

Hubert faber, FDB, 32 (Woolpit, 2 acres).

CG *Hugbert* (Schlaug I, 115, II, 116; TV, 77; Morlet I, 140a), probably unknown in pre-Conquest England (not in PNDB; cf. Forssner, 156, and PNWD, 162), was borne by a *post*-DB u-t of the abbey (FDB, 22; no corresponding entry in LDB).

Hugo, FDB, 39 (Wattisfield, 3 acres); *Hugo Ælurici f.*, 44 (Littlechurch, 15 acres); cf. *Hugo f. Alstani*, 157 (witness; 1154).

Either CG *Hugo* (Schlaug I, 205, II, 117; TV, 124; Morlet I, 140a; cf. Forssner, 157–8, PNDB, 294, and PNWD, 162) or for EScand *Hughi* (cf. AS, 57). (The patronyms here represent respectively OE *Ælfric* and either OE *Ælfstān* or OE *Ædelstān*.)

Odin, FDB, 40 (Hepworth, 9 acres); 41 (Hopton, 4 acres); *Ælfuine cum Odino*, 41 (Coney Weston, 7 acres jointly); *Odin crīpi f.*, 40 (Hepworth, 1½ acres); *Odin Mum*, 42 (Hopton, 1 acre); cf. *Ædwardus f. Odin'*, 120 (witness; 1121 × 1148).

Either the CG diminutive *Odino/Odinus* (not in Marynissen; Morlet I, 45; Fauroux, 523) or the ODan *Øthin* < *Audunn* found, e.g., as a York moneyer's name (NPE, 100–3; ZEN, 66–7; PNDB, 170; Smart, Index, 16), the latter origin seeming consonant with its appearance as patronym to OE *Ēadw(e)ard*. Yet, *Ohin(us)*, apparently the former's Gallicized reflex, later enjoys localized currencies including some of the same villis (KS, 45: Hepworth 2 ×, 47–8; Wattisfield, 3 or 4 × [for *Ohina* here, read *Ohinus*]; cf. PNWD, 166–7 and nn. 9, 1–2).

Odric Tederi, FDB, 26 (Barton, 3 acres).

Either OE *Ordric* (PNDB, 366–7), with the first *r* lost by scribal error or by dissimilation, or else CG *Odric* < *Audric* (Schlaug II, 137; Morlet I, 44b; cf. EENS, 55, and PNWD, 167, s.n. *Oricus*). The byname, if taken to represent an early OFr reflex of CG *Theodric* (see below; but Tengvik, 209, proposes OE *Peodhere*), would support the latter; but a byname is, in this text, normally used only with a baptismal name duplicated in the same vill, and an *Ordric Uuihtrici nepos* occurs a few entries earlier.

Osbernus, FDB, 28 (Rougham, 5 acres); *Osbern*, 35 (Timworth, 7½ acres); *Osbern cum fratre*, 42 (Hopton, 6 acres); *Osbern rufus*, 38 (Langham, 9 acres); *Osbern cattlesnese*, 38 (Langham, 3 acres).

A classic case of multiple ambivalence — Anglo-Scand, Normanno-Scand, or OSaxon: see J. Insley, in *NoB LXX* (1982), 77–93, esp. 79–81 and references there given. Here Anglo-Scand origins seem most likely.

Petrus f. Hugenild', KS, 11 (Thurston).

The Biblical name (Morlet II, 90a), borne by three of the abbey's *feudati homines*: the steward, the brother of Burchard (q.v.), and the

magnate Peter of Valognes (FDB, 18, 19, 23). (*Hugenild* may represent miscopying, not uncommon in KS, of *Hagenild* fem.)

Raulf, FDB, 36 (Livermere, 7½ acres); *Raulfus de Liuremere*, 36 (Timworth, 4 acres); *Raulfus clericus*, 35 (Rushbrooke, 2 acres).

Radulf < CG *Radulf* (Schlaug I, 138, II, 143; Morlet I, 182b; Fauroux, 529–30) was found in England as a mid-10th-cent. moneyer's name (F&B, 189; Smart, Index, 62); its OFr reflex *Raulf*, borne by the Confessor's EAnglian staller (n. 37 above) and by a 1086 u-t of the abbey, was generally current in the district (LDB, 14/3, 35, 53; cf. FDB, 18, 24, also index, 226; PNDB, 345, PNWD, 169, and ELPN, 91–2).

Reeri, FDB, 30 (Hessett, 48 acres); *Rerius*, 110 (witness; 1114 × 1119); *Reri de Walnetham*, *Fulco f. Reri*, 119 (witnesses; 1121 × 1148); *Symon f. Reri*, 147 (tenant in Hessett *ante* 1156 × 1180; cf. KS, 13 n.3), *Willelmo* (dat.) *f. Rery de Hegesete*, KS, 99 (grantee; 1182 × 1188), *Reri* (gen.) *f. qūheue*, 4 (Hessett), and *Reri* (gen.) *f. Brictheue*, 4 (Hessett).

This name, well-attested though it is, has so far no established etymology. Cf. 'Ad Bradefelde tenet Rerius' (FDB, 18), where LDB (14/59, also 79) has *Roricus*, a recognized reflex of CG *Hrodricus* (Marynissen, 218; Morlet I, 138a, also 191a; cf. Forssner, 219). (Of the metronyms, *qūheue*, with an abbreviation-mark over the first element, represents OE *Cwēngifu* [see above] and *Brictheue*, OE *Beorhtgifu* [PNDB, 194].)

Ricardus Vlfui f., FDB, 43 (Huntesfelde, 60 acres).

CG/OFr *Ric(h)ard* (TV, 34; Morlet I, 188b–189a; Fauroux, 532), sparsely attested in pre-Conquest England (Forssner, 213–14; PNDB, 349), was borne by two of the abbey's 1086 u-ts (LDB, 14/54, 151; cf. FDB, 10, 24). (The patronym represents OE *Wulfwīg*.)

Robertus, FDB, 26 (Barton, 19 acres); *Rotbert*, 28, *Item Rotbert*, 30 2 × (Rougham, 3, 1, 60 acres); *Robert*, 31 (Hessett, 25 acres); *Leueh cum Rotberto*, 30 (Hessett, 40 acres jointly); *Robert et Ælric*, 35 (Rushbrooke, 16 acres jointly); *Rotbert et Vlstan*, 39 (Walsham, 3 acres jointly); *Rotbert*, 44 (Littlechurch, 10 acres).

CG *Hrodbert* and its OFr reflex (TV, 77; Morlet I, 136a; Fauroux, 533–5) had been known in England as a moneyer's name since the mid-10th cent. (F&B, 204; Smart, '973–1016', 236, and Index, 64; Forssner, 216–17); all DB instances *TRE* refer, however, to Robert son of Wymarc (PNDB, 349–50). For Robert Blund as u-t of the abbey, see LDB, 14/92 (cf. FDB, 21–2).

Russel, FDB, 43 (Huntesfelde, 1 acre).

An OFr name based on the adj. *ro(u)ssel*, diminutive of *ro(u)s* 'red-haired'; seemingly unknown in pre-Conquest England, but attested by 1086 (LDB Essex, B3 [Colchester]; cf. PNWD, 215, referring to a tenant in Winchester *ante* 1110).

Salomon, *FDB*, 28 (Rougham, 7½ acres); 43 (Littlechurch, 6 acres); *Salomon*, 119, and *Salamon clericus*, 121 (witnesses; 1121 × 1148); *Salomonis* (gen.) *clerici* . . . *de Rucham*, 131, and *Salomonis* (gen.), 132 (uncle of Herbert son of Robert, kinsman of Abbot Ording of Bury; 1148 × 1156; cf. *KS*, 18 n. 2).

The Biblical name (Morlet II, 101b; Fauroux, 538), found only once in *DB TRE* (*PNDB*, 351; cf. *ELPN*, 94).

Æilmer et Sebode, *FDB*, 39 (Walsham, 1 acre jointly).

CG *Sigibodo* > *Seibodo* (Schlaug I, 148, II, 151; Morlet I, 197b), found in England in the early 11th cent. as the moneyer's name *Siboda* (Forssner, 225; Smart, '973-1016', 270, and *Index*, 67; see further *ELPN*, 61).

Tedricus Paue f., *FDB*, 43 (Cosford, 5 acres); cf. perhaps, as above, *Odric Tederi*, 26 (Barton, 3 acres).

Although a native OE *Þeodric* is possible (*ELPN*, 66, cf. 2; Seltén II, 160), the widespread CG *Theodric* may seem more likely here (Schlaug I, 85, II, 163; TV, 116; Morlet I, 69b-70a; Fauroux, 549; cf. Forssner, 231-3, Smart, *Index*, 71, *PNDB*, 383-4, and *PNWD*, 174). (For the patronymic *Paue*, see n. 27 above.)

Goduine Thede f., *FDB*, 25 (Barton, 10 acres).

The patronym probably represents an OE short-form **Þēoda* (*NoB* XXXIII, 90; also F&B, 204 n. 1; an OE **Þēode* fem. is formally possible, but see n. 34 above; for the well-attested CG *Theudo*/*Thiedo* and corresponding fem. forms, see Schlaug I, 187, II, 164, Marynissen, 93-4, TV, 139, and Morlet I, 71a).

Titebud, *FDB*, 35 (Rushbrooke, 1 acre).

CG *Theodbodo*/*Teutbodus* (Morlet I, 67b, showing also variants in *Ti(e)t-* for other *Theod-* compounds; cf. *Titbertus*: TV, 78).

Ulbern, *FDB*, 38 (Honington, ¼ acre).

Because four of the eleven Honington names are Scand, and because, as a moneyer's name, *Wulfbern*/*Ulfbeorn* seems peculiar to Lincoln, the rare ODan *Ulfbjorn* (*SPLY*, 324-5, followed by Smart, *Index*, 74) seems the likeliest etymon (for the better-attested CG *Wulfbern*, see Schlaug I, 166, and cf. *EENS*, 54).

Walter, *FDB*, 37 (Troston, ½ acre).

CG *Waldhere* (Schlaug I, 153, II, 168; Morlet I, 213ab; Fauroux, 556-7), little known in pre-Conquest England (Forssner, 243-4; *PNDB*, 409; *PNWD*, 167), was borne by a 1086 u-t of the abbey (LDB, 14/23, 87; cf. *FDB*, 20).

Warin, *FDB*, 31 (Hessett, 2 acres).

CG/OFr *Warin* (Marynissen, 234-5; TV, 26; Morlet I, 219b; Fauroux, 505), found in England as a mid-10th-cent. moneyer's name (Smart, *Index*, 76) but not in *DB TRE* (cf. Forssner, 246-7,

and *PNWD*, 176), was borne by a 1086 u-t of the abbey (LDB, 14/15, 66; cf. *FDB*, 19).

Willelmus cum fratre suo Ælfrine, *FDB*, 38 (Langham, 5½ acres jointly); *Willelmus f. Aiboldi*, 109 &c. (witness; 1112-1148 × 1153; and grantee; 1135 × 1148).

CG *Wilhelm* (Schlaug I, 163-4, II, 179; TV, 80; Morlet I, 225a; Fauroux, 558-60), little known in pre-Conquest England (*PNDB*, 415), soon spread rapidly (Forssner, 255-7; *PNWD*, 177; cf. above 8-9 and nn. 9-11). (For the patronym < OE *Æðelb[e]ald*, see Seltén II, 25-6.)