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The Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian occupation of Nottinghamshire

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ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co	Cornwall
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Nb	Northumberland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somerset
Wt	Isle of Wight
CPNE	<i>Cornish Place-Name Elements.</i>
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.</i>
PN Brk	<i>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Bu	<i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.</i>
PN Ca	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.</i>
PN Ch	<i>The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.</i>
PN Cu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN D	<i>The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Do	<i>The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Du	<i>The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.</i>
PN Ess	<i>The Place-Names of Essex.</i>
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.</i>
PN Gl	<i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Hrt	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.</i>
PN Le	<i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Li	<i>The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Mx	<i>The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).</i>
PN Nf	<i>The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.</i>
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.</i>
PN NRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.</i>
PN Nth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.</i>
PN O	<i>The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN R	<i>The Place-Names of Rutland.</i>
PN Sa	<i>The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–9.</i>
PN Sr	<i>The Place-Names of Surrey.</i>
PN St	<i>The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.</i>
PN Sx	<i>The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN W	<i>The Place-Names of Wiltshire.</i>
PN Wa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire.</i>
PN We	<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Wo	<i>The Place-Names of Worcestershire.</i>
PN WRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8.</i>

The Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian occupation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire

Introduction

Following the work of Dodgson, Kuurman and Cox a new chronology of Anglo-Saxon place-names has been established, which suggests that *-hām* names preceded those of *-ingas*, *-inga-* form, which in turn were earlier than place-names in *-tūn*.¹ This work has been supplemented in the Danelaw by Cameron's series of publications in the 1960s and early 1970s on the place-name evidence for the Scandinavian settlement in the region.² Summarising his ideas for Nottinghamshire, Cameron has suggested that "The English names occur along the valleys of the major rivers, the Trent, Idle and Devon for example. It would seem likely that at least most of these sites had already been occupied when the Danes settled here, so they made settlements in the tributary valleys. This would presumably support a hypothesis that for the most part the Danes came as colonists".³ Accepting the arguments for a small-sized Scandinavian army, Cameron suggests that a number of the *-bý* names were probably formed as settlements by members of the army, and that later colonisation and expansion gave rise to the remaining *-bý* names and also to the majority of the *-thorp* names. These Scandinavian place-names generally occur away from the traditional areas of Anglo-Saxon occupation, and on poorer quality soil, suggesting that they are therefore of later foundation.⁴

More recently Fellows Jensen has undertaken a detailed analysis of the Scandinavian settlement-names of the East Midlands, and concludes that, while much of Cameron's work appears to be valid, it is now clear that "the Vikings must have arrived

in an England that had already been extensively settled and brought under cultivation by the English".⁵ She also argues that many of the *-bȳs* with English specifics are probably partially renamed English settlements, and that most of the fully Scandinavian *-bȳs* resulted either from fragmentation of old estates, or from the reclamation of land once colonised by the English. These arguments are further supported by Gelling, who suggests that "disused" would be the best term to describe the land colonised by the immigrant Danes.⁶ There is, however, little direct evidence that, in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, the Scandinavian *-bȳs* were in fact located in fragmented or deserted English territories.

The purpose of this paper is to reappraise this general model in the context of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in the light of recent archaeological work and also based on an investigation into the distribution of 11th century personal-names in these two counties. While the general chronology outlined above is accepted it is argued that each type of evidence demands a slightly different explanation to that traditionally given, and that only when they are all taken together does a clearer image of the pattern of pre-Norman occupation emerge.⁷ It begins by evaluating the place-name evidence in further detail, and then proceeds through a summary of the literary and archaeological evidence to an analysis of the 11th century distribution of personal-names.

Place-names

This section presents an assessment of the available place-name evidence for the two counties in the framework of their currently accepted chronology (See Figures 1 and 2). Following Dodgson's 1966 examination of *-ingas*, *-inga-*, names in south-

east England, where he suggested that "the *-ingas* place-name seems to be the result of a social development contemporary with a colonizing process later than, but soon after, the immigration-settlement that is recorded in the early pagan burials", two papers by Cox and Kuurman expanded the area of investigation into the Midlands.⁸

Cox argued that *-hām* names in this region were closely related to the system of Roman roads, trackways and settlements and that they were probably established well before the end of the pagan period, although he did point out that in Nottinghamshire the evidence was not as conclusive as it was for other counties in the Midlands and East Anglia. This argument is fully supported by the work of Kuurman, who, in a similar fashion to Cox, compared the distribution of *-ingas* and *-inga-* place-names with Anglo-Saxon burial sites, and concluded that, due to the lack of coincidence in the distribution, these place-names probably dated from the post-pagan period. Although *-hām* names do not always coincide with pagan burials in the Midlands, Cox argued that this does not invalidate the early nature of this name type, since "our knowledge of burial sites is a matter of chance".⁹ Despite this cautionary comment it is necessary to note that both Cox and Kuurman do in fact use archaeological evidence to support other facets of their arguments.

All these three writers have noted the problems in using the terminal *-hām*, due to the possibility that it might be derived from *hamn*, meaning 'land almost surrounded by water', 'land in a river bend' or 'river meadow', rather than *-hām*, 'a village' or 'collection of homesteads'. In an article on this subject in 1960 Gelling suggested that the element *hamn* was not found north of a line from Presteigne through Droitwich, Coventry, Buckingham and Huntingdon to Ely.¹⁰ While Sandred has suggested

that *hamm* might better be translated simply as 'enclosure',¹¹ it nevertheless seems sensible to ask whether any of the Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire *-ham* endings might indeed be derived from *hamm*. Of the twelve *-ham* endings in the two counties, if the two Markhams and two Marnhams are each treated as one name, there are three possible contenders on topographical grounds for the element *-hamm*, namely Dunham and Marnham in Nottinghamshire, and Clunham (Clownholme) in Derbyshire. All of these three lie close to clear loops in adjacent rivers and must surely remain questionable. In the Nottinghamshire examples the omission of Dunham and the Marnhams from the *-hām* analysis does in fact add further support to Cox's comparison with the Roman archaeological evidence, since they are not close to any Roman remains, but in the Derbyshire example Clownholme lies close beside the Roman road and would therefore, in a circular argument, be a contender for the *-hām* derivation.

While at first sight the argument linking place-names in *-hām* with Roman sites appears convincing, it is nevertheless open to some detailed criticism in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.¹² The argument is essentially based on a comparison between the spatial locations of two different elements: the *-hām* names, and Roman finds. One major difficulty with this is that the maps of Roman roads and settlements used by Cox are extremely partial; the amount of Roman occupational evidence is increasing annually, and to give but two examples from Nottinghamshire he ignores the Romano-British settlement at Staunton and the three villa sites within two miles of the defended nucleus of *Margi-dunum*.¹³ In short there is increasing evidence to suggest that most of lowland Midland England was occupied during the Roman period. However, of more importance, it is not possible to use archaeological evidence in a simple spatial analysis, since by doing so as much emphasis is placed on negative as on positive

evidence; the fact that no Roman material has yet been found in an area does not mean that there was necessarily never a Roman settlement there.

If Cox's maps are studied in detail for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and the distances between the *-hām* names and his Roman material are measured, it becomes clear that the relationships are by no means as simple as he suggests. Thus Table I shows that, although there is an apparently close link between Roman roads and *-hām* names in Derbyshire, the Nottinghamshire figures reveal that the mean distance between the two is nearly three and a half miles. Surprisingly, in Nottinghamshire it would appear that the *-ingas*, *-inga-*, names were nearer the Roman material than were the *-hām* names, thus totally reversing Cox's suggested chronology. Of greater significance, though, is the fact that in both counties the *-hām* names appear to be the nearest Anglo-Saxon place-name elements to rivers.

There is therefore little evidence to sustain the argument that *-hām* names in these two counties are specifically located in close proximity to Roman sites. The evidence does, however, suggest that the *-hām* elements were located near to rivers. If it is accepted that the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlers preferred settlement locations by good water supplies, which seems logical, it is then possible to argue that the *-hām* names are still the earliest Anglo-Saxon place-names. The fact that in some areas *-hām* names and Roman sites are found in the same general proximity could therefore simply be explained by the hypothesis that the occupants of both periods preferred settlement locations adjacent to rivers. In this context it should also be pointed out that Cox's arguments do not directly support the hypothesis of settlement continuity between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods, since to do so the *-hām* names would have to

actually be located by Roman settlements or villas. In Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire there is at the moment negligible evidence for such a coincidence, although future archaeological discoveries might indeed reveal the required finds. By noting that a number of *-hām* names are by Roman roads Cox has, though, valuably indicated that these arteries probably provided lines of colonisation into Midland England by the Anglo-Saxons.

This evidence concerning the Anglo-Saxon immigration therefore supports the chronology of *-hām* names preceding *-ingas*, *-inga-*, names, but it suggests that a different explanation is required.

In turning to the Scandinavian colonisation, the distribution of *-by* names (Figures 1 and 2) has been discussed at length by Cameron and Fellows Jensen, and their conclusions, taken in the context of the physical environment in which the place-name elements are found, appear to be convincing.¹⁴ The evidence does indeed indicate that *-by* names are generally located along tributary valleys and small streams, often showing a preference for sandy soils. Similarly Cameron's cautious conclusions concerning the *-thorp* place-names, taken as meaning secondary settlements and therefore applying to places of later and smaller foundation, are also undoubtedly largely correct.¹⁵ In considering *-thorp* names it is nevertheless difficult to ascertain whether, in specific instances, they are derived from Scandinavian *þorp* or Old English *þrop*. Cameron only considers the *thorp* names of which we have records in, or before, Domesday Book. If all of the *thorp* names are considered it is evident that many more are introduced into the picture, and their generally haphazard distribution suggests a pattern of later infilling, in a similar fashion to the *-tūn* names (Figures 1 and 2). Many of these settlements could, however, have been in existence before the 11th century and have been not recorded in Domesday Book

because of their small size, or tenorial relationship to a larger manor.

In turning to the so-called Grimston hybrids as further evidence for Scandinavian immigration, Cameron has noted that Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire stand in contrast to counties further east by having large numbers of hybrid *-tūns* in relation to their number of *-bȳ* names.¹⁶ As Figures 1 and 2 show, the Grimston hybrids are in fact generally located in the region designated as being of Anglo-Saxon colonisation along the Trent valley. Cameron has argued that "it seems a reasonable deduction that there was a much larger English than Danish element in the racial complex of these districts" at the time when the settlements were given their names.¹⁷

Fellows Jensen has also discussed these hybrid *-tūns* at length and, noting that in the East Midlands as a whole, they are thickest on the fringes of dense distributions of *-bȳs* and *þorps*, she suggests that they either represent English villis that were taken over by the Danes, or that they resulted from the movement of Danes away from areas where they were numerous enough to dominate the area linguistically as well as politically.¹⁸ In the specific cases of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, however, there is no clear pattern of hybrid *-tūns* being located on the periphery of regions of dense *-bȳs* and *þorps* (Figures 1 and 2), and as a result these suggestions must remain tentative.

To conclude this review of the accepted train of argument concerning the place-name evidence relating to Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire it is important to emphasise two general points. The first is that all of these arguments are based on the assumption that the names of the places did not change between

their foundations and the date when they were first recorded. In both of these counties the vast majority of the settlements are first mentioned only in Domesday Book, at a date possibly five and a half centuries after the proposed creation of the *-hām* settlements and two centuries after the earliest Scandinavian colonisation. In Sawyer's listing of Anglo-Saxon charters there are only five pre-Norman charters relating to Nottinghamshire and sixteen such documents for Derbyshire.¹⁹ There is therefore little potential for evaluating the stability of place-names at this early period, and it is clear that some will certainly have altered. It is perhaps pertinent to question the significance of the four place-names within the two counties where personal-names of holders of manors in 1066 are also recorded in the names of the townships in which they lay. Did Osmund found Osmundestone, Wada Wadshelf, Brūn Brunesteia and Gamall Gamelstun? It is possible, but it is also possible that these are coincidences, where a person with the same name as the founder later held the manor, or more importantly that they might reflect place-name changes. If personal-names within place-names are indeed used to argue for some cultural links at this date, is it not possible that personal-names of manor holders can also be used themselves to provide a link to the past?

The second crucial problem with the place-name evidence is that the names refer to territories and not specifically to settlements. In both Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire it is clear that in Domesday Book many townships had several manors within them, and there is some evidence that these manors may indeed have once been individual settlements.²⁰ The existence of many more settlement sites than place-names must cause severe problems of interpretation, and it is a difficulty that has, as yet, scarcely been considered by place-name scholars.

The Literary and Archaeological Evidence

The paucity of charter evidence noted above creates a serious handicap to the understanding of the pre-Norman settlement of this part of Midland England.²¹ Nevertheless the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Bede's History of the English Church and People do provide a framework of dates within which the place-name evidence can be viewed. Before the literary evidence is summarised, though, it must be emphasised that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which was essentially produced by the West Saxons, is undoubtedly biased in its coverage of the events of the period, and that it will also have tended to overplay the importance of the conflict between Christians and 'heathens'.

The first important date relating to the area later to be known as Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire was in 653 when the Middle Angles under Ealdorman Peada received the true faith and became Christians.²² This provides an approximate final date for the presence of pagan burials, and for the next two centuries Christian Anglo-Saxon settlement can be assumed to have advanced throughout the region. The first clear indication of Scandinavian settlement is in 868 when the Danish army "went into Mercia to Nottingham and took up winter quarters there. And Burgred, king of the Mercians, and his councillors asked Ethelred, king of the West Saxons, and his brother Alfred to help him fight against the enemy. They then went with the army of the West Saxons into Mercia to Nottingham, and came upon the enemy in that fortress and besieged them there. There occurred no serious battle there, and the Mercians made peace with the enemy".²³ This reference would suggest that by this date there was already therefore a fortified settlement at Nottingham. In 873 there is also evidence that the Danes wintered at Repton.²⁴ However, it seems that the general dispersal and settlement of the Danes did

not begin until after 877. In that year "in the harvest season the army went into Mercia and shared out some of it".²⁵ The evidence of twenty years later, in 896, when it is recorded that "by the grace of God, the army had not on the whole afflicted the English people very greatly; but they were much more seriously afflicted in those years by the mortality of cattle and men", would suggest that this immigration and settlement had been relatively peaceful, and that both cultural groups were becoming fairly rapidly integrated.²⁶ If this chronology is now related to the Scandinavian place-names it seems likely that the *-by* names began to be used in the late 9th century, continuing into the early 10th century when the Grimston hybrids probably also began to be used. In this context Cameron has argued that the Grimston hybrids may have been so named by the retired Vikings of the army of 865.²⁷ It is also possible that it was some time around the end of the 9th century that the Danes altered the name of Northworthy to Derby, and established the borough as one of the Five Boroughs of the Danelaw.²⁸

In 918 when King Edward captured the borough of Nottingham he ordered it to be repaired by both Danes and Englishmen, and this impression of a joint community is strengthened when it is further stated that "all the people who had settled in Mercia, both Danes and English submitted to him".²⁹ It would therefore seem that until the coming of the Norsemen in 940 there had been a peaceful expansion of the area of settlement by both cultural groups, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 942, although a verse encomium, would support this: "In this year King Edmund, lord of the English, protector of men, the beloved performer of mighty deeds overran Mercia, as bounded by Dove, Whitwellgate, and the broad stream, the River Humber; and five boroughs, Leicester and Lincoln, Nottingham and likewise Stamford, and also Derby. The

Danes were previously subjected by force under the Norsemen, for a long time in bonds of captivity to the heathens until the defender of the warriors, the son of Edward, King Edmund redeemed them to his glory".³⁰ While this verse should be treated with some scepticism, it nevertheless does probably imply that by 940 there was a relatively peaceful coexistence of Danes and English in the territory of the Five Boroughs, which was then broken by the new invasions. For much of the next half century, with the Viking raids around the coasts, there can have been little real peace in Mercia. In 1013 the District of the Five Boroughs submitted to Swein, and the period of perhaps the greatest direct Scandinavian domination began.³¹ Nevertheless, by the early 11th century it seems likely that the majority of settlements in the region had already been established and therefore that, unless the Vikings changed numerous place-names, their later influence on the overall settlement structure may have been small. The presence of Norwegian settlers is indicated by the five *Normantons* in Nottinghamshire and the three in Derbyshire, but such evidence might well indicate that Norwegian settlements were a rarity deserving special notification in their names.

This chronology therefore indicates that Domesday Book, in 1086, from which most of the evidence concerning names is derived, was written approximately five centuries after the Anglo-Saxon arrival, two centuries after the first Danish arrival, and at the end of a century of intermittent Viking-led Scandinavian invasion of which William's Norman conquest was but the last. In this context Stenton generally assumed that most of the Scandinavian personal names found in the Danelaw records were of late provenance, and probably derived from the late 10th and 11th century invasions. He certainly believed that they represented Scandinavian stock.³² This conclusion has been shown by Cameron

to be less accurate than was once thought, and it certainly seems likely that the place-names are of much earlier origin.³³

Archaeological work has so far revealed little concerning the Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian occupation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, apart from the 'pagan' burials. There are a number of reasons for this, but two of the primary ones must be that many settlements deriving from this period have continued in use until the present day, and that the majority of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian buildings, or structures, were made of wood which has a very low survival rate. In addition some of the evidence may well have been removed by subsequent building, and also possibly by the destruction of the surface layers of archaeological sites during the 19th century when known Roman buildings were excavated with methods more primitive than those of today.

Recently the Trent Valley Archaeological Research Committee has assembled a mass of information relating to this region, and although there is relatively little material concerning the Anglo-Scandinavian period several important conclusions can be drawn that are relevant for the present investigation. It must, though, be emphasised that the archaeological record is only partial, and that the distribution of finds reflects the material, or geological formation, in which they have been preserved, and also the zeal of the local archaeologists in particular parts of the region, as well as the original distribution of the specific objects in question. Nevertheless from this evidence it is possible to draw some important conclusions concerning the Roman and Anglo-Saxon occupation which put into question some of the accepted observations based primarily on place-name evidence.

The detailed problems with Cox's analysis of *-hām* names and Roman sites have already been discussed³⁴, but of more importance

is the general observation that the Roman occupation of lowland England appears to have been far more widespread than was once thought. Until recently the pattern of Roman settlement in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire was thought to have consisted of a few roads and forts, and even fewer villas and settlements. Derbyshire was thought to have been essentially a frontier military region, with forts at Brough, Little Chester and Melandra. Rycknield Street travelled north from Lichfield, through Little Chester and thence on to Yorkshire. Other roads joined Brough to Melandra and Buxton, a Roman spa which was also linked to Little Chester. A further road travelled east from Rocester, through Little Chester, to reach the Nottinghamshire border near the villa at Barton in Fabis. The main economic significance of Derbyshire appears to have been in its lead mines in the area south of Castleton. Nottinghamshire in contrast was thought to have been more heavily settled, with villas at Mansfield Woodhouse, Southwell and Barton in Fabis. The Foss Way travelled across the south-east of the county, and with it were associated the defended settlement of Margidunum near Bingham, and the settlement at Willoughby on the Wolds. In addition part of Ermine Street crossed the north-east of the county, passing through the town of *Segelocum*, Littleborough, and a fort at Scaftworth.³⁵

Recently field walking and excavation have greatly expanded the known area of Roman settlement, with for example small Roman settlements being studied in Nottinghamshire at South Muskham, Bingham, Staunton and Brough, and a number of small villas being noted near *Margidunum*. However, the most important discovery has been derived from Riley's painstaking recovery from aerial photographs of an extensive system of fields, stretching from the river Meden, just south of Retford in Nottinghamshire, northwards to Doncaster in Yorkshire.³⁶ He has illustrated the

existence of a vast brickwork pattern of fields throughout this area associated with a number of enclosures, which he suggests were probably for occupation or stock control. Three trial excavations undertaken by May in the vicinities of Elkesley, Babworth and Torworth have all revealed Roman material, but Riley is cautious about assigning these fields without question to the Roman period. One complication is that near Finningley in the north of Nottinghamshire there is a small stretch of Roman road which totally ignores the field boundaries, suggesting therefore that the road is of a different date to the fields.

The crucial feature that this evidence indicates is that this land had already been cultivated at some period before the Scandinavian immigration. Indeed it is interesting to note that a number of *-by* place-names, such as Serlby, Barnby, Bilby and Ranby do in fact exist precisely in this region of probable Roman fields. It is possible that this area of northern Nottinghamshire went out of occupation at the end of the Roman period, was not colonised by the Anglo-Saxons, and was therefore available for recolonisation by people of largely Scandinavian stock. In this context it is important also to note that none of the township boundaries in this part of Nottinghamshire bear any relationship to the early field boundaries noted by Riley. This has serious repercussions for arguments supporting the continuity of boundaries from Roman through to medieval times³⁷, and it does add support to the suggestion that there was a substantial post-Roman reduction in the settled area.

This concept of a Roman population maximum, which has been proposed for England as a whole by Fowler and Cunliffe, would fit well with much of the archaeological and place-name evidence extant for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.³⁸ Thus Derbyshire, which is crossed by a number of Roman roads, and which, although

sparingly populated in the upland Peak District, probably had a lowland population density similar to that of much of Nottinghamshire, has only one *-hām* place-name. Similarly the eight *-hām* names of Nottinghamshire are all within the broadly defined Trent valley. In addition there is little place-name or archaeological evidence for the survival of an extensive Celtic population in this region. This would strongly suggest a relatively small-scale Anglo-Saxon occupation concentrating mainly in the river valleys, following a late Roman population decline. The evidence of the Anglo-Saxon pagan burials, particularly in Derbyshire where in the west of the county they are fairly extensive would however mitigate against too firm a conclusion in this direction.³⁹ It might be that the early Anglo-Saxon occupation was indeed more widespread, and that archaeological evidence to support it has not yet been discovered. Before any attempt is made to unite these conflicting arguments it is necessary to study one further piece of evidence.

Domesday Book Personal Names

Despite Von Feilitzen's comprehensive survey of the personal names recorded in Domesday Book, and recent studies of 12th century personal names from parts of eastern England, little attention has been paid to the spatial distribution of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian personal names in the Danelaw.⁴⁰ The reasons for this are primarily due to the opinion that these personal names will bear little relationship to the period soon after the original Danish invasions. Thus Arngart, referring to the 11th century states that "because of the changes in political and social conditions which had then occurred, and the long time that had elapsed, it is hardly possible to draw any safe conclusions from these examples as to the structure of society during the

time immediately after the invasion".⁴¹ Arngart goes on to suggest that the conclusions of Stenton and Steenstrupp, that many of the Scandinavians brought their women with them, thus introducing a number of feminine Scandinavian names into the Danelaw, were probably incorrect.⁴² Instead Arngart, following Björkman, suggests that most of the Scandinavian feminine names were derived from children born to Scandinavian immigrants who had married English women.⁴³

The evidence put forward so far in this paper would suggest that the late 9th century immigration probably soon became generally relatively peaceful, whereas the Viking invasion during the 10th and 11th centuries was more violent. Whatever the nature of the marital status of Danes, Vikings and English people it is clear that the Scandinavian element in personal nomenclature had been present for two centuries, or approximately eight generations, before 1066, or the T.R.E. of Domesday Book. This is clearly sufficient time for the mixed naming of children to have taken place by both Scandinavian and English stock. Thus Arngart, in a study of land transactions near Peterborough in the second half of the 10th century, has noted a considerable number of mixed Scandinavian and English names in the same families.⁴⁴ Perhaps the best known example of mixed naming is that of Earl Godwine, who married a Danish wife and gave some of his children Danish, and others English, names. Von Feilitzen has illustrated that both variation, where a child is given one element from its father's name and from its mother's, and repetition were common naming practices in the 11th century. To these though must be added further cases where names became fashionable, or where children were simply given new names, regardless of the names or stock of their parents. In these instances it would seem more logical to suggest that the conquered people, the English, would tend to give their children

Scandinavian names more frequently than would the immigrant Danes or Vikings give their children English names, although against this it should be pointed out that in most places Scandinavian colonists were very quick to adopt the language of the area into which they had come.

At the regional scale it is clear that by the 11th century areas of known Scandinavian immigration, such as the Danelaw and parts of north-west England, did have many more Scandinavian personal names than did, for example, south-east England. With this in mind the personal names of holders of manors before the Norman conquest in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire were studied to see if any patterns emerged. Before the results of this investigation are summarised it is important to note a number of assumptions and preliminary hypotheses.

Firstly it is clear that the names of holders of manors in 1066 will reflect only one class of the people within the Danelaw at that date. The majority of the population, the villeins, borders and sokemen went unrecorded by name. Secondly, it must be emphasised that the pattern being investigated is that pertaining in the 11th century, and that it is unlikely to bear much resemblance to that present during the 9th century. Nevertheless, it seems logical to argue that the presence of Scandinavian personal names can be used as an indicator of the spread of Scandinavian culture, in a general sense, by 1066. In this context it can then be suggested that if one particular area tends to have very many more Old English personal names than Old Scandinavian names within it, then it is possible that this area was little influenced by the Scandinavian immigration. However, it would appear to be less reliable to argue that areas of solely Old Scandinavian personal names indicated widespread Scandinavian settlement in an area, since this could reflect

the process by which a conquered Anglo-Saxon people gave their children Scandinavian names. A further cautionary note is that there is no way of knowing how frequently the same personal name referred to one individual, and how often it applied to a number of different people with the same name. Therefore it is far more reliable to base an argument on cases where there are a number of different named manorial lords than where all the manors are held by one person, or group of people, with a single name. Finally, one method of adding some precision to this analysis is to consider how far the ratio of Old Scandinavian to Old English personal names varies in different parts of the county when compared with the ratio for the county as a whole.

Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the distribution of the personal names of the holders of pre-Norman manors in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire differentiated on the basis of an Old English/Old Scandinavian division. If the overall numbers of different types of name in each county are considered first it is clear that there were many more different Old Scandinavian personal names within Nottinghamshire than there were in Derbyshire (Table 2). Thus within Nottinghamshire there were 54 (51.4%) Old English names and 53 (48.6%) Old Scandinavian names, whereas in Derbyshire there were 53 (58.9%) Old English names and only 37 (41.1%) Old Scandinavian names. If the two counties are taken together there were 74 Old English names and 74 Old Scandinavian names present. Thus Derbyshire had 71.6% of the pool of Old English names, but only 50% of Old Scandinavian names. This evidence would correspond well with that of the place-names which suggested that Nottinghamshire was generally more densely occupied by people of Scandinavian stock than was Derbyshire.

Further support for this conclusion is found in the figures for the total numbers of manors in each county held by people

with Old English and Scandinavian names. While this evidence is more difficult to interpret, since it is impossible to say how many people in fact had the same name, it would appear that people with Old Scandinavian names in Derbyshire occupied a smaller proportion of the total manors in the county than did their counterparts in Nottinghamshire, and also a smaller percentage than the actual frequency of names would suggest. It should be emphasised that the figures in Table 3 represent the total numbers of names of manor holders, which is different from the total numbers of manors, since in places two or more people might be recorded as holding one manor.⁴⁵ However, in Nottinghamshire there were 171 (44.3%) instances of Old Scandinavian names being mentioned as the holder of a manor, whereas in Derbyshire there were only 96 (31.1%). Thus in Derbyshire, whereas Old Scandinavian names accounted for 41.1% of the total names in the county, such names only accounted for 31.1% of the manor holders.

Table 3 indicates the relationship of the personal name structure to the distribution of manorial holders, within given named places, which generally equate to townships, within the two counties. The first important feature to note about this concerns the actual manorial structure itself, and this is that in both counties it was more usual for a township to have more than one manor, or manorial holder, than it was for there to be a single lord in each township. However, single lord townships were much more common in Derbyshire than they were in Nottinghamshire. Thus only 91 out of the 386 (23.6%) names in Nottinghamshire occurred as holders of the only manor in a township, whereas in Derbyshire 127 out of the 309 (41.1%) names held such manors. The second feature is that in cases where there was more than one manorial holder in each township it was more common for there to be a mixture of Old English and Old Scandinavian named holders than for the townships to have all the named

holders from one stock. Again, though, this was less true of Derbyshire than it was of Nottinghamshire, with the ratios of such single stock townships to mixed stock ones being 30:35 for Derbyshire and 41:60 for Nottinghamshire.

The manorial structure of Nottinghamshire was therefore far more complex than that of Derbyshire, and if it is accepted that there was greater Scandinavian influence in Nottinghamshire this could perhaps be seen as one of the causes of the greater complexity there present. While still at the broad level of the counties it is no doubt also significant that the numbers of sokemen recorded within Domesday Book were far higher in Nottinghamshire, where there were 1,704 recorded out of a total rural 'population' of 5,573 (30.6%), than there were in Derbyshire, with only 124 out of its total 'population' of 2,746 (4.5%) being recorded as sokemen.⁴⁶ It is certainly probable that the manorial complexity of Nottinghamshire as compared with Derbyshire was also due to its greater density of population, the two counties being of an approximately similar size, but this fact may in itself have been partly due to the hypothesised higher Scandinavian immigration into Nottinghamshire.

In turning to the internal distribution of people with Old Scandinavian and Old English personal names within the two counties a number of further observations can be made. Beginning with Nottinghamshire it is evident that no part of the county stands out as being totally dominated by personal names of either stock; the spatial pattern suggests that by the 11th century the two cultures were closely integrated. The only slight exception to this generalisation is in the west of the county between Greasley and Edwinstowe, where there does appear to be a cluster of Old English names, but further west of here, in Derbyshire (Figure 3), there is no evidence of this pattern being continued.

Nevertheless it is interesting to note that three of the *-by̅* place-names of the county, Skegby, Kirkby and Linby, occur in just this area. Similarly, in the Trent valley, east of Nottingham, in the area around East Bridgford, Shelford, Burton Joyce and Holme Pierrepont, there is a clear local dominance of Scandinavian personal names. This is an area that would appear from the place-name evidence to have been at the heart of Anglo-Saxon domination, and in addition none of the place-names in this particular area are of the Grimston-hybrid nature. This evidence suggests that, in Nottinghamshire, if the earliest Scandinavian settlement had indeed been on marginal lands away from the Anglo-Saxon core, then by the 11th century there had been a sufficient cultural spread enabling people throughout the county to be given Scandinavian personal names with at least the same regularity as Old English names.

The spatial distribution of personal names in Domesday Derbyshire is more complex (Figure 3). Contrary to the situation in Nottinghamshire it does appear to be possible to pick out particular parts of the county where there are very few Scandinavian personal names recorded as holding manors in 1066. The clearest examples of this situation are to be found in the whole of the county south of the river Trent, and also in the south-west of the county in the major curve of the river Dove. Scandinavian personal names, on the other hand, are to be found in the centre of the county near the river Derwent and in the north and east. Before any tentative conclusions are drawn from this it is worth investigating the pattern in more detail to see whether or not the Old English dominance in the south and south-west could be due to the land being held by only one or two major landowners. Although in the south Ælfgar, Ælfric and the Abbey of Burton each held at least three manors, there were also a number of other Old English named lords, Ælfwine, Godric, Leofric,

Sigeward, Earnwine and Eadward, which would suggest that the Old English dominance here was not simply the result of one name covering the majority of the manors. Similar findings hold true for the south-west where in twenty contiguous townships twenty-one different Old English personal names are encountered, there being at the same time no Old Scandinavian names.⁴⁷ It is also significant to note that in the case of Barton Blount both "Godric" and "another Godric" are mentioned, which clearly indicates that the number of different names is only a minimum number for the total number of manorial lords at this date.

This Derbyshire evidence therefore suggests that the Scandinavian cultural pattern in 1066 was closely associated with the rivers Trent, Derwent and Rother, but there is little evidence of it in the south-west. It is difficult to compare this with the distribution of Scandinavian place-names due to the small number of the latter. However, it is pertinent to note that three *-by* names, Ingleby, Smisby and Bretby, were all located in the area south of the Trent. Of these names Ingleby indicates the "village of the Angles", and Bretby the "village of the Britons", which have traditionally been interpreted as suggesting isolated islands within a dominantly Scandinavian population.⁴⁸ When this evidence is related to the 11th century personal name evidence it would suggest that if these were indications of islands they were in fact parts of a far larger archipelago. The only other feature of the place-name evidence that is of relevance is the large number of *-thorp* names in the north-east (Figure 2). The difficulties in the interpretation of these names have already been mentioned, but it is interesting to note that while there are a number of Old Scandinavian personal names in this part of Derbyshire there are nevertheless a greater number of Old English names.

This brief analysis of the personal names of 11th century holders of manors in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire has suggested that it is indeed a subject worthy of investigation. It does, on the whole, agree well with the other types of evidence available, but it adds further important insights into the cultural complex prevailing in the years just prior to the Norman Conquest. These findings should nonetheless remain tentative, and it must be re-emphasised that the evidence can not by itself indicate the actual presence of people of Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon stock; it simply provides a guide to the cultural background of the area.

Conclusions

The evidence put forward in this paper suggests that it is necessary to make a number of refinements to the model of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian occupation of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire based on the evidence of place-names alone.

It would seem that in the Roman period much, if not all, of the lowland parts of these two counties was occupied; highland Derbyshire at this time provided a source of lead and was also crossed by a number of roads. It is probable that at some time between the 4th and 6th centuries there was a population decline of relatively severe proportions, perhaps due to a similar outbreak of plague to that which decimated the population of Europe in the 14th century. The first areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement, represented by *-hām* place-names and pagan burials, were restricted to the areas of easy access, with good soil and water provisions, near rivers. There is little direct evidence that the Anglo-Saxons specifically chose Roman sites for their new villages. From then until the 8th century it is likely that the Anglo-Saxons fairly quickly occupied most of the remaining

lowland areas, with the *-ingas*, *-inga-*, names still relatively near the rivers indicating the second phase of the process, and the far more widespread *-tūn* names its furthest extent.

It seems clear that the Danish invasions of the 9th century incorporated little virgin colonisation. It is true that *-bȳ* place-names do tend to occur in areas away from the core of Anglo-Saxon settlement, but these are frequently in areas once farmed in the Roman period. The simplest explanation for this pattern is that natural Anglo-Saxon population increase, associated with an influx of Scandinavians, in some places necessitated an expansion of the cultivated area. Most of the evidence suggests that the Danish and Anglo-Saxon populations soon became closely integrated, so that by the time of the Viking invasions they were both united against a common enemy. It is possible that at first the Scandinavians also occupied the areas that the Anglo-Saxons had traditionally settled, and it was only as the pressure on the land increased that they resettled such areas as north-west Nottinghamshire, giving many of these settlements *-bȳ* names. Subsequent infilling of the pattern of settlement is likely to be represented by the *-þorp* and *-þveit* names.

It is probable that the Scandinavian occupation of Derbyshire was less intensive than that of Nottinghamshire, and it is possible that parts of Derbyshire, such as the south and south-west, in fact remained culturally distinct from widespread Scandinavian influence. By the time of the Norman conquest there appears to have been a gradual spatial decrease of Scandinavian influence in the two counties from east to west, and perhaps the most important feature was that the majority of townships had more than one manor and landowner within them. Within each township these landowners, particularly in Nottinghamshire, were likely to have had personal names from both Old Scandinavian and Old English

sources.

Above all, though, this study has revealed the importance of using a wide variety of sources in an attempt to truly understand the heritage of an area; each set of data is a view of a past reality seen through one particular filter. It has also shown that an analysis of the spatial pattern of 11th century personal names provides a useful addition to our understanding of this period, and it is an area of investigation which could well be undertaken profitably in many other counties.

Acknowledgements

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P T H UNWIN

Footnotes:

- 1 Dodgson, J. McN., "The significance of place-names in -ingas, -inga in South-East England", *Medieval Archaeology*, X, 1966, 1-29; Kuurman, J., "An examination of the -ingas, -inga-place-names in the East Midlands", *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 7, 1974-1975, 11-44; and Cox, B.H., "The significance of English place-names in -ham in the Midlands and East Anglia", *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 5, 1972-1973, 15-73.
- 2 Cameron, K., *Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence*, Inaugural lecture University of Nottingham, 1965; Cameron, K., "Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence, Part II, place-names in Thorp", *Medieval Scandinavia*, 3, 1970, 35-49; Cameron, K., "Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence, Part III, the Grimston-hybrids", pp.147-163 of *England Before the Conquest*, studies presented to Dorothy Whitelock, (C.U.P.), 1971; Cameron, K., "The significance of English Place-names", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LXII, 1976.
- 3 Cameron, K., 1965, *op.cit.* (footnote 2).
- 4 Cameron, K., 1965, *op.cit.* (footnote 2) argues that "though the Scandinavian settlement of the north-east Midlands was, in a real sense, in origin a military one, a detailed examination of the sites of the place-names in *bý* in terms of the Geological Drift Map, followed by a personal investigation, suggests that the Danes came also as colonists, developing virgin land and establishing new settlements".
- 5 Fellows Jensen, G., *Scandinavian settlement names in the East Midlands*, (Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen), 1978, 368.
- 6 Gelling, M., *Signposts to the Past*, (J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London), 1978.
- 7 It should be emphasised that this paper is essentially concerned with the general pattern of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian influence. It is not an investigation into the specific pre-Norman settlement structure in the region. For this subject see Unwin, P.T.H., *Patterns and Hierarchies of Rural Settlement in Nottinghamshire before 1700*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1979.
- 8 Dodgson, J. McN., 1966, *op.cit.* (footnote 1); Cox, B.H., 1972-1973, *op.cit.* (footnote 1); and Kuurman, J., 1974-1975, *op.cit.* (footnote 1).
- 9 Cox, B.H., 1972-1973, *op.cit.* (footnote 1).

- 10 Gelling, M., "The element hamm in English Place-Names: a topographical investigation", *Namn och Bygd*, 1960, 140-162.
- 11 Sandred, K.I., "The element hamm in English Place-Names: a linguistic investigation", *Namn och Bygd*, 1976, 71-87.
- 12 Unwin, P.T.H., "Some perspectives on the place-name evidence for Nottinghamshire's early settlement", *Nomina*, 2, 1978, 22-25.
- 13 See Todd, M., "The Romano-British settlement at Staunton, Nottinghamshire", *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, LXXIX, 1975, 29-39; and Todd, M., "The Roman settlement at Margidunum: the excavations of 1966-8", *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, LXXIII, 1969, 7-112.
- 14 See footnotes 2 and 5.
- 15 Cameron, K., 1965, *op.cit.* (footnote 2).
- 16 Cameron, K., 1971, *op.cit.* (footnote 2); Stenton, F.M., "The historical bearing of place-name studies: the Danish settlement of eastern England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series XXIV, 1942, 1-24.
- 17 Cameron, K., 1971, *op.cit.* (footnote 2).
- 18 Fellows Jensen, G., 1978, *op.cit.* (footnote 5), 174.
- 19 Sawyer, P.H., *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, (Royal Historical Society, London), 1968.
- 20 Unwin, P.T.H., 1979, *op.cit.* (footnote 7).
- 21 *ib id.*
- 22 Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*. (Penguin Books), trans. L. Sherley-Price, 1968, 177; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Eds. Whitelock, D., Douglas, D.C. and Tucker, S.I., (Eyre and Spottiswoode), 1961, 20.
- 23 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1961, *op.cit.*, 46.
- 24 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1961, *op.cit.*, 48.
- 25 *ib id.*
- 26 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1961, *op.cit.*, 57.
- 27 Cameron, K., 1976, *op.cit.* (footnote 2).
- 28 See Cameron, K., *The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Part I*, English Place-Name Society vol.XXVII, (C.U.P.), 1959, xxxi-xxxii, and *Part II*, English Place-Name Society vo.XXVIII, (C.U.P.), 1959, 446.
- 29 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1961, *op.cit.*, 67.
- 30 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1961, *op.cit.*, 71.

- 31 *ibid.*
- 32 See, for example, Stenton, F.M., *Anglo-Saxon England*, (O.U.P.), 2nd ed. 1947, esp. 512-3.
- 33 Cameron, K., 1965, *op.cit.* (footnote 2).
- 34 See pp. 4-6.
- 35 For further details see Unwin, P.T.H., 1979, *op.cit.* (footnote 7).
- 36 Riley, D., "An early system of land division in South Yorkshire and North Nottinghamshire", pp.103-108 of Bowen, H.C. and Fowler, P.J., *Early Land Allotment*, B.A.R. 48, 1978; Riley, D., "Air photography based on Sheffield", *Current Archaeology*, 66, 1979, 219-222.
- 37 For arguments supporting boundary continuity see Bonney, D., "Early boundaries and estates in southern England", pp.72-82 of Sawyer, P.H. (Ed.), *Medieval Settlement*, (Edward Arnold), 1976; Jones, G.R.J., "Multiple Estates and early settlement", pp.15-40 of Sawyer, P.H. (Ed.), 1976, *op.cit.*
- 38 Fowler, P.J., "Lowland landscapes: Culture, Time and Personality", pp.1-12 of Limbrey, S. and Evans, J.C. (Eds.), *The effect of man on the landscape: the lowland zone*, being C.B.A. Research Report 21, 1978; and Cunliffe, B., "Settlement and population in the British Iron Age: some facts, figures and fantasies", pp.3-24 of Cunliffe, B. and Rowley, T. (Eds.), *Lowland Iron Age Communities in Europe*, B.A.R. International Series (Supplementary) 48, 1978.
- 39 Kuurman, J., 1974-1975, *op.cit.* (footnote 1), notes 21 Anglo-Saxon pagan burials in the west of Derbyshire and 3 in the south-east.
- 40 Von Feilitzen, O., *The pre-Conquest personal names of Domesday Book*, Nomina Germanica Arkiv för germansk namnforskning utgivet av Jöran Sahlgren, Nr.3, (Uppsala), 1937, upon whose name derivations the present analysis is largely based.
- 41 Arngart, O., "Some aspects of the relation between the English and Danish element in the Danelaw", *Studia Neophilologica*, 20, 1947-8, 73-87.
- 42 Arngart, O., 1947-8, *op.cit.* (footnote 41); Stenton, F.M., 1942, *op.cit.* (footnote 16); Steenstrupp, J.C.H.R., *Normannerne*, (R. Klein, Copenhagen), 1876-1882.
- 43 Björkman, E., *Scandinavian loan-words in Middle English*. (M. Niemeyer, Halle a.S.), 1900-1902; and Arngart, O., 1947-8, *op.cit.* (footnote 41), 75.

- 44 Arngart, O., 1947-8, *op.cit.* (footnote 41), 79-80.
- 45 It should, however, be pointed out that in fact relatively few manors were held by more than one person.
- 46 Darby, H.C. and Maxwell, I.S. (Eds.), *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, (C.U.P.), 1962, 253 and 298. The vast difference between these figures might, however, partly reflect a different categorisation of the population in the two counties.
- 47 Within the townships of Clifton, Snelston, Edlaston, Wyaston, Norbury, Roston, Cubley, Sedsall, Eaton Dovedale, Boyleston, Potter Somersall, Somersall Herbert, Doveridge, Sudbury, Aston, Sapperton, Barton Blount, Church Broughton, Hoon, and Foston the following names are mentioned as holders of manors: Sigeward, Leofnoð, Ælfric, Saewulf, Leofic, Eadwine, Wulfric, Æðelric, Ordmaer, Earngeat, Godric, Almaer, Leofwine, Wulfmaer, Wulfsige, Godwine, Eadric, Alfheah, Leodmaer, Dunning and Eadward.
- 48 Cameron, K. 1959, *op.cit.* (footnote 28).

Table 1

Mean distances, in miles, between place-name elements and nearest Roman Sites and Rivers, based on Cox's map of 1972/3.*

<u>Place-Name element</u>	<u>Roman settlement or road</u>		<u>River</u>		<u>Anglo-Saxon pagan burial site</u>	
	<u>mean</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>mean</u>	<u>s.d.</u>	<u>mean</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
<u>Nottinghamshire</u>						
-ham	3.44	2.91	1.00	0.66	5.81	3.50
-ingaham	3.00	1.82	1.20	0.60	4.70	2.82
-ingas, -inga	2.39	1.26	1.89	1.29	4.06	2.37
<u>Derbyshire</u>						
-ham	0.72	0.24	0.53	0.19	2.53	1.51
-ingas, -inga	2.40	-	2.00	-	5.60	-

s.d. is standard deviation

* figures based on map on p.66 of Cox, B.H., "The significance of the distribution of English place-names in -ham in the Midlands and East Anglia", *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 5, 1972-1973, pp.15-73. This map excludes several rivers in the west and north of Derbyshire which have been used in the calculation of these figures.

Table 2

Frequencies of Personal Names recorded in Domesday Book for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.

	<u>Total Names</u>			
	<u>Nottinghamshire</u>		<u>Derbyshire</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Old English	54	51.4	53	58.9
Old Scandinavian	51	48.6	37	41.1
	<u>105</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 3

Frequencies of names of holders of manors recorded in Domesday Book for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.

	<u>Holders of Manors</u>			
	<u>Nottinghamshire</u>		<u>Derbyshire</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Old English	215	55.7	213	68.9
Old Scandinavian	171	44.3	96	31.1
	<u>386</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>309</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 4

Frequencies of distributions of personal names of manor holders within a given named place

Ratio of Old English to Old Scandinavian personal names in a given place - 8:0 4:0 3:0 2:0 1:0 1:1 2:2 2:1 3:1 4:1 5:1 3:2 4:2 5:2 4:3

Nottinghamshire	1	10	17	44	21	5	14	3			2	3		1
Derbyshire	1		6	17	82	21	2	4	1	1	1	1		2

0:5 0:4 0:3 0:2 0:1 1:2 1:3 2:3

Nottinghamshire	1	3	1	8	47	9	2	1
Derbyshire				6	45	1		1

Thus 2:1 indicates that there are 14 named places in Nottinghamshire that have 2 Old English names and 1 Old Scandinavian name associated with manors.

Titles of Figures

1 Derbyshire Place-name Elements.

(Note to Figures 1 and 2: Place-name elements derived from Cameron, K., 1959, *op.cit.* (footnote 28), Cox, B.H., 1972-1973, *op.cit.*, (footnote 1), Kuurman, J., 1974-1975, *op.cit.* (footnote 1), and Fellows Jensen, G., 1978, *op.cit.* (footnote 5).

2 Nottinghamshire Place-name Elements.

3 Derbyshire pre-Conquest Manors Differentiated by Personal Names of Holders.

4 Nottinghamshire pre-Conquest Manors Differentiated by Personal Names of Holders.

DERBYSHIRE PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS



- hām
- + -inga-/ingas
- ingohām



- + tūn
- ingtūn
- Grimston-hybrids



0 ——— 20
kms.

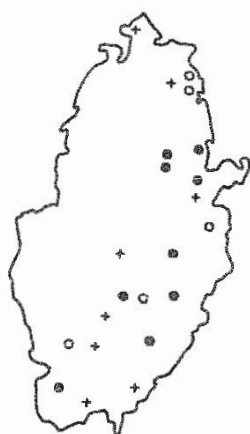


- bȳ

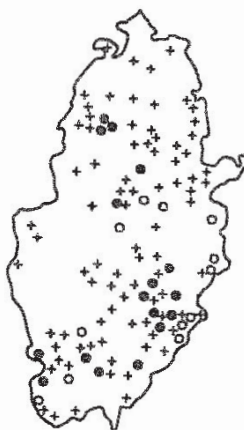


- porp
- pveit

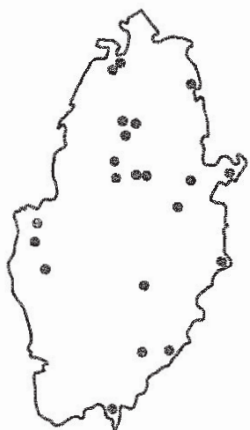
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS



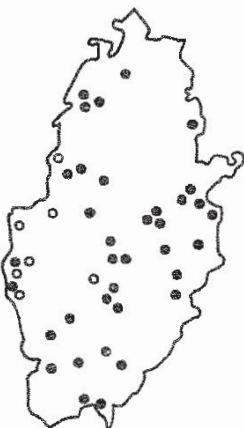
- hām
- + -inga-/ingas
- ingahām



- + tūn
- ingtūn
- Grimston-hybrids

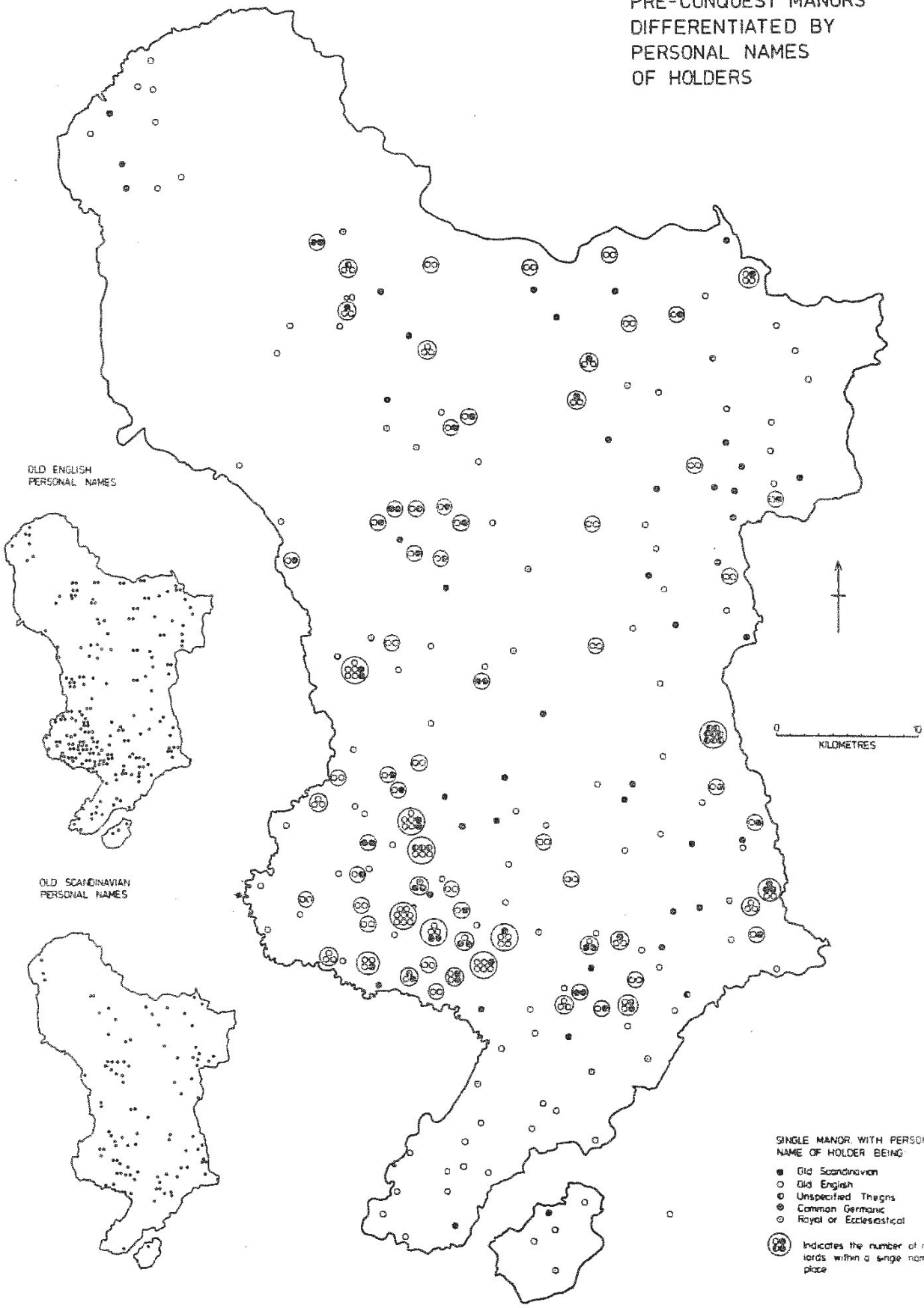


- bȳ



- porp
- pveit

DERBYSHIRE
 PRE-CONQUEST MANORS
 DIFFERENTIATED BY
 PERSONAL NAMES
 OF HOLDERS



OLD ENGLISH
 PERSONAL NAMES

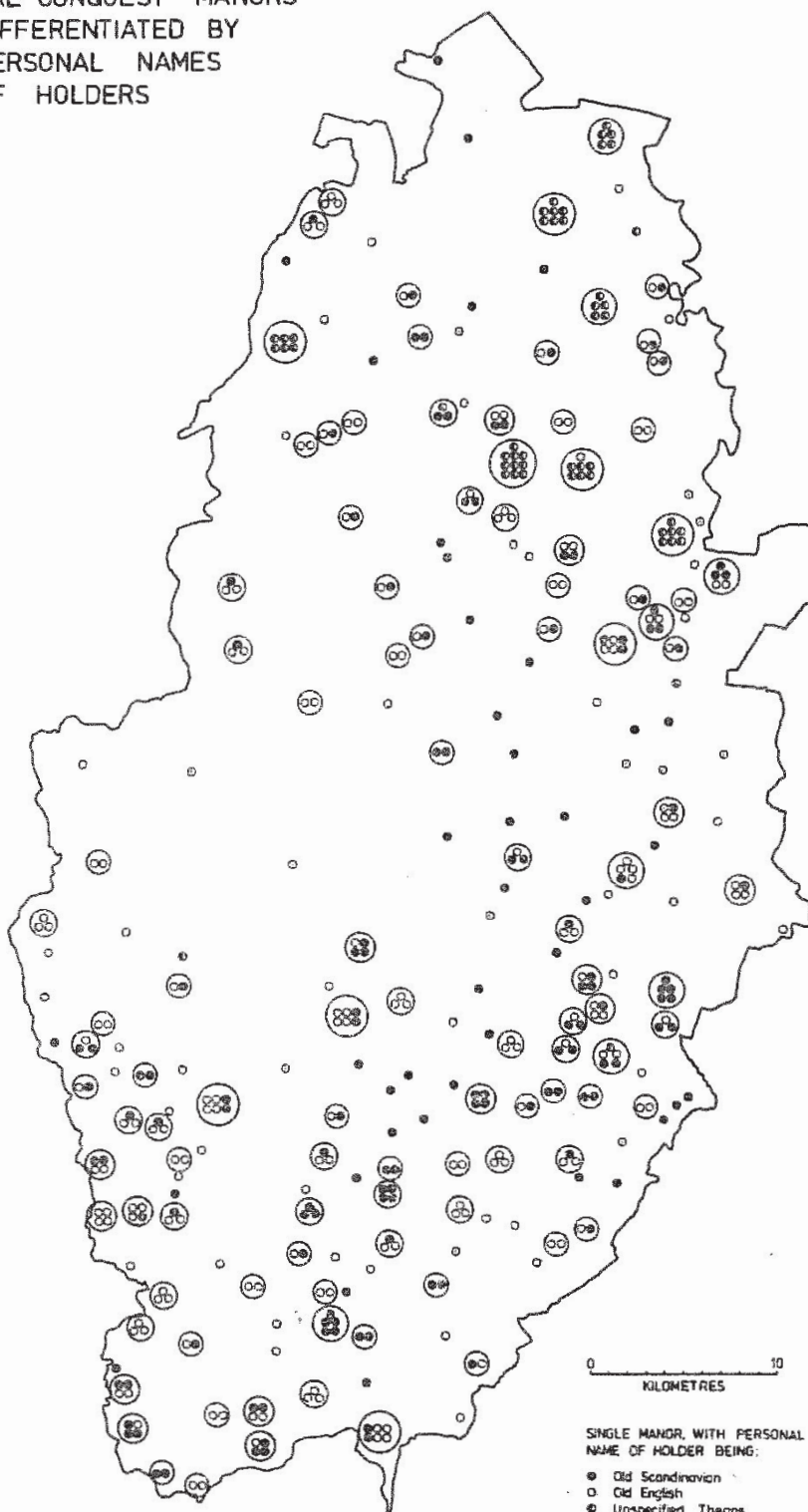
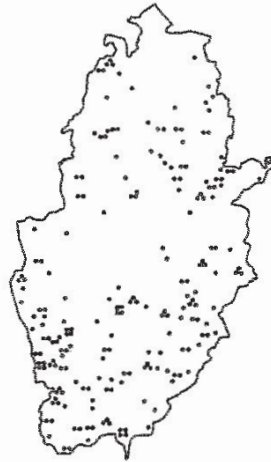
OLD SCANDINAVIAN
 PERSONAL NAMES

0 KILOMETRES 10

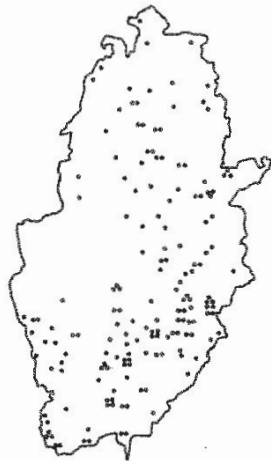
- SINGLE MANOR WITH PERSONAL NAME OF HOLDER BEING
- Old Scandinavian
 - Old English
 - Unspecified Thengs
 - ⊗ Common Germanic
 - Royal or Ecclesiastical
- ⊗ Indicates the number of manorial lords within a single named place

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE
 PRE-CONQUEST MANORS
 DIFFERENTIATED BY
 PERSONAL NAMES
 OF HOLDERS

OLD ENGLISH
 PERSONAL NAMES



OLD SCANDINAVIAN
 PERSONAL NAMES



0 10
 KILOMETRES

SINGLE MANOR, WITH PERSONAL
 NAME OF HOLDER BEING:

- Old Scandinavian
- Old English
- ⊗ Unspecified Thengs
- ⊠ Common Germanic
- ⊡ Royal or Ecclesiastical

⊙ Indicates the number of individual manors within a single named place.