

THE VIKINGS
AND THEIR VICTIMS:
THE VERDICT OF THE NAMES

By
GILLIAN FELLOWS-JENSEN

READER IN NAME STUDIES
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

*The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture
in Northern Studies
delivered at University College London
21 February 1994*

PUBLISHED FOR THE COLLEGE BY THE
VIKING SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH
LONDON

© UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON 1995
REPRINTED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM
1998

ISBN: 0 903521 39 3

THE VIKINGS
AND THEIR VICTIMS:
THE VERDICT OF THE NAMES

IN the Dorothea Coke memorial lecture delivered in 1986, Professor R. I. Page, that silver-haired master of silver-tongued vituperation, had to admit that he had been at a loss as to how to translate without resort to obscenity one of the many more or less obscene descriptions employed by the late tenth-century English chronicler Æthelweard of the late ninth-century Viking invaders.¹ The rather colourless result arrived at: *A most vile people*, was included in the title of his lecture on the radically differing views about the Vikings that were held by early historians. It is not, of course, surprising that the victims of Viking attacks considered their aggressors to be pagan barbarians, capable of every kind of deed of shame, nor that inscriptions on runestones in Scandinavia raised to the memory of Vikings who had died in action in the west praise the dead men as models of valour, liberality and loyalty.

Among the many inscriptions commemorating Swedes who died in England discussed by Professor Sven B. F. Jansson in his Dorothea Coke memorial lecture in 1965, for example, is that on the stone at Transjö in Småland, which was raised in the eleventh century by *Gaut* to his son *Ketil*, who is said to have been ‘among men the most un-dastard’ (*SRSm* 5).² Ketil’s English enemies may not have shared the opinion of his father but there certainly were Englishmen in the eleventh century who

¹ R. I. Page, ‘A Most Vile People’: *Early English Historians on The Vikings* (London, 1987), p. 1.

² Sven B. F. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England. The Evidence of the Rune Stones* (London, 1966), p. 9. References in the present paper to runestones in Sweden are to the series *Sveriges Runinskrifter* (Stockholm, 1900–) with the following abbreviations: *SRSm* = Småland, *SRSö* = Södermanland, *SRU* = Uppland.

could acknowledge the heroism and fidelity of the Vikings, even while describing the atrocities they had suffered at their hands.³

The English must have been only too conscious of the Scandinavian element in the population of their country. They knew that new waves of invading Vikings had sometimes received support from their fellow-countrymen already resident in the Danelaw. An English defeat in East Anglia in 1009, for example, is ascribed to the fact that a man called *Purcytel Myran hēafod* instigated the flight from the field of battle, leaving this in the possession of the Danes.⁴ *Purcytel* is an anglicised form of a typically Scandinavian personal name, *Porketil*, while *Myran hēafod* ‘mare’s head’ is an English by-name, perhaps a translation of Scandinavian **merarhofuð*, and almost certainly derogatory. Eleventh-century Englishmen also knew, however, that men bearing Scandinavian personal names could remain true to the English cause even in the face of Danish attack. The East Anglian levies whose defeat was brought about by *Purcytel*’s infamous flight were actually under the command of a man with the Scandinavian name *Ulfcytel* who had a long record of valiant behaviour in command of English forces and actually died fighting the Danes in yet another battle which was lost because of treachery among the English.⁵

With the passage of the centuries, Englishmen would seem to have forgotten the Viking contribution to the population of the country. The early seventeenth-century English antiquarian Richard Verstegan, whose Dutch descent made him very conscious of the Saxon origin of the English and whose view of the procreative ability of the Danes was hardly flattering, was of the opinion that the Danes ‘had so little time of quiet settling themselves in *England*, that they could leave but few of their posterity there’.⁶ As access to early accounts of the Viking raids became more general with their publication in the nineteenth century in

³ Page, ‘*A Most Vile People*’, pp. 26–27.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ASC)* E, s. a. 1009; here and below quoted from C. Plummer and J. Earle (eds), *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1892).

⁵ *ASC* D, s. a. 1016.

⁶ R. Verstegan, *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities. Concerning the most noble, and renowned English Nation* (Antwerp, 1605, reprinted London, 1653), pp. 237–38 in the printing of 1653.

the Rolls Series and elsewhere, English historians began once again to pay more attention to the events of the Viking period and their significance for the composition of the population of England. I am convinced that it is the knowledge that many of the invaders became our ancestors that has caused twentieth-century English historians to temper their language when describing the onslaughts of the Vikings.

In Scandinavia, a more wholeheartedly positive, not to say romantic, view of the Vikings has prevailed, based mainly on the Latin chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus and the magnificent vernacular sagas of Iceland. In recent years the three major exhibitions that have been devoted to the Vikings and the accompanying catalogues have served to enhance their image not only in their homelands but also in some of the lands that suffered most grievously at their hands a thousand years ago.⁷ At the same time, detailed research on the written sources and the employment of scientific methods in archaeology have contrived to bring about a revolution in Viking studies everywhere and to provide a more balanced and rounded picture of the life and times of the Vikings. Systematic studies of place- and personal names have made their own significant contribution to this new evaluation.

When King Alfred defeated the Danish king Guthrum at Edington in 878, a peace-agreement was concluded between them requiring that Guthrum, who was to remain king of East Anglia, should recognise Alfred as his overlord and that he and thirty of the most honourable men in his host should receive baptism. Alfred stood sponsor for Guthrum, who received the Christian and English name *Athelstan*.⁸ It would not, however, seem to have been normal for humbler Danes who were baptised in England to have assumed new names together with the new faith. If it had been so, then it would have been much more difficult for modern scholars to exploit the evidence of personal names and

⁷ Cf. J. Graham-Campbell and D. Kidd (eds), *The Vikings* (London, 1980); E. Roesdahl *et al.* (eds), *The Vikings in England* (London, 1981); E. Roesdahl and D. M. Wilson, *From Viking to Crusader, Scandinavia and Europe 800–1200* (Copenhagen, 1992).

⁸ ASC A, s. a. 878.

place-names as a source of information about patterns of Danish settlement there. There are still two major problems involved, however. The first was noted many years ago by J. R. R. Tolkien in connection with the name of the above-mentioned East Anglian commander *Ulfcytel*, whose career shows that ‘it could not be assumed that a man who bore a “Danish” name was (in whole or in part) of Scandinavian “blood” or language, or even of Danish sympathies’.⁹ It is normally difficult and sometimes impossible to know whether a man with a Scandinavian name who held land in England in the eleventh century, for example, was a follower of Cnut or his sons who had been granted the land in return for his services or a descendant of the Danes who had partitioned eastern England between themselves at the end of the ninth century.

The second problem is concerned with the dating of the coining of the Scandinavian place-names in England. For the majority of the settlement names in the Danelaw, the *terminus ante quem*, that is the date before which they must have been coined, is 1086—the date of the compilation of Domesday Book, in which they make their first written appearance. In most cases it can be difficult to push this date back any further and there is in fact evidence that some of the place-names recorded in Domesday Book are unlikely to have assumed the forms in which they occur in that source earlier than in the first half of the eleventh century. There survive a few pre-Conquest documents recording grants or confirmations of grants by Cnut to some of his housecarls.¹⁰ An original document dated 1024, for example, records the grant of Portisham in Dorset to *Orc*, Cnut’s minister (S 961),¹¹ and this grant and *Orc*’s status are confirmed by a surviving declaration of Edward the Confessor, that can be dated to between 1053 and 1058, to the effect that *Urk*, his housecarl, is to have his rights over the shore at this place (S 1063). In a grant of Edward

⁹ J. R. R. Tolkien, ‘English and Welsh’, in *Angles and Britons*, ed. H. Lewis (Cardiff, 1963), pp. 1–41, at pp. 9–10.

¹⁰ Noted by K. Mack, ‘Changing Thegns: Cnut’s Conquest and the English Aristocracy’, *Albion* 16:4 (1984), pp. 375–87, at p. 376.

¹¹ All references to Anglo-Saxon Charters are cited according to the S-number accorded to them in P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968).

to the same man dating from 1044, it was actually thought necessary to explain that *Orc* had borne this name from infancy according to the custom of his own race (S 1004). This shows that *Orc* was not of English birth.¹² His name is not a common one. The *Orcus* who is recorded as holding two hides of land in Merton in Surrey both in 1065 and 1086 (GDB 30rb; 1/5)¹³ can hardly be identical with the housecarl who had received a grant in 1024 but he may be one of his descendants. The name is probably a Scandinavian by-name referring to a man from Orkney, although the only certain occurrence of it outside England is in a patronymic in a runic inscription in Maeshowe in Orkney and this instance of *Orkasonr* might conceivably just be a play on the name *Orkahaugr* for Maeshowe.¹⁴

There are, of course, many other records of grants made by English kings to men with Scandinavian names but the grant to *Orc* and grants to a housecarl called *Bofi* of land in Horton in Dorset (S 969) and one called *Thurstan* of land in Chalkhill in Middlesex (S 1121) are particularly interesting because they reflect the transfer of land into the hands of men who can be assumed to have been of Scandinavian birth long after the original Danish partitions of land and outside the areas of dense Scandinavian settlement. These grants probably had a strategic value for the king.

The Scandinavian loanword in English *húskarl*, which was originally only used of the members of Cnut's *þingamannalið* later came to be used of other of the king's retainers and also of those of other great landowners,¹⁵ for example *Auti huscarle comitis Algari* in Bedfordshire (GDB 213rb; 23/20). The word *húskarl* was also taken into use as a personal name in England. Men

¹² Noted by F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), p. 576.

¹³ References to Domesday Book take the form of GDB for Greater Domesday Book and LDB for Little Domesday Book plus folio identification and the number ascribed to the relevant entry in the Phillimore edition or for Lincolnshire in C. W. Foster and T. Longley (eds), *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, Lincoln Record Society Volume 19 (Lincoln, 1924).

¹⁴ M. P. Barnes, 'Norwegian, Norn, Icelandic or West Norse? The Language of the Maeshowe Inscriptions', *Festskrift til Ottar Grønvik på 75-årsdagen den 21. oktober 1991*, ed. J. O. Askedal *et al.* (Oslo, 1991), pp. 70–87, at p. 74.

¹⁵ Cf. D. Hofmann, *Nordisch-Englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana XIV (Kopenhagen, 1955), § 342.

called *Huscarl(e)* held land in Surrey (GDB 36ra (2×); 21/6.7) and Cambridgeshire (GDB 195rb; 14/64). In addition, the name was taken over to Sweden, presumably by members of Cnut's army who did not wish to remain in England. A particularly interesting Swedish family erected a pair of runestones at Lingsberg in Uppland in the first half of the eleventh century (*SRU* 240–41).¹⁶ Three brothers named *Dan*, *Huskarl* and *Svein* set up both stones, one, in company with their mother *Holmfrith*, in memory of their father *Halfdan*, the other in memory of their father's father *Ulfrik*, who is said to have taken two gelda in England. The gelda in question were the tributes paid by Viking chieftains and by Cnut to their troops after successful campaigns in England. Some of the men took their payment and returned home with it, for example to Uppland, to become prosperous farmers who would be commemorated by the erection of rune-stones. One of them, *Alli*, took no chances and erected a stone in Vasby to himself while he was still alive, boasting that he had taken Cnut's payment (*SRU* 194). What makes the Lingsberg stones particularly interesting, however, is the nature of the personal names borne both by the men commemorated and by their descendants. Grandfather *Ulfrik*, the geld-taker, bears a name which is of very rare occurrence in Scandinavia¹⁷ and which does not seem to have been borne by any of the Danish settlers in England. The cognate Old English personal name *Wulfrīc*, however, is of very common occurrence in England, being borne by many of the pre-Conquest tenants in Domesday Book.¹⁸ I should like to suggest that the geld-taker was actually called *Wulfrīc* and that this name has been scandinavianised on the Swedish rune-stones. The problem then is to determine the original nationality of *Ulfrik*. It is perhaps most likely that he was a man of mixed descent, born in the Danelaw. His son was given a typically Danish name,

¹⁶ The Lingsberg stones have been discussed recently by Helmer Gustavson, *Runstenar i Vallentuna* (Vallentuna, 1991), pp. 88–93.

¹⁷ Cf. *Danmarks gamle Personnavne (DgP)* (Copenhagen, 1936–64), col. 1528; *SRU* 241; M. Olsen *et al.*, *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer* (Oslo, 1941–90), III. 146.

¹⁸ O. v. Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), pp. 323–24.



A rune-stone erected in the first half of the eleventh century at Lingsberg in Uppland by three brothers named Dan, Huskarl and Svein in memory of their father's father Ulfrik, who had taken two gelds in England (*SRU*241; copyright: Marit Åhlén, Runverket, Stockholm); cf. pp. 8–9.



A rune-stone erected in the first half of the eleventh century at Lingsberg in Uppland by the same three brothers, Dan, Huskarl and Svein, together with their mother Holmfrith, in memory of their father Halfdan (*SRU* 240; copyright: Marit Åhlén, Runverket, Stockholm); cf. pp. 8–9.

Halfdan, an original by-name meaning ‘half-Dane’ that was of comparatively frequent occurrence in the Danelaw, where it was often particularly appropriate.¹⁹ The Uppland *Halfdan* married a woman with a typically Swedish name, *Holmfrith*,²⁰ but their three sons were all given names with links to the Danelaw or Denmark. The name *Dan*, of course, may simply have been selected as a variation on *Halfdan* but it seems certain that *Huskarl* must reflect grandfather *Ulfrik*’s career in England, while the third name, *Svein*, which is of common occurrence all over Scandinavia, has the same meaning as *Huskarl* and thus fits stylistically with the other names of this family.²¹ The fact that it was the name of Cnut’s father, Svein Forkbeard, makes it also appropriate for a family with some of its roots in the Danelaw.

Another Uppland-family whose personal names reflect close links with the Danelaw is that of Ulf of Borresta. A rune-stone in Yttergårde records that *Ulf* took three gelda in England (*SRU* 344). *Ulf*’s eldest son was called *Ulfketil* (*SRU* 100, 160–61). There are a few other occurrences of the name *Ulfketil* in runic inscriptions in Sweden (*SRU* 479, 633) but it is otherwise of comparatively infrequent occurrence in Scandinavia. It was borne by one of the original settlers in Iceland whose nationality is doubtful²² and is not found elsewhere in the West Scandinavian area. The first recorded instance of the name in Denmark is the owner’s name *ulfkil* inscribed in runes on a walking-stick with a dragon’s-head handle found in Lund in Scania and dated by its ornamentation to *c.*1050.²³ This ornamentation is related to both the English Winchester style and the Scandinavian Ringerike

¹⁹ Feilitzen, *Personal Names of Domesday Book*, pp. 283–84; G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (SPNLY)*, Navnestudier 7 (Copenhagen, 1968), pp. 126–28.

²⁰ M. Lundgren and E. Brate, *Svenska Personnamn Från Medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1892–1915), p. 108; A. Janzen (ed.), *Personnavne*, Nordisk Kultur VII (København, Oslo, Stockholm, 1947), p. 79.

²¹ Noted by E. Wessén, *Nordiska namnstudier*. Uppsala Universitets Årskrift 1927 (Uppsala, 1927), pp. 13–14.

²² E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1905–15), col. 1053.

²³ Roesdahl and Wilson, *From Viking to Crusader*, item 19; E. Moltke, *Runes and their origin. Denmark and Elsewhere* (Copenhagen, 1985), pp. 472–73.

style. The name *Ulfkil* was also borne by a moneyer and goldsmith working in Lund in the eleventh century. Two silver brooches have been found bearing the inscription *ulfkililudan*, to be translated as ‘Ulfkil in Lund, Denmark’.²⁴ It is quite possible that both the walking-stick and the moneyer and goldsmith came to Lund from the Danelaw. I have earlier been tempted to believe that many of the moneyers’ names on eleventh-century Danish coins, some of which have been shown by Kristian Hald to be typical of the Danelaw,²⁵ may simply have been copied from coins from the Danelaw that were being employed as models in Denmark but the inscription on the silver brooches does rather suggest that a moneyer by the name of *Ulfkil* had come from the Danelaw and established himself as a goldsmith in Lund, for the addition of the distinguishing *Dan*, short for *Danmark*, to his trademark suggests a man who was conscious of the necessity of distinguishing the place of manufacture from London.

The name *Ulfketil* may well have arisen in the Danelaw in the tenth century and spread out from there to the various countries of Scandinavia.²⁶ One of my reasons for making this suggestion is that this name has a greater tendency to survive in its uncontracted form *Ulfketil* in the Danelaw than have names such as *Asketil* and *Thorketil*. These latter names came into competition there with the contracted forms *Askil* and *Thorkil*, which seem to have developed in Denmark about the year 1000 and to have arrived in England with the followers of Cnut.²⁷ Another reason for assuming a Danelaw origin for the name *Ulfketil* is that it is recorded much earlier and more frequently in England than in the Scandinavian homelands.

There are several reasons why the Vikings may have wished to return home. *The Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey*, a late twelfth-century compilation, relates how bishop Æthelric of Dorchester,

²⁴ M. Cinthio, ‘Myntverk och myntare i Lund’, *Kulturen* (1990), pp. 48–53.

²⁵ K. Hald, ‘Om Personnavnene i de danske Møntindskrifter’, *Studier tilegnede Verner Dahlerup* (København, 1934), pp. 182–87; G. Fellows Jensen in *The British Numismatic Journal (BNJ)* XLI (1973), pp. 186–89.

²⁶ G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘Of Danes—and Thanes—and Domesday Book’, *People and Places 500–1100*, ed. I. Wood and N. Lund (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 113–21.

²⁷ Cf. E. Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde* (Halle, 1912), p. 9.

wishing to compensate the abbey for a bell he had cracked by bad ringing when a young monk there, granted it early in the eleventh century lands which he had bought from two unnamed Danes, who had left England because they were afraid of being murdered by their labourers or otherwise inconvenienced, and from another unnamed Dane, with whom he, in an unsportsman-like manner, had driven a hard bargain while the latter was drunk and incapable.²⁸ Other Danes, of greater courage and with better heads for drink, remained in England. Not all of them had actually received grants of land there. Some men must have used their share of the gelds to buy land. There is, however, only one surviving documentary record of the sale of land to a Dane. In the first decade of the eleventh century, King Æthelred II sold six hides of land in Oxfordshire to a man described as a Dane called *Toti* in return for a pound of gold that Æthelred needed in order to be able to pay the Danegeld (S 943). *Toti* is stated to have acted on the advice of his kinsman *Celi*. The name *Celi* would seem to be a short form of an English compound name in *Cēol-* and this suggests that *Toti* had married into an English family. Another Dane who married into a wealthy English family in the early eleventh century is the *Þurcil hwīta* or ‘the white’ who was a participant in a lawsuit about land in Herefordshire which was being conducted some time between 1016 and 1035.²⁹ His wife bore the English name *Lēofflæd* and the couple still held property in the county at the time of the Norman Conquest (GDB 180rb; 1/11 and 187rb; 29/2.3, etc.). We do not know for certain that *Thurkil* had first arrived from Denmark in the eleventh century but the contracted form of his name suggests that this was so. The same is probably true of the *Þurkil* who, with his wife *Apelgit* (Old English *Æþelgȳþ*), made a grant of land in Norfolk to Bury St Edmunds shortly before the Conquest (S 1529).³⁰ *Toti* and the two *Thurkils* would seem to have been able

²⁸ W. D. Macray (ed.), *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, Rolls Series 83 (London, 1886), pp. 135–44.

²⁹ J. Insley, ‘Some Scandinavian personal names in South-West England’, *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica* 3 (1985), pp. 23–58, at p. 46.

³⁰ D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1925), XXXVI.

to marry into English landed families, presumably because the gelds they had taken had made them wealthy men. Another contemporary *Thurkil*, on the other hand, chose to marry a woman with the Scandinavian name *Thurgund* (*Porgun*). He is the man known as *Thurkil of Haringworth* (in Northamptonshire), who is described in one entry in Domesday Book for Huntingdonshire as *Turchillus danus* (GDB 203vb; 2/8) and is known to have received at least one of his estates as a grant from Cnut.³¹ After the Conquest, probably at the time of Sven Estridsen's invasion in 1069, *Thurkil* abandoned his lands in England and went over 'to the Danes who were his kinsmen'. This means that in spite of his own and his wife's bequests to Ramsey Abbey,³² it is unlikely that he is to be identified with the thane called *Tóki* who held lands in Cambridgeshire and who may have been the father of a *Godwine* who held lands in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk.³³ A Dane with a Danish wife and Danish sympathies would hardly have been likely to select such a characteristically English name as *Godwine* for his son. In addition, although *Tóki* was an accepted short form of the name *Thurkil*, I am not aware of evidence for both forms being used in formal documents of one and the same man in the Viking period.

We have now seen that the men who are known to have come from Scandinavia to serve under Cnut varied in their behaviour after taking the geld. *Ulfrik* and *Ulf of Borresta* went to Sweden to make their fortunes. *Ork*, who may have come from Orkney, *Bofi* and *Thurstan* received grants of land from Cnut, perhaps in lieu of geld, and settled in England to enjoy their rents from these. *Toti* bought land from King Æthelred, perhaps with money that he had acquired upon marriage to a kinswoman of *Celi*'s, rather as *Thurkil hwīta* seems to have acquired lands in Herefordshire by his marriage to *Lēofflæd* and another *Thurkil* lands in Norfolk on his marriage to *Æpelgýþ*. *Thurkil of Haringworth*,

³¹ D. Whitelock, 'Scandinavian personal names in the Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey', *Saga-Book* 12 (1937–45), pp. 127–53, at p. 140 n. 4.

³² C. Hart (ed.), *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), nos 46, 325.

³³ C. Hart, *The Danelaw* (London, 1992), pp. 636–40.

however, married a woman with the Scandinavian name *Porgun*, who may have come over from Denmark to be with him.

Most often the only evidence we have for the holding of land by men with Scandinavian personal names is the presence of place-names containing such names. Place-names consisting of a Scandinavian personal name compounded with Old English *-tūn* are referred to as *Grimston*-hybrids from a commonly occurring but unfortunately atypical compound.³⁴ Some of these place-names occur well outside the area where Danes are known to have settled at the end of the ninth century and these seem unlikely to have been coined before the eleventh century. This is the case for example with Farmeston, Grimston, Gripston and Oldstone, which cluster together in South Devon and contain the names *Farman*, *Grím*, *Grip* and *Ulf*,³⁵ or the isolated Thruxton in Hampshire, which contains the contracted name-form *Thurkil*.³⁶ It was the fact that East Garston in Berkshire certainly contains the name of *Esgar*, the staller of Edward the Confessor, who had held the estate in 1065, that led Margaret Gelling in her review³⁷ of my book on settlement names in Yorkshire to question the interpretation of the *Grimston*-hybrids put forward by Kenneth Cameron in 1971 on the basis of material from the East Midlands³⁸ and accepted in the main by me. Cameron had argued that they were partially scandinavianised versions of names borne by old-established English villages. He assumed that the names encapsulated the names of the Vikings who had taken over these settlements at the end of the ninth century. It is true that the demonstrably favourable situations of the villages with *Grimston*-type names, their high status and general prosperity, combine to suggest that most of them were old-established settlements, but

³⁴ Cf. G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire (SSNY)*, *Navnestudier* 11 (Copenhagen, 1972), p. 203.

³⁵ J. E. B. Gover *et al.* (eds), *The Place-Names of Devon*, English Place-Name Society Vols VIII–IX (Cambridge, 1931–32), pp. 316, 323.

³⁶ R. Coates, *The Place-Names of Hampshire* (London, 1989), p. 162.

³⁷ In *Notes and Queries* (April, 1975), pp. 144–46, reviewing *SSNY*.

³⁸ K. Cameron, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The Place-Name Evidence, Part Three: The Grimston-hybrids', *England before the Conquest*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 147–63.

the presence of such names in Berkshire, Devon and Hampshire is in itself an indication that the Scandinavian personal names are not necessarily those of ninth-century Danish settlers. The same point had, in fact, been made a few years earlier by Bill Nicolaisen in respect of the *Grimston*-hybrids occurring in South-East Scotland.³⁹

It is undoubtedly correct that the *Grimston*-hybrid names which occur outside the Danelaw proper are most likely to be young English formations involving the names of eleventh-century or later tenants, but I am still inclined to believe that the majority of the *Grimston*-type names in eastern England are unlikely to be young manorial names. This is partly because many of the personal names in the Yorkshire names are of extremely rare occurrence in the Danelaw, for example, *Skurfa* in *Scruton*, *Nagli* in *Nawton*, and *Galm* in *Ganton*. The disparity between the body of personal names in the *Grimston*-hybrids in Yorkshire and the Scandinavian personal names recorded independently in that county is in marked contrast to the situation in southern Scotland, where most of the Scandinavian personal names compounded with *-tūn* are numbered among the comparatively limited range of Scandinavian personal names that occur in the earliest Scottish charters.⁴⁰

The *Grimston*-type names in East Anglia, like those in Yorkshire, would seem for the most part to contain personal names that had been borne by Danes who took part in the original partition of land or their descendants rather than by eleventh-century immigrants. As in Yorkshire, many of the personal names involved are of rare occurrence in the Danelaw, for example such otherwise unrecorded names as **Fullmóð* in *Fulmodeston*, **Holmvér* in *Hollverston*, **Gabbi* in *Gapton*, and **Nafli* in *Naughton*, and names such as *Guðvér* in *Guston*, *Ísleif* in *Isleton*, *Api* in *Apton*, *Hadd* in *Hadeston*, *Jarp* in a lost *Jerpestuna*, *Narfi*

³⁹ W. F. H. Nicolaisen, 'Scottish Place-Names: 29, Scandinavian personal names in the place-names of South-East Scotland', *Scottish Studies* 11 (1967), pp. 223–36.

⁴⁰ G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', *Nomina* XIII (1989–90), pp. 41–59, at p. 47.

in a lost *Naruestuna*, *Runi* in *Runton*, *Pránd* in *Thrandeston*, and *Þjalfi* in *Thelveton*, none of which is recorded independently in the Danelaw. Even more striking, however, is the predominance of anglicised forms of the Scandinavian personal names. Until about the year 1000, it had been the custom for English scribes to represent the names of invading Vikings in forms that were linguistically adapted to assimilate them with English names or words and it would seem to be such anglicised forms that came into general use among the mixed population of the Danelaw. The anglicised form *Porcytel* of *Þorketil* is an example of this practice. After about 1000, however, a new attitude developed in England towards Scandinavian personal names, perhaps reflecting the increased prestige of things Danish associated with the reigns of Cnut and his sons. Scandinavian personal names began to be recorded in English sources in forms approximating more closely to the forms current in the Scandinavian homelands. Since the *Grimston*-hybrids in East Anglia contain many anglicised forms of Scandinavian personal names, it is clear that many of the names were coined before the year 1000. Compound names in *Ás*-, for example, appear as anglicised *Oslac* and *Osmund* in forms of *Aslacton* (*Oslactuna* LDB 150v; 4/56) and *Osmondiston* (*Osmundestun* LDB 176v; 9/48) in Norfolk. *Þorgeir* is anglicised to *Thurgar* in *Thurgarton* (*Þurgartun* 1044x1047; S 1055) in Norfolk, and *Þorstein* is anglicised to *Thurstan* in *Thurston* (*Thurstanestun*' LDB 348v; 8/33) in Suffolk, *Thuxton* (*Turstanestuna* LDB 121v; 1/86) in Norfolk and two lost *Turstanestunas* (LDB 317r; 6/153 and 340r; 7/83) in Suffolk. The name *Ketilbjörn* is anglicised to *Cytelbeorn* in forms of *Kettlebaston* (*Kitelbeornastuna* LDB 369r; 14/114) in Suffolk, while another indication of the archaic nature of the Scandinavian personal names in the East Anglian *Grimston*-hybrids is the uncontracted form of the name *Þorketil* in the lost *Turchetlestuna* (LDB 420r; 36/6) in Suffolk. Although the reservation needs to be made that some names of the *Grimston*-type may contain the names of eleventh-century immigrants, the presence in others of rare personal names and archaic forms of names suggests that the original Danish partitions of land in East Anglia and elsewhere in the Danelaw must have involved the same kind of

assumption of lordship over a pre-existing estate as do the post-Conquest manorial names. Presumably the land would have continued to be cultivated by the Englishmen living there. The Danish lords would merely have exacted services and dues from their English vassals.

Among the property owners with Scandinavian names whose dealings are recorded in wills and charters from the eleventh century there are, however, some whom I am inclined to treat as descendants of Danes who had settled in England over a century before. This is sometimes because of the form assumed by their names. At some time between 978 and 1016, for example, a man called *Ærnketil* and his wife *Wulfron/Wlfrun* made a will leaving property in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire to Ramsey Abbey, where their son *Athelstan* became the fourth abbot (S 1493).⁴¹ The names of the mother and son are purely English: *Wulfrūn* and *Æpelstān*, but the father's name is a partially anglicised form of Scandinavian *Arnketil*, with Scandinavian *arn* replaced by Anglian *ærn* and the uncontracted form of the second element. He is more likely to have been a descendant of the original settlers in the Danelaw than a Dane newly arrived with Svein Forkbeard's army. Similarly, the fact that the *Thurketel* with property in Flegg in Norfolk who made his will between 1020 and 1050 (S 1528) had a daughter called *Alfwen* (Old English *Ælfwynn*) suggests either that he was of English descent or that he had been married to an Englishwoman, while the fact that his nephews bore the names *Ketel*, *Swegn* and *Alemund* (Old English *Almund*) shows the integrated nature of the relationship between the native English and the descendants of the Danes in eleventh-century Norfolk.⁴² The rubric to the will notes that this *Thurketel* had the Scandinavian by-name *Heyng* (*hæingr* 'salmon') and an account of the miracles of St Edmund written by an Anglo-Norman author Hermann records an anecdote related to Hermann by *Thurketel*'s daughter *Ælfwynn* to the effect that Thurketel had been employed by Svein Forkbeard to collect a tax but on the death of Svein had

⁴¹ C. Hart (ed.), *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975), no. 116.

⁴² Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* XXV.

paid the money back.⁴³ He was thus a man who was trusted by the invaders and presumably also by the natives. It must be significant that his lands lay in the island of Flegg, where the presence of numerous Scandinavian place-names in *-bý* points to the survival of an enclave of Danes here after most of the Vikings had been driven out of East Anglia by the English in 903.

That the assumption that men bearing uncontracted forms of names in *-ketil* in the eleventh century had been born in England is reasonable is shown by some cases where the name of their father or mother is known. A woman called *Wulfgyþ* with property in East Anglia, sister of *Eadwine* and *Wulfric* and widow of *Ælfwine*, made her will in 1046 (S 1535).⁴⁴ In this she refers to her sons *Elfkitel*, *Kytel* and *Wulkitel* and her daughters *Gode*, *Bote* and *Ealgip*, the last name reflecting variation on *Wulfgyþ*'s own name, while the sons bear anglicised forms of the Scandinavian names *Alfketil*, *Ketil* and *Ulfketel*. *Elfkitel* and *Wulkitel* reflect variation on the names of the father *Ælfwine*, mother *Wulfgyþ* and mother's brother *Wulfric*. This is clearly an English family whose eleventh-century naming-traditions included a name-element introduced by Danish settlers in the ninth century.

Property had certainly passed into Danish hands long before Cnut's grants in the eleventh century. Attention has frequently been drawn to the two early tenth-century charters which refer to land having been bought from the 'pagans'.⁴⁵ In 926 a thane of King Athelstan received a grant of land at Chalgrave and Tebworth in Bedfordshire, just on the English side of the Danelaw frontier, which he had bought with his own money from the pagans at the order of King Edward (S 396), while in a charter of identical phrasing and date, *Uhtred* received lands at Hope and Alford in Derbyshire (S 397). It is clear that Edward had been encouraging his thanes to buy estates on the edges of the Danish territory in preparation for his campaign of reconquest. It is noticeable

⁴³ Noted by Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* p. 180.

⁴⁴ Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* XXXII.

⁴⁵ First by F. M. Stenton in *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 74–75.

that although the estates involved had certainly been in Danish hands, they do not bear Danish names.⁴⁶ Athelstan seems to have followed the same policy as his father Edward, for in a charter of 934 granting the district of Amounderness in Lancashire to the church of St Peter at York, Athelstan states that he himself had bought this land ‘with no little money’ (S 407). He does not say explicitly from whom he had bought this quite extensive territory but it was presumably from the Vikings who had settled there. I have argued that *Amounderness* was held at the beginning of the tenth century as a block by a man called *Agmund*, perhaps the Scandinavian *Agmund hold* who was killed in a battle against King Edward in 910, and that the name *Amounderness* is a compound of the Scandinavian personal name *Agmund* with an Old English term *hērness* meaning ‘district subject to authority’.⁴⁷ It is just possible that the great hoard of silver found at Cuerdale had been buried by men coming from York and intending to settle in Amounderness, the southern frontier of the major area of Viking settlement west of the Pennines.⁴⁸ Athelstan’s aim in buying this land and granting it to the church at York was presumably to prevent it from again becoming a place of refuge for Vikings who might be tempted to launch an attack on English territory.

Although the Viking presence in Amounderness in the early tenth century is confirmed by the Scandinavian influence on the field-names of the area⁴⁹ and such settlement names as *Ribby*, *Westby*, *Sowerby* and a lost *Aschebi* (GDB 301vb; Y2), Scandinavian place-names do not lie as thick upon the ground here as on the other side of the Pennines. The map showing the distribution of place-names in *-by* reveals how scattered such names

⁴⁶ Noted by P. H. Sawyer in *Kings and Vikings. Scandinavia and Europe AD 700–1100* (London, 1982), p. 103.

⁴⁷ G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘*Amounderness and Holderness*’, *Namn och Bygd* 78 (1990), pp. 23–30.

⁴⁸ G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian place-names of the Irish Sea province’, *Viking Treasure from the North West*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell (Liverpool, 1992), pp. 31–42.

⁴⁹ F. T. Wainwright. ‘Field-names of Amounderness Hundred’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* XCVII (1945–46), pp. 71–116. Reprinted in F. T. Wainwright, *Scandinavian England* (Chichester, 1975), pp. 229–79.

are in Lancashire as compared with in the Danelaw. What this map does not reveal, however, is the complete absence from Lancashire of place-names in *-by* whose first element is a Scandinavian personal name, a name-type which is extremely common in the Danelaw proper. I have explained this absence as a reflection of the chronological development of the Danish settlement in England.

A study of the areas where the invading Danes only stayed for short periods, for example the sites of their winter-quarters, has revealed that they showed no tendency to interfere with the local place-names in these cases.⁵⁰ In areas where they settled more permanently, however, they sometimes gave the settlements they seized completely new names, for example 47 *Kir(k)bys*, indicating the presence of a church, and a handful of *Derbys*, probably referring to a deer-park. The only one of these places for which an earlier name is recorded is the borough of *Derby*. In an entry for the year 871 in the late tenth-century chronicle compiled by the vituperative Æthelweard, the borough is referred to as a ‘place known as *Northuorthige* which is called *Deoraby* in the Danish tongue’.⁵¹ By the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, *Derby* is the only name to survive for this place (*Derby* GDB 280rb; B4). It seems likely that the reason why Derby alone of the boroughs was given a Danish name was that the Danes in this outlying area of the Danelaw may have kept together for protection near the borough and thus been in a position to change its name.⁵² The Danish name I take to refer to a deer-park, perhaps sited at *Darley* whose English name means ‘deer clearing’, but it is just possible that it reflects the Latin name *Derventio* of the fortified Roman site of *Littlechester*, on which the Danes may well have established their military headquarters.⁵³ The quasi-

⁵⁰ G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian influence on the place-names of England’, *Language Contact in the British Isles*, ed. P. S. Ureland and G. Broderick (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 337–54.

⁵¹ A. Campbell (ed.), *The Chronicle of Æthelweard* (London, 1962), p. 37.

⁵² G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw in the light of the place-names of Denmark’, *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress*, ed. H. Bekker-Nielsen *et al.* (Odense, 1981), pp. 133–45, at p. 141.

⁵³ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian influence’, p. 347.

appellative names *Kirkby* and *Derby* would seem to have been imposed upon pre-existing English settlements from above by Danish authorities in connection with the introduction of a parochial organisation and the exploitation of forest areas. One of the duties owed by the thanes of West Derby Hundred in Lancashire at the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, for example, was that of making enclosures and deer-hays there (GDB 269vb; R1/40a).

There does not seem to be evidence in England for the kind of toponymic upheaval at the hands of the Vikings that was bemoaned by the monks of the abbey of Saint-Florent-lès-Saumur in Normandy in about 1055.⁵⁴ They complained that the estates they had owned in the Cotentin had lost their names as a result of the Viking settlement. Changes of name would naturally have made the administration of property extremely difficult for absentee landowners and it is possible that the desire to make it difficult for former owners to lay legal claim to their property was one of the motives that led the Vikings both to substitute Scandinavian names for the existing names of some settlements and to destroy the records of the monasteries they attacked. The destruction caused by the Vikings in Normandy and the extensive renaming that took place in some areas there can be illustrated by comparing the distribution of the places with names in the Scandinavian generic *-toft*, which would seem to have had the sense ‘site of deserted settlement’,⁵⁵ with that of the Gallo-Roman names in *-ācum*, one of the commonest and most widespread name-types in the region.⁵⁶ Areas in the Pays de Caux, the Cotentin and the Bocage where names in *-ācum* are very rare are marked by concentrations of names in *-tot*, undoubtedly evidence that the Vikings had changed the names of many settlements.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Cf. L. Musset, ‘Les destins de la propriété monastique durant les invasions normandes (IXe–XIe s.). L’exemple de Jumièges’, *Jumièges: congrès scientifique du xiii^e centenaire* (Rouen, 1955), pp. 49–55, at p. 52.

⁵⁵ B. Holmberg, *Tomt och toft som appellativ och ortnamnselement* (Uppsala, 1946), map 13.

⁵⁶ F. de Beaurepaire, *La Toponymie de la Normandie, Méthodes et applications*, Cahiers Léopold Delisle 18 (Paris, 1969), fig. 5.

⁵⁷ G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian place-names and Viking settlement in Normandy. A review’, *Namn och Bygd* 76 (1988), pp. 113–37, at p. 125.

Changing of names in England would seem on the whole to have been a more gradual process. With the passage of time, the Danes began to detach specialised units from the old English estates and give them names in *-bý* whose specifics indicated their function or their topographical situation, for example *Hunmanby* in the East Riding of Yorkshire (*Hvndemanebi* GDB 326rb; 21E/1) ‘the settlement of the houndsmen’, *Sowerby* in the North Riding (*Sourebi* GDB 305ra; 4N/1) ‘the settlement on sour ground’, and *Asterby* in Lincolnshire (*Estrebi* GDB 351ra; 14/52) ‘the eastern settlement’. This type of name occurs not only in the Danelaw proper but also across the Pennines in Cumbria and Lancashire and even across the Irish Sea in the Isle of Man, where we find *Dalby* ‘the settlement in the valley’. It would also seem that the name-type was carried back across the Irish Sea from Man to Wirral and south-west Lancashire, where we find *Raby* (*Rabie* GDB 263rb; A14) and *Roby* (*Rabol* [sic] GDB 269va; R1/2) ‘the boundary settlements’. The areas of Scandinavian settlement in Cheshire and southern Lancashire were recovered by the English before about 930 and were not subjected to further Scandinavian naming. In the Danelaw proper, however, the tenth-century defeats suffered by the Danes at the hands of the English seem to have made it more difficult for the Danish leaders to retain control over their landsmen and these began to split up the large estates into small independent units to which they marked their rights of ownership by giving them names consisting of their own forenames plus *-bý*, for example *Swaby* (*Suabi* GDB 349ra; 13/3) in Lincolnshire, containing *Sváfi*.

Most of these Scandinavian personal names contained in place-names in *-bý* in England are names that are well known from the Scandinavian homelands but some few of them would seem to have been coined on English soil. Among the names which are not recorded in Scandinavia there are compound names such as **Ketilfrøð* in *Killerby* (*Chiluordebi* GDB 310va; 6N52) in the North Riding of Yorkshire, derivative names such as **Tyði* in *Tithby* (*Tiedebi* GDB 288ra; 10/57) in Nottinghamshire, but first and foremost, by-names, for example **Slengr* ‘idler’ in *Slingsby* (*Selvngesbi* GDB 305vb; 5N48) in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

There are also a number of personal names in the place-names which probably arose in the Danelaw even though they do make appearances in the Scandinavian homelands. I should just like to draw attention to one such name here. The place now known as *Dromonby* in the North Riding of Yorkshire was recorded in Domesday Book as *Dragmalebi* (GDB 331rb; 29N9) and this spelling shows that the specific of the name must originally have been a Scandinavian personal name *Dragmál*, originally a by-name meaning ‘slow of speech’.⁵⁸ It has been suggested that the man commemorated in the place-name may be identical with the *Dragmel* who occurs as one of the witnesses to a charter of King Edgar dated 959 (S 681) and dealing with land in Howden and Old Drax. The name *Dragmál* is not recorded at all in Old West Scandinavian sources but it occurs in a Swedish runic inscription in the form *trakmal*⁵⁹ and it apparently forms the specific of three Danish place-names in *-torp*, all now known as *Drammelstrup* and situated in eastern Jutland.⁶⁰ *Dragmál* is also recorded as the name of the craftsman who made the early eleventh-century reliquary cross which now stands in the cathedral in Brussels.⁶¹ This cross is made of wood with a silver covering. The inscriptions on the silver are in Old English, one of them being a quotation from the poem known as *The Dream of the Rood*, which is also quoted in runic script on the eighth-century stone cross at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire.⁶² The inscriptions on the Brussels cross reveal that *Æpelmær* and *Æpelwald* had had it made in memory of their brother *Ælfrīc*. These three alliterating names are all English and the maker’s inscription on the arms: DRAHMAL MEWORHTE, is in English but it seems likely that *Dragmál* was a descendant of the ninth-century Danish settlers

⁵⁸ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, English Place-Name Society Vol. V (Cambridge, 1928), p. 169.

⁵⁹ *SRU* 472; cf. O. v. Feilitzen, ‘Notes on some Scandinavian personal names in English 12th-century records’, *Personnamsstudier 1964 tillägnade minnet av Ivar Modéer* (1904–1960), pp. 52–68, at p. 54.

⁶⁰ *Danmarks Stednavne* 12 (København, 1964), p. 67.

⁶¹ J. Backhouse *et al.* (eds), *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066* (London, 1984), no. 75; E. Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971), no. 17.

⁶² B. Dickins and A. S. C. Ross (eds), *The Dream of the Rood* (London, 1934), p. 17.

in England. The use of *Dragnál* as a personal name may well have developed in the Danelaw. The earliest recorded instance of the name is that of the witness to the English charter of 959. This man may also have given his name to *Dragnalebi*, although the place-name might well have been coined as much as half a century earlier or later than the signing of the charter. All the occurrences of the name *Dragnál* in Scandinavia are much younger.

There is one small group of Scandinavian personal names which would seem to have arisen in the Danelaw. These are four by-names in *-laus*, indicating a lack of something, which would all seem to be derogatory. One of these forms the specific of a name in *-bý* namely **Bróklaus* ‘without breeches’ in *Brocklesby* (*Brochelesbi* GDB 350va; 14/37) in Lincolnshire. This by-name is also recorded independently in Lincolnshire, being borne by a pre-Conquest Domesday tenant *Broclos* (GDB 342va; 4/39) and occurring as a surname there in the eleventh century (*Roger Broclaus*).⁶³ There is no way of knowing how long before the compilation of Domesday Book the place-name *Brocklesby* was coined but I would suggest that it was in the first half of the tenth century. The earliest record of a personal name in *-laus* in the Danelaw is an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 921 noting that those slain in a battle at Tempsford included *Toglos eorl ond Mannan eorl his sunu*. The name *Toglos* has been explained by Erik Björkman as an anglicised form of a by-name *Tauglaus* meaning ‘ropeless, one who has no rope for his ship’,⁶⁴ although it might rather mean ‘without outer clothing’, with reference to the word *tog* meaning ‘long cover hair of sheep’.⁶⁵ It has been pointed out that jarl *Toglos* is to be identified with the *Toli comes* who, according to the *Liber Eliensis*, had assumed the lordship of Huntingdonshire against the will of King Edward and who was killed at the battle of Tempsford.⁶⁶ He would thus

⁶³ Fellows Jensen, *SPNLY* 65.

⁶⁴ E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England* (Halle, 1910), p. 142.

⁶⁵ I. Lehiste, ‘Names of Scandinavians in The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (1958), pp. 6–22, at p. 18.

⁶⁶ E. O. Blake (ed.), *Liber Eliensis*. Camden Third Series Vol. 92 (London, 1962), pp. 98–99.

have been a Dane called *Tóli* who acquired the by-name *Toglaus* in the Danelaw. His son, who died with him, bore the Danish name *Manni*, anglicised to *Manna* in the Chronicle. The only other occurrence of the name *Toglaus* is as the specific of a *Grimston*-type place-name, *Toulston* (*Toglestun* GDB 307va; 5W7) in the West Riding of Yorkshire. This place can have passed into the ownership of jarl *Toglaus* or another man of that name at the beginning of the tenth century.

By-names in *-laus* are not without precedent in Denmark. The most familiar example is the by-name of the legendary *Ívar beinlaus*, son of Ragnar loðbrók. Icelandic sources record the by-names *dýnulauss* ‘pillow-less’, *goðlaus* ‘godless’, *matlauss* ‘without food’ and *skegglauss* ‘beardless’.⁶⁷ Neither *Broklaus* nor *Toglaus* is recorded in the Scandinavian homelands, however, and nor are two other by-names in *-laus* which are known from the Danelaw: *Serclos* < **Serk-laus* ‘shirtless’, the name of a York moneyer who struck coins for Edgar, Edward and Æthelred,⁶⁸ and *Wadlos* < **Vaðlaus* ‘weedless, without clothes’, the name of one of Cnut’s moneyers at Lincoln.⁶⁹ All four of the by-names in *-laus* recorded in the Danelaw would seem to have originated as derogatory names referring to a lack of clothing. It is tempting to compare the names with the small group of derogatory place-names in *-løse* which came into use for farms or fields in Denmark in the post-Viking period, for example *Særløse* (*Særclæsa* 1272) ‘the place where the inhabitants lack shirts’,⁷⁰ which throws an interesting sidelight on the Danelaw by-name **Serklaus*.

One other Yorkshire place-name which contains as specific a Scandinavian by-name that would seem to have arisen in the

⁶⁷ E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1920–21), col. 240.

⁶⁸ Cf. Björkman, *Namenkunde*, p. 73; O. v. Feilitzen and C. Blunt, ‘Personal names on the coinage of Edgar’, *England before the Conquest*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 183–214, at p. 204; V. J. Smart, ‘Moneyers of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage 973–1016’, *Commentationes de nummis saecularum IX–XI in Suecia repertis* II (Stockholm, 1973), p. 231.

⁶⁹ G. Fellows Jensen, *BNJ* XLI (1973), p. 188; V. Smart, *Cumulative Index of volumes 21–40*, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* 41 (London, 1992), p. 107.

⁷⁰ B. Jørgensen, *Dansk Stednavneleksikon. Øerne østfor Storebælt* (København, 1981), p. 118.

Danelaw is *Ugglebarnby* (*Vgleberdesbi* GDB 305ra; 4N1) in the North Riding. The specific would seem to be a Scandinavian **Uglubarð* ‘owl-beard’. There are a number of other instances of this name in the Danelaw. In the forms *Uglebert*, *Ugelberd* it occurs on coins of Eadred, Eadwig, Edgar and Edward⁷¹ and as *Vgle-/Vgelbert* (GDB 301rb; 1E57.59) it is recorded as the name of the Domesday tenant of Croom and Kirby Grindalythe in the East Riding of Yorkshire. It also survived into the eighteenth century as a Westmorland surname, *Oglebird*.⁷²

Generally speaking, however, the Scandinavian personal names contained in place-names in the Danelaw tend to be names that are well known from sources in Scandinavia. It is in independent occurrences of personal names that the full vitality of the Danelaw nomenclature reveals itself. There is only time here for me to touch on one method of creating new names that was employed in the Danelaw. This was by taking a few of the elements used in Scandinavia to form two-element names like *Þorketil* and using these to create a great variety of new compounds. Among the more striking instances are the elements *-grím*, *-ketil* and *-ulf*, which all yielded several new names, e.g. *Alfgrím*, *Hafgrím*, *Harðgrím*, *Hundigrím*, *Ketilgrím*, *Sægrím*, *Ulfgrím*, *Grímbjörn*, *Grímketil* and *Grímvarð*; *Húnketil*, *Oddketil*, *Ylfketil* and *Ketildag*; *Leiðulf*, *Leikulf*, *Liðulf*, *Ligulf*, *Liulf*, *Starkulf*, *Steinulf* and *Þornulf*. None of these names occurs in early sources from Denmark or Sweden and most of them are not found in West Scandinavian sources either.⁷³ A few of the names became popular in Iceland, however: *Oddketil* in the form *Oddkell*, *Leiðulf* and *Steinulf*. It is not unlikely that these names were taken to Iceland from the British Isles rather than directly from Norway.

⁷¹ Feiltzen and Blunt, ‘Personal names’, pp. 205–06.

⁷² A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland 2*, English Place-Name Society Vol. XLIII (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 125, 131.

⁷³ Many years ago Peter Foote noted that five of the eleven names in *-grím* recorded in Domesday Book are unknown from Norse sources and suggested that the name *Hafgrím*, which had specific associations with the Faroes and the Hebrides, may have been more at home in the British Isles than in Norway. Cf. P. G. Foote, ‘A note on some personal names in *Færeyinga saga*’, *Otium et Negotium*, ed. F. Sandgren (Stockholm, 1973), pp. 96–108, at pp. 103, 107–08.

There would seem to be several contributory reasons for the development of so many new Scandinavian names in the Danelaw. One prerequisite was the survival for some time at least of the Danish language there. Another condition, on the other hand, was the release from the constraints imposed in Scandinavia by the long-standing traditions of naming. Finally it would seem that the relative closeness of the two languages Danish and English and of the naming practices in Scandinavia and England produced a linguistic situation in which a revitalisation of the Scandinavian nomenclature could occur. It is not, of course, without relevance for an assessment of the numbers of new names that many more written documents have survived from the Viking period in England than in Scandinavia.

It is interesting to compare the situation in the Danelaw with that in other parts of the British Isles where there was Scandinavian settlement. In Shetland and Orkney the great problem for the assessment of the interaction between the Vikings and their victims is that the victims seem to have disappeared almost without leaving any trace of their language. The new arrivals adopted native artefacts and used the old grave enclosures and seem to have carried on farming in much the same way as their predecessors⁷⁴ but there is no way of knowing how they actually communicated with the people they found on the islands. The material culture of the natives was Pictish and the population was probably a mixture of Picts speaking a pre-Celtic, non-Indo-European language, with a Gaelic-speaking minority, who may have formed a kind of aristocracy.⁷⁵ The most exciting piece of linguistic evidence but at the same time a very puzzling one is the cross-slab known as the Bressay stone found at Cullingsburgh on the island of Bressay in Shetland. Its decoration has a number of stylistic features in common with Pictish stones found at Papil on Burra that have been dated to the late ninth or early tenth century and it bears an Ogam inscription which reads: CROSSCC :

⁷⁴ Cf. for example the evidence discussed by C. D. Morris in 'Viking Orkney: A Survey', *The Prehistory of Orkney*, ed. C. Renfrew (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 210–47, particularly pp. 216–21.

⁷⁵ K. Jackson, 'The Pictish Language', *The Problem of the Picts*, ed. F. T. Wainwright (Edinburgh, 1955), pp. 129–66, at p. 157.

NAHH TVVDDADDS : DATTRR : ANN BENNISES : MEQQDDROANN.⁷⁶ From this can be made out the Gaelic words *cross* ‘cross’ and *mac* ‘son of’ and perhaps the Norse word *dóttir* ‘daughter’, although it seems strange that the long *ó* should be represented by an *a*. The remaining words presumably represent Pictish personal names and a tentative translation of the inscription would read: ‘The cross of Nachtud the daughter of An Benise the son of Droan’. The Bressay stone and the stones at Papil show that Pictish craftsmen survived into the period of Norse settlement. No Pictish names would seem to have been adopted by the Norse settlers, however, and the list of Norse personal names in early Shetland recently compiled by Hermann Pálsson contains comparatively few Norse names that are not recorded in early Norwegian sources and that might be thought to have arisen in the Northern Isles.⁷⁷ There are, however, a few names which occur there earlier than in Iceland or Norway, for example *Dagfinn* and *Hlöðvér*, the latter of which forms the specific of the place-name *Lowestoft* in Suffolk, while *Gjafvald* and *Leiðolf* are names whose earliest occurrence is in the Danelaw.⁷⁸ The early use of the mythological name *Freyja* as an ordinary feminine name in Shetland may be compared with the employment of *Þór* as a masculine name in the Danelaw. The adoption of the names of heathen deities in everyday use as personal names reflects the swift decline of the pagan religion in the face of the Christian religion of the earlier inhabitants of the British Isles.

There are several Scandinavian personal names recorded from Orkney for which it has been possible to demonstrate links with the Danelaw, for example *Sumarliði*, *Kali*, *Langlíf*, *Óframm* and *Skotakoll*. The Orkney name *Óspak* may have originated as a Scandinavian substitution for the Gaelic name *Gilleasbuig* ‘the bishop’s servant’.⁷⁹ It has been claimed by Patrick Dineen that

⁷⁶ Jackson, ‘The Pictish Language’, p. 140.

⁷⁷ H. Pálsson, ‘Norse Personal Names in Early Shetland’, *Tools and Traditions: Studies in European Ethnology Presented to Alexander Fenton*, ed. H. Cheape (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 247–55.

⁷⁸ Fellows Jensen, *SPNLY*, pp. 102, 185.

⁷⁹ G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘Some Orkney Personal Names’, in *Proceedings of the Eleventh Viking Congress*, ed. C. Batey *et al.* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 397–407.

Gaelic names consisting of the word *giolla* ‘servant’ and the name of a saint or the title of an ecclesiastical dignitary became popular among assimilated Danes in Ireland.⁸⁰ Names consisting of *Gilla-* plus a saint’s name have a similar meaning to another group of Celtic names, those consisting of the element *Máel-* ‘bald, tonsured’ plus a saint’s name, e. g. *Máelmuire* ‘servant of Mary’. These latter names were quite common in Ireland as early as the seventh century, while the names in *Gilla-* did not become common until after the year 900, perhaps as a result of a Danish fashion.⁸¹ One of the earliest recorded examples is *Gilla Pátraic*, son of *Ímar* (i. e. *Ívar*), who died in 982, and Brian Ó Cuív has seen the choice of this name for *Ívar*’s son as evidence that the Viking settlers in Ireland owed devotion to St Patrick.

It is interesting to note that the Vikings from the Gaelic-speaking areas carried the custom of forming personal names in *Gilla-* with them to their other colonies in the British Isles. It is not surprising to find such names in Scandinavian place-names in Dumfriesshire, where the Gaelic element was strong. Here we find *Gill’Eoin* in *Gillenbie*, *Gillae*, a short form, in *Gillesbie*, and *Gilmartin* in *Gillemartin beck*.⁸² The scandinavianised form *Gilli* of the short form occurs in *Gilsland* in Cumberland, *Gilston* in the Central Lowlands of Scotland, and *Gilby* in Lincolnshire, while **Gilliman*, a by-name meaning ‘servant of Gilli’ is the specific of *Gilmonby* in Yorkshire.⁸³ In the same county two names in *Máel-* are found compounded with *-bý*: *Maelsuthain*, scandinavianised as *Melsan*, forms the specific of *Melsonby* and *Máelmuire* that of *Melmerby*.⁸⁴ There are some other personal names in Yorkshire which were probably introduced by Vikings from Gaelic-speaking areas, for example *Skotakoll*, a by-name which seems likely to refer to the Celtic form of tonsure,⁸⁵

⁸⁰ P. S. Dineen, *An Irish-English Dictionary* (Dublin, 1927), s.v. *giolla*.

⁸¹ Cf. B. Ó Cuív, ‘Borrowed elements in the corpus of Irish personal names from medieval times’, *Nomina* 3 (1979), pp. 40–51, at pp. 46–47.

⁸² G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West (SSNNW)*, *Navnestudier* 25 (Copenhagen, 1985), pp. 31, 126.

⁸³ Fellows-Jensen, *SSNNW*, p. 126; *eadem*, ‘Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?’, p. 46; *eadem*, *SSNY*, p. 7.

⁸⁴ Fellows Jensen, *SSNY*, p. 33.

⁸⁵ H. Bekker-Nielsen, ‘*Skotakollr*’, *Fróðskaparrit* 18 (1970), pp. 145–50.

Bretakoll, perhaps with the same meaning,⁸⁶ *Glunier*, which has been explained as a Celtic adaptation *Glúniairn* of a Scandinavian by-name *Jarnkné* ‘iron knee’,⁸⁷ and such Gaelic names as *Dubgilla* in *Duggleby* and *Fíacc* in *Fixby*.⁸⁸ The Gaelic names occurring in Northern England have earlier been associated with settlers referred to as Hiberno-Norse. Recent work on personal names, however, has shown that many of these Gaelic names are more likely to originate from the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland or from the Isle of Man.⁸⁹

The Vikings brought Gaelic personal names with them from the Western Isles to England but they also left some of their own names on the islands. There are comparatively few Norse loanwords in Gaelic and Norse place-names are distributed very unevenly over the Western Isles, being very common in Lewis and decreasing markedly in number towards the south and the east, probably because they were gradually submerged under a stratum of Gaelic names with the revival of the Gaelic language. Comparatively few Scandinavian personal names are recorded in use as forenames in the Isles but many patronymics in *Mac*-have survived as surnames and Iain Crawford has argued that the distribution pattern of original patronymics consisting of *Mac*-plus a Scandinavian forename indicates a precise boundary corresponding with the political frontier in the twelfth century.⁹⁰ In Lewis, Harris, Skye and the adjacent mainland, the patronymics *Mac Leod*, *Mac Aulay*, *Mac Askill*, *Mac Raitl* and *Mac Sween*, containing the Norse names *Ljót*, *Ólaf*, *Áskil*, *Harald* and *Svein* are the most common ones, whereas to the south of Ardnamurchan the patronymic *Mac Donald*, containing a Gaelic forename, predominates and Norse names are rare. The Norse names occurring

⁸⁶ Fellows Jensen, *SPNLY*, p. 64.

⁸⁷ For the translation of this and other Scandinavian by-names into Irish cf. C. J. S. Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (Kristiania, 1915), pp. 45–46.

⁸⁸ Fellows Jensen, *SSNY*, p. 12.

⁸⁹ A. P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin I* (Dublin, 1975), pp. 81–82; G. Fellows-Jensen, ‘Anthroponymical specifics in place-names in *-by*’, *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica I* (1983), pp. 45–60, at p. 52.

⁹⁰ I. Crawford, ‘Scot (?), Norseman and Gael’, *Scottish Archaeological Forum VI* (1974), pp. 1–16, at pp. 2–3.

in the Western Isles are all names that are of frequent occurrence in Norway. There is no evidence for the development of typically Hebridean-Norse names.

The situation would seem to have been similar in Ireland. Irish annals and chronicles contain the names of Viking leaders who took part in raids and a few Scandinavian personal names are found in place-names, for example *Thormoth*, *Gunnar* and *Ólaf* in *Ballyfermot*, *Ballygunner* and *Ballally*,⁹¹ but these are all names which are recorded in use in Norway and the same applies to the comparatively few Scandinavian personal names that survived in use in Ireland to be borne by the citizens whose names are recorded in the late twelfth-century Dublin roll of names or their fathers.⁹² Here compound names in *Thor-* and short forms of such names are particularly common: *Thorald*, *Thorbjorn*, *Thorfinn*, *Thorgaut*, *Thorkel*, *Thorstein*, *Tóki*. Apart from the name *Iarnfinn*, the only signs of creative vitality in the Norse nomenclature of Dublin are provided by the by-names *Utlag* ‘outlaw’, borne by *Torsten* and *Reginaldus*, and partially anglicised *Vnnithing* ‘undastard’, borne by *Philippus*. This last by-name recalls the laudatory epithet *óníðingr* employed by *Gaut* on the rune-stone at Transjö of his son *Ketil*, who died in England. A Norse runic inscription on a sword-mount found at Greenmount, Co. Louth, **tomnal selshofop a særp [p]eta**, shows that a man with the Gaelic name *Dufnall* bore a Norse by-name **selshofuð* ‘seal’s head’.⁹³

In the Isle of Man, on the other hand, the employment of Gaelic by-names by the Norse kings, for example *Godred Crovan* (**crohbhán* ‘white handed’) and *Godred Don* (**donn* ‘brown’), shows that there must have been a marked Gaelic influence on the Norse aristocracy there.⁹⁴ That this influence would often seem to have

⁹¹ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Irish Sea Province’, p. 33.

⁹² J. T. Gilbert, *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland A.D. 1172–1320*, Rolls Series 53 (London, 1870), pp. 3–48.

⁹³ R. I. Page, ‘Scandinavian Society, 800–1100: The Contribution of Runic Studies’, *Viking Revaluations*, ed. A. Faulkes and R. Perkins (London, 1993), pp. 145–59, at p. 155.

⁹⁴ B. Megaw, ‘Norseman and native in the kingdom of the Isles’, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man*, ed. P. Davey, BAR British Series 54 (1978), pp. 265–314, at p. 276.

been cemented by intermarriage is shown by some of the tenth- and eleventh-century runic inscriptions. The cross known as Braddan IV was raised by a man called *Porleifr hnakki* with a brother called *Hafr* to his son *Fiak* (Gaelic *Fíacc*), while Braddan I commemorates **ufaak : sun : krinais** (Scandinavian *Ófeig* and Gaelic *Crinán*).⁹⁵

In conclusion it would seem that once the Vikings began to settle in the British Isles, they intermarried with the native population and sometimes gave their children non-Scandinavian names or names newly coined from Scandinavian material. Some of these names were later carried to Scandinavia. In Shetland and Orkney Norse personal names drove out all the names employed by the earlier settlers, whether Pictish or Gaelic, whereas in the Hebrides, Western Scotland, Man and Ireland, Norse names were employed side by side and in combination with names of Gaelic origin. Some of these Norse names have survived as forenames or in patronymic surnames to the present day, even though the Norse language has been supplanted in all these areas by Gaelic and/or English.

In the Danelaw, Scandinavian personal names were adopted by the native English population in the areas of dense Danish settlement in the ninth century and the Anglo-Danish nomenclature was continuously reinforced by the arrival of new waves of settlers right up to the time of the Norman Conquest. The personal names borne by the Norman conquerors, however, achieved such high prestige so quickly in England that they drove out of use names of Scandinavian origin together with native English names. It is therefore in place-names and not in personal names that the degree and nature of the Danish influence on the native population is most clearly reflected.

⁹⁵ D. M. Wilson, 'The Vikings' relationship with Christianity in Northern England', *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series XXX (1967), pp. 37–46, at pp. 39–41; *idem*, 'Manx memorial stones of the Viking period', *Saga-Book XVIII* (1970–73), pp. 1–18, at p. 17.