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

* * *

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

SOURCES

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

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

Part I - BAPTISMAL NAMES

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

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

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

* * *

Baptismal names current in twelfth-century England fell into several categories. The older name-stock, conveniently called 'insular' and comprising Old-English names plus Anglo-Saxonian ones, was during the century and a half following the Conquest gradually being discarded in favour of 'continental' forms such as the new aristocracy bore. These latter names themselves fell into
three main groups (certain minor ones, such as Breton and Normanno-Irish, being for the moment disregarded): Continental-Germanic names, in everyday use mostly Gallicized but in documents normally represented by archaic Latinized forms; Franco-Scandinavian names; and also the classical and Biblical names, mainly 'Christian' in association, such as on the Continent itself were at this date gaining popularity at the expense of the Germanic ones. At Lynn the Norman-French influences being felt throughout England were supplemented and complicated by other, more localized foreign contacts arising through the town's trade with the Low Countries and with what were later to become the Hanseatic ports; and here therefore direct Low-German and even Baltic influences might also have been at work.

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

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

1) Pre-Conquest elements

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

Traditionally, clues to that settlement have been sought in place-names, especially those showing Scandinavian personal names compounded either with Scandinavian topographical terms or with English ones. From these a succession of scholars – among the most notable being in an earlier generation Ellert Ekwall and Sir Frank Stenton, and more recently Kenneth Cameron – have set out to map the Viking settlements according to relative dates and densities. But for East Anglia no adequately-published corpus of place-names is yet available. Meanwhile, the density of Viking settlement here has excited some controversy, turning mainly on tenurial evidence. Such brief studies of major Norfolk place-names as have appeared show Scandinavian forms scattered thinly, except for a batch of -by-forms around Yarmouth. Towards the west, in Lynn's own hinterland, overtly Scandinavian place-names are rare, except for some -thorpe, usually interpreted as small secondary settlements. In the main, therefore, Viking settlers in Norfolk may be supposed to have merged into the existing population rather than have remained in enclaves (for what such comparisons are worth, the Lincolnshire shores of the Wash likewise show fewer Scandinavian place-names than do other parts of that county, and are likewise believed to have seen the Vikings blending into the native population). About the likely density of the ninth-century settlement this tells us little.

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

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

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

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

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

These patterns must now be viewed in a wider perspective. Despite possible Cnutian reinforcement, incidence of Scandinavian names generally remained light outside the old Danelaw, so that in the Winton Domesday, for instance, they constitute only 8\% of the insular name-stock characteristic of landholders \textsuperscript{7RE}, providing a mere 4\% of occurrences; and among the insular names surviving in the Canterbury 'Rental B', datable to the 1160s, show even lower ratios. \textsuperscript{42} With such figures those from the Northern Danelaw offer a marked contrast. Some late-twelth- and early-thirteenth-century charters from Holland and Keesten, not the most heavily Scandinavianized parts of Lincolnshire, show Scandinavian forms providing about 65\% of the insular name-stock for men; \textsuperscript{43} the Lincolnshire Feet of Fines 1120 to 1170 likewise show about 65\%, and the Hull Assize Rolls from 1202 to 1209 about 60\%, with a Scandinavian name-vocabulary of some 80 items (in both, admittedly, some items are represented only by patronyms, which tend to favour the rarer names). \textsuperscript{44} At Newark, in the heartland of the Five Boroughs, Scandinavian forms provided in 1177 nearly 60\% of the insular names for men. \textsuperscript{45}

As for regions south of Lynn, the male peasants' names in the late-twelfth-century Domesday survey, when analyzed according to the counties where the manors lay, agree roughly with the other records in showing for Norfolk an insular name-stock featuring some 40\% of Scandinavian items, besides just under 30\% for Huntingdonshire, agree 25\% for Cambridgeshire (agreeing with the ratio for the pre-Cnutian parts of Liber Eelneas \textsuperscript{46}), and 20\% for Bedfordshire. \textsuperscript{47} For Suffolk, Abbot Sampson's survey shows about 45 Scandinavian items accounting for just over 30\% of the masculine insular name-stock; \textsuperscript{48} and similarly in the small insular name-stock of the Suffolk Feet of Fines from 1199 to 1214 some 16 Scandinavian items represent between 30\% and 35\% of the men's names. \textsuperscript{49}

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

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

ii) Continental influences

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

For Lynn one dated, and in a sense homogeneous, sample is the list of certain of its citizens entered in the Pipe Roll for 1166. Here, if dubious forms and the Scandinavian ones probably of Norman origin are left aside, the insular names account for nearly 50\% of occurrences: if all Scandinavian forms showing French spelling-influence were reckoned as 'continental' (and, given the likely
orthographical bias of royal clerks, that might be unwise), then insular forms would still amount to 45%. The name-stock shows about 40 insular items alongside some 32 continental ones (5 ambiguous Scandinavian ones being left out of the reckoning), with the former therefore amounting to around 55%. As for patronyms and metronymy, these, apart from not necessarily being truly representative of the name-stock, here qualify hardly more than a third of the individuals, and on both counts need treating with caution. For what they are worth, only three at most are not arguably insular: the abbreviated Jrm', the ambivalent Oppe, and the doubtfully Amabl'. These patterns all square with the conclusion just drawn from analyzing the Scandinavian element here: that Lynn's early population was predominantly local in origin, rather than exotic.

That is by no means all. Such name-patterns seem to lag oddly behind the current fashion. Admittedly, the point is delicate, because records exactly comparable in date and scope are not easily come by. Perhaps Canterbury, for which in the 1160s Rental B shows insular men's names accounting for only 25% of occurrences and 33% of the stock, may be thought too cosmopolitan to be fairly compared with Lynn, and Winchester, with even lower figures already by 1148, even more so. But Newark should be comparable with Lynn, and there only ten years later no more than 20% of men's names remained insular.54 For Norfolk in general one estimate has suggested that by the late twelfth century only a quarter of current names (women's more traditional ones included55) usually remained insular;56 and certainly the abundant patronyms in the Feet of Fines from 1198 to 1202, presumably representing a generation flourishing in the late 1160s to 1170s, show only 30% to 35% of insular forms.57 So, insular names running at nearly 50% make the Lynn barges listed in 1166 look somewhat old-fashioned. Sometimes a low ratio of continental names may be explained by humble status, in no sense as the township, although also coming to favour continental names, may have been rather slower in doing so than barges were; but citizens figuring in a Pipe Roll must have been prominent. Moreover, the barges of a 'new' town may be thought especially unlikely to have been uncommonly attached to traditional ways (indeed, as early as 1066 one Lynn notable was called 'William son of Stangrime'), and of those in an active port least likely of all, given their constant exposure to foreign ways. All in all, the most acceptable explanation for this old-fashioned name-distribution may in the event be chronological: that is, whereas surveys like those from Canterbury and Newark included all householders of whatsoever age, the Pipe Roll may have been concerned only with certain senior barges, born about or before 1120 rather than in the 1130s or 1140s. This would explain also their predominantly insular patronyms and metronymy, as going back to the generation born in the late eleventh century, before the new fashions had taken great hold. Such an identification of this Pipe Roll group as consisting mainly of seniors is partly confirmed by the appearance of many of them as witnesses to a Norwich charter of ante 1150.59

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

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

Mainly on linguistic grounds, a few forms here are, not unexpectedly, identifiable as French, or sometimes Franco-Flemish.64 These include: Anger, a Gallicized form either of Scandinavian Asgeir or of Frankish Anger, and common in Normandy but not, apparently, farther east; Berlin, a short-form of names in Bert- or -bert (equalling OE Borhte-/Byrht-/Birht-) and current at least from Byzantium to Ieper (Ypres); Desmazet (Desudetz), a French form often, but not exclusively, figuring among those used by Jews to render their Hebrew names, in this case Nathaniel or Jonathan;65 perhaps Doët, which looks like a variant of the Old French Doëm from CG Dodo/Dudo;66 Earl, a specifically French reflex of CG Arrar; Firmin, found thus at Eu, but in Picardy and farther east usually represented by Frenmin; Race (Racius; here a vinner's name), which resembles the Raese found at Calais and likewise, albeit to a lesser degree, at the Raysia found at Eu and at Arras for CG Razo, a hypocoristic of names in Rad-/-Rat-; Terr, the specifically French reflex of CG Theodric; and Wybolet, a diminutive for Wybald or Wigbert found, for instance, at Arras (cf. Wiblet at Eu and in Picardy).

For documentary forms offering no clue to their everyday counterparts,
possible provenances are deducible only from distributions. With most 'Christian' forms these are, as noted, too wide to serve great purpose: true, the frequent appearance at Lynn of names such as Clemens, Jacobus, Lambertus, Laurentius, Nicholas and Simon would square with influence from the Low Countries, but, in the absence of any typically Flemish forms, it proves nothing. Some Continental-Germanic names found here can, however, be traced through the name-entries to various localities from Flanders to the Baltic. Among these are: Conrad, for Conrad, favoured in Ieper, Ghent, Cologne, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Rostock (but in northern France usually represented by the hypocoristic Conon); Godfrid (-bold), found, for instance, in Ghent and in Saxony, and Godbert, found in Ariss and Ghent and also in Saxony (the specifically French forms being Gobaut and Gobert/Gubert respectively); Codescal, current in Ariss as well as in Calais, Ieper and Ghent and in all five German ports; Hildebrand, rarer, but found in Saxony, and Herdeger likewise; Hermannus, common from Ieper to Rostock, but found also in Eureaux and in Metz; Hildebrand, current from Ieper to Rostock; Humpur, which, despite its Anglicized second element, 69 probably represented the CG Hunger common from Cologne to Rostock; Ricolf, an ambiguous form attributable either to Scandinavian Rculo or, and here perhaps more probably, to the CG Ricolf common from Ieper to Rostock; and Bidemannus, here qualified as le Cer, 67 amply paralleled in all five German ports. Although distributions so widespread (and, at that, by no means complete) do nothing to pin any of the Lynn forms to a specific provenance, they are far from irrelevant. Except as surnames, few forms in this group seem to have been common in France proper after c.1000, although in Lorraine and in Wallonia they kept their popularity somewhat longer; and in a twelfth-century English context that itself is interesting. At Lynn, when set against the known trading-patterns, such predominantly Low-German distributions, imprecise and incisive they are, suggest that, on this level at least, cultural influences from Flanders, Frisia and the North-German and Baltic ports were hardly less strong than those from France.

For a few names no convincing sources or parallel have yet been found. These difficult cases include that of Heneg (or Heuk-heald) the taverner - a citizen prominent enough to have given his name to a street (creek), Hent (or Heuk-) hallsfleet, as well as to an alley, Egyt (or Euk-hallsfleet). If it is right to prefer, from among the not only varied but even mutually contradictory spellings of this name, the forms in Hen-, these could perhaps represent a reflex of CG Huekald or else of Scandinavian Ingvaldr. 70

(iii) Women's names

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

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

Other findings, however, at first suggest less rather than more innovation in the naming of girls. Throughout twelfth-century England women's names normally appear as about a generation more 'old-fashioned' - less 'continental', that is - than the corresponding men's: a time-lag elsewhere tentatively explained as reflecting a low proportion of women among the Norman settlers. 73 Norfolk records in general illustrate this clearly, with the current women's names in the Feet of Fines 1198 - 1215 showing about 25% of insular forms, in contrast with the mere 7% characterizing the men's. For Lynn itself recent forms are not much, such as do occur suggest no departure from the general pattern. It may be added that, much as with men's names, the range of women's names found here would be compatible with - but by no means proves - some influence from the Low Countries.

What women's names from Lynn do show clearly is an incidence of Scandinavian forms lower than among men's: by contrast with the 40% to 45% of Scandinavian items in the masculine insular name-stock, the feminine stock (admittedly much smaller, and so less representative) shows only some 7 Scandinavian forms beside about two dozen dithematic English ones plus an uncertain number of English short-forms 74 - well under half the masculine ratio, that is. By itself so small a sample would certainly have been dismissed as unrepresentative, did not other records show similar discrepancies: thus, the Norfolk Feet of Fines 1198 - 1215, with almost 45% of Scandinavian forms in the masculine insular name-stock, show only just over 20% for the feminine one, and the Lincolnshire Feet of Fines 1199 - 1216, with some 60% in the masculine stock, only about 40% for the feminine one; the Thorney Liber vitae, representing a catchment area stretching from Holland to Bedfordshire, shows nearly 50% of Scandinavian forms among insular names for men, but only some 15% among those for women; and Abbot Saxon's Bury survey, with over 30% among insular men's names, has under 20% among women's. Recognized for at least a quarter of a century (and perhaps for twice that time), 75 this regular discrepancy has been variously interpreted. Sir Frank Stenton (like Steenstrup before him) argued that the occurrence of any women's
names at all implied a 'genuine migration'; but on that Arnært cast doubt, pointing out how often 'women' accompanying Viking horses seem to have been classed along with 'plunder'. The question will not be easily resolved. Archaeology cannot help, because goods in a woman's grave prove nothing about her own origins or cultural affinities. And name-evidence involves its own uncertainties. Certainly, in themselves Scandinavian names for women carry little weight, because a Viking with daughters by an English wife might well have named some of them according to his own family-traditions. On the other hand, perhaps the comparative paucity of such forms may, by an argument analogous to that already deployed concerning the Norman-French settlement, be thought to imply a low proportion of women among the Viking settlers too. 76

[To be concluded in the next issue]

NOTES

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

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


5. Thus, in Flanders the foreign names of several countesses were widely imitated (see J. Lindemans, 'Over de Inname van enige Vorstennamen op de Naamgeving In de Middeleeuwen', Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1950, 99-106) and in Normandy the names most favoured were those associated with the ducal house (see M. Le Pesant, 'Les noms de personne a Evreux du xii° au xiv° siècle', Annales de Normandie VI (1956), 47-74, esp. 55).

6. In the admissions lists of Hyde Abbey, for instance, continental names start to appear regularly, especially for 'purer', from about the 1070s on, see W. de Gray Birch, ed., Liber vitae: register and martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Hampshire Record Society (London, 1892), esp. 36-7.

7. Cf. 'Battle', passim.


9. For this element the main works of reference are: W. G. Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonum (Cambridge, 1897) (for some shortcomings of which, the O. von Feilitzen, in H. Voitl et alii, eds., The study of the personal names of the British Isles: proceedings of a working conference at Erlangen, 21-24 September 1975 (Erlangen, 1976), 16-18); M. Redin, Studies on uncompound personal names in Old English (Uppsala, 1919); M. Boellier, Die alldeutschen Frauennamen, Germanische Studien XVIII (Berlin, 1930); O. von Feilitzen, The pre-Conquest personal names of Domesday Book, Nomina Germanica III (Uppsala, 1957) [PND]...


16. This topic will be fully treated by Dorothy Owen in her British Academy volume.


18. See, for instance, Seltén, *Heritage*, II, 167 and references there given.


21. A provisional list of the Old-English names for men deducible from the present material, patronyms included, offers the following ethnomonic forms, here given in standardized West-Saxon spelling: perhaps Æcðre; Æelfgār, Ælfheor, Ælfmār, Ælfmūr, Ælfrod, Ælfric, Ælfricge, Ælfstān, Ælfœward, Ælfrīw (Ælfrīw or Ælfriw may sometimes, however, have represented not Ælfrīw, but Ælfrīw-, Eald- or Ealh-); Ælfelmār, Ælfrērc, Ælfrēwed, Ælfrēweld, Ælfrēwīg, Ælfrēwīng; Beorhtmār, Beorhtērc, Beorhtērdge, Beorhmtān, Brōnnum, Bōreg or Bōreg; perhaps Ćlēfte (see Seltén, *Heritage*, II, 56); Ćnēgār, Ćneān; Bādmān, Bādērc, Bādērān, Ćeadān, Ćordāf, Ealfred, Ealdāf, perhaps Ealfrēw (if Ælfrēw is a slip for Ælfrēw); a rare Forþwīne has been identified in Norfolk records - see Seltén, *Heritage*, II, 83 - but cannot be represented in the late forms like Forðewain, Forðewain(e); Gōðhērc, Gōðlāmb,
Goldman, Gárdar, Gárdvar; perhaps Gárdar (rather than Gárdsv as above); Herewæsc: Hüttan, Hüttwe, Hægdeat, Leofmann, Leofnœ, Leoft, Leofwine, Ordrid; Ofaf, Sælilæ, Sæmann, Sæwærde; Selemann, Selwenæ; Sigebeald, probably Sigfræt; perhaps Spieżmann (but see Part II); Sæwærde; Swiutmann; perhaps Wigmund (cf. n. 18 above); Wulfrid, Wulhære, Wulfræt, Wulfrid, Wulfræg, Wulfrinæ; Wynfrid.

Several -ing-forms such as became increasingly popular in the late Old-English period (see Smart, Index, xiv) occur here: Bruning, Cyping, Dunning, Goldeing. (but for coding here, see p. 57 above and n. 61 below).

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


23. Unhappily, my one-time colleague, O. K. Schram, who had for many years been collecting Norwegian place-names, died before completing his work; responsibility for this county has now been transferred to Dr K. I. Sandred. See, however, Schram's short papers in Norwich and its region, British Association for the Advancement of Science (Norwich, 1961), 141-9, and in Str Cyril Fox and B. Dickins, eds., The early cultures of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick memorial volume) (Cambridge, 1950), 429-41; and cf. Ekwall, 'The Scandinavian element', 76-7, 81-3, and Idem, 'The Scandinavian settlement', 151-3, together with contributions by Bloxley in Conference at Erlangen, 55. See also [Ordnance Survey], Britain before the Norman Conquest (Southampton, 1973), 11-12 and map.

24. See the papers by Arngart, Ekwall, Davis and Sawyer cited in nn. 1 and 2 above.


29. Although from c. 1375 onwards vernacular materials from Lynn itself are ample (see S. H. Meech and H. E. Allen, eds., The Book of Margery Kempe, Early English Text Society: Original Series 212 (Oxford, 1940), x-xi, xxxi; cf. A. McIntosh, 'The language of the extant versions of Havelok the Dane', Medium AEcum XLV (1976), 36-49), for earlier periods reliable dialect records from any part of Norfolk are scarce: for instance, the mid-thirteenth-century Genesis and Exodus cannot without carefulness be used to exemplify Norfolk dialect, in so far as its localization depends wholly on linguistic argument (see O. S. Arngart, ed., Lund Studies in English [LSE] XXVI (Lund, 1968), 43, 45-7). fifteenth-century usages, for what they are worth, tell somewhat against heavy Scandinavian influence, showing, for instance, h- rather than th-forms for 'them' and 'their', and this at a date when the latter were gaining popularity. As yet, comparative incidences of lexical loanwords have not been fully studied, but see A. Rynell, The rivalry of Scandinavian and native synonyms in Middle English, LSE XIII (Lund, 1948), 357 et seq.; cf., more generally, A. McIntosh, 'Middle English word-geography: its potential role in the study of the long-term development of the Scandinavian settlements upon English', in The Vikings, 124-30.


31. An aspect of the Cnutian conquest usually passed over, with most accounts assuming that, generous though the new king was in rewarding his followers with estates, no settlement occurred at this time comparable with that of the late ninth century: thus H. R. Lox, Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest (London, 1962), 62: 'There was no migration on the scale of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Canute's triumph was essentially political'; cf. Sir Frank Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), 413-4. See also n. 32 below.

32. Dr V. J. Smart, in her as-yet unpublished 1981 Nottingham Ph.D. thesis, Moneys of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage 1016-1042, which follows on from her study of the AEthelredian moneys' names cited in n. 36 below, shows that,
for this special group at least, neither Cnut's reign nor those of his two sons saw any significant shifts in naming-patterns (I am grateful to her for allowing me to refer to these findings). But, given the time-lags often intervening before changes in name-fashion become visible in records, definitive assessment of the Scandinavian hegemony's cultural effects must wait upon full analysis of the moneys' and other personal names surviving from the Confessor's reign.


34. See von Feilitzen, FNDB, 21-3, also in Personnambstudier, 61-2; cf. SPLY, xxvi-xxxviii.

35. In his Ph.D. thesis [p. 10 above] Insley describes as on the high side the incidence of Scandinavian personal names found in Lynn and its hinterland (I am grateful to him for allowing me to refer to this work).


38. A provisional list of the Scandinavian names for men deducible from the present material, patronyms included, offers the following items, given in normalized spelling and with no attempt to distinguish forms showing possible Norman influence: Angl, Angs, Angüen, Anguar, Anguetil (-tel), Astlkr, Auti, Bell, Bolli, Böndi, Brimi, Bregul or Bregul, perhaps Penkel, Plum, probably Flikkr, Gamali, probably Gauti, Gauti, Gumi, perhaps Hapul, Hårkr, Haiman, Håvad, Håvdr, probably Horn, Hörlr, Huskari, Illungi, perhaps Jarn, Kall, Keri, Kettbyrn, perhaps Koli, perhaps Källng, Lurcr, perhaps Milla, Oddr or Oddr, Ugel, Ofugn, Sängi, Sighvri, perhaps Skjarr, Skarl, Skarr, Spytr, Sprialegger, probably Sprakt, Stenglma, Stenlm, Sunarli, Sunali, Svarjær, Sveinn, Tóki, Tóli, Þórdar, Yórkeiti, Þórmoðr, Þórfstein, Úlfr, Úlfkétill, Úspakr, perhaps Vígmundr, Vídar, Víðr, Vrangr, Vnumdr. For English names, cf. n. 21 above.


41. B. Dodwell, ed., Feet of fines for the county of Norfolk for ... 1198-1199 and ... 1199-1202, &c., PRS: new ser. XXVII (London, 1952), and comments xxviii-xxxii; and eadem, ed., Feet of fines for the county of Norfolk ... 1201-1215; for the county of Suffolk ... 1199-1214, &c., PRS: new ser. XXXII, (London, 1958), and comments xxx-xxxx.

42. See PNHD, 184-5, and W. Urly, Canterbury under the Anglo-Saxons kings (London, 1967), 72-43. Because von Feilitzen's statistics lump men's names together with women's more old-fashioned ones (see p. 59 above), the strictly-comparable Winchester figures should be even lower.

43. K. Major, ed., The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, VII, Lincoln Record Society [LRS] XLVI (Hereford, 1953). Innsular names occur here mainly among peasant occupiers, those of witnesses being predominantly 'continental'.


45. M. W. Barley et alii, eds., Documents concerning the manor and soke of Newark-on-Trent, Thoroton Society Record Series XVI (Nottingham, 1956), 1-4, and notes by K. Cameron, xi-xv, 5-15.


49. FF Suffolk [see n. 41].

50. See 'battle', esp. 28, 30.

51. Such formations are discussed by von Feilitzen in Personnambstudier, 63-4; cf. Aragur, 'Aspects', 78-9.

52. Erna: comparison of Strf, str, Erna, with the later Semon str, Ernstil in the same document suggests that the suspension may represent, not an OE name in Ern- (see PNDB, 243-4, and Selén, Heritage, IL 78-9), but Ermila, a specifically French reflex of OC Erminia (see PNDB, 241, and PNHD, 156), Oper: either Scandinavian Aðugr or CG Oper (see SPLY, 203); in a pipe Roll the 'continental' spelling may not be significant, especially as the son's name, Turchetil, may favour the former etymology. Amabilis: either a Latinized nickname or, and perhaps more probably, a metronymic use of Amabilis (Malib).

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

53. See n. 42 above. Note that the caveat concerning the Winchester figures again applies.

54. See n. 45 above.

55. See p. 59 above.

56. See Seltén, Heritace, I. 43 (the lasts of calculation may differ from that used here).

57. See n. 41 above.

58. Norwich Cathedral Priory, 57-8. The case of the later Bartholomew of Farne, born Toold but dubbed William by trendy playmates, shows that social pressure could cause replacement of old-fashioned names by more current ones.

59. Norwich Cathedral Priory, 70.

60. See, for instance, C. Tavernier-Vereeeken, Gentse Naamkunde van ca, 1000 tot 1252: een bijdrage tot de kennis van het oudste Middelnederland (Tonergen, 1968), 125; also Schaufl, 98.

61. See PNB, 265. In Flanders the commoner form was Codinus; see, for instance, C. Maryns, Hypokoristische suffixen in noordnederlandse persoonsnamen, inz. de ‘-en en ‘-e-imaffixe, 2 vols. continuously paginated (Diss. Leuven, 1971), 206 (I am grateful to Dr. Folke Sandgren, of the Royal Library, Stockholm, who, as Olof von Feltlitz’s academic executor, procured me a copy of this dissertation); also other relevant works listed in n. 63.


W. Beeste, Studie van de leeperse persoonsnamen uit de stads- en belfuwerekeningen 1250-1400, 2 vols. (Handzame, 1975), II. 73; and Tavernier-Vereeeken, Gentse Naamkunde, 49.


66. See E. Langlois, Table des noms propres de toute nature comprise dans les chansons de geste imprimées (Paris, 1904), s.a. Doon de Malençe; also W. Klaibow, Die germanischen Personennamen des alfranzisichen Heldenpoes und ihre lautliche Entwicklung (Halle, 1913), 55, 65.


68. See Schlau I. 105, also II. 99; but cf. Selten, Herhitage, II. 95, for the possibility of native origin.

69. See 'battle, 24, also 39.

70. The problem here arises from the frequent -u-spellings, which produce a form hardly possible to 'etymologise'. The temptation is, therefore, to 'etymologise'. Metronymy is, therefore, to 'etymologise'. Metronymy will be further considered in Part II - 'By-Names'.

72. See, for instance: Le Pesset, 'Evreux', 51, 63; Morlet, Haute Picardie, 23; Berger, Nécrologie, 306; and Lévy, 'Substitution', 411.

73. See 'Women's names in post-Conquest England' [n. 8], passim.

74. Provisional lists of the insular women's names deducible from the present material, metronymies included, offer the following forms, again in standardized spelling: Old English - Aelfriv, Athelhita, Aelfwine, Aelfwara, Aelfgeat, Aelfheath(a) (as with men's names, the true etymologies of ME forms in Al- are often uncertain, see n. 21 above), Beorhtgifu, Bargaewin, Ceafhealwina, Deorlifon or -lif, Eadigca, Eadilf, Eadulf, Eadwina (for these four items, cf. the short-forms Edc, Eds, Eadigfr, Eadrel'hild, Olfhita, Hildelgamma, Hilmburg (alternatively, but here less probably, CG, Leofcwi, Leofsga, Leofagiu.