Wulfnoð, *Olaf* and the Domesday scribes[1]

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The materials generated by the *descriptio* of England initiated by King William I in late 1085 are a complex but rewarding resource for onomasts, providing a large number of forms for roughly twelve hundred pre-Conquest personal names as well as forms for numerous post-Conquest names and for many thousands of place-names. This great onomastic resource is limited if taken only at face value, yet it becomes more useful as our understanding of the process by which the *descriptio* was undertaken improves. Although historians differ over points of detail most would now agree that within each circuit of (usually five) shires, in both formal and out-of-court sessions, the oral testimonies of hundredal jurors, fief-holders and others were combined with written submissions and existing records to produce the returns that were later edited at Winchester to form Great Domesday Book (GDB) itself.[2] At each stage of the process there was the potential for what has been characterised as

[2]   References to GDB are by folio and column (a and b on the recto and c and d on the verso) in the Alecto edition, Williams and Erskine (1986–92); where deemed useful this is followed by a reference in brackets to the corresponding entry or entries (by shire, chapter and entry number) in the Phillimore edition, Morris et al. (1974–86).

'the mishearing, mispronunciation, misreading and miscopying of names', which can confound our interpretation of some forms used by the scribes of the various texts (Dodgson 1987, 123). More importantly, perhaps, the scribes tended to Latinize the names and to use continental Latin orthographical conventions to do so, without recourse to the insular characters <þ> (thorn), <ð> (thæt or eth) and <ƿ> (wynn), thereby rendering untenable a purely phonetic approach to interpreting the resultant forms (Clark 1992, 320–21, 328–31; Rumble 1987, 84, 91).

Although this means that Olof von Feilitzen's (1937) pioneering *Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* is now seen as a less reliable guide to the late-eleventh-century pronunciation and vernacular orthography of personal names than we used to suppose, more recent scholarship has offered us a new way forward (Clark 1992, 317–21). This new methodology allows us to identify the named individuals in Domesday Book and their holdings with a much greater degree of confidence, which in turn makes it easier to determine when different forms relate to the same personal name (Lewis 1997, 74–77, 79–83; Baxter 2008, 275–77). In addition, the online resources provided by the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* (*PASE*) have now enabled us quickly and conveniently to gather not only most pre-Conquest occurrences of a particular personal name but also those in Domesday Book and, in the latter instance, even to map them.[3] This allows contextualized onomastic data from Domesday Book to be analyzed on a scale rarely achievable before, and is in turn providing new insights into the ways that the scribes dealt with their material.

As an example of this type of approach, this paper will reconsider the potential confusion between the Domesday forms for the Old English

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[3] *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* is published online at http://www.pase.ac.uk/index.html. The maps illustrating the present paper were generated using a revised version of the *PASE* Domesday dataset produced by the PDE project (on which see note 1 above).

masculine name *Wulfnoð* and the Old Danish masculine name *Olaf* and its variants, a problem visited by both John Dodgson and Gillian Fellows-Jensen at a meeting of this society nearly thirty years ago (Dodgson 1985, 49; Fellows-Jensen 1985, 34–35, 38).
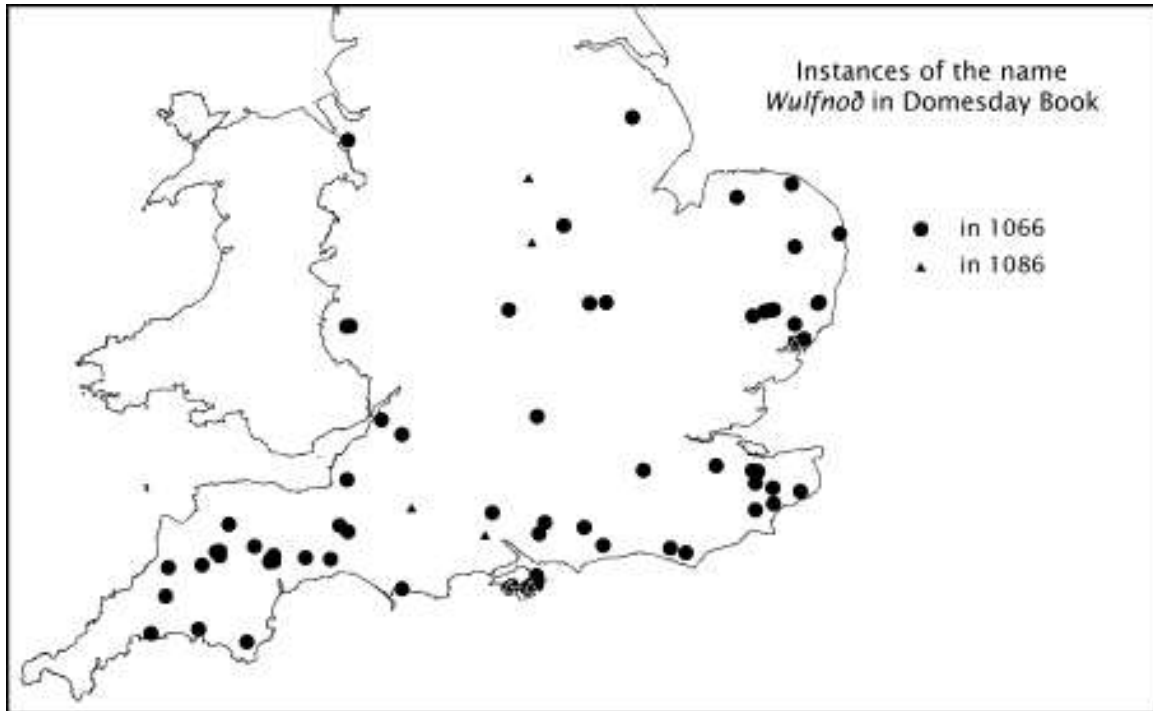
The name *Wulfnoð*, comprising the elements *wulf* 'wolf' and *noð* 'bold(ness)', has a distribution mainly but not exclusively to the south of a line between the Severn and the Wash for its occurrences in Domesday Book (see figure above). This distribution is probably a good reflection of that for the name's usage in late Anglo-Saxon society, because of the seventy identifications of men called *Wulfnoð* recorded in *PASE*, all from the tenth and eleventh centuries, the only definite occurrences to the north of Leicester are moneyers active at York, Chester, Nottingham and Lincoln. Admittedly, these *PASE* data cannot be used without a note of caution—forty-one of the identifications may relate to only nineteen different moneyers and the remaining twenty-nine may be skewed by the predominantly southern bias of the surviving evidence—but it is also significant that the name does not occur in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham

(Rollason and Rollason 2007). At issue in the present paper, however, is whether the Domesday form *Vnlof* should be interpreted as representing *Wulfnoð* or an archaic form of the name *Olaf*. I shall discuss these *Vnlof* forms at a later stage, but first we need to see how the main and almost certainly English scribe of GDB (hereafter 'the GDB scribe') treats the name *Wulfnoð* elsewhere in his text.[4]

We should start by looking at how he dealt with the forms of the name with which he was faced in his source materials. The obvious point of comparison here is with the Exeter Domesday in the *Liber Exoniensis* (hereafter Exon), the remnants of the circuit return for the south-western shires and the exemplar that the GDB scribe almost certainly had to hand as he edited and transcribed its material (rather than doing so indirectly through some intermediate 'fair copy') (Thorn and Thorn 2001, 48, 66– 69).[5] Somewhere in the region of twenty different scribes were employed in the writing of Exon and seven or eight of those wrote entries involving the name *Wulfnoð*, using various forms for the name in doing so and thus providing a good basis for comparing the treatment of the name by the GDB scribe. No full description of each Exon scribe's hand and stints exists in print. Rex Welldon Finn made an initial assessment of about a dozen Exon scribes, while others have offered minor refinements and Teresa Webber has described the hands and stints of four Exon scribes with Salisbury connections, but as yet only Colin Flight has published a provisional analysis of scribal stints for the whole of the Exon text (Welldon Finn 1959, 362–68; cf. Rumble 1985, 42–43; Webber 1989, 3–

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[4] For the main GDB scribe being an Englishman, see Rumble (1985, 45–49), and Gullick and Thorn (1986, 79).

[5] References to Exon entries are by folio (with a for the recto and b for the verso, followed by an entry number, usually as indicated by the sequence of pennons on the manuscript page) in the Record Commission edition, Ellis (1816); reference has also been made to photographs of the original manuscript, for access to which I am very grateful to Stephen Baxter.

8, 12–14; Flight 2006, 49–59). Fortunately, for present purposes, there is sufficient agreement between the provisional identifications of scribal stints made by these reconnaissances. For convenience Flight's scribal identifications are used here because they are the most complete ones available, with the identifications made by other scholars being noted only where relevant.

The two major scribes of Exon, α and β (Finn's G and A respectively), differ in their treatments of the name *Wulfnoð*: Scribe α uses three forms, namely *Wlnot* (three times), *Vlnod'* (twice) and *Wlnod'* (once), while Scribe β uses only *Vlnod'* (three times).[6] Among the minor scribes, Scribe γ is similar to Scribe α in that he uses more than one form, namely *Olnotdus* (once) or its abbreviation *Olnotd'* (three times) and *Olnot* (twice), whereas only one entry containing the name *Wulfnoð* can be attributed to each of the remaining scribes: Scribes δ and ε each use *Olnod'*, Scribe η uses *Wlnod'* and Scribe μ uses *Vlnof* (the appearance of <f> in this last instance will be discussed later).[7] The scribal attribution of a further example of the name is uncertain: it is an instance of the form *Vlnod'* that occurs in Exon 264a2 in a stint ascribed by Finn to Scribe η (his J) and by Webber to Scribe ζ (her C) but which Flight (2006, 51, n. 17), who does not offer a scribal identification in this instance, regards as being different from either of those hands and I share his suspicions.

The Exon scribes thus provide us with seven different forms for the name *Wulfnoð*, namely *Olnod'* (twice), *Olnot* (twice), *Olnotdus* (once) or *Olnotd'* (three times), *Vlnod'* (six times), *Vlnof* (once), *Wlnod'* (twice) and *Wlnot* (three times). This variety of forms could reflect those that the scribes found in documents submitted to King William's *descriptio*, or represent each scribe's spelling of a name heard in oral testimony, or represent each scribe substituting his preferred form, and there is

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[6] Exon 131b2, 131b3, 132a1, 234a2, 239b3, 266a4, 283a2, 351a2, 415b2.

[7] Exon 60a1, 132a2, 132a3, 290b2, 292b2, 328a4, 343a1, 405a2, 416b2, 518a4.

evidence to support all three interpretations. The several forms for the name *Wulfnoð* used by Scribe α (*Vlnod'*, *Wlnod'*, *Wlnot*), for instance, could imply that these forms came to him from different sources. Those used by Scribe γ (*Olnotdus* or *Olnotd'*, *Olnot*) could represent a continental scribe's attempts to Latinize an unfamiliar name heard in oral testimony, with a French <o> for Norman and Old English /u/ being evidenced elsewhere including in GDB (albeit not often in initial position) and the use of <t> rather than <d> to represent final <ð> also perhaps reflecting French influence; the use of <td> to represent <ð> in the inflected forms could be a compromise spelling because the /ð/ was now intervocalic rather than final (Jordan 1974, 34–35, 65; von Feilitzen 1937, 75–76, 100–01; Clark 1992, 329). By contrast, the fact that Scribe β uses only a single form (*Vlnod'*) for two entries relating to places more than 26 miles (42 km) apart in east Cornwall as well as for a third entry relating to somewhere 13 miles (21 km) away in west Devon suggests that this was Scribe β's preferred way of representing the name *Wulfnoð* in Latin.

Further evidence on this point is provided by five entries consecutive in both Exon and GDB that record adjacent holdings in the Exe valley.[8] They were held by Geoffrey de Mowbray's subtenant Drogo in 1086 and were the only Devon estates at which Geoffrey's pre-Conquest antecessor was called *Wulfnoð*, and the coincidence of successor and geographical proximity render it very probable that this was the same *Wulfnoð* in each case. In Exon, the first three entries (for Brampford Speke, Rewe and Netherexe) were written by Scribe α, who on this occasion spelt Wulfnoð's name as *Wlnot* in all three entries. Scribe α then began the fourth entry before Scribe γ took over; Scribe γ completed this entry (for Up Exe) as well as writing the fifth (for an unnamed holding that probably corresponds to Heazille Barton) and spelt Wulfnoð's name as

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[8]   Exon 131b2, 131b3, 132a1, 132a2, 132a3; GDB 103a (Devon 3,67–71).

Olnotd' in both instances. These five holdings straddled the hundredal boundary between Wonford and Silverton (now Hayridge) in 1086, but this administrative division does not correspond to the change in stints (and spellings) between the two Exon scribes. In this case, therefore, it appears to have been the scribe writing each entry who determined which form of the name *Wulfnoð* was used, rather than which hundred or fief a particular holding was part of, without prejudice as to whether the scribes were dealing with oral or written sources at the time.

Be that as it may, however, let us return to the question of how the GDB scribe dealt with the forms of *Wulfnoð* that he found in his sources. When recapitulating the Exon entries containing one of the seven forms *Olnod'*, *Olnot*, *Olnotdus* or *Olnotd'*, *Vlnod'*, *Vlnof*, *Wlnod'* and *Wlnot* the GDB scribe consistently substitutes *Vlnod* or *Vlnod'* in all except one instance where he repeats the Exon form *Wlnod'*, perhaps doing so unthinkingly because it was the first instance of the name that he encountered in the Somerset entries.[9] Such consistency looks like a conscious and deliberate policy of standardization on the part of the GDB scribe. On one occasion he even extends this treatment of the name *Wulfnoð* to place-names, so that whereas the Exon Scribe β had written *Vlnotestona* 'Wulfnoð's estate' in the entry for Woolstone in Cornwall the GDB scribe instead wrote this as *Vlnodestone*, thereby not only emphasizing his preference for <d> as the Latinized representation of Old English <ð> but also implying that he recognized the lexical elements and meaning of the place-name rather than treating it as an abstract label.[10] This apparent tendency to use a single form *Vlnod* or *Vlnod'* to

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[9]   GDB 83d (Dorset 55,34), 91d (Somerset 17,8; 19,8), 95a (Somerset 24,11), 103a (Devon 3,67–71), 106a (Devon 16,17), 106b (Devon 16,29), 109d (Devon 17,73), 110d (Devon 19,42), 111b (Devon 21,5), 111c (Devon 21,12), 114d (Devon 34,51), 116a (Devon 39,5), 122d (Cornwall 5,4,3), 123b (Cornwall 5,4,20), 123d (Cornwall 5,8,3).

[10] Exon 240b4; GDB 123b (Cornwall 5,6,1); cf. Clark (1992, 329).

represent the name *Wulfnoð* parallels what others have described as the GDB scribe's intent to 'correct' place-names and to apply a 'standard terminology' to his edited and abbreviated text (Thorn and Thorn 2001, 48; cf. Sawyer 1956, 489–90).

Elsewhere in GDB he also uses the same *Vlnod* or *Vlnod'* form for *Wulfnoð* in all except three instances that will be dealt with shortly. By comparison, the treatment of the name in Little Domesday Book (LDB) is more varied. Using the assessment of scribal hands and stints proposed by Alexander Rumble we find that most *Wulfnoð* forms in LDB were written by Scribe 2, who spelt it *Ulnoth*, *Ulnoht* (twice), *Vlnod* (five times), *Vlnot'* (twice), *Vlnoth* and *Vlnoth'*; in addition, Scribe 6 contributed two instances (*Ulnoht*, *Vlnoth*) and Scribe 5 one (*Vlnoht*) (Rumble 1987, 87–88, 90–91, 98–99).[11] The LDB scribes thus used six forms for *Wulfnoð* (*Ulnoth*, *Ulnoht*, *Vlnod*, *Vlnoht*, *Vlnot'*, and *Vlnoth* or *Vlnoth'*), which strongly suggests that in the other circuit returns from which GDB was compiled the GDB scribe will have encountered—and similarly standardized as *Vlnod* or *Vlnod'*—forms as varied as those evidenced in LDB and Exon.

If so, then what should we make of the few instances (other than the repetition of the *Wlnod'* form from Exon, noted above) in which the GDB scribe apparently did not spell *Wulfnoð* in his usual manner? On two occasions, namely the singletons *Oruenot* in Herefordshire and *Vuenot* in Bedfordshire, it may be that he did not recognize these forms as representing the name (or indeed any other name) and therefore just transcribed what he found in his source, although von Feilitzen argued—plausibly—that both can indeed be read as forms for *Wulfnoð* (with a not-unprecedented interchange of /r/ > /l/ in *Oruenot* and the slightly more common loss of /l/ through assimilation with the preceding /u/ in the case

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[11] References to LDB are by folio (with a for the recto and b for the verso) in the Alecto edition, Williams (2000). The forms cited are at LDB 143b, 247a, 262b, 284b, 287a, 291a (twice), 291b (thrice), 315b, 338b, 339b, 344b, 434b.

of *Vuenot*; both forms also show an inorganic *-e-* between the first and second elements).[12] In a third instance, namely a single occurrence of the form *Vnlot* in an entry for Eastling in Kent, the situation is less clear.[13] It is probable that the pre-Conquest landholder concerned was indeed called *Wulfnoð*, identifiable as the holder of several Kentish estates that, like Eastling, passed to Bishop Odo after the Conquest and which included one at nearby Throwley.[14] If so, then in writing the name as *Vnlot* in this instance either the GDB scribe has again transcribed his source unthinkingly (as with the *Wlnod'* form from Exon) or else he has made an error by transposing the <l> and <n>; the fact that the form *Vnlot* also has a final <t>, rather than the GDB scribe's usual <d>, renders the former option the more likely.

There is, however, a small handful of further instances in which the GDB scribe did not use *Vlnod* or *Vlnod'* to spell a name that some interpreters have regarded as *Wulfnoð* and it is with these four instances—those in which he instead spelt a name as *Vnlof*—that the rest of this paper is mainly concerned.[15] Von Felitizen showed no hesitation in interpreting these *Vnlof* forms as representing Old Norse *Óláfr* or Old Danish (or Old Swedish) *Olaf*, but both Dodgson and Fellows-Jensen argued that they were in fact forms of *Wulfnoð* (von Feilitzen 1937, 335; Dodgson 1985, 49; Fellows-Jensen 1985, 34–35). These latter arguments were based in part on the precedent for the metathesis of <l> and <n> established by the occurrence of *Vnlot* in the entry for Eastling and in part upon the suggestion that the final <f> of *Vnlof* could represent a phonetic substitution of [f] for [þ] on the part of the GDB scribe, although

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[12] GDB 187c (Herefordshire 34,1), 213b (Bedfordshire 23,25); von Feilitzen 1937, 72–73, 77–78, 80, 422. The form *Oruenot* is repeated in Galbraith and Tait (1950, 73).
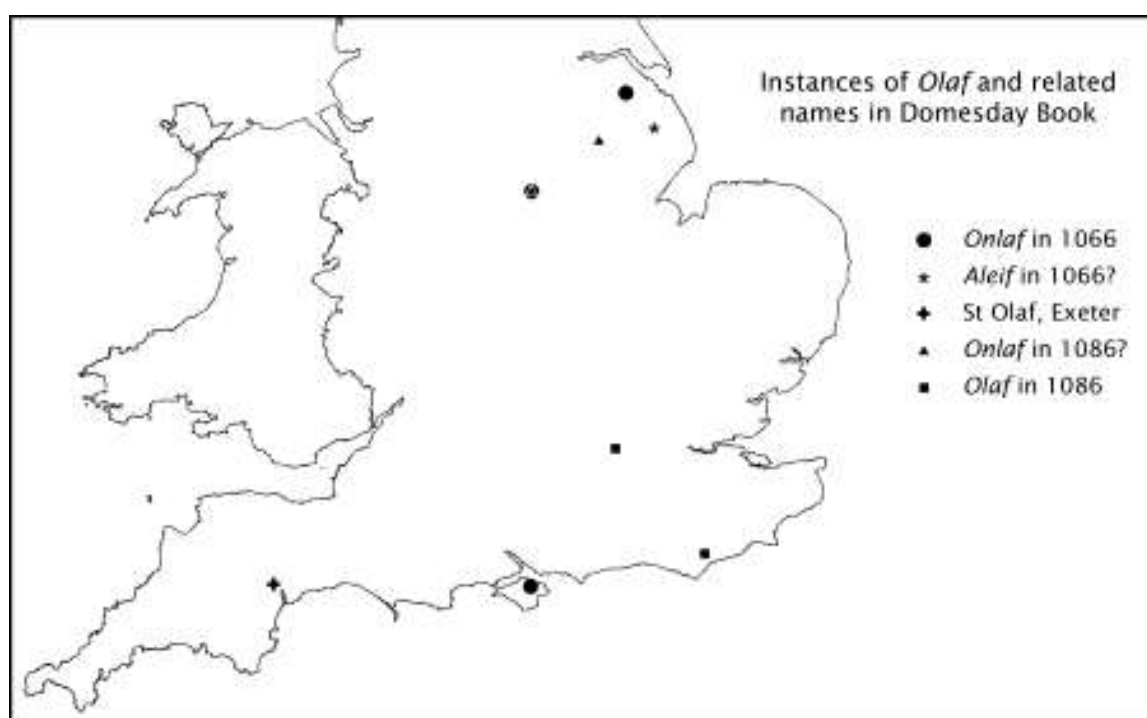
[13] GDB 10c (Kent 5,158).

[14] GDB 10r (Kent 5,155); cf. von Feilitzen (1937, 422, n. 5).

[15] GDB 53a, 287c, 336b, 350d.

Fellows-Jensen also provided some strong contextual support for her interpretation. Yet that all of these four instances with <f> in final position should also represent all but one of the five instances of metathesis of <l> and <n> pushes coincidence too far, while a phonetic substitution of the sort proposed is precisely the type of argument that Cecily Clark (1992, 320) blew out of the water when she observed that vernacular characters such as <ð> were eschewed by the Latinizing scribes of the Domesday texts. Furthermore, at no point when writing more than 500 instances of an Old English name ending in *-noð*, such as *Æðelnoð*, *Beorhtnoð* or *Leofnoð* as well as *Wulfnoð*, did the GDB scribe ever render this element as <nof>. In fact, the only instance among the materials generated by the *descriptio* of 1086 for which this rendering is observed is in that single form *Vlnof* by the Exon Scribe μ, noted above. Taken together, the rarity of instances of the metathesis of <l> and <n> by the GDB scribe and the lack of any evidence to show that he ever rendered *noð* as <nof> mean that whatever name he thought he was rendering by *Vnlof*, that name was not Old English *Wulfnoð*, even though (as will be seen later) the two names often appear to occur in close association with one another. Clearly another explanation is required.

The name *Olaf* (used here to signify Old Norse *Óláfr* and *Óleifr*, Old Danish and Old Swedish *Ōlāf* and their variants) developed from a Primitive Scandinavian **Anu-laibaʀ* and there is evidence to suggest that the nasalized form of the first element survived for longer in the British Isles than it did in Scandinavia itself (Insley 1994, 309–11; cf. Fellows Jensen 1968, ciii–civ, 204). For example, the name of a moneyer occurs as *Onlaf* on a coin minted at Lewes, Sussex, in 1009 × 1017 and an Anglo-Scandinavian origin is probable for an instance of *Hunlof* from Normandy in *c.*1040, albeit preserved only in a much later source (Galster 1966, coin no. 467; Smart 1968, 262; Adigard des Gautries 1954, 128, 245–46, 313; Insley 1994, 310). It is likely that the popularity of the denasalized form of the name in England paralleled the growing cult of St Olaf, the king of Norway killed in *c.*1030 and canonized locally shortly afterwards. Even so, the displacement of the old form by the new

may not have been immediate, because St Olaf's name was initially written as *Onlaf* in the C-text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a.* 1030 (an annal transcribed in *c*.1045), albeit subsequently altered to *Olaf* at an unknown date; only later do unambiguous *Olaf* forms occur in the D- and E-texts for *s.a.* 1028 (annals transcribed in *c*.1080 and *c*.1121 respectively) (O'Brien O'Keeffe 2001, xxvi–xxviii, xxxvii–xxxviii, xc, 105; Plummer and Earle 1892–99, I, 156–57; Cubbin 1996, xii, xlviii, 64; Irvine 2004, xiii, lxiv–lxxv, 75–76). As Fellows Jensen observed, it is possible that by the time the cult of St Olaf was spreading, 'English speakers may not even have recognized the ultimate identity' of the nasalized and denasalized forms of his name (Fellows Jensen 1968, ciii). If so, then we may have a situation in which an Anglo-Scandinavian name *Onlaf* existed alongside the newer form *Olaf* during the mid-eleventh century.

Instances of *Olaf* and related names in Domesday Book

● *Onlaf* in 1066
★ *Aleif* in 1066?
✚ St Olaf, Exeter
▲ *Onlaf* in 1086?
■ *Olaf* in 1086

The contemporary existence of two related but semi-independent names *Onlaf* and *Olaf* could well underlie a distinction made by the GDB scribe, because as well as the four *Vnlof* forms already noted there are

also three instances in which he uses a form *Olaf*.[16] In two instances these *Olaf* forms refer to the post-Conquest subtenants of estates in Sussex and Middlesex, but the third relates to the church of St Olaf in Exeter and deserves further comment. The corresponding Exon entry was written by Scribe β, who rendered the saint's name in a dative form as *Oilafo* (a further reference to this church in Exon, again in the dative and in this instance written by Scribe ε, renders the saint's name as *Olauo*, but this entry does not occur in material subsequently recapitulated by the GDB scribe).[17] Once again we see the GDB scribe recognizing a name in his source and 'correcting' it to his preferred form in his recapitulation (in this instance rendering *Oilaf(o)* as *Olaf*), as was the case with his consistent use of *Vlnod* or *Vlnod'* to represent the name *Wulfnoð*. In passing, it has also been suggested that a further GDB form, *Allef*, occurring as the name of a pre-Conquest landholder in Lincolnshire, represents Old Norse *Áleifr*, a side-form of *Olaf*, but Chris Lewis has argued that it is in fact a garbled reference to a woman identifiable from another entry and who had the Old English name *Ælfgifu*.[18]

So would an Anglo-Scandinavian name *Onlaf*, recognized by contemporaries as distinct from the name *Olaf*, explain the four instances of *Vnlof* in GDB? There is certainly nothing in their distribution to raise concerns with this hypothesis, given three instances in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, areas with a strong Scandinavian influence on naming habits (and, incidentally, at the northern limits for occurrences of the name *Wulfnoð*), and only one in the south of the country. Let us start by considering the context of this latter instance in more detail.

This southern *Vnlof* was the pre-Conquest holder of one hide at Briddlesford on the Isle of Wight, which he held *in alod*, or freehold,

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[16] GDB 18b, 104b, 129a.

[17] Exon 196a1, 505b8.

[18] GDB 349c. Lewis (1991, 143); Fellows Jensen (1968, civ, 6).

from King Edward; in 1086, his estate was in the hands of William fitzAzor.[19] There is no difficulty in interpreting this *Vnlof* as a man with the name *Onlaf*, because there were several other men with Anglo-Scandinavian names (such as *Osgot* and *Swarting*) holding estates nearby before the Conquest that also had passed to William fitzAzor by 1086, while the instance of Onlaf the moneyer in Sussex shows (albeit some fifty years earlier) that the name could occur in southern England.[20] By way of comparison, there are five instances of the name *Wulfnoð* among the pre-Conquest landholders on the Isle of Wight: three refer to a man who survived the Conquest and retained his lands as a king's thegn in 1086; of the other two, one had an estate that, like Onlaf's, had passed to William fitzAzor while the other, perhaps but not necessarily the same man, had an estate that passed to William's brother Jocelin.[21] There were, therefore, two or three pre-Conquest landholders called *Wulfnoð* on the Isle of Wight but there is no compelling reason or need to identify 'Onlaf of Briddlesford' with any of them.

Turning our attention northwards, an instance of *Vnlof* occurs as the pre-Conquest holder of a manor that was one of seven estates at Cabourne in the Wolds of north Lincolnshire.[22] All but one of the other landholders at Cabourne had names of Scandinavian type, so again there is no barrier to interpreting *Vnlof* as *Onlaf* in this instance. Furthermore, the only instance in GDB of a pre-Conquest landholder in Lincolnshire called *Vlnod*, or *Wulfnoð*, was as the holder of Sotby, a manor nearly fifteen miles to the south of Cabourne and which passed to a different

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[19] GDB 53a (Hampshire IoW 7,4).

[20] GDB 53b (Hampshire IoW 7,5; IoW 7,10); for Onlaf the moneyer, see page 10 above.

[21] GDB 53b, 53c, 53d, 54a (Hampshire IoW 7,12; IoW 8,8; IoW 9,4; IoW 9,17; IoW 9,22).

[22] GDB 350d, 353d, 356b, 357d, 358a, 365b (Lincolnshire 14,39; 22,8; 25,4; 25,9; 27,13; 27,18; 44,13).

post-Conquest successor than did Onlaf's manor.[23] As with his namesake in the Isle of Wight, there is no obvious reason to identify 'Onlaf of Cabourne' with anyone else.

The situation is more complex when we turn to the third instance of *Vnlof* in GDB, in an entry relating to the lands that lay outside the city of Lincoln.[24] It states that Siward (*Siuuard*) the priest and Auti (*Outi*) held a carucate of this land in the time of King Edward (along with six acres that Wulfgeat (*Vluiet*) the priest holds) and that now Ælfnoð (*Alfnod*) holds one half of the carucate and Northmann (*Norman*) son of Siward the priest holds the other. It then notes that *Vnlof* the priest had seized this latter half—and Siward the priest's wife—while it was in the king's hands because of a fine laid upon Siward; the implication is that this had occurred after the Conquest, and perhaps while Siward was still alive, but before 1086 (by which time Northmann held the land). Given the forms *Vlu-* and *-nod* for the first and last elements of *Vluiet* and *Alfnod* respectively in this entry, together with what we have already learnt about the GDB scribe's habits, it is unlikely that he intended the form *Vnlof* to represent *Wulfnoð* in this instance. Yet at the start of the Lincolnshire folios in GDB there is a list of twelve pre-Conquest lawmen (*lageman*) in Lincoln together with names of those who held the corresponding posts in 1086; and, as Fellows-Jensen pointed out, it is probable that Siward the priest is the same as the man of that name who occurs in the pre-Conquest list and whose place as lawman had been taken in 1086 by *Vlnod* the priest.[25] By *Vlnod* in this instance the GDB scribe must surely mean *Wulfnoð*; but was the *Vnlof* the priest who had seized Siward's land and wife at some point after the Conquest necessarily the same as the *Vlnod* the priest who had succeeded to

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[23] GDB 342d (Lincolnshire 4,50).

[24] GDB 336b (Lincolnshire C14); Hill (1948, 331–32).

[25] GDB 336a (Lincolnshire C2–3); Fellows-Jensen (1985, 34).

Siward's position as lawman by 1086? The balance of probability favours that interpretation (although others are possible), but the GDB scribe did not make that identification when he was recapitulating the Lincolnshire entries. If they do refer to the same man, then the simplest explanation is that the details of the city lands and the list of the city lawmen came to the GDB scribe as separate sources whose different forms for the man's name led him to interpret them as *Onlaf* and *Wulfnoð* respectively and to standardize them as *Vnlof* and *Vlnod* accordingly. Without further information it is impossible to determine which name was the correct one.

Finally, we come to the fourth instance of *Vnlof* in GDB and, with it, perhaps to the nub of the problem towards which we have been working. A Nottinghamshire entry in GDB states that (before the Conquest) *Vnlof* had a manor of four bovates at Lenton, that William (Peverel) now has custody of it and that 'the same *Vlnod*' (*isd Vlnod*) has one plough there (along with the other manorial resources).[26] Furthermore, an entry regarding the adjacent manor at Radford, held by one Ælfric before the Conquest and also in William Peverel's hands in 1086, notes that *Vlnod* holds one bovate of it as thegnland.[27] It is obvious that the *Vlnod* who was William's subtenant at Lenton in 1086 was also the man who held part of his manor of Radford; yet what are we to make of the statement that he was the same as *Vnlof*, the pre-Conquest holder of Lenton? It seems unlikely that the GDB scribe did not recognize the contradiction as he was writing this entry, and it is tenuous in the extreme to suggest that the *isd Vlnod* in that entry referred not to *Vnlof* but to the *Vlnod* in the Radford entry, even if his source had the entries arranged differently. Instead, it seems more likely that he had no means to resolve the query and therefore rendered what he found in his source as best he could,

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[26] GDB 287c (Nottinghamshire 10,24).
[27] GDB 287b–c (Nottinghamshire 10,15).

according to his normal rules. As with the Lincoln entries, therefore, it does not seem possible to determine if *Onlaf* or *Wulfnoð* was the correct name of the pre-Conquest holder of Lenton.

It is perhaps unsatisfying to end on this double note of uncertainty. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that the related but semi-independent names *Onlaf* and *Olaf* coexisted in England in the mid-eleventh century does not stand or fall solely on the ambiguities of the Lincoln and Lenton entries; it also remains probable that the GDB scribe perceived a distinction between the contemporary names *Olaf*, *Onlaf* and *Wulfnoð* and sought to reflect these in his text. Nor has this survey of the work of the GDB scribe and the scribes who wrote his sources been without value, because it shows both the need for a multidisciplinary approach—one drawing upon the skills of the historian and the palaeographer as well as those of the onomast—and the potential rewards if such an approach is adopted.

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