

Looking even more closely at the Nordic element in East Anglian place-names¹

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Many of the place-names dating from the Viking period are comparatively unproblematic but there are others which still lack a convincing solution. It was the name Thrigby in Norfolk that started me thinking again, although it was a discussion of the place-name Threekingham (Threckingham) in Lincolnshire and the possible relevance of the name recorded in Great Domesday Book (GDB) four times as *Tric* (GDB 348c;12/77, 360a;29/21, 360a;29/24, 363c;38/9) that prompted my chain of thought.² The references to *Tric* are to sokeland in Lincolnshire that later came to be referred to by the Nordic name Skegness, probably meaning ‘headland sticking out like a beard’. I confess to not having paid attention to this name *Tric* when I worked on the names in the East Midlands in the 1970s (Fellows Jensen 1978, 172). It was recent contributions to the English Place-Name List (EPNL) that drew my attention to a brief article on *Tric*, possibly relating it to the Latin word *traiectus* ‘crossing place’ (Owen and Coates 2003, 42–44).³ This is the element found in Dutch Maastricht, Tricht and Utrecht (Gysseling 1960, VI,1, 646–47, VI,2, 977,

¹ This paper was originally read at the SNSBI Spring Conference at UEA Norwich, 27–30 March 2015. I am particularly grateful to Chris Lewis for answering my concluding question there, discussing it with me and allowing me to see and utilize a first draft of his report on all the Domesday landowners called *Aki* that is awaiting publication on a not-yet-functional website. I am also grateful for the helpful comments provided by the article’s anonymous reviewer.

² References to GDB are by folio and column in the Alecto edition (Williams and Erskine 1986–92) and to the corresponding entries in the Phillimore edition (Morris *et al.* 1975–92).

³ EPNL is a JISCMail email discussion list (epnl@jiscmail.ac.uk).

989; Künzel *et al.* 1988, 236–37, 350, 357–58). Owen and Coates argue that it is linguistically possible for the Latin word *traiectus* to have been adopted by the British and ultimately survived as *Tric* and they note that *Tric* may have been the site of a Roman ferry across the Wash (Phillips 1932, 132). This explanation for *Tric* is ingenious but can hardly be called certain.

There have been various explanations for the name Threkingham, which seems almost certain to contain an Old English (OE) group-name as its specific, but none of these involve a word for ‘crossing-point’. Eilert Ekwall tentatively explained this group-name as formed either on an OE *þræc* ‘force, courage’ or a word related to Old Norse *þrekk* ‘dirt, filth’ (DEPN). He commented on the name *Tric* and noted that a development involving this word would be linguistically abnormal. In his discussion of the Lincolnshire name Kenneth Cameron (1998, 127) also noted that the first element of the group-name must have contained an *i*-sound and tentatively proposed an unrecorded **Tric*, a hypocoristic form of a British personal name, while Victor Watts cautiously suggests as first element of the tribal-name an unidentified element **Tric* possibly denoting a place (CDEPN). Since there can hardly have been a significant crossing-point at Threkingham, my thoughts flew to my own tentative explanation of the name Thrigby in Norfolk as a possible pointer to a solution. I had suggested (Fellows-Jensen 1996, 387; 1999, 51; 2007, 99) that Thrigby might contain a derivative of the OE verb *þryccan* ‘to press, crush’, referring to a narrow passage of some sort. I received a sharp rap over the knuckles from John Insley on EPNL, reminding me that three grand old etymologists, Eilert Ekwall, Karl Inge Sandred and Insley himself, were agreed that the name *Þrykki* is a morphologically acceptable short form of the name *Þrý(ð)rík*, which is found in Runic Swedish, and would have been perfectly feasible in Old Danish (Insley 1994, 431). I do not deny that this explanation is possible but I do not agree that it is the only possible explanation or even the best one of the specific of the place-name Thrigby. This is because the first record in Scandinavian sources of the full form of the personal name *Þrý(ð)rík* is in a runic inscription from Norway that has been dated to the first half of the eleventh century and there is no record of an occurrence of

either the full form or the hypocoristic form in any Danish sources, or, as far as I am aware, any English source, unless we accept its presence in the name Thrigby. I therefore stand by my suggestion that the specific of this name is a topographical term referring either to ‘mud’ or to a ‘narrow passage through undergrowth’. I must, however, acknowledge both that this is by no means certain and also that my own views on the presence of Nordic personal names in place-names in England have been subject to several revisions in the course of time.

At the present moment, however, I would stand by most of my earlier suggestions for the *bý*-names in East Anglia, although I am now inclined to accept David Parsons’ suggestion (2004, 83–84) that the specific of Herringby is Old English *hæring* ‘herring’, since this fish was so economically important in the area in the Viking Age.⁴ This leaves me with only eight of the twenty-seven East Anglian *býs* that seem certain to contain Nordic personal names. The concentration of thirteen *býs* in Flegg may reflect the use of the island as a Viking base in the ninth century (Campbell 2001, 19–21), the survival of an enclave of Danes there after the English regained control of most of East Anglia in 917 (Fellows-Jensen 2007, 97), or perhaps the fact that Flegg continued to play a strategic role in protecting commercial traffic to and from the Continental markets (Abrams and Parsons 2004, 418), and some similar explanation is probably also required for the frequency of occurrence of names with Nordic connections in Lothingland across the border with Suffolk.

The comparative absence of names in *-bý* from East Anglia did not of course leave the region devoid of Nordic traces in its place-names, as already pointed out by John Insley (1999, 53–56). So-called Grimston-hybrids, in which the English element *tūn* is compounded with over eighty Nordic personal names, are spread over most of that area with the exception of the Fens in the west and Flegg in the east. The most striking feature about the Grimston-type settlements in East Anglia is that their

⁴ Fellows-Jensen (1999, 51) has it as an Old Norse personal name *Hæringr*, a byname meaning ‘grey-haired fellow’.

administrative status is much less homogeneous than that of those which occur further north in the Danelaw. In his study of the Grimston-hybrids in the Five Boroughs Cameron (1971) noted that there are only eleven examples in Lincolnshire and thus that where Danish settlement in terms of names in *-bý* is dense, Grimston-hybrids are rare, while they occur where English-named sites are common. In his detailed discussion of the Grimston-type names Insley (1999) has made an interesting contribution to the distribution of the names in East Anglia, emphasising that the bearers of the Nordic personal names there were certainly not all of the same social status. He points specifically on the one hand to a small group of names in the hundreds of North and South Erpingham which were borne by wealthy men with Nordic names, and on the other hand to men with such names living in southern Suffolk on small plots of lands of such little significance that their names are now lost.

I shall therefore attempt to compare the status of the Grimston-named settlements in East Anglia with that of those found elsewhere in the Danelaw. The practical problem when studying estate structure in East Anglia is that the texts which are recorded in Little Domesday Book (LDB) differ in several ways from those recorded in Great Domesday Book.⁵ It is only very occasionally that Little Domesday makes any attempt to group manorial appurtenances in the form of berewicks and the like together with the head of the manor and this makes it a time-consuming process to assess the status of the various manors. There are nevertheless certainly some Nordic personal names found in East Anglian place-names that seem likely to have been borne by men of the same high status as those who gave their names to Grimston-hybrids elsewhere in the Danelaw. In Norfolk are found: *Kati* in Caston, *Kalfr* in Cawston, *Krókr* in Croxton, *Grímr* in Grimston, *Gunni* in Gunton, *Haddr* in Hadeston, *Hildulfr* in Hindolveston, *Skúli* in Scoulton, *Stýrr* in both Starston and Sturston, *Þjalfi* in Thelveton, Anglo-Scandinavian *Purgār* in Thurgarton, *Þúrulfr* in Thurlton.

⁵ References to LDB are by folio in the Alecto edition (Williams 2000) and to the corresponding entries in the Phillimore edition, Morris *et al.* (1975–92).

In Suffolk there seems to have been found a wealthy freewoman called Nordic *Alfhildr* (or English *Ælfhild*) in Alton on the site of *Alfildestuna*, where most of the original estate is now lost under Alton Water Reservoir (Laverton 2001, 81). *Bildr* is found in Bildeston, *Brandr* twice in Brandestons, *Flík* twice in Flixtons, *Flóki* in Flowton, a possible **Gabbi* ‘mocked’ in Gapton, *Hemingr* in Hemingstone, *Sumarliði* twice in Somerleyton and Somerton, *Práandr* in Thrandeston, Anglo-Scandinavian *Purstān* in Thurston, *Púrulfr* in Thurlestone, *Ubbi* in Ubbeston, *Ulfr* in a lost place marked by Ulveston Hall, *Vestliði* in Westleton.

It is interesting to note that several of the Nordic personal names borne by the men whose names are recorded in the more considerable Grimston-type settlements in Norfolk and Suffolk are also borne by men whose names are found in Grimston-hybrids further north in the Danelaw: namely *Bildr* in Bilstone in Leicestershire, *Brandr* in Branston in Lincolnshire and Braunston in Northamptonshire, *Flík* in Flixton in Yorkshire, *Flóki* in Flockton in Yorkshire, *Grímr* in North Grimston in Yorkshire, *Hildulfr* in Hilderstone in Staffordshire, *Kalfr* in Cawston in Warwickshire, *Kati* in two Cattons in Yorkshire, *Stýrr* in Sturston in Derbyshire, Anglo-Scandinavian *Purgār* in Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire and an erratic *Tvrgarestone* (for Wolgarston) in Staffordshire, Anglo-Scandinavian *Purstān* in Thrussington in Leicestershire, *Púrulfr* in Thurlstone and a lost *Purulfestun* in Yorkshire and in Thulston in Derbyshire. It is noticeable that both North Grimston in Yorkshire and Grimston in Norfolk differ from other examples of this particular place-name compound in being borne by prosperous settlements.

At the opposite end of the scale we find a few Grimston-hybrid names which, although they appear in Domesday Book, have extremely low valuations, for example in Norfolk Clipstone House (marking the site of a deserted village) containing *Klyppr*, Kettlestone containing *Ketil*, an unlocated *Naruestuna* containing *Narfī*, and possibly two neighbouring settlements, a Thuxton containing *Púrir* and a lost *Turstanestuna* containing Anglo-Scandinavian *Purstān*. In Suffolk there are rather more Grimston-names with very low valuations: Colston containing *Kolr*, Grimston Hall containing *Grímr*, a lost *Ingoluestuna* containing *Ingulfr*, a

lost *Kalletuna* containing *Kalli*, a lost *Torstuna* containing *Þúrir*, a lost *Turstanestuna* containing Anglo-Scandinavian *Þurstān*, and finally three settlements in the Shotley peninsula: a lost *Turchetlestuna*, centred on Shotley Hall Farm, containing *Purketil*, a lost place Guston in Kirton containing *Guthir*, and a lost *Turstanestona* containing Anglo-Scandinavian *Þurstān*. The comparatively great frequency of occurrence of unlocated settlements in this group of names may well simply be because the enormous amount of information compressed into Little Domesday Book meant that the material here never reached the state of full completion achieved by the counties treated in Great Domesday Book but it is more likely because the scribes of Little Domesday Book were more actively concerned with changes that had taken place in the pattern of landholding after the Norman Conquest (Warner 1996, 178–80). We cannot date the formation of many of the Nordic place-names more closely than to between the first Danish settlements in the ninth century and their first recording in Little Domesday Book but it seems likely that the many small plots of land and their names were probably quite young. In her interesting study of the names in the Shotley peninsula Sylvia Laverton (2001, 84) suggests that the grant to *Purketil* must have been established before *c.*1000 because the personal name is found here in its uncontracted form—i.e. *-ketil* rather than the shortened *-kel*, which by that time seems to have been common in Denmark. In East Anglia, however, the uncontracted forms of the names in *-ketil* continued in use long after *-kel* had become the usual form in Denmark. (Further north in the Danelaw contracted forms are found in several place-names and may have been carried there by Danes who continued to arrive long after English rule had been re-established in northern and eastern England.) It would be more correct to say that the dating of *Turchetlestuna* can possibly, but need not necessarily, go back to before *c.*1000.

Nordic personal names certainly remained in use in East Anglia long after English rule had been restored, often in anglicized forms or with spellings more conservative than those commonly found further north in the Danelaw. To give some idea of the linguistic situation in East Anglia in the eleventh century I have looked closely at a specimen group of Nordic

personal names borne by the tenants of holdings in Norfolk and Suffolk at the times of both King Edward and King William, including names occurring during what Warner (1996, 179) refers to as a period after the Conquest marked by both legal disputes and petty squabbles.

The names I have chosen to look at are the compound names in *-ketil*, taking these in alphabetical order.

Arnketil does not seem to have been popular in East Anglia. The only record I found of it in LDB was of *Archillus*, a freeman in Aldeburgh Suffolk, probably a Dane *Tempore regis Edwardi* (TRE) 316a;6/130. The name in this contracted Danish form was fairly common in the Danelaw, while the uncontracted forms make a couple of appearances in Herefordshire and Shropshire (Feilitzen 1937, 163).

Ásketil. The uncontracted form in Domesday Book in East Anglia always shows anglicized *Ōs-*. In Suffolk a free man named *Osketel* held Uggeshall as a manor and there is a reference to another man, *Osketellus* the priest, who held land in this place TRE 299b;4/14. Other men of the same name with spellings varying between *Osketel* and *Osketellus* and once *Oschetel* are described as free men. One *Osketellus* in Chediston is described as *villanus* ‘a villager’ *Tempore regis Willelmi* (TRW) 444b;68/3. There are two references to men with the uncontracted form of the name in Norfolk: *Osketel*, a free man in Moulton St Michael TRE 273a;65/13 and *Oschetel prepositus regis*, who removed a house from Forngett in an annexation TRW 280a;66/106. This latter reference, however, would seem to be an incorrect form of the name of the king’s reeve known elsewhere as *Ulketel* (cf. below). These are essentially English name-forms.

In Suffolk a man with the contracted form of the name *Aschil* held Badley as a manor TRE 393a;25/53. With his Danish-style name, he may be identical with the *Aschilli huscarli* (genitive) who held Grundisburgh and would have been one of King Harold’s guards TRE 441b;67/10. The most commonly occurring forms of the name in East Anglia are the typically Norman ones. In Suffolk *Ansketillus presbyter* held one carucate of land in Darsham TRE 334b;7/36. The same entry notes that *Ansketillus* the chaplain of Roger Bigot, the sheriff and the tenant-in-chief here, held

all of the land that had been held by William Malet on the day of his death TRW. This cleric may have been a Norman, although he might conceivably be identical with the *Osketellus* the priest mentioned above as holding land in Uggeshall and generally taken to be an Englishman. Also in Suffolk men called *Anschetillus* held land in Heveringham TRW 332a;7/13 and Bricett TRW 422b;38/8, while men with names of the same form held land in Norfolk in Swannington TRW 147b;432 and Harling TRW 149b;4/44. *Anschetelus* the reeve held land in Melton Constable TRW 198a;10/58 and *Anschetel filius Uspaci* held land in Barningham TRW 279b;66/99. It is possible that some of these Normanized name-forms were borne by Normans, although it is conceivable that the man from Barningham was the son of a free man *Unspati* (genitive) who held land in Antingham not far from Barningham TRW 185a;9/150. The father's name is an anglicized form of the Nordic name *Óspakr* (Feilitzen 1937, 340). The occurrence in Suffolk of the form *Anschillus* employed of a freeman who held land in Bricett TRE 405b;30/3 and again when his land was subject to annexation TRW 448b;76/14 may reflect an error. The first element of the name is Normanized but the second element is not a form that would normally occur in Normandy. The spellings may both refer to the tenant in Bricett TRW who is called *Anschetillus*, as noted above.

Grímketil. There is only one occurrence of this name in Little Domesday Book. A freeman called *Grimketel* held 30 acres of land in Mundesley in Norfolk TRE 171a;8/123. This particular name may possibly have arisen in England. The contracted form *Grímkell*, however, is borne by one of the original settlers in Iceland and this form became fairly frequent in West Scandinavian sources (Lind 1905–15, 358–59). It also occurs twice in runes as the name of a moneyer of King Cnut in Lund **krimkil** and **krimk-l** (DR coins 45 and 48; DgP 397). Michael Lerche Nielsen (1997, 74–78) has noted that two-thirds of the names of the moneyers working in runes in Lund in the period 1065–74 are also borne by moneyers working in contemporary English mints. The English moneyer **Grimcetel**, **Grimcytel** was certainly active in Lincoln under Cnut (Smart 1981, 43; 1992, 71).

Purketil. All the forms of this name occurring in Little Domesday Book in East Anglia are found with the first syllable spelt as *Tur-*. This spelling is also the most common one in Great Domesday Book, although spellings in *Tor-* do occur there (Feilitzen 1937, 394–95). The form *Turchetel* spelt thus occurs twelve times of a freeman holding land TRE in the fief of the Norman Hermer of Ferrers in Norfolk and in Islington this *Turchetel* was still holding it TRW 207a;13/13. Probably all these references are to the same man and this may also be true of two other references to a freeman called *Turchetel* and one to a *Turketel* elsewhere in Norfolk. For some useful information about the forms of the names borne by the Norfolk tenants reference can be made to Insley (1994, 415). In Suffolk there are two references to a freeman called *Turchetel* as well as one called *Turketel* and a rather special entry saying that the king had thirty freemen holding land in the hundred of Claydon, one of whom was called *Turchetel* TRW 446b;74/13. All these men seem most likely to be of English descent. There are also, however, twelve references in Norfolk and six in Suffolk to men called *Turchillus*, whose names seem to be Danish in form. Many of these are referred to as freemen and a few of the bearers can be identified with each other, for example four entries referring to men holding land in the fief of William of Écouis. One freeman called *Turchillus* held land in Crimplasham in Norfolk TRW 230b;21/3. Another reference under the fief of William of Écouis in Norfolk is to a man called *Turkil haco* TRE 223b;19/21 and John Insley (1994, 185) has confirmed that *Haco* is the Latinized form of Nordic *Hákon*. It seems that this *Turkil* was of Danish origin, perhaps a descendant of a follower of Cnut. In Suffolk there are two other men called *Turchillus* who are rescued from semi-anonymity in Little Domesday Book. In Wrentham it is noted that a freeman called *Turchillus* held two carucates of land as a manor TRE 399a;26/12a. He was presumably identical with the *Turkil de UVereteham* who is named in a comment on annexation of land and said to have belonged to *Edric*, who had also held land in Wrentham TRW 400a;16/12d. Finally *Turchillus teinnus*, a thane of King Edward, is said to have held land in Burstall TRE 417a;34/7.

Ulfketil. This name occurs frequently in East Anglia, more so in Norfolk than in Suffolk, and it is not certain how many men altogether bore this name. It is striking that no instances occur here of the contracted form of the name. This is perhaps because the name actually arose in the English Danelaw so that there was less likelihood of the contracted form being brought to East Anglia after the Danes had ceased to control the region. There are only three examples of the survival of the *f* in the first syllable of the Nordic name. It is spelt twice erroneously in Norfolk as *Of-* in *Ofchetel*, once as the name of a freeman in Lexham TRE 165a;8/63, and once as the name of the king's reeve in one of the late annexations TRW 279b;66/106. This man is probably to be identified with the *Oschetel* discussed above. The only occurrence of the actual spelling *Ulfketel* is in Suffolk, where it is said that a freeman of that name held twenty-four acres in Heveningham under the patronage of *Vlf*. I wonder whether it might not be the coincidence that the man holding patronage was called *Ulf* that led to the survival of the *f* in *Ulfketel*'s name in this entry TRE 334a;7/27. There are very frequent occurrences of the forms *Ulketel* and *Ulchetel* TRE as the names of freemen in Norfolk, as well as one of *Olketel* TRE 260a;35/16. One *Vlchetel* was one of the minor tenants-in-chief listed towards the end of the Norfolk record TRE 270b;58/1–3. Many of the occurrences of the name are in connection with holdings in the fief of the Norman Roger Bigot, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk 1086, and in several cases *Ulchetel* held land both TRE and TRW 176a;9.33–42. The same man had certainly also held some land in Suffolk, where, as mentioned above, he is also known to have acted as the king's reeve. There are several more references to this man as the king's reeve in Norfolk TRE 176b;9/49, 177a;9/50, 152;9/52, 177a;9/55. Since the king's reeves acted as Crown prosecutors at the hundredal courts, they were given much work to do as a result of the many forfeitures. Looking after the forfeited land for the king would seem to have been a profitable occupation for the reeves, particularly in East Anglia, which has been shown to be among the most litigious regions, one where money was up for grabs so to speak.

The variation in the Domesday orthography of these Nordic personal names must somehow reflect the mixed linguistic environment of eleventh-century East Anglia. I should like to close my paper with some comments on a rather intriguing entry in Little Domesday Book. The entry about Strickland in Suffolk is found in LDB 334b–335a;7/37 and is in the hand of Scribe 2, one of the two text-scribes who seem to have enjoyed a status superior to that of their fellow scribes at the writing-centre in East Anglia responsible for the production of this source (Rumble 1985, 43; 1987, 92). In his discussion of the Yoxford manors in Suffolk Norman Scarfe (1986, 151) noted that the sheriff of Suffolk Roger Bigot planted in control of eighty acres of land in Strickland that had come into King William's hands two freemen called *Cus* and *Akile sufreint* TRW 334b;7/37, the latter of whom Scarfe thought sounded like an eighteenth-century French admiral, while I had for some reason always thought of him as a character mentioned in a French translation of Sophocles' play *Philoctetes*.

Peter Warner commented that some of the freemen employed by Roger Bigot bear Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian names (1996, 192). Among these he includes *Cus* and *Akile Sufreint*. *Cus* may be identical with a man of this name who is recorded as holding land in Cransford in Norfolk TRE 307b;6/44. Von Feilitzen (1937, 219–20) argued that the name is Germanic and probably to be associated with the base *kūs-* in a number of Low German and Scandinavian words with the primary sense of 'something big, thick, clumsy' and hence to be compared with an Old English weak personal name *Cusa* and an Old Danish personal name and byname *Kuse* 'bogeyman' (DgP I, 807, II, 633) but also with the Old Norwegian strong byname *Kúss* recorded in the fourteenth century and associated by Lind (1920–21, 227) with the word *kus* meaning 'hump'. Von Feilitzen consequently concludes that the name may be either English or Nordic and I agree.

The name of the second freeman in Strickland is quite a different kettle of fish. He bears the name-combination *Akile sufreint* which is not treated by von Feilitzen because it only occurs TRW but von Feilitzen does treat a few occurrences of a form *Achil* in Great Domesday Book, namely in

Wiltshire TRE 73c;66/7, in Worcestershire TRE 177c;26/6 and in Staffordshire TRE 248b;11/8. Here he assumes that the references are to a man called *Aki*, perhaps because an inorganic final *l* is found in the names of men called *Aki* in a copy of the original returns for Cambridgeshire (Feilitzen 1937, 81–82). As there were no certain forms of *Aki* showing this inverted spelling in LDB, I was slightly reluctant to look upon the forename here as *Aki* but more light was thrown upon the problem by Chris Lewis’s enlightening comment during the discussion of my paper in Norwich that the *Achil* forms in Little Domesday and the *Achil(lus)* in the copy of the Cambridgeshire returns almost certainly refer to the man called *Aki* who is given the byname *danaus* (probably for *danus* ‘the Dane’) in the entry for Barrington in Cambridgeshire in these returns (Lewis forthcoming). Lewis notes that the byname would seem to be a deliberate misspelling of *danus* ‘the Dane’, since classical Latin *danaus* meaning ‘the Greek’, from the name of the mythical founder of Argos, was frequently used of the Greeks during the siege of Troy. For an aged onomast like me the quotation ‘Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes’ meaning ‘I fear the Greeks even when they are bearing gifts’ is engraved on my heart from Latin classes at school. Younger onomasts may well remember it from reading *Asterix* or watching *Yes, Minister*. Lewis suggests that the scribe of the copy of the Cambridgeshire returns, writing his text in the later twelfth century, when classical learning was spreading widely, transformed *Aki* the Dane (*Achi danus*) into Achilles the Greek (*Achillus danaus*). This *Aki* had been a housecarl of both Edward the Confessor and Harold Godwinson and was obviously a man of some wealth, possessing lands in nine shires between Wiltshire and the Suffolk coast, much of the property possibly acquired in connection with services to royal officials such as the sheriffs.

In the light of the occurrence of the obviously Old French adjective *sufreint*, modern French *souffrant* ‘suffering, enduring’ in Little Domesday Book, I should like to treat the whole name-combination **Achille sufreint* as a French forename + byname used humorously by the late-eleventh-century Norman French scribe 2 in LDB of a man considered as being inclined to sulk, rather like Achilles refusing to go into battle in Homer’s *Iliad*. This would of course require that the LDB scribe or his source of

information was familiar with the story of Troy in one of the Latin versions current in the eleventh century. It seems reasonable to assume that the freeman *Akile sufreint* is identical with the prosperous Aki the Dane and hence that the name-combination was already familiar in East Anglia around 1086–87, although it is perhaps strange to find the prosperous Aki the Dane concerning himself with the shared administration of a mere eighty acres of land.

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- TRE = *Tempore Regis Edwardi* ‘in the time of King Edward’, i.e. 1066 or earlier.
- TRW = *Tempore Regis Willelmi* ‘in the time of King William’, i.e. between 1066 and 1086.
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