Norse loan-name in Gaelic. Oftedal's study shows how ON *steinn* and its earlier form **stainn*, before raising of the diphthong, have produced different reflexes in Gaelic: a long unrounded close-mid front vowel [eː] preceded by a palatalised cluster, and a long unrounded close back vowel [yː], i.e. IPA [ɯː],[61] preceded by a non-palatalised cluster, respectively. Initial palatal [ʟ′]- in **Lyrabus**, therefore, rules out any connection with the archaic Old Norse diphthong **ai*.

Regardless of the merits or demerits of alternative proposals for the derivation of the Islay reflexes, there is no evidence to support their derivation from ON *bólstaðr*.

Phonetic Note

A grave accent, as in G. *beirgh* [ˈb̥eð′èj], indicates a svarabhakti vowel, with level or rising tone and with stress equal to that of the preceding vowel. [d̥ t d̥′ t′ ʟ ɴ] are dentals. [ʟ ɴ ʀ] are velarised. [ʀ] is trilled. [ʟ′ ɴ′] are palatals. [d̥′ t′] etc. are palatalised.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 228, note 1.

Anna, Dot, Thorir ...
Counting Domesday Personal Names

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Introduction

> In dealing with DB material statistical methods are as a rule quite worthless and often definitely misleading
>
> Olof von Feilitzen[1]

Despite von Feilitzen's warning, I aim to show in this paper that his own *Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (PNDB) can be profitably subjected to 'statistical methods'. It is surprising that the great philological achievement of his 1937 work seems nowhere to have been followed up by the sort of 'Applied Anthroponymics' described to this Society by Cecily Clark, some twenty years ago.[2] One might surely expect that the huge corpus of names of those who held land in the days of King Edward the Confessor (died January 1066) would offer some cultural-historical information about late Anglo-Saxon England. For the pre-Conquest period, Veronica Smart has, for instance, several times demonstrated the value of an 'applied' approach to Anglo-Saxon moneyers' names,[3] while Gillian Fellows-Jensen and John Insley have

[1] O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), p. 26, n. 1.

[2] C. Clark, 'Clark's first three laws of Applied Anthroponymics', *Nomina*, 3 (1979), 13–19, reprinted in *Words, Names and History. Selected Writings of Cecily Clark*, edited by P. Jackson (Cambridge, 1995), 77–83. A version of the present paper was read to a meeting of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland held at York in November 2001.

[3] E.g. V. Smart, 'Scandinavians, Celts, and Germans in Anglo-Saxon England: the evidence of moneyers' names', in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History. Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley*, edited by M. A. S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 171–84.

shown us the historical value of patterns of Scandinavian personal names.[4] Clark herself studied the names in a range of records from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, demonstrating how a careful assessment of naming practices can identify regional, chronological, social and gender distinctions of considerable interest to historians, whether their interests are cultural, political or linguistic.[5] Nothing so ambitious is claimed for this study of the Domesday names: it is very much a preliminary analysis, wanting refinement in its use of the sources,[6] and concentrating on only one of many questions that could be asked of the material. Nonetheless, there is enough here, I hope, to show that further work will be worthwhile.[7]

[4] E.g. J. Insley, 'Regional variation in Scandinavian personal nomenclature in England', *Nomina*, 3 (1979), 52–60 and G. Fellows-Jensen, *The Vikings and their Victims: the Verdict of the Names*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture 1994 (London, 1995). Both scholars have also done much in the etymological vein of von Feilitzen (see below, notes 10 and 11); the two approaches here distinguished in fact, of course, form a continuum of study.

[5] E.g. 'The early personal names of King's Lynn: an essay in socio-cultural history. Part 1: baptismal names', *Nomina*, 6 (1982), 51–71, and 'Part 2: by-names', *Nomina*, 7 (1983), 65–89, the two parts reprinted in *Words, Names and History*, edited by Jackson, pp. 241–79; 'A witness to post-Conquest English cultural patterns: the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey', in *Studies in Honour of René Derolez*, edited by A. M. Simon-Vandenbergen (Gent, 1987), pp. 73–85, reprinted in *Words, Names and History*, edited by Jackson, pp. 339–47.

[6] The study is based squarely on von Feilitzen's work, though naturally in some of its details this would benefit from revision. Progress on the identification of individuals, for instance, has shown that some name-forms treated as distinct in PNDB should be taken together, as variants or errors: G. Fellows-Jensen, 'On the identification of Domesday tenants in Lincolnshire', *Nomina*, 9 (1985), 31–40. Note also that some people treated as TRE (*tempore regis Edwardi*) landholders in PNDB may belong instead to 1086. This is a particular problem with some of the free peasantry of East Anglia discussed at the end of the paper: cf. H. C. Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 171.

[7] It is anticipated that some of the present material will be developed in connection with a project on 'Personal Names in Place-Names' which is beginning at the University of Nottingham in October 2002. The database of Domesday personal names, described below, will be made available over the internet as soon as possible.

Scandinavian place-names and Domesday personal names

My involvement with the personal names arises from work on the chronology of the Scandinavian place-names in England.[8] A. H. Smith's map of the parishes with Norse names—too famous to reproduce yet again here—can be broadly interpreted as a reflection of the influence that Scandinavian language had had on English place-names by the time they are first recorded: the 1086 Domesday Book in many cases, later in most others. How far, then, can the distribution be trusted to tell us anything about the first generations of Scandinavian settlement in the late ninth century, two centuries earlier? How far can we rule out the possibility that these names derive more directly from Norse-influenced English dialects during the tenth century, or from Scandinavian language re-introduced by Danish followers of Cnut in the early eleventh? These fundamental questions have, of course, been tackled before: over the years scholars have produced various arguments for dating certain names or groups of names to certain periods or, at least, relative periods. Several of these arguments involve personal names, and some of them specifically the personal names of Domesday Book, which is why I was drawn into considering the material.

The two familiar groups of place-names under consideration were the names in *bȳ*—Grimsby, Whitby and so on—and the so-called 'Grimston-' or 'Toton-hybrids', which combine a Scandinavian personal name with Old English *tūn*. Both groups tend, on the whole, to have been assigned to a relatively early period, but it must be conceded that solid evidence which will place either Grimstons or *bȳs* before rather than after, say, 950 is hard to come by. One argument for a relatively early date for both groups relates to the variety of Norse personal names found combined in them. Many of the personal names found in the place-names are absent from the extensive record of Scandinavian names in Domesday Book. Domesday Book, it is argued, is likely to be representative of eleventh-

[8] The results of this work, principally a critical survey of research, are to be published in a forthcoming paper by Lesley Abrams and myself. The material of the following paragraphs will be more fully set out in that paper.

century fashions in Scandinavian personal names in England: the set of personal names found in the place-names appears to be significantly different from the Domesday set, presumably because it is significantly earlier.[9]

This argument remains attractive until we look at some of the work done on the Scandinavian personal nomenclature of parts of England. The magisterial collections of material by Fellows-Jensen, for Yorkshire and Lincolnshire,[10] and by John Insley, for Norfolk,[11] indicate something of the range of Old Norse names in use in the Middle Ages. The richness of the tradition is extraordinary. More than half of the Scandinavian names borne by twelfth- and thirteenth-century inhabitants of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire are not found in Domesday Book either.[12] It does not seem likely that all these names were introduced from Scandinavia, or coined in England, in the post-Conquest period (though some may have been). Instead, the material surely indicates something of Domesday's limitations: however many eleventh-century

[9] K. Cameron, 'Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence part III, the Grimston-hybrids', in *England Before the Conquest*, edited by P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 147–63, reprinted in *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements*, edited by K. Cameron (Nottingham, 1975), pp. 157–71 (pp. 160–61).

[10] G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, Navnestudier udgivet af Institut for Navneforskning, 7 (Copenhagen, 1968).

[11] J. Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk. A Survey Based on Medieval Records and Place-Names*, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 62 (Uppsala, 1994).

[12] Of 316 different Scandinavian names borne by twelfth- and thirteenth-century people, I calculate that 178 (56%) are not found in Domesday Book. Fellows-Jensen herself, counting a wider range of material, including personal names recorded in field-names, produced comparable figures: the various totals she gives (*Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, pp. LIII–LVII) indicate that of 542 names in total, 278 (51%) are not found in or before 1066. I have not analysed Insley's Norfolk material, but it is easy also to find many late-recorded names here which are otherwise rare or unknown in England.

Norse names it lists, this kind of richness in later centuries suggests that many more must have gone unrecorded.[13] So the absence of personal names from the Domesday record cannot be regarded as a simple criterion that a group of place-names is likely to be early.[14] In this case, I would argue, the evidence of Domesday Book is not very helpful.

Another argument for relatively early date proves to be more satisfactory, however. This concerns only the huge group of *bȳ*-names, and it relates to their language. Old Norse, of course—Old Norse to a remarkably high degree. Fig. 1 shows some totals compiled by Cameron and Fellows-Jensen.[15] In the east Midlands the two scholars count rather differently, and it is more or less safe to take Cameron's figures as a maximum, and Fellows-Jensen's as a minimum.[16] In either case, the

[13] The point has not gone unnoticed: e.g. G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Place-names and settlements: some problems of dating as exemplified by place-names in *-bý*', *Nomina*, 8 (1984), 29–39 (pp. 32–33).

[14] This is not to deny that the variety of personal names in place-names could be a more complex indicator of early date. If the personal names are unparalleled in the range of later records, and if they are of unusual *types*, this may well be a reasonable deduction. These points have also been recognised before: Sir Frank Stenton, for example, produced a nuanced discussion along these lines sixty years ago, 'The historical bearing of place-name studies: the Danish settlement of eastern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical* Society, 4th series, 24 (1942), 1–24 (pp. 16–22).

[15] They are derived from the figures and summary interpretations given in: (1) K. Cameron, *Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence* (Nottingham, 1965), reprinted in *Place-Name Evidence*, edited by Cameron, pp. 115–38 (pp. 118–19); (2) G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, Navnestudier udgivet af Institut for Navneforskning, 16 (Copenhagen, 1978), pp. 15–27; (3) G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, Navnestudier udgivet af Institut for Navneforskning, 11 (Copenhagen, 1972), pp. 9–16.

[16] These and similar figures are analysed in more detail in the forthcoming article (see n. 8). It should be noted that Fellows-Jensen has suggested significant revisions to her Yorkshire figures, reducing the proportion of personal names to a minimum of 45% (though not much changing the overall balance between the languages): G. Fellows Jensen, 'Personal name or appellative? A new look at some Danelaw place-names', *Onoma*, 19 (1975), 445–58 (p. 447).

Fig. 1
Place-names in *-bȳ*: proportions of Old Norse and Old English first elements

	East Midlands		*Yorkshire*
	KC	GFJ	GFJ
Total of *bȳ*-names included	303	333	210
% combined with ON	87	65	78
% combined with OE	10	16	7
Ratio of ON:OE first elements	**90:10**	**81:19**	**92:8**
% of total involving personal names	68	40	57
Of these, % of ON pers.ns	93	83	91
% of OE pers.ns	7	11	6
Ratio of ON:OE pers.ns	**93:7**	**88:12**	**94:6**

implication is quite clear. Although Old Danish *bȳ*, 'settlement, farm, village', could have been—and sometimes certainly was—adopted into the dialects of local English-speakers, the huge preponderance of Old Norse over Old English first elements tends to suggest that in general these names were coined in Norse-speaking communities, not in freely mixing Anglo-Scandinavian ones. In terms of date, as Fellows-Jensen has several times observed,[17] this tends to put the *bȳ*-names as a group back into a period when Scandinavian language was still spoken in England. A relative dating, not an absolute one, because we do not honestly know how long it survived in the various areas of the country,[18] but a worthwhile indication nonetheless.

This argument depends more than might at first appear on personal names. As Fig. 1 shows, a high proportion, around half or more, of the *bȳs* have personal names as first elements, and within the personal names the ratios of Old Norse to Old English are even more overwhelming. Even better evidence of Norse-speakers, one might think. But in fact this ought to give pause for thought. Personal name fashions and general language are not the same thing, and people with Scandinavian names clearly do not have to speak Old Norse. We are at once reminded of Professor Sawyer's influential arguments that all those Norse-named people in the *bȳ*-names may indeed have been Anglo-Scandinavians living generations after Viking settlement, and by implication, far from living Old Norse language.[19]

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[17] E.g. *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, p. 12, 'Danish place-names and personal names in England: the influence of Cnut?', in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, edited by A. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 125–40 (p. 129).

[18] D. N. Parsons, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? Again', in *Vikings and the Danelaw. Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, edited by J. Graham-Campbell *et al.* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 299–312.

[19] Originally in 'The density of the Danish settlement in England', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 6 (1958), 1–17. He has revised his views considerably since, cf. 'It is likely that most of the men with Scandinavian names in the Lincolnshire Domesday were descendants of Scandinavian settlers': P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire, 3 (Lincoln,

On reflection, these concerns were always a little far-fetched in face of the figures: nine identifiably Norse names for every one identifiably English name would be an extraordinarily pervasive 'fashion'. Yet the possibility, however slight, draws attention to a weakness in the comparative material. The works of Fellows-Jensen and Insley contain *many* Scandinavian personal names, but they do not give much indication of relative proportions. Do the Old Norse names in early medieval Yorkshire, Lincolnshire or Norfolk account for a third, or a half, or nearly all of the total names in use?[20] Some figures here would be very useful for comparison with the place-names. Thus it occurred to me that von Feilitzen's Domesday corpus might provide an informative sample of the anthroponymic habits of the landed classes in the mid-eleventh century. The same thought once struck Gillian Fellows-Jensen, who—in the context of exactly the same place-name argument—analysed PNDB's Yorkshire names in her 1972 work on that county's Norse place-names.[21] I do not claim originality here, but I persisted in counting for the whole country, and I think the results have potential well beyond the question initially posed.

The method: its implications and limitations

Counting von Feilitzen's names was a straightforward, if laborious, process. Each of 1212 headforms, together with his judgement on its language, and a note of its type (monothematic, dithematic or 'other'), was entered into one table of a simple database. A second table included, for each headword, a list of the counties in which it occurs—sometimes one, sometimes several or many. By combining the information in the two tables, we can then ask how many Norse and English names are found in any county, or how many monothematic German names appear in Kent, or how many counties contain Old East Norse personal names, and so on. But before we look at results, some discussion of the nature

1998), p. 106.

[20] This is not to criticise the authors in the least—they were not aiming to count everything. Nor is it true to say that there has been no work on name-ratios—see, for example, the relatively small-scale studies of Clark mentioned in the Conclusion, below.

[21] *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, p. 243.

of the data and the evidence it represents.

First, the linguistic foundation of the work. The material is firmly grounded in von Feilitzen's discussions of the Domesday forms. He was a rigorous, accurate philologist, and for the relatively large-scale, comparative purposes of this exercise, his decisions seem to me quite adequate. To get into detailed dispute with his views, or even systematically to update them in the light of contributions by more recent scholars, would be to embark upon a huge task of re-editing, which seemed neither practicable nor necessary in this context. It should be noted, however, that the transfer of PNDB discussions to the dumb fields of a database was not a mechanical process. Standards of 'proof' were set high, so that any reasonable alternative was noted.[22] As a result, the number of certainly Old English names, for instance, is much lower in the database than the number of headwords labelled 'OE' by von Feilitzen—very often in his discussion he allows an Old Norse or Continental Germanic alternative.[23]

Second, having placed great reliance on von Feilitzen's philology, it is time to tackle his judgement that statistical methods are of no use in this field. He makes this point at least twice in PNDB, and gives examples which show that he was thinking about a particular statistical question: the popularity of individual given names.[24] It is, for instance, impossible to deduce that Old Norse *Grímr* was bestowed upon children in the fifteen counties where it is found in the Domesday record, because two or three 'Grims' could hold land in numerous counties and distort the figures. This is a clear limitation of the Domesday evidence: too many Domesday people are unidentified for the number of distinct individuals bearing a common name to be established. Yet to give up on statistical methods at this point, as von Feilitzen appears to, is unnecessarily defeatist. There are other ways that we can interrogate the material. Taking a rather wider perspective on cultural history, for

[22] There are simply two fields in the database for alternative derivations. In reaching the figures presented below, any headword with alternative interpretations could not be counted a certain instance of any one language.

[23] His very first headword, for example: 'OE Abba … a possible alternative is ODan Abbi' (PNDB, p. 140).

[24] PNDB, pp. 13 and 26.

instance, it is surely interesting to note the distribution of Norse-named landholders, whether each name represents one, ten or fifteen individuals. The example of a single personal name may not tell us much, but the rather large sample offered by Domesday Book offers ample opportunity to compare proportions of Norse, English and other names across the country. Any coherent patterns that emerge from such a comparison are likely to have some sort of cultural-historical significance. Even if all the Norse-named people were absentee landlords who never set foot outside York, the pattern of their holdings across the country would be of interest. In fact, of course, very many of Domesday's landholders are clearly local tenants: local name-giving practice certainly has a large part to play in the figures, even if it is not the whole story.

Though I would dismiss von Feilitzen's fundamental objection, therefore, there remains a related problem, in the form of a strong temptation to try to edit the figures towards the more 'local'. Where landowners are identifiable across counties, and especially where they are major characters—the king, queen, bishops and so on—it is tempting to leave them out. But this would undoubtedly be poor method. Many individuals can be identified and accounted for, but so many cannot that the removal of the obvious absentees would in fact be arbitrary. It seems to me much sounder to accept that the figures will refer to landholders, wherever they are based. Most will, after all, be more or less local, and for comparative purposes huge landowners like Earl/King *Haraldr*, counted—just once, of course—in almost every county in the country, should blend into the statistical background.

I shall discuss below some methods of attempting in the future to make more subtle distinctions. The present preliminary work, however, can be broadly described as a study of the name-stock of landholders—from the great to the humble—across England in the early 1060s. The coverage proves to be uneven, but generally adequate: over half the counties represented boast more than one hundred different names, some many more. Of the others, most have between fifty and one hundred, with only Rutland (eleven names), and the small part of Lancashire that was covered by the Domesday Survey (sixteen names), falling clearly into the category of statistically invalid.

Presentation and significance of results

For each county it is possible to produce the sort of statistics shown in Fig. 2, which sets out the example of Devon. In this case the total of 180 names is split between Old English, Old Norse, Continental, 'Ambiguous Germanic' and names of uncertain etymology. The 'Continental' class comprises the non-native type of names—generally, though clearly not exclusively—introduced to England after the Norman Conquest; in Devon the nine names are made up of seven Old German, one Latin and one Biblical.[25] The 'Ambiguous Germanic' category comprises the rather large group of names for which Old English, Old Norse and/or Old German etymologies are, because of their shared Germanic roots, indistinguishable in Domesday orthography. Examples would be Domesday *Wimund*, from either Old English *Wīgmund* or Old Norse *Vígmundr*, and Domesday *Oda*, which could be English, Norse or German.

Fig. 2 presents both aggregate numbers and percentages, so that—if we narrow the focus now to the original aim of the enquiry—it can be seen that the unambiguously Old English names account for 63%, and the unambiguously Old Norse names 12% of the county's whole. Alternatively, the relationship can be expressed as a direct ratio: of the 135 Old English and Old Norse names, 114 (84%) are English, 21 (16%) are Norse (Fig. 3). For the purpose of comparing county with county across the country either method of calculation will do (and it can be reported that they produce very similar relative results). For the purpose of comparing these results with those of other studies, the direct ratio is preferable: where the numbers have been set out in full it is possible to calculate ratios from them, but some studies have only provided ratios, and the reverse calculation is not possible. This paper will therefore express results in the form of a head-to-head comparison of Old English and Old Norse name-stocks. In each case it is the *Old Norse* proportion that is explicit—the Old English is implied (i.e. Devon's 16% Norse implies 84% English).

The summary results of counting PNDB like this are set out in Fig.

[25] The more precise categories are recorded in the database: they have been conflated here for clarity of presentation.

Fig. 2
Devon: analysis of Domesday personal names

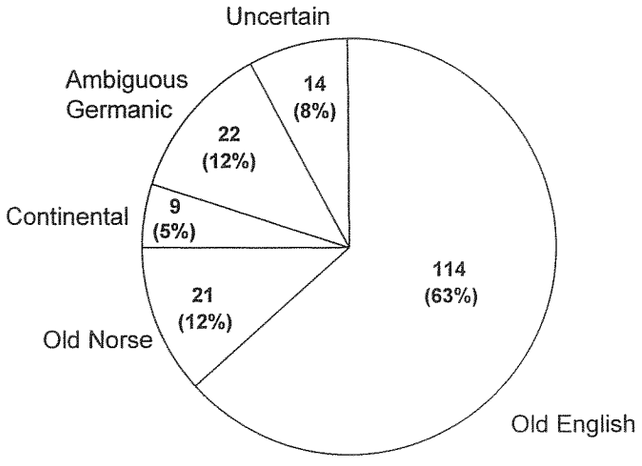


Fig. 3
Devon: proportions of Old English and Old Norse personal names

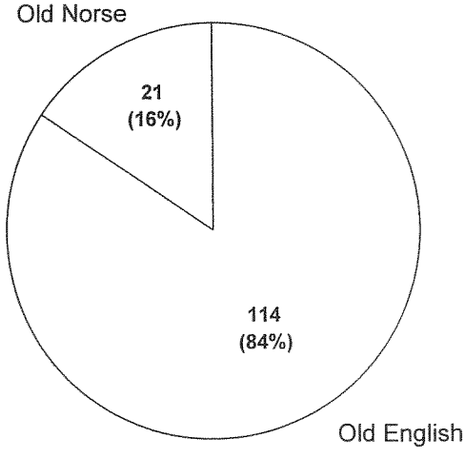
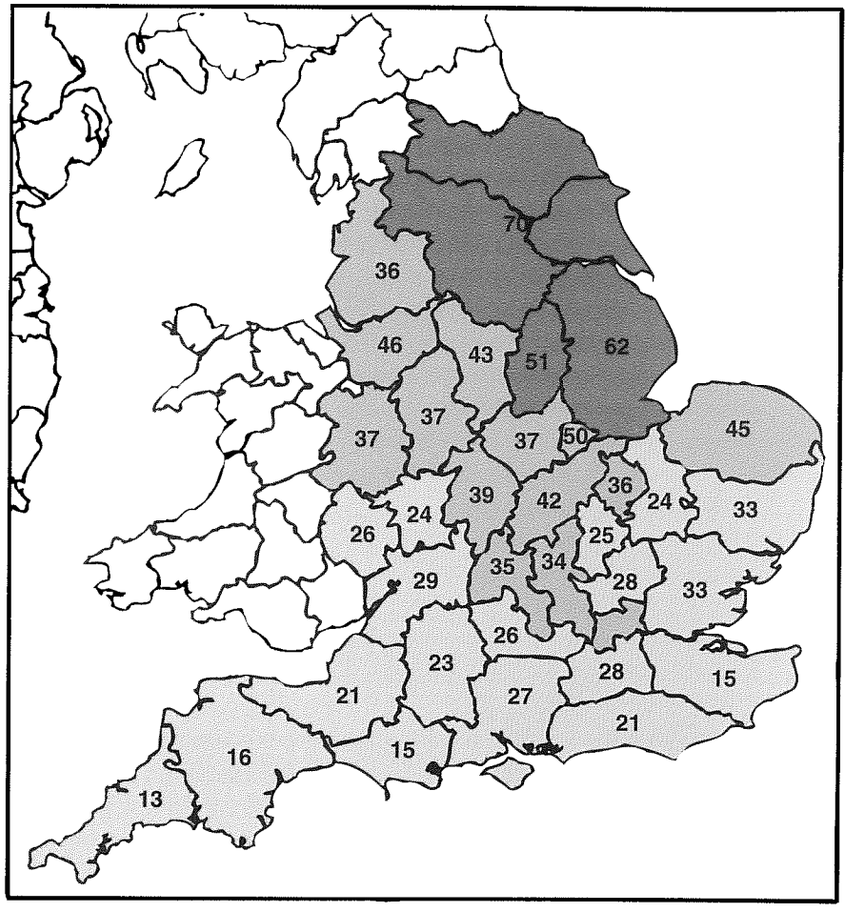


Fig. 4
Proportion by county of Old Norse (to Old English) in the Domesday name-stock



4. This map itself might be thought to go a long way towards vindicating the exercise. It is broadly coherent—high and low percentages are not dotted about at random, but form discernible groups and bands—and broadly in line with historically-informed expectation—name-stocks are most Scandinavian in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire and least Scandinavian in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Kent.[26] It is at once evident that there is some relationship between the impact of the historically-recorded Viking settlement and the Domesday personal names of an area. Later years of Danish rule and the chaotic potential of 'fashion' have far from wholly obscured the predictable older pattern.

This material appears, then, to be telling some sort of truth about the past. And its potential importance seems to grow when we try to define the nature of the truth. Fig. 4 is a map of the influence of Norse on the name-stock of landholders, great and small, in the mid-eleventh century. It does not have the drawback of the comparable place-name map, that some of the influence might derive from one period and some from another. This is telling us something about the make-up of the population of the early 1060s. It is, of course, no direct measure of ethnic 'Vikings'. Some people with Norse names no doubt considered themselves, and/or were considered by others, to be Danes; some may even have spoken Old Norse. Yet many, probably most, Norse-named people would not have spoken the language, and would not have been thought any different from English-named relatives and neighbours. Name-giving is not genetically governed. But it is culturally conditioned. Whether by conscious choice, or by unconscious infiltration into local usage, the selection of etymologically Norse names provides a measure of linguistic/cultural influence. And this is what can, I think, be claimed for Fig. 4: it represents one measure of Norse cultural influence on mid-eleventh-century England. It is of course just one of many possible measures: language, artefact types, artistic styles, legal and administrative practice and most other aspects of life in eleventh-century England were, to some degree, subjected to Scandinavian influence. One might fairly expect any of these types of evidence to produce patterns

[26] Von Feilitzen was not of course unaware of the broad pattern (PNDB, p. 25); he just chose not to investigate it in detail.

different in detail from those arising from the name-stock of Domesday TRE landholders. But which of these other types of evidence offers a sample of comparable material for analysis: a sample that is readily measurable, that can be closely dated and localised, and that represents a slice through almost the whole of England? Archaeological evidence for any type of artefact is unlikely to be so complete, and dating unlikely to be so accurate. Surviving manuscripts are certainly too few and too poorly localised and dated to be of comparable use. Place-names provide thorough coverage and embody similar cultural indications, but, as I have argued, are not closely datable. Domesday Book is a unique document, and its stock of personal names may prove to be yet another facet of its immense value to historians.

Questions arising and further directions for study

Many questions could be asked of Fig. 4. In what follows I offer some preliminary comments on the map of Domesday personal names, as compared with patterns of place-names. And I begin to explore the potential for sharpening the focus of the map, by looking at one particular area, the county of Suffolk, in greater detail.

To begin, I return to my initial point of entry: the use of personal name evidence to help elucidate place-names in *bȳ*. The Domesday material certainly provides something with which to compare the proportions of Old Norse and Old English personal names in the place-names. Indeed, on reflection, it might be considered a very useful point of comparison for this, and for any other place-name based query: here is datable, localisable evidence for the name-stock of landholders. One might expect that the personal names encapsulated in place-names represent a similar constituency: landholders, whether owners or tenants, many living locally, some exercising control from a distance. It is therefore of great interest to learn that there is—in mid-eleventh-century Yorkshire—a ratio of 70:30 Old Norse to Old English in the name-stock of landholders. Within the *bȳ*-names we might recall that the ratio was calculated at 94:6, which tends to confirm the impression that the place-names do not contain a random selection of names from the Anglo-Scandinavian population of the later pre-Conquest period, but belong to a predominantly Norse linguistic context, and probably to an earlier date. This impression is strongly reinforced in the east Midlands, where a

similar Scandinavian dominance in *bȳ*-names (around 90:10) is not matched at all in the Domesday landholding population (62:38 in Lincolnshire and only 37:63 in Leicestershire, the two counties with the highest number of *bȳs*). It seems unlikely that Norse names became overwhelmingly fashionable amongst English families during the tenth century, but gave way again to English ones during the decades before the Norman Conquest; more probable, it seems to me, is that *bȳ*-names are—as most place-name scholars have treated them—relatively early, the products of a distinctively Norse, not an Anglo-Scandinavian, culture.

Fig. 4 also raises some interesting questions about regions outside what are considered the principal areas of Norse settlement. Southern and western England, for instance, has much higher numbers of Norse personal names than would be predicted from an almost total absence of Norse place-names. Across this area between 13% and 30% of the identifiable Old English and Old Norse names are Norse; on average something like a fifth of such names, in other words. In part, this is no doubt down to major absentee landowners: Earl/King Harald and Archbishop Stigand are two all but omnipresent Norse-named landlords, for instance. In general, however, people of such stature seem to account for a small proportion of the total numbers in most counties. Rather, we are probably looking at some combination of descendants of Cnut's Danish followers and 'fashion-victims'. The southern counties can perhaps be considered to indicate the 'background noise' of Norse influence on eleventh-century affairs.

It is notable that figures not much higher are recorded for the south-east-Midland counties of Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Essex, comprising a region nominally within the Danelaw. The fact that the group is coherent—that Cambridgeshire with just 24% shares a border with Bedfordshire, 25%, and Hertfordshire, 28%—suggests that this is not a statistical hiccup. In the mid-eleventh century there is less of a Norse cultural influence here than further west or north, a pattern which tallies rather well with the place-name evidence. Whatever may have been the extent of ninth-century Viking activity here, the name-evidence taken as a whole suggests that Scandinavian influence was not strong enough, or durable enough, to make much of an impact on later centuries.

In contrast, moving to the final 'marginal' area to be considered,

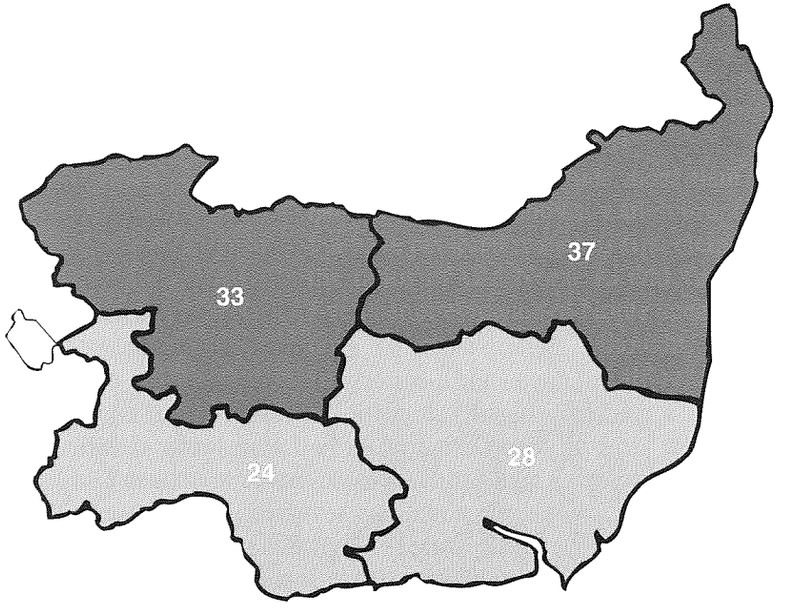
there is in the north-west Midlands an intriguing mismatch between personal and place-name evidence. Scandinavian place-names creep into the east of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, but only just, and not enough to prepare us for figures of 39% and 37% Norse respectively in the Domesday name-stock. More surprising still is Shropshire, also 37% Norse by this indicator, yet so far as I know without a single Norse place-name.[27] Again, if Shropshire were isolated in this respect then it would be tempting to think that there was something inherently misleading in the Domesday figures or the way they have been counted. That it forms a group with Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Cheshire, tends to suggest that there is a real phenomenon here. I do not know what the explanation for it is: perhaps it has something to do with the demobilisation of Cnut's troops in the west Midlands discussed by Insley, though he was principally trying to account for occasional Norse personal names in Worcestershire—which has a low Domesday percentage—rather than the counties further north.[28] Clearly further work would be of interest here.

For now, however, I shall turn to Suffolk, a county in which, as EPNS editor, I have a particular interest, and the county which, by coincidence, is perhaps most open to further close study. Suffolk has by far the largest name-stock of the Domesday counties, recording some 351 different names, seventy more than second-place Yorkshire (counting all three Ridings together), and over twice as many as either Norfolk or Essex, with which it is grouped in the 'Little Domesday Book' manuscript. Given the size of the sample, it seems that here, if anywhere, it might be worthwhile to break down the results below county level. So I went back and assigned each of the personal names to the hundreds in which they were attested. For the purposes of presentation this proved to be something of a problem, because there are wide variations in coverage: from just six names in Thingoe hundred,

[27] Cf. M. Gelling, 'Scandinavian settlement in Cheshire: the evidence of place-names', in *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain*, edited by B. E. Crawford (London and New York, 1995), pp. 187–94 (p. 191).

[28] J. Insley, 'Some Scandinavian personal names in south-west England from post-Conquest records', *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica*, 3 (1985), 23–58 (pp. 46–52).

Fig. 5
Suffolk: proportion of Old Norse in the Domesday name-stock, by region



and in Thedwastre, to eighty-six in Bosmere and 106 in Colneis, south-east of Ipswich. The overall results, therefore—again showing the proportion of Old Norse as against Old English names—are perhaps most clearly expressed in quadrants of the county (Fig. 5).[29] Once more, the pattern appears to be coherent. The names are more Norse in the north, especially the north-east, of Suffolk. This appears reasonable, since Norfolk—at 45% overall—is more Norse again.

The less tidy picture, hundred by hundred, is represented in Fig. 6. Here large, bold type-face numbers indicate the hundreds with total name-stocks of thirty or more; while small-print numbers denote those with name-stocks of between eight and twenty-nine. Hundreds with a name-stock of below eight have been left blank.[30]

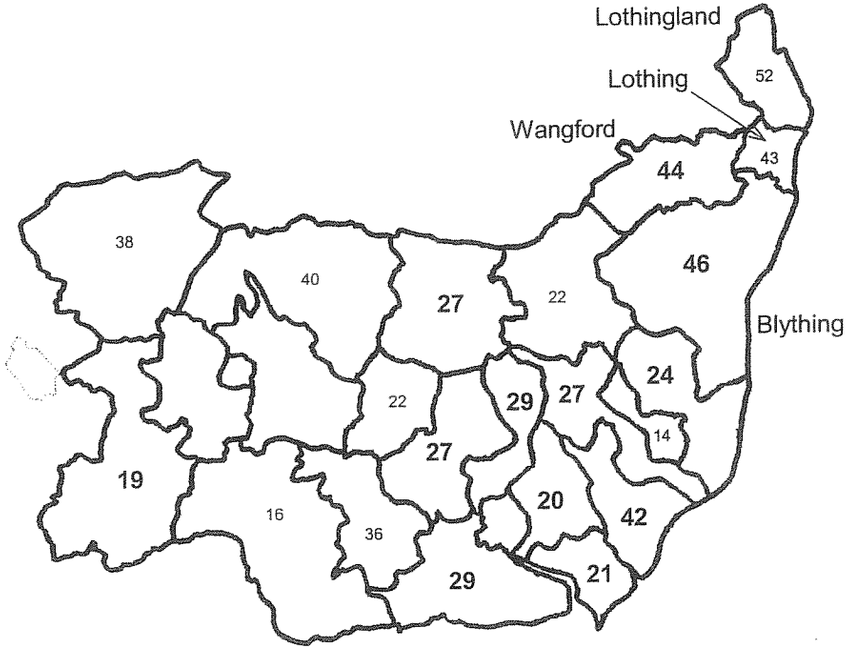
Fig. 6 calls for two simple comments: that the west, and especially the north-west, of the county is poorly represented; and that the more closely the north-east is delimited, the more Norse it becomes. The quadrant in Fig. 5, with a proportion of 37% Norse names, included Hartismere (27%), Bishop's (22%) and most of Plomesgate (24%) hundreds. The four most north-easterly hundreds, named on the map, each have a markedly higher proportion. Moreover, an experiment in dividing the large Blything hundred in half also looks significant: the northern part contains eighteen Old Norse names to sixteen Old English (i.e. 53% Norse), while the south has seventeen Old Norse to twenty-eight Old English (i.e. 38% Norse). All of this suggests that the pattern of cultural influence generally observable across the country can, under the right circumstances, be investigated at a very local level. In this particular case, it is satisfying to find a strong Norse element in the name-stock of the extreme north-east of Suffolk because—apart from a scattering of Grimston-hybrids across the county—Norse place-names are found in any concentration only in this area (Lowestoft, Ashby, Barnby, Lound, etc.).[31] The personal name evidence is of considerable interest

[29] Plomesgate hundred, in the east of the county, is divided into two sections, north and south, for the purposes of this map.

[30] Eight was chosen as the cut-off point for the wholly pragmatic reason that this would include Lothing hundred, in the north-eastern area I concentrate on below.

[31] E. Ekwall, 'The Scandinavian element', in *Introduction to the Survey of*

Fig. 6
Suffolk: proportion of Old Norse in the Domesday name-stock, by hundred



not only because it confirms this distribution, but because, in a sense, it dates it. We cannot easily say when, between the ninth and eleventh centuries, the place-names were coined, but we can now deduce that the cultural influence which the place-names represent was still strong—at least by this specific measure—in the middle of the eleventh century. This is valuable information.

Suffolk also provides a good opportunity to try to stratify the material in a different way. Many of the named Domesday population are classed as 'freemen' (sometimes 'sokemen'), people—for there are some women also—who were clearly small local landholders.[32] To attempt a simple distinction between the lower and upper echelons of landholding society, a record was kept of which names belonged to freemen; any calculation carried out for the whole corpus could then also be restricted to this subset. The results are perhaps surprising. The relative 'ranking' of the four quadrants remains the same, but the proportion of Norse names in the samples of freemen is consistently lower than for landholders in general: north-west 29% (as against 33% of all landholders), south-west 8% (24%), south-east 26% (28%), north-east 31% (37%).[33] Again, this is a pattern which seems to be replicated in detailed examination. The figures for freemen in the two halves of Blything hundred, to be compared with the totals given in the previous paragraph, are: north, thirteen Old Norse names to fourteen Old English (48% Norse, as against 53% of all landowners); south, nine Old Norse to twenty-four Old English (27% Norse, as against 38%). More work and thought certainly needs to go into this question—for relatively limited areas like the north-east of Suffolk it may, for instance, be practicable and helpful to analyse what we know of the individuals involved. At first glance, however, there appears to be evidence here that Scandinavian influence on the name-stock of eleventh-century Suffolk landholders is stronger in

English Place-Names, edited by A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, English Place-Name Society, 1 (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 55–92 (p. 81), E. Martin, 'Place-name patterns', in *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk*, edited by D. Dymond and E. Martin, 3rd edn (Ipswich, 1999), pp. 50–51.

[32] Darby, *Domesday Geography of Eastern England*, pp. 114–15 and 168–71.

[33] Note, however, that numbers of named freemen in the western half of the county fall to perilously low levels for statistical analysis.

the higher ranks of society than in the free peasantry.

Conclusion

Twenty years ago Cecily Clark summed up work along precisely the lines presented here on a range of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Danelaw documents.[34] She expressed the results as the Scandinavian percentage of the insular name-stock, which is more or less the same as the calculation I have favoured.[35] Her summary figures are given here, with my Domesday percentages in parentheses: Lincolnshire: 60–65 (62), Nottinghamshire: 60 (51), Norfolk: 40–50 (45), Suffolk: 30–35 (33), Huntingdonshire: 30 (36), Cambridgeshire: 25 (24), Bedfordshire: 20 (25). The level of correspondence seems to me quite extraordinary, given that Clark's materials are generally over a century later than Domesday, and given, also, the inevitable differences in detail between the samples of named people. The results tend to suggest a remarkable continuity in naming patterns from, at least, the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. This is a conclusion which perhaps requires further examination on another occasion. Meanwhile, it can also be said, that—surprising as it may be—the extent of agreement between the sources tends to strengthen both sets of figures: there is some reality here which they are consistently indicating.

Even more surprising is the fact that Clark herself did not study Domesday names in this way—indeed, she specifically asserted that there was very little useful evidence of this kind, besides moneyers' names, from the late Anglo-Saxon period.[36] The results presented here, I think,

[34] 'Early personal names of King's Lynn. Part 1', pp. 248–50. Cf. similar, different figures (some of them relating to different sources) in 'Clark's first three laws', pp. 80–81.

[35] Though she may have included those names that might be either Old English or Old Norse, which I have discounted as 'ambiguous Germanic'. Note also that she is sometimes specifying the male name-stock, a refinement I have not yet investigated for the PNDB material.

[36] 'Clark's first three laws', p. 80. She perhaps overlooked Domesday because of concerns over its orthography, and she certainly takes the 'young von Feilitzen' to task for attributing aspects of this orthography to normal 'Anglo-Norman' practice: C. Clark, 'Domesday Book—a great red-herring: thoughts on

demonstrate that this is not the case.

Further work on these Domesday names might take various directions. I have concentrated on languages of origin, and there is clearly more that might be done here, both in producing more detailed and accurate results for the Scandinavian names, and in considering other languages, especially the small but not insignificant 'Continental' element in the pre-Conquest material.[37] In addition, analysis of the distribution of the name-stock across the country may prove interesting in other ways. Peter Kitson has begun to show what might be learned from distinctions that can be detected within the group of Old English personal names compounded in Anglo-Saxon charter-boundaries,[38] and it might be possible to examine Domesday in a similar way. The pattern of choice between monothematic and dithematic names might be one place to start. There may possibly be enough women's names in Domesday Book to comment on gender distinctions, as Clark has done for the later period. And finally, to return once more to the starting-point of my investigation, I have tried to show that the study of personal names can inform the study of place-names, and there is much still to ponder in comparisons between the patterns produced by these two types of evidence.

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some late-eleventh-century orthographies', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, edited by C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), pp. 313–31, reprinted in *Words, Names and History*, edited by Jackson, pp. 156–67. There is no criticism of the accuracy of von Feilitzen's philology, however.

[37] It should be noted also that something similar is being done with the Continental origins of the post-Conquest landholders. See the account of recent and ongoing work in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Portrait of a people: Norman barons revisited', in *Domesday Book*, edited by E. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud, 2001), pp. 121–40.

[38] P. Kitson, 'Quantifying qualifiers in Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 14 (1993), 29–82 (pp. 45–61).

Medieval Field-Names in Two South Durham Townships

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This paper is meant as a brief account of some rich field-name material I have come across in the process of preparing the English Place-Name Society's volumes for Durham beginning with Stockton Ward in the south-east of the county.[1]

In my discussion of the Scandinavian settlement names of County Durham presented to the then Council for Name Studies at its spring conference in 1987 and subsequently printed in *Nomina*,[2] I concluded that there was 'an arc of [Scandinavian] settlement in some density' in the Middle and Lower Tees valley but that there remained 'areas along the Tees where all trace of Scand[inavian] or Scandinavianised p[lace-] n[ames] is absent—notably around Darlington and around Hartlepool'.[3]

Long before this in 1948 the Danish scholar, Kristian Hald, had showed that the late twelfth-century field-names of the English-named Lincolnshire village of Benniworth, Old English (OE) *Beonninga-worþ* 'the enclosure of the Beonningas, the people called after Beonna', were full of evidence of widespread Danish influence. Some of the names preserved traces of Scandinavian inflexions and many were derived wholly or partly from Scandinavian words.[4] The significance of Hald's

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[1] This is a revised version of a paper originally presented at the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland at Henderson Hall, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 5–8 April 2002.

[2] V. Watts, 'Scandinavian settlement-names in County Durham', *Nomina*, 12 (1988–89), 17–63.

[3] *Ibid.*, 57. See also V. Watts, 'Northumberland and Durham: the place-name evidence', in *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain. Thirteen Studies of Place-Names in their Historical Context*, edited by B. E. Crawford, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester, 1995), pp. 206–13.

[4] K. Hald, 'Vore marknavnes ålder', *Namn och Bygd*, 36 (1948), 14–33 (pp. 24–33). Cf. *idem*, 'A reply to Peter Sawyer on "the two Viking Ages of Britain"', *Mediæval Scandinavia*, 2 (1969), 185–87.