THE OLDEST KNOWN LIST OF
SCANDINAVIAN NAMES.

BY JÓN STEFANSSON, PH.D., Hon. District Secretary for Iceland.

The list of names which I am about to bring to your notice was found in a vellum codex of the Gospels in Latin, in the Library of York Minster. The MS., size 10½ inches by 8½, was written about the middle of the tenth century. On the last leaf of the MS. is a Bidding Prayer in a later hand, the oldest of its kind in English, which has been published by the Rev. T. F. Simmons in "The Lay Folks Mass Book," London, 1879, Early English Text Society. Under this Prayer, in a contemporary hand, is the list of names given here. It consists of twelve lines, the last three of which are somewhat damaged. The ending -er, presbyter (priest) and clericus are abbreviated in the MS.

A facsimile of the original and a full transcript are given on the preceding pages; upon these we now proceed to comment.

These are the Bondsmen of Elfric. According to the Northumbrian priestlaw a priest, on election, must be supported by twelve bondsmen or fide-jussors, as a security that he would observe the laws. Elfric, who was elected Archbishop of York in 1023, is supported here by no less than 70 men, guaranteeing his good behaviour. The fester- in "frestermen" seems due to Norse "festar-," in compounds "pledged," "having given troth;" for the Old English "fester-" means throughout "foster-," e.g., in "fester-fæder," "fester-modor," except in this word. The place-names seem to

Not counting the mutilated names with which lines 10 and 11 begin, there are 76 names, some of which occur more than once, Alfcetel (2), Asmund (2), Grim (2), Ulf (2), Ulfctel (2), Ascetel (2), Grincetel (4).

Prof. G. Stephens, of Copenhagen, published this list of names in a Danish periodical in 1881, without attempting to identify any of them.

ADSCORL. Old English. According to Searle it only occurs once in Old English literature.

AILAF. Old Norse Eilífr. On Danish Runic Stones: Ailaif. Saxo: Eliuus. Necrologium Lundense: Elífr, but Elauns as late as the fourteenth century in Denmark. Domesday Book: Elaf (8),1 Eilaf (7). in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Liber Vitae: Aeliaf, Eilafl. Eilafl occurs on coins in the tenth century (Grueber),2 and William the Conqueror has a housecarle of that name in A.D. 1075. The name is sometimes anglicised as Eglaf, a Danish chieftain in A.D. 1009 (Sym.), and Eglaf who witnesses Cnut's charters in 1023, and four years earlier is called Eilaf (Birch). Eylafl, a Dane, occurs in the A.S. Chron. 1025. Eileifr, Eiláfr, the prototypes of this name, are not recorded in literature, but must have existed. In Norwegian place-names the name appears as Ellev-, Elles-, Els-, and is thus common to Denmark and Norway.


ARCETEL. Old Norse Arnketill. The shortening of ketill to kill seems to have taken place very early.

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1 These figures give the number of persons in D.B. of this name.
2 For list of authorities, references, and abbreviations see at the end.
in Denmark. Danish coins of the eleventh century have Arkil, while the "Reichenau Necrolgium," end of the tenth century, containing names of pilgrims from all over the North, has Arnkil side by side with the Norwegian Icelandic Arnchetil, and with Aercil, probably a Dane. Still earlier, the Arkil of the "Liber Vitae" shows how early this slurring took place among the Danes in England. The Old Swedish is Arkil. Danish-Swedish -kil, -kel, correspond to Icelandic-Norwegian -ketill, as Konráð Gíslason has shown.

He has proved that the Norse names ending in -kell ended in -ketill as late as the early part of the eleventh century. Taking the Scaldic verse of that time, -ketill is the established form in Norwegian and Icelandic names, while Thorkel the High, a Danish chieftain, appears as Þorkell, and a Swedish king as Steinkell. This is conclusive evidence that the nine men in the list whose names end in -cetel were Norwegians, while Cetel by itself is more doubtful, though not apparently found as a man's name in Old Danish. That the Arkitel of a charter A.D. 958 and the Arcytel in Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus," A.D. 975, were Norwegians, while the Arcil who appears often in Birch's "Cartularium," A.D. 960-990, was a Dane, is a legitimate conclusion from the above. A number of Norwegians helped the Danes to conquer England. It is true that the Danish form Archil preponderates in Domesday Book (50 Archil, Archel, to 4 Archetel), but the Conquest of England was by no means purely Danish. Part of the names of the settlers recorded in Domesday Book are purely Norwegian. Arketel appears in the Lincolnshire Hundred Rolls. Later on the Danish form predominates. Wm. Arkill is found in 4 Ed. II., Joh. Arcle in 34 Hen. VI. Arksey (Yorkshire, W.R.), Arkletown, Arkleside, Arkleby, Arkilgarthdale, are place-names which testify to the popularity of the name.

Arner. O.N. Arnór, Arnþórr, see Arðor. Arnestorp (2), Yorkshire, D.B., now Arnold, Arnall (Kirkby).
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ARÐOR. O.N. Arnþórr, Arndórr. The n is dropped as in Arcetel and in Aregrim, D.B. (Arngrímr). In Denmark and Norway r is assimilated to n in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—N.L.: Andor; “Diplomatarium Norvegicum”: Arndor, Andor. Domesday Book has Artor (5), which the editor, Ellis, takes to be King Arthur’s name.

ARÐOLF. One Ardulfus is settled in Leicestershire, D.B., and Ardulfestorp is also found there. A Scandinavian Arðólfr, from arðr, plough, and úlfr, is not recorded in literature, but according to Searle Arðolf is not a Saxon name.

Icelandic-Norwegian names beginning with as- correspond to names beginning in es- in Danish-Swedish. Three of these occur; none of them in the Danish form.

ASBEORN. Old Norse Æsbjörn. Danish Esber through-out (place-names, coins, Saxo, N.L.), the mutation of e to eo, jö, being unknown. In the charters and in Domesday Book only the Danish Esbern (6) occurs, while Esbearn, D.B., seems a clumsy attempt by a Dane to approach the Norse form. The Osbern of Florentius Wigornensis, A.D. 1117, is an anglicisation of the Danish. Symeon of Durham calls him Esbern in 1129. Earl Osbearn, A.S. Chron., who was killed in 871, is an attempt to anglicise Æsbjörn, the Norwegian form. Esbernebi is a place in Lincolnshire, D.B.

ASCETEL. O.N. Æsketill. Danish forms appear side by side with the Norse in the Liber Vitæ of Durham as early as the ninth century: Danish: Aeskyl, Askill, Askil, Eskil; Norse: Aeskitil, Askillass, Anscetill. Aeskitil seems to be an attempt to combine the Norse and Danish forms. Anscetill is an anglicised form of the name, Saxon ans corresponding to Norse ás, and Anschetellus occurs frequently in the Pipe Rolls throughout the twelfth century, e.g., four times in 1131. A monk called Askillass witnesses a charter in A.D. 851. Saxo uses Eskillus; and so does Necrologium Lundense, though Askel occurs. Reichenau uses both: Eskil,
Aschil. D.B.: 40 Aschil, 60 Anschtiti(l), 13 Anschetillus, 1 Anschetellus, 4 Aschil. Thus, out of 118 persons bearing the name 74 are Norwegians, if the rule about ketill, kell holds good, and if we grant that A(n)s- takes the place of Es- in Danish names, in this case. Place-names: Aschilebi (4) D.B., Askelby, Kb., Asselby now. Ascheltorp, Hasse(Has)thorp, Kb., Haisthorpe now. Norwegian.

Asmund. O.N. Ásmundr. Common to Denmark and Norway. Asmund(us): earliest Danish coins and Saxo, though Osmundus is found in the twelfth century, N.L. In Norway in the “Diplomatarius Norvegicum” we find Aasmund, Osmund. The usual Domesday Book form is Osmundus (40-50), but already then, 1086, the slurred Assemannus occurs. Asmundrebi, D.B., Asmunderby, Kb., Aismunderby now, shows the genitive mark. Asmundrelac, D.B. (Ásmundarlækkr), also in Yorkshire. Osmunderley, 1285, Kb., now Osmotherley. If the “Asman” found on English tenth century coins is a slurring of Ásmundr, it is one more proof that changes in names took place earlier and more rapidly in the Viking colonies than in the motherland.

Auðketi. O.N. Auðketill. Norwegian. Rare. This had become Auðkell in Norway by A.D. 1100, and is only found in one place-name, Ökels-rud, in Dip. Norv.


Beorn. O.N. Björn, Beorn (bear). The Anglo-Saxon beorn, warrior, which occurs only in poetry and only after the Danish settlement, seems to be borrowed, as the A.S. word for bear is bera, masculine. The earliest instance of the name in England is Beorn the Abbot, in a charter of A.D. 758. In the next century the “Liber Vitae” has Beorn, while Domesday Book, 1086, has Bern (4), the
Danish form of the name. Cp. Esbern. The "Biorn" on Danish coins of the 11th century and in Saxo may be borrowed. Lord Byron's name is one of the forms of this name. Roger de Burun, P.R., 1156; Rob. de Burun, Lincolnshire, 1185. Baren, 1285, Kb. Among the freemen of York in 1378 are: Roger de Beronby, Hugo Byren, Thomas Byrne, Joh. Bryone. John le Burun or Byron lives in Lincolnshire in 1383, Thomas Barn in York in 1414. D.B. has 8 Barnebi and 2 Bernebi. Gilebert de Barnebi, Fines about a.d. 1200; Kb. 1285: Wm. de Barneby, Thomas de Barneby, Rob. de Berneby, also called Rob. Barmy. Place-names, Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae: Barneby, Barnby-upon-Don. Barneburg, Bereston, D.B. Barne- may be Bjarnar-, genitive of Bjørn or Bjarna-, genitive of Bjarni.

BERHÓR. O.N. Berghórr. Bertor, D.B. In Norway, Berdor about 1400, Bergdorsætr, 1345. It is probable that Bertor on English coins (Keary), is a slurring of this name. Norwegian.

BLIH. O.N. Blígr, used as a nickname. In Norwegian place-names Blikstad, Blikset. Unknown in Denmark.¹

BRETÉCOL. Bratt(i)-kollr, an O.N. nickname (?) Cp. Breteby, Brettegate, Kb.

CETEL. O.N. Ketill. D.B.: Ketel, Cetil, Chetel (102 in all). Ketel in a charter of the tenth century (Kemble). Ketel in L.V. ninth century. A moneyer of Henry II. is called Ketil, while Ketil appears as late as 1439. The transition from old to new forms may be seen in Chetelestorp, D.B.—Ketolthorpe, Kb.—Kettlethorpe, now. The name is common to Denmark and Norway. Chetellus, 1123, Round and P.R. 1131. Paulinus Ketil witnesses a Yorkshire deed in 1302. Of 3 Chetelbi in Lincolnshire, D.B., one becomes Ketsby, another Kettleby. The genitive is usual, Chetelesbi, Lincolnshire, Chetelestorp (2) and Chetelesness (Kettle- ness, N.R.), Yorkshire, Chetelestune, Derby, Chetelescote.

¹ Wm. Bligh, a.d. 1200, Pipe Rolls, Notts. Blye and Blie occur often in the reign of Ed. I.

EASTAN is Saxon. O.N. Eysteinn takes the form Eastan in a charter of 995 (Kemble).

EDRIC (corresponding to O.N. Heiðreki), ELEWIN, ELNOÐ, ELWEGGA are all Saxon.

FARÐAIN is only found once, Fardan, Fardain, in D.B. Farþagn, which occurs four times in the Dip. Norv. is the Norse form; Farþein, on coins, eleventh century, Farthin, N.L., are the Danish forms. It seems to mean a trader. Compare the name Farman in D.B. O.N., far-mañ(-mann), with the same meaning.


FOLCRIĆ corresponds to Fôlkrekr, not found in Scandinavia.

FORNA. O.N. Forni. Forno in a charter (Birch), 958. Forne in D.B. (6-8). Norway (Fornebu) and Denmark (Fornælef). Transition: Fornetorp, D.B., one in E. Riding, Yorkshire, now Thornthorp, one in W. Riding and one in N. Riding. Forne: Grueber and P.R., 1131.

diminutive of Game,” which almost beats Freeman’s suggestion that Anand is a corruption of Amund.

**GODWINE.** Saxon, corresponding to O.N. Guðini, Guðni.

**GRIM.** O.N. Grímr. Grim dux in a charter of 930 (Birch). The “Liber Vitae” preserves the nominative—
r: Grimer. Denmark: coins, eleventh century, Reich. and Saxo: Grim. D.B.: Grim (40); Grimesbi, P.R., 1169.

**GRIMCETEL.** O.N. Grímketill. D.B.: Grimchel(-chil), 2; Grinchel(-chil), 30; Grinchetel, 2. Grimchel is a parallel change in the name to Grinkel(l) in Norway (Dip. Norv.). But P.R. has Grinchell in 1131 and Grimkil in 1169. Danish: eleventh century coins and Reich.: Grimkil. A Grimkil was bishop of Selsey, 1039-1047. Grimkytele, dative, c. 1010 in the Crawford Charters.


**HÁWER.** O.N. Hávarr, Hávarðr. In two charters of A.D. 931 the same man is called Haward dux and Hawerd dux. D.B.: Hauuard(t), 7, all in Yorkshire. Haiward, 1170, Round. Haiwardho Wapentac, Lincolnshire, P.R.,

IOLUARÓ. Not found in Scandinavia, cp. Jól-geirr. Iulfeth, Grueber, temp. Ed. III.

JUSTAN. O.N. Jósteinn. D.B.: Iustan, Justin (4). Justin, a Viking leader with Olaf Tryggvisson in 991, A.S. Chron., called Justin by Symeon of Durham. He was probably a Dane, as Danish ju—Norwegian jó.


LEOFNOÐ. Anglo-Saxon.


RAGANALD. O.N. Rögnvaldr. D.B.: Ragenald (7), Ragenalt (1), Rainald (108), Raynald (7), Reinald (3), Reinold (1), Renold (2), Renald (2), Raenold (1). Northumbrian coins: Racnolt; Raineralt, king 919-921; Recnald, king 943-944. Regnwald A.D. 932 (Birch). Raginaldus in P.R., 1131, Lincolnshire. Ragnaldr is
the Norwegian form, to judge from place-names, while
the a in Ragn- is weakened to Regn- in Denmark.
N.L.: Regnwaldus; Saxo: Regnaldus.

Roc. D.B.: Roc (1), Rochebi (Rokeby), Yorkshire;
Rochesha (2), Lincolnshire. If Saxo's Roker represents
an O.N. Rokkr, the name may be O.N.

Roscetel. O.N. Hrossketill. D.B.: Roschil, Roschel
(7), Ruscil (1); Roscheltorp, W.R. Norwegian.

Roser. Obscure. O.N. Ræsr (?)

Ræuen. O.N. Rafn. D.B.: Rauen (11), Rauan (1);
Rafan: "Liber Vitæ"; Ræfn: a.d. 950 (Grueber). In
Denmark v(u) takes the place of f early, and Saxo's
Rafnus is merely an archaism. Ravnstrup (Rafns-torp).
English place-names: Rauen(e)dal(e), 6, Lincolnshire,
D.B. Rauenestorp: Northampton (3), Leicestershire
(1), Yorkshire (2), but also Rauenestorp, Yorkshire.
Rauenesuuet (Rafns-veit), Yorkshire, Ravenswath in
Kirkby, Ravensworth now. Ravenser (Rafns-eyrr) and
Ravenser Odd, two lost towns on the Humber, mentioned
the last time in 1303.

Sæfug(o)l. Sæfugul (Grueber), but not found
elsewhere.

Siuerð. O.N. Sigurðr. D.B.: Siuuard (200), Siuerd
(2), Siuert (2). Sieuert, Siefred, Northumbrian coins,
a.d. 894-98. Siuuardus, L.V.; Siwardus, abbot in 806,
833, 868 (Birch); Earl Siward Digera died 1055 (Symeon);
Siward, P.R. throughout. The slurring of g to w is Danish.
Early Danish coins: Sivord, Sigvard; Saxo: Siuard;
Reich.: Siwart. Place-names: Siwarbi, D.B.; Sywardby,
Kb, 1285; Siwardeby, 1316, N.V.; Seuerdby, Knights'
Fees in Holderness, Sewerby now. Siwarbi, Yorkshire
W.R.; Siwardbi, Yorkshire W.R., E.R.; Siwartorp, W.R.

Snel. O.N. Snjallr, adjective, used in Denmark as
a name, without mutation, Snell, Snaelleröd (place-name):
Snielle, Snielle, N.L. A Snel occurs in charters of 995
(Birch, K.C.D.), also on coins in the reign of Athelstan.
Snellestune (2), Derby, D.B.; Snelleslounde, Lincolnshire.
Inquis. Non. 14 Ed. III.


UNBAIN. D.B.: Unban (1); Grueber: Unbein.


WULFRIC. D.B.: Ulwric (115), Ulric (3). Early Danish coins: Ulfric; Reich.: Wolewric.

POLF. O.N. Þólfir, þórfólfir. D.B.: Tolf (2), Tol dacus (the Dane) 1, Thol (1). Þulfr in Norway on Runic Stones, and þolfr, late fourteenth century. Tolvstad and Tolsby, in the fourteenth century Þolfsby. Compare Tolsa in N. Lewis with Tolvstad. The name is not found in Denmark. Tolesbi, Tollesbi, Yorkshire, D.B., and Tollestone, Notts., D.B., may be derived from Þolleiffr or Þolfr, but Toltorp, Northampton, and Tholthorpe, Yorkshire, are from the latter. Tole (Tolli, Þolleiffr) occurs in the "Liber Vitae."

ÞÓR. O.N. þórir. D.B.: Tor (38), all in Yorkshire except 4 in Lincolnshire, 2 Northampton, 1 Norfolk; also Thori, Tori, Thure, Thuri. L.V.: Thor, Ture, Thure,
Thuro, Thore, Tori. The number of "Thor," without a final e or i, is so large that it almost looks as if the name of the god had been appropriated. Yet it is hardly credible. A grant by King Edgar to the Archbishop of York in A.D. 958 is witnessed by Þor (Birch). Thurorstorp, Lincolnshire, D.B. Toresbi, 7 in Lincolnshire, 2 in Yorkshire. Turesbi, now Thoresby, Notts. Toreswe (þórs-vé), Lincolnshire (2); Thoreswaia, temp. Hen. II., Thoresway now.


The following are some of the most archaic of the Old Norse names in the "Liber Vitæ" of Durham (the oldest part of which is written 840-900), not in the York list:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alaf, Olafar, Olif</td>
<td>Áláfr, Ólafr, Óleifr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arni</td>
<td>Árni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audœnus, Óuðen</td>
<td>Auðunn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azer, Ascer, Asor</td>
<td>Ossur (Asser, Dan.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estret</td>
<td>Astríðr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berse</td>
<td>Berse(i).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boduwar</td>
<td>Bóðvar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colbain, Colben</td>
<td>Kolbeinn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eirc</td>
<td>Eiríkr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gisla</td>
<td>Gíslí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aldan</td>
<td>Hálfdáðn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halle</td>
<td>Halle(i).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aldstein</td>
<td>Hallsteinn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locchi</td>
<td>Loki.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leising</td>
<td>Leisingr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stein</td>
<td>Steinn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svarthhofthe</td>
<td>Svarthóðs(e)i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suain, Svein, Sweino, Suanus</td>
<td>Sveinn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Norwegians in Yorkshire who acted as guarantors to the Archbishop of York are more likely to be descended from families that had been settled there for some time than to be new comers. Eric Blood-axe, during his short and turbulent reign in the middle of the tenth century, is not likely to have brought fresh settlers from Norway.

Another Eric reigned at York, 1016-23, and only left in the year in which the present list of names was drawn up. Knút the Great made his brother-in-law, Eric Hákonarson of Norway, earl of Northumbria in 1016. Eric was married to Knút's sister, Gytha. His last signature to a charter appears in 1023. Knút, true to his policy of governing England according to English ideas, was cautiously substituting Englishmen for Norsemen in high places. In the charters of his reign Norse names gradually and year by year become less frequent. Eric was not outlawed, as Freeman states, who also calls him a Dane.

The probability is that the Norwegian settlers of Yorkshire formed part of the Danish armies that occupied the soil. It has been proved from place-names that the conquerors of Normandy were largely Danish, and the inference is that the Viking hosts of the West often contained an admixture of both nationalities, with one or the other preponderating.

The Life of St. Oswald, written about A.D. 1000, states expressly that the City of York had 30,000 inhabitants, children not being counted, and that most of its trade was carried on by Danes. The Danish predominance is clearly borne out by the fact that during the tenth century no less than three of the Archbishops of York were Danes, or at least of Danish parentage—Odo,
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Oskytel, and Oswald. When we remember that Halfdan and his Vikings settled in Northumbria in A.D. 867-870, we see how rapidly they adapted themselves to their new home. The City of York was the rival of London till the Conqueror devastated Northumbria and broke its power.

In the Charters printed by Kemble, Eirik Jarl’s name is given as Iric, Yric, Yrk, and in one (No. 740, Cod. Dipl.), through a clerical error, as Huc. In the A.S. Chronicle his name is once given as Eiric, otherwise Irce, Yric(e).

To show the prevalence of Scandinavian names at a much later date, I append a list of Scandinavian nicknames taken from a roll of the Freemen of York in 1378, which has been printed by the Surtees Society:—

| Joh. Mawer, magr, magri, lean. | Wm. Seper, seppr(i). |
| Wm. fielagh', fielagi. | — Thecar, pekkr. |
| Joh. Laafe, Láfi, lági. | Agnes Sprote, spoti. |
| J. Strowg, strúgr, strjúgr. | — Tote, tota. |
| J. Strenger, strengr. | Matilda Snere, snæri, snara. |
| J. Sturymyn, stórmunnr. | J. Balne, baldni. |
| Ric. Mundeson, Munda (i.e., Asmundar) són. | Ric. Bulmer, bólmr. |
| Thom. Trout, trauððr(i). | Wm. Od, Oddr. |

My best thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of York Minster and to the Librarian for their permission to photograph the names in the Gospel codex, and I am particularly indebted to Dr. G. A. Auden, Bootham, York, for his kind help in the matter.

The principal works consulted in preparing this paper (with abbreviations used in the text) are given below:—
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Domesday Book, ed. Ellis, about 1086. D.B.
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——— 1155-58, ed. Hunter, 1844.
——— 1158-75, pub. by the Pipe Roll Society, 17 vols., 1884-97.
——— 1183, ed. Grimaldi, 1830.
——— 1189-90, ed. Hunter, 1844.
——— 3 John (a.d. 1202), Rotuli Cancellarii, ed. Hunter, 1833.

Testa de Nevill siue liber feodorum in curia scaccarii, Hen. III.-Ed. I., or 1216-1307 (the bulk 1216-46, but numerous returns 1189-1216).

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T.E.A.
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——— — — — and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, 1284-1431, 3 vols.
——— Patent Rolls, 1281-1467.
——— Close Rolls, 1307-37.


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—— — — — regnante Johanne (1199-1216), Surtees Society, 1897. Fin.

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Charters of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries published by the North Riding Record Society.

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Rygh: Norske Gaardnavne, in progress.