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CONTINENTAL-GERMANIC PERSONAL NAMES IN ENGLAND

IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH TIMES

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

. BY

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LIC. PHIL., GÄSTR-HÄLS.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPSALA TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN ENGLISH IN LECTURE HALL I, DECEMBER 12th, 1916, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M. FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

> UPPSALA 1916 k. w. appelbergs boktryckeri

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Preface.

English personal names have been made the subject of numerous investigations from Camden's time down to our days. Some of these, however, are very unreliable and may as a rule be characterized as amateur essays based on conjectures and popular conceptions rather than on scientific and linguistic research. The most obvious defect in these papers — in the majority of cases starting from present English in point of view of the name-forms and evidently intended for a large public - is a deficient knowledge of the stock of names from which the modern forms have mostly sprung, i. e. the personal names occurring in Old and Middle English records. In spite of numerous errors, the best of the works referred to is undoubtedly Bardsley's Dictionary, in which is collected a fairly exhaustive material of Middle English p. ns, which has enabled him to trace the modern forms pretty accurately back to their Middle English substrata. Of works dealing with Old and Middle English personal names we may mention, in the first place, Searle's Onomasticon, which is "a list of Anglo-Saxon proper names from the time of Beda to that of King John". This book is no doubt of great value as containing a large collection of names with references, but should be used with the utmost caution as the reviews of it have already shown. As regards the present subject, the continental personal names 'of Old German origin in England, Searle has made no attempt at distinguishing them from the indigenous material; on the contrary, the method adopted by him of inserting here and there personal names from continental sources in order to "make the groups more complete" has caused some scholars to quote as native names such as are actually taken from the most various continental records and do not occur in England at all, at least not in the form given. Müller's study on the personal names of the oldest part of Liber Vitæ, although meritorious in many respects, has not paid due regard to the occurrence of foreign personal names in England, whence the author has been led to some erroneous explanations and identifications. The only works hitherto published with the aim of distinguishing from the native English personal nomenclature the numerous foreign personal names and onomastic elements in Old and Middle English times are - apart from Köpke's of which only the introduction has appeared - Björkmans excellent treatises Nordische Personennamen in England and Zur Englischen Namenkunde, by which the Scandinavian contribution to the stock of early English personal names has been made clear.

It has long been a recognized fact that there is, especially in Middle English, a large weft of Continental-Germanic personal names and that the introduction of these names began already before the Norman Conquest, but up till now no work has been devoted to a detailed examination of this subject, a want that the present study is intended to supply, as far as this is possible within the scope of a dissertation and with the actual state of knowledge of the continental and the Old English personal names, as well as other questions connected with this matter.

The sources that have been excerpted for collecting the material range from the oldest records to about the middle of the fourteenth century, although some texts of later dates have also been examined. The reason for my not extending my investigations beyond this limit is above all the observation that records belonging to the latter half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries as a rule

afford very scanty material of interest for the purposes of the present work. But the extremely great number of extant charters and rolls falling especially within the thirteenth century has rendered an examination of all of them impossible; further, many were not accessible to me. I am of opinion, however, that very little fresh material would be had from these documents, which mostly date from the time to which belong the majority of the voluminous records examined. I have also gone through several Old and Middle English texts which have not found any place in the Bibliography, since no quotation has been taken from them. In this connection it may be observed that the material for my study is chosen as a rule from prose records, not from poetical works, and thus presents names actually borne by persons in England and not the often more or less fictitious names figuring especially in the Middle English translations or imitations of Old French romances. There is certainly no denying the fact that names of persons occurring in popular epics and romances may on this account have obtained a wide spread and that a continental personal name in England sometimes may owe its existence as a real name to this circumstance, but it is as a rule impossible to determine whether the occurrence or popularity of such a name in England is not rather due to its occurrence or popularity among the Normans and Frenchmen that invaded England. An examination of questions of this nature is also destined to turn out more or less unsatisfactorily owing to the impossibity of distinguishing in detail between the name-bearers that are of Anglo-Saxon descent or born in England and those who have come over from the mainland, and further of ascertaining in every case the reasons that were decisive for the choice of name at the christening. As an illustration of the fusion of Norman and Anglo-Saxon p. ns I venture to quote the following statement from Freeman (Norm. Conq. V p. 560 f.): "Between the two (i. e. Norman and Scriptural names) the great mass

of our Old-English names were gradually driven out. The change began at once. The Norman names became the fashion. The Englishman whose child was held at the font by a Norman gossip, the Englishman who lived on friendly terms with his Norman lord or his Norman neighbour, nay the Englishman who simply thought it fine to call his children after the reigning King and Queen, cast aside his own name and the names of his parents to give his sons and daughters names after the new foreign pattern. The children of Godric and Godgifu were no longer Godwine and Eadgyth, but William and Matilda. Robert, the son of Godwine, the hero of Rama, the martyr of Babylon, is the type of a class. In every list of names throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find this habit spreading. The name of the father is English; the name of the son is Norman. This is a point of far more importance than anything in the mere history of nomenclature. It helps to disguise one side of the fusion between Normans and Englishmen. Many a man who bears a Norman name, many a Richard or Gilbert whose parentage does not happen to be recorded, must have been as good an Englishman as if he had been called Ealdred or Aethelwulf. No one would have dreamed that Robert, the most daring of knights, was of other than Norman descent, if the name of his father had not by good luck been preserved".

An investigation into the Cont.-Germ. personal names in England is self-evidently dependent on the stage of our knowledge of their continental ground-forms. Although much has certainly been done to elucidate the occurrence and frequency, as well as the etymologies, of the latter, much undoubtedly remains to be cleared up. In particular I regret to say that those names which are of the utmost importance for the present research, viz. the Germanic personal names of Gaul and their descendants as well as later importations from the adjacent Germanic districts and hy-

brid formations of Germanic name-elements, very numerous on Romance soil, have not as yet been completely collected and analysed by experts in Romance and Germanic philology and onomatology. As matters stand there are many difficulties which embarrass the Anglist in the interpretation of personal names in England, which might easily be solved, if he had a more intimate knowledge of the continental personal names and the development they have taken in mainland records. I wish, however, here to acknowledge my indebtedness especially to the works of Mackel and Kalbow, without which any investigation into French influence on English personal nomenclature would be impossible. On the other hand, the Cont.-Germ. personal names in England are of course of importance to the knowledge of the continental names themselves, as affording a fairly good illustration of the state of the personal nomenclature of Normandy and France at the time of the Conquest and onwards, and many of the personal names collected in the bulk of this work give evidence of the frequency of names or name-forms among the Romance invaders of England which may be useful when the history of the French personal names may at some future time be written.

In order to render a necessary discussion of the nameforms possible or to facilitate it, the etymology of every theme has been adduced. At the risk of repeating myself indefinitely, I have, for consistency's sake, given the etymology, or references to it, even in cases where it was not necessary. As regards my references to the numerous etymological notices that are scattered about in Germanic and Romance books and periodicals, they make no pretension to being complete, for this would require a much wider reading than the writer of this book has enjoyed.

Place-names containing personal names as their first members have also been mentioned as far as this has been possible, but the instances given are of course not exhaustive, because this would require a special study and because many place-names are preserved only in later Middle English forms, which certainly very often may tempt to conjectures but whose original appearance is very uncertain, owing to sound-changes or arbitrary alterations by scribes or copyists. Of works dealing with English place-names, Zachrisson's book on Anglo-Norman influence has been particularly valuable for the interpretation of questions connected with Anglo-Norman sound-laws and spelling-habits.

The Cont.-Germ. personal names dealt with in the name-list have come from very different dialects, some being Norman, French, West-Frankish or Italian, others Flemish, Frisian or belonging to some other German dialect. As regards the dates of their appearance in England, they extend from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries. Further, some of them are learned forms, others are the outcome of a regular sound-development in some dialect or have been subjected to various spelling influences. This has in many cases rendered it difficult to bring the name-forms under appropriate headings. As a rule I have followed the principal of giving as head-name the form that seemed to be most common in the records examined; in cases, however, where I have deemed it desirable to collect in one place the names which contained the same first member, although exhibiting variations in form, the method has been adopted of using less common or hypothetical forms as headings. I hope that the inconsistencies and inadvertencies in this respect, of which I may be guilty and for which I beg the indulgence of the reader, will not cause him any difficulties in finding the names, since the variants have been adduced in their alphabetical order. In the Addenda are given a few names or variants which were omitted in the name-list, as well as some names of uncertain origin and form.

It remains to be said that I had originally intended to affix to this volume a chapter on the names ending in

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the Low German suffix *-kin*, which was introduced into England in Old English times, and which played an important part in the Middle English personal nomenclature where it acquired the function of a productive name-suffix. But since these names afforded more material than was expected I have been forced to exclude this section from the present work.

It gives me great pleasure to express my hearty thanks to Professor Erik Björkman for the suggestion of the subject of this treatise, for much valuable advice accorded me during the course of my work, and for the kindness and interest he has always shown me in my studies. I also wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor K. F. Sundén of Gothenburg, who was my first teacher in Middle English, and to Mr S. J. Charleston, M. A., late Lector at the University of Upsala, who has revised my manuscript from a stylistic point of view.

Upsala, November 1916.

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I. Old and Middle English sources.

- Abb. Lind. = Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores 1195-1479, ed. J. Dowden (Scot. Hist. Soc. 42, 1903).
- Abbr. Plac. = Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum Abbreviatio (Rich. I.—Edw. II.). Rec. Com. 1811.
- AC = Ancient Charters royal and private prior to AD 1200, ed. J. H. Round (Pipe Roll Soc., London 1888).
- Alfred's translation of Bede's Hist. Eccles., ed. J. Schipper, Leipzig 1899.
- Anecd. Oxon. = Anecdota Oxoniensa: The Crawford Collection of early charters now in the Bodleian Library, ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson. Oxford 1895.
- Ann. Berm. = Annales de Bermundeseia (AD 1042-1432) in Annales Monastici vol. 3.
- Ann. Burt. = Annales de Burton (AD 1004-1263) in Annales Monastici vol. 1.
- Ann. Dunst. = Annales de Dunstaplia (AD 1—1297, appendix 1302—1459) in Annales Monastici vol. 3.
- Ann. Marg. = Annales de Margan (AD 1066-1232) in Annales Monastici vol. 1.
- Ann. Osen. = Annales de Oseneia (AD 1016-1347) in Annales Monastici vol. 4.
- Ann. Theokesb. = Annales de Theokesberia (AD 1066-1263) in Annales Monastici vol. 1.
- Ann. Waverl. = Annales de Waverleia (AD 1-1291) in Annales Monastici vol. 2.

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- Ann. Wig. = Annales de Wigornia (AD 1—1377) in Annales Monastici vol. 4.
- Ann. Wint. = Annales de Wintonia (AD 519-1277) in Annales Monastici vol. 2.
- Annales Monastici, ed. by R. Luard, London 1864-69.
- AS Chr. = Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel, ed. Ch. Plummer and J. Earle. 2 vols. Oxford 1892-99.
- Asser's Annales rerum gestarum Aelfredi Magni (in MHB). BB = Boldon Buke, a survey of the possessions of the see of Durham, made by order of Bishop Hugh Pudsey
 - in the year 1183, ed. W. Greenwell (Surt. Soc., vol. 25, Durham 1852).
- BCS = Cartularium Saxonicum. A collection of charters relating to Anglo-Saxon history, ed. W. de Gray Birch. 3 vols. London 1885-93.
- Bede, HE = Bede's Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols., Oxford 1896.
- Beow. = Beowulf, ed. Holthausen, Heidelberg 1908.
- Beverley = Memorials of Beverley Minster: The chapter act book of the collegiate church of S. John of Beverley AD 1286-1347, ed. A. F. Leach. (Surt. Soc. 98, 108, Durham 1898, 1903).
- Biogr. Misc. = Miscellana Biographica: Oswinus, Rex Northumbriæ; Cuthbertus, Episcopus Lindisfarnensis; Eata, Episcopus Hagustaldensis. (Surt. Soc. Durham 1838).
- Cal. Doc. = Calendar of documents, preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I AD 918-1206, ed. J. H. Round. London 1899.
- Cal. Inq. = Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem and other analogous documents (Henry III.—Edw. III., Henry VII.). London 1898 etc.
- CCR = Calendar of the Charter rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. (Vol. 1 AD 1226-57, vol. 2 AD 1257

-1300, vol. 3 AD 1300-1326.) London 1903, 1906, 1908.

- CG = Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ, ed. W. H. Hart. 3 vols., London 1863-67.
- Chr. Joh. Ox. = Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes, ed. H. Ellis (in Chronicles and Memorials 13, London 1859).
- Chr. Jord. Fant. = Fantosme, J., Chronicle of the war between the English and the Scots, ed. F. Michel in Surt. Soc., London 1840.
- Chr. Petr. = Chronicon Petroburgense, ed. Th. Stapleton (Camden Soc., London 1849).
- Chr. Thom. = Chronicon Thomæ Wykes (AD 1066-1289) in Annales Monastici vol. 4.
- CMR = Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia, ed. W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons. 3 vols. (in Chronicles and Memorials 79, London 1884—93).
- CPR = Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. 6 vols. (AD 1281-1338). London 1893-95.
- CR = Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati. 2 vols. (AD 1204—24, 1224—27), ed. Th. D. Hardy. Rec. Com., London 1833, 1844.
- CRC = Calendarium rotulorum chartarum et inquisitionum ad quod damnum. Rec. Com., London 1803.
- Cust. = Custumals of Battle Abbey, in the reigns of Edw. I. and Edw. III. (AD 1283-1312), ed. S. R. Scargill-Bird (Camden Soc. 1887).
- DB = Domesday Book seu Liber censualis Wilhelmi Primi regis Angliæ. 2 vols. London 1783; Vol. IV Additamenta: Exon DB, Inquisitio Eliensis, Liber Winton.
- Duc. Lanc. = Ducatus Lancastriæ pars prima calendarium inquisitionum post mortem (Edw. I.—Mary). Rec. Com. 1823.
- Earle = Earle, J., Handbook to the Landcharters and other Saxonic documents. Oxford 1888.

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- Ellis, Intr. = Ellis, H. A general introduction to Domesday Book. 2 vols., London 1833.
- ESC = Early Scottish charters prior to AD 1153. Collected, with notes and an index, by sir Archibald Lawrie. Glasgow 1905.
- Exc. Rot. Fin. = Excerpta è rotulis finium in Turri Londinensi asservatis. 2 vols. (AD 1216-46, 1246-72). Rec. Com., London 1835, 1836.
- Exon DB = Exon Domesday in DB vol. IV.
- FA = Inquisitions and assessments relating to Feudal Aids; with other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office. 5 vols. (AD 1284—1431). London 1899—1908.
- Fabr. Rolls = The Fabric Rolls of York Minster with an appendix of illustrative documents. Surt. Soc. 35, Durham 1859.
- Fines = Fines, sive pedes finium, sive finales concordiæ in curia domini regis (AD 1195—1214). 2 vols. Rec. Com., London 1835, 1844.
- Flor. Wig. = Florentius Wigorniensis: Chronicon ex. Chronicis (in MHB).
- FY = Register of the Freemen of the city of York from the city records. Vol. 1 (AD 1272-1558), Surt. Soc. 96, Durham 1897.
- Gaunt = John of Gaunt's Register, ed. S. Armitage-Smith, Camden Soc. 20, 21, London 1911.
- Giff. Reg. = The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York AD 1266-1279. Surt. Soc. 1904.
- Gir. Cambr. = Giraldi Cambrensis opera, ed. J. F. Dimock (Chronicles and Memorials, London 1867 ff.).
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Grueber, see Keary.

Hen. Hunt. = Henry of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum, ed. Th. Arnold (Rolls Series) London 1879.

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- Hist. Ab. = Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon. 2 vols., ed. E. J. Stevenson (in Chronicles and Memorials) London 1859.
- Hist. Aug. = Historia monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis by Thomas of Elmham, formerly monk and treasurer of that foundation (in Chronicles and Memorials 8, London 1858).
- Hist. Pap. = Historical papers and letters from the northern registers (in Chronicles and Memorials 61, London 1873).
- Inq. Non. = Nonarum inquisitiones in curia scaccarii (c. AD 1341) Rec. Com. 1807.
- KCD = Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici, ed. J. Kemble. 6 vols. London 1839-48.
- Keary Ch. F. and Grueber, H. A., A Catalogue of English coins in the British Museum. 2 vols. London 1887, 1893.
- Lib. Hyde = Liber monasterii de Hyda, comprising a chronicle of the affairs of England, from the settlement of the Saxons to the reign of King Cnut; and a chartulary of the Abbey of Hyde, in Hampshire (AD 455 -1023) (in Chronicles and Memorials 45, London 1866).
- Linc. Obit. = Obituary, 12th century, Lincoln Cathedral (in Gir. Cambr., vol. 7, pp. 153-164).
- LV = the oldest part of LVD, edited by Sweet in OET pp. 153-166.
- LVD = Liber Vitæ ecclesiæ Dunelmensis nec non obituaria duo ejusdem ecclesiæ, ed. J. Stevenson, Surt. Soc., London 1841.
- LVH = Liber Vitæ, Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1892. Not accessible to me, but quoted from Searle.
- MHB = Momenta historica Britanica, ed. H. Petrie and J. Sharpe. London 1848.

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- MRS = Magnum rotulum scaccarii, vel magnum rotulum pipæ ed. J. Hunter. Rec. Com. 1833.
- Mem. Ripon = Memorials of the church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon. Vol. 4. Surt. Soc. 1908.
- Obed. = Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey, ed. R. E. G. Kirk, Camden Soc. 1892.
- Obit., see LVD.
- OET = The Oldest English texts, ed. H. Sweet. London 1885.
- Ped. Fin. = Feet of fines. 4 vols. (AD 1182-1199), in the Pipe Roll Soc., London 1894-1900.
- Ped. Fin. Ebor. = Pedes Finium Ebor. (AD 1199-1214). Surt. Soc. 1894.
- Pipe Roll = The great Roll of the Pipe. 4 vols. (AD 1158 --62) Pipe Roll Soc., London 1884-85.
- Plac. = Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I, II, III, in curia receptæ scaccarii Westm. asservata. Rec. Com., London 1818.
- Prior. Finch. = The charters of endowment, inventories and account rolls of the Priory of Finchale in the county of Durham. Surt. Soc. 1837.
- Prior. Hexh. = The Priory of Hexham, its chroniclers, endowments, and annals. 2 vols. Surt. Soc. 44, 46, Durham 1864-65.
- Pt. Y = Rotuli collectorum subsidii regi a laicis anno secundo concessi in Westrythyngo (poll-tax, 2 Richard II.). Yorks. Archæol. and Topogr. Journal V, VI, VII.
- R = The great Rolls of the Pipe for the second, third and fourth years of the reign of King Henry the Second (AD 1155-58) and for the first year of King Rich.
 I. (AD 1189-90), ed. J. Hunter, London 1844.
- RB = The Red Book of the exchequer. 3 vols., ed. H. Hall. London 1896.
- RC = Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati (AD 1199-1216). Rec Com., London 1837.

- RCR = Rotuli Curiæ regis. Rolls and records of the court held before the Kings justiciars or justices. Vol 1 (from the sixth year of Rich. I. to the accession of John), vol. 2 (the first year of the reign of King John). Rec. Com., London 1835.
- RH = Rotuli hundredorum tempor. Henr. III. et Edw. I. in Turri Londinensi et in curia receptæ scaccarii Westm. asservati. 2 vols. Rec. Com., London 1812, 1818.
- RLP = Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati. Vol. 1 (AD 1201—1216), ed. Th. D. Hardy. Rec. Com., London 1835.
- RM = Registrum Malmesburiense. The Register of Malmesbury Abbey. 2 vols., ed. J. S. Brewer (in Chronicles and Memorials, London 1879, 1880).
- Reg. Corp. Christ. = The Register of the guild of Corpus Christi in the city of York with an appendix of illustrative documents. Surt. Soc. 57, Durham 1868.
- Reg. Lib. = Reginaldi monachi Dunelmensis libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus quæ novellis patrate sunt temporibus. Surt. Soc. 1835.
- Rob. Gros. = Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolæ, ed. R. Luards (in Chronicles and Memorials, London 1861).
- Rot. Canc. = Rotulus cancellarii, vel antigraphum magni rotuli pipæ, de tertio anno regni regis Johannis. Rec. Com. London 1833.
- Rot. Fin., see Rot. Obl.
- Rot. Norm. = Rotuli Normanniæ, ed. F. D. Hardy. Vol. I (AD 1200-1205, 1417). London 1835.
- Rot. Obl. = Rotuli de oblatis et finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati, tempore regis Johannis. Rec. Com., London 1835.
- Rot. Orig. = Rotulorum originalium in curia scaccarii abbreviatio. 2 vols. (Henr. III.—Edw. III.). Rec. Com., London 1805, 1810.

- Sanct. Dun. = Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacense (AD 1464-1539). Surt. Soc. 1837.
- Select Pleas, Stars and other records from the rolls of the exchequer of the Jews (AD 1220-84), ed. J. M. Rigg (in the Jewish Hist. Soc., London 1902).
- Sim. Durh. = Symeonis Dunelmensis opera et collectanea. Surt. Soc. 1868.
- State Trials of the reign of Edw. I. (AD 1289-98), ed. for the Royal Hist. Soc. by T. F. Tout and Hilda Johnstone. London 1906.
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- Test. Nev. = Testa de Nevill sive liber feodorum in curia scaccarii temp. Henr. III. et Edw. I. Rec. Com., London 1807.
- Thorpe = Diplomatarium Anglicum aevi Saxonici, ed. B. Thorpe, London 1865.
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Abbreviations (not given above).

abl.	= ablative.
acc.	= accusative.
AfdA	= Anzeiger f. deutsches Altertum.
AN	= Anglo-Norman.
Archiv	= Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.
AS	= Anglo-Saxon.
Beitr.	= Beiträge z. Gesch. der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.
C	= Chapter.
e.	= century.
Centr. F	= Central French.
dat.	= dative.
DCB	= Dictionary of Christian Biography.
dim.	= diminutive.
E. St.	= Englische Studien.
fem.	= female, feminine.
Fris.	= Frisian.
gen.	= genitive.
HG	= High German.
IF	= Indogermanische Forschungen.
L	= Liber
\mathbf{LF}	= Low Frankish.
LG	= Low German.
ME	= Middle English.
M. Lat.	= Middle Latin.
mon.	= moneyer.
NE	= New English.
NED	= A New English Dictionary on historical principles.
NF	= Norman-French.
nom.	= nominative.

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obl.	= oblique (case).
OE	= Old English.
OF	= Old French.
O Fris.	= Old Frisian.
OG	= Old German.
OHG	= Old High German.
O Icel.	= Old Icelandic.
ON	= Old Norse.
OS	= Old Saxon.
O Swed.	= Old Swedish.
Paul's Gr.	= Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie.
p. n(s)	= personal name(s).
pl. n(s)	= place-name(s).
Rom.	= Romance.
WF	= West Frankish.
$\mathbf{Z}\mathbf{f}\mathbf{d}\mathbf{A}$	= Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.

Introduction.

CHAPTER I.

A short survey of the principal political and commercial relations between England and the Continent in the early Middle Ages with documentary evidence of continental settlers and settlements.

When the Germanic tribes of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes invaded Britain in the fifth century and conquered its Romano-Celtic population, they probably did not altogether break off their intercourse with their continental kinsmen. On the contrary, it would seem likely that, after the occupation of Britain, there followed a constant influx of immigrants from the coasts of the opposite mainland, although there appears to be no direct evidence in support of this assumption. Real political relations between England and the continent, however, were not opened as long as the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were still contending for mastery. It is not till King Aethelberht had established the supremacy of Kent over Middlesex and Essex as well as over East Anglia and Mercia, that political relations and regular communication with the dominion of the Franks commence. This was chiefly due to Aethelberht's marriage to the Frankish princess Berta, daughter of Charibert, King of Paris. Of special consequence is the conversion of parts of England to Christianity, which was effected in his reign and by which the fortunes of England became linked to those of Western Europe. Well known is the interest that Pepin of Heristal took in Willibrord, the Northumbrian, who had been summoned to take up the work that the Anglo-Saxon

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missionary Wilfrid had left incomplete in Frisia¹, and the same interest in English affairs was maintained by Pepin's son Charlemagne, who, especially by Alcuin's influence, was drawn into close relations with the north of England, relations which soon acquired an essentially political character. In the struggles that were fought within the Anglo-Saxon dominions the conquered party often applied to the Frankish court to obtain shelter. The West-Saxon prince Ecgberht had been forced to flee to the Mercian court. After Beorhtric's marriage to a daughter of Offa, England was not safe for him any longer, for which reason he betook himself to the court of Charlemagne, where he stayed for thirteen years. He is also said to have served for three years in Charles's army². When the West-Saxon queen Eadburg had poisoned her husband, the above-mentioned Beorhtric, she sought refuge with Charles, and received from him the gift of a great abbey.

Charles's relations to King Offa are not quite clear. There seem to have been some difficulties in connection with the English pilgrims who visited Rome. In a letter from Charles to Offa, published in BCS 270, the former promises to protect the Anglo-Saxons of Offa's dominions on their journeys through France, on condition that they do not carry on trade under pretext of being pilgrims ("non religioni servientes sed lucra sectantes"). There also seems to have been an estrangement between the two monarchs owing to the failure of matrimonial negotiations. Charles wanted to marry Offa's daughter to his son, but Offa would consent only on condition that Charles's daughter Berta should be given to his son Ecgferth. The friendly relations between the two kings were probably restored by the mediation of the Northumbrian Alcuin, who was the centre of the literary revival at Charles's court. Later, close rela-

¹ Cf. Bede, HE L V, C X.

² See AS Chr. AD 836.
tions seem to have been established by the mission of the Frankish abbot Wigbod and by the interest Alcuin took in the church of his native country, which gave the relations between the kings a particularly religious and ecclesiastical character. Charles was also involved in the successional troubles of the Northumbrian kings. He restored King Eardwulf, who is said to have been his son-in-law, and who had been exiled from his country, and, as Mr Freeman puts it¹, "there seems reason to believe that both the Northumbrian and his Scottish neighbours acknowledged themselves the vassals of the new Augustus".

After the death of the West-Saxon king Ecgberht in 839, his son Aethelwulf succeded him on the throne. In spite of the troubles he had with the Viking invasions that began about this time, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome. On his way back he also visited the Frankish court, from which he brought with him home as his wife the princess Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. Two years afterwards, however, he died, and in his will he directed among other things that in his dominions "one man in ten, whether a native or a foreigner, should be supplied with meat, drink and clothing by his successors until the Day of Judgment". After the death of her husband. Judith married his son Aethelbald, but after his death she returned to France, where she married Baldwin, afterwards Count of the borderlands of Flanders. Of this marriage, Mathilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, was a descendent in the seventh generation.

Alfred's reign was almost completely taken up by his struggle with the invading Norsemen. To be noticed are, however, the revival of learning and religion which took place in his time, and which brought foreign monks and scholars into England, as well as the marriage of his daughter Aelfthryth to Baldwin II, Count of Flanders, of the conse-

3 a T. Forssner

¹ FNC I p. 39 f.

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quences of which a particular account will be given in the next chapter.

After Alfred, Aethelstan (925-940) was the first monarch to bring England into closer political relations with the continent. By the marriages of his half-sisters, the daughters of Edward the Elder, he was the brother-in-law of the most powerful rulers of Western Europe. Charles the Simple of France married Eadgifu, who afterwards sought refuge in England with her son Louis in the troubles that came after her husband was dethroned. The young prince was reared at the court of Aethelstan, whence he was recalled after seven years to be crowned king of the West Franks, known in history by the name of Louis IV (d'outre mer)¹. Aethelstan's sister Eadhild was married to Duke Hugh of Paris. To King Otto, the future Roman emperor, he sent two of his sisters, Eadgyth and Aelfgifu, that Otto might make his choice between them. Eadgyth was chosen, and Aelfgifu was given to an unknown prince somewhere near the Alps. It is certainly chiefly to these political relations that the frequency of Cont.-Germ. personal names in England in Aethelstan's reign is due.

During the reigns of his two younger brothers, Eadmund (940—946) and Eadred (946—955), political relations with the continent were maintained on the whole uninterrupted, and the same also is true of the reign of his successor Eadgar, from which time, moreover, the direct and intimate connection between English and Norman history begins, probably to some extent brought about by the ecclesiastical movement that now took place in England, the monastic reform under Dunstan, to which I have referred more in detail in the next chapter. In Eadgar's time so

¹ In the war that was carried on between this Louis and Otto, king of the East Franks, in 939, Aethelstan sent a fleet to support Louis, but the result does not seem to have been anything but the ravaging of some parts of the opposite coast.

many foreigners and foreign customs were introduced into England that the entry in AS Chr. AD 959 E was formed into the following well-known complaint:

Ane misdæda he dyde þeah to swiðe. *p* he ælþeodige unsida lufode.
7 hæðene þeawas, innan þysan lande, gebrohte tofæste.
7 utlændisce¹ hider in tihte.

7 deoriende leoda bespeon to pysan earde.

Aethelred II came to the throne in 978, after the short reign of his half-brother Edward the Martyr. There seems to have been some warfare between him and Richard the Good of Normandy, and Aethelred sent an expedition to Cotentin, the Western point of Normandy, but he does not seem to have been successful in this enterprise. After the death of his first wife, Aethelred married Richard's sister Emma in order to strengthen his position. She was brought over to England in 1002, and, to please English ears, her Norman name was changed to the common Anglo-Saxon name Aelfgifu, which gave rise to the following notice in AS Chr. : "# was Aelfgiue (on Englisc.) Ymma (on Frencisc.)." Henry of Huntingdon says that "from this union of an English king with the daughter of a Norman duke, the Normans justly, according to the law of nations, challenged and obtained possession of the English land". When Aethelred's power was declining, he sent Emma and her two sons, Alfred and Edward (the Confessor), back to Normandy, from where, however, she was once more brought over to be queen of England by her marriage to Cnut, the Danish successor of Edmund Ironside. In 1037, she was exiled and forced to seek shelter from her nephew, Baldwin of Flanders, till three years afterwards, on the death of Harold Harefoot,

¹ The word utlændisce Will. Malm. explains more particularly as Saxones, Flandritæ, ipsi etsiam Dani.

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she accompanied Harthacnut, her son by Cnut, back to England.

The friendly relations with Germany that had existed from Aethelstan's reign were kept up by Cnut who in 1036 married his daughter Gunhild to Heinrich III and, after Cnut's death, the German emperor was drawn into close relations with the English government under Edward the Confessor (1042-1066). Heinrich wanted Edward's help to guard the coasts of the North Sea against Baldwin of Flanders, and Edward was the more willing to comply with this request as Flanders had in his reign been the refuge of Norse pirates who had successfully invaded Essex. In other respects, too, Flanders was the seat and support of the opposition against Edward. English refugees often sought shelter there and readily obtained it. Of these it may suffice to mention Gunhild, a relative of Cnut's, and Swein, the son of Godwine, as well as Godwine himself, Tostig and Gyrth. Especially noteworthy is Godwine's sojourn in Flanders in the winter of 1051-52, when he collected an army for an attack on the southern parts of England. Edward had for many years been an exile at the court of the Norman duke. When he came to the English throne there was a considerable influx of Normans of whom many held the most important offices in state and church. The result of the above-mentioned attack of Godwine's on Kent and Surrey was that most of Edward's foreign favourites were compelled to betake themselves back to their native country. Others possibly took refuge at the court of Macbeth, king of Scotland. Normans are at any rate mentioned as partakers on the Scotch side in the war that was carried on between the Scotch king and the Northumbrian earl Siward in 1054.

While Edward the Confessor was thus mostly drawn to Normans and Frenchmen, his successor Harold endeavoured to strengthen his power by entering into relations with Germany. All the foreigners promoted by him, or in the period of his influence, were Germans and mostly na-

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tives of Lotharingia which then chiefly comprised the Southern Netherlands. Although these promotions of Germans had begun already in Cnut's reign as the result of his relations with the Emperor Heinrich, Harold's German policy is rather to be looked upon as an attempt at counterbalancing the Norman and French influence on English affairs under his predecessor Edward.

We have now come down to the by far most important event in English history, the Norman Conquest. It is needless here to enter on a detailed account of the Conquest itself or its political consequences. It is to well known that from this time down to the death of John Lackland the history of England is the history of foreign government and foreign influence. It may suffice to state that the Normans who now took possession of England and of whom many were richly provided for with English lands at the cost of their previous Anglo-Saxon owners, as well as the Frenchmen, who in great numbers accompanied them, mostly bore names of Germanic origin. This is due to the fact that, at the end of the fifth and at the beginning of the sixth century, the Franks had conquered the whole of Gaul with the exception of the kingdom of Burgundy and Provence. Up to the sixth century there are only few Germanic personal names on record in Gaul but in this century they increase largely in number and, in the course of the following centuries, they almost entirely replace the previous, chiefly Roman, personal nomenclature that reigned before the coming of the Germanic tribes. When, further, the Norsemen settled in the north of France and founded the Duchy of Normandy, the Old German personal nomenclature, already predominant in these regions, was blended with their own, which blending could take place the more easily as the personal names in question belonged to the same Germanic stock and in many cases did not even exhibit the slightest discrepancies in form. And just as the Frankish personal names had replaced the Roman in Gaul, almost

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to the same extent the Norman personal names replaced the Anglo-Saxon, although the change was effected must more rapidly in the latter case. On the conquest of the Norman soldiers there followed a peaceful and uninterrupted invasion especially of the trading classes of Normandy and France, which caused a steady increase of the Cont.-Germ. personal names in England.

The Conqueror was also accompanied into England by a great many volunteers from various parts of Western Europe, of whom the most important were the Flemings. The appearance of these Flemings in the Norman army is to some extent explained by the Conqueror's marriage to Matilda, the eldest daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Flanders. The first mention of Flemings in England occurs in the description of the battle of Hastings in AS Chr. 1066 C: "pa com Harald Engla chinge ofer pere brigge and his furde mid hine 7 pere michel wel geslogon ge Norweis ge Flæming ... " It is probable that there were also Flemings in the army that Tostig gathered and brought against England in 1066 and about which Flor. Wig. says: "Non multo post, comes Tostius de Flandria rediens, ad Vectum insulam applicuit". After this time we constantly meet with the names of Flemings in the English annals, e. g. in AS Chr. 1080: "On pisum geare wæs se b Walchere ofslagen on Dunholme æt anum gemote 7 an hund manna mid him Frencisce 7 Flemisce"¹, and ibid. 1102: "On ðisum ylcan geare on Pentecosten mæssan wuce þa coman þeofas sum of Aluearnie ('Auvergne'), sum of France 7 sum of Flanders 7 breocan pa mynstre of Burh ('Peterborough') 7 pær inne naman mycel to gode on golde 7 on seolfre pæt wæron roden 7 calicen 7 candelstican".

After William Rufus had taken Cumberland in 1092, he sent English and Flemish colonists to live there, and there are indeed traces of Flemish influence on the personal

¹ Cf. FNC IV p. 672 f.

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as well as the place-nomenclature of this district in the twelfth century¹.

As an illustration of the vast immigration of Flemings into England, especially in the reign of Henry I, the following statement about this king in Rob. Glouc. 1154 may serve:

"& out of londe drof his fon wan he any founde & namelyche hom of flaunders, vor hii were mest is fon".

It is from this time, too, that the large settlements of Flemings in Rhos and Pembroke in South Wales dates. They were evidently to a great extent sent there by King Henry himself to judge by the following statement of Will. Malm.: "Walenses rex Henricus, semper in rebellionem surgentes, crebris expeditionibus in deditionem premebat; concilioque salubri nixus, ut eorum tumorem extenuaret. Flandrenses omnes Angliæ accolas eo traduxit. Plures enim, qui tempore patris pro materna cognatione confluxerant, occultabat Anglia, adeo ut ipsi regno pro multitudine onerosi viderentur; quapropter cum substantiis et necessitudinibus apud Ros, provinciam Walliarum, velut in sentinam congessit, ut et regnum defaecaret, et hostium brutam temeritatem retunderet". Cf. also Higden's Polychronicon (VII, 432): "Gens Flandriæ propter desolationem patriæ suæ per jactationem æquoreæ arenæ diu vagabunda, locum habitationis a rege Henrico expetiit et obtinuit apud orientalem plagam (Angliæ) juxta Twedam. Qui tamen postmodum sub anno regni XI translati sunt in Westwalliam"².

To the great number of Flemings in England in those days the following extract from Chr. Thom. (AD 1173) also bears witness: "Comes Leycestriæ in ultionem destructionis Leycestriæ, favente sibi Hugone, X milia Flandrenses navigio transvexit in Anglia, qui omnes dum de Suffolchia procedere

¹ Cf. FNC V p. 119, Lindkvist, Intr. p. 54.

² Further evidence of this settlement is found in Heuser p. 174 ff.

cogitarent ad partes Leycestriæ, comprehensi per regios, ad duo militaria prope Sanctum Eadmundum in vico qui dicitur Fourham a minimo usque ad maximum interfecti sunt". The same event is also recorded in Chr. Petr. AD 1174.

In the year 1184 Ann. Wig. has the following entry: "Flandrenses vastaverunt Northwiche". Flemings are also mentioned as taking part in the war between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174. Cf. Chr. Jord. Fant. v. 1201: "L'ost fud merveillus, de grant chevalerie, de Flamens e de marchis fiere la cumpaignie". Further historical evidence of the extent of the Flemish invasion of England in those days is superfluous. It had assumed such dimensions that it could not but exercise a vast influence on the English personal nomenclature¹.

Besides these Flemish soldiers and colonists in England there was, especially in the 13th century, a considerable invasion of Flemish merchants and craftsmen from the important commercial and manufacturing districts of Flanders. Of the many extant charters proving the privileges of these Flemings in England it may be sufficient to quote the following, dated Windsor, Aug. 6. AD 1259 (from CCR II p. 22): "Grant to the burgesses and merchants of Ghent that they and their goods, whenever found throughout the king's dominions, shall not be arrested for any debt, whereof they are not sureties or principal debtors, unless the debtors be of their commune and power, having wherewith to satisfy the debt in whole or in part and the burgesses of Ghent, by whom that town is governed, have failed in justice to the king's subjects, who can prove such failure; moreover the said burgesses and merchants shall not lose any goods in the hands of their servants so far as they can prove ownership; moreover if the said burgesses and merchants

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¹ It seems, however, as if the Flemish influence on the language in general has been somewhat over-estimated by Heuser in his paper on this subject.

die within the king's dominions testate or intestate, the king will not confiscate their goods, but their heirs shall have them so far as they can prove ownership of the said goods, provided that knowledge (notitia) or proof can be had of the said heirs; and the said burgesses and merchants may safely come into the king's dominions and tarry there, paying the due customs, so that if at any time war arise between the King of France or others and the king, the said burgesses and merchants shall have warning to quit the realm with their goods within forty days".

The principal trades that were carried on by the Flemish craftsmen in England will be fairly well illustrated by the following extract taken at random from the list of the freemen of York: Laurentius Conyng, de Flandre, webster (AD 1352); Johannes Cayser, patenmaker (AD 1367); Nich. le yhonge, de Flandre, bellowmaker (AD 1372); Johannes Braban, lynnenwever (AD 1379); Nich. de Andwerp, cordwaner (AD 1379); Gilbertus Andwerp, glover (AD 1379); Nicholaus Parant, draper (AD 1381); Joh. van Seint Truden, wever (AD 1388); Will. Smythhusen, payntour (AD 1389); Galfridus, cardemaker (AD 1390); Petrus van Rode, coleour maker (AD 1400); Marcellus van Derhill, carver (AD 1413); Conradus van Dorvin, sadeler (AD 1414); Florentius Janson, berebrewer (AD 1416); Mathias van Dale, tailliour (AD 1419); Willelmus Gent, glasyer (AD 1421); Nicholaus van Yende, turnour (AD 1452); Willelmus Albright, cutler et buklermaker (AD 1455); Johannes van Acon, hatmaker (AD 1464); Johannes Ducheman, potmaker (AD 1473). A probably Flemish craftsman is also Theodricus aurifaber, settled in England already in the time of Edward the Confessor and appearing as a landholder in DB. In later times we often find the goldsmith's trade in England carried on not only by Flemings but also to a comparatively great extent by natives of Cologne. Cf. e. g. Johannes de Colonia, goldsmith, mentioned among the freemen of York in 1388.

The name of the Flemings and of Flanders is preserved

in several English pl. ns, of which it may suffice to mention Flemingby in Cumberland (e. g. CCR II p. 250, AD 1281), a reminiscence of the Flemish settlement in this county which we have referred to above, the Flemish Way ('via Flandrensis') in Wales (CCR I p. 260, AD 1241) from the Flemish settlement there, Flemdich (Kent) RH II p. 436, and further Flanders Hall in Warwickshire "so denominated from Hugh, a younger brother to William Odingsells, because his ancestors came out of Flanders, whose descendants assumed it for their surname"¹. Further instances are found in Bartholomew's Gazetteer.

Before bringing these fragmentary notes to an end it will be appropriate to devote a few pages to the appearance in England of settlers of some other nationalities, that have played a not unimportant part in the constitution of the Old and Middle English personal nomenclature. It seems likely that there were a large number of Franks in England in OE times, although they are not often mentioned in extant records. The earliest mention of French workmen occurs in Bede, Hist. Abbat. (Plummer's Edition. p. 368) in his description of the building of St. Peter's monastery at Wearmouth by Benedict Bishop: "Nec plusquam unius anni spatio post fundatum monasterium interiecto, Benedictus oceano transmisso Gallias petens, cementarios qui lapideam sibi æcclesiam iuxta Romanorum quem semper amabat morem facerent, postulauit, accepit, adtulit... Proximante autem ad perfectum opere, misit legatarios Galliam, qui uitri factores, artifices uidelicet Brittaniis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas æcclesiæ porticumque et caenaculorum eius fenestras adducerent. Factumque est, uenerunt; nec solum opus postulatum compleuerunt, sed et Anglorum ex eo gentem huiusmodi artificium nosse ac discere fecerunt; artificium nimirum uel lampadis æcclesiæ claustris, uel uasorum multifariis usibus non ignobiliter aptum. Sed et cuncta quæ ad altaris et

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¹ Cf. Duignan, Warw. Pl. Ns p. 57.

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acclesia ministerium competebant, uasa sancta, uel uestimenta, quia domi inuenire non potuit, de transmarinis regionibus aduectare religiosus emptor curabat". The art of glass-making thus introduced by Benedict into the North does not seem to have flourished there long, for less than a century after his death an abbot of Wearmouth was obliged to send for a glass-maker to Germany, because the craft had been forgotten in that neighbourhood.

In Asser, De Rebus gestis Aelfredi (AD 868) we find the following statement about the various nationalities represented in Alfred's dominion: "Franci autem multi, Frisones, Galli, Pagani, Britones et Scoti, Armorici, sponte se suo dominio subdiderant, nobiles scilicet et ignobiles quos omnes sicut suam propriam gentem, secundam suam dignitatem regebat, deligebat, honorabat, pecunia et potestate ditabat". It would seem as if the immigration of Franks into England is to some extent to be looked upon as the result of the Viking raids into their own country, to judge by the following passage in Lib. Hyde (AD 901-903, p. 82): "Eodem tempore invidens diabolus ecclesiæ felicitatibus, et peccatis hominum illic habitantium exigentibus, permisit Deus territorium Pontivorum (Ponthieu in Picardy) flagellari incursionibus inimicorum. In qua incursione urbes destructæ; monasteria eversa; ecclesiæ incensæ; et provincia est depopulata. Quapropter cultores terræ fugerunt et terram relinquentes, reliquias et pignora sanctorum secum asportaverunt, et ad sanctum Grimbaldum quidam nobiles laici et sapientissimi clerici, et religiosi diversorum monasteriorum monachi, more apum, ad oras Angliæ commigraverunt atque etiam sacratissima membra confessoris Christi Judoci e transmarinis partibus advexerunt". The Norsemen themselves, moreover, brought Frankish captives with them over to England, as may be seen from the following statement in Sim. Durh. AD 884: "Adveniente subito rege (Alfred) ad naves suas Dani confestim confugiunt concussi terrore, relicta sua arce et equis quos de Francia secum adduxerant, necnon captivis

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quos de Francia de eadem gente ceperant". Some scholars are of opinion that the comparatively great number of Frankish moneyer's names in England, especially on the East Anglian memorial coins of St. Eadmund, is chiefly due to the before-mentioned arrival of Franks with the Norsemen. Grueber, in the Introduction to his Catalogue of coins (p. 44), suggests the following alternative explanations as to the appearance of the Frankish moneyers in England: "Either there were a great many Frankish soldiers in that portion of the Great Army which under Guthorm settled in East Anglia and Mercia; or the army brought over with it a certain number of Frankish captives (thralls), and these having some skill in metal work were employed to engrave dies and were at the same time authorized to place their names upon them; or finally, that the coins were issued by traders, and the majority of these in East Anglia at this time were men of Frankish descent"¹.

The foreign trade with England in those times was to a large extent carried on by the Franks, who supplied the Anglo-Saxons with articles they could not procure in their own country. From the description of the foundation of the monastery of Wearmouth given above we see that the materials indispensable for the building and adorning of it had to be procured from Gaul. And since the number of monasteries and churches that gradually sprang up in England was very large and these buildings in most cases were richly adorned, these circumstances alone will to no small extent have contributed to a lively commercial intercourse with the Franks. Anglo-Saxon merchants, too, early appear at the Frankish markets, as we are informed by a charter of St. Denis in 629, where persons are mentioned "qui veniunt de ultra mare pro vina et melle et garantia emendum". It is also probable that the merchants whom

¹ Cf. also Bugge, Vesterl. Indfl. p. 276.

a later charter of the same abbey mentions as Saxones are identical with Anglo-Saxons.

Besides the Franks, the Frisians were the chief merchants of Western Europe and their influence as a trading people must have been very great before the loss of their independence. In the first century they are said to have occupied the coastlands from the mouth of the Scheldt to that of the Ems, and in the seventh century they were still in possession of the greater part of modern Flanders. But in 689, the Frisian king Radbod was overcome by Pepin of Heristal in the battle of Dorstadt and compelled to cede West Frisia from the Scheldt to the Zuider See. In 734 Charles Martel inflicted a defeat on the Frisians which established the supremacy of the Franks in the north, and at the end of the century the subjection of the Frisians was complete. By the treaty of Verdun in 843, Frisia became part of Lotharingia, later on it was divided between the kingdoms of the East Franks and the West Franks, and finally, in 911, it was united to the kingdom of Charles the Simple of the West Franks, with the exception of East Frisia. By the situation of their country, the Frisians became the connecting link between England and the inland parts of the continent. Their richest and most important commercial city was Dorstadt, now Wijk bij Durstede, from which the routes of commerce led both to the north, to Scandinavia, and to the west, to Britain. It is likely that Frisian relations with England date from the times of the first Germanic conquest, in which Frisians are said to have taken part, and there are, indeed, some indications of a Frisian settlement in the Border country in the earliest times. And the missionary work that was carried out among the Frisians by the Anglo-Saxons was probably to some extent undertaken on account of the intimate knowledge of Frisian conditions that they had acquired by this early intercourse. An historical evidence of the commercial relations between the two countries is afforded

by the finding of OE sceattas in Frisia. Of an actual Frisian settlement at York in the time of Alcuin we are told in Vita S. Liudgeri: While Liudger, the future missionary among the Frisians, was still at York, a Frisian merchant killed an Anglian earl. For fear of the blood vengeance of the earl's relatives, all the Frisians settled in the city speedily left the country, and Alcuin thought it advisable for the safety of his pupil to make him leave with the others. In London, too, which already of old was the most important city in England, there was probably a Frisian settlement, although there seems to be no particular evidence of it in the annals. The earliest mention of Frisians in London occurs in Bede, HE L IV, C XX: "Ut ergo convaluit, vendidit eum (a young slave called Imma) Lundoniam Freso cuidam".

In the passage quoted above from Asser about the nationalities dwelling in England in King Alfred's reign we also find the Frisians represented. It is also well known that they took part in the warfare of the Norsemen in England both on the English and the Danish side. Cf. Asser (AD 877): "Tunc rex Aelfredus jussit cymbas et galeas, id est, longas naves fabricari per regnum, ut navali proelio hostibus obviaret; impositisque piratis in illis vias maris custodiendas commisit". The pirates mentioned were certainly Frisians, as may be gathered from the statement in AS Chr. 897 A: "pær wearð ofslægen Lucumon cynges gerefa 7 Wulfheard Friesa and Aebbe Friesa and Aeðelferð cynges geneat 7 ealra monna Fresiscra and Engliscra LXII 7 para Deniscena CXX". Of Frisians on the side of the Norsemen in England there is a mention in Annales Lindisfarnensis in 867 (MG XIX, 502): "Sed non multa post dominica Palmarum ab Ubba duce Fresonum populus pene totus Northanhymbrorum occisus est cum suis regibus", and in Orderic Vitalis, who tells us that King Swein "ingenti potentia pollebat, universas regni sui vires contrahebat; quibus a vicinis regionibus et amicis auxilia magna coacervabat.

Adjuvabant eum Polenia, Frisia, necne Saxonia". These Frisians who fought on the side of the Norsemen, were probably as a rule from the northenmost parts of Frisia and the coasts of Jutland and will easily have been confused with their Danish neighbours and vice versa, as is the case with the above-mentioned Ubba, who seems to be identical with the Danish chieftain Ubba, mentioned in AS Chr. 870 F. These Frisians were mostly attracted to the services of the belligerents on account of their nautical skill, and it is therefore no wonder that the Frisian art of ship-building was familiar to the Anglo-Saxons, as may be seen from what appears to be the earliest information as to the beginnings of the English navy: "pa het Aelfred cyng timbran lang scipu ongen da æscas... næron nawder ne on Fresisc gescæpene ne on Denisc bute swa him selfum puhte pæt hie nytwyrðoste beon meahten" ¹.

A memory of the Frisians in England is probably preserved in the place-names *Fresantun* KCD 685 (c. AD 990), *Frisetuna (Fresetuna)*, *Friseby, Frisetorp* and *Friseham* in DB².

Of the numerous Germans in England in Middle Eng-

² I fail to see the reasons that have caused Duignan (Warw. Pl. Ns p. 59) to explain the place-name Freseley (oldest form recorded by him from 1256) < OE fyrs 'furze, gorze', or Roberts (Suss. Pl. Ns p. 71) to derive Friston (oldest form given by him is Fristone from 1294) < OE frið, fyrhð 'forest land' or < OE Frithes-, though these explanations are of course phonetically possible and may be supported by the analogous instance of OE Frithesleah > Friesley. The above-mentioned place-names are most likely compounds with Fris-, Fres-; the difficulty is to determine whether these elements belong to an original personal name or, which seems most probable, the name of the Frisians. Although place-names in -by and -thorp need not necessarily have been direct influenced by the Norsemen (see Lindkvist, Intr. p. 53) it is not impossible that the formation of such names as Friseby and Frisetorp might be looked upon from the point of view of the joint action of Frisians and Norsemen in England at the end of the Old English period.

¹ As Chr. 897.

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lish times, the Colonians in particular seem to have been represented in great numbers. Already in 1157 the existence of a Colonian guildhall in London is mentioned in a charter of Henry II, in which he promises to take the Colonians and their guildhall under his protection: "... Precipio vobis, quod custodiatis et manuteatis et protegatis homines et cives Colonienses sicut homines meos (proprios) et amicos et omnes res et mercaturas suas et possessiones, ita quod neque de domo sua Londonensi (gildhalla sua) neque de rebus neque de mercaturis suis aut aliquibus aliis ad eos spectantibus injuriam aliquam vel contumeliam eis faciatis nec fieri permittatis, quia (fideles mei sunt et ipsi) et omnia sua sunt in custodia et protectione mea. Et ideo firmam pacem habeant faciendo rectas consuetudines suas, et nullas exigatis ab eis novas consuetudines vel rectitudines, quas facere non debeant nec facere solebant"¹.

Finally, it will be appropriate to mention together two categories of merchants and money-lenders in mediæval England who sometimes bore Germanic names, viz. the Italians and the Jews. In the twelfth and especially in the thirteenth centuries we find a great many Italian merchants. in England, mostly representatives of the large Italian trading companies of Florence and Lucca. Besides, they are not seldom found as bankers of kings and nobles. Of interest in this respect are the financial transactions of Archbishop Giffard. Moreover, some ecclesiastics of Italian descent seem to have taken possession of English benefices, but they were evidently not in favour with the inhabitants, for in the first half of the thirteenth century a league was formed for their expulsion under the leadership of a young knight, Sir Robert Twenge. The Germanic names often borne by these Italians were introduced into their country by the East Goths and the Lombards who conquered parts of Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries.

¹ Hans. Urkund. Bd I (Halle 1876) p. 8. See further Bugge, Die nordeuropeischen Verkehrswege p. 262 ff. It is remarkable that also many Jews had exchanged their Hebrew names for some of the names most common in France and Germany in this period. They seem to have come in from France in the wake of the Conqueror, and before long Jewish settlements are found in the chief cities such as London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bristol, Oxford and York, where they made themselves known as the great money-lenders and bankers of those times. In 1275 Edward I had forbidden the "unbridled licence of their usury" in order to turn them to honest work. In 1290 came the final order of expulsion, and in a few months over 15000 exiles left England.

CHAPTER II.

Principal points in the ecclesiastical history of England which are of significance for the present investigation.

Christianity was introduced into England already in the second or third century, but it has left only few and scanty traces in buildings and literature behind it. Nevertheless, it was a regularly organized branch of the Catholic Church and possessed bishops at London, York, and probably also at Lincoln, and these bishops were duly summoned to take part in the great councils of the Church that were held in the fourth century. The bishopric and monastery founded by St. Ninian in 397 in Galloway formed a centre of missionary work in the northernmost parts of Roman Britain. About the same time St. Patric established the Church in Ireland. Everywhere in the British Islands during the fifth century schools arose and churches were built. In the middle of this century, however, the great invasion of Britain by the Germanic tribes commenced, and in less than a century and a half, Christianity had been almost en-

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tirely uprooted in England by its heathen conquerors, and lived on only among the Celts of Wales and Strathelyde in Ireland, and among the Picts and Scots, where the missionary college of Iona had already been founded.

At the end of this century an event took place which paved the way for the conversion of the whole of England to Christianity, viz. the marriage of Aethelberht of Kent to the Frankish princess Berta, of which mention has been made above. Berta, like most of her country-women, was a Christian, and her family consented to the marriage only on condition that she should be allowed to bring with her as her confessor and chaplain her kinsman Liudhard, said to have been Bishop of Senlis. Their influence disposed the king to receive Christian missionaries kindly, and thus they were the pioneers of the subsequent conversion of England. The initiative of this conversion was taken by Pope Gregory, who in 596 sent Augustine and, according to Bede HE L I, C XXV, some forty companions to preach Christianity in England. Bede further tells us that the Roman missionary was also accompanied by a number of Frankish interpreters (de gente Francorum interpretes). Aethelberht finally presented himself for baptism and that with him so many of his subjects that it became necessary to elect a bishop. Augustine had to apply to the Church of Gaul to obtain consecration and was ordained by Vergilius, Archbishop of Arles.

Owing to the large number of converts that soon gathered round Augustine, it became necessary for Gregory to send more priests into England. Among these we know the names of Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus, who arrived in 601. Within a few years, an archbishopric was founded at York. In London a church was built in honour of St. Paul, and at Rochester, a see was established in dependence on that of Canterbury. Somewhat later, a monk of Burgundy, who is known in the history of the Church as Felix, was sent by Pope Honorius to East Anglia, whose king Sigebert had become a Christian when living as an exile among the Franks. Another missionary, a Roman priest named Birinus, was sent by the Pope to the West Saxons, among whom he founded a cathedral at Dorchester. In the middle of the century religious houses were also founded at Whitby, Lindisfarne, Chester, Peterborough and Boston.

Already in the earliest times, the Anglo-Saxons had visited continental schools and monasteries as is to be seen from the following description in Bede, HE L III, C VIII: "Nam eo tempore necdum multis in regione Anglorum monasteriis constructis, multi de Brittania monachicæ conversationis gratia, Francorum vel Galliarum¹ monasteria adire solebant; sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas, ac sponso cælesti copulandas mittebant; maxime in Brige, et in Cale, et in Andilegum monasterio". Among these we may mention Aethelburh, daughter of King Anna of East Anglia, Sæthryth, a step-daughter of Anna, Earcongota, daughter of Sexburh, who all three in turn became abesses of Brie, a house generously endowed by Bathild, the English queen of Neustria. At Chelles, later refounded by Bathild, Hereswith, Anna's sister-in-law took the veil, and there Mildthryth, who on her return to England founded the monastery of Minster in Thanet, was educated. Among other well-known Anglo-Saxons who visited continental monasteries it may suffice to mention Benedict Bishop, a Northumbrian, who afterwards founded the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and Wilfrid, a monk of Lindisfarne, who paid visits to Lyons and Rome. Later on, however, it was not necessary to travel abroad in order to acquire a widened knowledge, because side by side with the organization of the Church went the foundation of schools for the training of the clergy. Especially under Ealdhelm and his contemporary,

¹ Bede considers the Rhine to be the boundary between Teutons and Gauls; cf. HE L. I, C. II: "... Germanorum Gallorumque gentes qui Hreno tantum flumine dirimebantur".

Bishop Daniel, the West-Saxon monasteries became abodes of learning and literary activity, and under Aethelbert the school at York became a famous centre of education, receiving disciples not only from Britain, but also from Gaul and Germany.

Another side of the Church life of the England of those days was the active missionary work that was carried out among kindred Teutonic tribes on the continent, first of all by the Northumbrian Willibrord, who with twelve companions landed at the mouth of the Rhine. When the Frisian king Radbod refused to listen to his preaching, he turned to Pepin of Heristal, Duke of the Franks and conqueror of the south-western part of Frisia. By the support of the Franks, Willibrord was enabled to carry on successful work among the conquered Frisians and was consecrated archbishop in 696. One of his companions and successors, Swithberht, was consecrated archbishop of Dorestat and another Anglo-Saxon, named Aethelberht, worked successfully at Egmond in Holland. Another English missionary, a Northumbrian priest named Willehad, was sent by Charlemagne, to whom he had been forced to flee from the rage of the Frisians, to preach among the heathen Saxons settled between the Elbe and the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Bremen. The most famous of these missionaries, however, was Winfrith or St. Boniface, known as the Apostle of Germany. He preached in Thuringia, Frisia, and Hesse. During his continental sojourn Boniface kept up a constant correspondence with English churchmen and friends, among whom we find Archbishop Nothhelm, his successor Cuthberht, Ecgberht of York, and others. Of particular importance, especially for the interpretation of some of the names of LV, is the mention in one of the letters sent to Boniface by King Aelfward, of the system of exchanging name-lists of deceased persons that is further referred to on p. 12 f. Boniface founded four bishoprics in Bavaria, and many men and women came to him from England to assist him in his

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laborious work. Of two of the West-Saxon helpers of Boniface, the brothers Willibald and Wunebald, we know from the memoirs written by an English nun of Heidenheim. Another of these was Lul, from the abbey of Malmesbury, who was stationed at Mainz. Burchard became Bishop of Würzburg, and Witta Bishop in Hesse. The before-mentioned Wunebald is mentioned as abbot of Heidenheim in Bavaria, where he was succeeded by his sister Waldburh, usually appearing as Walpurga. Lul's aunt Cynchild and her daughter Beorhtgyth were both abesses in Thuringia, and another Anglo-Saxon woman, Cynethryth, worked as a teacher in Bavaria. Finally, we may mention Lioba or Leofgyth, who acted as abess of Bischofsheim. The activity of these missionaries undoubtedly contributed to bring England into closer relationship especially with those parts of the mainland where they were working and to further the intercourse that had probably always been kept up more or less between the Anglo-Saxons and their continental kinsfolk.

From the letters exchanged between Fulc, Archbish. of Reims, and King Alfred (one is published in BCS 556) we see the interest ecclesiastics in Gaul took in English Church matters at this period. And a still closer relation between the affairs of the Churches on both sides of the Channel was brought about by the marriage of Alfred's daughter Aelfthryth or Elstrud(is) to Baldwin the Bald, Count of Flanders. Aelfthryth was specially interested in the monastery of Blandinium, or St. Peter's at Ghent, which she endowed with lands in Kent (see BCS 661)¹. Her son Arnulf reformed the monasteries in his dominions and these

¹ These grants of land in England to foreign monasteries are of particular interest because a constant communication between the continental monasteries and their English possessions was no doubt maintained. Of grants made in the reign of Edward the Confessor we may mention that of Teynton (in Oxfordsh.) to the abbey of St. Denis and the Queen's grant of land in Sussex to the abbey of Grestain. Of other foreign monasteries holding

came to play a not unimportant part in the reformation of English monastic life, as will be seen below. These relations also brought a number of Flemish refugees into England, among others some monks of St. Bertin's, who were hospitably welcomed by Eadmund and allowed to live in the monastery at Bath. The ecclesiastical relations to Germany that were maintained in Aethelstan's reign are illustrated by the visit Cynewald, Bish. of Worcester, paid to several German monasteries, bringing with him large sums of money. In return, the monasteries remembered the names of their Anglo-Saxon benefactors in their prayers and inscribed them in their books. Thus, we find in Libri Confraternitatum S. Gall the names of Aethelstan, Wulfhelm and several others of their fellow-countrymen. When the churches of St. Owen at Rouen and St. Geneviève at Paris were to be restored, King Eadgar was asked to send a pecuniary contribution. The convent of St. Bertin's received alms from Archbish, Aethelgar. Ealdulf, Archb. of York, was venerated at Fleury for gifts he had sent the abbey, and Cnut helped Fulbert to bear the expences of the building of his cathedral. As a result of these intimate relations between the English and the continental clergy we have probably to consider

land in England in the reigns of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror the following may be mentioned: the abbey of St. Peter at Ghent (Lewisham), the abbey of Fécamp (in Sussex), the church of Reims (in Northamptonsh. and Staffordsh.), the abbey of St. Owen at Rouen (in Essex), the abbey of the Holy Cross at St. Leufroy (in Surrey), St. Mary of Rouen (in Devonsh.), the abbey of Trouarn in the diocese of Baïeux (in Gloucestersh.), the abbey of Bernay (in Suffolk), the abbey of Jumièges (in Hampsh.), St. Evroul (in Gloucestersh.), St. Mary at Bec (in Wiltsh.), the nunnery at Villarium (in Dorsetsh.), the abbey of Lira (in Gloucestersh.), St. Mary of Cormeilles (in Newent), and the abbey of St. Peter sur Dive (in Northamptonsh.). And as late as 1285 we find the following statement in CCR II p. 312: "... et terram de Belingeham cum omnibus suis pertinentibus que est de feodo monachorum de Gant".

the introduction of minuscules in the tenth century, used in France from the time of Charlemagne.

The monastic system that prevailed among the Scots and was called the Rule of St. Columba rapidly spread southwards through the influence of Iona. It is also probable that the Roman missionaries in England confessed the Rule af St. Benedict and that a number of the monasteries which arose in various parts of England originally followed its ordinances. But even before the death of Bede there is a degeneration and a lowering of morality in monastic life, followed by a decay of learning, so that in King Alfred's time there was hardly a priest south of the Thames who could translate his service-book into English, as we are told by Alfred himself. And conditions grew still worse through the invasion of the Norsemen, who destroyed and burned all the churches and monasteries they came across. Already in 794 the monasteries of Jarrow and Lindisfarne were given to the flames and shortly afterwards the same fate was shared by the monasteries of Crowland, Peterborough and Ely. It was during one of these Viking raids in East Anglia at the end of the ninth century that Eadmund, the sub-king, suffered martyrdom. Afterwards, he was celebrated as a saint and martyr and the abbey of Bury St. Edmund's was raised to his memory. In the history of numismatics his name is well-known, since the socalled St. Eadmund coins were struck in his honour soon after his death. After the invasions of the Vikings south of the Humber had been put an end to by the peace of Wedmore in 878, King Alfred set to work to re-build the churches and monasteries that had been laid waste and to bring about a revival of the decayed learning. He also founded two or three monasteries himself and introduced foreign monks to help him in his work. "Primitus Johannem presbyterum monachum constituit, scilicet Ealdsaxonum genere: deinde ultramarinos presbyteros quosdam et diaconos; ex quibus cum nec adhuc tantum numerum quantum vellet,

haberet; comparavit etiam quamplurimos ejusdem gentis Gallicæ, ex quibus quosdam infantes in eodem monasterio edoceri imperavit et subsequenti tempore ad monachicum habitum sublevari"¹. But in spite of the efforts of King Alfred, the decline of the monastic system was proceeding rapidly and monastic life was becoming more and more secular. A reform became necessary in order to unite all the monasteries under one law, as was the case on the continent, where all the monasteries were governed by the Rule of St. Benedict. This Rule had also been introduced into England, as has been pointed out above, but it had gradually been forgotten or looked upon as a more or less foreign institution, and there was not one English monastery in the tenth century that professed it. When, therefore, Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury († 942), wished to become a Benedictine monk, he had to apply to Fleury in France to be consecrated. Afterwards he eagerly pleaded for the introduction of the Benedictinism in the English monasteries.

The first, however, to study the continental reform personally, was Dunstan, a West-Saxon, nominated Abbot of the monastery of Glastonbury and later Archbishop of Canterbury². In the reign of Eadwig he was exiled and had sought refuge in the abbey of St. Peter at Ghent in Flanders, where the practical fruits of the new system could easily be studied, and where he learned to know the new monastic system thoroughly. By him and his chief assistants Aelfstan, Aethelwald, Oswald, and his successor Aelfric, the new Rule was introduced into England, where it soon became widely spread among the monks and so popular that in the reign of Eadgar alone forty new Benedictine foundations are said to have been established. The importance of this reform in the monastic life to the in-

¹ Asser, De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi AD 893.

² Further particulars of his life and activity are found in Funke p. 94 ff.

troduction of continental monks and personal names into England cannot be exaggerated. The success of the activity of the monks had led to the ordination of a numerous secular clergy to assist them in their work among the converts. Among the secular churches were e. g. those of York, Rochester, and London. When the reform was carried through these secular priests were to a large extent expelled and replaced by Benedictine monks from the continent. This expulsion of the seculars began in Old Minster, and later, the same change is noticed at Ely, Peterborough, Thorney and many other monasteries in East Anglia.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Norman influence can be traced more strongly also in the life of the Church. On the death of Aelfweard, Bishop of London, his see was given to Robert, a monk of Jumièges and later Archbishop of Canterbury, another Norman was appointed bishop of Dorchester, a third became bishop of London after the above-mentioned Robert, and Norman prelates predominated in the counsels of the king. After the victory of Godwine and Harold, however, most of the Norman prelates appointed in Edward's reign were compelled to seek refuge across the Channel, and instead were nominated German, mostly Lotharingian, bishops to the most important sees, among them Walter of Hereford and Gisa of Wells.

As soon as William the Conqueror had subdued the whole of England, he set to work on ecclesiastical matters. In 1070 a council was held at Winchester and there appeared two papal legates who placed the crown on William's head. Their arrival marks the beginning of a systematic supplanting of native bishops and abbots by foreigners, in the majority of cases by Normans. Stigand, who had been appointed archbishop of Canterbury by Harold, was deposed and replaced by Lanfranc, a native of Pavia, York was bestowed on Thomas of Bayeux, Winchester was given to Walkelin, Elmham to Herfast, Chichester to the Norman Stigand, Dorchester to Remigius, and most of the other important offices of the Church were given to Normans. No Englishman was appointed to a bishopric, nor did any Englishman occupy one till the reign of Henry I. It was also the policy of the Norman prelates to import foreign monks in order to raise the standard of learning and discipline among the English clergy. This explains the curious inscription on the tomb of Gundrada of Warren "Intulit ecclesiis Anglorum balsama morum", since we know that she imported Benedictines, among them a prior named Lanzo, to her Cluniac foundation of St. Pancras at Lewes. At this time a great number especially of Cluniac monks seem to have come into England and there arose several important Cluniac houses, e. g. Thetford, Wenlock, Bermondsey, Pontefract, Monk Bretton, Montacute and the nunnery Abbey de la Pré.

In the first half of the twelfth century, however, there was a décline of the Order, and the Cistercians began to spread rapidly all over England, owing to the influence of the Englishman Stephen Harding, who was abbot of their house of Citeaux in Châlons-sur-Saône. The first beginning of the Order in England dates from 1128, when a number of monks from l'Aumone in the diocese of Chartres settled at Waverley in Surrey. Within a short time several other Cistercian houses sprang up, mostly in the north of England, of which the most important was the house of Rivaulx, colonized direct from Clairvaux under the superintence of St. Bernard. About the middle of the twelfth century, there were no less than fifty Cistercian houses in England.

The Augustinian Order was founded in England at Colchester in 1105. Before long their houses became very numerous and finally exceeded even the Cistercians. The Carthusian Order, the most severe of the Benedictine Orders and founded by St. Bruno in 1084 at Chartreux, was not established in England till 1180, in the reign of Henry III. To be mentioned are further two Orders which arose as a consequence of the Crusading movement, the "Knights Hospitallers", founded in 1092, and the "Knights Templars" established in 1118, for the purpose of protecting the pilgrims. Both orders had estates all over England.

In this chapter on the principal sides of the religious activity in the early Middle Ages which to some extent account for the appearance of the great number of Cont.-Germ. personal names in England, two other categories of continental Orders should not be passed over in silence: the Dominicans and the Franciscans. In the beginning of 1221, the first Dominicans, with their leader Gilbert de Fraxineto, arrived in England, where they were allowed to preach and were soon found in most of the larger towns. The first Franciscans landed in England three years later, and within two years the Order had established itself at Oxford, Cambridge, Northampton, Norwich and other towns. In less than thirty years they possessed about fifty monasteries in various parts of England.

CHAPTER III.

Some remarks on the connection between the events summarized in the preceding chapters and the occurrence of continental personal names in Old and Middle English times.

It may be of some interest to notice how far the abovementioned English relations with the mainland are reflected in the occurrence and frequency of continental personal names in England. A statistical examination of the whole number of these names in the times with which we are here concerned would no doubt afford the strongest evi-

dence of the truth of historical statements as to English foreign relations, and furthermore even afford much fresh evidence of foreign influences of which history has nothing to relate. But an investigation into the number of the continental names actually recorded, especially in OE, can give only an imperfect idea of the real state of things, in the first place because only a fractional part of them have been handed down to posterity. The names of most of the foreigners in England in those days, all the mercenaries, thralls, craftsmen, merchants, and monks from the continent, have of course not found any place at all in the annals of the monks or in the royal or ecclesiastical charters which constitute the principal written sources of our knowledge of the personal names of ancient England. It is further to be borne in mind that the preservation of many, not to say all, of these documents is due to mere chance. The only category of continental craftsmen that will be fairly completely represented, as far as the personal names are concerned, is that of the moneyers, who as a rule placed their names on their handiwork. This accounts for the great number of continental personal names found on the coins in comparison with the number of extant names recorded in written documents before the Domesday Book. It goes without saying, however, that many of the coins, too, have been lost or at least not as vet rocovered. Moreover, the material of names afforded by the coins, is often very defective in that many of the names are difficult to read or altogether illegible. Especially in the series of St. Eadmund coins, where many continental personal names occur, there are a number of names which we have reason to assume to be continental, too, but of which the original form can only be guessed at. Other circumstances that prevent us from recognizing the true number of continental names, even if recorded in a legible form, are that many of them are concealed in forms that are not to be distinguished from the native ones,

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either owing to their original resemblance or to the Anglicizing of the foreign name or an alteration of the native form into correspondence with continental patterns. But in spite of these deficiencies in the existing material of continental personal names in England before the Conquest, it will, however, be of some interest to know that the frequency of these names, based on a calculation from the material collected in this book, pretty well corresponds to the greater or less intimacy of the English relations with the continent at different periods. From about the year 600 up to the time of Alfred the Great, the personal names in question are few and far between. In Alfred's reign, they are not numerous, either, that is true, but at any rate they exhibit an increase, which reaches its highest point in the reign of Aethelstan, the first king that opened a particularly lively intercourse with the continent. The reigns of his successors Eadmund, Eadred, and Eadwig, show a small decrease of the frequency, but under Eadgar, and especially under Aethelred II it rivals that of the time of Aethelstan. The number of continental personal names in the reign of Edward the Confessor is very large. The cause of this increase is, first of all, the intensity of foreign relations in his time, further the fact that from his reign a large number of coins are struck and preserved, and that the Domesday Book has handed down to us many names of persons holding land in England in the time of this monarch, which would certainly otherwise have been unknown.

It lies in the nature of the English politics in OE times, being chiefly drawn towards the various dominions of Gaul, as well as in the lively religious intercourse especially with this part of the continent, that the majority of the personal names on record are Frankish or rather West-Frankish, thus belonging to the same Germanic stock as the Flemish, Frisian, and Saxon dialects. And, as a matter of fact, not a few of the moneyer's names exhibit unmistakeable Romance features. As regards the names found in other documents, they must be judged with the utmost caution, since Romance characteristics in their forms are often to be ascribed to a later time, when England was under Norman orthographical influence. From Edward the Confessor onwards the personal names of Germanic origin that came in from France are more appropriately called Norman or French, according to their provience¹.

As regards the personal nomenclature of England after the Conquest, it offers a picture of most variegated appearance. Apart from the remains of the Anglo-Saxon stock of personal names, of the real extent of which no exact estimation can be ventured, and the Old Norse names which came in through the Vikings and the Normans, the pages of the ME documents are filled up by a large number of Norman and French names of German origin², so that the main part of the ME personal nomenclature may properly be styled Norman-French. We further meet with a great many Scriptural and classical names, to some extent occurring already in OE times and introduced chiefly by the mediation of Normans and Frenchmen, further Celtic names, either survivals of the indigenous Celtic stock of personal names in Britain or from France, and last, but not least, Flemish names, which clearly testify to the large number of Flemings in England which we have referred to in the first chapter. These Flemings have exercised a considerable influence on the English personal names not only by helping to spread many Cont.-Germ. names, but also by introducing names in -kin into England, where this name-element acquired the function of a productive

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¹ There are certainly also Provencial names in England in ME times but they cannot be proved to have been particularly frequent.

² I am of course speaking only of Christian names, not of surnames other than such as were originally Christian names.

name-suffix. There is, moreover, reason to think that some Scriptural names, current and particularly popular in Flanders, owe their existence or spread in England to Flemish influence.

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LIST OF NAMES

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Abbo monet or manet ('monetarius') Keary Intr. p. XIV¹; Abbo Lib. Hyde p. 188 (AD 957—975)². The form Abboe mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 98 is uncertain.

OG $Ab(b)o^3$ F 11. In other cases, it cannot as a rule be determined whether the p. n. Ab(b)o is native or not, since the OE form $Ab(ba)^4$ has often, and in later times generally, been Latinized as Ab(b)o. Hence Abonis (gen.) principis (BCS 22, AD 664) is also likely to be < OE Aba⁵. In

¹ Keary (ibid.) considers it likely, however, that the coin on which this name occurs, like most other coins found at Crondale in 1828, is an imitation of a Merovingian triens, and that, consequently, *Abbo* never worked in England.

² "Sed et Oswaldus, postquam intronizatus est in sede Eboracensi, advocavit in patriam literatos homines . . ., de quibus literatis viris fuit *Abbo*, *Floriacensis monachus*, qui preter multam scientiæ frugem, quam Angliæ advexit, vitam Sancti Edmundi regis et matyris, rogante Dunstano, describsit."

³ Related to Goth. *aba* 'vir' or a short form of compounds with *Alb*-; cf. Stark p. 28. *Abbo* is also found in Celtic, see Holder.

⁴ The intervocalic b in Aba has probably been preserved by the influence of the geminated consonant of Abba. The regular OE form is seen in Afa and the dim. forms Aefic, Efic.

⁵ The regular OE gen. form is seen in such pl. ns as *Abban* crundel, (æt) *Abbandune* BCS 491, AS Chr. 977 C. The pl. n. *Abbes*dic BCS 906 (AD 955) is assumed by Searle to contain a p. n. **Abb*, an unexampled form in OE personal nomenclature. The original form might have been **Abbandic*, in consideration of the fact that, in later charters, p. ns of weak inflection sometimes show strong inflection, when used as first members of pl. ns. Cf. also the reading *Abbedesdic* ibid. and the p. n. *Aebbe* below.

Α.

AS Chr. 656 E, in a passage that, according to Earle-Plummer p. 25, is a Peterborough insertion based on the aforementioned Latin charter in BCS, the same person appears as *Abon* ældorman, which form should be considered as an unsuccessful attempt of the scribe at constructing a nom. case out of the gen. case of the Latin original.

Acard, Achard: Acard de Jury (Jury-la-Bataille') Hildebrand DB p. 337; Acardus presbyter (Suss.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 277; Achard Rot. Fin. p. 272 (AD 1205); Achard (surname) RC p. 200 (AD 1214); further instances in Bardsley p. 365.

Acard, Achard (Rom.) F 20, OF Acart, Achart Langlois p. 3 f. These forms may perhaps be < OG Agihard, Akihart (cf. *Ecard* below), as F (20) assumes; c [k] has been preserved before a in Norman and Picardian, whereas it has become ch in Centr. F. Another etymon of the above forms is, however, more probable, viz. OG Aicard, Aichard, Eihhart (Mod. G Eichhardt) F 48, recorded in OF as Aicart, Aichart Langlois p. 4. The first member is OHG eih (OE āc) 'Eiche'; Aic- is < LG *aik (cf. Dutch eik) and Aich- is either a Centr. F form of the same etymon or < OHG *aih. The a for ai in the above forms would then be due to OF reduction of ai > a in pretonic position¹. $\overline{A}c$ - also occurs as a native name-element in Acuulf LV (see Müller p. 94). From the point of view of the forms, Acard and Achard might certainly very well be native, but they have no doubt been introduced from the continent, since they are not on record in England till DB. Moreover, the phonetical value of the spelling ch (in Achard) is [tf], as is to be seen from the NE surname Hatchard with prothetic h. For the second member see *Actard.

Acelina, see Azelina.

Acelinus, see Azelin.

*Actard: Agtard(es), Aetard(es) mon. (Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig) Grueber pp. 122, 145, 156.

¹ Cf. Kalbow p. 107.
Both forms are no doubt intended to render one and the same name. The discrepancy is easily explained from the resemblance of g and e in the orthography of the coins. Aetard cannot be the original form, since there is no nameelement with which the first member might be associated¹. Agtard might perhaps stand for Ahtard, but considering the fact that gt for ht is very rarely met with in England or on the continent, I consider it likely that both forms stand for Actard, c sometimes having been confused with g and e, and vice versa, in the orthography of the coins. Actard, often recorded from Rom. sources, is a WF-Rom. form of OG Ahtard F 44². The first member is either OHG ahta 'Beachtung, Aufmerken' or OHG ahta (OE $\bar{o}ht$) 'feindliche Verfolgung, Acht'. The second member is OHG hart (OE heard) 'hart'.

Ada uxor LVD pp. 99, 102, 110 (13th and 14th c.); Ada Cummin ibid. p. 100 (13th c.); Ada (uxor Ricardi de Lucy) RC p. 132 (AD 1204); Ada (mater Alexandri episcopi) Linc Obit. p. 154, etc.

OG Ada^3 (fem.) F 153. In OE, Ada is recorded only as a male name, whereas the above fem. forms have been introduced from the continent. When Ada occurs in ME documents without any additional information about the gender (as e. g. in LVD p. 19), it is certainly in most cases to be interpreted as a fem. name, for it seems likely that, if occurring, the male name would appear in the Latinized form *Ado or weakened into Ade. The latter form, which actually occurs in ME, is, however, rather to be considered as a pet form of Adam. Ade is

¹ Etard (see Aitard below) can not be taken into account here, since the stem-vowel of this name is the result of a later AN monophthongization of ai > e.

² Other instances of *ct* for *ht* are found in Heinzel p. 43 Germ. 37, 246, Sievers Ags. Gr. § 221. Cf. also Longnon p. 280, ³ Etymology in Meyer-Lübke and literature there quoted, Sundén, Ell. Words p. 148.

further the gen. case of Ada (fem.) as well as of Adam, e. g. Adam . . . ejusdem Ade (Rot. Orig. I p. 97), beside which Adames sometimes occurs (e. g. ibid. p. 113).

Adalbert mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 99, 100, 101, 102. OG $Adalbert^1$ F 163. Adal- is very rarely met with in OE for usual *Aedel*-, and then always in Latin charters, which may have been influenced by continental spelling habits². The usual Latinization of *Aedel*- is *Adel*-. It seems pretty certain, therefore, that the present name has come over from the continent.

Adela (mater Stephani regis) Linc. Obit. p. 155; *Adele* (dat.) uxori (wife of Robert de Caunes, Som.) RLP p. 83 (AD 1208).

OG Adela F 159, where Rom. instances also occur. It is a short form of some fem. compound with Adel-, for which see Adalbert; cf. Adela = Adelheida Stark p. 16. As regards Adela, the mother of King Stephen, she was daughter of William the Conqueror (cf. FNC III pp. 112, 659 ff.) and probably named after her grandmother Adela, daughter of King Robert of France and mother of Matilda. Cf. Adelobelow.

Adelais(a), Adeliz(a) etc.: Adelais LVD p. 44; Adelaisa ibid. p. 18; Athelays, Adelasia vicecomitissa (also called Adelize) CG I pp. 81, 125, 186, II p. 129; Adeleisa CCR I p. 424 (AD 1253); Atheleys LVD p. 53; Aaleis ibid. p. 79; Alays ibid. p. 111; Adales, Atheles ibid. pp. 8, 55; Alesia (Dev.) RB pp. 621 (AD 1211—12); Adeliz seu Adeliza (uxor Hugonis de Grentemaisnil, Heref., Leic.)⁸ Ellis, Intr. I p. 364; Adeliz (Bedf.) ibid. II p. 3; Adeliz Hist. Ab. II pp.

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¹ First member is OHG adal (OE æðelu) 'edles Geschlecht' or OHG adal, OS aðal (OE æðele) 'von gutem Geschlecht'; second member is OHG beraht, OS berht (OE beorht) 'hell, glänzend', of which -bert is to be considered as a Rom. form. Cf. Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 154 and Franck, Afr. Gr. § 113, 2.

² E. g. BCS 250, 641, 661.

³ Daughter of Ivo of Beaumont, see FNC IV p. 232, foot-note 5.

176, 177 (AD 1100-1135); Adeliza Regina CG I p. 63 = Adelis (of Louvain)¹ AS Chr. 1121 E; Adeliza (daughter of William the Conqueror) FNC III p. 695; Adaliz, Atheliza, Adliz, Adalici LVD pp. 16, 17, 50, 71, 105; Adalisa, Athelisa, Adhelisa ibid. pp. 15, 16; Aaliza ibid. pp. 64, 68, 83, 84, 97, 101; Aaliz ibid. pp. 19, 62, 98, 100, 103, 104; Aeliz (uxor Normanni) Linc. Obit. p. 153; Aliza, Aliz LVD pp. 2, 27, 32, 65, 82, 83, 98, 102; Aliz ibid. pp. 47, 83; Allise ibid. p. 57; Alicia ibid. pp. 38, 65, 72, 85, 88, 93, 94, 99; Ailize, Ailiz ibid. pp. 16, 19.

OG Adalhaid, Adelheid² (F 169 f.) is the ultimate origin of most of the above forms. Aal-, Ael- is from Adal-, Adelwith NF loss of intervocalic d. For Al- (in Alays etc.) see Albert, for Ail- (in Ailiz) see Adelina. None of the forms found in England present the original termination -haid, -heid, which shows that they have not been introduced from Germany. -ais represents a NF form of -haidis (the usual Latinizing of -haid, for which see Kalbow p. 29), -eis(a), also found in OF Aaleis, might reflect the diphthong of OG -heid³, but in the present case it is rather due to the interchange of ai and ei in ME documents. Adelasia⁴ is a Latinized form of *Adelas, of which the second member is due to the interchange of ai and a that is in a few cases to be noticed in OF p. ns; cf. Aupais and Aupas < Albhaidis, Kalbow p. 106, and Enguelas beside Engelais Langlois p. 192. -es and Latinized -esia (in Adales, Alesia) are merely orthographical varieties of -ais and *-aisia, cf. Airard below. As regards -iz(a), -is(a), I am inclined to assume with Kalbow p. 107 that they are due to the influence of the dim.

¹ Queen of Henry I, see FNC IV p. 229. She is called *Aedelic* in AS Chr. 1127 E.

² First member as in Adalbert, second member is OHG heit (OE $h\bar{a}d$) 'persona, sexus, Rang, Stand', not occurring in OE p. ns.

³ OG *ai* became *ei* in the eighth century, see Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 44.

⁴ If not a mistake for Adelaisa.

ending -*izza* (OF -*isse*) and not from -*haid*, with loss of the first component of the diphthong, as Schultz (p. 184) thinks¹. The forms *Adelid*, *Ailida*, *Ailith* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 2, 9, *Aedelida* KCD 945 (11th c.) are < OE *Aedelgyð*. A confusion between this name and *Adeliz* has sometimes taken place: Queen *Adeliz* is called *Adelide* (dat.) Anecd. Oxon. 14 and *Adelidis* RC p. 81.

Adelard, Alard: Adelard of Lüttich FNC II p. 443²; Adthelardo le Flemīg (Cant.) RH II p. 497 (Edw. I.); Ayllard Flandr, Ayllardo (dat.) Flandrensi CRC p. 67, CCR I p. 355 (AD 1251); Alard le Flemeng CCR I p. 326 (AD 1247), Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 57; Henr et) Alardo (dat.) (mercatoribus de Lovañ) CR I p. 124 (AD 1212); Alard de Cotekyn of Zeeland CPR II p. 373 (AD 1311).

OG Adalhard, Adelard³, Alard (very common) F 170 f. In most other cases, Adelard represents the very common OE Aedelheard⁴. As for Ayllard, it might certainly be derived from OG Agilard F 32, but is rather from Adelard, exhibiting the same development as OE Aedel- > Ail- for which see *Aegelbert. The first member of Alard might be OHG al (OE eall) 'ganz'⁵, but is probably as a rule to be derived from Adel.

Adelelmus, a Norman monk of Jumièges, Abbot of Abingdon 1071-1084, FNC IV p. 478.

OG Adalhelm, Adelelm⁶ etc. F 172. Phonetically not to be distinguished from the common OE name Aeðelhelm⁷. Adelina, Alina etc.: Adelina joculatrix (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 278; Adelina LVD pp. 58, 68 (12th c.); Adelina Lib.

² Brought over by Harold 'to be the head of the educational department of his foundation'.

³ First member as in *Adalbert*, second member as in **Actard*. ⁴ Not *Aedelweard*, as Zachrisson says (AN Infl. p. 110).

⁵ Cf. Müller p. 100, Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 109, Gröger p. 7 ff.

⁶ First member as in *Adalbert*, second member is OHG *helm* (OE *helm*) 'Helm'.

⁷ Which usually appears in the Latinized form Adelelmus.

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¹ See also Grape, p. 21.

Hyde p. 66; Athelina LVD p. 60; Athelina (wife of Rogerus de Bello Monte) ibid. p. 53 (13th c.); Aalina ibid. p. 97 (13th c.); Aelina (wife of Robert le Bigod) Rot. Oblat. p. 465 (AD 1213); Alinam (acc.) (wife of Hugo de Normanvill') Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 8 (AD 1200); Aline (gen.) (wife of Alanus Basset) RM II p. 53; Alina RH II p. 332 (Edw. I.); Ayelina relicta ibid. p. 642 (Edw. I.); Aillinā (acc.) Fines I p. 121 (John); Edelina Corbet Rot. Orig. I p. 29 (Edw. I.); Edelina LVD p. 83 (13th c.); Egelina de Chambernoun (Dev.) FA I p. 422 (AD 1346), etc.

Adalina and Adelina are given by F p. 160 only from Rom. sources. They are derivatives from the OG nameelement Adal-, Adel- (see Adalbert) formed by means of the Rom. fem. dim. suff. -ina, or as Kalbow (p. 133) assumes, from OF Ade < Adda (on account of the preservation of the dental) + el + ina. For the forms Aal-, Ael-, Al- see Adelais(a). Ayellina, Aillina are most probably < Adelina¹, although OG *Agilina (cf. Agilin and Aglina F 29) might exhibit the same forms. Edelina is due to the occurrence of Edel- as a ME sideform of Adel- (< OE Aedel-). Egelina is either from *Agilina or rather a merely graphical variant of Auelina or from Edelina, the first member showing a development of *Edel-* > *Egel-*, analogous to that of *Aedel-* > *Aegel-*². Adelinus (Linc.) RB p. 375 (AD 1166); Adelinus exchactor (Linc.) RH I p. 333 (Edw. I.); Adelyn (surname, Norf.) ibid. p. 498 (Edw. I.), etc.

Cf. OG Adalin F 160 (from OG and Rom. sources), the male equivalent of the preceding name. It is not impossible, however, that it may sometimes have been coined in England with the NF suff. -in; to be taken into account is, further, the possibility that it may be < OE Aedelwine under NF influence (Apeline dux BCS 1113 is = Aepelwine dux ibid. 1114). Cf. also Adelin < OE Aedeling in Gaimar.

¹ Cf. Ayllard under Adelard and the pl. n. Adlingflet : Ayalinflet Giff. Reg. p. 20 (AD 1267-68).

² Cf. *Aegelbert.

Adeliz(a), see Adelais(a).

Adelo (Yorks) Ellis, Intr. II p. 3.

OG Adelo F 159, the male equivalent of Adela (above). No corresponding OE hypochoristic form of compounds with Aedel- is on record.

Adelulfus Ellis Intr. II p. 278¹; *Adelulfo* (dat.) Flandr MRS pp. 94, 145, 152; *Adalulfi* (gen.) BCS 661 (AD 918) is the son of Aelfthryth (daughter of King Alfred) and Baldwin II., Count of Flanders.

OG Adelulf² etc. F 182. As a rule, Adelulfus is the Latinized form of the common OE name Aeðelwulf.

Adradus mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 102, 103, 104, 105. OG Adrad (Rom.), Adarad F 157. The first member Ad(a)- belongs to Adal-, for which see Adalbert³. Ad- is also found in OE names: in Adhysi LV, the first member is to be explained with Müller (p. 77) as OE ād 'rogus'. In other cases, mostly in Latin charters, it occurs for various name-elements. Thus the West Saxon King Aedeluulf BCS 478 is called Adulf in the Latin text of the same charter⁴; Aldwulf episc. BCS 318, 322 is probably the same as Adulf episc. ibid. 317; King Alfred's son Eadweard AS Chr. 910 appears as Adward BCS 531; Eadqive BCS 779 is = Adgive ibid. 775. In later charters, Ad- < Ead- may be due to the regular development of OE $\check{e}a > a$, the originally long diphthong of Ead- having been shortened before a consonant-group. - The second member is OHG rât (OE rād, $r\bar{e}d$) 'Rat'. On the coins, a and a are not always distinguished, but it seems likely that, if the present name were

¹ "This Adelulfus may have been an English Aethelwulf, but he was more likely an adventurer from Flanders, where the name is also found."

² First member as in Adalbert; second member is OG wolf, wulf (OE wulf) 'Wolf'. On the loss of w in OG and OE see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 69, 4. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 173, 3.

³ Cf. Wrede, Ostg. p. 114.

⁴ Cf. also Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 103.

native, the second member would exhibit the usual form -red(us), (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 57, remark 2). Moreover, the Latin ending not often found in moneyer's names to some extent speaks in favour of Rom. origin. It is in the present case most probable that this is one of the many WF-Rom. monyer's names, occurring especially on the St. Eadmund coins.

Aebbe Friesa AS Chr. 897 A¹.

Cf. OG Abbi, Abbe (Frisian Ebbe)² F 11. OE equivalents are found in *Ebbi*, *Ebbe* (and the fem. form *Aebba*), see Müller p. 63 (66) and Williams p. 420 f.

Aegel-: for compounds with this element see *Aegelbert.

*Aegelbert: Aegelbryht of Galwalum AS Chr. 650 A. Cf. MS F 650 (AS Chr. II p. 23): "Her forðførde Birinus se biscop, Aegebertus se Frencisca was gehadod". In Bede HE L III, C VII he is called Agilberctus, natione quidam Gallus.

The same person is Agilbert, Bish. of Paris 666-680, mentioned by F 30. Agil-, a very common OG nameelement, belongs either to *agja- 'Spitze, Schwertschneide', to *agan 'sich fürchten' or Goth. agls 'unschicklich, schimpflich'³. Aegel- has been made the subject of a detailed investigation by Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 101 ff., where he explains the Aegel- (Ail-, Eil-) forms which appear abundantly in post-Conquest times as due to a development of OE $\alpha \delta el > \alpha \ddot{e}l$ (with AN loss of the dental) $> \alpha gel$, $\alpha il > ail$ (eil), which explanation is no doubt correct. As regards the names with Aegel-, occurring on coins from Aethelred, they cannot be explained in the same way, but are considered by Zachrisson to contain a native name-element Aegel-, Egel-. The latter form occurs as the first member of Egelmund LV,

¹ One of the sixty-two persons of Frisian and English nationality killed in a fight against the Danes.

² Probably to be associated with Abbo above.

³ Cf. Meyer-Lübke p. 7, Bruckner p. 218, Schönfeld p. 3; for second member see *Adalbert*.

and has been dealt with by Müller p. 105, who gives several other names which he considers to be compounded with the same native name-element. An examination of these names shows, however, that if we eliminate those which are continental (the above-mentioned *Aegelbert and Aegelmund, a Lombard, in Widsip), Egillaf (which is ON), those, occurring in Latin charters of doubtful date, where they may be the result of the afore-mentioned transition of Aedel- > Aegel- and lastly a couple of names from Bede, HE, which do not occur there, only one certain instance of a compound with Egel- remains, viz. the above-mentioned Egelmund. Now, it may be questioned whether there is any reason for supposing that LV contains continental p. ns. Müller, who has dealt with the names appearing in it, has not touched this question, although it certainly is of importance for the explanation of some of them. One wellknown instance of a continental p. n. in LV is Karlus, universally assumed to signify Charlemagne. His name has probably been entered on account of some gift he had sent to the monastery of Durham. In a seventeenth-century notice, LV is described as "containing the names of the benefactors towards St. Cuthbert's Church from the very original foundation thereof"¹. It is possible, however, that not all the names found there represent benefactors of the monastery. It is well known, especially from the continental Libri Confraternitatum S. Gall, that a 'Gebetsverbrüderung' or exchange of prayers especially for the dead took place between different monasteries. Several instances are given by Hahn, die Bonifazischen Briefe p. 113 f. Among other things, we are told that King Aelfward of East Anglia thanks Bonifazius for his mentioning his name in the prayers, and that he promises him that prayers shall be read for him in seven monasteries of his kingdom. Moreover, Aelfward asks him annually to

¹ LVD Intr. p. vII.

send a list of persons deceased, for whom pravers shall be read. Similar examples of the exchange of name lists are given by Stevenson in his Intr. to LVD p. 1x, of which I venture to quote the following: "In a letter of Kineheard. bishop of Winchester, to Lull, archbishop of Metz, we see the process in operation; the names of the deceased friends were interchanged, and, on the arrival at their respective destinations, they were transmitted by the bishop to the various ecclesiastical establishments in his diocese ... As the system progressed, it became customary for various ecclesiastical societies to enter into arrangements among themselves by which the benefactors to any one establishment reaped the benefit to be derived from the prayers of the whole association". I therefore consider it likely that, beside the above-mentioned Karlus, there occur in LV other names of continental persons for whom prayers were to be read for one reason or another. Hence it is very well possible that Egelmund is < OG Egilmund, a mutated form of Agilmund F 33, and this seems even likely if we take into account that, with the exception of this instance, compounds with Aegel- do not seem to appear till about two centuries later on the coins of Aethelred II. and his successors, in whose reigns they may have been introduced by some of the continental moneyers of whom there were many working in England. - The moneyer's names compounded with Aegel-, Egel- are the following: Aegelbriht (Cnut) Grueber p. 243; Aegelferð (Cnut) ibid. (cf. OG Agilfrid F 31); Aegelmær, -mer (Cnut, Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 243, 339, 340 (cf. OG Agilmar F 33); Aegelman (Harold I.) ibid. p. 302 (cf. Aigliman, Aclemans (Rom.) F 33); Aegelric, Egelric (Aethelred II.-Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 197, 298, 329, 388, 400 (cf. Aclerik (Rom.) Egelrich F 34); Aegelsig, Aegelsie, Aeilsie (Cnut, Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 243, 454, 455 (not on record in OG); Aegelward. Aegelwer(d) (Cnut-Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 282, 320, 406, 412 (cf. OG Agilward F 34 f.); Aegelwig, Egelwig (Cnut, Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 275, 398, 400 (cf. OG Eilwihe F 35); Aegelwi(ne), Egelwine, Eilwine (Aethelred II.—Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 197, 285, 302, 386 (cf. OG Agilwin F 35); Eilnoð (Edw. Conf.) ibid. p. 457 (not on record in OG). If Aegel-, Egel- is really absent from native names, some of those given above will be hybrid formations.

Aegenulf, see Aginulfus.

Aelismer mon., quoted from Ruding, Annals of the coinage of Great Britain.

The first member does not occur in OE p. ns¹. If correct², it seems most likely to be < Elis, which appears as first member of some p. ns in France, and which came into use on account of the Scriptural names *Elisabeth*, *Elisachar* and *Eliseus*, occurring there in the time of Charlemagne already³. The second member is OG mâri (OE mære) 'herrlich, berühmt'. **Aernis(ius)**, see *Ernegis*.

Acoelbrand mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 163; Aetlebrant, Etlebrant (Medesh.) BCS 1130 (AD 972-992).

The second member is absent from native OE p. ns and indicates either ON or OG origin⁴. $A\delta albrandr$ is instanced by Lind 3 from the 13th c., but the suggestion is put forward that it is a German loan. Hence the above forms are no doubt to be derived from OG Adalbrand⁵ F 164. Aedel- (in Aedelbrand) is Anglicized, if the name is not simply to be explained as a hybrid form of native Aedeland ON or OG -brand.

The stem-vowels of Aetle-, Etle-, too, have probably been influenced by OE Aedel-, Edel-. As regards the metathesis

- ² And not a mistake for Aelf-.
- ³ Cf. Longnon p. 302.
- ⁴ Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 191.

¹ Elesa and Elesing in the West Saxon Genealogy (AS Chr. 552 A) are not good evidence in the present case. For Alis(ius) see below.

⁵ First member as in *Adalbert*, second member is OHG brant 'Schwert'.

of l, the following OG parallels may be adduced from F 163 ff.: Adlevert, Adlegard, Adlegaud, Atleydis, Adlemar, Atlulf. Most of these instances are taken from Rom. sources, whence both the metathesis and t < p (cf. Kalbow p. 135 f.) are to be ascribed to Rom. influence; see also Braune Ahd. Gr. § 167, 9. And lastly, the t in *-brant* is due to the Frankish interchange of final d and t, for which cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 90.

Aedelhere Friesa AS Chr. 897 A¹.

A common name both in OG and OE². The present form is probably Anglicized.

Aetard, see *Actard.

Aetlebrant, see Aedelbrand.

Aginulfus LVD p. 64; Aegenulf, Aegnulf mon. (Aethelred II.)
Hildebrand p. 97, Grueber p. 197; Aeinulf minister³ BCS
1164 (AD 965); Aeinulf miles ibid. 1257 (AD 970); Agenulfi
(gen.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 8; Agenulfus (Wilts.) ibid. p. 279; Einulf(us) ibid. p. 94; Eginulfus Aquilensis⁴ FNC III p.
504; Ainulfus Hist. Ab. II p. 243 (AD 1154-89); Ainolf, Aynolf, Aynulf (surnames) RM I p. 123, RH II p. 222
(Edw. I.) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 38 (AD 1202), etc.

OG Aginulf, Agenulf, Einolf etc. F 41. The first member, Agin-, which does not occur in native OE names, is an extension of *ag 'spitz' or belongs to *agan 'sich fürchten' according to Bruckner p. 218 f. The second member is the same as in Adelulfus above. ON origin is not probable. See Björkman, Namenk. p. 31.

Agtard, see *Actard.

Aia (male) LVH (c. AD 1030) quoted from Searle.

¹ Cf. Aebbe above.

² First member as in Adalbert, second member is OHG hari, heri (OE here) 'Heer'.

³ The same person is probably *Eignulf* minister, ibid. 1280 (AD 972).

⁴ Mentioned by Orderic as one of the Normans killed at Hastings.

Cf. OG Aio < Agio F 16, OF Aie Langlois p. 9 f.¹ But perhaps Celtic (see Holder), as is certainly the name Aio, borne by a Lombard in the fourth cent.

Aimar: Ernald Aimar (mercator de terra Com Tholos) CR II p. 159.

This name is either from OG $Agimar^2$ F 23 with the development agi > ai referred to in preceding name, or from OG Adamar or Hadamar³ (with OF loss of h) F 156, 795 f. Aimar, Aimer are not unfrequently met with in ME documents, where, in most cases, they are to be derived from a native etymon, as has been suggested by Zachrisson (AN Infl. p. 105), who explains them from Aethemær < Aethelmær, with loss of the dental through AN influence and insertion of i to avoid hiatus. Cf. also Adomari (gen.) RH I p. 10 = Aymer CCR I p. 444. Se further *Haimer.

Aingot (Dev.) Rot. Fin. p. 282.

No OG equivalent seems to be on record. For the first member see *Aginulfus*; the second member is related to the name of the *Gauti* (OE *Geatas*, ON *Gautar*). On this element see, further, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 32, 8, F 607, Bruckner p. 254, Björkman Pers. p. 68 and *Mangod* below.

*Ainild: Ainildam (acc.) (Norf.) Ped. Fin. I p. 187 (AD 1196); Agnilda CMR III p. 267; Aynild (surname) RH I pp. 445, 449 (Edw. I.); Eynild (Suff.) ibid. II pp. 166, 184 (Edw. I.), etc.

OG Aginildis, Ainhildis (Rom.), Einhilt F 39. For the first member see Aginulfus; the second member is OS hild (OE hild) 'pugna', a common name-element in both languages. Cf. Haganild below.

Ainmer mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 105.

is from OHG hadu (OE headu) 'Kampf'. Cf. Kalbow p. 134.

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¹ On the WF-Rom. development of agi > ai see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 105, Kalbow p. 93.

² For the members see Echebrand and Aelismer.

³ For the first member of Adamar, see Adradus above; Hada-

OG *Aginmar is not given by F. For the first member see Aginulfus. Ain-<Agin- cannot, in this case, represent a native development, but is due to the WF-Rom. transition of agi > ai, for which see Aia. For the second member see Aelismær; -mer for OG -mar might depend on adaptation to the usual OE form -mer but is, in this case, rather to be explained as OF. Cf. Mackel p. 38, Kalbow p. 89. *Ainsie, Aynsie minister BCS 917 (AD 955).

Not given by F. Names in $-sige^1$, moreover, are rarely met with in OG. It is therefore probably a hybrid form of Continental *Ain*- (see *Aginulfus*) and native *-sige*, or a mistake for *Aylsie* < OE *Aedelsige*.

Airard (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 279.

Cf. OG Agirardus² F 42. Another explanation is, however, possible. According to Stolze (p. 9), ai in DB denotes not only the diphthong ai but also, in some cases, e^{3} . Hence it is possible that Airard stands for *Erard*; cf. *Erhart* below and the following name.

Aitard, Etard: Aitard (Chesh.), Aitardus (Norf. Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 279; the same person is called Ettard ibid. p. 314; Aitard de Vals ('Vaux') Hildebrand, DB p. 344; Aithard (surname) Inq. Non. p. 449; Atardo (dat.) de Alagoñ RLP p. 3 (AD 1201); Ethardus LVD p. 110; Etard de Bleu RCR II p. 72 (AD 1199); Etardo (dat.) CR I p. 440 (AD 1220); Etardi (gen.) (formerly abbot of Fécamp) ibid. p. 577 (AD 1223); Etardi (gen.) RB p. 249 (AD 1166) = Attardi foot-note ibid.

OG Eidhart and Aitard (Rom.) F 46. The first member is OHG eit (OE $\bar{a}d$) 'ignis, rogus'⁴. Et- < Ait- is due to

¹ OHG sigu, OS sigi (OE sige) 'Sieg', a very common OE name-element.

² First member is a chiefly WF extension of *ag. See F 41; second member see *Actard.

³ which is explained by the AN monophthongization of ai > e, for which see Menger p. 43 ff. and Behrens p. 123 ff.

⁴ Cf. also Bruckner, p. 100.

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the AN monophthongization of ai > e, for which see preceding name. At- is from Ait- with OF loss of i in pretonic position. See Acard above¹.

Alard see Adelard.

Alberia LVD pp. 62, 70.

OG Alberga, Albergia F 163. The first member is al or adel, see Adelard. For the etymology of the second member see Schönfeld p. 13 and literature there quoted. In -beria, i has the phonetical value of [dz], being the result of the regular OF fronting of g in this position. As regards the occurrence of this element in OE. p. ns, Liebermann, Die Heiligen Englands p. 1x has made the following statement: "Die seltene Namensendung beorg geht schon im VIII. Jh. in burg über und der häufige Schluss von Frauennamen burg wird zu berga latinisirt". Names in -berga make their first and principal appearance in the Latin MSS of Bede's HE, whereas in later authors (King Alfred and Flor. Wig.) they usually appear in the form -burg(a). It may be that Liebermann is right in his assumption that -berg once existed as a native name-element, although it has fallen out of use at an early date. But since it is found in OE only in Latin documents or in translations from Latin originals, I prefer to consider it as an instance of WF influence on OE personal nomenclature: the OE element -burg has been replaced by -berg(a), one of the most common endings of WF fem. p. ns².

Albericus camerarius (Hants. Wilts.), Albericus comes³ (Wilts. Buck. Oxf. etc.), Alberi(c) (Dev.), Albericus de Ver⁴ (Cambr. Hunt. Ess.), (Galterus filius) Alberici (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 367, 498, II pp. 12, 280, 321; Alberico (obl.) legato Ann. Wig. p. 378 (AD 1138); Alberico (obl.) de Capill CR I p.

¹ For second member see *Actard.

² Cf. Meyer-Lübke, p. 56.

³ = Comes Albricus LVD, p. 66. Cf. Ellis, Intr. I p. 367, foot-note 2.

⁴ Cf. FNC V, p. 757.

193 (AD 1215); Albericum (ack.) domini Papæ notarium Ann. Wint. p. 98 (AD 1258); Albericus de Mundavilla LVD p. 81 (13th c.); Aubri (surname, Kent) RH II p. 410 (Edw. I.) etc.¹

OG Albericus² etc. F 71. This is a stereotyped Latin form of which the English equivalent is Aelfric, Alfric. It is not impossible that the native form may sometimes have been Latinized in the same way. Aubri is the OF form (cf. Aub(e)ri Langlois p. 52), with the regular vocalization of l > u and the development of -ric > ri, for which see Mackel p. 146.

Alberica, Albrica CMR I, p. 418; Albrica de Stowe (Cambr.) RB p. 530 (AD 1210-12).

A fem. form of the preceding name.

Albert: Albrt mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 105; Albert mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 155; Albart mon. (Eadgar) Hildebrand p. 11; Albertus Lothariensis (Heref. Bedf.), Albertus capellanus (Kent), Albertus clericus (Berks. Rutl.), Albertus (homo Drogonis de Beurere) (Yorks.), Albertus (homo Rogeri Pictaviensis) (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 367, II pp. 12, 280; Albertum (ack.) Francesium (Norf.) RB p. 398 (AD 1166); Magister Albertus (domini papæ notarius) Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 191 (AD 1252); Albertus Girdeler, de Alemania, FY p. 94 (AD 1393); Thomas Albright fil. Johannis Albright, bucklermaker ibid. p. 127 (AD 1418); Willelmus Albright, cutler et buklermaker ibid. p. 176 (AD 1455); Robertus Albright, cutteler ibid. p. 178 (AD 1457).

OG Albert³ F 163. With regard to the first member I refer the reader to Adelard above; the second member as

¹ It would seem that *Alberi* mon. (Eadmund) Grueber, p. 126, also belongs here.

² First member is MHG alp (OE alf, ON álfr) 'Elf', second member is OHG rîchi, OS rîki (OE rīce) 'mächtig'.

³ also common in France and Italy. A Rom. dim. form is Albertino (dat.) Rogerio de Pistorio (Yorks.) Rot. Orig. I p. 283 (Edw. II) and Albertinus de Bolonia CPR II p. 266 (AD 1310). in Adalbert¹. Albert is otherwise a native name, viz. < OE Aethelbeorht or Alberht (see Müller p. 100).

Albinus Bede HE L V, C. 20 (p. 331)³; Albinus canonicus et sarcerdos Linc. Obit. p. 164; Aubyn (surname, Norf.) Rot. Orig. II p. 202 (Edw. III). Further instances in Bardsley pp. 43, 68, Archiv 123 p. 29.

In most cases, *Albin(us)* is to be considered as Latin (< *albus*). Sometimes it might also be < OG *Alb*- (cf. *Albericus*) + Rom. dim. suff. -*in*. Cf. Kalbow p. 39, F 65.

Albod(0), Albot: Albodo abbot CMR I p. 249 (AD 1114-20); Albod (gen.) RC p. 69 (AD 1200); Albot (surname) RH I p. 77 (Edw. I), II pp. 330, 610, 612 (Edw. I); Gilberd Albod ibid. p. 857; Albold Monẽ Pipe Roll II p. 4, III p. 2; Halebod(e) (nom.) CCR I p. 19 (AD 1227), RC p. 32 (AD 1200); Halebot (surname) CR I p. 518 (AD 1222), RH II p. 327; Aylbode (nom.) ibid. p. 472; Ayllebod (surname) Inq. Non. p. 1 (Edw. III); Eylbod (surname, Kent) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 257 (AD 1257) etc.³

Bardsley (p. 44) suggests that Albot might be a 'popular form of *Albrecht*', which explanation is not correct. The above forms are in the first place to be derived from OE *Aethelbeald* in its ME form *Albold*⁴. The loss of the unstressed l is probably due to AN influence; cf. Menger p. 87, Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 144 ff.⁵ This accounts for the

¹ As regards the moneyer's name, *Albart*, mentioned above, it may be a mere mistake for *Albert* or < OG *Adalbard* F 161. For *-bard* see *Isenbard* below.

 2 = Albinus Andegavensis, brought by Remigius to Lincoln.

³ The name *Alrebot* Ellis, Intr. II p. 22 might belong here. It is, at any rate, a corrupt form, since there is no name-element with which the first member might be connected.

⁴ For first member see Adelard, second member is OE beald, bald (OHG bald) 'kühn'. -bolt is due to the AN interchange of final d and t; cf. Menger p. 97. Of OG origin is probably Alboldus clericus (Suff.), Alboldus cocus (Hants.) Ellis Intr. II p. 280. Cf. OG Albold F 161.

⁵ A similar loss of l is seen in *Tebott* < Tebold (see below sb *Theobald).

existing interchange of forms with and without l: thus the abbot Albodo above is the same person as Albolde (dat.) AS Chr. 1114 H¹, and Albod Monet appears as Albold Monet Pipe Roll I p. 13. It is impossible to determine whether, or how far, OG Albod, Albot, Adelbodo F 164 are represented in the above instances. Unless the above form Albodo is OG, its second member has at any rate been influenced by OG -bodo, which would be easily explained from the occurrence of -bodo² side by side with -bod in a number of OG p. ns. In -bode, e is probably merely orthographical. Albold, see preceding name.

Albreda LVD pp. 58, 141; Albretha ibid. p. 79 (12th or 13th c.); Albredam (ack.) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 40 (AD 1202); Albreda (sister of Robert le Flemeng) Chr. Petr. p. 78; Albrea LVD p. 110; Albréé (gen.) RLP I p. 36; Albrei (fem.) LVD p. 104 (13th c.); Aubray uxor Pt. Y. p. 44 (AD 1379); Aubrayson (surname) Bardsley p. 68; Auveray, Auverey, Auwre, Averey (surnames) RH II pp. 285, 305, 381 etc.

The origin of these forms is not quite certain; cf. the suggestion made by Binz, Angl. Beibl. XXIII p. 4³. It seems most likely, however, that they are all derived from OG $Alb(e)rada^4$, Alverada F 71, with regular OF development into *Albree *Aubree, *Alvree *Auvree. Albreda is, then, in my opinion, merely a Latinized form of OF Albree, partly probably under the influence of ME -red. Albrei and Aubray show the common AN insertion of *i* in the ending -ee, for which cf. Behrens p. 82 f., Menger p. 40⁵.

¹ "P abbód rice æt Sče Eadmunde he geaf *Albolde* wæs munuc on Bece".

² For this member see Anderboda.

³ See also Björkman, Namenk. p. 12.

⁴ First member as in *Alberic*, second member is a fem. form of the element -rad, for which see *Adradus*.

⁵ Cf. also the pl. ns Saltrede, Saltreye, Estrede, Estrea, Estrei adduced by Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 116.

Bardsley (p. 68), who has dealt with NE Aubrey, Aubery, Aubury, has confused ME Aubri (< Albericus, see above) and the present forms, although they can in most cases be kept distinct. NE Aubrey (obri) is < ME Aubrey (< Albreda) with the original spelling preserved, whereas NE Aubery (ob(e)ri) is a continuation of ME (Rom.) Aub(e)ri (< Albericus), with the accent very soon shifted over to the first syllable. A confusion of the forms has not, as a rule, taken place till -ey (in Aubrey) had been levelled under *i*, so that both forms had fallen together in pronunciation. Aldeardis (fem.) RC p. 9 (AD 1109).

OG Aldigart (male and fem.) Altiardis (fem. Rom.) F 60. The first member is OHG alt, OS ald (OE eald, ald) 'alt', the second member is OHG gart, OS gard (OE geard) 'Hof, Haus'. In OG, -gard is found in both male and fem. names, whereas OE -geard only occurs as the termination of male names (cf. Gött. gel. Anz. 162 p. 780). The present form is, strictly speaking, Aldëardis, corresponding to the OF form Altïardis¹, whence the second member is not to be explained with Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 214, 7.

Aldebrandus de Luka (Lond.) RH I p. 405 (Edw. I).

OG Aldebrand² etc. (F 58) found both in France and Italy. An instance of an Italian dim. form of this name is Johannem (ack.) Aldibrandini Hist. Pap. p. 116. Aldran KCD 219 (AD 825).

OG Alderam, Aldrannus etc. F 61. The first member as in preceding name; for the second member, see *Bertram*. *Alebrand: Alebrandi (surname, borne by a merchant of Sens) Giff. Reg. p. 116 (AD 1272).

OG Al(e)brand³ F 81, Carstens p. 12. A Rom. dim. form

³ First member is probably OHG al 'ganz', appearing in compounds as al(a)-, al(l)e-, al(l)i-, see Gröger p. 7 ff. Cf. also Adelard above; second member as in Aedelbrand.

¹ for which see Kalbow p. 138 f.

² First member as in Aldeardis, second member as in Aedelbrand.

with prothetic h is *Halebrandin* (an Italian) CR I p. 379 (AD 1218).

Alfonsus de Veer Rot. Orig. II p. 21 (Edw. III); Alfonso (obl.) (nuncio Reg. Portingal) CR I p. 597 (AD 1224); Dominus Aldefonsus (domini regis Angliæ filius) Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 263 (AD 1283); Alfonsus de' Melinis (parson of Dungarvan) CPR I p. 196 (AD 1285); John Alfouns (of Portyngale) ibid. VI p. 443 (AD 1337); Anphos AS Chr. 1086 E is = Alphonso VI. of Castile; cf. also the pl. n Alphonscill CR I p. 12.

OG Adalfuns, Adelfons, Aldephons, Alfons¹ F 166. This name was borne by a number of Spanish and Portuguese kings.

Aliand (surname) Sanct. Dun. p. 3 (AD 1477).

Cf. OG Aliand F 80. For the first member, see *Alebrand; the second member is perhaps -nand (belonging to Goth. -nanfjan 'wagen'), with dissimilatory loss of n, see Schröder, Gött. gel. Anz. 162 p. 794.

Alilandus see *Eliland.

Alis(ius): Willelmus Alis seu Alisius (Hants.) Ellis Intr. I p. 368.

OG Algis F 168. For the first member see Adelard, for the second member Ernegis.

Almaric see Amalric.

Almarica see *Amalrica.

Almfridus see Amelfridus.

[Alnoldus, Alunold Ellis Intr. II pp. 22, 27 like Alnulfus ibid. p. 282, and Alner LVD p. 71 stand for Aluoldus, Aluuold, Aluulfus and Aluer owing to the common graphical confusion of n and u].

*Alsard: Halsard (Surr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334.

H is probably prothetic. *Alsard might be from Elisard²

¹ First member, see Adelard; second member is OHG -funs (OE $f\bar{u}s$) 'bereit', o for u is Rom.

² First member as in Aelismær. second member as in *Actard.

F 78. *a* for *e* would be due to the occurrence of *a* and *e* side by side in some OG name-elements such as $Al_{-}: El_{-}$, $Ali_{-}: Eli_{-}, Alid_{-}: Elid_{-}$ etc. Cf. also Al_{-} and El_{-} in DB-names. Or is Alsard = Ansard?

Alselin: Goisfridi (gen.) Alselin (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 472. It is not to be ascertained whether Alselmus (Essex) ibid. II p. 24 is an error for Alselin or vice versa, on account of the frequent graphical confusion of in and m in ME documents, or whether they are two different names. Alsis probably $< Ans^{-1}$ with assimilatory change of n > l. Cf. similar instances of assimilation in Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 122. Alselm, see preceding name.

Alsent (surname, Cant.) RH II p. 557 (Edw. I).

OG Alsind(a), Alsindis (Pol. Irm. III, 25), Alasind etc. (fem.) F 54 besides Adalsind ibid. 178. For the first member see Adelard. The second member is < *sinfa (Goth. sinfs, OHG sind, OE sif) 'Fahrt', see Bruckner p. 304. Meyer-Lübke (p. 77 f.) suggests that the male names in -sind are < *sinfa, the fem. names in -sind < *swinfa- (Goth. swinfs, MHG swinde, OE swif) 'kräftig' with Rom. loss of w^2 . The gender of the name under notice is, however, not to be determined. On the Rom. transition of i > e see Mackel p. 97. Alweis (uxor Ernold' Cinerarii) RCR I p. 162 (AD 1198).

The *ei* of the second member is probably an AN spelling for $\bar{\imath}$, of which instances are to be found in Behrens p. 101, Menger p. 65 and Luhmann p. 115³. Hence the etymon will be OG *Adalwidis*, *Adelwidis* (Rom.) F 180 f. For the first member see *Adelard*; -widis⁴ has undergone the OF development > $w\bar{\imath}s$, see Schultz p. 182 ff.

⁴ From OS $w\hat{i}d$ (OE $w\hat{i}d$) 'weit'; further suggestions as to the etymology are found in F 1562. On the Latin ending *-is* of fem. p. ns see Kalbow p. 29.

¹ See Anselin and *Anshelm below.

² Cf. also Romania XXXVIII, 232.

³ This might also account for the spelling Otheinus (= $*Oth\bar{i}$ nus), given by Björkman, Pers. p. 100.

Amalberga virgo (of the monastery of Blandinium) BCS 661 (AD 918).

OG Amal(a)berga F 90, Waltemath p. 13. Amal-¹ is lacking from native OE p. ns, and has been introduced from the Continent. For the second member see Alberia. *Amaldredus: Amaldredo (dat.) LVD p. 75 (12th c.).

Cf. OG Amalrad F 94. The first member is the same as in preceding name; the second member, for which see Adradus above, appears as *-red* in OS (cf. Gallée, As. Gr. p. 62 f., Beckmann p. 54 f.) and in L. Fr., cf. Heinzel pp. 24, 33, 36, 109, 238. By regular OF development it has become *-ré*. Cf. Mackel p. 38. In the present case, however, it will have been influenced by OE *-red*, or, which is equally possible, *Amaldredus may be a hybrid form. As regards the insertion of d, it is analogous to that found e. g., in OF moldre, coldre, faldra etc. < mol(e)re etc. Cf. also OG Amaldricus F 95, and Kalbow p. 122.

Amalinus de Barres CCR I p. 448 (AD 1255); Amalinno (abl.) ibid. p. 175 (AD 1174).

OG Amalin F 89. In the present case it is certainly a NF dim. form of Amal-, see Amalberga. The second a prevents associating it with Hamelinus below.

Amalric, Amelric: Amelric mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 115; Amelricus de Dreuues (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 405; Amalric(us) (Oxf. Derb.) ibid. II p. 286; Amalri 'þes kinges stiward of France' AS Chr. 1124 E²; Amalric CCR I p. 20 (AD 1227); Amauric Bataille (Oxon.) Rot. Fin. p. 360 (AD 1206); Amaur de Nohers KC p. 124; Almaric (Glouc.) Rot. Oblat. p. 170 (AD 1201); Almaricus de Laundres Ann. Dunst. p. 353 (AD 1289); Magister Almaricus (Bedf.) ibid. p. 128 (AD 1231); Almericus Burdet (Linc.) Plac. p. 415 (Edw. I); Aumar de Crohun CR II p. 6 (AD 1224) = Almaricus de Croim RB p. 802; Americ' vicecomes RC p. 31 (AD 1199);

¹ For the etymology see F 88, Wrede, Wand. p. 39 and Meyer-Lübke p. 11.

ž = Hamalri ibid. 1123 E.

Americus de Rupe Choard CRC p. 13 (John); Amerius Peche Plac. p. 285 = Almaricii (gen.) Peche ibid. p. 729 (Edw. I); Amary, Amory (surnames) RH II p. 329; Omeric' de Bysilles ibid. I p. 466 etc.

OG Amalric, Almarich etc. F 94 f.¹ Amau- and Aumashow NF vocalization of l in Amal- and Alma- respectively. Americ(us) (and Amerius, the Latinized form of NF Ameri) may be < Amerric(us) < Amelric(us) by assimilation². Amary³ is explained in the same way from Amalric. As for Omeric', it seems most likely to be < Americ, o probably reflecting the ME dialectal appearance of o, instead of a, before a nasal. *Amalrica: Almarica (Buck.) Abbr. Plac. p. 280 (Edw. I); Almarica (fil' Rogeri de Rostock) (Lanc.) Rot. Orig. I p. 114 (Edw. I); Almarica uxor ibid. II p. 113 (Edw. III); Ameria Pt. Y p. 202.

Fem. forms of *Almaric*, *Ameri*, for which see preceding name.

Amalwin de Burgo (Hamalwiñ de Burg) CR I p. 149 (AD 1213).

OG Amalwin F 95. The first member as in Amalberga, the second member is OHG, OS wini (OE wine) 'Freund'. Amelfridus (Essex) Ellis, Intr. II p. 286. The same person is probably Almfridus (Essex) ibid. p. 282.

OG Amal-, Amelfrid, Almefred F 92. For the first member see Amalric, the second member is OHG fridu (OE friðu, freoðu) 'Friede'.

Amelger (Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 286.

¹ First member as in Amalberga. As regards Alma-, Alme-, it is perhaps of a different origin, according to Bruckner p. 222 belonging to ON álmr 'Ulme Bogen'. It seems probable, however, that Amal- and Alma-, even if originally distinct, will easily have been liable to confusion although I have not come across any instances where this can be assumed with certainty. Cf., however, Amelfridus below. For second member see Alberic.

² Cf. Kalbow p. 122. It cannot, however, with certainty be kept distinct from *Haimeric*.

³ For Amory see Kalbow p. 86.

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OG Amal-, Amelger F 92. For the first member see Amalberga, the second member is OHG $g\hat{e}r$ (OE $g\bar{a}r$) < *gaiza-'Speer'¹. -ger is not a criterion of OG origin alone, since it occurs in ON p. ns, too². And it is further, especially in ME times, to be found for $-g\bar{a}r$ in native p. ns owing to orthographical confusions, or the influence of ON and OG p. ns in -ger, or to a development of $-g\bar{a}r > g\bar{a}r > g\bar{a}r$ > $g\bar{e}r$ in weakly stressed position. It should also be borne in mind that, in many cases, a confusion of both elements may be due to the circumstance that several OG p. ns in England exhibit both -ger and -gar; cf. e. g. Berenger below.

Amelina LVD p. 13.

Amelina (Rom.) F 89. It is not possible to determine whether it is a dim. form of Amal-, see preceding name, or from Ama (cf. F 87) + el + ina. Cf. Emelina below. Amelrey (surname) RH II p. 769 (Edw. I).

Probably < OG Amalrada³ F 94, OF *Amalree, exhibiting a development analogous to that of Aubrey < *Aubree < Albrada. Allowance must, however, be made for the possibility that it is < Amelrí (see Amalric) with AN ey (= ei) for $\overline{\imath}$, see Alweis.

Amerland (Staff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 286.

The same form is also found in Cal. Doc. p. 214 (AD 1137). The first member is most likely to be *Amel-*, *r* for *l* being due to dissimilation⁴. *Amelland* is not given by F, but its existence may be concluded from the form *Amellandus* Cal. Doc. p. 429 (AD 1072—1079). For the first member see *Amalberga*; the second member is <-nand (in

¹ It is further possible that *-ger* in OG p. ns sometimes is = OHG ger 'verlangend'; cf. Bruckner (p. 256).

² Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 14.

³ First member as in *Amalberga*; for second member see *Albrada* (under *Albreda*).

⁴ Cf. Zachrisson AN Infl. p. 121.

Goth. ana-nanpjan) by dissimilation. See Schröder, Gött. gel. Anz. 162 p. 794¹.

Amiza comitissa (wife of Rodbertus comes Leicestriæ) LVD (Obit.) p. 142.

OG Ameza, Amisa (fem.) and the male equivalent Amizo F 97. Cf. Amizo = Amelricus Stark p. 64. Hence Amiza may be a dim. form of some fem. compound with Amal. The OF equivalent is Amisse, Kalbow p. 54.

Anderboda, Anderbode mon. (Edw. Conf., Harold II.) Grueber pp. 449, 450, 451, 452, 473; Anderboda LVH p. 63; (Robertus filius) Andrebodæ, Anderbodæ (Dors.) RB p. 216.

OHG Antarpot, Antirpoto, Antarbod F 106. The first member, which is absent from OE p. ns, belongs to OHG antaron 'æmulari'². The second member is perhaps OS bodo, OHG -boto (OE boda) 'Bote' (see Bruckner p. 237, F 319)³, and is lacking from OE p. ns. As a first member it is rarely recorded in native names; cf. Bodric mon. (Edw. Conf.) Grueber p. 330. Bodwine abbas BCS 250, 256 probably stands for Botwine ibid. 230. Boda and Boddus Ellis, Intr. II p. 50 and the dim. form *Bodeca (in Bodecanleah BCS 300) might, if Germanic, be judged according to v. Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 89 f.

*Anfrid: Amfridi (gen.) le Flemeng CR I p. 640 (AD 1224); Anfridi, Amfridi (gen.) de Chancy RB p. 426 (AD 1166).

OG Anfrid F 100. The first member is in most cases the intensive particle ana-, see Bruckner p. 223. For the second member see Amelfrid. In other cases, Anfrid may be from OE Eanfrid or ON Asfrið, see Björkman, Pers. p. 11.

Angelin see Engelin.

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¹ Land- (OHG lant, OE land, lond 'Land') occurs in both OG and OE p. ns.

² Bruckner p. 224; cf. also Wrede, Wand. p. 63, Meyer-Lübke p. 13.

³ Cf. also Socin p. 45, who thinks it is < bato 'Kampf'; "dies -bato wird einerseits -boto, anderseits -bot".

Anneis LVD p. 16.

The gender is uncertain; if male, this name seems likely to be < OG Arnegis, thus being identical with Ernegis (below); if fem., < Arnheit, Arnaida F 140. For the second member see Adelais(a).

Ansard (surname) LVD p. 60.

One might compare OG Ansard¹ (Rom.) F 127. It is more likely, however, that the name under notice is identical with the common ME surname Hansard, Haunsard, Haunsart², originally 'the Hansard, a member of one of the establishments of the German Hanse'³.

Ansegis (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 288.

OG Ansigis, Ansgis F 126 f., OF Ansïs Langlois p. 34 f. The first member is OG Ans- (OE \overline{Os} -, ON As-) 'Gott'; Ansis also sometimes found in ON p. ns, owing to a transformation of As- on the model of the Continental form⁴. The second member is $-q\bar{s}s$ (cf. Lombard gîsil 'Pfeilschaft' Bruckner p. 90), a gradation form of *gaiza-, see Amelger. This element is originally wanting in OE p. ns, but may have arisen through a later loss of l in the native form -gisl, -gils.

Ansel (Buck.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 288; Ansellus monachus (Norf.) RCR I p. 233 (AD 1199); Ansellus molendinarius CMR II p. 9; Ansellus (filius Galfridi) Rot. Orig. II p. 244, etc.

Ansellus (Rom.) F 122, OF Ansel Langlois p. 35. For Ans- see preceding name. The dim. ending may have been added on Rom. territory or be OG -*ilo*, influenced by Rom.

¹ For first member see Ansegis, for second member *Actard. ² e. g. LVD pp. 93, 94, CR I p. 340, Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 251, FY p. 13.

³ On the distinction that was made between the German merchants in England who belonged to the Hanse and those who did not belong to it, see W. Stein, Die Hansebruderschaft der Kölner Englandfahrer (in Hans. Geschichtsbl. XIV, 1908, p. 197 ff.).

⁴ See Björkman, Pers. p. 14, Namenk. p. 15,

-el(lus); see Kalbow p. 50. Ansellus has sometimes been confused with Ansellinus¹. Thus Ancellus Abbr. Plac. p. 167 is = Ansellinus Basset ibid. and Ansellum (ack.) Mowin RCR I p. 389 = Anselliñ Mowin ibid. II p. 64. This confusion will generally be due to the fact that in such a form as Ansellus, which signifies Ansellinus, the diacritic sign has been left out.

Anselin Pincerne RCR II p. 14 (AD 1199); Anselinus Test. Nev. p. 363; Abbr. Plac. p. 214; Anselino (abl.) de Brigge Rot. Orig. I p. 127; Ancelin Bataillis RCR II p. 152; Ancelinus Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 106; Willelmus Anselin LVD p. 50; Lofeth Anselin ibid.; Hanselin, Haunselin, Hancelin (surnames) CR II p. 196, Ann. Burt. p. 310, Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 517, etc.

A Rom. derivative from Ansel (above) by means of the dim. suff. -in. The forms with initial h^2 probably belong here and not to Dutch Hans³ (< Johannes), as Bardsley (p. 357) suggests, although this derivation is, of course, worth attention. For the confusion of Anselin and Ansel, see preceding name. It is further difficult to keep it distinct from Anselmus, on account of the paleographical confusion of in and m in ME documents. Cf. e. g. Anselinus de Gyse CRC p. 125 = Anselmus de Gyse FA I p. 1.

Ansera mon. (Edw. Conf.) Grueber p. 329; Ansera (surname) RCR I p. 151 (AD 1198).

This name can hardly contain OG Ans- as its first member, because the formation would then be quite unintelligible.

Anseric de Tuscy RLP I p. 115 (AD 1214).

OG Anseric etc. F 130. The first member as in Ansegis, the second member as in Alberic.

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¹ See the following name.

² With regard to the addition or loss of initial h in ME documents Bardsley (p. 347) correctly states: "Aspirates come and go as they like in early registers".

³ Which seems to be met with only sporadically in ME.

Ansgardus MHB p. 869 (De bello Hastingensi Carmen).

Cf. OG Ansgard 1 F 126. The above form is not quite certain, however, because, according to foot-note ibid., the same person appears in DB (Ellis, Intr. II p. 288) as Ansgarus. Whether Ansgeredus (Oxf. Hunt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 288 is < *Ansgerdus (< Ansgardus) or an error for Anseredus (Björkman, Pers. p. 11, Namenk. p. 15) is not determinable. *Anshelm: Anselme (dat.) (archbish. of Canterbury, a Lombard) AS Chr. 1093 E; Ansealm, Ansealme (dat.) ibid. 1095 E, 1097 E, 1100 E, 1103 E, 1109 E (the same person); Anscalm ("nefa Ansealmes ærceb") ibid. 1115 E; Anselmus LVD pp. 98, 100; Anselmus le Gros (Bish. of St. David's) CG II p. 77 (AD 1230-47); Anselmi (gen.) de Guyse 2 ibid. I p. 305 (AD 1263-84); Anselmus Carpentarius CMR I p. 45; Anselmus Ann. Theok. p. 56 (AD 1198); Anselmo (dat.) (merchant of Genoa) CR II p. 9 (AD 1224); Anselmus de Rotomago ('Rouen'), RB p. 207 (AD 1166); Anscelmus CMR I p. 142 (AD 1114-30), etc.

OG Ans(h)elm F 128, OF Anselme Langlois p. 35. The first member as in preceding name; the second member is OG helm (OE helm) 'Helm', a common name-element in both languages. ea is due to the NF insertion of a glide a between e and l + consonant³; cf. Menger p. 59, Behrens p. 92, Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 150. For the graphical confusion of Anselm and Anselin, see the latter name.

*Anshelma (?): Anselma mater LVD (Obit.) p. 149.

Perhaps a fem. form of preceding name, but more probably a graphical error for **Anselina* < *Anselin* (above). **Ansiger**, *Ansier*⁴ mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 105, 106,

107.

¹ First member as in Ansegis; for second member see Aldeardis.

² Cf. Anselin above.

³ The ea in Healmstan BCS 659 (AD 926) < OE Helmstan is to be explained in the same way.

⁴ Ansidar ibid. probably stands for Ansigar, see Keary p. 89.

OG Ansger etc. F 125 f. For the first member see Ansegis; the second member as in Amelger. For Ansier <*Ansijer < Ansiger see Kalbow p. 139. Later instances of Ansger, Ansgar in England are in most cases to be explained with Björkman, Pers. p. 14, < OW Scand. Ásgeirr, OSwed. Asger, Asgar.

Ansoldus canonicus Linc. Obit. p. 162; Ansaldus Mallonus Soldanus (of Genoa) CCR I p. 70 (AD 1228); the same person is probably Ansuldo (abl.) de Genue CR II pp. 12, 13 (AD 1225): Rad. Ansholt Rot. Fin. p. 456 (AD 1207).

OG Answald, Ansald, Ansold etc. F 131. The first member as in Ansegis, the second member belongs to OHG waltan (OE wealdan) 'walten'¹ and is a common name-element in both languages. For the loss of w see Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 109, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 62 and Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 173, 2, remark 3. Ansholt might contain OG hold 'hold', but it seems more likely that h is merely graphical. Cf. Mod. G Reinhold < OG Raginwald and Ermenhaldus < Ermenald (below).

*Anwis: Annois (fem.)² LVD p. 82 (12th or 13th c.).

OG Anwis F 102, who thinks it is < Arnuuis (ibid. 141). The first member is the same as in Arnald (below). For the second member see under Alweis. o is due to the OF vocalization of w, see Mackel p. 185.

Arche(n)bald see Erchenbald.

Armegard see Erme(n)gard.

Armwin le Taverner (Lond.) RH I p. 424 (Edw. I).

Cf. OG Armuin, Armoin F 147. The first member is assumed by F 146 to be OHG arm 'arm'³, and Bruckner, p. 47, explains it as a gradation form of Irmin-, erma. In later examples, especially from Rom. territory, Arm-

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¹ Cf. also Kärre, Nomina Agentis in Old English, Part I (Upsala 1915) p. 28.

² ... Hawis Annois Mahaut Emme ...

³ OE earm was not used as a name-element.

cannot be kept distinct from *Erm*-, on account of the interchange of the phonems *ar* and *er*, for which see *Arnald*. And in this particular case the etymon is most likely *Arn*-(cf. *Arnoin* F 141) with m < n owing to the following labial¹. OE **Earnwine*² is not on record, but is perhaps to be concluded from the form *Ernuinus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 108.

Arnald Arnold, Ernald Ernold: Ernaldus (Essex) Ellis, Intr. I p. 414; Ernold (Kent), Ernold (Worc.) ibid. pp. 108, 314; Arnaldus, Arnold LVD pp. 19, 31, 50, 52, 53 (12th or 13th c.); Aernaldus abbas, Aernaldus de Feritate, Aernaldus clericus, Aernaldus ibid. pp. 47, 85, 86, 98, 104, 111, 141, 147 (12th-14th c.); Ernaldus ibid. p. 82; Ernald Flandrensis CR I p. 352 (AD 1218); Ernald de Burdeg ('Bordeaux') ibid. p. 625 (AD 1224); Ernald Flemang of Claverburc CCR III p. 303 (AD 1316); Ernaldi (gen.) de Bosco CR I p. 68 (AD 1206); Ernaldi (gen.) de anvers ibid. II p. 9 (AD 1224); Arnold Ungenogh (merchant of Cologne) ibid. I p. 127 (AD 1212); Ernaldus dil Bec RB p. 338 (AD 1166); Ernald de Chauci CCR III p. 177 (AD 1311); Arnoldi (gen.) de Bolonia RB p. 708 = Hernaldus de Bolonia ibid. p. 616 (AD 1211-12); Arnaldus de Almaygne, furbour FY p. 24 (AD 1327); Arnaldus de Lovayne, teinturer ibid. p. 54 (AD 1359); Arnald de Colonia, armourer ibid. p. 94 (AD 1393); Arnald de Braban (AD 1307) Bardsley p. 125; Arnald Fresekyn (merchant of Brabant) CPR IV p. 153 (AD 1327); Godfridus Arnaldson, Ducheman FY p. 186 (AD 1466); Hernand, Hernant (surnames) Abbr. Plac. p. 263, RH I p. 52 etc.; cf. also Arnold, a Norman bish. and Arnold of Ardres, mentioned in FNC IV p. 546.

OG Arnald, Arnold, Arnolt³ etc. F 140 f., OF Arnaut,

¹ Cf. Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 126, Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 188.

² For first member see the following name, for second member see *Amalwin*.

³ First member is OHG arn (OE earn, ON orn) 'Adler'; for second member, see Ansoldus.

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Ernaut, Hernaut Langlois p. 337 f. The occurrence of the above forms in England is probably altogether due to continental influence, since they do not appear till DB¹. The various spellings of the first member may be due to English soundlaws: OE ĕarn (cf. Bülbring, Ae. Elem. §§ 285, 287) has become ME arn and ern and ærn might be taken to represent the intermediate stage $\check{e}a$ had to pass to reach a^2 . In the present case, however, both Arnald and Ernald were no doubt introduced from the Continent. As regards the latter form it is explained by F 457 as containing $\hat{E}rin$, an extended form of OHG êra 'Ehre'. Most of the forms adduced by F ibid., are, however, Rom. and certainly to be derived from Arnald, exhibiting the OF dialectal transition of ar > er for which see Mackel p. 48, Kalbow p. 92, Nyrop § 246, Dammeier p. 38 ff., Menger p. 49, Behrens pp. 76, 80. The forms Hernand, Hernant might certainly, from a merely formal point of view, be identified with OG Hernand F 776, but are no doubt = Hernaud, Hernaut (< Ernald, Ernalt), owing to the very common graphical confusion of n and u in ME texts³.

*Arngot (?): Arengot (surname) CCR II p. 250 (AD 1281); Harengod, Haringod, Haregot, Haringot (surnames) RF pp. 527, 567 (AD 1214, 15), RCR I p. 387 (AD 1199), CCR I p. 253 (AD 1240), etc.

Cf. OG Aringaud, Arnghot⁴ F 139. If this derivation be correct, e and i in Aren-, Harin- are svarabhakti-vowels. The relation of the above forms to Heringod RH I p. 219 etc. is not clear. It may be that Haringod and Heringod exhibit the same interchange of a and e as Arnald and

¹ ON Arnaldr, Lind 33 ff. is assumed by him to have been introduced from Germany and England. Cf. also Archiv 123 p. 30.

² For similar spellings in Lazamon see Luhmann p. 120 ff.

³ A NF dim. form is *Arnoldin*, K. Horn, for which see Archiv 123 p. 30.

⁴ First member as in Arnald, second member as in Aingot.

Ernald, and thus are both < Arn-. It should be noticed, however, that most of the forms in question show initial H, which, from all we know about the ME spelling habits, cannot be considered as a decisive proof of the assumption that it is original but, at any rate, strongly favours this suggestion. I think it likely, therefore, that Heringod is, at least in some cases, to be derived from Heregod (cf. Heregodus LVD p. 16 and the instances given by Björkman, Pers. p. 68)¹ with insertion of n, analogous to the one found in Portingal CR I p. 597 (AD 1224)² and that Haringod may be an orthographical variant of this Heringod. As regards the form -gaud, which sometimes appears side by side with -god in these compounds, e. g. Herygaud Plac. p. 759, Herigaud FA I p. 322, Harongaud RH II p. 218, Heryngaud ibid. I p. 227, it might perhaps be an archaic spelling of -god, taken over from WF charters, where -gaud was preserved long after the transition of au > o; or is it possible that it may be <-wald with AN development of $w > q^3$ and vocalization of l > u? In such a case, OE Herewald, too, may have been confused with the above-mentioned forms.

Arnost, see *Ernost.

Arnulf of Hesdin (a Flemish follower of the Conqueror) FNC IV p. 39; Arnulfi (gen.) BCS 661 (AD 918)⁴; Earnulf AS Chr. 887 A, 891 A is = Arnulf, King of the Franks; Arnulf ibid. 1070 E is = Arnulf III., Count of Flanders.

OG Arnulf, Arnolf⁵ etc. (very common) F 141. The various forms of Arnulf in England are probably to be deri-

¹ Cf. also OG Haregaud, Herigaud, Herigoz etc. F 770 f.

² For later instances see Jespersen Gr. 2. 432. Cf. also Burghardt p. 105 f.

³ A few instances of *-guin* for *-win* also occur im ME; for the state of things in OF p. ns see Kalbow p. 118.

⁴ son of Aelfthryth and Baldwin II., Count of Flanders.

⁵ First member as in Arnald, second member as in Adelulfus.

ved, in the first place, from native *Earnwulf*. Further, ON origin is possible, see Björkman, Pers. p. 9.

Artald, see Hartald.

Ascelina, see Azelina.

Ascelinus, see Azelin.

Aselinus, see Azelin.

[Asman, Asma mon. (Eadgar, Aethelred II.) Hildebrand pp. 12, 87; Assemannus liber homo (Suff.) Ellis Intr. II p. 44; Asman, Asseman CMR III pp. 321, 322; Asseman (surname) RH II pp. 170, 449 (Edv. I.), etc.

These forms are probably not identical with Asman, Mod. G Assman¹ F 129, but the moneyer's name Asman is likely to be a mistake for Aescman, also occurring on the coins of Eadgar and Aethelred II., and later instances will stand for ME Ash(e)man. For $s(s) = [\int]$ see Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 38, Behrens p. 190, Luhmann p. 28 etc.]

Asselin see Azelin.

[Atram (surname, Dors.) Inq. Non. p. 14.

An original pl. n. (cf. atte Ramme Bardsley p. 634) and not < OG Aderam F 156.]

Audena (filia Willelmi Botun) CR I p. 172 (AD 1214).

Aldina (Rom.) F 57 < Ald (see Aldeardis) + dim. suff. $-ina^3$. The *e* of the ending is either due to AN influence³ or to the Latin forms *-ena*, *-lena* sometimes occurring in Continental charters for *-ina*, *-lina*.

Audin, a Norman monk, FNC IV p. 602.

It is either a Rom. dim. form from the stem Ald- (see the preceding name) or < ON Aufin, see Björkman, Pers. p. 23, foot-note 2.

Audoenus: St. Audoenus⁴ (Essex) Ellis, Intr. I p. 375, II p. 44; Audoenus Hist. Ab. II p. 157; Audoen' canonic' AC p. 19 (AD 1123); Audoenus LVD p. 80 (12th c.); Audoenus

 $^{^{1}}$ < Ans- according to F.

² Cf. also Audin below.

³ see Menger p. 65, Behrens p. 101.

 $^{^{4}}$ = the Abbey of St. Ouen or Owen in the city of Rouen.

(Southhampt.) RB p. 205 (AD 1166); Audoeň Rot. Fin. p. 330 (AD 1205); Audoenus (Oenio dat.) CRC p. 27, CR I pp. 12, 56 (AD 1204, 5); Audoen' (Oen') Rot. Fin. p. 290 (AD 1205), Rot. Obl. p. 66 (AD 1200); Audoeni, Oweni (gen.) de la Pole Rot. Orig. I pp. 78, 88, 159; Audoeinus Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 342 (AD 1241), etc.

OG Audowin, Audwin¹ etc. F 204. Aud- in the above instances is a documentary form since OG au was monophthongized into \bar{o} as early as in the eighth cent. (see Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 45) and also becomes o in OF² (see Kalbow p. 108). The second member -oenus is a NF Latinized form of -win, with vocalization of w and transition of $i > \bar{e}$, for which cf. Kalbow pp. 31, 96. The regular OHG development is seen in Otwine below, the regular NF development is Odoen > *Ooen (by loss of the intervocalic dental) > Oen, whence Owen by AN insertion of w to avoid hiatus³. But Owen beside Owein is also Celtic⁴, sometimes appearing as Oenus, e. g. Hoel (gen.) filii Oeni Pipe Roll I p. 62. An instance of Latinizing Celtic Owen as Audoenus is afforded by the Welsh poet John Owen, who Latinized his name as Audoenus⁵. It does not seem unlikely that Audocinus (above) is a blending of Audoenus and Celtic Owein. A third source of Audoenus is also perhaps OG Aldwin F 64 (OE Eald-, Aldwine) in NF and Latinized form. Cf. further Björkman, Pers. p. 23 and the p. n. Oduenus (de Hegrenes, envoy of E., King of Norway) CPR I p. 508 (AD 1292).

*Auelin: Auelinus teignus (Buck.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 44; Avelyn, Avelin(e) (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 166 (Edw. II.), RH

- ² In Provençal au has remained.
- ³ See Stimming p. 220.
- ⁴ Cf. Miss Yonge p. 273, Barber p. 209.

¹ First member is OS \hat{od} (OE ead) 'Reichtum', second member is the same as in *Amalwin*.

⁵ Cf. also Audoenus son of Madoc CPR I p. 521 (AD 1292) and Thlewargus son of Audoenus ibid.

I pp. 480, 503 (Edw. I.); Aveleyn (surname) RH II p. 869; cf. Archiv 123 p. 31.

Probably a Rom. dim. form of Avo, Avila F 217, 218. The first member is perhaps to be associated with the name of the Aviones; cf. Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 141¹. ey (in Aveleyn) probably stands for \overline{i} , see Alweis.

Auelina LVD p. 57 (12th c.), RCR II p. 242 (AD 1200); Avelina, Avelyna Rot. Fin. p. 360 (AD 1206), Plac. p. 744 (Edw. I.), Exc. Rot. Fin. II pp. 181, 531 (AD 1254, 71), CR II p. 168 (AD 1227), CMR I p. 87; Awelinam (ack.) RH I p. 349; cf. further Bardsley p. 69, Archiv 123 p. 31.

Avelina (Rom.) F 218, a fem. form of preceding name. Cf. also Miss Yonge p. 232.

Auesgot (Cambr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 290.

 $Auesgaud^2$ (Rom.) F 219. The first member probably contains the same stem as the preceding name. For the second member see *Aingot*.

Aungeleis see Engeleisa.

Aurandus de Gloucestriæ RM II p. 357.

OG *Alrannus, Alaramnus, Alerannus, Adalramnus F 53, 81, 173. For the first member see Adelard; second member as in Bertram.

Autbert see Otbert.

Ayllard see Adelard.

Azelin, Azelinus (homo Comitis Tosti) Ellis, Intr. II p. 45; Azelin (Somers.) ibid. p. 291; Azelinus (Suss. Berks. etc.), Azelinus (homo Gisleberti de Gand, Leic.), Azelinus (homo Comitis Hugonis, Linc.), ibid.; Azelin LVD p. 51 (13th c.); Ascelinus ibid. pp. 18, 52, 53, 60, 68 (12th or 13th c.); Ascelinus le Flemeng (Hunt.) RH II p. 648 (Edw. I.); Ascelinus clericus Chr. Petr. p. 160; Ascelinus episcopus Ro-

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¹ Cf. also F 217 and literature there quoted, Meyer-Lübke p. 18, Schultz p. 197.

² borne e. g. by a bish. of le Mans (1000-1036); cf. FNC II p. 139, III p. 190.

fensis ibid. p. 2 (AD 1148); Acelinus CMR I p. 137 (AD 1114-30); Accelino (abl.) Mem. Rip. IV p. 51 (AD 1178); Aselinus (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 290; Haselin (surname) CR I p. 338 (AD 1217); Asselino (abl.) ibid. II p. 209 (AD 1227); Asselyn (surname) Rot. Orig. II p. 222 (Edw. III.); Hezelinus (Berks.) Ellis Intr. II p. 338; further instances in Archiv 123 p. 30¹.

OG Azelin, Ascelin, Acelin, Ezelin F 221, OF Ascelin, Asselin, Acelin, Langlois p. 4 f., dim. forms of Azo below. The OG affricate z is rendered by z, sc, c and s(s) in OF p. ns, see Kalbow p. 137, Mackel p. 174 f. For AN see Menger p. 98, Behrens p. 184 ff., and Zachrisson p. 37 ff. A confusion of Ascelin and Anselin is sometimes to be noticed, e. g. Ascelinus Mauduit = Anselinus Mauduit RB pp. 213, 605, and is perhaps caused by the existence of both As- and Ans- in p. ns.

Azelina, Ascelina, Ascellina, Acelina LVD pp. 18, 54, 58, 80, 82, 95, 140; Azelina RCR I p. 126 (AD 1194); Ascelina ibid p. 346 (AD 1199), Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 346 (AD 1241); Acelina de Waterville RB p. 151 (AD 1201-12); Hescelina de Insula Test. Nev. p. 36; cf. Archiv 123 p. 30.

OG Acelina F 222, OF Aceline Langlois p. 5, the fem. equivalent of preceding name.

Azilia uxor (Somers.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 7 (AD 1218).

Cf. OG Azila (fem.) F 221, a dim. form of Aza^2 ibid. 220. If this derivation be correct, the ending has probably been Latinized on the model of names in *-ia*, such as *Basilia*, *Massilia*. Cf. also *Alisia* side by side with *Aliza* etc. under *Adelais(a)* above.

Azo (Suss. Dors. North. etc.), Azo presbyter (Nott.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 291; Azo (Glouc.) RB pp. 287, 291 (AD 1166); Azo RC p. 124 (AD 1204), RCR II pp. 33, 140 (AD 1199); Azone (abl.) RH II p. 572 (Edw. I); Azonis (gen.) Hist. Ab.

¹ Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 19.

² For the etymology, see the following name.

II p. 306 (AD 1100-35); *Azza* clericus LVD p. 100 (13th c.); *Atsa* LVH (quoted from Searle); *Adzo* Linc. Obit. p. 162; *Asso* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 290; *Aceum* (ack.) Abbr. Plac. p. 80 (John); *Acei* (gen.) KC p. 10; *Ace* (surname) RH II pp. 321, 326, 395 etc.

OG Azo, Azzo, Atso, $Adso^{1}$ F 219 f., Socin p. 131, OF Ace, Asse Langlois p. 4. For the rendering of OG z see Azelin. In OF, the final o is regularly apocopated, and the e found in Ace (Latinized *Aceus) is analogical, see Schwahn-Behrens § 289, 2 b. The same name is further *Acius (see Björkman Namenk. p. 12, foot-note 1).

B.

Bado mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 108.

OG $Bado^2$ F 225. A native equivalent is Bada LV (Müller p. 46). In this case, the OG male ending -o may serve as a criterion, since there is no reason for assuming that the present form is Latinized.

Bainard: Radulfus Baignard(us), Baignart, Bangiard, Baniardus (Suff. Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 376, 378, II p. 291; Bainard(us) (Norf. Suff.), Gaosfridus Bainardus (Norf.), Willielmus Bainardus (Suff.), Bainiard(us), Baingiardus (Suss. Surr.) ibid. II pp. 291, 292; Bain' vicecomes (Ess.) ibid.

¹ hypochoristic forms of compounds with Adal- or Ad-; cf. Azo = Adelbertus, Adelhelmus Stark p. 78. See also Heinzel pp. 19, 98, 101, 232, 264 etc., and Socin p. 184 f.

² a hypochoristic form of some compound with OG Badu- (OE Beadu-, Badu-) 'Kampf'.
p. 46; Willelm Bainart (probably identical with the above) AS Chr. 1110 E; Bainard(us) LVD pp. 46, 110; Fulco Bainard (Norf.) Rot. Fin. pp. 359, 458 (AD 1206); Galfridi (gen.) Baynard CMR III p. 214; Robertus Baynard Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 372 (AD 1242); Paniart (Colchest.) RLP p. 171 (AD 1216), etc.

OG Beinhard, Beinhart, Mod. G Beinert F 232. The first member probably belongs to ON beinn 'ready, willing', see Schönfeld p. 42¹. For the second member see *Actard. By loss of h, n has become intervocalic, and has been palatalized in OF by the i of the preceding diphthong². -(i)gn-, -ngi-, -i(n)-, -(i)ni-, -ni-, -(i)ngi- are AN orthographical variants of this n 'mouille'; cf. Menger p. 88, Stimming p. 218 f. Paniart above is probably < OHG *Painhart (Mod. G Peinert F 232).

Baldwine mon. (Aethelstan — Edw. Conf.) Grueber pp. 101, 122, 145, 158, 190, 330, Hildebrand p. 453; Baldvinus, Baldewinus, Baldewine (-a), Baldewyne abbas³ KCD 809, 813, 824, 825, 874, 875, 881 (AD 1060, 66); Baldwinus (Glouc. North. Linc.), Baldwinus serviens regis (Hertf.), Baldwinus (Vicecomes⁴ (Dors. Dev.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 377; Baldewinus (Warw. Berks. etc.), Baldwinus (f. Herluini) (Glouc.), Baldwinus (homo Stigandi archiepiscopi) (Buck.) etc., ibid. II pp. 46, 47, 292; Balduin de Reduers (Execestre) AS Chr. 1135 E; (Baldwine AS Chr. 1037 C, 1045 E, 1046 E, 1071 D, 1111 E signify Baldwin VI, VII, Counts of Flanders); Baldu(u)inus LVD pp. 7, 14, 16, 18, 45, 53, 55, 71, 79, 86 95, 99, 108, 144, 148; Bauiduin (sic!) ibid. p. 107; (Helbodo et frater ejus) Baldewinus CG I p. 286; Baldewinus (frater Comitis Gileberti) ibid. p. 387; Baldewin le Flemeng (Cornw.)

² Cf. Kalbow p. 124 f.

³ = Baldewine abbot (AS Chr. 1098 E), appointed abbot of St. Eadmund's by Edw. Conf.; cf. Flor. Wig. (AD 1097): "Baldwinus, genere Gallus..."

⁴ one of the sons of Gilbert, Earl of Brion.

¹ For the ME p. n. Beyn see Björkman, Pers. p. 25.

Fin. I p. 342, Rot. Orig. I p. 117 (Edw. I.); Baldewinus (Comes de Albemarı́) CR I p. 144 (AD 1213); Baldewini (gen.) Aunvers ibid. II pp. 9, 188 (AD 1224, 27); Baldwinum (ack.) de Coln (Nott.) Abbr. Plac. p. 285 (Edw. I.); Baldwin de Ostewic (a Fleming) CCR I p. 220 (AD 1236); Baldewin de Gant RLP p. 93 (AD 1212); Baldewyno (abl.) mercatore de Florence (Linc.) RH I pp. 349, 385 (Edw. I.); Baldewini (gen.) de Bricourt (Linc.) ibid. p. 389; Baldewinus de Chaumbrey Giff. Reg. p. 167 (AD 1226); Baudewyn, Bawdwinus RH II pp. 86, 421, 434, etc.

OG Baldewin, Baldwin¹ F 242, OF Baudoin, Bauduin Langlois p. 74 f. It cannot be determined whether e. g. Balduini presbiter LV and *Baldwine (in baldwines healh) KCD 133 (AD 778) are native, which, however, seems rather likely, since both members are common in OE p. ns. But the frequency of this name in England from DB onwards is no doubt altogether due to Continental influence². Bardel (?) mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 112.

Both *Bardel* and *Burdel* occur, showing a confusion of a and u not seldom found in the orthography of the coins. The original form is probably *Bardel*, a Rom. dim. form of OG *Bardilo*³ (Mod. G *Bardel*⁴) < *Bardo*⁵ F 247 f. = OF *Bardon* Langlois p. 69.

Bardwulf mon. (Aethelred II, North.) see Keary p. 159; Bardulfus de Cesterton Test. Nev. p. 101; Bardulfus (surname) Ann. Wav. p. 225 (AD 1205), Ann. Burt. p. 447, Rot. Fin. p. 472, KC pp. 35, 58, RC p. 184 (AD 1208-9); Bardolf (surname) RH I p. 277; Bardouf (surname) ibid. pp. 504, 512; Barduf (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 139; Ber-

¹ First member is OG bald (OE beald, bald) 'kühn'; for second member see Amalwin.

² Cf. also Archiv 123 p. 25.

³ Similar instances are found in Kalbow p. 50 f.

⁴ Cf. Pott p. 103.

⁵ a hypochoristic form of compounds with Bard-, for which see the following name.

dolf (surname) RH II p. 683, etc. Further instances in Bardsley p. 78.

Although *Bardwulf* seems to be recorded only once in OE, whereas it is fairly common in ME, especially as a surname, it is perhaps after all a native name, all the more as it is scantily represented on the Continent¹. *Berdolf* (above) is due to the interchange of ar and er in pretonic position referred to sb *Arnald*. The forms *Barthol*, *Bartol* and the OF dim. forms *Bartelot*, *Bertelot* etc. often met with in ME, are < *Bartholomeus*, *Bertolomeus*. **Bartram** see *Bertram*.

Bascelin de Charun (Colchest.) RLP p. 171 (AD 1216).

Perhaps a dim. form of OG Bazzo² (F 253), a hypochoristic form of some compound with Badu- (see Bado above). For the spelling *sc* for *z* see *Azelin*.

Belisent³ (Suff.) CRC II p. 234 (AD 1200); Belesenta Chart. Frith. I p. 367; Belesanda CPR I p. 225 (AD 1286).

OG Belissendis (fem.) F 256, OF Belisent, Belisant etc. Langlois p. 83 f. The first member is etymologically ob-

¹ Cf. OG Bartholf (perhaps for Bertholf < Berhtolf F 297 f.) Pardulf F 248. Bard- is probably either OHG bart (OE beard) 'Bart' or OHG barta, OS barda (ON barda) 'Beil'. In this connection I will mention the OE pl. n. Bardney (Linc.), appearing as Bardaneu (-ig) in Bede HE L III, C XI, Beardan igge AS Chr. 906 D, 909 C, and Bearðan ege, Barðanig ibid. 641 E, 675 E. First member shows the same interchange of d and δ as is found in OE barda, barða 'a beaked ship'. It is possible, however, that it is a p. n. Barda, which, in a patronymic form, seems to appear in the pl. n. beardingaleag BCS 343 (AD 814). Cf. also Bruckner p. 32: "Es verdient noch hervorgehoben zu werden, dass andrerseits auch zurückgebliebene Reste des lgbd. ('langobardischen') Volkes mit den Angelsachsen nach England zogen, wie sich aus manchen ags. Ortsnamen ergiebt: Beardingaleah Birch, Cartular. saxon. I nr 343 a 814, Beardinegford ibid. III nr 1282 a 972, Bardenea, Beardeneu, Bardunig öft." For second member of Bardwulf see Adelulf.

² Cf. Bezelin F 254; see also Stark p. 94.

³ gender unknown but probably fem.

scure¹; perhaps OHG *bill* (OE *bill*) < **bilja*- 'Schwert'². For the second member see Alsent.

Beluard unus de Caruen (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 293.

The etymon is probably an unrecorded OG *Biliward³; cf. the compounds with *Bili*- given by F 304 ff.

Beneger, see Berenger.

Benza LVD p. 12.

OHG Penza (fem.) F 246. Cf. Benzo = Bennizo < Bernizo, Berinzo Stark p. 87 and Bruckner p. 232.

*Benzelin: Benzelinus (Oxf. Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 380, II p. 293; Willelmus Bencelyn (Suff.) FA V p. 60 (AD 1346).

OG Benzlin, Bencelin F 246, OF Benselin Langlois p. 67, a dim. form of OG Benzo, see preceding name.

Benzelina (Glouc.) Abbr. Plac. p. 60 (John); Benzelina de Langford (Cant.) ibid. p. 57; Beuscelina (with u for n) LVD p. 53⁴.

A fem. form of preceding name. For the spellings c, sc and z, see Azelin.

Berardin: Baldewin Berardin RLP I p. 130 (AD 1215); Berardine, Barardyne see Guy of Warwick p. 435.

A Rom. dim. form of OG Berard⁵ F 262, OF Berart Langlois p. 85 f.

Berzelin de Lanbil CCR III p. 445 (AD 1322).

Probably a dim. form of *Berzo* (= *Berizo* or *Bertizo*) Stark p. 87.

Berdolf see Bardwulf.

Berenger, Berengar: Berihcari, Berinicari, Berihicari⁶ mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 108; Berenger Giffard (Wilts. Dors.),

¹ Cf. F 256.

² For other possible etymologies see F 303 and literature there quoted.

³ For first member see preceding name, second member is OHG -wart (OE weard) 'Hüter'.

⁴ Cf. also Archiv 123 p. 31.

⁵ For first member see Meyer-Lübke p. 20 and Gröger p. 239; second member as in *Actard.

h = n.

Berengarius, Berenger, Berengerius de Todeni (Oxf. Nott. Yorks. etc.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 423, 493; Bereng' (homo St. E, Suff.), Berengarius (Norf. Suff.), Berengarius (Ess.) ibid. II pp. 48, 294; Berengarius LVD p. 64; Berengerus Hist. Ab. II p. 55 (AD 1100-35); Berengerus (Som.) RB p. 225 (AD 1166); Berengarius CMR I p. 159; Berengero (obl.) Monacho CR I p. 217 (AD 1215), etc.

OG Beringer, Beringar F 267 f., OF Beringier, Berenger, Beranger Langlois p. 86 ff. For the first member see F 258 f., Bruckner p. 233 and Meyer-Lübke p. 20; for -ger see Amelger. -gar will be < *garwa- (OHG garo, OE gearo, ON gorr) 'bereit gerüstet'¹. It is uncertain whether the monever's name Berngar (Eadw. the Elder, Aethelstan) given by Grueber pp. 83, 101 is native; both members are at any rate extremely common in OE p. ns. If it exists the native form will easily have developed a svarabhaktivowel in the first member, and cannot be distinguished from the Continental forms. The name Beneger RM II p. 404 (AD 1306)², Inq. Non. p. 173, is < *Berneger with dissimilatory loss of the first r^3 . In the same way Penier (Eborardus Penier, one of the merchants of Ypres and Germany mentioned in RH I p. 314) might, if originally a p. n., perhaps be derived from OHG Pernger F 267, although it is more likely < OHG Pernhari F 269, ier being the OF form of hari⁴. Cf., however, OF penier 'dur à la paine, à la fatigue'. Berengera (uxor Ricardi regis = Rich. I) Ann. Burt. p. 208 (AD 1201) = Berengeriam (filiam Ragonis regis Navariæ) Ann. Osen. p. 44.

¹ See Cipriani p. 37 ff. Cf. also Kossinna (Hochfr. Sprachdenkm. p. 30), who explains -gar(ius) and its confusion with -gerin OG names as due to the Rom. spellings -chari, cheri (< hari).

² Cf. Ingeramum (ack.) *Beneger* ibid. and Ingelramus *Berenger* FA V p. 201.

³ See Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 136; for similar OF instances, such as *Hebert*, *Benart* < *Herbert*, *Bernart* see Kalbow p. 121.

⁴ Cf. Kalbow p. 90. Cf. also OF Bernier Langlois p. 91.

OG Bernegaria (Rom.) F 268, a fem. form of preceding name.

Bernard: Berenard mon. (Eadwig, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 156, 163; Bernardus (Berks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 381, II pp. 48, 294; Bernardus de S. Audoeno (Kent) ibid. II p. 290; Bernard (Bish. of St. David's)¹ AS Chr. 1123 E; Bernard (sent by King Cnut into Denmark) see FNC I p. 488, Björkman Pers. 47; Bernardus² LVD p. 16; Bernardus (presbiter cardinalis) RM I p. 351; Bernardus (monachus de Gloverniæ, quondam abbas de Cerne)³ Ann. Burt. p. 187 (AD 1160); Bernard de Francia CR I p. 612 (AD 1224); Burnhard (surname) RH II pp. 326, 579, 623 (Edw. I), etc.

OG Berenard, Bernard⁴ F 269, OF Bernart Langlois p. 88 ff. The OE equivalent Beornheard, often Latinized as Bern(h)ardus, cannot be distinguished from the Continental form. The name became very popular all over Europe in Mediæval times, particularly through the Cistercian monk Bernard. A Rom. dim. form is Bernardin (surname, Lond.) CCR II p. 372 (AD 1290), Bernardinus, Canon of Wells, CPR I p. 342 (AD 1290). For the u in Burnhard see *Erlwine.

Berta: Bercta ('de gente Francorum regia')⁵ Bede, HE L I, C XXV; Bertanæ⁶ abbatissæ (dat.) BCS 43 (AD 676); Berta LVD pp. 17, 31, 82; (Varinus cum) Bercta ibid. p. 38 (13th c.).

OG Berhta, Berta etc. F 281 f., OF Berte Langlois p. 92 f., hypochoristic forms of some compound with Berht-⁷; cf. Berta = Bertrada, Stark p. 15. On the spelling ct for ht

- ⁴ First member as in *Berenger*, second member as in *Actard. ⁵ Berhtæ LV probably designates the same person.
- ⁶ On the Latin inflection see Kalbow p. 29.
- ⁷ for which see Adalbert.

¹ See FNC V p. 209.

² ... Reginaldus et Aeilhild et filii ejus Hugo, Bernardus ...

³ one of the four monks from Cerne who founded the Cistercian order in England.

see Sievers, Ags. Gr., § 221. The occurrence of this name in England will mostly be due to its having been borne by the above-mentioned Queen *Bercta*, daughter of Charibert, King of the Franks, and married to Aethelberht, King of Kent.

Berter mon. (Aethelstan II.) Keary p. 95.

OG Berter (Rom., AD 888) < Berthari¹ etc. F 288 f. The OE equivalent is Beorhthere. Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 26, foot-note 2,

Bertinus Vieleur LVD p. 99 (13th c.); Bertino (dat.) (carpentario de Rupella, 'Rochelle') CR I p. 418 (AD 1220); Bertinus (de Fevre, mercator Bolon') Abbr. Plac. p. 156 Hen. III.); Bertinus Fanecourt (Yorks.) Rot. Orig. II p. 126 (Edw. I); Bertinum (ack.) de Gestinges CR II p. 211 (AD 1227); Berhtinus Martyrologium p. 162; Bertyn (surname) Inq. Non. p. 403, etc.

OG Bertin F 283 or rather OF Bertin, see Kalbow p. 42, a dim. derivative from Berht- for which see preceding name. Bertin was popular in Normandy and France through St. Bertin of Omer, the saint mentioned above in the Martyrologium. Cf. also S' Berhtines minstre AS Chr. 1128 E². *Bertrada: Bertr' the Countess CCR II p. 311 (AD 1285), according to the register = Bertrada, wife of Hugh, Earl of Chester.

OG Bertrada F 294. For the first member see the preceding name, the second member is the same as in Alb(e)rada, see Albreda.

Bertram: Bærhtram mæssepreost BCS 1010 (AD 958); Bertram (Som.), Bertrannus (Kent). Ellis, Intr. II p. 295; Bertram(us), Bertram de Verd'³ LVD pp. 82, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92,

¹ First member as in preceding name, second member as in *Aedelhere*.

² I have not been able to find the instances Bertin de Burgo = Bertram de Burgo, given by Bardsley p. 97 from RH.

³ Probably identical with *Bertrand* de Verdun, a Lotharingian who, according to FNC V p. 750, held Farnham in Bucking-hamshire.

93, 95, 107, 110; Bartramus (prior Dunelmensis) ibid. (Obit.) pp. 149, 150; Bertram (pat was pe erles kok) Havelok v. 2898; Bertrannus (prior de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 445 (AD 1180); Bertram de Almannia (Linc.) RH I p. 314 = Bertramin' de Almania ibid.; Rogerus Bertram Ann. Wig. p. 450 (AD 1263); Robertus Bartram Norman' RH I p. 449 (Edw. I); Bertrand Rot. Fin. pp. 478, 527 (AD 1213, 14); Bertrandus Rot. Orig. I p. 150 (Edw. I), etc.

OG Bertram, Bertran, Bertrand F 290 f., 294, OF Bertran(t) Langlois p. 93 f. For the first member see Berta¹; the second member is OHG (h)raban, (h)ram (OE hræfn, ON hrafn) 'Rabe', not occurring in OE p. ns, see Anz. f. d. Alt. XII, 181. The Rom. form -ran(nus) goes back on Latinized -ramnus < *rabnus². As regards -rand it is impossible to determine whether it is <-ran with excressent d, or < OG rant, rand 'Schildbuckel, Schildrand'³.

Bertrand see the preceding name.

Bertunt (Shropsh.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 48.

OG Berahthund, Berthund F 291. For the first member see Berta; the second member is probably OHG hunt (OE hund) 'Hund', see Socin p. 196⁴. It is wanting in OE p. ns both as a first and as a second member.⁵

Beslin mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 108.

This name has been explained by Eckhardt p. 348, who says it is "entweder als potenzierte deminutivbildung zu Bēsel (Grueber p. 22) oder als koseform auf *lin* zu Bosa aufzufassen". The difficulty is, however, that the dim. suff. *-lin* (< il + in) seems to be absent from OE p. ns. There is at least not a single instance where it might be assumed with certainty. I therefore think that Grueber is quite

¹ Bart- for Bert- is due to the OF dialectal development of pretonic er > ar, for which see ZfdA 37, 304, Schwahn-Behrens § 88 remark, and Behrens p. 91.

² Cf. Mackel p. 189, Kalbow p. 74.

³ See Kalbow pp. 91, 96.

⁴ Cf. also the etymological suggestions in F 928.

⁵ See Björkman, Pers. p. 70.

right in explaining it as a Frankish name, all the more as it occurs on the St. Eadmund coins. Its etymon is probably OG *Besilin, a dim. form of Baso F 249. It might further be < OG Boselin (see below), influenced by OE $B\bar{e}sel$. Billeheud de Campes CR II p. 168 (AD 1227).

OG Bilihild¹ (fem.), common, F 306, Provençal Billieldis Mackel p. 97. No OE equivalent is on record.

Birinus, Byrinus (Bish.) AS Chr. 634 A, 635 A, 639 A, 650 A; sõe Bir[in]e biscope BCS 493 (AD 856); in KCD 512 the same person appears as Berino (abl.) episcopo. Cf. also St. Birin (Bish. of Genoa) Lib. Hyde, Index p. 409.

Moorman (The Pl. Ns of the West Riding of Yorksh. p. 36) explains the pl. n. Brinsworth as containing the OE p. n. Birinus, a Latinized form of OE Berwine, Birwine < Beorn-, Biornwine². The most serious objection to this even otherwise unsatisfactory explanation of Birinus is that the bishop who bore this name was a foreigner like his two successors Agilberht and Leutherius. Cf. Bede HE L III, C VII: "Eo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum, qui antiquitus Geuissæ uocabantur, regnante Cynigilso, fidem Christi suscepit, prædicante illis verbum Birino episcopo, qui cum consilio papæ Honorii uenerat Brittaniam ", and AS Chr. 649 E:" . . æfter Byrine þam Romanisca (sic!) biscop". Birinus is probably identical with OG Pirn, Pyrin (male) and fem. Birina, for which see F 266. As regards the pl. n. Brinsworth, it probably contains OE Bryni, Bryne (cf. Brynes fleot, Brynes ham etc.), explained by Müller p. 65.

Blancard(us) (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 295; Robertus Blancar³ (Norf.) ibid. p. 50; Willelmus Blanchard RM I p. 275, CMR I p. 167 (AD 1219); Thome (gen.) Blanchard (Berks.)

4 Forssner

¹ For first member see *Belisent*; second member is the same as in **Ainild*.

² Ber- is as a rule not from Beorn-, but belongs to OE bera 'ursus'.
³ First abbot of Battle, formerly a monk of Marmoutier; cf.
FNC IV p 406.

FA I p. 66 (AD 1428); *Blandchard* (surname) CR II p. 100 (AD 1226), etc.; see further Bardsley p. 109.

OG Blankard, Blancard, Blanchard (Rom.) F 310, OF Blancart, Blanchart Langlois p. 99. The first member is OHG blanc 'weiss glänzend'¹. For the second member see *Actard. Blanch(i)a: Blanchee (gen.) Rot. Orig. II p. 346 (Edw. III); Blanchie (dat.) ibid. p. 54; domina Blanchia (Regina Angliæ) RH II p. 14 (Edw. I); Blanchia (filia domini regis)² FA V p. 227 (AD 1402); Blaunche (gen.) Rot. Orig. I p. 182; cf. Bardsley p. 109.

Blanca, Blancia (Rom.) F 310, OF Blanche Langlois p. 99. Cf preceding name. As to its sense, Blanche is to be compared with the OE Christian names Hwita (male) and Hwitæ (fem.). When used as a surname, it is to be considered as an OF by-name. The male equivalent Blancus appears as a surname (Dimidius Blancus) in Ellis, Intr. II p. 295. Blize quidam (Kent) Ellis, Intr. II p. 296.

Probably a Rom. form of an OG etymon **Blizo*, a hypochoristic formation of some compound with Blid- (OHG blidi, OE blipe). Cf. Blyza = Blidiza Stark p. 79. For the final e see Azo. **Boc(h)ard**, see *Burcard*.

Bodin (Staff.), Boding constabularius (Buck.) Ellis, Intr. II
p. 50; Bodin (Yorks.), Bodin (et Herveus) (Yorks.) ibid. p.
296; Bodyn' de Kant (= Gant?) RH I p. 421 (Edw. I)³; Boidini (gen.) (mercator de Gant) CR I p. 208 (AD 1214); Bodin RH II p. 768; Bodin (surname) ibid. p. 794, Abbr.
Plac. p. 117, CCR I p. 300; Boidino (dat.) de Cassel CR
I p. 220 (AD 1215); Boidino (dat.) ibid. p. 194 (AD 1215); Boidini (gen.) Lungelance ibid. II p. 112 (AD 1226), Boidin, Boydin (surnames) CCR I p. 302, Inq. Non. p. 402, etc.

It is possible that *Boding* above is a patronymic of *Boda* (see *Anderboda*), but it may equally well be < Bodin by

¹ For the different dialectal treatment of [k] before a in OF see Acard.

² Daughter of Henry IV.

³ Cf. Boyedinus de Gaunt RH I p. 385 (Edw. I).

the influence of patronymics in -ing, or owing to Rom. nasal pronunciation¹. On the other hand, Bodin might of course be < Boding (cf. Zachrisson, French Infl. p. 10), which, however, does not seem likely in the present case. As regards OE Bodwine, it need not be taken into account for explaining Bodin, because, even if it really existed (see Anderboda), it can at any rate not account for the numerous instances of Bodin in post-Conquest times, all the more as some of the instances are clearly continental. Bardsley, p. 115, gives the following explanation of Bodin: "Baldwin popularly and under French influence Bodin, Boden". This suggestion can hardly be correct since Baldwin appears in OF as Baudoin, not as *Bodwin or *Bodoin. Bodin is probably < Baudin, Baudenus (Rom.) F 250, containing a stem Baud- (second gradation form of Goth. *-biudan) with OG or OF transition of $au > o^2$. Whether the first *i* of Boidin³ is to be explained with Kalbow (p. 133) as "vorklingend (nach boidie?)", I must leave the question open; the form cannot at any rate be kept distinct from Bodin. Boding, see preceding name.

Boga, see the following name.

Boia, Boga, Boiga mon. (Alfred — Edw. Conf.) Grueber pp. 61, 62, 98, 105, 146, 158, 189, 210, 218, 260, 353, 435⁴; Bogea mon. (Eadgar) Hildebrand p. 11; Boia BCS 1130 (AD 980); Boia de ealde KCD 922 (Eadwine); Boia (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 50; Boia (homo Episcopi) Inq. Eliens. p. 498.

Cf. Boio, Boia F 324, belonging to the name of the Boii⁵. On the spellings g, ig, ge see Sievers Ags. Gr. § 175, 2. Boia (BCS 1130) might be a short form of Maneboia, occurring

¹ Cf. Luhmann p. 37.

² See Audoenus.

³ Also occurring in OF, see Langlois p. 102.

⁴ Boigalet mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 108 is probably an error for Boiga.

⁵ Cf. Wrede, Ostg. 111, v. Grienberger Litbl. 12, 234 and Holder.

in the same charter. — The ME name Bogo (e. g. Bogo de Clare, Plac. p. 810, Bogo de Knoville FA V p. 205) is of different origin and perhaps not to be kept distinct from OG Bugo F 343 or OE Buga.

Boidin, see Bodin.

Boiga, see Boia.

[Bonsig minister KCD 810 (AD 1061).

Bon- occurs in some continental p. ns, where it is assumed by Bruckner (p. 237) to be related to ON $b\hat{o}n$, OE $b\bar{e}n$ 'Bitte'. The present name, however, is most probably a mistake for Bondig (cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 28) and identical with Bondi minister occurring KCD 811 (AD 1061)].

Boselin(us) (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 297; *Boselinus* CMR I p. 129, III pp. 262, 263¹.

This name might have been formed from native Bosel $(< Bosa)^2$ by means of Rom. -*in* but is in my opinion rather to be considered as the OG or Rom. form Boselin, F 330. **Boso**, see Boselin(us).

Brochard, see Burcard.

Brumanbeard, see *Brun.

Brunel, see *Brun.

Brunier, see *Brun.

*Brun: Bruno (dat.) de Coloñ CR II p. 38 (AD 1225).

OG $Brun^3$ F 338, OF Brun Langlois p. 118 f. A Rom. dim. form is perhaps Brunel (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 299. Brun(a) and some compounds with this element occur in OE. It is therefore impossible to determine to what extent continental p. ns are represented among the frequent DBnames with Brun. Brumanbeard (homo Normanni, Suff.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 60, seems to be a NF hybrid form of Bru-

³ OHG brûn (OE brūn) 'braun'.

¹ Cf. Archiv 123 p. 32.

 $^{^2 =} OG Boso F 329$ (OF Boson Langlois p. 106), belonging to OHG bôsi 'böse'. Of continental origin is probably Boso (homo Aluredi de Lincole) Ellis, Intr. II p. 297; cf. also Boso (diaconus Cardinalis) RM I p. 354.

man (cf. Bruman < Brumman F 341 and Bruman(n)us, Ellis, Intr. II p. 60) + $bard^{1}$. Another compound of continental origin is probably *Brunier* (Linc.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 61, = OF *Brunier* (Langlois p. 120) < OG **Brunhari*, *Brunheri* F 340.

Buc(h)ard, see the following name.

Burcard: Burcardus (Ess. Staff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 62; Burcardus de Fenelai (Buck.) ibid; Burcardus (huscarle regis, Buck.), Burkart teinus (Buck.), Burcardus (Suff.), Burchart (Nott.) ibid.; Bucardus (Suff.) ibid. p. 299; Bocard, Bokard, Bochard, Buchard (surnames) Abbr. Plac. pp. 131, 217, Rot. Oblat. p. 61 (AD 1200), RH I p. 382, II p. 333; Iterius Bochardi CCR II p. 206 (AD 1277) = Iterius de Ingolisma ('Angoulême') ibid. p. 257 (AD 1281).

OG Burghard, Burcard, Burckard² etc. F 348. The o for u of the first member might be due to AN spelling habits, but is rather to be explained from the OF transition of u > o (cf. Kalbow p. 104). The above forms, start from an HG etymon Burc-hart, whence the interchange of c and ch will be due to the different development of [k] before a in OF, for which see Acard³. The forms Bucardus, Bocard, Bochard (OF Bouchart, Bochart Langlois p. 107) are due to dissimilatory loss of the first r^4 . The surname Brochard (e. g. CCR I p. 147 (AD 1232), RLP p. 185) < OF Brochart (Langlois p. 116) is from the same OG etymon with metathesis of r^5 . It seems likely that *Brochard (in Brochardes ford) KCD 570⁶ (AD 972) is the same name

¹ See Isenbard.

² First member is OHG, OS *burg* (OE *burg*, *burh*) 'Burg'; for second member see *Actard. The OE equivalent is Burgheard.

³ On the phonetical value of c and ch in AN texts see Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 32 f.

⁴ Cf. Kalbow p. 121.

⁵ See Kalbow p. 122, Mackel p. 188.

⁶ This charter is starred.

Burnhard, see Bernard.

bruoh, ON brók 1).

С.

Carl, Karl and Latinized Carolus, Karlus² are either of ON or OG origin³. The only certain OG instances in England are those which designate Charlemagne, Charles the Bald, Charles the Fat, Carloman, and Charles, Count of Flanders. The common ME forms Charles and Carles are NF⁴ or due to NF influence. For ch: c < [k] see Acard, for -es see Schwahn-Behrens § 289.

Carleman: Carlomanno (abl.) rege Francorum KCD 824; Carman (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 65; Carleman (surname) RH II p. 579 (Edw. I); Carleman (surname) Inq. Non. pp. 204, 398.

OG Carl(e)man, Carloman⁵ etc. F 360. Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 78.

Clare(n)bald: Clarebaldus (Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 302; Clarebaldus (Suff.) ibid. p. 69; Clarenbaldus (Ess.) ibid. p. 302; Clarembaldus (prior de Bermundeseye) Ann. Berm. p. 438 (AD 1146); Clarembaldus sæcularis Hist. Aug. p. 35 (AD 1163); Clarembald (Norf.) RCR II p. 26 (AD 1199); Clarebaldus (Bedf.) Fin. I p. 64 (John); Clerembald CR II p. 128 (AD 1226); Clerenbaud RCR I p. 266 (AD 1199); Clerenbaut ibid. p. 349 (AD 1199); Clerebaldus le Burdel RH II p. 447 (Edw. I.). According to Searle, Clarembaldus occurs

¹ Cf. Broclous Björkman, Namenk. p. 28.

² OHG karal, ON karl 'Mann'.

³ Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 76.

⁴ Cf. Charles and Carles, Langlois p. 139.

⁵ First member as in preceding name, second member is OHG man (OE mon) 'Mann'. Cf. also Socin p. 196.

in England as early as c. AD 950, as the name of a monk of Croyland.

Clare(m)bald F 369, Clarembaut Langlois p. 148, hybrid forms of Latin clarus + OG -bald¹. Cf. Kalbow pp. 32, 151. Clere(n)- represents the OF development.

Claremunda, Claremund' uxor Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 354 (AD 1241).

Claramunda, Socin p. 88, OF Claremonde, Langlois p. 148; a male equivalent is Clarmunt F 369. For the first member see the preceding name; -munda is a fem. form of the name-element -mund (OHG munt, OE mund 'Hand, Schutz')².

Clere(n)bald, see Clare(n)bald.

Colbert(us), Colibertus (Dev. Hants. Chesh. Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 69, 70, 304; Colberto (dat.) Pipe Roll II p. 42.

OG Colobert F 371, French Colbert, see Kremers p. 66. The first member is probably OHG kolo, kol (OE col, ON kol) 'Kohle'; it is absent from native OE p. ns³. For the second member see Adalbert.

Colman, Coleman, Colaman mon. (Aethelred II., Cnut, Harold I.) Grueber pp. 198, 296, 302, 460, Hildebrand pp. 132, 264, 288, 306, 366; Coleman LVD pp. 7, 62, 70; Coleman(nus) (Hants., Berks. Oxf. etc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 70; Colemannus (monachus de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 442 (AD 1164); Colemannus monachus (Wore.) Ann. Wig. p. 375 (AD 1113); Coleman Ped. Fin. II p. 101 (AD 1197), RCR I p. 173 (AD 1198), Chr. Petr. p. 112, KC p. 153, Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 547 (AD 1271); further instances are found in Bardsley p. 195⁴.

OG Coloman, Colman, Mod. G Collmann, Kohlmann⁵ F

¹ See Albod(o).

² Cf. Meyer-Lübke p. 71.

³ See Björkman, Pers. p. 83.

⁴ Cf. also the pl. ns *Coleman's Hatch* Roberts p. 50, *Colemanestrete* Rot. Fin. p. 198 (AD 1204) etc.

 5 First member as in preceding name, second member as in Carleman.

372. Consideration must, however, be paid to another explanation, viz. that the instances of Colman in England are to some extent of Celtic origin. Cf. AS Chr. 664 A: "Colman mid his geferum for to his cydde", which latter word means Scotland, as is to be seen from Bede, HE L III, c. XXVI: "Colman ... in Scotiam regressus est". There is no reason for assuming that this Bishop of Lindisfarne was from the continent or bore a continental name, since we know that Colman is a very common name in Irish records. Cf. Gir. Cambr. V p. 418, where it is said that "ninetyfour saints of this name are enumerated in the Martyrology of Donegal. Other writers have made even more". According to Holder p. 1066 Irish Colman(us) is < Columbanus < Colum-agnus < *Colum(b)-agnos ¹. Miss Yonge (p. 187) goes so far as to suggest that Germ. Colman is due to Columbanus, the name of the Irish missionary, whose day, November 1st. the Germans call St. Colman's. Although the existence of OG Colman need not be ascribed to Celtic influence, since both members occur elsewhere in OG p. ns. it seems likely, however, that the Irish name Colman may at least have contributed to render the continental name popular².

Conrad: Conradus (monachus et sacrista... ac regis Henrici I confessor) Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 294; Conradus abbas ibid. p. 46 (AD 1120); Conradus LV-D p. 32 (12th or 13th c.); Magistro Conrado (dat.) CR I p. 541 (AD 1223); Conradus de Bolle de Burdegal (Bordeaux') ibid. p. 620 (AD 1224); Conradus de Villa Franca (Linc.) Plac. p. 440 (Edw. I.); Conrado (abl.) Clippyng (et sociis suis mercatoribus Alemanum) Rot. Orig. II p. 167 (Edw. III.); Conrado (abl.) (procuratore... Lodowyci de Sabaudia) Giff. Reg. p. 301 (AD 1276); Conrad (fil. Abraam de Gotoum) RLP I p. 82

¹ Zimmer p. 63 considers **Columbagnus* to be a Latinized form of original *Columbān*.

² The instances of *Colman* in Denmark have been introduced from Germany, see Björkman, Pers. p. 85.

(AD 1208); Conrado ballistario (dat.) CR I p. 548 (AD 1222); Conrado (dat.) nuntio Regis Norwağ ibid. p. 509 (AD 1222)¹; Conradi (gen.) Hardebolle (mercator de Alemanñ vel de terra Ducis Brabant) ibid. II p. 135 (AD 1226); Conrad de Sancto Nazario CCR II p. 4 (AD 1257); Conradus van Dorvin als Cunse van Dorvin, sadeler, Duchman FY p. 122 (AD 1414), etc.

OG Conrad² (common) F 373 f. The OE equivalent is Cēnred. — Corand, Coraunt (e. g. Michael Corand, Nich. Corand, Joh. Coraunt Rot. Orig. I p. 175, II pp. 119, 127, Inq. Non. p. 84) perhaps stand for Conrad; cf. Corandus imperator (Chr. Petr. p. 2) = Conrad III.

*Cunbert: Cunberto (abl.) medico (of Henry I.) CCR II p. 81 (AD 1267).

Cf. OG Cunibert, Cunpert³ etc. F 379. This derivation is uncertain because u might be an AN spelling for OE \check{y}^{4} , whence Cunbert may be < OE Cynebeorht.

[Cunda episcopus⁵ BCS 416 (AD 836); Cundo Le Bret (Dev.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 30 (AD 1219); cf. also the pl. n. Condicote of which "the prefix represents the AS p. n. Cunda" according to Baddeley, Glouc. Pl. Ns p. 46.

The above forms are certainly not to be derived from OG Chundo, Cundho and fem. Chunda F 694 f. (< gund-, OE $g\bar{u}p$, or < kund, OE $c\bar{u}p$) but to be explained as identical with the first member of Cundwalh and Cundigern in LV, which probably is Celtic⁶. The addition of Le Bret also

³ First member is OHG chunni, see preceding name; for second member se Adalbert.

⁴ Cf. Schlemilch p. 14, Luhmann p. 100.

⁵ Bish. of Elmstan or Dunwich according to Searle, AS Bish., Kings etc. p. 46.

⁶ Cf. Hellwig p. 42, Müller p. 113.

¹ According to Lind 713, ON Konráðr is in most cases of foreign origin.

² First member is OHG kuoni (OE cēne) 'kühn', from which OHG chunni (OE cyn) 'Geschlecht' is sometimes difficult to differentiate in p. ns; for second member see Adradus.

speaks in favour of this assumption. A fem. form of the same name is evidently *Cundya* (wife of Gilbert Ithelockes) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 224 (AD 1232)].

Cunegard (uxor Ade de Mandeville, Hertf.) Abbr. Plac. p. 8 (Rich. I.).

OG Cunigard F 380. For the first member see *Cunbert, for the second member, Aldeardis.

Cunse, see Conrad.

D.

Dachelin (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 73; Alicia Dacolyn (Bedf.) FA I p. 27 (AD 1346).

Dacolenus (Rom.) beside Dacilus F 392, derivatives from Dag- (OHG tac, OE dæg 'Tag'). <u>c</u> is in this case probably to be explained in the same way as in Droco, see Drogo. The phonetical value of ch in DB before e and i is mostly [k], see Zachrisson, AN Infl. p 34. Instances of dim. -olbeside the usual -il-, -el- are frequent in Latinized p. ns. Cf. e. g. Abbolenus : Abbelin, Andolenus : Andelin, Addolenus : Attelin, Dodolenus (> OF Doolin): Totilin etc. — As regards the surname Daulin RH I p. 296 (Edw. I.), it might be < *Dagelin > *Dawelin > *Dau(e)lin¹, thus exhibiting a development analogous to that of the pl. n. Hagemon (RH II p. 83) > Hawemon (ibid. p. 77) > Haumon (ibid. pp. 75, 76); it is more likely, however, that it is a dim. form of Dau (Daw) < Dave < Davy, Dauy².

Dacolyn, see preceding name.

¹ On u for w see Luhmann p. 41.

² Cf. Sundén, Hyp. Suff. p. 153. The OF forms are Davi, Dauy and David.

Dagemond, Daiemond, Degemund, Deimund mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 111, 112, 113, 114, 115.

OG Dagamund¹ F 395. The diphthong ai in the above form Daiemond is probably due to WF-Rom. development of aga > aie (cf. Lat. plaga > plaie, saga > saie), but might also start from a form *Dagimund² (see Aia). The equivalent OE forms are Dægmund, Degmund or Deimund³. Since all the forms given above probably designate one and the same moneyer, Degemund and Deimund are most simply accounted for as being Anglicized. -mond shows Rom. development of u > o, for which cf. Kalbow p. 104.

Dagobertus (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 73; cf. also *Dagobert* FNC Index p. 55; *Dagobert* se cing, AS Chr. 715 F, is *Dagobert* III., King of Neustria.

OG Dagobert etc. F 392 f. For the members see Dagemond and Adalbert. As regards the composition-vowel o cf. Gröger p. 240, Mackel p. 15 and Kalbow p. 24.

Deinolt mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 115.

OG Theganolt, Deganolt, Thegenolt⁴, etc. F 1408. From the spelling on the coins it is not to be ascertained whether d or p is the initial letter of the above name, since they are often confused. As regards the second member, both the loss of w and the obscuration of a > o are known in OE as well as in OG p. ns. The final t < d, however, is WF, see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 90. Hence the initial letter is probably d (< p), see Braune § 165 ff.

Deudeuize (gender unknown, but probably fem.) LVD p. 103 (13th or 14th c.).

¹ First member as in preceding name; for second member see *Claremunda*.

² For the composition-joint i see Gröger p. 236 ff.

³ Cf. Bülbring, Ae Elem. § 505.

⁴ First member is OHG *degan*, OS *thegan* (OE *pegn*) 'Gefolgsmann, Diener', also occurring in OE p. ns both as a first and as a second member. For second member see *Ansoldus*.

The first member is OHG deota, diota, diot (OE peod) 'Volk'. eu might be a continental traditional spelling, but is rather to be considered as the peculiarity of a Norman scribe¹. The etymology of the second member, -wiz, which is used as the termination of both male and fem. p. ns in OG, is not clear. F 1626 associates it with the OHG verb wizzan 'scire' and the adj. wiz 'gnarus', or suggests it is a secondary form of the fem. Latinized name element -widis, which latter explanation seems most probable in the present case; cf. Teutoidis (Rom.) F 1451. The final e is < the Latin ending a or has been added analogically.

Diota (fem.) LVD p. 116 (14th or 15th c).

OG Deota, Thiota, Tiota (fem.) and Dioto (male) F 1411 f., hypochoristic forms of compounds with OHG deota, diota etc., see preceding name. The spelling io is remarkable since OG io (< eo < eu) has become ie at the end of the 10th c.² A late transcription?

Dodin, see Duduc.

Doduca, see Duduc.

Dreu, Driu, see Drogo.

Droard, see Druard.

Droco, see the following name.

Drogo (Yorks., Linc.), Drogo de Montagud (Som.) Drogo (filius Ponz) (Wilts., Glouc., Wore.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 405; Drogo (homo Roberti Malet) (Norf.) ibid. II p. 75; Drogo quidam (Linc.), Drogo (homo Radulfi) (Linc.) ibid. p. 308; Drugo de la Bouerer, Flandrensis³ FNC IV p. 798; Drogo (Norf.) RCR II p. 195 (AD 1200); Drogo Barentyn CRC p. 63 (Hen. III.); Drogoñ (gen.) de Diep ('Dieppe') CR I p. 108 (AD 1208); Drogone (abl.) de Trublevill ibid. II p. 27 (AD 1225); Droco Hist. Ab. II pp. 67, 68, 69, 70; Droco venator

¹ Cf. Luhmann p. 148.

² Cf. Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 48.

³ "miles quidam qui cum ipso (Will. the Conq.) in Angliam venerat."

ibid. p. 143; Walterus Dru^{1} (Wilts.) Plac. p. 796 (Edw. I.); Driu de Hairun (Ros) RB p. 432 (AD 1166); Dreu LVD p. 56; Hug' Dreu (Suff.) Inq. Non. p. 101. Further instances are found in Bardsley p. 253².

OG Drogo³, Droco F 420, Waltemath p. 19. For the forms with c side by side with original g see Bruckner p. 158, Schönfeld p. 68 and Kauffmann Germ. XXXVII p. 247 f. The forms Dru, Driu and Dreu are NF. Cf. Kalbow pp. 73, 113. The NE surnames Drewes, Druce may be < OF Dreus, Drues, but also from the pl. n. Dreuues ('Dreux') in Normandy. Cf. Amelricus de Dreuues, Herman de Dreuues Ellis, Intr. I p. 405.

Dru, see preceding name.

Druard: *Droard* Hildebrand DB p. 355; *Druardo* (dat.) de Bedf. Pipe Roll I p. 18, III p. 11.

OF Droart, Drouart (Langlois p. 181), by Kalbow (p. 140) derived from Droghardus (recorded?). For the members see Drogo and *Actard.

Duduc, *Duduco*, *Dudoca*, *Doduca*, *Dodica* episcopus KCD 760, 762, 763, 764, 767, 768, 770, 771, 772, 774, 775, 776, 778, 779, 780 etc. (AD 1038—1060), AS Chr. 1046 E, 1060 D, 1061 E, etc.⁴

OG Dudecho, Dodica, Dodico F 413, 1413, dim. forms of

¹ A NF dim. form is *Druet* (e. g. *Druet* de Midelh' et Gervasius pater ejus LVD p. 112, *Druet*' de Pratell RH II p. 845).

² Bardsley is not quite right in stating that this name was introduced into England by Dru de Baladon, a follower of the Conqueror. *Drogo* occurs as the name of a landholder already in the time of Edw. the Conf. (Ellis, Intr. II p. 75), and further, there were more than one of William's companions who may share the honour with Dru de Baladon of having contributed to render this p. n. common in England.

³ For the etymology see Bruckner p. 243.

⁴ All these instances refer to Dudoc, Bish. of Wells 1033— 1060. A notice about his nationality is given by Flor. Wig. AD 1060: "Wellensis episcopus *Duduc* obiit: cui successit Gisa regis capellanus; *ambo de Lotharingia oriundi*". Duda, Doda of debated etymology. Cf. Wrede, Ostg. p. 120 f., Schönfeld p. 72 and literature there quoted. Other instances of *Duduc* and compounds with *Dud*- in England are probably as a rule native, and the same is also the case with *Doda* and compounds. As regards *Dodin*, Ellis, Intr. I p. 405, II p. 307, it might be derived from a native *Doding* (Ellis, Intr. II p. 74)¹ but is perhaps rather from a NF dim. form *Dodin*; cf. *Dodin* F 414.

Durand: Durant, Duran, Durtan mon. (Aethelred II.) Hildebrand pp. 58, 154; Durand(es), Duraint mon. (Eadmund, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 130, 178, 188; Durandus vicecomes (Glouc. Heref.), Durandus carpentarius (Dors.), Durandus tonsor (Hants.), Durandus Malet (Leic. Nott.), Aseloc Durand (Nott.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 365, 406, II p. 76; Durandus (canonicus S. Pauli Lond.), Durandus prepositus (North.) ibid. p. 308; Durandus LVD pp. 46, 51, 60, 69, 98; Durant Boni (merchant of Florence) RH I p. 357, Giff. Reg. p. 110 (AD 1267); Durantus Longus RB p. 256 (AD 1166); Durant (surname) Chr. Petr. p. 108; Dorand Prior. Finch. p. 106; Johannes Doraunt, cotoler, FY p. 19 (AD 1319); the pl. n. Durandes torp, Lindkvist, ME Pl. Ns, Intr. p. 56; see further Bardsley p. 259.

OG Durand² (common) F 435, OF Durant Langlois p. 183. For the etymology see Bruckner p. 314 and Wrede, Ostg. p. 77.

E.

Ebo, see the following name.

Ebulo (*Eblone*, abl.) de Geneve Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 58 (AD 1249); *Ebulo* de Montibus (Rutl.) CCR III p. 311 (AD 1316).

¹ See Bodin and Archiv 123 p. 32.

² An original present participle, see Socin p. 185.

OG Ebulo, Eblo ('öfters') beside Ebilo (> OF Eble Langlois p. 185) F 437, dim. forms of Ebo ¹ ibid. 436. The latter name seems to occur in (Henricus) Ebo LVD p. 89. The dim. suff. -ul, of which Stark has collected some instances p. 56, foot-note 2, is a gradation-form of -il (Wrede, Ostg. p. 195) or rather due to adaptation of -il to Latin -ulus (Meyer-Lübke p. 88 f.).

*Eburhard: Efrard, Eoferard mon. (Aethelstan, Eadwig, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 109, 110, 163; Ebrardus (homo W. de Perci), Ebrard (homo Willelmi Colit), Ebrardus (Linc.), Eurardus (Som., Cambr., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 407, II pp. 77, 309, 315; Eourard (Bish. of Norwich)² AS Chr. 1130 E; Eurardus, Everardus, Efrardus, Eouerardus LVD pp. 19, 54, 55, 63, 64, 82; Everard (son of Odelerius of Orléans and brother of Orderic) FNC IV p. 496; Eborardus de Bece (Cant.) RB p. 367 (AD 1166); Everard de Ros ibid. p. 40 (AD 1167-68); Eborardi (gen.) le Frenshe, Evorardus le Fraunceys Rot. Orig. II p. 166 (Edw. III.) FA I p. 136 (AD 1284-86); Everard de Luvain CR I p. 195 (AD 1215); Eborardus Penier (merchant of Ypres) RH I p. 314 (Edw. I.), etc.³

OG Ebur-, Ebor-, Eber-, Ebr-, Efur-, Ever-, Evr(e)-, Eur(e)hard, -hart⁴ F 441 f. The interchange of b and v (u, f)is due to the different treatment of intervocalic b in the OG dialects, for which see Franck Afr. Gr. § 78 ff., Braune Ahd. Gr. § 134 f. and Gallée As. Gr. § 223. On the OF form Evr(e)-⁵ (Eur-) see Kalbow p. 127 f. It is uncertain whether Eofor- existed as a native name-element. It is

⁵ OF Ev(e)rart Langlois p. 209.

¹ Eb- is a secondary name stem. Cf. F 435 and Eb(b)o = Eberhardus Stark p. 40.

² See DCB.

³ The form *Erfrurdus* LVD p. 62 is distinctly to be read *Efrard*' in the photograph of the MS that Prof. Björkman has kindly lent me.

⁴ First member is OHG ebur, OS ebur (evur), OE eofor 'Eber'; second member as in *Actard.

true that *Eoforhwæt* and *Eoforuulf* occur in LV (see Müller p. 80)¹ but in conformity with what has been said under **Aegelbert*, continental p. ns may be found in that document, too. The name-element under notice is at any rate seldom recorded in OE, since, with the exception of the two above-mentioned forms, it occurs only in a few names on coins from Eadw. the Elder onwards, where, moreover, continental influence is highly probable.

*Eburwulf: S. Ebrulfi² (gen.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 408.

OG $Eb(e)rulf^{3}$ F 447. Of continental origin is probably also *Eferulf*, *Eoferulf* mon. (Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 131, 147. *Ef(e)r-* in this name as well as in *Efrard* (see preceding name) to some extent also points to OG origin, since the OE equivalent is *Eofor-* (*Eofer-*). The latter forms are in this case to be considered as Anglicized.

Ecard: *Ecceard* smith (smið)⁴ BCS 1254 (c. AD 970), LVD p. 56; *Ecardi* (gen.) de Bleu RCR I p. 341 (AD 1199); *Ecard*' (gen.) ibid. II p. 74; *Ecard* (surname) RH I p. 478 (Edw. I); *Echarde* (surname) Duc. Lanc. p. 224 (Edw. VI), etc.

OHG Eckehard, Eckard etc. F 21. The first member is OHG ecka (OS eggja, OE ecg) 'Schneide, Schwert'⁵; for c:ch(Ecard: Echarde), see Acard. The equivalent OE form is Ecgheard, appearing in ME as Eggard. In my opinion it is out of the question that Ecard should have arisen from Ecgheard (or rather *Eggheard ⁶) by the influence of the following h, as might be concluded from the following statement of Sundén's, Hyp. Suff. p. 138, foot-note 1: "This (OE Ecca) is probably a hypochoristic form of names com-

⁶ Cf. Bülbring § 499.

¹ Eofor in Beow. is the name of a Geat.

² St. Evroul in the Diocese of Lisieux in Normandy; cf. Schätzer p. 28.

³ First member as in preceding name, second member as in *Adelulfus*.

⁴ Cf. Binz p. 210.

⁵ For second member see *Actard.

pounded with Ecg-+a theme beginning with a voiceless consonant, e. g. *-frith*, *-heard*, *-hun*^{*}. There is, as far as my knowledge goes, not a single instance in OE p. ns to prove that h has been capable of unvoicing a preceding consonant, whereas this phenomenon is frequently met with in consonants followed by c, f, s or p. But allowance must certainly be made for analogical influence. Thus Ecbriht AS Chr. 677 E (= Ecgbriht of Kent ibid. 661 E), Eculf, Ellis, Intr. II p. 78 (probably < OE Ecgwulf) etc., have been influenced by such forms as $Ecfer\delta$ (= the Northumbr. King $E(c)gfer\delta$ AS Chr. 670 E, 679 E, 709 A) and Echefrid (ch = k) Ellis, Intr. II p. 77, where [k] is no doubt due to the following voiceless consonant. In *Ecceard*, if continental, as I think it most likely to be, the second eis probably the OG composition-joint.

Ecceard, see preceding name.

Echebrand, Echebrant, Aechebrant¹, Eghebrand², Egbrand (Yorks. Chesh.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 4, 77, 94, 309.

Cf. OG Agibrand, Achibrand etc. F 19. If the first member of these forms belongs to agan 'sich fürchten' as Bruckner (p. 218) assumes, they are to be kept distinct from the above-mentioned name, of which the first member is no doubt the same as in *Ecard*. It is probable, however, that OG Agi- sometimes is <*agja- 'Ecke', owing to the loss of the composition-vowel and the vocalization of j, before the West Germanic consonant gemination through a following j took place³. The second member, for which see Aedelbrand, is absent from OE p. ns.

Echiward de Chaboneis RLP p. 111 (AD 1214).

OG Eguard, Ekkeward⁴ F 26. In Echi-, ch might have

¹ ch denotes [k].

 2 gh is a Rom. spelling originating in WF to denote explosive g before palatal vowels; see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 103.

³ Cf. Gröger p. 102 and literature there quoted, and Schatz ZfdA 43 30.

⁴ For first member see *Ecard*; second member as in *Beluard*. OE **Ecgweard* is not on record.

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been used to denote [k] but is rather = OF ch < HG k, for which see Kalbow p. 141, Mackel p. 143.

Efrard, see *Eburhard.

Egbrand, Eghebrand, see Echebrand.

Egel:: for compounds with this element see *Aegelbert. Egelina, see Adelina.

Eicmund mon. (Plegmund 890-914, Eadw. the Elder 901 -925) Keary p. 80, Grueber pp. 91, 100.

It seems most likely that this name stands for OE *Ecg*mund, as Searle suggests. Continental **Eicmund*, of which the first member would be **Aic*- (see *Acard*), does not seem to be on record.

*Einbold, Einboldus (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 311.

OG Aganbold, Eginbald, Ainbold, Einbalt¹ etc. F 38. On WF egi > ei see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 105. See further Björkman, Namenk. p. 31.

Eingar (homo Heraldi comitis) Ellis, Intr. II p. 94.

An OG equivalent is not with certainty instanced; see F 39. Cf. the O Swed. surname *Engherson*, which Lundgren (p. 49) suggests contains a p. n. *Enger*.

*Einhard: Einard mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 121.

OG Aginard, Ainard, Einard etc. F 39. For the members see *Einbold and *Actard.

Einulf, see Aginulf.

Eldebrand, see Hildebrand.

*Eliland: Elyland (Norf.) RH I p. 459 (Edw. I); Alilandus Dru CPR I p. 510 (AD 1292).

OG *Eli*-, *Elyland* F 82. The first member is **alja*-(Goth. *aljis* 'ein anderer', OHG *ali*-, *eli*-, OE *el(e)*-), see PBB 12, 488 f., Gröger p. 123²; for the second member see *Amerland*.

Elinant (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 312; *Elynand*' (gen.) CR I p. 384 (AD 1218-19).

¹ For the members see Aginulfus and Albod(0).

² On the difficulty of distinguishing this name-element from *ala*- 'all' see Bruckner p. 221, Meyer-Lübke p. 9.

OG Elinand, Elinant etc. F 82 f., OF Elinant (male) Langlois p. 187 f. For the first member see preceding name, the second member is *nanp- (Goth. ana-nanpjan 'wagen'), occurring in OE as -nop.

Elisent de Dereberc RCR I p. 301 (AD 1199); Elisent (Cornw.) Fines I p. 351; Helisent (Norf.) Rot. Fin. p. 261 (AD 1205); Helisend (cameraria Reginæ Scottorum) Reg. Lib. pp. 151, 152.

OG Elisind (fem.) F 83; OF Elissent, Elisant (fem.) Langlois p. 329. For the members see *Eliland and Alsent. Another possible etymon is OF Helissent, Helisend (fem.) Langlois p. 329, which is to be derived < OG Heilsind ¹ (fem.) F 728 on account of its h 'aspirée'².

Elismus mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 116.

Elismus (Rom.) F 80. This name is assumed by F to be < *alja- (see Eliland) + the non-Germanic suff. -sm, often affixed to Germanic name stems on WF soil; Longnon (p. 344) explains -(i)smus, (i)sma as taken from such a name as Sanctisma < Sanctissima.

Elmegard (Ess.) RCR I p. 99 (AD 1194).

The gender of this name is uncertain. It is perhaps to be derived from OG *Helmgart*^s F 810. No OE equivalent is on record. Or = *Ermegard* (below)?

Eluis, see Helewis.

Emelina (uxor Galfridi, Wilts.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 380 (AD 1262); Emelina uxor (Som.) ibid. p. 311 (AD 1259); Emelina (uxor Stephani Lungespeye, Dors.) ibid. p. 333 (AD 1260); Emelinam (acc.) Priorissam de Ambresbir Fin. I p. 145 (John); Emelin ux RCR I p. 351 (AD 1199); Emalina LVD p. 57.

¹ First member is OG *heil* (OE *hāl*) 'heil', with Rom. transition of pretonic ei > e.

² Cf. Kalbow p. 45.

³ First member is OG helm (OE helm) 'Helm'; for second member see Aldeardis.

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Emelina (Rom.) F 89. This name has been placed by F under Amal- but then the e of the stem will be difficult to account for. It is perhaps from Ama^1 (F 87) + dim. il + ina, or more likely it has been formed as a dim. of Emma (see below); cf. the form Emalina above. The surnames Emelin CCR II p. 148 (AD 1270), Hemelin Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 513 (AD 1270), Emlyn Cart. Eynsh. II p. 204 etc. are probably < Emeline < Emelina and not originally male names. — Another NF dim. form is Emelot (Abbr. Plac. p. 51) also used as a surname (e. g. RH II p. 612)², which is to be distinguished from the surname Amelot (RH II p. 260) < Amal-.

Emelin, Emelot, see preceding name.

Emericus de Cancell Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 319 (AD 1239); Emeric' de Sacy ibid. pp. 280, 426, 439 (AD 1235--45); Emericus de Eupe (Linc.) Plac. p. 397 (Edw. I); Emericus Eyvill (Yorks.) CRC p. 108 (Edw. I); Emerico (dat.) nuntio Savarici de Malo Leone CR II p. 8 (AD 1224); Emerico (obl.) (a merchant of Bordeaux) ibid. p. 56 (AD 1225); Emericus de Monteforti Ann. Osen. p. 287 (AD 1280); Emericus de Friscobald (an Italian) CPR II p. 77 (AD 1308), etc.

The OG etymon is probably *Heimeric* or *Haimeric* (see this name), which has become NF *Emeri* (beside *Aimeri*, Langlois p. 13) with loss of h and transition of pretonic ei > e or in the present case with AN monophthongization of $ai > e^3$. This derivation helps to account for the confusion of *Emeric* and *Eimeric* that has been noticed in some cases: *Emericum* magistrum Militiæ Templi Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 161 (AD 1209) = *Eymerico* magistro milite Templi Rot. Oblat. p. 576 (AD 1216); *Emeric'* Albgeri' CR I p. 140 (AD 1214) = *Eymerico* Alberger̃ ibid. p. 14 (AD 1204), etc.⁴

⁴ To be taken into account as an etymon of *Emeric* is also OG *Emmerich*, *Emrih*, Mod. G *Emm(e)rich* F 953, the first member of which is < *Ermen*-, see *Emino*.

¹ Cf. Bruckner p. 222 and Stark p. 41.

² See Bardsley p. 273. ³ See Stimming p. 193.

Emino LVD p. 16.

Emino, Emeno, Emmino etc. (F 951) probably to be derived from Ermino (F 474), a hypochoristic form of compounds with $Ermin^{1}$; cf. Socin p. 212.

Emma: Aemma (Francorum regis filia, regis Aeadbaldi copula)² BCS 13 (AD 618); Emma regina³ KCD 727, 733 (AD 1018); the same person is Aelfgyfa Imma⁴ ibid. 962; Emma, Emme LVD pp. 15, 16, 18, 19, 27, 32, 35, 60, 61, 68, 69, 71, 81, 82, 83, 85, 88, 95, 97, 102, 104, 109, 112, 113; Aemma ibid. p. 57; the NF dim. form Emmota ibid. p. 103, Emmote (nom.) RH II p. 351; etc.

OG Emma and Imma (fem.) F 950, both common names and often used indiscriminately. They are hypochoristic forms of compounds with Ermin-, Irmin-⁵ such as OG Ermin- : Irminburg, Ermen- : Irminhild etc. In OE, Imma occurs, but only as a male name, e. g. Bede HE L IV, C XXII, LV (see Müller p. 56), and in the pl. n. Immanbeorge BCS 246 (AD 769-85)⁶. This p. n. has been explained by Müller (ibid.) as belonging to ON imr 'lupus' or ON ima 'lupa, pugna'. It seems most likely, however, that it should be explained from West Saxon Irmen-, Yrmen- (<*ermina-; cf. Bülbring Ae. Elem. §§ 132, 186)⁷ in the same way as continental Imma < Irmin-⁸.

¹ < *ermana- 'gewaltig'; besides, there occurs a form *erminaappearing as Irmin- in OG p. ns; cf. Bruckner p. 64 f., Schönfeld p. 77 and Müller p. 96.

² Daughter of Theodebert of Austrasia.

³ Queen of King Cnut, daughter of Richard of Normandy.

⁴ "pat was Aelfgiue (on Englisc) Ymma (on Frencisc.)" AS Chr. 1017 F.

⁵ Cf. Emino.

⁶ Probably also in the pl. n. *Himanbeorgas* ibid. 689 (AD 932), which Searle suggests contains a p. n. *Hima*.

⁷ Cf. Irmenred, Yrmenred BCS 40, 45, side by side with the non-mutated form *Eormenrices* (gen.) Beow. v. 1201. Cf. also the p. ns Immin and Immine (Searle) which belong to the same stem.

 8 In this connection I will mention the explanation of the

Engelard, Ingelard: Engelardus de Strattone RB p. 276 (AD 1166); Engelard de Cigoingny, Ingelardo (obl.) de Cýgoný RC p. 221 (AD 1216), CR II. p. 15 (AD 1225); Engelard, Ingelard (the same person) RCR I pp. 91, 123 (AD 1194); Engelardi (gen.) de Atye RH II p. 30 (Edw I.) = Ingelardus de Attie Ann. Dunst. p. 68 (AD 1221); Engelardo, Ingelardo (obl.) Le Marescal Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 404 (AD 1263); Ingelard' de Cytromaco Test. Nev. p. 119; Ingelard de Warlee CCR III p. 130 (AD 1309); Ingillard (Bedf.) Abbr. Plac. p. 95; Ingelard (surname, Bedf.) RH II p. 329 (Edw. I), etc.

OG Engil-, Engel(h)ard, Ingilard F 113, 965. The first members are Engel- (related to the name of the Angles, OE Engle)¹ and Ingel- (< Ing- for which cf. Bruckner p. 270 and the abundant literature given by Schönfeld p. 147). Both elements are absent from native OE p. ns^2 and

pl. n. Emmington given by Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfordsh. p. 100 f.: "To judge by the forms (Amintone, Emintone) the original form was a. Cf. Ammanbroc, -wel CD V 297-8 Ch. 1151. This is probably a variant of the more usual Emma (Imma), a fem. name as in CD I 9 Ch. 6 (a starred charter and probably forged), which has Aemma . . . We must assume two types in the development of the pl. n., a and e, or else the replacement of a by e through the influence of the name Emma". First of all, the p. n. Amma (OG Ammo) should be kept altogether distinct from Emma (Imma). The spelling Aemma for Emma need not surprise us any more than all the other frequent instances of æ for e in OE charters. The simplest explanation of the pl. n. under notice is probably to assume the first member to be a patronymic of Amma > Amming : Emming, with the same interchange of non-mutated and mutated forms as e.g. in Hearding : Herding, Leofing : Lefing etc. On -in < -ing see Zachrisson, French Infl. p. 10 f. - For want of earlier instances it is impossible to determine whether Emley, Moorman p. 68, contains Emma, as Moorman suggests.

¹ See Wrede, Ostg. p. 144, Schönfeld p. 21 and literature there quoted.

² In spite of the Angeltheof in the Mercian Pedigree, AS Chr. 755 A, and the statement of Stenton's (Pl. Ns of Berkshire, 1911, make their first appearance in continental p. ns on the coins of Aethelstan and Anlaf of Northumbria. The compounds that contain both *Engel-* and *Ingel-* have been treated together, because a confusion of the forms has often taken place, whence a distinction from the point of view of the first member would be a merely etymological one, often causing names which signify the same person to be dealt with in different places. The confusion of the elements under notice exists already in OG, but is particularly obvious in OF, where *Ingel-* has regularly become *Engel-*, *Engle-* owing to the transition of i > e, see Mackel p. 98 f. Another reason for the confusion of these name-elements in England is the ME transition of eng > ing (see Horn p. 23); cf. *Engelond*, *Ingelond* RH II pp. 592, 597¹.

*Engelbald, Ingelbald: *Hengebaldus* (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 335; *Ingelbald* (Dev.) ibid. p. 343.

OG Engelbald, Ingalbald, Ingilbald etc. F 109, 964. For the members see Engelard and Albod(o). Hengebaldus might also be derived from Ing(e)bald (cf. F 960).

Engelbert, Ingelbert: Engilberht, Engilbred, Ingelber(h)t, Ingelberd mon. (Aethelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 102, 123, 148, 185; Engelbricus canonicus Epise. (Lond.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 106, 313; Ingelbertus (Dors.) ibid. 343; (Walterus filius) Engelberti (Kent) ibid. p. 407; Engelberto (dat.) (nepoti Theobald Blund) CR I p. 289 (AD 1216); Robertus Ingelberd (Beverley) Wickw. Reg. pp. 14, 272 (AD 1280-81); Ingelbright de Alman, furbur, FY p. 26 (AD 1331), etc.

p. 19): "Engel was certainly used as an OE personal name, as in the combination Englunga dene CS 216... It is therefore possible, since no early forms are given, that Englefield Green near Windsor may be derived from this name". It should be observed, however, that the patronymic termination -ung rather points to continental origin, whereas the native form is -ing. Why not derive Englefield < OE *Englafeld ^cthe field of the Angles[?] — The origin of Ingelbourne KCD 460 is uncertain. ¹ For the second member of Engelard see *Actard. OG Engil-, Engel-, Ingelbert F 110 f., 964, OF Engilbert, Englebert Langlois p. 191. For the members see Engelard and Adalbert.

*Engelburg, Ingelburg: Engelbur LVD p. 58; Ingelburgis (c. AD 1100) quoted from Searle; Ingelburga vidua RH II p. 657 (Edw. I).

OG Engelburg, Ingelburgis (Rom.) F 111, 964. The first member as in preceding name; the second member is OHG burg (OE burh) 'burg'; see Bruckner p. 240.

*Engeleisa, Ingeleis, Ingelesa etc.: Engeleise (dat.) Rot. Canc. p. 223; Engeleys (relict' Johis Gilb.) RH II p. 689 (Edw. I); Ingelesam (acc.) uxorem Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 145 (AD 1208) = Ingelisa ibid. p. 146; Ingeleas LVD p. 80; Ingeleis (fem.) CCR III p. 223 (AD 1313); Aungeleis LVD p. 82.

OG Engilheid F 113, OF Engelais, Angelais (fem.) Langlois p. 192. For Engel- see preceding name. Aungel- is due to the NF transition of en > an, for which see Kalbow p. 43 and Stimming p. 184 f. For the second member see Adelais(a). In Ingeleas, ea denotes e; cf. Luhmann p. 108. — The surnames Eng(e)leys, Inglays etc. (e. g. RH II pp. 689, 869, Hist. Pap. p. 66) are in most cases the NF national adj. engleis 'English', which is to be seen from such instances as Robertus le Engleys, Johes le Engleys RH II pp. 156, 635.

Engeler, Ingelarius: Engeler (Suss., Som., Bedf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313; Engelerus (filius Franconis de Boun) RB p. 113; Engelar de Cantilup (Ess., Suff.) CR I p. 270 (AD 1216); Engelar (Salop.) RH II p. 91 (Edw. I); Aengelarius clericus LVD p. 99; Ingelarius ibid. p. 85.

OG Engil-, Engelher(e) (Mod. G Eng(e)ler) and Ingelarius F 114, 965, OF Engelier Langlois p. 189 f. For the members see Engelard and Aedelhere.

Engelger, Ingelgar: Engelger' de Bohun (= Engelerus above?) RC p. 236; Ingelgar mon. (Anlaf, Eric, Eadmund, Eadred) Keary pp. 236, 237, Grueber pp. 133, 150.

OG Engil-, Engelger F 112 f. For the members see Engelard and Amelger.

Engelin, Angelin: Engeliñ de Neweton RCR II p. 50 (AD 1199); (Randulf' fil.) Engeliñ Pipe Rolls I p. 51; Angeliñ (gen.) RLP I p. 27 (AD 1203).

OG Angelin, Englin (F 109) < Engel- (see Engelard) + dim. suff. -in. For NF Angel- see *Engeleisa. — Engelm LVD p. 16 is certainly an error for Engelin.

Engelm, see the preceding name.

Enge(I)ram, Inge(I)ram, Ingram: Engelramo (dat.) de Lunderfeord KCD 930 (c. AD 1056); Engelr' de Munceaus Fabr. Rolls p. 148 (AD 1225); Engelramo (obl.) capellano CR II p. 22 (AD 1225); Willelmus Engelram RC p. 23 (AD 1199); Engerram de Sorne (Kent) RCR II p. 240 (AD 1200); Engeramo (obl.) de Bouleres CR II p. 135 (AD 1226); Engeram de Vilers RB p. 60 (AD 1186-87); Ingelram BCS 1102 (AD 963) = Ingram, Ingerame (dat.) ibid. 1101 (AD 963); Ingelramnus (Dors., Som.), Ingelran (Linc.), Ingelrannus (Suss., Heref., etc.), Ingelrannus (filius Widonis de Reinbuedcurt), Ingelranus (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 343; Ingrannus (homo Rogerii de Busli, Nott.) ibid.; Ingelram Flandr (Kent) RCR II p. 227 (AD 1200) = Ingeram Flandrensis (Kent) ibid. I p. 246 (AD 1199) = Engeram' Flandr (Kent) ibid. II p. 71 (AD 1199); Ingelram de champanis CR I p. 233 (AD 1215) = Engel? de Champañ ibid. p. 294 (AD 1216); Engelram, Enguram de Pratell Rot. Fin. pp. 459, 460 (AD 1207-8) = Ingram de Pratell ibid. p. 241 (AD 1205); Engeramo (obl.) de Furnet = Ingeram de Furnet CR II p. 115 (AD 1226); Ingrami (gen.) Fraunceys (Derby) FA I p. 299 (AD 1431); Ingeramum (acc.) Beneger RM II p. 404 (AD 1306) perhaps = Ingelramus Berenger FA V p. 201 (AD 1316); Hyngelram de Kurchi Ann. Dunst. p. 48 (AD 1215); Ingram (surname) RM I p. 156, Rot. Orig. I p. 289 (Edw. II) etc.

OG Engelramnus, -rammus, -rannus etc. and Ingelramnus etc. F 114 f., 965 f., OF Enguerran, Engerran Langlois p. 190. For the first member see Engelard, for the second member, Bertram. Ing(e)ram may be < OG Ing(e)ram¹ F
962 f. but also < Ingelram with loss of l or <*Ingerram < Ingelram (cf. Engerram and Engeram) with assimilation of lr>rr².
Engelric, Ingelric: Engelricus, Engelri (Hertf., Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 106, 107; Engelric FNC IV p. 726; Ingelri(c) mon. (Aethelstan, Aethelred II) Grueber pp. 112, 238; Ingelri, Ingelricus³ (Hertf., Ess., Suff.), Ingelricus (de Sancto Paulo Londoniæ), Ingelricus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 152, 343; is Igelsrice LVD p. 58 a scribal error for Ingelric?

OG Engilric, Ingelrich F 116, 966. For the members see Engelard and Alberic.

*Engenalda, Ingenolda: Eugenalda⁴ LVD p. 50; Ingenolda (uxor Rogeri) MRS p. 147.

Fem. forms of *Engenold*, *Ingenald* (for which see the following name)? Cf. also *Ingenildis* F 966 and *Iseldis* below.

*Engenold, Engenoldus (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313.

Engenold (Bish. of Poitiers) and Inginald F 967. Engenand Ingen- are (chiefly WF) extensions of the stems occurring in Engel- and Ingel- (see Engelard). When they are found in real p. ns in England, they are certainly of continental origin. The name Ingengeat (son of Angengeat) in the Northumbrian genealogy (MHB p. 631) cannot of course serve as evidence in this respect, on account of its mythical character⁵, and Ingenfeow in Widsip is no doubt the name of some continental prince. It seems likely that there may have been the same confusion of Engen- and Ingen- as is noticed in Engel- and Ingel-.

Engenulf, Ingenulf: Engenulfus (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313⁶; Engenulfus de Greseleia RB p. 265 (AD 1166); En-

² The forms Ingelruus CMR I p. 147 (AD 1114-30), Ingelrui (gen.) ibid. should be read Ingelruus etc. = Ingelrannus.

⁵ Cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 49. ⁶ Cf. *Engenold above.

¹ For first member see Engelard and Björkman, Namenk. p. 48.

³ Probably the same person as the above-mentioned Engelricus.

⁴ = *Engenalda; cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 48.

genulph CCR I p. 222 (AD 1236); Ingenulf (Leic.), Ingenulfus (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 343; Ingenulf CCR III p. 288 (AD 1315).

OG Engenulf, Ingenulf F 119, 967. For the members see *Engenold and Aginulfus.

Enger(r)am, see Engelram.

Engina (uxor Johis de Rundenne) Rot. Orig. II p. 146 (Edw. III).

Engina (AD 1300) Socin p. 53, and Ingina F 960, hypochoristic forms of compunds with Engin-, Ingin-, or dim. derivatives by means of -*īna*.

[Enisant (Cambr., Ess.), Enisan (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 107, 313; Enisant LVD p. 61¹; Enisant Rot. Oblat. pp. 69, 85. Rot. Canc. pp. 67, 71; Enisand (fil Widoñ) MRS p. 30; (Ernald fil.) Enisand ibid. p. 75; Enisand (filius Walteri) CCR III p. 116 (AD 1308); Enisant Musard ibid. p. 114 (AD 1308); Enisani (gen.) ibid. p. 277, etc. is a Breton name (occurring in OF Enissanz, the name of a 'seigneur breton' Langlois p. 192) that was introduced into England in the time of Edward the Confessor].

Eoferard, see *Eburhard.

Eorlebyrht, see **Erlebert*.

Eorlgeoth, see *Erlgyth.

Erchebrand (Chesh.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 107, 313.

OG Ercambrand (Rom.) F 460. The first member is *ercan., OHG erchan, erchen 'echt, recht' (cf. Goth. un-airkns 'unheilig' and OE eorcan-stan 'Edelstein'), also occurring in OE p. ns, see Müller p. 96². On the phonetical value of ch

² As regards the name *Earcongota*, *Ercongota* etc. Bede, HE L III, C VIII, AS Chr. 639 E (daughter of Ercenberht, King of Kent), the first member is no doubt notive, whereas the second member is strange to OE personal nomenclature. *Ercongota* was abbess of Brie in Gaul and it seems likely that the original second member of her name, whatever it was, has been replaced by the continental name-element -gota (cf. *Theodegotha*, daughter of Theoderic the Great).

 $^{^{1}}$ = Aemisond ibid. p. 69.

before e in DB see *Dachelin*; for the loss of n see Behrens p. 200, Kalbow p. 125. The second member is the same as in *Aedelbrand* above.

Erchenbald, Arche(n)bald: Ercimbalt mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 140; Erconbold mon. (Eadgar) Hildebrand p. 12; Erchenbaldus (Dev. Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313; Erchembald le Bretun CCR II p. 431 (AD 1292); Erkenbaud (Southampt.) Ped. Fin. IV p. 122 (AD 1198); Arche(n)baldus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 40; Herchemboldus Flemeng (Dev.) RB p. 254 = Erkenbaldo (dat.) Flandrensi ibid. p. 259 (AD 1166); Archebaldus (Dev.) RB p. 257 (AD 1166); Archembaud (dat.) Flemengo, Archebaldus le Flemeng RC p. 219 (AD 1215—16), CR II p. 148 (AD 1226); Henricus Archebald, tailliour FY p. 177 (AD 1456), etc.; see further Bardsley p. 58.

OG Ercan-, Erken-, Erkinbald, Arcam-, Archembald (Rom.) F 458; OF Erchembaut, Herchembaut, Hercembaut, Archambaut Langlois p. 333 f. For the first member see preceding name. Arcen- < Ercen- is due to the Rom. transition of er > ar, for which see Bertram. As regards the spelling ch in the DB-form above, it probably denotes [k]; in the other instances where ch occurs, it is rather to be explained from OHG ch (Erchan-, Erchen-) or from Ercan- with Centr. F development of c (before a) > ch^{-1} . For the second member see Albod(o). Although both members are native, the present name has been introduced from the continent; the earliest form, the moneyer's name Ercimbalt, is shown to be continental by its final t (WF-Rom. for d).

Erchenger seu Erchengerius pistor (Cambr.), Erchengerus (Som.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 414.

OG Ercan-, Ercenger etc. F 461. For the first member see Erchebrand; the second member is the same as in Amelger. Earlier instances are lacking.

¹ Cf. NE Archibald (aatfiboold).
Ercongota, see p. 75, foot-note 2.

Ereman, see Hereman.

Erembald mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 122.

OG *Erin-*, *Erembald* etc. F 454. The first member might be an extension of OHG $\hat{e}ra$ (OE $\bar{a}r$) 'Ehre'. It is, however, not possible to keep it distinct from *Ern-* with insertion of a svarabhakti-vowel. Cf. *Erneboldus* below.

Erenburgis, see Erneburg.

Erewine mon. (Aethelred II) Grueber p. 212; Erwinne mon. (Aethelred II, Wigmund) Keary pp. 167, 196.

The first member might be OHG $\hat{e}ra$ (see *Erembald*). It seems more likely, however, that the present name is = *Herewine* (cf. OE *Herewine* Searle, and OG *Herwin*, *Erwin* F 782 f.) or a misstake for *Frewine* = *Freowine*.

Ergemond mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 116.

OG Argimund, Argemund F 145. The first member is probably to be associated with Old Gallic argos 'Held' and Greek $\tilde{\alpha} p \chi \omega^1$. The *e* of the above form is due to the interchange of *ar* and *er*, referred to under Arnald. For the second member see Dagemond.

Erhart abbas BCS 250 (AD 787)²; *Erard* de Valery CCR II p. 147 (AD 1270); magistro *Erardo* Prior. Hexh. II p. 88.

Cf. OG *Erhart*, *Erard* (Mod. G *Erhardt*) F 772. It is possible that these forms are < Harihard as F assumes. Sometimes, however, the first member might also be OHG *êra* 'Ehre' or OHG *êr* (Goth. *aiz*) 'Erz'³. As regards the forms found in ME, they may also be < Airard (above) with AN monophthongization of *ai* > *e*. Cf. St. *Erard*, *Airard* CR I pp. 40, 201.

Erild LVD p. 80.

Cf. OG *Erhilt* F 773 (perhaps < *Harihildis*⁴ ibid. 772; cf. preceding name). OE **Herehild* is not on record.

¹ Cf. the abundant literature on this subject collected by Schönfeld p. 25.

² A later copy. ³ See Bruckner pp. 103, 222.

⁴ For first member see Aedelhere, for second member, *Ainild.

Erlebald (Wilts.), Erlebaldus (Som.), Herlebaldus, Herleboldus (Hants., Worc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 107, 337.

OG Erlebald, Erlebald, Herlebald F 467. The first member is OS erl (OE eorl, ON jarl) 'vornehmer Mann'; it does not occur in OE p. ns.¹ For the second member see Albod(o).

*Erlebert: Eorlebyrht, Aeorlebyrht mæssepreost BCS 1010 (AD 958)².

OG *Erlebert* etc. F 467. For the first member see preceding name, for the second member, *Adalbert*. The above forms are Anglicized.

Erlefred mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 116; *Elofroed* ibid. is probably intended to be the same name.

OG Erla-, Erlefrid-, -fred F 468. For the members see Erlebald and Amelfrid. The form -fred, particularly common in Merovingian records, is due to the open character of Frankish \check{i} as well as to the Rom. transition of $\check{i} > e$; cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. §§ 4, 19.

*Erleua: Herleua Scaftoniensis abbatissa KCD 528 (AD 966).

For the first member see *Erlebald*. Names in -geba (OHG gëba, OS gëba, OE gifu 'Gabe') are rare in OG. That the name under notice existed on the continent, is, however, shown by the occurrence of *Herleua*³ as the name of the mother of William the Conqueror.

³ Also called Arlette < *Erlette.

¹ The pl. n. Arlington is explained by Roberts (Pl. Ns of Sussex p. 6) as 'Eorlan tūn'. "Eorla is a short form of some personal name beginning with Eorl such as Eorlbeald, Eorlwine etc., for which Searle gives good authority." It is of course possible that the pl. n. under notice contains a short form of some of the p. ns with Erl-, introduced from the continent, but it seems more likely that it should be compared to Herlingaham (æt Karltune and Herlingaham) KCD 782 (AD 1046), which rather contains ON *Erling (see Björkman, Pers. p. 37) as its first member. For Eorl BCS 1130 see Björkman, Pers. p. 201, footnote 1.

² Other continental p. ns occur in the same charter.

*Erlgyth: Eorlgeoth LVD p. 80.

The second member is an AN spelling for -gyth; cf. Luhmann p. 119 f. The above name is then a hybrid form of continental *Erl*- (see *Erlebald*) and native $-gy\delta$, for which see Müller p. 122.

*Erlin, Herlinus del Meisnil (Linc.) RB p. 514 (AD 1210 -12).

OG Erlin F 466, OF Herlin Langlois p. 334, a dim. form of Erl-, see Erlebald.

*Erlwald: (R. filius) Aerloldi (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 370.

OG Erlold etc. F 469. For the members see Erlebald and Ansoldus.

*Erlwin(e): Urllewine mon. (Edw. the Conf.) Grueber p. 340; Hærlewine Thorpe p. 617 (AD 950); Erluinus (Hunt.), Herleuinus (Warw.) Herluin (Som.), Herluinus (Norf.), (Radulfus filius) Herluini (Norf.) = (R. filius) Erluini (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 313, 337, 370, 372; Urleuuine (Berks.) ibid. p. 261; Herleuuino (obl.) presbytero Hist. Ab. II pp. 21, 138 (AD 1087—1135); Herlewin LVD p. 15; Herlwin (Count of Montreuil) FNC I p. 227; Herlwin of Bec ibid. II p. 216; Herlewinum (acc.) de Raundes Plac. p. 514 (Edw. III); Herluino (dat.) Cadomensi (of Caen'), made Abbot of Glastonbury by Henry, brother of Will. Rufus, FWR II p. 359; Urlewyn' (surname) RH II p. 836 (Edw. I); see further Bardsley pp. 377, 778.

OG Erlewin, Herlewin etc. F 469 f., OF Herluin, Arluin Langlois p. 334. For the first member see Erlebald. The spelling Url- is AN; cf. Luhmann p. 98, Schlemilch p. 38^{1} . The moneyer's name Urllewine, however, cannot be explained as due to AN spelling influence. If not merely an

¹ Williams (Anglia 25, 468 ff.) explains OE Byrht, -byrht (< beorht) and Byrn- (< Beorn-) as due to development of eo > y on account of the preceding voiced labial. Hence, ME Burn- might be accounted for as a continuation of OE Byrn-, though it seems preferable to explain it as an AN spelling for Beorn-.

error for Erl-, Url- seems in this case most probably to stand for Arl-, since u and a are sometimes confused in the orthography of the coins; on ar < er see Bertram. For the second member see Amalwin.

Ermant (surname) RC p. 97 (AD 1200).

Cf. Hermand, Hermant etc. F 775, Langlois p. 334. F assumes the second member to be related to OHG mandjan 'gaudere' or to be a variant of *-man*. It seems likely that d, t are in most cases excrescent¹. Hence, Ermant is a variant of Her(e)man below.

Ermenfrid (Bish. of Sitten, sent to England as Legate) FNC II p. 461; *Ermenfridus* (homo Osberni de Arches) = *Herm'-fridus* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 313, 337; *Hermenfridus* (Warw.) ibid. p. 337.

OG Ermenfrid (common) F 476 f., OF Ermen-, Hermenfroi Langlois p. 335². No earlier instances are on record in England, though both members occur in native p. ns.

Erme(n)gard, Armegard etc.: Ermengarda, Ermegard, Armegard, Aermegard (uxor Ade Mandevill) RCR I pp. 166, 360, 439, II p. 87 (AD 1199); Ermegard (wife of Will. de Punchardun) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 164 (AD 1253); Ermengard' (acc.) Fin. II! p. 75 = Ermegardam (acc.) Ped. Fin. II p. 73 (AD 1197); Ermegard Budun, Hermegarda de Bydun RH II p. 10 (Edw. I), Test. Nev. p. 262; Ermingarda Abbr. Plac. p. 64 (John); Ermeinard RC p. 46 (AD 1200) = Ermengard CCR III p. 210 (AD 1313); Hermigerd CCR III p. 328 (AD 1316); Armegard (surname) FA V p. 102 (AD 1401-2).

OG Ermingard, Ermengard⁸ (mostly fem.) F 478, OF Hermanjart, Hermenjart, Ermengart, Armenjart (Langlois p. 335 f.) which latter forms also may be < OG Irmengard (F ibid.) with OF i > e. On ar < er (in Arme-) see Bertram; for

¹ Cf. Mackel p. 91, Kalbow pp. 48, 132.

² For first member see Emino; for second member, Amelfrid.

³ First member as in preceding name; for second member see Aldeardis.

the loss of n see Meyer-Lübke p. 25 f., Kalbow p. 125, Burghardt p. 106.

*Ermengot: Erm'iot (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313.

OG Ermingaud, Ermengaut¹ F 478 f. i (in -iot) most probably signifies $[dz]^2$, thus representing the Centr. F development of g before au, for which cf. Schwahn-Behrens § 141, Mackel p. 148 f., Kalbow p. 138. Ermitor might further be = *Ermeniot, in which case it will be derived from OG *Erminigaut (cf. Erminitrudis, Herminifrid, Irminigart F 476 f.) with OG or OF loss of g^3 .

*Ermensent: *Hermesent* (wife of William Kempe) CCR III pp. 413, 483 (AD 1319, 1326).

OG Erminisind, Ermensend, Irminsind F 482, OF Hermesent Langlois p. 336. For the members see Erme(n)gard and Alsent.

Erme(n)truda: Ermetruda uxor (Kent) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 585 (AD 1272); Ermetruda uxor (Nott.) ibid. p. 240 (AD 1256); Ermetruda Thalebot Cart. Eynsh. I p. 423; Ermetrue (dat.) CR II p. 295 (AD 1216—17); Ermendrua (Linc.) RH I p. 241 (Edw. I); Ermentrudis (Countess of Chester) Hist. Ab. II pp. 68, 69; Ermetrudis (uxor Ricardi) CCR III p. 116 (AD 1308); Ermentruth MRS p. 33; Erm'thrutha LVD p. 56, etc.

OG Ermandrud, Ermentrudis, Ermetruda, etc. (common) F 471, 476, OF Ermentrus, Langlois p. 193. For the first member see Erme(n)gard; the second member is probably the same as OE -pryp (OE pryp 'Stärke, Kraft', ON - $pru\delta r$, < *prupi-). Cf. also OHG trut 'lieb, geliebt' < *druda-4. The above forms with th have probably been influenced by the native element -thryth.

¹ First member as in preceding name; second member as in *Aingot*.

² Cf. Behrens p. 178.

³ Cf. Schultz p. 197 ff., Kalbow p. 138 f. and literature there quoted.

⁴ See Bruckner p. 313. Cf. also ZfdA 43, 20 f. 6 T. Forssner *Ermenwald: Ermenald (Dev.), Ermenhaldus (Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313; Ermenold (Oxf.) CCR III p. 420 (AD 1320).

OG Ermenald, Ermenold¹ etc. F 483. In Ermenhaldus, h is merely graphical; see Ansoldus. There are no earlier instances of the present name in England.

Ermina uxor (Yorks.) Rot. Orig. I p. 116 (Edw. II), CCR III p. 84 (AD 1307); Sca Ermina RH II p. 18 (Edw. I).

OG Ermina F 474, a hypochoristic form of fem. compounds with Ermen-, Ermin-, for which see Emino.

Erminard (Dev.) FA I p. 320 (AD 1284-86).

OG $Ermen(h)ard^2$ F 480. The above form is certainly continental, since the name is not on record in OE. Erm'iot, see *Ermengot.

Ernald, Ernold, see Arnald.

Erneboldus (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 107.

OG Ernebold F 454, explained by $F < \hat{e}ra$ (see Erembald above). It is, however, most likely a variant of OG Arinbald F 138³. OE *Earnbeald is not recorded.

Erneburg: Erenburgis (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313; Eremburge (gen.) comitisse CCR III p. 309 (AD 1316); Erneburg CR II p. 98 (AD 1226); Erneburga CPR I p. 116 (AD 1284).

OG Erinburg, Eramburg, etc. F 456, OF Eremborc Langlois p. 193. For the first member see the preceding name, for the second member, *Engelburg.

Ernegis, Erneis, etc.: Ernegis (Yorks.), Erneis (Cornw.), Ernegis (homo Episcopi Baiocensis, Linc.), Erneis (Som., Leic.), Erneis (homo Comitis Hugonis, Linc.), Erneisus (Leic.), Ernegis de Barun, Ellis, Intr. II pp. 107, 314, 343, 375; Aernisius LVD pp. 100, 107; Aernis de Neouill', Ernis de

¹ For first member see *Emino*, for second member, *Ansoldus*.

² First member as in preceding name, second member as in *Actard.

³ For the etymology of the first member and the interchange of ar and cr see Arnald; for second member see Albod(o).

Neuill ibid. p. 101, KC p. 49; Magister Ernisius (Glouc.) Rot. Canc. p. 41; Herneis AC p. 24 (c. AD 1127); Hernesio (obl.) Ariete RC p. 4 (AD 1199); Rogerus Ernys, Herneys RH II p. 562. (Edw. I); Herneys, Harneys (surnames) ibid. I p. 475, II pp. 472, 647 (Edw. I), FA V p. 53 (AD 1346); Hernays (surname) and NE Harness, Harneis Bardsley p. 361.

OG Arn(e)gis F 139, OF *Erneïs*, *Ernaïs*, *Hernaïs*, *Hernaïs*, *Hernaïs*, *Langlois* p. 336 f. For the members see *Arnald* and *Ansegis*. On the development *Arnegis* > *Arneïs* see Kalbow p. 139¹. In *Erneïs* > *Ernis*, the unstressed *e* has been lost because standing in hiatus; cf. Stimming p. 178. **Ernis**, see the preceding name.

*Ernost: Arnost of Bec. (Bish. of Rochester) MHB p. 617 = Hernosto (dat.) AS Chr. I p. 289; Galfrid Hernost, Hernnest (Wilts.) RH II pp. 261, 262 (Edw. I).

OG Ernust, Ernost, Arnost (Rom.) F 484 f., a very common name, from OHG *ërnust* (OE eornost) 'Kampf'. For the interchange of er and ar see Bertram.

Ertald, see Hartald.

Ertein (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 109, 314.

Cf. OG Herithegan, Heridegan² F 779. Or is Ertein rather from an unrecorded *Heardpegn?

Escotland, Escolland, see Scotland.

Essolta, see Iseldis.

Estarcher Ellis, Intr. II p. 109.

OG Starchari, Starcher³, etc. F 1361 f. The initial e is of course prosthetic and of OF origin; cf. Schwahn-Behrens § 29. The present name may easily have been confused with Stercher (for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 132).

¹ ei, ey and ay are common orthographical variants in ME.

² For first member see Aedelhere, for second member, Deinolt. Cf. also ON Herpegn, Lind 533.

³ The first member is OHG starc (OE stearc) 'stark'; for the second member see Aeðelhere.

Etard, see Aitard.

Etlebrand, see Aedelbrand.

Etram mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102.

Cf. OG *Ediram*, *Ederam* F 450. The etymology of the first member is uncertain; cf. F 448. For the second member see *Bertram*.

Eudo Dapifer (Hertf., Linc., Ess., etc.), Eudo (filius Huberti, Hants., Berks., etc.), Eudo (Linc., Norf., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 416, II p. 110; Eudo LVD pp. 55, 63, 83, 87, 88, 102, 113; Eudo abbas (of Ramsey) CMR III p. 177 (AD 1200); Eudo (tenant in Wistou) ibid. I p. 362 (AD 1252); Eudo Martell Rot. Fin. p. 603 (AD 1216); Eudo de Bello Campo Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 364 (AD 1241-42); Eudo (fil. Eudon' Le Chaunpeneys, Linc.) ibid. II p. 288 (AD 1258); Eudonem (acc.) de la Roche (Hunt.) RH I p. 198 (Edw. I); Eudoni (dat.) fil. Garini CR I p. 235 (AD 1215), etc.

OG Eudo¹ (common) F 490. The diphthong of the stem always appears as eu or eo (see F), which shows that this name is a stereotyped documentary form. In some cases, a confusion between Eudo and Odo has taken place: Eoda (eorl of Campaine) AS Chr. 1096 E is = Odo, Count of Champagne, and Odda (Earl of Devonshire) appears as Eudo according to FNC II p. 565. This confusion between the two names in England is due to the fact that they cannot well be kept distinct in OF; see Langlois p. 494 f. As regards Eoda mon. (Aethelstan II) Grueber p. 199, Hildebrand p. 153, it is impossible to determine whether it is an Anglicized form of OG Eudo or a hypochoristic form of compounds with OE Eod- (= Ead-), such as Eodbald, Eoduald, etc., for which see Müller p. 13².

¹ Belonging to the name of the *Eudoses*, *Euduses*, for which see Schönfeld p. 81 f. and literature there quoted.

² Eodin mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 142 is perhaps = Eod-, Eadwine, as Searle suggests. Cf., however, OG Eodin F 490, which may be a dim. form of Eudo.

Euerwacer minister KCD 811 (AD 1061); Eureuuacre (Dev.), Euroac¹, Euuacre (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 110.

OG Eburacar, Euracrus etc. F 445 f. For the first member see *Eburhard. The second member is OHG wackar (OE wacor, wæc(c)er) 'wach, munter, kräftig'. w is regularly lost in OG in this position (see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 69, 4), whence it will have been reintroduced analogically in the above forms. -wacer is of late appearance in OE p. ns, and it does not seem unlikely that it has come into use through continental influence. Ead-, Edwacer mon. (Aethelred II., Harold I.) Grueber pp. 199, 310, Edwaker (Kent) RCR II p. 56 (AD 1199), might be Anglicized forms of OG Odoacer, Otacar, etc., but it seems more probable that eadwacer, which occurs as an OE appellative with the sense of 'watchman of property, bonorum custos', was called into existence as a p. n. by the influence of the corresponding OG p. n. The forms Alunacre, Ailunacre, Aelunacre, Ellis, Intr. II pp. 7, 31, 279, of which no OG equivalents seem to be on record, are probably also to be considered as native formations. Cf. also Sewaker, which occurs as a surname RM I p. 119.

Euerwinus (burgensis Norwicensis), *Euruinus* (Oxf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 315.

OG Eburwin, Euruin, etc. F 447. For the first member see *Eburhard, for the second member, Amalwin.

Eurard, see *Eburhard.

Eurebold (Dors.), (Odo filius) *Eurebald* (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 458, II p. 360.

OG Eurebald, -bold (Rom.) F 440. For the members see *Eburhard and Albod(o).

[Euretha LVD p. 48 has nothing to do with OG Eured F 51, but is an error for *Enretha = Aeinritha LVD p. 58. For this name see Björkman, Pers. p. 34, Namenk. p. 30.]

¹ Wrongly explained by Searle as *Eoferheah.

Euroldus (homo Gozelini filii Lanberti, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 315.

OG Ebarolt, Euruald, Evrold etc. F 446. For the members see *Eburhard and Ansoldus.

*Ewald: Ewoldus LVD p. 110; the same p. n. seems to enter into the pl. n. Ewaldeshor RCR I p. 378 (AD 1199) and perhaps also into Euualtone KCD 363 (AD 933).

Cf. OG *Ewald* F 51. The first member is OHG *êwa* (OS *êo*, OE $\bar{e}(w)$) 'Gesetz', which element does not occur in OE p. ns. Allowance must, however, be made for the possibility of deriving the first member from OE *Ead-*, *Ed*-or from OE *Eo-*, occurring e. g. in *Eomær*, *Eomod* and *Eomund*¹.

Ewart aurifaber RM I p. 328.

Cf. OG *Euvart* F 51, *Éoardus*, Bruckner p. 132. For the first member see the preceding name; second member as in *Beluard*. On the ME surname *Ewart*, see Bardsley p. 277 f. and the various explanations given by him.

*Eylewisa, Eyleuysā (acc.) de Eilesbir̃ (Buck.) Ped. Fin. I p. 40 (AD 1195).

For the second member see *Alweis. The first member might be either Adal- or Agil- (cf. Adalwidis and Agloidis F 35, 180, and *Aegelbert above). It seems most probable, however, that the present form stands for Heilewisa (see Helewis below) which view is corroborated by the occurrence of Aylewis Ped. Fin. I p. 14 = Helewis ibid. p. 101 (AD 1196).

[Ezi (Hants., Dev., etc.), Ezi vicecomes (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 110 is not < OG Ezius F 219 but = Etsi < OE Eadsige; cf. Etsius, Ellis, Intr. ibid. Is Ezui (Berks.) ibid. a corruption of the same name?]

¹ For second member see Ansoldus.

Faderlin, Fadrelin (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 315.

This might perhaps be a dim. form of the name Fader occurring in DB and explained by Björkman (Pers. p. 38) as ON. It seems most probable, however, that it is a continental dim. form of OG Fader, Fater, since there occur other similar OG formations, such as Fad(e)riko and Vaderikin, F 491 f. Cf. also MHG vaterlin.

Fagenolf CCR II p. 452 (AD 1294).

OG Faginolf, Fagenulf, etc. F 494. The first member belongs to OS fagin, fagan (OE fæzen) 'froh'. For the second member see Aginulfus.

Falco de Breaute Chr. Petr. p. 8 (AD 1224) = Fauk de Breaute RLP p. 85 (AD 1208) = Falkesius ibid. p. 92 (AD 1215); Falco le Taverner RH I p. 424 (Edw. I.); Ricardus Falco Ann. Dunst. p. 134 (AD 1233), etc.

The origin of these and similar forms is not so clear as Bardsley thinks when he writes (p. 281): 'the son of *Fulc*, one of very many forms'. First of all, there occurs a continental name *Falco*, for which see F 495 and Kluge, Et. W. under *Falke*. *Falco* might further sometimes be <*Fulco* owing to the OF development of pretonic ul > ol > al(*Fulcón* > *Falcón*). And lastly, *Falco* may be = *Folco* owing to a confusion between a and o in ME records; cf. *falke* for *folke*, Luhmann p. 92 f. *Falkesius* (above) is a Latinized form of NF *Falkes*¹ (for *-es* see *Carl*). A dim form of *Falco* is *Faucelinus* CCR III p. 309 (AD 1316). **Farthild** LVD p. 53.

OG Farthilt (fem.) F 499. The first member is OHG

¹ Recorded in ME as *Faukes* (e. g. RH II pp. 395, 620, 626. 662). *Faukus* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 113 is perhaps a Latinized form of *Fauk* (< *Falco*). Cf. also *Falcus* in DB (Björkman. Pers. p. 38).

vart (OS fard, OE fyrd, ferd) 'Fahrt', which element is not recorded in OE p. ns. For the second member see *Ainild. Fernand, see the following name.

Fer(r)andus Balistarius CR I p. 153 (AD 1213); Ferrando (obl.) clerico Rot. Canc. p. 145; Ferando (obl.) Gil' de Ispania CR II p. 117 (AD 1226); Ferrandus Gir. Cambr. V p. 249 (AD 1170); Ricardi Ferrand (merchant of London) Beverley II p. 360; Walterus Ferrant (Cant.) RH II p. 422 (Edw. I.); Martinus Ferraunt (Yorks.) Rot. Orig. I p. 75 (Edw. I.), etc.

Bardsley (p. 286) explains the surname Ferrand 'from some place of the name in Normandy'. It seems pretty certain, however, that this surname should not be kept distinct from the Christian name Ferrand. The latter is instanced by F (500) from Rom. source (AD 1089) and is found in OF Fer(r)ant Langlois p. 216. It further occurs as the Mod. F surname Ferrand, Ferrant, and in Italian Ferrando, Ferrante. That it is a development of Fernand (cf. Fernand Petri CPR II p. 77 (AD 1308), Fernandus F 500 and Spanish and Italian Fernando) seems certain, but opinions differ concerning the etymology of the first member. Thus, Meyer-Lübke (p. 28) derives Portuguese Fredenandus, Fridinandus, Frenandus and Fernandus from fripus'Friede'1, but, on account of the existant form Fradinand, he suggests that some other name-element may have been confused with it; Schönfeld (p. 86) explains the first member as ferðu, ON fioror 'Fahrwasser'. For the second member see Elinant. *Filbert: (de) Sco Philiberto Abbr. Plac. p. 50; Filberd (surname, Cornw.) Inq. Non. p. 343; Fylbard (Norf.) RH I p. 445 (Edw. I.); Hugone (abl.) Filleberd (Buck.) FA I p. 80 (AD 1284-86).

OG Fili-, Filebert (Mod. G Filbert) F 505. The first member is OHG filu (OE feolu) 'viel'. On Fili- see Gröger,

¹ Cf. also Stark p. 115.

p. 153 f.¹ NE *filbert* 'fruit of hazel' is a short form for '*Philibert nut*' (French *noix de filbert*) named after *St. Philibert*. Cf. NED.

Flanbard, Flambard: Rannulfus Flanbard, Flanbart (also called Rannulfus Flamme) Ellis, Intr. I p. 420, probably identical with Randulph Passeflambard of Dunholme AS Chr. 1128 E²; Thom' Flambard (Wilts.) RH II p. 240 (Edw. I.); Stephanum (acc.) Flambard Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 41 (AD 1202); Joh'es Flambard de Bonhunt (Ess.) Rot. Orig. II p. 138 (Edw. III.); Robertus Flamb' LVD p. 100; the pl. n. Flamberdeston (Wilts.) FA V p. 232 (AD 1428).

OG Flan-, Flambert F 510, OF Flambart Langlois p. 217. F's suggestion that the first member might be related to OE flan (O Icel. fleinn) 'sagitta' is, of course, impossible for phonological reasons. Hildebrand (DB p. 335) translates Flambard as 'der Flammende; der das Schwert flammen lässt'. It seems probable, indeed, that this name was associated with OF flamme as may be concluded from the above by-form *Flamme* and from a statement in Orderic L VIII (p. 678) according to which the above-mentioned Rannulf obtained the surname *Flambard "flamma quippe ardens"*. But the original form of the first member seems to have been *Flan-*³, which Bruckner (p. 248) associates with OE flan 'præceps, procax', evidently given on Ettmüller's authority from his Lexicon Anglo-Saxonicum. For the second member see Isenbard.

Flodger mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 171.

OG Flodger, Flotger F 859. The first member is $< Hl\delta d$. ($Hl \check{u} d$ -) $< *hl \check{u} pa$ - $< *kl \check{u}$ 'hören'⁴. For the Rom. change of initial hl > fl see Mackel p. 135 and Kalbow p. 145. Bruckner (p. 94) assumes the first member of Lombard Flodeuertus and Flodelandus to be OS flod, OHG vluot 'Flut'

¹ For second member see Adalbert.

² Cf. FNC IV p. 521.

³ Cf. Flanigisilus, Flanegisilus Waltemath p. 21.

⁴ Cf. Schönfeld p. 140, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 21, Kluge, Et. W. laut.

which would be possible as far as the sense is concerned, but seems rather doubtful, since this element is lacking in OE¹ and ON p. ns and recorded in OG only in Rom. sources, where it seems most likely that it is due to the above-mentioned development of $Hl\breve{o}d$ -; the above Lombard names may be from $fr\ddot{o}d$ by dissimilation and assimilation; cf. Meyer-Lübke p. 79. For the second member see Amelger.

Floheld LVD p. 6 (12th c.).

This name is mentioned by Searle, Intr. p. XXIX, among names which he thinks "may be Celtic names or corrupt forms or misreadings". It is, however, certainly = OF *Flohaut* (see Kalbow p. 30) < *Flothildis* ("öfters = *Chlothildis*") F 860. For the first member see *Flodger*. The loss of the dental is analogous to that found in *Mathild* > OF *Maheut* (see *Mahtild* below). For the second member see **Ainild*. *e* for *i* is NF.

Fluold LVD p. 2.

Cf. Flodoald, Flodold, Fluduald F 860. For the members see Flodger and Ansoldus. *u* may be merely graphical or reflects the by-form Hlud-; cf. Ludowic and Lodowic under *Hludowic below).

*Folbert, Folberti (gen.) episcopi (probably a Fleming) BCS 661 (AD 918).

OG Folcbert, Folbert F 548 f. The first member is OHG folc (OE folc) 'Volk'. On the loss of c, see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 128. For the second member see Adalbert. The native equivalent Folcbeorht is on record. Cf. Fulbertus below.

¹ Flodbrhit (sic!) abbas BCS 1311 is = Folbriht, Foldbriht abbas ibid. 1269, 1282. That Flodger should stand for OE *Foldgar is not likely especially on account of the form of the second member. But cf. OG Foldger F 559, of which the first member is probably the same as OE folde 'Erde'. On Floteman, Ellis, Intr. II p. 111, see Björkman, Namenk. p. 33. The moneyer's name Flodwine, given by Searle from Grueber, is not on record.

Fokeram, see Fulcran.

Folceric Niger (merchant of Antwerp) RLP I p. 100 (AD 1213); *Folcrici* (gen.) (merchant of Louvain) CR I p. 646 (AD 1224).

OG Folerie¹ F 555 f. The forms Fulchericus (Linc.), Fulchri (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 115 are perhaps native, though the earliest instance of Folcric in England seems to be from the 11th cent. See further Björkman in Festschrift für L. Morsbach (1913) p. 12 f.

Folcran, see Fulcran.

*Frambald, Frembald, *Frimbald: Franbald mon. (Alfred) Grueber p. 32; Frembald, Frembaud (surname) Rot. Orig. I pp. 91, 96, II p. 200, FA I pp. 25, 39 and Bardsley p. 300; Frimbaldum (acc.) RH II p. 186 (Edw. I.).

Cf. OG Frambold² F 514. Fram, Framric and Froma, occur as the names of moneyers of Aethelstan, Burgred, and Edw. the Conf. and are probably native, which renders the above derivation uncertain. The spelling n for m is either a mere error or a reverted spelling, caused by the transition of n > m before b. The ME forms Frembald and *Frimbald are due to a replacing of Fram- by Frem-(OE freme 'good, strenuous'; cf. ME fremsom 'useful', fremful'advantageous')³ and Frim-⁴ (ME frym, NE frim, see NED), which substitutions were probably effected in order to avoid association with the ME pejorative adjectives framward (< OE fram-weard 'averse, froward, perverse') and fraward (< fra + weard) 'froward', both occurring as ME surnames (e. g. CR I p. 516, RH II p. 338; cf. Bardsley p. 299). Is Franpalt, Frampold, Frambolt (the surname of a certain Godwine, appearing as a landholder in the time of Edw.

¹ For the members see *Folbert and Alberic.

² First member is OHG fram 'vorwärts' (OE fram 'valiant, stout'); for the second member see Albod(o).

³ According to Middendorff p. 54, Frem occurs as an OE p. n. in the pl. ns Fremesham and Fremesleya.

⁴ Not from *Frith*- as Bardsley (p. 300) suggests.

the Conf., Ellis, Intr. II pp. 112, 113) the same name? In such case p would be of HG origin. It will hardly be possible to explain these forms as early instances of dialectal English *frampold* 'fretful, peevish, froward', of which the oldest example in NED is from 1598 and which is assumed to be < fram + polle 'head' or a LG word¹.

Frampold, see the preceding name.

Franciscus de Boun (Dors.) RH I p. 100 (Edw. I.); Franciscus de Ipre (Lond.) ibid. p. 423; Franciscum (acc.) de Aldeham (Glouc.) Abbr. Plac. p. 350 (Edw. III.), etc.

This name, popularized throughout the Western Church by *St. Franciscus* of Assisi, is formed from *Franc-* (see the following name) by means of the suff. *-isk*, often used to form adjectival derivatives from the names of countries and people. Cf. Bruckner p. 117, Kluge, N. St. § 210 f. This name is Italian.

Franco, Francus: Franco (Dev.), Franco quidam (Shrops.), Franco (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.), Francus (Norf. Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 318; Franco (fil. Savarici) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 451 (AD 1246); Franco de Bohun ibid. II p. 19 (AD 1247)²; *Francus (Franco nuncio Com Flandr) CR I p. 22 (AD 1205); Franco (abl.) de Brene ibid. II p. 32 (AD 1225); Franco le Tyeys (Teutonicus') Plac. p. 195 (Edw. I.), CCR II p. 75 (AD 1267); Franc' do Hermenie LVD p. 65; Francone (abl.) de Brusella CCR III p. 420 (AD 1320).

OG Franco³ (common) F 515. For the interchange of -o and -us see *Helto. Fronca* occurs in LV (cf. Müller p. 54), where it may be native. The ME frequency of this name, however, is due to continental influence.

Franpalt, see Frambald.

Fredard mon. (Eadmund, Eadred), Fredard mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 102, 141, 155.

³ For the etymology see Schönfeld, p. 91, and literature there quoted.

¹ Cf. Skeat, Et. Dict.

² Cf. Franciscus de Boun (above).

OG Friduhart etc. F 534. For the first member see Amelfrid. Fred- is due to Rom. influence; see Erlefred. For the second member see *Actard. No native equivalent is found.

Fredebernus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 114.

OG Fridubern, Frethubern¹ F 530, Carstens p. 20. No earlier instances are on record in OE.

Fredegand, one of the Irish missionaries who followed St. Fursey into Gaul, see DCB.

Cf. *Fredegand* (*Fredegaud*?) F 532. For the first member see the preceding name, for the second member cf. Bruckner p. 253.

*Fredegis: Fredegis (Medesh.) AS Chr. 656 E, BCS 22 (AD 664); Fredghis (Nott.), Fredgis (North., Nott.), Fregis (North.)² Ellis, Intr. II p. 114; Freegis (Gaimar, l'Estorie, MHB p. 824), the same person.

OG Frithugis, Fredegis³, etc. F 533 f. Om the loss of din the above forms cf. Kalbow p. 83. In Ellis, Intr. ibid., there occurs a form Fregist which seems to designate the same person as Fregis. The former name might be due to the carelessness of the scribe or to analogous instances in which an inorganic t was added in AN (cf. Menger p. 97), but it seems most likely that the confusion has been caused by the occurrence of a name Fridugist etc. BCS 1130 (AD 980), 1266, 1270, 1297 (AD 970), and in AS Chr 993 E, where it is the name of one of the treacherous leaders of the English at Lindsey and is mentioned together with Fræna and Godwine⁴. Fridugist has been explained < OG

³ First member as in *Fredard*; for second member see Ansegis.

⁴ Both Fræna and Friðugist also occur together in the abovementioned charters in BCS, whence these names certainly designate the same persons. Another instance of this name is Fregistus miles BCS 325 (AD 806). In the same charter ON Malte (see Björkman, Pers. p. 94) occurs. Cf. also Frithegist, BCS 1266, and Frithegist magnus, LVD p. 77, together with many ON p. ns.

¹ First member as in preceding name; for second member see *Beringer*.

² Probably the same person.

Fridegis by Köpke p. 23, but it will be rather difficult to account for the addition of t in this name. Cf. Flor. Wig. 993: "... duces exercitus, Frana videlicet, Frithogist et Godwinus, quia ex parterno genere Danici fuerunt...". Is Fridugist the Anglicized form of an unrecorded (?) ON *Fridgestr? Cf. such compounds as Godgestr, Heimgestr, Widgestr, Ulfgestr, Végestr and Porgestr in Lind.

*Fredegod: Fredegod diacon (Kent) BCS 1010 (AD 958).

OG Fredegaud, Fridugoz¹, etc. F 533. This Fredegod is no doubt identical with the person of the same name who is mentioned as the author of the Metrical Life of Wilfrid. This work was dedicated to Archbishop Odo, and it is to one of Odo's charters that the above-mentioned Fredegod appears as a witness.

Fredemund mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 117, 118.

OG Fridemund, Fredemund F 536. For the first member see Fredard, for the second member see Claremunda. The OE equivalent Fridumund is on record. Cf. further Bugge, Vesterl. Indfl. p. 276, Grueber p. 53.

Frederic of Warren² LH p. 295; *Frederico* (obl.) de Lovannia Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 319 (AD 1259); *Frederic'* Swyne RH I p. 314 = *Fretheric* Swym (Mercator de Lubecco) ibid. p. 327; *Frederico* (abl.) Doni (mercatore Senensi) Giff. Reg. p. 106.

OG Frideric, Frederic³, etc. F 536. Other ME instances, although rarely recorded, may be < OE Friðuric, Freodoric. Cf. Bardsley p. 300.

Freisent, see Frethesenta.

Frembald, see *Frambald.

Fresnotus monachus KCD 754 (AD 1020-38).

Searle is certainly wrong in identifying this name as OE

³ For first member see Fredard, for second member, Alberic.

¹ First member as in *Fredard*, second member as in *Aingot*. On the WF form -god see *Mangod* below.

² Perhaps the same person as *Frederic* (Kent) Ellis, Intr. II p. 114. Cf. FNC III p. 647.

**Frithunoth*; it occurs among several continental p. ns and is no doubt compounded with the OG name-element $Fr\bar{es}$ -(for the etymology of which see Siebs in Paul's Gr. I p. 1153, Much PBB 17,14 f. and Franck ibid. p. 55) + not (OHG nôt, OE nead, nyd 'Mühe, Gefahr, Kampf')¹, difficult to keep distinct from native OE -nod < *nanfa-. Fr \bar{es} - cannot be proved to have been used in native OE p. ns², but occurs in *Fr\bar{esan}*, *Fr\bar{ysan}* (the Frisians) in Beow. and Widsip, in *Frisa*, *Friesa* and the adj. *Fresisc* in AS Chr. etc. The continental dim. form *Fresechin*, recorded in ME, will be dealt with in a later paper.

Frethesenta (uxor Galfridi Luterel, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 9 (AD 1218); Frethesanth' (uxor Willelmi Paynel) Test. Nev. p. 375; Frethesent, Frethesant Ped. Fin. Ebor. pp. 87, 88 (AD 1203-4); Frethesent (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 223 (Edw. I.); Freisent Painel (see above) CR I p. 372 (AD 1217); Frethesancia de Scoteny Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 311 (AD 1259); Frethesancia de la Haye (Hertf.) ibid. p. 304 (AD 1259); Frethesence (gen.) RH II p. 374 (Edw. I.), etc.; see further Bardsley p. 302.

OG Frithesuind, Fredesendis (Rom.), etc. F 538. For the first member see Fredard. Frei- has arisen through AN loss of the dental. The second member is the same as in Alsent above. -sancia is <*-santia, Latinized on the model of Constantia and similar names.

*Frimbald, see *Frambald.

Frodger: *Frotger*, *Frotier* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 113, 120; *Frogerus* vicecomes³ (Berks.), *Frogerius* (Berks.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 114, 319; *Frogerum* (acc.) archidiaconum (London) RB p. 658 (AD 1154-55).

¹ Cf. also ZfdA 43, 23 f.

² Is the pl. n. Frischenei (Linc.) DB, Fryskency Plac. p. 445, Freskency RH II p. 669, NE Friskney, to be traced back to some such ground-form as *Frisican, *Fresecan ege? Cf. Friskenhem (< Frisico) F 525.

³ "seemingly the Norman successor of Godric". FNC IV p. 37.

OG Frodger, Frotger, Froger¹ F 542. The t in Frotier points to continental influence as does also the form *-ier*, which is due to a (probably Rom.) fronting of g. The loss of d may have taken place already in OG through assimilation. Cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4. An OE equivalent is perhaps Frodgar mon. (Eadwig) Grueber p. 158.

Frodo (frater Abbatis)² (Ess., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 421, II pp. 114, 318.

OG Frodo F 541, a hypochoristic form of compounds with Frod-, see the preceding name. Frodan (gen.), Beow. v. 2025, is a king of the Heathobards. Other instances are in most cases native. Cf. Müller p. 42, Binz p. 174. Froelina LVD p. 6 (12th c.).

OG **Frodelina*, *Frotlina* F 541, a dim. derivative from *Frod-* (see *Frodger*). On Rom. soil, this form might also be derived from OG *Hrodelina*³ F 887, with a transition of initial hr > fr analogous to that of hl > fl, referred to above under *Flodger*. Cf. Kalbow p. 145.

Froger, see *Frodger.

[Frohelmus episcopus BCS 703 (AD 934?).

Cf. OG Frohelm⁴ F 519. This derivation is extremely uncertain, since, in another copy of the same charter, BCS 1344, the same person is called *Trohelmus*. Searle, in his AS Bish., Kings and Nobles, mentions him among bishops of unknown sees, and in his Onomasticon he suggests that he might be indentical with *Tidhelm*, Bish. of Hereford 930-c.~938].

Fromund: Frumond (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.)

¹ First member is OHG frôd (OE frôd) 'prudens' or a Rom. form of *Hrod*-, see *Froelina*. In *Froger*, first member might of course also be OHG frô 'froh' or frô (Goth. frauja) 'Herr'. For second member see *Amelger*.

² Brother of Baldwin (abbot of Edmundsbury), 'genere gallus'.

³ Belonging to $hr\bar{o}p$ (Goth. $hr\bar{o}peigs$ 'ruhmreich'), found in OG p. ns as $Hr\bar{o}d$ -, in OE as $Hro\bar{d}$ - and $Hroe\bar{d}$ -.

⁴ First member is *Fro*-, for which see Frodger; second member as in *Anshelm.

Ellis, intr. II p. 319; Fromundo LVD p. 137 (Obit.)¹; Fromund de Poetif (Suss.) RCR I p. 97 (AD 1194); Fromund de Tarente (Worc.) ibid. II p. 71 (AD 1199); Fromundus (abbas Theukesburiensis) Ann. Wig. p. 380 (AD 1162); Fromundum (acc.) clericum RCR I p. 330 (AD 1199); Fromund le Brun CPR I p. 72 (AD 1283); Fromund, Fromunt, Fromont (surnames) RB p. 1077, Exc. Rot. Fin. II pp. 261, 556, Fines I p. 32, RH II p. 549, FA V p. 165, etc.

OG Fromund F 520, OF Fromont Langlois p. 242 f. The first member is OHG frô (or frôd), for which see Frodger. The OF form may also be derived from OG Hrodmund F 911 f.; cf. Froelina above and Kalbow p. 129. For the second member see Dagemond. In Frumond (above) u and o have perhaps simply changed places by mistake; u may also be explained after Stimming p. 190. ON Frómundr (Lind 291) is a German loan.

Fukeram, see Fulcran.

Fulbertus (Norf.), Fulbertus (Kent, Bedf., Leic.)², Fulbertus (quidam sacerdos, Norf.), Fulbertus (homo Gisleberti de Gand) (Linc.), Fulbric (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 114, 319; Fulbert the Tanner (a Norman) FNC II pp. 177, 178; Fulbertus archidiaconus LVD p. 14.

OG Fulbert (common) < Fulcbert[§] F 548 f. It is probable that OE Folcbeorht as well as Foldbriht have been confused with the continental forms.

Fulcald, Fulcaldus de Archiaco CPR I p. 419 (AD 1291); Fulcold (homo Abbatis de Ely) Inq. Eliens. p. 497; Fulcauz LVD p. 53.

¹ "Et pro quattor monachis qui venerunt ad Sanctum Cuthbertum cum abbate Lamberto, hoc est, Mauricio, Goffrido, Fromundo et Herueo."

² Cf. Ellis, ibid. foot-note 1.

³ First member is OHG folc, see Folcbert; for the by-form Fulc- see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 21, 5, for the loss of c, ibid. § 128. It is further possible that Ful-, Fol- sometimes are < *fulla-(OHG fol, OE full) 'voll'. Second member as in Adalbert.

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OG Fulcwald, Fulcaldus, etc. F 557. For the first member see the preceding name, for the second member, Ansoldus. Fulcauz is < Fulcaut (cf. OF Foucaut Langlois p. 226) + NF nom. s.

Fulcard (mercator, Frisland) CR I pp. 610, 634 (AD 1224).

OG $Fulc(h)ard^{1}$ F 551. It cannot be determined whether other instances of *Fulcard* in England are continental or from native *Folcheard*².

Fulcauz, see Fulcald.

Fulco, Folco de Lusoriis (Clam. Ebor.), Fulco (homo Drogonis de Bevrere), Fulco (homo Willielmi de Perci), Fulco (homo Osberni de Arches), Fulco (homo Rogerii de Busli), Fulco (homo Gisleberti Tison) Ellis, Intr. I p. 448, II p. 320; Folco (Remorum archiepiscopus) BCS 555 (AD 855); Fulco (monachus Croylandiæ) KCD 795 (AD 1051); Fulco, Folco LVD pp. 8, 13, 19, 23, 45, 47, 50, 52, 56, 85, 88, 100, 111, 141; Fulc (Henry II's chamberlain of Anjou) Cal. Doc. p. 220; Fulco de Baiocis ('Bayeux') RB p. 586 (AD 1211—12); Fulco de Cantelupo (Linc.) Rot. Obl. p. 12 (AD 1199); Fulco Bainard (Norf.) Rot. Fin. pp. 359, 458 (AD 1206); Fulconis (gen.) le Franc CR I p. 496 (AD 1222), etc.

OG Fulco, Folco F 547 f., hypochoristic forms of compounds with Fulc-, Folc-, for which see Fulbertus. Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 41.

Fulcoius, Fulcui (Suss.), Fulcuius (Cambr.), Fulcvivs (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 115, 320.

OG Folcwig, Fulcowicus, etc. F 558, OF Folcui, Kalbow p. 63. For the first member see Fulbertus; the second member is probably OHG wig (OE wig) 'Kampf'. OE *Folcwig is not on record.

*Fulcrad: Fulrad mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102; Ful-

¹ First member as in preceding name, second member as in *Actard.

² Furcardus Ellis, Intr. II p. 115 is = Fulcardus, probably owing to assimilation of l > r.

cheredus¹ ("abbot of Earl Roger's house at Shrewsbury, once a monk of Earl Roger's house at Seez") FWR II p. 318.

OG Fulcrad, Fulrad (common) F 554 f., OF Fouqueret Langlois p. 230. For the members see Fulbertus and Adradus. It cannot be determined whether Fulcred, Fulcheredus Ellis, Intr. I p. 421, II p. 320 is native (< OE Folcred, which seems to have existed) or continental, although the latter alternative is most likely.

Fulcran: Folcran, Folcheran (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 317, 320; Folcrann' de Watercroft (Suff.) RH II p. 183 (Edw. I.); Fokeram (South.) RB p. 663 (AD 1155-56); Focheram (Yorks.) Pipe Roll I p. 30; Ricardus Fukeram, Fokeram (Berks.) FA I pp. 50, 52 (AD 1316); William Fukerand CCR I p. 475 (AD 1257); Fukeram (surname) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 163 (AD 1253), etc.

OG Fulcramnus, Fulcran(n)us, Folcram F 552, OF Fouqueran(t), Foukerant Langlois p. 230. For the members see Fulbertus and Bertram. The loss of l in the above forms is AN; cf. Menger p. 87, Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 149 f.

G.

Gacelin, Gascelin, see Wazelinus.

Gail(1)ard, Gal(1)ard: Gaillard (of Bordeaux) CR I p. 623 (AD 1224); Gaillard ibid. II p. 55 (AD 1225); Gailardo (obl.) Pete (de Pete) RM II p. LXXI; Gaylardo (dat.) de Landa RLP p. 63 (AD 1206); Osberto (obl.) Gaillard RC p. 212 (AD 1215); Robino (obl.) Gaylard (of Bordeaux) CR II p. 114 (AD 1226); Alexander Galyard mercator FY p. 139 (AD 1426); Joh'es Galard Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 223 (AD 1232); Will' Gallard RH II p. 689 (Edw. I.); the pl. n. Gaillardeby CR II p. 86 (AD 1225); etc.

 1 = Fulcherodo (dat.) abbati CCR II p. 82 (AD 1267).

Bardsley's explanation (p. 305) of the NE surname Gallard, Gaylard as an original nickname, 'the gaillard, the gay, the joyous, the bold' is certainly acceptable also as far as the ME surnames are concerned. But in those instances where this name occurs as a Christian name it is < OF Gaillart < OG *Gailhard (cf. Keilhart F 568). The first member is probably OHG geil (OE gāl) 'von wilder Kraft, lustig, fröhlich' ¹; for the second member see *Actard. Galard may be due to a reduction of pretonic ai > a but also to a NF development of OG Walhart (F 1517).

Gaillarda Blome, Gaylarde (uxor Arnaldi de Puribus), see Bardsley p. 306.

A fem. form of preceding name.

Gaimar: Geoffrey *Gaimar*, the well-known issuer of the AN version of the History of the British Kings by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

OG Weimar, Waimer F 1496² and the Rom. form Guaimar ibid., which latter name, like Gaimar, shows NF development of OG w > g(u), for which see Kalbow p. 117. The first member probably belongs to Goth. wai (OE $w\bar{a}$) 'weh'; cf. Bruckner p. 101. For the second member see Ainmer. **Galchelinus**, see Walchelin.

Galfrid, see Gaufrid. Galicerus, see Walger. Galland, see Weland. Galterus, see Walter. Garard, see Gerard. Garbo(1)d, see Gerbodo. Garengerus, see Warenger. Garinus, see Warinus. Garsanta, see Gersent. Gaubert, see Walbertus. Gaudin, see Waldin.

¹ Cf. also ZfdA 42, 64, Kalbow p. 123 and Cipriani p. 67.

² And Lombard Waimârius, Bruckner p. 101.

Gaufrid, Galfrid: Gaufridus (Kent, Buck., etc.), Gaufridus (homo Rogerii de Busli, Nott.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 322; Gaufridus LVD pp. 7, 8, 16, 17, 44, 46, 47, 50, 55, 56, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 69, 72, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 92, etc.; Galfrides (probably for Galfridus) de Hedes KCD 930; Galfridus LVD pp. 65, 84, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96, 108, 152; Galfr' Le Flemeng Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 158 (AD 1227); Gaufr' Flandr' CR I p. 250 (AD 1216); Galfr' de Luvein (Lond.) Rot. Obl. p. 24 (AD 1199) = Godefr' de Lovain ibid. p. 37 = Godefridus de Loveyn RB p. 133 (AD 1199-1200); Galfridus de Lovayn, webster, FY p. 56 (AD 1361) etc.¹

The above forms may be derived from various OG etyma, viz. Gaufrid² F 623, Gautfred³ F 616, with loss of the dental, but chiefly Waldfrid, Walfrid⁴ F 1503 with NF g for OG w and vocalization of $l > u^5$; cf. Kalbow p. 109, Waltemath p. 51. A confusion between the above forms and God(e)frid (see below) has sometimes taken place, and the same is also the case in continental records⁶. This confusion is probably partly due to the form Goffridus (e. g. CMR I p. 141, LVD p. 137), which may be derived from Gaufrid or Gautfred (with Rom. au > o) as well as from Godfrid⁷. Finally, I have noticed one instance where Gaufrid and Gosfrid (see below) have been confused⁸. The

² First member might be *Gau*-, as F suggests. Cf., however, Meyer-Lübke p. 90 f.; for second member see *Amelfrid*.

- ³ For Gaut- see Aingot.
- ⁴ See *Walfrid below.
- ⁵ Galfridus, -fredus are stereotyped Latin forms.
- ⁶ Cf. Gaufrid, Bish. of Cambrai, also called Godefrid.

⁷ Iofreið LVD p. 53 is identical with OF Jofroi (Langlois p. 378) < Gaufrid, not from Godfrid, since g has been preserved before o. Cf. Mackel p. 147 f. -freið is the AN form of -fridus, showing a development analogous to that of AN feið < Latin fidem. Cf. Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 90 f.

⁸ Gaufrido (filio Haimonis) = Goisfridus (filius Haimonis) Hist. Ab. II pp. 32, 60.

¹ Gaufricus LVD p. 63 is a misreading for Gaufrid'.

NE name Geoffrey [dzefri] cannot originally be from German Gottfried, as Oxf. Dict. states, since we are then at a loss to explain both the initial [dz] and the [e] of the modern pronunciation, but is < ME Geffrey¹ < OF Geuf(f)roi, Jeufroi (by-forms of Jof(f)roi, see Langlois p. 378 f.) < OG *Gewifrid (cf. Gewibald, Gewidrud, Gewelip, Gewerich, etc. F 622 f., where the first member is OHG gewi 'Gau')², or perhaps rather < OF Jefroi, Gefreid (Langlois ibid.) < OG Gerfrid (see Gerferð below)³, or < Gidfrid, the first member of which Bruckner (p. 256) assumes to be related to OE gid 'Spruch'. Cf. also Gif(f)rid F 633⁴. The spelling Geoffrey, might be explained in the same way as Jespersen (p. 79) explains jeopardy (< jeu parti), leopard (< leupard), etc., or as a blending of Geffrey and Goffrey (Joffrey) or by the influence of OF Geof(f)roi (= Jof(f)roi).

Gausbert, see Gosbert.

Gauselin, see Gozelin.

Gausfrid, see Gosfrid.

Geffrei, see Gaufrid.

Gelram (canon of the Church of St. Paul, Lond.) CCR I p. 200 (AD 1235); *Gelranî* (gen.) Rot. Canc. p. 139.

The second member (for which see *Bertram*) points to continental origin. Stark (p. 40) explains the first member of *Geltrudis* < Gil - < Gisil, but the etymon is probably *Gild-trudis. There is, as far as I know, no instance that supports the assumption of a development *Gil*- (< Gisil-) > Gel. It seems most likely that the first member is <

² See Kluge, Et. W., Franck. Afr. Gr. § 36, 2, Gröger p. 129 f. and Kalbow p. 109.

³ Cf. OF Gerfroi = Gefroi (beside other variants) Langlois p. 379.

⁴ This form seems to occur in *Giffredo* (obl.) RM II p. 362 and Sire *Giffreus* Hepe de la Croix BCS 34. Cf. *Galfrides* de Hedes above. On the possibility of deriving *Giffred* < OG **Gebafrid* see *Giffard* below.

¹ Occurring in ME as *Gef(f)rey*, *Geffrei*, *Geffray* e. g. Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 486 (AD 1269), RH II pp. 547, 651, 659, Cust. p. 73, etc.

*Gail- (see Gail(l)ard) with e owing to the AN monophthongization of ai; see Airard above. Hence, the above forms will be identical with OG Gaeleramnus F 568.

Genoveva (filia Thome de Sumery, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 452 (AD 1267).

Cf. Genovefa F 628, OF Genevieve, Langlois p. 273. Celtic? Cf. Yonge p. 269 f.

Gerald, Girald: Geruald LV 119, 163, 180, 204, 302, 353, 370; Geraldus, Geroldus (Suff., Heref.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 317, 322; (Roberti filii) Geroldi (Som.) Exon. DB 590; Gerold de Tantune Cal. Doc. pp. 127, 129 (AD 1067); Geroldus, Geraldus LVD pp. 8, 53, 55, 137; Gerald of Wilton FNC V p. 806; Gerald of Windsor (a Norman settler at Pembroke) ibid. III p. 210; Geroldus (monachus Wintoniæ) Ann. Wig. p. 373 (AD 1084); Giroldus capellanus (Dev.), Giroldus mareschalcus¹ (Suff.), Giraldus, Raimundus (Ess.), Giroldus (et Ihos Franci duo, Ess.); Giraldus (presbyter de Wiltone) (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 424, II pp. 118, 317, 324; Giraldus (miles et monachus) LVD (Obit.) p. 140, etc.

OG Gerwald, Gerald, Gerold, Girald, Girold F 585 f. The first member is $G\hat{e}r < *gaiza$ - for which see Amelger². Giris due to the fronted g, which has changed the pretonic e > i on Rom. soil³, and does certainly not as rule belong to MHG giren 'begehren' or to $g\bar{v}r$ in MHG $g\bar{v}rvalke$ as Bruckner (p. 74) suggests. Hellwig (p. 24) has explained the first member of Geruald (in LV) as OE $g\hat{e}r$ 'year', and Müller (p. 109) suggests OE $g\hat{e}r$ 'year' or connection with OHG ger 'cupidus'. The same explanation he also offers for the first member of Gerbrandus, Gerburg, Gerardus and Gersand. It is likely that these explanations are wrong. With the exception of the three names Geruald, Gerferð and Geruini in LV, names compounded with Ger- do not appear in England till the end of the 10th cent., and there

- ² For second member see Ansoldus.
- ³ See Mackel p. 105, Kalbow p. 95, Meyer-Lübke p. 30.

¹ Cf. FNC III p. 379.

can be no doubt that these were introduced from the continent¹. The appearance of the above-mentioned names in LV confirms the view held under *Aegelbert that OG p. ns are to be found there. — In this connection I wish to correct a mistake that is often to be found, especially in works on English pl. ns, e. g. when Moorman says (p. 76) that Gærenters into the composition of OE Gærfrith, Gærhelm, Gærwine. It should be observed that the OE form is Gār-(<*gaiza-) and that Gār- is a mere invention of Searle's. The form Gærwine, adduced by Moorman, is Geruini in LV, Gærweald (in Searle) is the form Geruald, discussed above, etc. When Gær- happens to occur it is due to the confusion between a, æ and e, not seldom found in later, especially Latin, records.

Geram de Curzun Rot. Fin. p. 346 (AD 1206), Fines I p. 119; Geram de Vernun CR I p. 255 (AD 1216); G'rani (gen.) ibid. p. 158 (AD 1213-14); Will. Geran (Salop.) RCR I p. 136 (AD 1194).

OG Ger(r)am, Gerrannus, etc. F 580 f., Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126. For the first member see the preceding name², for the second member, Bertram. — Of different origin is Gerome³ (de Durdraght) FY p. 53 (AD 1358), which is $< Hieronymus^4$.

Gerard, Girard: Gerardo (abl.) priore Croylandiæ KCD 794 (AD 1038-51); Gerardus (Som., Leic., etc.), Gerardus vigil (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 322; Gerard (Archb. of York) Cal. Doc. p. 442; Gerard(us) LVD pp. 7, 8, 14, 15, 46, 51, 53, 57, 62, 63, 83, 94, 100, 105, 145; Gerardum (acc.) de Flandr' CR I p. 185 (AD 1215); Gerardus (presbyter cardinalis) Hist. Ab. II p. 199; Gerard de Barcot KC p. 53; Girardus (Som., Dev., Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 424; Girardus (Glouc.),

¹ Or from Scandinavia; cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 36 f.

² On the use of single and double consonants, see Burghardt p. 97 f.

³ NE Jerome.

⁴ For *Hie-* > *Je-* see Nyrop, Gr. § 469.

Girardus (Suss., Surr., Wilts., etc.), Girardus camerarius (Glouc.), Girardus (homo Hugonis, Yorks.), Girardus (homo Raynerii de Brimou, Linc.), Girardus (homo Rogeri Pictavensis Linc.) ibid. II pp. 118, 324; Girard (arceb. of Eoforwic)¹ AS Chr. 1103 E, 1108 E; Girardus præpositus BB p. 34; Girardus Lotherensis Inq. Eliens. p. 497; Girard de Limosie (Ess.) RB p. 29 (AD 1161-62); Gyrard (surname) RH I p. 86 (Edw. I.); see further Bardsley p. 309; Italian dim. forms are Gerardino (dat.) Nealy de Florencia Rot. Orig. I p. 161 (Edw. II.) and Gerardini (gen.) (merchant of Lucca) Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 331.

OG Gerard, Girard² F 578 f., OF Gerart, Girart, Langlois p. 279 f. The surname Garardson (Jacobus Garardson, berebrewer, evidently a Fleming) FY p. 135 (AD 1423) might have been influenced by the native name-element Gar-3, and the same might be the case with NE Garrard and Jarrard (the latter form then being a contamination of Gar- and Ger- [dz]). But in consideration of the circumstance that native Gar- is comparatively rare in ME it is possible that Gar(r)ard is to be derived from OG Garard (F 603), where the first member is OHG garo (OE gearo) 'bereit, gerüstet'⁴. The interchange of G and J is OF. It may further have been influenced by such names as Gerbald, Gerbodo, Gervas, etc., in which the shortened stemvowel (in originally pretonic position) before r + consonantregularly may have developed into α in AN or in late ME. The discrepancy of the initial letters G and J might then be explained from a double pronunciation of Ger-, owing to different development in NF (see Kalbow p. 139) or to the occurrence in England of OG and ON Ger- [g] by the side of OF Ger- [dz].

¹ Cf. above.

² For the members see *Gerald* and *Actard.

³ An OE equivalent is probably the moneyer's name *Gareard*, Grueber pp. 91, 95, 111.

⁴ Cf. Berenger (above).

Gerbald: Gerebald (Hunt.) Rot. Obl. p. 159 (AD 1201); Gerboldi (gen.) RC p. 131 (AD 1204); Gerbald le Eschald (Linc.) RH I pp. 299, 300 (Edw. I.); Gerbold CCR I p. 463 (AD 1257); Gerebaud (surname) RH II p. 665.

OG Gerbald, -bold¹ F 575. OE *Garbeald is not on record. The surname Gorebald RH I p. 474 might represent a ME continuation of an unrecorded OE etymon, but is more probably an error for Gerebald. Garbout (RB p. 610, AD 1211—12) and the surname Garbolde (RH I p. 447) are probably also to be looked upon as variants of Gerbold. Cf. the preceding name. On the confusion between Gerbold and Gerbod see Gerbodo.

Gerberg(i)a: Gerberg(i)a uxor RH I p. 535 (Edw. I.); (pro eadem) Gerberg CR I p. 235 (AD 1215).

OG Gerberg(i)a² F 576, OF Gerberge Kalbow p. 73. As regards the ME surname Gerberg(e) (e. g. Margaret' Gereberegh Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 537, Ric's Jerberg' RH I p. 271, Will's Gerberg', Gerberge, Gerberye, ibid. pp. 473, 525, 533), it is probably an original pl. n. as may be presumed from the instance Will' de Gerberge RH I p. 467. Cf. also Gerebure Wapentac Pipe Roll IV p. 20.

Gerbert, Girbert: Gerbertus, Gereberct, Girbertus Ellis, Intr. I p. 424, LVD pp. 6, 52, 62, 64; Gerebertus Flandrensis SCR II p. 159 (AD 1200); Gerebertus de Stok (Derb.) Fin. II p. 25; Jerebert' de Staffard Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 288 (AD 1258); Gerbert (surname) CMR II p. 61 (AD 1100-13); Gerebert (surname) RCR II p. 269 (AD 1200); Gerberd (surname) FA V p. 201 (AD 1316); Giriberd (surname) RH II p. 269 (Edw. I.); common.

OG Gerbert, Girbert³ F 576, OF Gerbert, Girbert Langlois p. 285 f. The OE equivalent Garberct occurs in LV. Gerbodo (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 323; (Comes Cistrensis)

¹ For the members see Gerald and Albod(0).

² First member as in the preceding name; for -berg(i)a see Alberia.

³ For Ger-, Gir- see Gerald; for second member see Adalbert.

Gerbodo¹ (frater Gondradæ Comitissæ) Lib. Hyde p. 296; Gerbodo RC p. 215 (AD 1215).

OG Gerbodo² F 577. The common forms Ger(e)bode, Gerbod, Gerbot (e. g. Gerbode LVD p. 56, Gerbodo (dat.) de Escaud CCR I p. 258, Gerebode (surname) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 345, Fines II p. 5; Gerbod RCR I p. 209; Gerbodi (gen., surname) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 24, Gerbot (surname) RH II p. 66) are no doubt in most cases to be explained from Gerbold, see Albod(o) above. The same interchange of -bod(e) and -bold is seen in Garbod(e) (surname) RH I pp. 446, 447 = Garbolde (surname) ibid. p. 447; see Gerbald. Cf. also Willelmus Garbot wever, FY p. 130 (AD 1420 and Johannes Garbot, armourer, ibid. p. 100 (AD 1397). Gerbrandus (Roscyldæ parochiæ Danorum gentis)³ KCD 734 (AD 1022).

OG Gerbrand⁴ F 577. No ON equivalent is on record. Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 47, Lind 312.

Gerbrun LVD p. 78.

OG Gerbrun (fem.) F 577. For the first member see Gerald; the second member is probably OHG brunnia (Goth. brunjo, OE byrne) rather than $br\bar{u}n$ 'braun'.

Gerburg (fem.) serf of Wynflæd KCD 1290 (AD 995); Gereburg (gen.) CR II p. 86 (AD 1225).

OG Gerburg (fem.) F 577. For the elements, see Gerald and *Engelburg.

Gerelmus (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 323; Gerelm Cal. Doc. pp. 23, 456 (AD 1060); Gerelmi (gen.) Ped. Fin. I p. 71 (AD 1195); Geraumes (acc.) de Castreke RLP p. 126 (AD 1215); Giralmus de Vernone CCR III p. 229 (AD 1313).

OG Ger(h)elm F 580, OF Gerelme, Geraume, Giraume Langlois p. 274. Cf. Gerald and *Anshelm.

¹ One of the Conqueror's companions, see FNC III pp. 312, 648.

² Cf. Gerald and Albod(0).

³ One of the three ecclesiastics sent by King Cnut into Denmark.

⁴ Cf. Gerald and Aeðelbrand.

Gerferð LV 478.

OG Gerfrid, -fred F 578. Cf. Gerald and Amelfrid. On the form -ferð, see Müller p. 119, Williams p. 439.

Gerin, Girin: Gerinus (Warw.), Gerinus (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 423, II p. 116; Gerinus RM II p. 396; Gerinum (acc.) de Leia Fines I p. 38; Gerin RB p. 199 = Gervasius, ibid. foot-note; Gerynny (gen.) CR I p. 161 (AD 1214); Gerin' le Lingedrap (Lond.) RH I p. 424 (Edw. I.); Geryn (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 130 (Edw. I.) Plac. p. 353; Geryng (surname) Inq. Non. p. 231, FA V p. 259 etc., where g is probably excressent; but cf. the pl. n. Geringe RH II p. 371; Girinus Wint. DB pp. 544, 545, 560.

OG Gerin F 574, OF Gerin, Jerin Langlois p. 274 f. The above instances are probably NF and to be explained with Kalbow (p. 42) < Ger-¹ + dim. in. It is, moreover, possible that Gerin may in some cases stand for Guerin (< OG Werin, see Warin).

Gerling (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 116.

Cf. Gerling Pott p. 149. The above form might be a patronymic of Gero or Gerlo (below)². But its relation to Guerlinus (see *Werlin below) is not clear.

Gerio, Jerio de Cokerington CCR III p. 262 (AD 1314).

OG Gerlo (< Gerilo) F 573, Stark p. 65, a dim. form of Gero below.

Germund: instances in Björkman, Namenk. p. 36 and Lindkvist, ME Pl. Ns p. 50. This name is theoretically either ON or OG; cf. *Germund* F 583. A continental fem. form of the same name is *Germunde* (gen.), see Björkman ibid. *Gero: Geroñ (obl.) de Anvers CR I p. 138 (AD 1213).

OG Gero (common) F 573, a hypochoristic form of some compound with Ger-, for which see Gerald. It is possible that Geron (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 323 belongs here.

¹ See Gerald.

 $^{^2}$ On the patronymic suffixes -ling and -ing see Kluge, Nom. St. § 22 ff., F 956 ff.

Gerrad de Land (Bedf.) RCR I p. 115 (AD 1194); Gerad (surname, Suss.) Inq. Non. p. 400.

Cf. OG Ger(r)ad¹ F 584. This derivation is, however, very uncertain, since the above forms may have arisen from Gerard through dissimilatory loss of the second r. Ger(r)ic, *Giric: Gerricus the leech CCR III p. 430 (AD 1320); Gerici (gen., Norf.) Rot. Fin. p. 526 (AD 1214); Gericus de Gillinge Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 68 (AD 1202); Ge-

rich (surname, Oxf.) RH II p. 47 (Edw. I.); Gyric mæssepreost AS Chr. 963 A.

OG Gerrich, Gerrik² and Gerich³ (Mod. G Gehrick, Gerich) F 573. As regards Gery Fines I p. 151, CR II p. 23, Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 68, CCR I p. 113, RH II pp. 508, 536, 561 etc., it might be ON; cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 36. OF Geri (Langlois p. 274) < OG Geric is, however, also to be taken into account. Gerri (Fines I p. 97) might be a NF form of OG Gerric; great importance cannot, however, be attached to the double consonant.

Gersent (wife of Atselinus) LVH, see Searle; Gersenda (mater Roberti) Cal. Doc. p. 142 (AD 1106).

OG Gersind(a), Gersenta⁴ (Rom.) F 584 f. Difficult to judge is the form Gersande (acc.) KCD 1290 (AD 995); the second member might be compared to *-sand* in the WF name Hersand, Ersand (11th c.), given by F 778, which perhaps belongs to *sanpa- (OE $s\bar{o}p$, ON sannr) 'wahr'. Cf. F 1297 and Meyer-Lübke p. 76. The name Carsanta Fines II p. 99 is perhaps to be derived from Provençal Garsenda

⁴ For the members see Gerald and Alsent.

¹ For the members see Gerald and Adradus.

² Cf. Gerald and Albericus.

³ A dim. form of compounds with Ger-. Gerrich and Gerich cannot always be kept distinct in OG since a simplification of the double consonant is sometimes to be noticed; cf. e. g. Gerram and Geram Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126. Gerik was also borne by Germans in Norway. See Lind 319.

(Kalbow p. 82)¹. Allowance must, however, be made for an interchange of *Ger-* and *Gar-*, for which see *Gerbald*².

Gertrud: Geretrurdis (no doubt a mistake for Geretrudis) LVD p. 53 (13th. c.); Gertruth CR I p. 48 (AD 1205).

OG Geredrudis, Geretrudis, Gertrud³ (common) F 577 f., OF Gertru Langlois p. 276. This is also a common ON name; cf. Lind 322, Lundgren p. 64. The former thinks, however, that it is from the German Saint's name. NE Gertrude [gootruud], Gertie [gooti] and Gatty have in all probability been introduced from Germany and are not continuations of ME forms, possibly come over from Normandy and France, on account of the initial [g] in contradistinction to the initial [dz] of such names as Gerald and Gerard, which are NF importations.

Geruald, see Gerald.

[Geruet (e. g. Rannulfus Geruet, Hascuill Geruet RCR I p. 287, II, p. 94 AD 1199) is probably < OW Scand. Geirviðr, O Swed. Gervidh. Cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 37.]

Gerulf: Lindkvist, ME Pl. Ns p. 50, explains Gerolfestuna, Girolfestuna from the O Dan. man's name Gerulw or O Swed. Gerulf. In my opinion it might equally well contain the common OG p. n. Gerulf, Gerolf, Girolf F 588. As regards Gerulfthorp (Lindkvist p. 50), the second member renders ON origin probable.

Gervas, Gerveys: Gervasius LVD pp. 31, 45, 47, 50, 83, 85, 104, 112, 147; Gervasius RCR I p. 269 (AD 1199); Gervasii (gen.) le Bunt RM I p. 71; Gervasius vinitor ibid. p. 438; Gervasius Painel Ann. Waverl. p. 226 (AD 1138); Gervas God (Bedf.) RCR II p. 101 (AD 1199); Gervase

¹ Cf. Garsindis F 604 and Garisindus Bruckner p. 252. C for G might be HG (cf. the form Kersint in F) but in the present case it is rather due to a confusion between c and g in ME records; cf. Luhmann p. 44. -santa < -senta is explained from the coalescence of an and en in AN.

² The pl. n. Gersindon does not contain Gersind but, according to Moorman p. 81, OE gars + ing.

³ Cf. Gerald and Erme(n)truda.

(Abbot of Westminster, son of King Stephen) FNC V p. 316; Gervasius de Clifton (Nott.) Plac. p. 612 (Edw. III.); (Hugo) Gerueises (sunu) (= Gervais de Château-Neuf) AS Chr. 1124 E, 1126 E, 1129 E; Gerveys (surname) RM I p. 121, Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 268 (AD 1257); Jervays (surname) Inq. Non. p. 222; for further instances see Bardsley p. 427 (under Jarvis).

OG Gervas(ius) (common) F 586, OF Gervais(e) Langlois p. 276. For the first member see Gerald; it is suggested by F 1547 that -was is related to wasjan 'pollere' or wasjan 'vestire'; Bruckner pp. 55, 319 thinks that it might be a gradation form of wisu- < *uesu- 'gut' or < OHG hwaz, hwas 'scharf, heftig'. The element is, however, perhaps Celtic (< *vasso-s 'Untergebener'). -vais represents the regular OF development of -vasius.

*Gervasia: Gervasie (gen.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 490 (AD 1269); Gervasie (gen.) (filie Alani de Dynant) CR II p. 103 (AD 1226).

A fem. equivalent of the preceding name. *Gerward: Gyreweard (Medesh.) BCS 1130 (AD 980).

OG Gerward F 586. On the Rom. form Gir- by the side of Ger., see Gerald¹. — Geruerd Pipe Rolls II p. 26, (Ennian fil.) Gieruerd ibid., Gerverd (son of Oen) CCR II p. 360 = Jouerd ibid. p. 363, Yerwardo (dat.) ap Griffith de Snowedon Rot. Orig. I p. 261, are Welsh; cf. Bardsley p. 834. Miss Yonge (p. 378) gives Jorwarth as the Welsh equivalent of English Edward.

*Gerwig: Gherui (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 323; Girui (DB 169) Hildebrand DB p. 354; Geroicus Cal. Doc. pp. 221, 222; Gervicius LVD p. 95 (13th c.); Gerveio (abl.) Prior. Finch. p. 4.

OG Gerwig, Gerwic, Gerwi, Girveus F 587. For the members see Gerald and *Herewig.

¹ For second member see *Beluard*. On the pl. n. Gerward(e)by by the side of *Geruezbi* see Lindkvist p. 51.

Gerwin: Geruini LV 291; Gerwin RC p. 118 (AD 1204); Gerwinus Giffard de Gaunt, tixtor, FY p. 51 (AD 1356); Roberti (gen.) Gerwyne ibid. p. 69 (AD 1371); Jerwyn (surname, Leic.) Rot. Orig. I p. 201 (Edw. II.).

OG Gerwin F 587 f. For the members see Gerald and Amalwin. O Swed. Gerwin is probably of German origin. Cf. Lundgren p. 64.

Geslinus LVD p. 55 (13th c.)¹; Gesselino (abl.) Mem. Rip. IV p. 189 = Gescelinus ibid. foot-note 1.

Geslinus might be a mistake for *Gerlinus (cf. Gerling above). It might further stand for *Gislinus (cf. Giselinus below) owing to the fact that e is sometimes written for $\bar{\imath}$ in ME texts; cf. Behrens p. 101, Luhmann p. 115. As regards *Gesselin, *Gescelin, they are rather to be associated with OG Gecelin (F 626), a dim. form of Gezo (F 625), for which see Stark p. 86. On the spellings s(s), sc for OG z see Azelin above.

Gibard, see Gif(f)ard.

Gib(b)ewin: Gaufr' Gibewin Ped. Fin. III p. 96 (AD 1198); Galfr' Gibbewin' Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 306 (AD 1236); Will' Gibbewin Rot. Fin. p. 444 (AD 1207); the pl. n. Buxegibewyn FA IV p. 176, cf. Alexander p. 55.

OG Gebawin, Gibuin, Giboin (Rom.), etc. F 636, OF Gebuïn, Giboin, Gibouïn Langlois p. 277. The first member is OHG gëba (OE gifu) 'Gabe'. Gib- is due to the influence of the palatalized g; cf. Mackel p. 105. For the second member see Amalwin. Gefuini LV (Müller p. 116) is etymologically distinct from the above forms, the first member being OE $g\bar{e}f$ (O Swed. $g\hat{a}fa$, OHG * $g\hat{a}ba$) 'Gabe'. Gibelin (Cornw.) Fines I p. 357 (John).

Cf. OG Gibilin, Gibelin F 632, Gibelin, Pott p. 135, dim. forms of Gibo below. Bardsley, who has found no ME examples of NE Giblin(g), explains this name as a dim. form of Gib < Gilbert. This explanation is no doubt correct,

¹...Reinaldus, Gaufridus, Rodbertus, Geslinus, Rogerius...
and most probably also to be applied to the above form as well as to the dim. form *Gibelot*, frequently met with in ME.

*Gib(b)o(?): Gibonis (gen.) de Hauvill CR I p. 408 (AD 1219); Gibbonem (acc.) ibid. p. 179 (AD 1214).

Cf. OG Gib(b)o F 631, a hypochoristic form of compounds with Gib- (see Gib(b)ewin above). It is not impossible, however, that the above names are derived from Gib(< Gilbert) by means of the OF suffix - on^1 , and thus are identical with NE Gibbon, occurring in ME as Gibon, Gibbon, Giboun etc., though they do not seem to appear till the 14th c.

Gibold (surname) RH II p. 568 (Edw. I.); Gyband (surname) ibid. I p. 446 probably = *Gybaud < *Gybald.

OG Giboald, Givold (Rom.), Gebald, etc. F 635 f. For the first member see Gib(b)ewin above, for the second member, Ansoldus².

Gif(f)ard: Berenger Gifard, Osbernus Giffard, Walterus Giffard, Gifart Ellis, Intr. I pp. 423, 424; Gifardus (Suff.), Gifart (Norf.) ibid. II p. 323; Gifard (bes kinges hird clerc) AS Chr. 1123 E; Willelm Gif(f)ard (Bish. of Winchester)³ ibid. 1100 E, 1103 E, 1123 E; Helias Giffard, Willelmus Giffart, Walterius Giffart, Adine Giffart, Osbertus Giffard LVD pp. 71, 81, 93; Giffardus (abbas de Waverleia) Ann. Waverl. p. 316 (AD 1234); Giffard de Gedeleston RCR I p. 167 (AD 1198); Giffardo (et Emerico et Roberto nunciis Burgensium Rupelle) CR I p. 419 (AD 1220); Gerwinus Giffard de Gaunt textor, Levekyn Giffard, frater ejus, FY p. 51 (AD 1356); Johannes Juffard Pt. Y p. 37 (AD 1379); Johannes Geoffard Duc. Lanc. p. 6; Givard (homo Herberti camerarii) MRS p. 25; etc.

OG Gifard, Givard (Rom.) F 633. Bruckner (p. 256) suggests that Gifard is < *Gidfard (OE gid 'Spruch, Lied')

¹ Cf. Rotzoll p. 48 f., Höge p. 28.

² Does Giboda Wint. DB p. 544 belong here? Cf. Albod(o). ³ Cf. FNC V p. 167.

⁸ T. Forssner

or a Frankish (or Saxon) form of OHG Kebahard. In my opinion the latter alternative is correct. Frankish (or Saxon) Gebehard has become Gevehard and with loss of the composition-joint *Gefhard¹. Similar instances of f(<b) are found in Liofgart (Leobgart), Lifward (Libward), Lifhard (Liphart), Lifmar (Lipmar) etc.² Hence the above-mentioned Rom. forms Gifard and Givard³ may reflect the interchange of f and v in *Gefhard and Gevehard above. As regards the form Givard, it might also be due to an OF development of intervocalic $b > v^4$. Hildebrand's ⁵ explanation of Gif(f)ard as 'der Confiscierer; frz. giffer, ein Haus mit Gyps zeichnen, d. h. es confiscieren' is of course not applicable to the cases where it occurs as a Christian name, and there is no reason to think that the Christian name and the surname are of different origins. The spellings Juffard and Geoffard above are probably to be set down as AN.

Gilbert, see Gislebert.

Gilo, Ghilo (frater Ansculfi) (Berks., Buck., Oxf., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 423, 424; Gilo monetarius (Ess.) RB p. 650 (AD 1154-55); Gilo de Pinkeni Rot. Canc. p. 346, etc.

OG $Gilo = Gislebertus^{6}$ Stark p. 47. This derivation of the above instances is rendered somewhat uncertain by the occurrence of a Celtic name-element Gill-, appearing in Gil(l)acris, Grueber p. 303, Gilemichel, Gilepatric, Ghilebrid, Ghilander, Ghil(e), Ghille etc. Ellis, Intr. II pp. 117, 118⁷. Bugge (Die nordeuropäischen Verkehrswege p. 275) has

³ For i < e see Gib(b)ewin.

- ⁵ DB p. 336.
- ⁶ See Gislebert below.
- ⁷ Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 48, Yonge p. 259 f.

¹ See Franck, Afr. Gr. § 78 f.

² In the same way, *Giffred* (see *Gaufrid* above) may very well be derived from an OG etymon *Gebafrid > Geffrid > Rom. *Giffred*.

⁴ The DB-forms Gibard, Gibart (Exon. DB 4, 9, 16) are < OG Gebhard with b preserved.

pointed out that in the Irish compounds with Gilla- the Vikings thought they recognized an independent name Gilla whence they came to use a p. n. Gilli (gen., dat. Gilla) in the ON settlements in Ireland whereas this never occurs as an Irish p. $n.^1$

Ginant, see *Winand.

Gisa, see Giso.

Gisbertus vigil (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 324; Gisebrit, Gysebrit, Gysebrithe de Gaunt CMR I pp. 195, 211, 212 (AD 1281, 1286); Gyesbright juynour FY p. 126 (AD 1417).

OG Gis(e)bert, Gisbrecht, etc. F 645. Gis-, for which see Ansegis, does not occur in native names; Gisshard BCS 445 is an error for Gilsheard (ibid. 536) or Gislheard (ibid. 538). For the second member see Adalbert. Gisbrikt, Gisbertus, etc. in Lind 335 are certainly German.

*Giselinus: Giselino (dat.) de Dunse Rot. Canc. p. 322.

Gislin, Gislenus F 649, Rom. dim. forms of compounds with Gisel- (see Gislebert) or Gis- (see the preceding name). Gislebert, Gilbert: Gislebertus (Linc.), Gislebertus arbalistarius (Norf.), Gislebertus cocus (Norf.), Gislebertus de Gand² (Berks., Buck., Oxf., etc.), Gislebertus Episcopus Lisiacensis³ (Glouc.), Gislebertus (filius Richerii, Surr., Norf.), Gislebertus (filius Turoldi, Som., Glouc., etc.), Gislebertus presbyter (Ess.), Gislebertus (filius Garini, Ess.), Gislebertus (frater Roberti clerici, Hants.) Gislebertus (homo episcopi Baiocensis, Ess.), Gislebertus (homo Rogerii de Busli, Nott.), Gislebertus vicecomes (Suss., Heref.), Gislebertus Tison = Gilbert Tisun (Yorks., Linc., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 424, 425, 493, II pp. 118, 324; Gysilbrycht de Gaunt (Linc.) RH I

¹ Robertus *Gyll*, peweterer, FY p. 177 (AD 1457) is probably a Fleming in which case his surname is likely to be < OG Gillo. *Giletto* (de Alemannia) Rot. Orig. II p. 114 (Edw. III.) might be an OF dim. form of the same name or of *Wilhelm*.

² "Son to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders" Ellis, Intr. I p. 422, foot-note 4.

 3 = "Gislebertus de Maminot, chaplain and one of the physicians of the Conqueror."

p. 278 (Edw. I.), probably = Gilebert' de Gaunt ibid p. 254; Gilebert (Abbot of Westminster)¹ AS Chr. 1117 E; Gilbert Uniuersal of Lundene ibid. 1130 E; Gilbertus (monachus Cluniacensis monasterii, Abbot of Gloucester) CG I pp. 18, 64, 76 etc.; Gilleberto (obl.) Franceis RM I p. 275; Gislebertus, Gil(l)ebert(us), Gillebrect LVD pp. 13, 15, 19, 39, 46, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 69, 71, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113 etc.; Gilbertus Andwerp, glover, FY p. 77 (AD 1379); Willelmus Gylbard (Suss.) FA V p. 150 (AD 1428); cf. Bardsley p. 316.

OG Gisilbert, Gislebert, Gillebert, Gilbert F 638, 650 f., OF Gislebert, Gill)ebert Langlois p. 270. Gisil- is probably OHG gîsal (OE gisel) 'Geisel'; see also Bruckner p. 90. In the present compound it does not occur in England till DB Gil(l)e- is from Gisle- through assimilation of sl > ll, see Menger p. 103, or is merely a hypochoristic form. It is possible that Gil- may sometimes be kept distinct from Gisiland be explained with Bruckner (p. 256) as a gradation form of Gail- (see Gail(l)ard). Gille)bert might at last sometimes be < OG Wil(li)bert with NF G(u) for W; cf. Guilbert (surname) CCR I p. 341 (AD 1249). Whether, or how far, Celtic Gill- has had any influence on the above forms cannot be determined. The oldest form in England is Gislebert, and it is not impossible that the younger form Gil(le)bert may to some extent be due to the influence of Celtic Ghilebrid (= Gillabrid 'the servant of Brigitta') and other compounds with the same element, which are sometimes not easily kept distinct from continental names. Cf. e. g. Gillemare LVD p. 70, which probably is < Celtic Gilmory ('the servant of Mary') but which might be taken to represent OG Gilemar. For the second member see Adalbert. Gislefred mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 118.

OG Gisilfred, Gislefred etc. F 652. For the members see

¹ Cf. FNC III p. 33.

Gislebert and Erlefred. Cf. further Grueber, Intr. p. 43 and Bugge, Vesterl. Indfl. p. 276.

Gislehelm mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 142.

OG Giselhelm etc. F 654. For the members see Gislebert and *Anshelm. No other instance of this name is on record in OE.

Gislemer mon. (Aethelstan, Eadred), Grueber pp. 117, 149.

OG Gislemar¹ F 654, Waltemath p. 23. No other instance on record in OE. Cf. Köpke p. 24. If native, the first member of this name, as well as of the two preceding ones, would be Gisl- instead of Gisle-.

Giso, Gisa, Gyso, Gyse, Gise episcopus KCD 809, 811, 813, 816, 821, 822, 824, 825, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 897, 917, 918, 976 (AD 1060-66); Gisa preost AS Chr. 1060 D, 1061 E; Giso episcopus (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 118, 325; all these instances refer to Giso, Bish. of Wells, a Lotharingian. Cf. Flor. Wig. AD 1060 and FNC II p. 449.

OG Giso F 644, a hypochoristic form of compounds with Gis- (cf. Stark p. 16), for which see Gisbertus.

*Gisulf: Gysolf (surname), (Ess.) RH I p. 162 (Edw. I.).

OG Gisulf, Gisolf (very common) F 646. For the members see Gisbertus and Aginulfus.

Givard, see Gif(f)ard.

*Gobert, see Godebert.

Gocelin, see Gozelin.

Gocemar, see *Gosmer.

Gocin, see Gosinus.

*Godbrand: Gilberti (gen.) Godbran Rot. Orig. I p. 203 (Edw. II.).

Probably < ON *Guðbrandr* (Lind 368, Lundgren 73, Nielsen p. 35) rather than from the rare OG *Gotbrand* F 679. On *Godebrand* in King Horn see Binz p. 215^{2} .

Godebert Flandr de Ros MRS p. 137; Godebert (Ess.) RB

¹ For the members see Gislebert and Ainmer.

² His identification of this name with OE $*Gu\delta brand$ is incorrect.

p. 355 (AD 1166); (Lambert filius) Rogeri Godeberd (Leic.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 283 (AD 1258); (Robertus filius) Goberti Ellis, Intr. I p. 478.

OG Godebert, Gobert F 678. The first member is either OHG guot (OE $g\bar{o}d$) 'gut' or OHG got (OE $g\bar{o}d$, ON gud) 'Gott', which elements in many cases cannot be kept distinct. Gobert < God(e)bert is due to the OF loss of the dental before the following labial. In the Northern French dialects Gobert may also be from Gaudbert, according to Kalbow p. 45. For the second member see Adalbert. The moneyer's name Godbriht (Will. I.) quoted by Searle from Ruding, is, if correct, probably also of continental origin, since there are no other instances of this name on record in OE. The form is, however, uncertain; it is perhaps identical with the moneyer's name Godsbriht (Will. I.) which might stand for OG Gozbert (see Gosbert below).

Godeboldus (et Odo Franci duo, Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 317; Godebold(us) (Berks., Shrops., etc.), Godeboldus presbyter (Shrops.), Godbold (Buck.), Godeboldus (Som., Dev.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 425, II pp. 317, 326; Gotbaldus, Gotboldus Exon. DB 60, 63; Gobaut (surname, Warw.) FA V p. 176 (AD 1316); Godebot CCR I p. 195 (AD 1235).

OG God(e)bald, Godebold, etc. F 677. For the members see Godebert and Albod(o). No instances earlier than DB are found in England. Bardsley (p. 321 f.) explains the ME surname Gobet < Godbold. If it really is an original Christian name, it will more naturally be derived from Gobert (see Godebert above) or be explained as an OF dim. form of Gobert (or Gobald), just as OF Gobin is no doubt <Gob-(ert) + in. To judge by the exclusively surname function of ME Gobet, one might think, however, that it is an original appellative, viz. ME gobet 'a small piece' < OF gobet'a morsel of food'.

Godebot, see the preceding name.

God(e)frid: Godeferð, Godefreð, Godefrið, Godefryð mon. (Eadwig, Aethelred II, Cnut) Grueber pp. 161, 199, 275, Hildebrand pp. 41, 80, 241; Godefrið (abbot of Evesh.) Thorpe p. 617; Godefridus scutularius (Dors.), Godefridus (Kent, Suss., Surr., etc.), Godefridus clericus (Suss.), Godefridus dapifer (Kent), Godefridus miles (Dors.), Godefridus (et Eurardus, Ess.), Godefridus (homo Abbatis S. Petri de Burg, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 426, II p. 326; Godefreið of Baðe¹ AS Chr. 1123 E, 1130 E; Godefridum (acc.) Cistrensi æcclesiæ antistitem AS Chr. I p. 290; Godefrid, Godefred, Godefreid LVD pp. 8, 18, 39, 53, 55, 59, 62, 63, 68, 78, 85, 86, 89, 95, 96, 100, 109, 113; Godefrid de Brabant (Linc.) Ing. Non. p. 278; Godefridus Baiard (North.) RB p. 32 (AD 1161-62); Godefridus de Cambrei Chr. Petr. p. 181; Godfridus de Ulenbergh, webster, FY p. 65 (AD 1367); Godfridus Overscote (mercator de Braban) ibid. p. 70 (AD 1372), Godfridus van Uppestall, webster, ibid. p. 75 (AD 1376); Godefrey (surname) e. g. RH I p. 511 (Edw. I.); Goffridus LVD p. 137, Exon. DB 75, 83, 162, 359, 393, 395, 400 etc. For further instances see Bardsley p. 322².

OG God(e)frid, -fred (Mod. G Gottfried) F 679 f., OF Gode-froi(s) Langlois p. 289 f. For the members see Godebert and Amelfridus. For Goffrid and instances of confusion between Godfrid and Gaufrid, see the latter name. On -freið see Gaufrid. Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 53.

Godehar, *Gothar: Hugonis (gen.) Godehar (Norf.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 560 (AD 1272); Gothar (gen.) Rot. Fin. p. 305 (AD 1205).

OG Godehar, Gothar (Rom.), Mod. G Gotter F 680 f., OF Gohier Langlois p. 290. For the members see Godebert and Aedelhere. It cannot be determined whether Goder(e) mon. (Aethelred II., Cnut, Edw. the Conf.) Grueber pp. 224, 245, 284, 410, Godere (dat.) KCD 967 (Aelfhelm),

¹ 'he wæs boren of Luuein.'

² Godefricus de Lucy LVD p. 50 is no doubt to be read Godefridus. Goffe (surname) RH II p. 548, etc., is explained by Bardsley (p. 324) as a Welsh nickname, but might also be a nickname for Goffrid.

Godere, Goderus Ellis, Intr. II p. 120 are native or not. Their late appearance, however, renders it probable that they are of foreign origin.

*Godehard: Godardus (homo Gozelini filici Lanberti, Linc.), Godartus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 326; Godard de Boyvill ESC p. 406; Goddard (surname, London) RH I p. 424; further instances are given by Bardsley p. 322.

OG Gotahard, Godhard (Mod. G. Godehard, Gotthard) F. 680, OF Godard Kalbow p. 130. For the member see Godebert and *Actard. This name does not occur in England earlier than DB. Cf. further Yonge p. 287.

*Godehild: Gotil(d) (Essex) Ellis, Intr. II p. 131; Godeheuld' uxor CCR III p. 93 (AD 1307). Cf. also Godhild, mother of King Horn.

OG Godahild, Godehildis, Gothildis F 681. For the members see Godebert and *Ainild. It is most probable that Godehold de Moiun (Cant.) Abbr. Plac. p. 60 (John), Godeholt (uxor Eustac' de Burnes) ibid. p. 28 are from the same OG etymon, the second member representing the OF development of il > el > al > ol, for which see *Iseldis* below. *Godehold, see preceding name.

Godelena Abbr. Plac. p. 309; Godelena de Romfeld Inq. Non p. 402 (Edw. II.); Godelena Cust. p. 42 (Edw. I.).

The fem. equivalent of Godelenus, Godelin F 660, Rom. dim. forms of God-, see Godebert.

Godelent (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 120.

OG Godalindis, Godelint, Godelendis F 682, Gotelind (in Niebelungenlied). For the first member see Godebert; the second member is either OHG linta (OE lind)¹ 'Linde' or OHG lind, lint 'Schlange'. The latter element might occur in Hildelid² (OET p. 515).

Godesbolt, see Gosbald.

Godesbrand mon. (Edw. the Conf., Harold II.) Grueber pp. 426, 460; Godesbrand LVH, quoted from Searle; Walter

¹ Not used as a second member in OE p. ns.

² Or is -lid < OE lide (OHG lindi) 'mild, freundlich'?

Godisbrond (Hunt.) RH II p. 592 (Edw. I.); Godesbrandus, Godesbranus Wint. DB pp. 535, 541, Godesbranesson ibid. p. 533.

No OG equivalent seems to be on record, but the above forms are no doubt continental. *Godes*- is the gen. case of *God*- 'Gott' and a characteristic of OG personal nomenclature; cf. F 688 f., Socin p. 210 f., Gröger p. 239¹. For the second member see *Aedelbrand*.

Godesman: Godesmanî (fil. Wigot) Rot. Fin. p. 526 (AD 1214); Godesman le Pelter, Godesman Polle, Godesman Daunt, Godesman le Roper, Godesman (son of Richard), Godesman Gillot CCR III pp. 123, 124 (AD 1308).

OG Godasman, Godesman (Mod. G Gottsmann, Gotzmann) F 688. For the first member see the preceding name. The second member is OHG man (OE man, mon) 'Mann'. Godes(s)a (Kent, Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 120.

A fem. equivalent of OG Godizo, Godiza, Godezo F 661, dim. forms of God-, for which cf. Godebert. The form of the suffix of the above name is probably due to the influence of OF -esse < Latin -issa. The usual OF form of OG -iz(z)a is -isse.

Godesscalc sacerdos, minister BCS 680, 681 (AD 931); Godescallus (abbas Abbunduniæ) Hist. Ab. I p. 68 (c. AD 940); Godescalco (abl.) presbytero KCD 957 (AD 931); Godescal (Wilts., Som.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 426, II p. 327; Godescalle (dat.), Godescallus Hist. Ab. I pp. 64, 92, 277 (cf. above); Godescallus CRC p. 21 (John); Godescallo (dat.) servienti RC p. 147 (AD 1205); Godescalli (gen.) de Hamburg CR I p. 607 (AD 1224); Godescalk (Goldescalk) mercator Hist. Pap. p. 328; Godescalk (surname), RH II p. 808 (Edw. I.); Godescall de Magheliñ (Godescallo (abl.) de Macheliñ) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 124 (AD 1224-26); Godescalli (gen.)

¹ To be kept distinct from the OG p. ns, compounded with Godes-, are such ME surnames as Godeshalve, Goduspart, Goddesknygt, Godespeny, etc. Flandrenš (Ipswich), CR II p. 214 (AD 1227); Godesckalke de Estlaund (Linc.) RH I p. 402; Goddescalcus de Smithhusen FY p. 44 (AD 1350); Godeskalk Scudic, de Almann., furbur, ibid. p. 44 (AD 1350).

OG Godasscalc, Godescalcus, Godscalc, etc. (Mod. G Gottschalk) F 668 f., OF Godescal Langlois p. 290. For the first member see Godesbrand. The forms with a single smay also contain God- 'Gott'¹. The second member is OHG scale (OE sceale) 'Knecht', which element is absent from native names. The present English Gottschalck is a Mod. G immigrant surname; cf. Bardsley p. 331.

Godin mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 149; Godinus de Doneston' Plac. p. 417 (Edw. I.), Godin' (Cant.) Abbr. Plac. p. 148; Gileberti (gen.) Godin ibid. p. 13, etc.

Cf. Godin (Rom.) F 660 f., OF Godin Langlois p. 290, a dim. derivative from God-, see Godebert. It is impossible to determine to what extent the above forms are to be derived from native Godwine; cf. Archiv 123 p. 33. — A fem. form of the same name is Godina RH II p. 831, Abbr. Plac. p. 38, etc. Godiuel LVD p. 61 is certainly an error for Godinel < Godin + OF -el. Cf. also the OF dim. form Godinot Bardsley p. 322.

Godland LVD p. 79 (12th or 13th c.).

OG Godland, Gotland F 682. For the members see Godebert and Amerland. When Godland occurs as a surname (e. g. Hugo Godlond, RH II p. 783, Robertus Godland, Giff. Reg. p. 260) it is probably of local origin; cf. de Godeland Rot. Fin. p. 326 (AD 1205).

Godman, Godeman, Godaman mon. (Aethelred II., Cnut, Edw. the Conf.) Grueber pp. 210, 211, 212, 224, 227, 229, 238, 240, 260, 264, 268, 282, 286, 289, 299, 380, 410, 434,

 $^{^1}$ Cf. F 688: "Häufiger aber werden in den Quellen nur ein einfaches s geschrieben, zum Teil mit Recht (in eigentlicher Composition), zum Teil gewiss nur ungenau statt des doppelten Spiranten."

439, 446, 447; Godeman (abbot) KCD 684 (AD 993); Godemannus abbas ibid. 710, 1317 (AD 1004, 1012); Godman preost ibid. 1324 (AD 1046); Godman (chaplain of King Edw. the Conf.) Flor. Wig. (AD 1053); Godman (Hants., Som., etc.), Godman teinnus (Suff.), Godmannus liber homo (Ess.), Godemanus (Suff.), etc. Ellis, Intr. II pp. 120, 121, 327; God(e)man (surname), common in ME.

Cf. OG Guotman, Godeman, Gotman, etc. F 662, 683. For the members see Godebert and Godesman. It is probable that this name was introduced from the continent, since it is of late appearance in England, as is to be seen from the above instances. It seems, however, soon to have become naturalized. On the form Godman see Björkman, Pers. p. 48.

Godsalm, see *Goscelm.

Godsbriht, see Gosbert.

Godselm, see *Goscelm.

*Godsold, see Gosewold.

Goffrid, see God(e)frid.

Gogewinus LVD p. 99 (13th c.).

Is the first member to be compared to OG Gog- in Gogo, Cogipald, etc. (F 690), which Bruckner (p. 82 f.) associates with MHG gogel 'ausgelassen, lustig'? Cf. however Gogan (homo Edeue, Cambr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 129 which rather contains Celtic Gog- (see Holder 2031). The form Gogewinus is after all rather a mistake for Godewinus.

Goisbert, see Gosbert.

Gos, see Gozo.

Gosberia LVD pp. 60, 69 (13th c.).

OG Gausberga (Rom.), Gozpirc, etc. F 614; cf. also Gautberga ibid. Goz- is < Gaut- (see Aingot above and Franck, Afr. Gr. § 32, 3). Gaus-, however, is as a rule not to be derived from Gaut-, as F assumes, but is related to ON gjósa and geysi- 'exceedingly, greatly' according to Bruckner p. 254, Meyer-Lübke p. 31. It cannot be determined whether the etymon of Gosberia is Gos- or Goz-, since z is sometimes written s, cf. Azelin. For the second member see Alberia.

Gosbert, Goisbert, etc.: Gosebricht BCS 1008 (AD 940), Godsbriht mon. (Will. I.) quoted from Searle; Hugo Gosbert (Dors.), Gosbertus (Glouc., Suff.), Goisbertus (Dev., Oxf., Staff.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 428, II pp. 329, 330; Goisbert' dapifer MRS p. 106; Josbertus (prior de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 457 (AD 1228); Josberti (gen.) de Capella CR I p. 126 (AD 1212); Henr' Josebard (Buck.) Inq. Non. p. 333; the pl. n. Gozeberdecherca, Gosebertechirche¹.

OG Gausbert, Gosbert, Gautbert, Gauzbert, Gosbert, Josbert (Rom.), etc. F 614 f. For the first members and the difficulty of keeping them distinct, see the preceding name. In Godsbriht, if the form be correct, ds is used to denote z, as e. g. in Godselinus by the side of Gozelinus. Gois-, also occurring in continental records, cannot be explained from Gaus- or Gaut-; the etymon will have been Rom. Gautiobert (F ibid.) or *Gausiobert (cf. Gauciobert and Causipert in F) which regularly become OF Gois-, Joisbert². Gautio- and *Gausio- are due to a confusion between Gaut-, Gaud- (WF) and Gaus- and Latin gaudium 'joy'; cf. also the Rom. form Gaudibert F ibid. The form Gaus- (found in Gausbert, "second Abbot of Battle, formerly monk of Marmoutier" FNC IV p. 406; Gausbertus Exon. DB 19, 379, Hugo Gausbertus ibid. 21, 22, 25) is probably an archaic spelling (au became \bar{o} in OG and OF as early as the 8th cent.) but might also be explained as Provençal, where au has been preserved. For the second member see Adalbert.

Gosbold (Linc.) R II p. 64 (Rich. I.).

OG Gausbald, -bold, Gozbald etc. F 613 f. For the members see Gosberia and Albod(o).

¹ See Zachrisson AN Infl. p. 54, note, who derives this pl. n. from OE Gosbeorht, a form constructed by Searle. Gos- is not a native name-element; cf. also Gozo below.

² With regular OF fronting of g before a(u).

Goscelin, see Gozelin.

*Goscelm: Goscelmus (Dev., Cornw.), Goscelmus loremarius (Ess.), Goscelmus cocus (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 428, II p. 300.

Cf. OG Gozhelm, Gozelm, Gauselm, etc. F 617 f., OF Jociaume, Josselme, etc. Langlois p. 377. For the members see Gosberia and *Anshelm. The above forms are not certain, since confusion of -elm with -elin is very common. Indeed, Goscelmus lorimarius appears as Goscelinus lorimarius Ellis, Intr. II p. 330. Cf. also Searle, Intr. p. 30, who states that Gocelinus and Gocelm occur as the name of a moneyer of Henry II. The name Godselm LVD p. 70 might be = Gozelm or < OG Godeshelm (cf. Coteshelm¹ F 688) but is more likely = Gozelin (see below). In the same way, the name Godsalm (Rot. Orig. II p. 63, CCR II pp. 385, 386, 406, etc.) probably does not contain as a second member OG -halm (see Schatz, Abair. Gr. § 4) or OF -alm < -helm (cf. Josialme Langlois p. 377) but is = *Godsalin (see Gozelin).

*Goselina, see *Gozelina.

Goseling, see Gozelin.

Gosewold, etc.: Rogero (dat.) Gosewolde Rot. Orig. II p. 327 (Edw. III.); Godsoldo (abl.) RB p. 190 (AD 1166); Gossolt (surname) Cust. p. 115 (Edw. I.).

OG Gozold, Gosald (< Gauzolt, Gausald) F 620. For the members see Gosbert and Ansoldus.

Gosfrid, Goisfrid: Gosfridus, Gosfredus Exon. DB 62, 123, 164, 165, 166, 323; Gosfridus episcopus ibid. 7, 14, 16, 63, etc.; Goisfridus (Wilts., Oxf.), Goisfridus (camerarius filiæ Regis, Hants.), Goisfridus episcopus (Hunt., Linc.), cf. above; Goisfridus marescal (Wilts.), Goisfridus (homo Gisleberti de Gand, Rotel.), Goisfridus Lawirce² (Yorks.), Gosfridus (Norf., Suff.), Goisfridus quidam (Rutl.), Goisfridus canonicus (Suss.), Goisfridus dericus (Suss.), Goisfridus (filius Hamonis, Suff.),

¹ For the members see Godesbrand and *Anshelm.

 $^{^2}$ = Goisfridus de Wirce Ellis, Intr. I p. 514.

Goisfridus (Kent), Goisfridus (homo Normanni de Adreei, Linc.), Goisfridus (homo Hugonis, Yorks.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 427, 428, 443, II pp. 130, 329, 330, 331; Gosfrid(us) LVD pp. 14, 15, 18, 44, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 67, 145; Gosfridus Chr. Petr. p. 169; Goisfridi (gen.) capellani, Goisfredum (acc.) dapiferum Hist. Ab. II pp. 53, 98, 193; Gosfrei Bainard AS Chr. 1096 E; Goisfri 'munuc on Ealdan mynstra' ibid. 1114 H; Gosfrið Bish. (see above) ibid. 1087 E; Gosfreið Martæl 'þes eorles sunu of Angeow' 1 ibid. 1127 E; Iosfred, Josfreid, Josfreið ² LVD pp. 6, 52, 69; Gausfridus, Gaosfridus Bainard (cf. Gosfrei Bainard above) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 292, 322; Gausfridus LVD p. 51.

OG Gosfrid, Josfrid (Rom.) and Gozfrid (< Gausfrid, Gauzfrid, Gautfrid) F 616. For the members see Gosberia and Amelfrid; for -freið see Gaufrid. The confusion of Gosfrid with Gaufrid (see this name) may be a mere error, but is on the other hand easily explained from the possible coalescence of Gaufrid and Gautfrid, which latter name has also given rise to Gauzfrid > Gozfrid > Gosfrid. Gosfrid and its variants have not left any traces in modern English personal nomenclature, but have probably been levelled under Geoffrey (see Gaufridus).

*Goshard(?): Fulco Goscard (Bedf.) FA I p. 15 (AD 1302-3).

Cf. OG Gozhart, Gozard F 617. For the members see Gosberia and *Actard. sc is probably to be explained by analogy with such spellings as Goscelm, Goscelin, etc.

Gosinus (worker of wools, coming from Seland) CPR VI p. 431 (AD 1337); Godscein (Middlesex) RCR I p. 218 (AD 1198); Gocin' le Draper (Oxon.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 23 (AD 1218—19).

OG Gausin and Gautsinus F 613, dim. forms of the

 $^{^{1}}$ = Geoffrey V of Anjou, married to Matilda, daughter of Henry I.

² The same name is Geosfræi KCD 1351.

name-stems Gaus- and Gauz-, see Gosberia. In Godscein ei perhaps denotes \overline{i} ; cf Alweis.

*Gosmer, Goismer, etc.: Goismerus (Ess.), Goismerus (Glouc., Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 428, II p. 330; Gosmerus LVD p. 6 (12th c.); Gocemar RC p. 32 (AD 1225).

OG Gausmar, Josmar (Rom.), Gauzmar, Gosmar (very common) F 619. For the members see Gosberia and Ainmer.

*Gosram: Joceramus de Buscaria CPR I p. 498 (AD 1292); Robertus Joceram (Staff.) RB p. 263 (AD 1166).

OHG Cozram, etc. F 618, OF Joceran(t), Joserant, etc. Langlois p. 376 f. For the members see Gosberia and Bertram.

Gossolt, see Gosewald.

Goswin, Goswin' de Egremont, Goswin frater ejus (Gunter) RC p. 221 (AD 1216); Goswiñ CR I p. 125 (AD 1212); Ricardus Goswyn (Cornw.) FA I p. 221 (AD 1428).

OG Goswin, Gozwin (very common) < Gauswin, Gauzwin F 620 f., OF Gossuïn Kalbow p. 137. For the members see Gosberia and Amalwin.

Gotheram (surname, Linc.) Rot. Orig. I p. 123 (Edw. I.); Gudramius CCR III p. 245 (AD 1314).

OG Godaramnus, Goderamus, Gotehramnus, Goteramnus, etc. F 681 f., OF Goderans Langlois p. 290. For the members see God(e)bert and Bertram. — OF forms of the same OG etymon are probably Gorante (surname, Buck.) RCR II p. 42 (AD 1199) and (Herbertus filius) Gurant RB p. 271 (AD 1166) < OF Gorrant (Langlois p. 295) < Godrammus with assimilation of $dr > rr^1$. The u of Gurant will be AN; cf. Menger p. 79.

Gotsalin, Gotselin, see Gozelin.

Gozel (homo Radulfi, Nott.), Gozel (homo Ivonis Taillgebosc, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 331.

¹ Cf. Kalbow p. 79.

Cf. OG Gozelo (< Gauzilo)¹, Mod. G Gotsel, Götzel F 612, OF Jocel Langlois p. 375. But it is possible that Gozel is = $Goze\tilde{l} = Gozelin$; cf. Hildebrand DB p. 324, foot-note 1. -- NE Goslet is < Gozel + NF -et. Guzlot (surname, Kent) RH II p. 547 is probably < Gozel + ot.

Gozelin, Goscelin, Goselin, etc.: Gotsalin mon. (Cnut) Hildebrand p. 230; Gozelinus (Linc.), Gozelinus (filius Azor, Hants.), Gozelinus Brito (Buck.), Gozelinus (filius Lamberti, Linc.), Gozelinus (homo Hugonis Comitis, Rutl.), Gozelinus Riueire (Wilts.), Godzelinus (Som.), Goscelinus (homo Comitis de Moritonio, Suff.), Goscelinus lorimarius (Ess.), Goselinus (Norf.), Goslinus (Warw.), Gozelinus (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Linc.), Gozelinus (homo Aluredi de Lincole, Linc.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 428 f., 478, II pp. 131, 329, 330, 331; Gotselin' canonic' Exon. DB p. 61; Godselinus ibid. p. 16; Gozelinus, Goscelin(us), Gocelinus, Godselinus, Goslinus, Joselin(us), Jos(e)lin LVD pp. 14, 44, 45, 46, 51, 52, 57, 61, 69, 83. 101, 106; Gotscelinus ibid. p. 139 (Obit.); Goscelinus, Godcelinus, Joselinus Hist. Ab. II pp. 23, 93, 169, 200, 231; Goscelinus clericus Chr. Petr. p. 82; Goscelin KC p. 28; Gotscelino (obl.) de Ely MRS p. 51; Goscelini (gen.) Daynill Rot. Orig. II p. 283 (Edw. III.) = Gosteleni (gen.) Danyell ibid. p. 268; Gotselenus Exon. DB 90; Goscelyn, Gosselene (surname) FA I pp. 150, 170 (AD 1302, 46); Goseling' (surname) Plac. p. 607 (Edw. I.); Goslyng (surname) CG III p. 246; Joscelinus Flandrens RLP p. 179 (AD 1216); Jocelinus Troteman (episcopus Bathoniensis) Ann. Marg. p. 28 (AD 1204); Joselinus Exon. DB p. 289; Iotsel Ped. Fin. I p. 4 (AD 1190); Goislen (Oxf., Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 330; Goislin (London) MRS p. 53; Goislin dapifer ibid. p. 109; Gauselinus (Cardinal ecclesie de Sallowe) Plac. pp. 144, 150 (Edw. I.); Gaucelinum² (acc.)

¹ Or a hypochoristic dim. form of compounds with God-; cf. Gozelo = Godefridus Stark p. 92.

² Conveys a papal bull to Archb. Greenfield.

Hist. Pap. p. 266 (AD 1317); cf. further Bardsley pp. 330, 435.

OG Gautselin, Gauzlin, Goz(e)lin, Goscelin, Jocelin (Rom.), Gauslin, Gauslenus, Joslenus F 612 f., OF Goscelin, Gosselin, Jocelin, Joscelin, Joselin, etc. Langlois pp. 295, 375; Low Frankish instances in Heinzel p. 19. These are as a rule dim. forms of compounds with Gos- and Goz- for which see Gosberia. Cf. also Goscelinus = Gaufridus Stark p. 61. — Goislan (e. g. Goislan homo episcopi Dunelmensis, Goislan homo episcopi Lincoliensis, Ellis, Intr. II p. 330) might be due to a substitution of the Latin suff. -anus for -enus (Rom. form of -inus); cf. Goislen, Gotselenus and Mowat p. 313. *Gozelina. Goseline (gen.) RH II p. 451 (Edw. I.); Goselena Bardsley p. 312 (the same name?).

Cf Joscelina (Rom.) F. 613. See the preceding name. *Gozer: (Hugo) Gozeri (filius) Ellis, Intr. I p. 437; Godzer (surname, Wilts.) Inq. Non p. 175.

OG Gozheri (also entering into the pl. n. Gozherestat) < Gautzer, Gauzer (< Gauter) F 617. For the members see Gosberia and Aedelhere.

Gozo, Goz(e), Gos, Goce, Joce, etc.: Gozo LVD p. 52 (13th. c.); Gozonis (gen.) RC p. 112 (AD 1203); Gotso dapifer MRS p. 73; Godso (surname, Kent) RH II p. 385 (Edw. I.); Goze (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 331; Gotze Hist. Ab. II p. 96 (AD 1100-35); Gotsce MRS pp. 148, 149; Gotse (dat.) dapifero CG III p. 256; Gilbert Goze (Bedf.) RH II p. 327 (Edw. I.); Gosce CR II p. 127 (AD 1226); Goce de Baiocis (Wilts.) Test. Nev. p. 143; Goce KC p. 145; Goceus Test. Nev. p. 297; Gocius (Joceum, acc.) de Catebi Ann. Dunst. pp. 155, 172 (AD 1240, 47); Gosse (Linc.) Ped. Fin. II p. 117 (AD 1197); Galfridus Gosse CMR I p. 314 (AD 1251); Joce (North.) RCR II p. 101 (AD 1199), Ricardus Joce Chr. Petr. p. 112; Joceus monachus (Surr.) ibid. p. 135 (AD 1199); Jocei (gen.) de Dinant Rot. Obl. p. 38 (AD 1199); Joscium (acc.) le Espicer CR II p. 45 (AD 1225); Walterus Gotts (Linc). Inq. Non. p. 278; 9 T. Forssner

Turstin Goz, Richard Goiz Cal. Doc. pp. 158, 529; Gos (Hunt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 130.

OG Goz(z)o, Gotso, Jozo, Gauz, Gauso, etc. (F 611), OF Joce, Josce, Gosse Langlois pp. 295, 375, in most cases hypochoristic forms of compounds with Goz- (see Gosberia) or God- (see God(e)bert)¹. Goze, Goce, Gosse (Joce, Latinized Joceus) are NF forms with analogical e; Goz, Gos² are either < OG Gauz, Gaus or < Gozo with OF apocopation of the final o. When Gos appears as a surnáme³, it may also be ME $g\bar{o}s$ 'goose', used as a nickname⁴.

A fem. equivalent of *Joceus* is found in *Jocea* RCR II p. 16 (AD 1199), *Jocea* soror ibid. p. 42, *Josciam* (acc.) uxorem Ped. Fin Ebor. p. 154 (AD 1209).

Grimbald: Grimbaldus, (Grymbaldus) sacerdos BCS 555, 571 (AD 885, 895); Grimbald mæsse preost AS Chr. 903 A; Sče Grimbaldes mæssedæg ibid. 1075 D⁵; Grimbaldus

¹ The forms Jozo, Joce, etc., however, must be derived < Gauzo, since g before au, not before o, was fronted in OF.

² A p. n. $G\bar{o}sa$ is suggested by Searle as constituting the first member of the pl. n. (of) Gosanwelle BCS 754 (AD 940), and after him it has been given as an OE p. n. in several works on English pl. ns. If the pl. n. under notice really contains a p. n., as indeed it seems to do, this can not be native, since such a name would be impossible from the point of view of the sense and, moreover, does not appear till the 10th cent. It seems most probable that it is < OG Gauso (cf. Kalbow p. 53, F 611) with OG or OF monophthongization of au > o. In Gosdæne BCS 594 (AD 901) the first member is to be explained with Middendorff (p. 60) as OE $g\bar{o}s$ 'goose'.

³ E. g. Robert Gos RCR II p. 45 (AD 1199); cf. Isabel le Gous, Richard le Gos, etc.

⁴ The Jew's name Joceus (CR I p. 272), Gotsce (MRS pp. 148, 149) might be the Scriptural name Joshua (Josiah; cf. also Manasser fil. Jossy RH II p. 282), influenced by NF Goze, Joce.

⁵ All these instances refer to *Grimbald* "monk of St. Bertin's in Flanders, whom Alfred brought over to assist him in the task of raising the condition of learning in England". Cf. Earle-Plummer II p. 122. LVD p. 32; Grimbaldus abbas¹, Grimbaldus medicus². Hist. Ab. II pp. 50, 52, 62 etc.; Grimbaldus (Berks.), Grimbaldus aurifaber 3 (Wilts.), Grimbald (homo Bisi, Buck.), Grimbaldus (Linc.), Grimbaldus (homo Eddeuæ, Cambr.), Grimbaldus (homo Regis E., Bedf.), Grimboldus (Linc.) Grimbaldus (North., Leic.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 430, II pp. 132, 332; Grimbaldus, -boldus Exon. DB pp. 7, 11, 14, 17; Grimbald of Plessis (a Norman) FNC II pp. 247, 268; Grimbald' (gen.) Rot. Fin. p. 536 (AD 1214); Grimbaldum (acc.) Pauncefot (Dev.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 574 (AD 1272) = Grumbaldi (gen.) Pauncefot Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 326; Grimbald the knight CCR II p. 442 (AD 1294); Roberti Grimbald (Ess.) Pipe Roll I pp. 4, 9; Grymbald (surname, Cumberl.) Hist. Pap. p. 407 (AD 1349); Grimbaud ESC p. 51 (AD 1124-30), CMR I p. 440 (AD 1244) = Grumbaud ibid. II p. 12.; Grymbaud (surname) Chr. Petr. p. 143; Grimboll (surname) RH II p. 168, etc.; the pl. n. Grimboldes essa ('Grimbold's Ash³) AC p. 81 (AD 1183)⁴.

OG Grimbald, Grimbold, etc. F 670. The first member (ON and OE grīma 'Helm') does not occur in native p. ns. but is suggestive of OG or ON origin; cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 50. For the second member see Albod(o). Cf. further Bardsley pp. 338, 342 (under Gribble and Gumboil) and Grimwald below⁵.

Grimbert, Grimber (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 132; Grymbard (surname) Pt. Y. p. 5.

³ Cf. FNC IV p. 85.

⁴ In this connection I take the opportunity of pointing out that *Grunulfus* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 133 is not = **Grunwulf*, as Searle suggests, but an error for *Grimolfus* (ibid. p. 132), for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 52.

⁵ The u of *Grumbald* is to be explained as AN; cf. Stimming p. 186.

¹ Cf. Hist. Ab. II p. 50: ". . . primus abbas Faritius, secundus *Grimbaldus*, uterque gentis et linguæ unius . . ." Faritius was a Tuscan of Arezzo.

² Probably the same person.

OG Grimbert ('öfters') F 670 f. For the members see Grimbald and Adalbert; for -bard see Isenbard. No ON equivalent occurs; cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 51.

*Grimmund: Grimmundo (abl.) abbate Wincelcumbe Hist. Ab. II p. 105.

OG Grimund (= *Grim-mund) F 672, OF Grimon(d) Mackel p. 148^{1} . For the members see Grimbald and Claremunda.

Grimwald mon. (Eadw. the Elder, Aethelstan, Eadmund) Grueber pp. 91, 95, 102, 123; Grimold Inq. Eliens p. 520.

OG Grimwald, Grimald, etc. (common) F 672 f. For the members see Grimbald and Ansoldus. A confusion of Grimbald with Grimwald has taken place in some cases: Grimoudi (gen.) de Plasseiz RB p. 645 (AD 1133) = Grimbald of Plessis (see Grimbald); Grimbaldus medicus (above) appears as Grimaldus medicus Cal. Doc. p. 287; Willielmo Grimbaldo ibid. p. 337 = Guillielmo Grimaud ibid. p. 284. For the pl. n. Grimoldby see Bardsley p. 339 and Björkman, Pers. p. 52.

Grimward de Cuthmund Rot. Obl. p. 6 (AD 1199); Grimwardus CR I p. 494 (AD 1222); Roberti (gen.) Grimward (Linc.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 24 (AD 1247); Joh'is (gen.) Grimward (Suff.) ibid. p. 529 (AD 1271).

OG Grimward, Grimwart ('öfters') F 673, OF Grimoart, Grimouart Langlois p. 300. For the members see Grimbald and Beluard. No ON equivalent is on record. Guascher, see *Wasger.

Gudramius, see Gotheram.

Guederan, see *Wederan.

Guerlin, see *Werlin.

Guerrina, see *Werrina.

Guinda, see *Winda.

Gulbert, see *Wulfbert.

¹ Cf. O Swed. Grimunson, Lundgren p. 71, thought to be identical with Grimelson or from Grimmund or Gridhmund.

Gulferedus, see *Wulfred. Guncelin, see *Gunzelin.

*Guncolda: Guncoldam (acc.) (wife of John Mauduit) Abbr. Plac. pp. 60, 74, 82 (John).

Cf. Gontalda (Rom.) F 710. For the first member see the following name. Gunc- is probably (cf., however, Luhmann p. 44) < Gunz- (a hypochoristic form of Gund-, see *Gunzelin) occurring in the likewise secondary formation Gunzwin F 713; cf. also Socin p. 178. In AN, c is sometimes used also before o to denote ts. Cf. Menger p. 98. The second member is assumed by F to be -walda, a fem. form of the name-element -wald, see Ansoldus. It seems equally likely that the present name is an OF variant of OG Gundhild (F 703). Cf. Iseldis.

Gundbert mon. (St. Eadmund), Gundibertus mon. (Sihtric), Gundberht mon. (Eadw. the Elder) Keary pp. 118, 230, Grueber p. 83; Leodegar Gunbert (Windsor) RLP p. 174 (AD 1216).

OG Gundibert, Gundbert (common), Gunbert, etc. F 699 f. The first member is OHG gund- (OE $g\bar{u}\bar{p}$, ON gunnr) 'Kampf'; for the second member see Adalbert.

Gundferð, Geundferð mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 132.

OG Gund(e)frid, -fred F 700. For the first member cf. the preceding name; for the second member see Gerferð. The same name is Cundferð Grueber p. 122.

Gundi: Henr' Gundi (Bedf.) RH II p. 322 (Edw. I.); Will's Gundi (Hunt.) ibid. p. 622; Joh's Gundy (Yorks.) Inq. Non. p. 219.

Cf. OG Gundi (F 694), for which see Socin p. 182. It seems rather probable, however, that the above name is < ON Gunni (Björkman, Pers. p. 56, Namenk. p. 40), influenced by the continental name-element Gund-. Cf. also Nielsen p. 34.

Gundlaf BCS 648 (AD 925-41).

This might be an Anglicized form of OG Gundleip, Cundleip F 705. But it seems most probable that it is < ON Gunnleifr with incertion of d between n and l or influenced by continental Gund- as Björkman (Pers. p. 57) suggests. Cf. also Gonelaphi (gen.), a Dane Lib. Hyde p. 119 and the pl. n. Gunlovestun Plac. p. 80 (John).

*Gundolus: Gundolum (acc.) RC p. 30 (AD 1199).

OG Gundulus (F 695), a dim. form of Gund- (see Gundbert) by means of the suff. -ulus, for which see Ebulo above.

Gundrada ("daughter of Matilda by her first husband Gerbod of St. Bertin at St. Omer and wife of William of Warren") FNC III pp. 86, 647. Her name appears as Gundreda KC pp. 35, 38, Gondreda Ann. Waverl. p. 235, Gundre comitissa LVD p. 98. Gundrede (dat.) sorori MRS p. 22; Gundreda uxor KC p. 10; Gundreda (daughter of Albreda, sister of Robert le Flemeng) Chr. Petr. p. 78, Gundreda de Attleburg Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 530 (AD 1271); Gundreda (wife of Radulf de Bray) RH I p. 92, etc.; see further Bardsley p. 343¹.

OG Gundrada etc. F 707 f. For the members see Gundbert and Albreda. It is possible that some of the above forms may be of ON origin (OSwed. Gunridh) as Björkman, Namenk. p. 40, suggests.

As regards the male form *Gundred*, it is certainly correctly explained by Björkman, Pers. p. 57, as *Gunred* with insertion of d^2 .

*Gundran, Gondran (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 330.

OG Gundramnus, Gundran, Guntran F 703 f., OF Gondran Langlois p. 292. For the members see Gundbert and Bertram.

¹ Gundrie LVD p. 104 is perhaps = Gundre with AN ie for \overline{e} . Cf. Stimming p. 176. It might also be < *Gundric.

² Cf. Gesta Hammaburg. Eccl. Pontificum I: 41 (quoted from Pauli, Karl der Grosse): "Dani in locum ipsius *Gundredum* constituerunt", and ibid. II: 22: "Anglia autem, ut supra diximus et in Gestis Anglorum scribitur, post mortem *Gundredi* a filiis ejus Analaph, Sigfrich et Reginald per annos fere centum permansit in ditione Danorum".

Gundreda, see Gundrada.

*Gundric, Gundricus, CMR II p. 61 (AD 1100-13).

OG Gundericus, etc. F 708, OF Gondri Langlois p. 293. For the members see Gundbert and Albericus.

Gundulf, Gundulfus (Glouc., Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 135, 333; Gundulfus, Gondulfus (Rofensis episcopus)¹ Cal. Doc. pp. 436, 503, Ann. Wint. p. 32 (AD 1077).

OG Gundulf, Gundolf (common) F 711 f. For the members see Gundbert and Adelulfus. The ON equivalent Gunnulf also occurs in England, see Björkman, Pers. p. 58. Gundwi LVD p. 48.

OG Gundivicus, Gundewic, Gundwig, etc. F 710 f. For the members see Gundbert and *Herewig.

Gundwine BCS 1008 (AD 957); Gonduinus (Ess.), Gonduinus camerarius (Suff.), Gundvinus granetarius (Wilts.), Gunduinus (Wilts., Leic.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 428, 432, II p. 333; Gunduinus LVD p. 8 (12th or 13th c.); Gundewin (Buck.) Fines I p. 245 (John); Gundewyn' de Nethergate (Suff.) RH II pp. 166, 184 (Edw. I.); Gundwin Pistor Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 24 (AD 1219); Gundewino (obl.) MRS p. 51; Gundewin, Gundwyne (surnames) CR II p. 126 (AD 1226), Inq. Non. p. 206; Gerald Gundwyne = Gerald Gunwine RH II p. 166, etc.

OG Gund(e)win (very common) F 711. For the members see Gundbert and Amalwin. Cf. Bardsley p. 343 and Björkman, Pers. p. 56. Does the surname Gundein CR II p. 62 (AD 1225) belong here or is it = Gundin (cf. GundinF 695); cf. Gozelin p. 129.

Gunsalinus, see Gunzelin.

Guntard: Guntardus (Som., Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333; Walterus Guntard (Norf.) RCR II p. 187 (AD 1200); the same person is probably Walterus Guncard (Norf.) RH I p. 500 (Edw. I.).

OG Gundard, Guntard F 701 f., Waltemath p. 24, OF Gontart Langlois p. 293. For the members see Gundbert

¹ Cf. FNC III p. 33, AS Chr. p. 289.

and *Actard. Gonhard (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 130 is certainly identical with Gonnar (Dev.) ibid., for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 54. For the form Guncard cf. *Guncolda above. Guntelin, see Gunzelin.

Gunter: Guntere mon. (Aethelstan II.).Keary p. 96; Gunter mon. (Eadw. the Elder) Grueber p. 83; Gunterum (acc.) Liniet KCD 795 (AD 1051); Gonther (Dev.), Gunter (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 330, 333; Gunterus fil' Berenger' Winton DB p. 558; Gunter heredes ibid. p. 553; Gunter LVD p. 49, RC p. 221 (AD 1216), Fines I p. 303; Gunterus canonicus Linc. Obit. p. 154; Gunter Havelok v. 2606; Richardus Gunter CG II p. 86, III p. 240; Gunter (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 245, CMR II p. 313, RH II p. 701, FA V p. 157, Gontarus Exon. DB p. 419; Gunter Gutere de Hyspañ CR I p. 121 (AD 1212); Gonter (surname) FA V p. 274; Cunter (surname) Test. Nev. p. 238; further instances are given by Bardsley, p. 343.

OG Gunter, Gonter (Rom.) F 702, OF Gontier Langlois p. 294. For the members see Gundbert and Aedelhere. Cf. Binz p. 203.

*Gunzelin: Guncelinus¹ Winton DB pp. 545, 554. LVH pp. 39, 66; Guntscelin' MRS p. 64; Guncelin' RCR II p. 238 (AD 1200); Guncelini (gen.) de Badelem'e Plac. p. 352 = Guntelino (dat.) de Badelesmere Rot. Orig. I pp. 26, 27, 30; Goncelin RC p. 7 (AD 1199); Gunsalinus Martini CPR I p. 196 (AD 1285).

OG Gunzelin (OF Goncelin, Gonsellin, Langlois p. 293) and Guntelin (F 695, 697), dim. forms of the hypochoristic names Gunzo and Gunto (< Gund-, see Gundbert). Gunsalinus perhaps stands for Gunsalmus, for which see Bruckner p. 83.

Gurlind LVD p. 8 (12th or 13th c.).

Cf. OG Girlindis (Rom.) < Gerlind F 582. For the members see Gerald and Godelent. Gur- for Gir- would be an AN spelling. Or = *Guerlind < OG Warlind (F 1535)?

¹ = Guncel ibid. pp. 554, 558, 559.

Gurred, see Wulfred.

Gutier: Ferando (obl.) Gutier Rot. Fin. p. 486 (AD 1213).
Probably identical with OF Gotier < Gotharius (Kalbow p. 134) for which see Godehar above. It is possible that the surname Gutere (see under Gunter) is the same name.
Gyreweard, see *Gerward.

Gyric, see Ger(r)ic.

H.

Habert, see Herbert.

Hadebrand RC p. 177 (AD 1208); *Hadebrando* (obl.) Haiward ibid.; *Hathebrand* (Dors.) Fines II p. 103; cf. also *Hadbrand* mon. (Will. II), given by Searle.

OG Hathubrant, Hadebrant etc. F 793. The first member is OHG hadu- (OE heapu-) 'Kampf'; for the second member see Aedelbrand. Cf. Binz p. 215.

Haganild LVD p. 32; *Hagenild* uxor ibid. p. 50; *Hagenild* (Surr.) RCR I p. 295 (AD 1199), II pp. 75, 94; *Haghenild* RC p. 132 (AD 1204); *Hagenilda* CCR III p. 429 (AD 1320), etc.

This name is missing in OE and not recorded till the end of the 12th cent.; nor does it seem to have existed on the continent. It seems rather probable, therefore, that it is a hybrid formation, as Binz (p. 195) suggests: "Einen frauennamen Hagenild, der mit seiner zusammensetzung aus dem namen von vater und tochter der Hildesage seine entstehung zu verdanken scheint (vgl. jedoch Förstemann 1, 577 die mit Hagan- beginnenden namen) finden wir in LV ...". The form Hawenild (e.g. RH II p. 839) exhibits the same development as OE haga > ME hawe. As regards the form Age*nilda* MRS p. 19 it is not to be determined with certainty whether it is < Hagenilda, which, indeed, seems most probable, or identical with **Ainilda* (above); cf. the Latinized form *Agenulfus* by the side of *Ainulf* (under *Aginulfus* above)¹. **Hagar**, **Hager**, see *Harger*.

*Hagebert, Haiebert mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 119; Hagebertus, Haghebertus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334.

OG Hagabert, Hagibert, etc. F 716. The first member is probably OHG hag 'Einfriedigung, Wald' (cf. OE haza and heze) and is not met with in native OE p. ns. The form Haie- is due to WF-Rom. influence and in the present case a phonetical criterion. For the second member see Adalbert. Hagheburnus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 431; the form Hgheburnus (Ess.) ibid. II p. 439 is no doubt the same name, not = *Hygebeorn, as Searle suggests.

The etymon is an unrecorded * $Hagabern^2$. For the members see *Hagebert, Fredebernus and F 259 where numerous OG p. ns in *-bern* are given. Concerning the spelling *-burn*, see *Erlwin(e).

Hago, see the following name.

Hagona, *Hagana*, *Hagena*, *Haguna* BSS 42, 78, 81, 87, 89, 97, 99, 102, 108 (AD 676-704), probably denoting one and the same person³.

Apart from the above forms⁴ there seem to be no traces

¹ The, forms *Haenild* RH II p. 161 and *Hanild* LVD p. 83 (13th c.) are perhaps derived from **Ainild* (above).

² The p. n. *Hagbarn*, *Hagebarnus* adduced by Stark p. 43 seems to contain as its second member OHG barn 'Kind'.

³ The variant *Hagani* (gen.) BCS 45 (AD 679) is, if not merely a mistake, a Latinized form of *Hagan*, also recorded by F 718. The same name is probably also *Hagonus* (prepositus regis, Norf.), Ellis, Intr. I p. 431. A short form of this name is *Hago* occurring ibid.; cf. Stark p. 43.

⁴ And the epic name *Hagenan* (gen.), Waldere II, 15, where it is the name of a Burgundian, and *Hagena* (weeld Holm-Rygum) Widsip v. 21. of this name till DB and later records¹, where it occurs in several instances given by Binz (p. 193). It seems most probable that the name of the monk and abbot of the 7th c. and the later examples from the 11th c. are originally strange to OE pers. nomenclature and in most cases to be derived from OG Hagano, Hageno², etc. F 718 (OF Hag(h)enon, Haquenon, Langlois p. 322 f.). But it seems rather uncertain whether the occurrence of this name in England is in any single case to be ascribed to the knowledge of the legend of Hild as Binz assumes. I am more inclined to think that it has been introduced by foreigner's, some of whom may also have been Norsemen (cf. the name Hagene Ellis, Intr. II p. 139 and Björkman, Namenk. p. 42); the latter assumption would account for the appearance of this name in Yorkshire, in which circumstance Binz sees "einen vollgiltigen beweis für die verbreitung der Hildesage" in that county. — The forms Hayn(e), Hein (e. g. Hayne FY pp. 52, 86, Inq. Non. p. 60, Hayn RH I p. 535, Haynesson alias Hayn FY p. 102, Hein RLP p. 70, RH I p. 35)3 are in most cases to be derived from the same etymon; it should be noticed, however, that there is not seldom in AN an interchange of final m and n (see Stimming p. 215), whence Hayn, Hein may have been confused with Haym, Heym (see Haimo).

Haiebert, see *Hagebert.

*Haimard, Haimardus (Buck.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334.

OG Heimhart, Heimard, Aimard (Rom.) F 732. The first member is perhaps *haim- 'glänzend' (OE Haem-), see Bruckner p. 100, Müller p. 105; besides, OHG heim (OE $h\bar{a}m$) 'Heim' was certainly also used as a name-element. For the second member see *Actard.

¹ The pl. ns adduced by Binz are not conclusive, since they are likely to contain the OE appellative *haza*; cf. Middendorff p. 62. ² *Hagan*- is probably related to MHG *behagen* 'frisch, freudig'. For the side-form *Hegin*- see Wessén (in Språkv. Sälls. Förh., Upsala 1913-15, p. 89).

³ Cf. also the NF ack. form Haynon (Abbr. Plac. p. 299).

*Haimelin, see Hamelin.

Haimer: Haimerus (Dev.); Haimerus (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 139, 334; Haimer (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 119.

Cf. OG Heimersdorf and Mod. G Heimer, Heymer¹. It is probable, however, that Haimer is merely a variant of Aimar (above). In Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 99 Heimerum (acc.) is identical with Emericum.

*Haimeric, *Hameric, *Aimeric etc.: Haimericus presbyter KCD 754 (AD 1020—30); Haimericus (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 432; Haimericus, Haymericus LVD pp. 85, 104 (13th c.); Heimeric de Clive RC p. 22 (AD 1199); Haimericus CMR III p. 227; Heymeric CR I p. 21 (AD 1205); Hamericus Hist. Ab. II p. 16 (AD 1100—35); Aimericus clericus Ann. Wint. p. 121 (AD 1276); Aimerico (obl.) of Bordeaux CR I p. 453 (AD 1221); Eymerico (obl.) de Clerevaus ibid. p. 426 (AD 1220); Eymericus monetarius ibid. p. 241 (AD 1215), etc.

OG Haimerich (common), Heimeric² F 733, OF Aimeri Langlois p. 12. The form Hamericus is due either to a reduction of pretonic ai > a, or to the influence of OE Hām. Further, its etymon may be OG Hăm- (cf. F 743 f.), for which see Schönfeld p. 126 and the literature mentioned by him. Cf. also Amalric, Emericus and Henric.

Haiminc (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 139, 334.

OG Heiminc³, Aiming (Rom.) and the pl. n. Heimingesbach. F 732. It is possible that Hamine (homo regis E.), Hamingus (teignus r. E.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 140 is the same name (Hamine ibid. pp. 140, 334 is = Haimine above). Cf. also OG Haming F 744.

Haimo, Aymo, Heimo, Hamo, Haim, Haym, Heym: Hamo dapifer⁴ (Ess.), Hamo seu Haimo vicecomes⁵ (Kent, Suff.),

¹ For the members cf. *Haimard and Aedelhere.

² For the etymology of the members see *Haimard and Albericus.

³ A patronymic of Haimo (below).

⁴ = Hamone, Haimone dapifero Hist. Ab. II pp. 59, 66.

⁵ The same person as the before-mentioned; cf. Ellis, ibid. foot-note and FNC III p. 314.

Haimo (Wilts., Dors.), Hamo (Chesh., Suff.), Hamon (Dev.)
Ellis, Intr. I p. 432, II pp. 334, 335; Hamo de Valoines
Rot. Canc. p. 135; Hamo de Gyronde (Dover) RB p. 97
(AD 1196—97); Heimo (abbas de Beillande) LVD p. 112;
Haimo (prior de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 455 (AD 1220); Hamo de Pidele LVD p. 98 (13th c.); Hamo filius
Burdun RB p. 399 (AD 1166); Haimo Brito Cart. Eynsh. I
p. 98; Hamoni (dat.) priori de Wenlok Plac. p. 678 = Aymoni
(dat.) priori de Wenlok ibid.; Aymo Thurberd (Yorks.) CCR I
p. 403 (AD 1252); Aymo de Carto Beverley I p. 6 (AD 1304);
Hamo de Mascy CCR III p. 411 (AD 1318); Walterus Haym
CG I p. 195; Haym (surname) RH I p. 101 (Edw. I.); Haim
= Hamo CR I pp. 259, 284 (AD 1216); Walter Heym CCR I
p. 273 (AD 1242), etc.¹

OG Haimo, Heimo, Aimo (Rom.), Mod. G Heim(e) F 731, hypochoristic forms of compounds with Haim-, see *Haimard. The equivalent OF forms are Haimon, Aimon, Haim and Aymes (Langlois pp. 13 f., 323). As regards the OF form Hamon, it might be < OG Hamo (F 743), but in view of the fact that this name is comparatively rare, it seems probable that Hamon is < Haimon with OF transition of pretonic ai > a: "Bei vocalisch schliessender Silbe oder bei -us bleibt der Ton, konsonantisch schliessende Silbe bekommt den Ton"². Hence Haimo — Haimón : Hamón. From the obl. cases a was then introduced into the nom. case. Most of the instances of Hamo found in DB and later records are certainly due to NF influence, since OE Hama is very rare; cf. Binz p. 212³. Haim is the regular OF form of Haimo with apocopation of the final -o. It seems probable that

¹ Cf. also Haimo Dentatus, a Norman, FNC II p. 246.

² Kalbow p. 27.

³ In later times, *Hamon* and *Hamund* (see Björkman, Pers. p. 63) have certainly coalesced in the form *Hammond*. Incorrect is Weekley's statement (p. 74) that "*Hammond* is etymologically *Haganmund*".

this name enters into the pl. n. *Haimeston* RCR II p. 62 (AD 1199)¹.

*Hain(e), Hayn(e), Hein, see Hagona. Haitele LVD p. 110.

Binz (p. 196) identifies this name with German Hetele (ai for e would be a Norman spelling) and Björkman, Pers. p. 36, compares it with ON Eitill. The circumstance that the following name in LVD, Helkene, is of German provenience might perhaps be adduced in favour of explaining Haitele as continental. But in such case, its etymon is rather OG Heidilo, Heittelo (Mod. G Heidel) < Haid- + dim. -ilo (F 725).

Halanant (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334.

The second member points to continental origin, see *Elinant*. *Hala*- most probably stands for *Ala*- (cf. **Alebrand*). The present name is perhaps merely a variant of *Elinant*. **Halebrandin**, see **Alebrand*.

Halewis(a), see Helewis.

Halsard, see *Alsard.

Hamelin (Dev., Cornw., Yorks.), Hamelin (homo Hugonis, Linc.), Hamelinus (Suss., Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334; Hamelinus de Balun RB p. 281 (AD 1166); Hamelinus de Gundeville (Glouc.) ibid. p. 292; Hamelinus de Chesney Cart. Eynsh. I p. 86; Hamelinus Exon. DB pp. 59, 63, 183, 189, 197, 203, 211, 212, 213, 214, 230, 231, 244, 470; Durant Hamelin FA I p. 471; Haimmelinus Exon. DB p. 91, etc.; see further Archiv 123 p. 34.

Cf. Haimelin and Hamelin (F 731, 744), dim. forms of Haimo or Hamo (see Haimo above).

*Hameric, see Haimeric.

Hamo, see Haimo.

*Hardelin, Hardelino (dat.) de la Mue CR II p. 113 (AD 1226).

¹ According to Lindkvist (p. 63), ON *Heimir* forms the first member of the pl. n. *Heimesbei*.

A NF dim. form of OG *Hardo, Ardo (Rom.) F 752, hypochoristic forms of compounds with Hard- (OHG hart, OE heard, 'hart').

*Harduin, Harduinus de Escalers (Cambr.), Hardeuuinus (homo Walchel, Northampt.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 314, 335.

OG Hardwin, Hartwin¹ etc. ("Sehr häufig, namentlich auf westfränk. Gebiete") F 759, OF Harduïn Langlois p. 326. It is probable that Arduinus (= Harduinus) Ellis, Intr. II p. 41 is also of continental origin, though a native equivalent Hcarduini is recorded in LV.

Harger mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 117; Heriger² mon. (Eadwig, Eadgar) ibid. pp. 161, 180, 181; Harcer de Lincolia Chr. Petr. p. 165.

OG Hariger, Harger, Harker, Heriger, Hereger³, etc. F 769 f. Whether the pl. n. Heregeres heafod BCS 1289 (a late charter) contains the same p. n. or an OE equivalent *Heregar is impossible to determine. As regards Hagar LVD p. 49, Hagar (surname) RH II pp. 60, 61, Hager (surname) Rot. Orig. II p. 54, etc., they are most probably from *Hargar, Harger, with dissimilatory loss of the first r. Cf. also Habert, Hebert (under Herbert).

Haringod, see *Arngot.

Harman, see Her(e)man.

Harneys, see Ernegis.

Harsent, see Hersent.

Hartald, Hertald, Artald, Ertald: Hertaldus (S. Trinitatis, Midd.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 414, II p. 337; Ertald Cal. Doc. p. 426 (AD 1091); Artald(us) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 66, CCR II pp. 473, 520 (AD 1270, 1298); (quidam Provencialis) Hartaldus Ann. Dunst. p. 194 (AD 1254); Hurtaud (surname) CCR I p. 418 (AD 1253), II p. 51 (AD 1264), etc.

OG Hardolt⁴, Artald (Rom.), Hertald (Rom.) F 758, OF

¹ For the members see *Hardelin and Amalwin.

 $^{^{2}}$ = Aeriger mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 144.

³ For the members see Aedelhere and Amelger.

⁴ For the members see *Hardelin and Ansoldus.

Hertaut, Artaut Langlois pp. 49, 340. On the transition of ar > er, see Arnald; for ur < er, see Hurogunda. OE *Heardweald is not on record, but even if existant, it cannot be the etymon of the above forms, on account of the t < d, for wich cf. Kalbow p. 134.

Hartmari mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 119.

OG Hartmar, Artmar (Rom.) F 756. For the members see Hartald and Aelismer. No OE equivalent is on record. Haselin, see Azelin.

Hathewisa, Hathawisa, Hathewis, Hatheuuis(a), Hawis(ia), Hawysa, Awise LVD pp. 19, 23, 50, 51, 55, 60, 68, 73, 82, 95, 103, 104, 108, 142; Hawisa Hist. Ab. II p. 305; Hawysa comitissa RM I p. 432; Hathewis CMR I p. 132 (AD 1130); Hadwis (wife of Thomas de Bauis) Ped. Fin. II p. 56 (AD 1197); Hawisa KC p. 6; Hawisia (uxor Rogeri) ibid. p. 70; Hauisa vidua ibid. p. 69; Hawis de Dinan CR I p. 169 (AD 1214); further instances are found in Björkman, Namenk. p. 41 and Bardsley pp. 69, 366 (under Aves and Hawes).

OG Hadvid, Latinized Hadewidis, Hawidis, etc. F 797 f. For the members see Hadebrand and Alweis. The forms Auiza LVD pp. 53, 102, Avisia, Avicia ibid. pp. 62, 64, 112, 124, 131 are perhaps Latinized variants of this name (influenced by Adeliza, Athelisa, Alicia etc.), although the OF forms Avice, Avisse (derived by Kalbow p. 128 < LG Abizza) are of course also to be taken under consideration. Hawenild, see Haganild.

Heanric, see Henric.

Heilewis, see Helewis.

Heimfrid, Heinfrid de Criketot (Suff.) RCR II pp. 6, 10 (AD 1199).

OG Haimfrid F 732 and Heinfrid ibid. 719, OF Hainfroi Langlois p. 323. F explains the first member of Haimfrid < Haim- (see *Haimard above) and of Heinfrid < Hagin-(see Hagona). It will, however, be difficult to keep them distinct on account of the transition of m > n before f, for which see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 76. And in AN, the conditions

grow still more complicated; cf. Stimming p. 215, Burghardt p. 108. For the second member see Amelfrid. Heinric, see Henric.

Helbodo (et frater ejus Baldewinus) CG I p. 286.

The OG etymon is either Hildibodo, Hiltbod, Hilbod, Helbod¹ (with OF e < i) F 825 f., or Ellebod, Elbot² (< *alja-), from which latter name the form Heliboto F 738 is probably to be derived. Hel- might further be from OHG heil, see Helewis.

Heldalt mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 107.

OG Helidold (F 742) or Hildold (F 837) < *halip- (OS helith, OE hælep 'Held') and hild-, see the preceding name. For the second member see Ansoldus; the final t < d is WF. Heldebrand, see Hildebrand.

Helebrand, see Hildebrand.

Helewis (neptis Eruasti episcopi, Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 141; Helewis(a), Heluwisa, Helewisia LVD pp. 17, 97, 101, 102, 107, 110, 140; Helewys RM I p. 148, II pp. 133, 144, 145; Helewis Rot. Fin. p. 237 (AD 1204), KC pp. 36, 123; Helewis (uxor Thoki) ibid. p. 131; Helewis Darel Rot. Fin. p. 218 (AD 1204); Helwisiæ (gen.) Beverley I p. 373 (AD 1319); Willelmi (gen.) Helewys, Matilda Helewys RM II p. 145; Eluis LVD p. 55; Heilewise (dat.) Pipe Roll- III p. 21; Heilewis (Buck.) RCR II p. 248 (AD 1200); further instances are found in Björkman, Namenk. p. 42, foot-note 3, and Bardsley p. 272 (under Elwes).

Helewidis, Helvidis, Helvis F 729, OF Heluïs, Heloïs Langlois p. 329 f. This name has been made the subject of a detailed investigation by Schultz (p. 180 ff.), who derives it from *Heilwidis*, of which the first member is OHG *heil* (OE $h\bar{a}l$) 'heil'. For the second member see Alweis³.

¹ For the members see *Ainild and Anderboda.

³ It is not to be determined whether *Halewis* Abbr. Plac. p. 35, *Halewisa* Rot. Canc. p. 58, is a variant of Helewis(a) or <*Alwis(see Alweis above).

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² Cf. F 81.

Helgot (Dev., Buck., Staff.), *Helgod* (Shropsh.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 335; *Helgot* MRS p. 160, RC p. 195 (AD 1213), CRC p. 34 (Hen. III), CCR I p. 33 (AD 1227).

Cf. OG Helgaud (OF Helgot Langlois p. 329) < Hildegaud, Hildegot, Hilgot F 829. For the members see Helbodo and Aingot. It is not certain whether there is any relation between Helgot and Halgot (e. g. Halgoti, gen., LVD p. 31, Halegod, surname, CCR I pp. 300, 301, AD 1246, etc.) < Algot, for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 3; cf. the interchange of the phonems al and el that is to be noticed especially in DB.

Helisent, see Elisent.

Helrandus, see Hildebrand.

Helto, Heltus: Helto (Kent, Buck.), Heltus dapifer (Kent), Ellis, Intr. II p. 335; Helto Cal. Doc. pp. 530, 531 (AD 1087—1100); Helto (filius Willelmi de Arches) RB p. 432 (AD 1166); Helto (constabularius of Baieux) ibid. p. 647 (AD 1133); Helto de Rovecestria ibid. p. 422 (AD 1166); (Joce, son of) Helta (fem.?) CCR I p. 317 (AD 1247); Helto de Faucillon RLP p. 165 (AD 1216) = Heltus de Faucillon CCR I p. 108 (AD 1230); Helto MRS p. 66; Helto de Snelleslund CCR II p. 397 (AD 1291); Helte Rot. Canc. p. 220, RB p. 190, etc.

OG Helto (F 740) derived from Helido < *halip-, for which see Heldalt above. An OE equivalent is found in *Hælepa (æt Hælepan pam pegene, Thorpe p. 354, AD 1044). The etymon of the above forms might, however, very well be OG Hildo, Hilto (F 821), hypochoristic forms of compounds with Hild- (see *Ainild). Heltus is due to an OF form *Helt with regularly apocopated final -o. — The name Hente LVD pp. 32, 106 is no doubt = *Heute < Helte; cf. Willelmus filius Hentæ, Hente, Hent, Heltonis RB pp. 35, 48, 70, 96, 135. Henaud LVD p. 8.

OG *Heinald, Heinold (Mod. G Heinold) F 719, > OF Henaut Langlois p. 330. For the members see Hagona and Ansoldus. Hengebald, see *Engelbald. Henric, Heinric: Henrico (dat.) KCD 579 (AD 973); Haenricus BCS 1297 (AD 973); Henricus (filius Azor, Bedf.), Henricus Thesaurarius (Hants.), Henricus (Norf.), Henricus alter (Berks.), Henricus dapifer (Berks.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 433, II pp. 142, 336; Henri, Heanri (of Poitou, Abbot of Peterborough) AS Chr. 1123 E; Henri, Heanri (= Henry of Blois) ibid. 1056 E; Heinrice casere (= Henry II) ibid. 1066 D; Henricus, Heinricus rex Francorum (= Henry I of France) ibid. 1060E; Henric, Heanrig, Henrig, Henri (= Henry I) ibid. 1085, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1113, etc.; Henricus LVD pp. 2, 3, 7, 21, 45, 46, 52, 53, 60, 63, 64, 65, 68, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89; Heinric(us) ibid. pp. 44, 54; Henr' Le Flemeng (North.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 20 (AD 1247); Hainric de Cornhull RCR I p. 14 (AD 1194); Heneriche (surname) RH II p. 724; Henery (surname) ibid. I p. 218; Hendrich (surname) ibid. II p. 417; Herry Walker LVD p. 128 (15th c.); see further Bardsley pp. 361, 374.

OG Heinric, Henric¹ F 734, OF Henri Langlois p. 330 ff. The form Henri(c) has in most cases been introduced from Normandy and France but is also sometimes of LG origin. Heanri(g) is to be explained with Behrens (p. 97) as a reverted spelling after OE ea had become e. -ig in the above instances denotes the i of OF Henri². Herry, the prototype of NE Harry, is due to assimilation of nr > rr. — An equivalent fem. form is Henrica (wife of Richard Maille) State Trials p. 12.

Henrica, see the preceding name.

Hent(e), see Helto.

Heppo balistarius (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 433, FNC IV p. 215. Cf. OG Heppo (Mod. G Heppe) F 748, 806 f., a short form of uncertain origin. From OHG Herpert or Herprant?

¹ First member is either *Haim*-, in which case *Henric* is originally identical with **Haimeric* above, or *Hagin*-, see *Hagona*. For second member see *Albericus*.

² For OE $ig > \overline{i}$ see Bülbring, Ae. Elem. § 565, 3.

Herbelinus de Burhunte Test. Nev. pp. 232, 242.

A dim. form of *Herb-* (< *Herbert* below) which has perhaps been coined in England. Analogous ME dim. forms are *Herbelet* and *Herbelot*. OG *Herbo* is assumed by F 142 to belong to **arbi* 'hereditas' but might also equally well be < *Herbert*; cf. similar instances in Stark p. 104 ff.

Herbert: Hereberti (gen.) episcopi Lexouiensis KCD 914 (Eadweard); Herbertus (Leic.), Herbertus camerarius (Hants.), Herbertus (filius Iuonis, Kent), Herbertus (fil. Remigii, Hants.), Herbertus (prefectus Regis, Bedf.), Herbertus forestarius (Hants.), Herbertus (homo Normanni de Adreci, Linc.), Herbertus (homo Eustachii, Hunt.), Herbertus (homo Odonis, Linc.), Herbertus (homo Juditæ Comitissæ, Hunt.), Hereberd fossator (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 433, II pp. 144, 336; Herbearde¹ (of Hiemois in Normandy, Bish. of Thetford) AS Chr. 1094 E; Herebert(us) LVD pp. 16, 19, 23, 46, 52, 54, 55, 56, 67, 79, 80, 102, 107; Hereberto (obl.) le Franceis CR I p. 505 (AD 1222); Herbertum (acc.) le Fleming Abbr. Plac. p. 139; Herbert' de Alencon (Suff.) ibid. p. 45; Ereberd (surname) FA V p. 266 (AD 1428), etc.

OG Hariberct, Haribert, Her(e)bert, Erbert², etc. (very common) F 766 f., OF Herbert Langlois p. 330. This name was not strange to OE personal nomenclature; cf. Herebearht, Hereberct, Herebert, etc. mon. (Coenwulf, Ceolwulf, Ceolnoð, etc.) Keary pp. 34, 40, 76, Grueber pp. 17, 46, 180, 220, Herebryht aldorman AS Chr. 838 A, etc., which instances are certainly native. But its frequency in ME records is chiefly due to its popularity with the Norman settlers in England. — The ME surnames Hebert (e. g. RH II p. 322) and Heberd (e. g. Reginaldus Heberd, Henric Heberd RH II pp. 822, 831) are < Herbert, Herberd with dissimilatory loss

¹ Dat.

² For the members see Aedelhere and Adalbert.
of r^1 . Similarly, the surname *Habert* (e. g. Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 503) is $< *Harbert < Herbert^2$.

Herbrand: Herbrandus (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 434; Herbrand de Pont Audemer, Hildebrand DB p. 341; Herebrand de Pont Audemer, Hildebrand DB p. 341; Herebrannus (prior de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 433 (AD 1119); (Warin' fil.) Herebrand (Suff.) Rot. Fin. p. 338 (AD 1206); Herbrand (Dean of Lincoln) CCR III p. 174 (AD 1311); Herebrande (nom.) Cust. p. 37; Willielmus Herebrand ibid.; Robertus Herbrond (Suff.) FA V p. 88 (AD 1346); Johannes Herebrond (Norf.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 547 (AD 1271); the pl. ns Herebrandston (Pembrokeshire)³ and Herebrandol (?) (Cant.) Fines I p. 310 (John).

OG Haribrant, Heribrand, Herbrand (very common) F 767 f. For the members see Aedelhere and Aedelbrand. Cf. also ON Herbrandr Lind 516.

Herebod de Bremen CR I p. 604 (AD 1224).

OG Heribod F 767. For the first member see Aedelhere. The second member might be < -baud⁴, which Meyer (IF 22, 180) explains from -badus with u-epenthesis. According to F it is a gradation-form of biudan. Cf. further Anderboda above⁵.

Her(e)man: Hereman mon. (Eadmund, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 123, 180; Her(e)man, Heriman(nus) Wiltuniensis episcopus⁶ KCD 776, 780, 781, 783, 784, 786, 787, 791, 792, 793, 796, 798, 800, etc. (AD 1042—65), AS Chr. 1043 E, 1045 C, 1046 D, 1047 E, 1049 C, 1051 D, 1077 E, 1078 D; He-

² Cf. such forms as Harebald (< Herebald) RH II p. 756, Harwald (< Herwald) ibid. p. 545 and Harsent (< Hersent) below.

- 4 Cf. the compounds with this element given by F 250.
- ⁵ Another source of -bod is -bold, see Albod(o).

 6 = Herman of Lotharingia. "a chaplain of the King's, the first of the series of German or other Imperialist prelates". FNC II p. 79.

¹ Hebert is also found in OF, see Kalbow p. 121. Bardsley's derivation of Hebbard < Hubert is wrong.

³ Cf. Binz p. 214.

reman presbyter KCD 762, 767, Hist. Ab. I pp. 55, 450 (AD 1042, 1043); Herman(nus), Hereman LVD pp. 13, 15, 49; Heremannus (Suff.), Hermannus Episcopus (Berks.), Herman (Wilts., Worc., Staff.), Herman (homo Gozelini, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 146, 147, 337; Exon DB pp. 4, 10, 16; Hermannus de Gulk, goldsmyth FY p. 108 (AD 1403); Hereman (surname, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 461 (AD 1267); Harman (surname) LVD p. 119; Ereman de Estland (mentioned together with Godeschalke de Estlaund) RH I p. 402; for further instances see Bardsley p. 360.

OG Hariman, Her(e)man, Arman, Er(e)man¹, etc. F 774, OF Herman(t) Langlois p. 334 f. This name was introduced into England from the continent, although both members exist as native name-elements. Cf. also Ermant above-*Herewig: Herveus (Wilts., Oxf.). Herveus Bituricensis (Suff.). Herveus cubicularius (Dors.), Herveus de Helion (Dev.), Herveus legatus (Buck.), Herveus de Berun (Suff.), Herveus (homo Comitis Alani, Nott., Linc.), Herveus de Ispania (Ess.), Heruius (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 434, II pp. 147, 337; Heruius Hist. Ab. II pp. 77, 126, 303 (AD 1100-35); Herueus (Pangormensis episcopus) ibid.; Herueus, Herueius LVD pp. 17, 49, 51, 63, 84, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 113, 137; Herueus de Arescy (Linc.) Rot. Fin. p. 581 (BD 1216); Hervicium (acc.), Hervicus, Herveio (dat.) de Camera (Yorks.) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 52 (AD 1202); Herueium (acc.) RCR I p. 284 = Hervič ibid. p. 308; Willelmi (gen.) Hervei (of Flanders) CR I p. 209 (AD 1214); Hervi, a common ME surname, e. g. RH II pp. 374, 384, 535, 654, etc.; see further Bardsley p. 363.

OG Hari- Herewicus, Herewig, Her(e)veus (Rom.) F 781 f., OF Hervicu, Hervi Langlois p. 341. For the first member see Herbert². On the form -veus < -vehus < -wihus see Beitr. XVIII, 413, Wrede, Ostg. 74, Kalbow p. 30 and

¹ For the members see *Herbert* and *Godesman*.

² Weekley (p. 57) wrongly derives *Hervé* < Germ. *Hartwig*.

Schönfeld p. 139 f. and literature. The forms Herueius, Herveius, the prototypes of NE Harvey, are probably < OF Hervey, which Kalbow (p. 100) explains < Herveus > *Herve + "nachklingendem i". In Hervicus, Heruius, etc., the second member is perhaps OHG wig, wie (OE wig) 'Kampf'. The moneyer's name Hereuuig (Eadmund, Eadwig) Grueber pp. 133, 156 might be native as far as its form is concerned but is better explained as continental, since it seems to be only an isolated instance of this name in England before the Conquest¹. — Here might also belong the forms Heruis (de Neuill) KC p. 34, Eruis RCR I pp. 274, 347 (AD 1199), Eruis clericus ibid. II p. 136, Ervis ibid. p. 359 (AD 1200), etc.; cf. OF Hervis Langlois p. 342. It is not possible, however, to determine in which cases they are merely mistakes for Hernis, Ernis, see Ernegis.

Heriger, see Harger.

*Heringod, see *Arngot.

Herlebald, see Erlebald.

Herlinus, see *Erlin.

Herlwin, see **Erlwin(e)*.

Hermenfrid, see Ermenfrid.

Hermer, Hermerus (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 434; Hermer (Dev.), Hermerus (Berks., Norf.), Hermerus (homo Ivonis Taillgebosc, Linc.) ibid. II p. 337; Hermerus de Ferrereis Hildebrand DB p. 335; Hermerus Exon DB p. 362; Inq. Eliens. p. 516; Hermer pr' LVD p. 13; Hermerus pater Abbr. Plac. p. 6; cf. also de Meisnil Hermer LVD p. 82.

OG Her(e)mar, etc. F 775. For the members see Herbert and Ainmer. No instances earlier than DB are on record in England.

Hermesent, see *Ermensent. Hernand, Hernant, see Arnald. Herneis, see Ernegis. Hernost, see *Ernost.

¹ Cf. also Binz p. 199.

Herry, see Henric.

Hersent (Norf.) RB p. 395 (AD 1166); (Goisfrido filio) Hersendis CCR III p. 345 (AD 1317); Hersent, Hersand, Hersant (surnames, Yorks.) Inq. Non. pp. 103, 244, RH I p. 134; Henricus Harsent (Cant.) ibid. p. 515 (Edw. I.).

OG Herisint (fem.) F 778, OF Hersent, Hersant (fem.) Langlois p. 340. For the members cf. Herbert and Gersent. Heruis, see *Herewig.

Herveus, Hervi, see *Herewig.

Hescelina, see Azelina.

Hezelin, see Azelin.

Hildebrand lorimarius (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 338); (duo milites Baldewinus et) Hildebrandus (Som.) RB p. 230 (AD 1166); Hildebrand' de Lubek (Norf.) Abbr. Plac. p. 213 (Edw. I.); Hildebrand le Mercer (Norf.) RH I p. 530; Hildebrandus de London Rot. Orig. II p. 38 (Edw. II.); Hildebrandus RH II p. 268; Hildebrand' de Saxon' Rot. Fin. p. 341 (AD 1206) = Hyldebrand RLP p. 57 (AD 1206): Hild(e)brand (surname) RH I pp. 290, 292, Inq. Non. p. 281; Ildebrand (Dors.) Abbr. Plac. p. 62 (John); Ildebrand in the ME Wade; Heldebrandus (frater Raimbaldi) Hist. Ab. II p. 19; Heudebrant (Wilts.) Ped. Fin. III p. 151 (AD 1198); Hendebrand (= *Heudebrand) RH II p. 265; Eldebrand (at Melleburga) Cal. Doc. p. 358 = Heledbrand (at Melleburga) ibid. p. 527.

OG Hildebrand, Ildebrand, Eldebrand¹, etc. F 825 f. It seems probable that Helebrand (de Lubek) CPR I p. 43 (AD 1281) is identical with the above-mentioned Hildebrand (de Lubek). — As regards Binz's suggestion (p. 214) that the form Helrandus LVD p. 77 is < Hildebrand it seems more probable that it is to be traced back to OG Hiltiram, etc. F 831 or Heilram ibid. 728. Cf. also Holdabrand below. *Hildiarda, Hildiardam (acc.) (wife of Theobald le Bel) Abbr. Plac. p. 28.

¹ For the members see *Helbodo* and *Aedelbrand*.

OG Hildigard, Hildiardis, etc. F 828 f. For the members see *Ainild and Aldeardis. The surname Hildeyard Rot. Orig. I p. 267 is probably an original pl. n.; cf. Robertus de Hildeyerd ibid. p. 93. Cf. further Holdiard below. Hizeman Wint. DB p. 534.

OG Hizman (F 847), a younger compound with the hypochoristic form $Hizo^{1}$. Similar OG formations are Hicekint and Hizawip for which see Socin p. 179.

*Hludowic, Lodewic, Lo(e)wis: Hludovicus mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 119; Hloõewig portgerefa BCS 1212 (AD 968); Lodovicus LVD p. 63; Lodovic de Bellomonte (Wilts.) CRC p. 134 (Edw. I.); Lodewic de la Pole ibid. p. 126; Lodowic de Bera (Lanc.) Rot. Obl. p. 196 (AD 1201); Lodowycus (Brancaster) CMR I p. 148; Lodowycus (episcopus Dunelmensis) LVD p. 151 (Obit.); Ludowicus de Ayketon, pellter, FY p. 72 (AD 1373); Lothewyk (surname) ibid. p. 160 (AD 1441); Walterus Loewys Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 493; Lowis (Cornw.) Fines I p. 350; Lowis le Briton (Ess.) RB p. 355 (AD 1166); Lowys (surname) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 441 (AD 1266), FY pp. 145, 197; Willelmus Loweson, wever, FY p. 177 (AD 1456); Lewys (surname) CRC p. 371 (Henry V), etc. Cf. Bardsley p. 480 and Yonge p. 405².

OG Hludowicus, Hlodovicus, Lod(e)wieus, etc. F 855 f., Schönfeld p. 139. The first member is $*hl \check{u} pa$ -, $*hl \check{o} pa$ - for which see Schönfeld p. 140, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 21, 5, Gröger p. 244 and literature there quoted. The second member is -wih, see Herewig. On the OF development see also Mackel p. 107. According to Stimming (p. 220), Loewis is an AN form, due to the insertion of w to avoid hiatus (cf. OF Loeïs Langlois p. 398). The remarkable ME form Lewis might be explained from Loewis with orthographical substitution of oe by e, caused by the AN interchange of oe and e, for which cf. Menger p. 52. But considering

¹ Cf. Hizzila = Hiltipurch Stark p. 84.

 $^{^2}$ Se further Lindkvist p. 219 f. and Björkman in Namn och Bygd (1913) p. 95.

the comparative frequency of this form it seems more likely that Bardsley and Yonge are right in their explanation of *Lewis* as an Anglicism of Welsh *Llewelyn*. Cf. also Weekley p. 46^{1} .

*Hodierna, see Odierna.

Holdabrand LVD p. 79 (12th or 13th c.); Houdebrandi (gen.) CCR I p. 53 (AD 1227); Houbrand (surname, Dors.) Inq. Non. p. 58.

Concerning Holdabrand in LVD Binz (p. 214) observes that it need not have been misread or miswritten for Hildebrand, but may contain OG Hold- 'hold'. It seems most likely, however, that Hold- is < Hild- or rather < NF Held- with AN development of pretonic el > ol, for which see Suchier, Afrz. Gr. § 59 b.

Holdegrim (Suff.) Ped. Fin. IV p. 31 (AD 1198).

The etymon of this form is probably OG Hildegrim ("öfters") F 830. For the members see Holdabrand and Grimbald.

Holdiard (vetula qui Holdiard vocata fuit) Reg. Lib. p. 233.

Cf. Holdagard, placed by F (927) under *hultha. In the present case, however, it is perhaps an AN variant of Hildiard above; cf. Holdabrand.

Homolunch, see Omulung.

Houardus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 339; Owart (surname) Duc. Lanc. p. 80.

OG Howard, Howart F 802. The first member is OHG $h\hat{o}h$ (OE heah) 'hoch'². For the second member see Beluard. An OE equivalent is probably Hachward KCD 695 (AD 996). Cf. the following name.

Huard: Huardus (Wilts., Hertf., Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 339;

¹ The regular development of ME Lowis is seen in the present pronunciation of the pl. n. Lowestoft ($lo^uistoft$). The NE form Lewis (ljuuis, luuis) is a continuation of the corresponding ME form. The name Louis, sometimes met with in present English, is a French loan.

² Cf. also Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142.

Huardus Bikelega (Cornw.) RB pp. 540, 549 (AD 1210-12) = Huwardus de Bikelegh Test. Nev. pp. 205, 253; Huardi (gen., Yorks.) ibid. p. 427 (AD 1166); Huart de Noerel RLP p. 172 (AD 1216); Huward (surname) RH II p. 826, etc.

OG Hugihard, Hug(h)ard F 925, OF Huars Langlois p. 346. The first member is OHG hugi, hugu (OE hyge)¹ 'Sinn, Gedanke' or $*H\bar{u}g$ -, belonging to the epic name of the $H\bar{u}gas$ in Beowulf. For the second member see *Actard. The loss of g in the above forms is OF; cf. Mackel p. 151. The form Huward is due to an AN insertion of w to avoid hiatus; cf. *Hludowic. — The ME surname Hoggard (e. g. FY p. 181) is < hog-herd 'swineherd'; cf. the instances in Bardsley p. 390².

Hubald: Hugo Hubaldus (Bedf.), Huboldus (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 339; Hubold (surname) Wint. DB p. 552; Hubaldus (presbiter cardinalis) Hist. Ab. II p. 198, RM I p. 351; Askillus Hubaldus BB p. 30; Henr' Hubald RH I p. 20 (Edw. I.); Willelmi (gen.) Hubaud (Bedf.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 340 (AD 1241), etc.

OG Hugibald, Hubald, Hubald³ (common) F 923. OF Hubaut Langlois p. 346. The loss of g in the above forms is either OG or OF; cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4, Kalbow p. 140. The native equivalent is Hyg(e)bald, perhaps occurring in Hybaud (Worc.) FA V p. 309 (AD 1346), and in the

² Huward is probably the principal source of NE Howard (hauəd). Bardsley (p. 402) and after him Weekley (p. 180) explain Howard from Haward (< Hereward) and Hayward (an original surname = 'a guardian of fences'). It is difficult to see how Haward or Hayward could have given rise to the present pronunciation of Howard, if it is not then a spelling-pronunciation. It is possible, however, that Haward (which may be < Hereward, cf. the form Habert under Herbert above; but the p. n. Haward, for which see Björkman, Namenk. p. 44 f., must of course not be passed in silence) and Hayward have coalesced with Huward in the present form Howard.

³ For the members see Huard and Albod(o).

¹ Also used as an OE name-element.

pl. n. *Hibaldstowe* (Yorks.) Inq. Non. p. 252. Hence it is impossible to determine in detail in which cases *Hubald* is continental or an AN spelling for the native form. Cf. *Hubald* = OE *Hibald* in Gaimar (Rathmann p. 48).

Hubert: Hubertus de Montecanisio (Suff.), Hubertus (Suss., Berks., Dors., etc.), Hubertus (homo Radulfi Pagenel, Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 454, II p. 339; Hubert of Rye (a Norman) FNC II p. 249; Hubert(us) LVD pp. 8, 50, 55, 94, 96; Hubertus miles, Hubertus (prior de Walingaford) Hist. Ab. II pp. 4, 7, 32, 104; Hubertus archiepiscopus Chr. Petr. p. 5 (AD 1194); Huberto (et sociis suis mercatoribus Senensibus) CR II p. 47 (AD 1225); Robertus Huberd, Ricardus Huberd CG I p. 238 (AD 1135—54); Ubertus RB p. cclxvIII; see further Bardsley p. 404, Lindkvist, Intr. p. 54. A Rom. (probably Italian) dim. form is found in Hubertino (dat.) Presbitero Cardinali CR II p. 3 (AD 1224) and Hubertino (dat.) clerico ibid. I p. 628 (AD 1223).

OG Hugubert, Hubert¹ (very common) F 924 f. From a phonological point of view it cannot be determined whether ME Hubert is continental or < ME Hibert, Hybert (< OE Hygebeorht) with AN orthography². Moorman's explanation (Pl. Ns of West Riding p. 105) of Hubert in DB as deriving from an earlier Hunbeorht is incorrect.

Hudeman BCS 1130 (AD 972–992).

OG Hutuman (Mod. G Hudemann, Hutmann) F 921, Pott p. 137. Bruckner associates the first member with OS hûd, OHG hût 'Fell'. For the second member see God(e)man. — The forms Hutredus LVD pp. 60, 61, 68, Huthredus ibid. p. 93, etc. stand for OE Uhtred.

Hu(e)lin, Hu(e)lina, see Hugelin, Hugelina. Hugelin: Hugelinus camerarius³ KCD 771 (AD 1044); Huge-

¹ For the members see Huard and Adalbert.

² Both names, however, clearly appear in the NE forms *Hibbard*, *Hibbert* (< ME *Hibert*; wrongly explained by Bardsley p. 380) and *Hubert* (< NF *Hubert*).

³ Cf. FNC II p. 347.

linus cubicularius ibid. 809, 904 (AD 1060); Hughelin minister ibid. 823 (AD 1062—66); Hugolinus interpres (Som.), Hugolinus stirman (Berks.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 438, 488, II p. 341; Legatus Hugelin Ann. Wig. p. 383 (AD 1175); Hugelinus Exon. DB p. 15; Hugolinus (de Parma) Rot. Orig. II p. 185 (Edw. III.); Hugelin (surname) Rot. Fin. p. 453 (AD 1207); Huchelinus Winton DB p. 541; Ugolinus (otherwise Hugo) Giff. Reg. p. 176; Ugelinum (acc., merchant of Bologne) CR II p. 137 (AD 1226); Huelyn (surname) Pt Y p. 140; Hulin (surname) RH I p. 449, II p. 161; Huweline (surname, perhaps male) ibid. II p. 413, etc.

OG Huglin F 923, OF Hugelin, Huelin, Hulin¹ (Langlois p. 346 f.), dim. forms of Hugo below. In Huweline, w is probably inserted to avoid hiatus. A modern representative occurs in Howling.

Hugelina: Hugolina (wife of Picot vicecomes) FNC II p. 367; Hugeline (gen) RH I p. 372; Hugelinam (acc.) de Nevill Abbr. Plac. p. 234; Hugelina CR I p. 114 (AD 1208); Huelina Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 569 (AD 1272); Huelma (= Huelina) Plac. p. 417; Hulina Hist. Ab. II p. 147; Huwelina RH II p. 490, etc.

A fem. equivalent of the preceding name.

Hugo regis camerarius KCD 810 (AD 1061) = Hugo camerarius Ellis, Intr. II p. 150; Huga (de portgerefa, Bath) KCD 1351; Hugo (a Frenchman) AS Chr. 1003 E; Hugo (eorl of Ceastre)² ibid. 1094 E; Hugo (eorl of Scrobscire)³ ibid. 1094 E; Hugo Gerueises sunu ibid. 1124 E, 1126 E; Hugo of Muntford ibid. 1123 E; Hugo of Walteuile ibid. 1137 E; Hugo LVD pp. 4, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 27, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39, 44, 46, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63, 64, 70, 72, 73, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 94, 95, 107, 108, 111, 112, 113, etc.; Hugo abbas Hist. Ab. II pp. 245, 293, 316,

- ² Cf. FNC II p. 207.
- ³ Cf. FNC V p. 113.

¹ See Kalbow p. 52.

331; Hugo (son of Adeliz) ibid. p. 176; Hugo (son of Turstinus) ibid. p. 125; Hugo (Hostiensis episcopus)¹ ibid. p. 198; Hugo barbatus² (Hants.), Hugo comes (Hants., Berks., etc.), Hugo Flandrensis (Bedf.) Hugo (Gozeri filius, Buck.), Hugo latinarius (Hants.), Hugo (filius Rogeri comitis, Staff.), Hugo (filius Huberti, Kent), Hugo arbalistarius (Suss.), Hugo clericus (Suss.), Hugo coquus (Berks.), Hugo (filius Rannulfi, Suss.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 436, 437, 438, II pp. 150, 339, 340, 341; Hugo Flamang Reg. Lib. p. 290; Hugo de Colne Rot. Orig. II p. 138 (Edw. III.); Ugo LVD pp. 47, 50; Huwe Morin = Hugo Mory RH I p. 143; Huwe (surname) ibid. II pp. 411, 698, 704; Huwes (surname) ibid. p. 761, etc.³; see further Bardsley pp. 378, 402, 406 (under Hew⁴, How and Hugh).

OG Hugo (very common) F 922 f., OF Hugon, Huë, Huës etc. Langlois p. 348 ff., hypochoristic forms of compounds with Hug-, see Huard. For Huwe(s) (< OF Huë(s)) see Hugelin.

Hunfrid: Hunfridus (filius Alberici, Suff.), Hunfridus camerarius (Surr., Hants., etc.), Hunfridus coquus (Glouc.), Hunfridus (frater Aiulfi camerarii, Hants.), Hunfridus loripes (Kent), Hunfridus (homo Ernegis de Burun, Yorks.), Hunfridus (homo Willielmi, Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 438, II p. 342; Hunfrid de Buhun Pipe Roll I p. 40 = Umfrid de Boun RH I p. 97; Hunfrido (abl.) de Millers = Unfridus de Miliers Plac. pp. 84, 767 (Edw. I.); Humfridus de Bentlai Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 119 (AD 1208); Humfridus de Valencia (Suff.) FA V p. 47 (AD 1316); Humfridus Courtenai (Dev.) ibid. p. 489 (AD 1428); Humfridus Bevyll (Cornw.) ibid. p. 220 (AD 1428); Humfrey of St. Omer FNC V p. 800; Hunfray (surname) RH II p. 844, etc.

¹ See FNC III p. 431.

 $^{^{2} =} Hugo$ de Montefort.

³ Uncertain is the form Hugon (abbas) BCS 72 (AD 688).

⁴ NE *Ewes* might be < Ugo, but is probably in most cases originally local; cf. del *Ewe(s)* in Bardsley p. 278.

OG Hunfrid, Humfrid (very common) F 932. The first member is perhaps associated with ON húnn 'a young bear'; cf. Bruckner p. 269, Stokes, Wortschatz der keltischen Spracheinheit, p. 84, and Schönfeld p. 143 and literature there quoted¹. For the second member see Gaufrid. Hunfrið also occurs as an OE name. But the above instances, of which most are continental, show that there was a considerable importation of this p. n. in early ME. It is difficult to keep Hunfrid distinct from Unfrid, Umfrid (see this name).

Hurogunda (Turchillus Daneys cum *Hurogunda* uxore sua) CMR I p. 160 (AD 1146-53).

The second member points to OG origin; cf. Gundbert. The first member seems most likely to be Here- (cf. OG Herigund² F 771), though the form Huro- is remarkable. In most names where ur seems to occur for er, it is followed by a guttural sound in the next syllable, whence u probably to some extent is the result of an assimilatory change; cf. the instances given by Stimming p. 177. It is, moreover, noteworthy that this interchange of u and e takes place before r, in which position e was particularly liable to obscuration; cf. Behrens p. 91. These u-spellings may further have been favoured by the occurrence of u and e side by side in a great many ME words, e. g. curtel : kertel, gurden : gerden, gurdel : gerdel, burbene : berbene, furste : verste, kurnel: kernel etc., where u and e depend on dialectal differences; cf. also url: erl. burn: bern (see *Erlwine). The composition-vowel o in the name under notice is due to assimilation; cf. also such instances as Columan CCR II p. 108, Balduwinus LVD p. 16 and Heluwisa ibid. p. 97.

¹ See also Zfd Wortf. 8, 142.

² Considering the nationality of her husband, it is not impossible that *Hurogunda* herself was of Danish descent. An ON equivalent *Hergunnr* is given by Lind 520 as a mythical name. If this happens to be the etymon, the second member has been altered into agreement with the corresponding Latinized continental form *-gunda*.

Hurvey, Hurwey (surnames) RH II pp. 547, 561.

These forms are probably identical with Hervey, Herueius (see *Herewig). For ur < er, see the preceding name. Here probably belong Urveus, Urveius, Yrvoi Malet RB pp. 145, 310, 599 (AD 1201-12), Urveium (acc.) Fines I p. 272, Urvey, Uruei ibid. p. 294. Uruoius (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 402, is explained by Searle as *Urfwig¹. *Urf-, however, is not elsewhere recorded as a name-element. In this particular case it seems most likely that we have to do with a native name Wulfwig (cf. Uluoi Ellis, Intr. II p. 258). r for l is due to the AN confusion between these consonants; cf. Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 125.

Huward, see Huard.

Huwelin, Huwelina, see Hugelin, Hugelina.

I.

Ida (comitissa Boloniensis, Som.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 438; *Ida* LVD p. 47; *Ida* (wife of Comes Rogerus Bigot) ibid. p. 107 = Ida de Thoney RH I p. 537 (Edw. I.); *Ida* (wife of Hugo) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 17 (AD 1247); *Ida* (Cumberl.) ibid. p. 584 (AD 1272); *Ida* de Bello Campo (Buck.) RH I p. 47; *Ida* (wife of Walter de Brussella) Pipe Roll II p. 28; *Ide* (gen.) de Segrave (Cant.) Rot. Orig. I p. 60, etc.

¹ In the same way, he explains Urfer (Ellis, Intr. II p. 402) < Urfhere; it is of course < Ulfer (occurring e. g. ibid. p. 252). For the assimilation of l-r > r-r, see Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 121.

OG Ida (fem.) F 943, a hypochoristic form of compounds with Id-, which perhaps is to be associated with ON *id* 'Wirksamkeit'¹. As a male name Ida occurs in OE; cf. Ida in the Northumbrian pedigree AS Chr. 547 A and Ida mon. (Alfred) Grueber p. 72. But the fem. form was no doubt introduced from the continent.

*Idelbeard, Ydelbeard presbyter BCS 622 (AD 909).

OG Hidalbert, Hidelbert, Ydalbert F 946. From the almost exclusive occurrence on Rom. soil of the first member, F thinks it is an extension of the name-element Id-(for which see the preceding name) and the same view is held by Longnon (I p. 340). Bruckner (p. 270) explains it as OS, OHG *îdal* 'ganz, nichts als'². A p. n. *Idel seems to enter into the pl. ns Ydeles ige KCD 1206 (AD 956) and Yddeles hammas ibid. 1136 (AD 940)³ and a p. n. Idhel (prepositus, Glouc.) occurs in Ellis, Intr. II p. 342. These instances are probably Celtic. Cf. Ithel in Bardsley pp. 98, 422. On -beard, see Isenbard.

Idesbald LVH p. 28 (c. AD 1030).

OG Itisbald, Idesbald, Idesbald F 946. The first member, which does not occur in native names⁴, is OS *idis*, OHG *itis* (OE *ides*) 'Frau, Weib'. For the second member see Albod(o).

Ilbert: Ilberd KCD 610 (AD 1055); Ilbertus (Heref., Yorks.), Ilbertus (filius Turoldi, Heref.), Ilbertus de Laci (cf. Ilbertus

⁴ The pl. n. *iddeshalle* KCD 237 (AD 836) is compounded with the p. n. *Iddi* (BCS 74, AD 690).

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¹ It might further be a shortened form of *Idis*-, for which see *Idesbald*, or belong to $\overline{i}del$ 'eitel'; cf. also the particle *id* 'wieder' in OHG *it-lôn* 'retributio' and *itawiz* (Goth. *idweit*) 'Vorwurf'.

² Müller (p. 87) suggests that $Y\delta el$ -belongs to OE $y\delta$ 'fluctus' or is a native equivalent of OG *audel. It seems quite clear, however, that $Y\delta elbeard$ is not an OE name.

³ The pl. n. îdel hiwisce KCD 1163 (AD 948) contains OE *idel* 'unfruchtbar', see Middendorff p. 81.

de Laceio LVD p. 73), *Ilbertus* vicecomes (Hertf.), *Ilbertus* (homo Episcopi Baiocencis, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 438, 442, II pp. 152, 342; *Ilbertus* de Mascey (Berks.) Fines I p. 141 (John); *Ylbert* de Carenci Rot. Canc. p. 144; *Ilbertus* LVD pp. 50, 55; *Ilbertus* (canonicus et sacerdos) Linc. Obit. p. 160; *Ilberd* (surname) RH II p. 829; see further Bardsley p. 413.

This name is probably on the whole $< OG Hildiberht^1$ etc. (very common) F 823 f.; OE Hildebeorht is rare and need not be taken under consideration.

Ilbodo (Ess.), Ilbodus (Oxf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 439, II p. 342. The etymon is probably OG Hildebodo, Hilbod etc., whence Ilbodo may be identical with Helbodo above.
Ildebrand, see Hildebrand.

Ilger: (Rannulfus frater) *Ilgerii* (Hertf., Cambr., etc.), *Ilgerus* (Glouc., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 473, II p. 342; *Ilgerus* CR I p. 193 (AD 1215), Ped. Fin. IV p. 4, AC p. 71, Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 2; *Ilgero* (abl.) Burdun Prior. Finch. p. 58; *Ylger* (surname) RH II p. 843, Rot. Orig. II p. 335, etc.

OG Hildeger, Hilger² (Mod. G. Hilger) F 827 f. An OE equivalent occurs in the pl. n. Hildgaring denn BCS 442 (AD 843). Cf. also Hilger in Björkman, Namenk. p. 46. Ilsent (surname, Ess.) Inq. Non. p. 322.

Cf. Ildesindus, Eldesindus (Rom.) by the side of Hildisind and Hildeswind (fem.) F 835 f. For the members see Ilbert and Alsent.

Imbert de Mont'ferr' (Hunt.) RH II p. 683 (Edw. I.); Imbert de Sabines (Suss.) ibid. p. 205; Imberti (gen.) de Porchet CR I p. 55 (AD 1205); Imberti (gen.) de Foiz ibid. p. 72 (AD 1206); Imbertum (acc.) de Fontibus ibid. p. 620 (AD 1224); Imbertus Pugeis (Berks.) Test. Nev. p. 104; Imbertus Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 332 (AD 1240); Hugo Ymberd (Buck.) RH II p. 349, etc.; see further Bardsley p. 414.

¹ First member is OS *hild* (OE *hild*) 'Kampf'; for the second member see *Adalbert*.

² For the members see *Ilbert* and *Amelger*.

Bardsley explains Imbert < Isambert "contracted in Germany to Isabert, in England to Imbert", which explanation is extremely questionable. The name was more probably introduced in the present form from the continent where it is recorded as OF Ymbert, Hymbert and OG Imbert F 952. The first member is a short form of Irmin (see Emino above) rather than ON imr 'Wolf', as Bruckner (p. 270) suggests for similar formations. Another possible etymon might be *Inbert (cf. Lombard Inebertus, Bruckner p. 270), the first member of which is the particle in, also recorded in OE p. ns, e. g. Infrith, Inuald, *Inwine (Inwinesburg). For the second member see Adalbert.

Ingelard, see Engelard.

*Ingelarius, see Engeler.

Ingelbald, see *Engelbald.

Ingelbert, see Engelbert.

Ingelburg, see **Engelburg*.

Ingeleis, Ingeleas, Ingelesa, see *Engeleisa.

Ingelgar, see Engelger.

Ingelmar, Inglemar (filius Radulfi) CMR III p. 252; Yngelmar (surname) RH II p. 479.

OG Ingilmar, Inglemar F 966. For the members see Engelard and Ainmer.

Ingelram, Ingelrannus, see Engelram.

Ingelric, see Engelric.

*Ingelsent: Willelmus Inglissent, sherman, FY p. 167 (AD 1447); Johannes Inglesant, Willelmus Ingelsant Pt Y p. 245 (AD 1379).

OG Ingilsind(is) F 966. For the members see Engelard and Alsent. -sant is due to the AN coalescence of en and an. Ingenolda, see *Engenalda.

Ingenulf, see Engenulf.

Ingeraldus RB p. 610 (AD 1211-12). A name-element *Inger-* is recorded in two continental p. ns: *Ingerlaus*, adduced by F 967 and *Ingeralda*, a fem. equivalent of the above name, Bruckner p. 136, in the first member of which he recognizes the trace of an old os/es stem. In the present case at least, I am more inclined to explain *Inger- < Ingel*with r for l owing to dissimilation or perhaps to the influence of *Ingerannus* (see *Engelram*).

Ingram, see Engelram.

losfred, see Gosfred.

*lotselin, see Gozelin.

Isard de Bonefers (merchant of Toulouse) CR I p. 27 (AD 1224); *Isardo* (dat.) (homini Galfridi de Calcade) ibid. II p. 93 (AD 1226)¹.

OG Ishard F 971, OF Isart Langlois p. 362. The first member is perhaps OHG $\bar{\imath}s$ (OE $\bar{\imath}s$) 'Eis'; it has also been suggested that it is a shortened form of Isan-, wich is very well possible, especially in later times; cf. also Isengod below. Is- is in most cases of comparatively late appearance in OE p. ns, whence it seems probable that this name-element has been introduced from abroad; cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 194. For the second member see *Actard².

Isbert, Isberti (gen.) RH II p. 529.

OG Isbert F 971. For the members see Isard and Adalbert. Cf. also Isenbard below.

Isbrand de Harleñ (Holland) RLP p. 82 (AD 1208).

OG Isbrand, Isbrant, Isbrandt F 971, Carstens p. 53. Cf. also Isprant (Friese) Stark p. 40. For the members see Isard and Aeðelbrand.

Is(e)god, see Isengod.

Iseldis, Isolda: Iseldis (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 440, II p. 344; Iseuda la Marescale RH II p. 706 (Edw. I.); Iseude (filia Aliciæ Basset, Yorks.) Prior. Finch p. 49 (13th c.); Isenda (= Iseuda) Fulur RH II p. 794; Isolda (Leic.) Rot. Fin. p. 500

¹ The name Iseardi (gen.) BCS 89 (c. AD 700) is probably < *Isheard and not < *Isgeard, as Searle suggests. Cf. Suebeardus for Suebheardus in the same charter.

² The pl. n. (of) isan pyttan BCS 473 (AD 854), which according to Searle contains a p. n. **Isa*, is rather to be explained with Middendorff (p. 83) = *isengraf* 'Eisengrube'.

(AD 1213); Isolda Biset (Ysouda Biset) (Wilts.) ibid. p. 511
(AD 1213), RB p. 484 (AD 1210—12); Isolda (uxor) RCR II
p. 267 (AD 1200); Ysolde (gen.) de Bello Campo CR I p. 213
(AD 1214—15); Ysolde (gen.) Pantolf ibid. p. 286 (AD 1216);
Isold' (uxor Hugonis de Muhaut) ibid. II p. 214 (AD 1227);
Isolde (gen.) de la Pomerye Rot. Orig. II p. 63; Ysolt de
Ferrers Rot. Canc. p. 99; Ysouda, Ysodda LVD pp. 111, 113;
Isata FY p. 180 (AD 1459); Isaude (surname) PT Y p. 144
(AD 1379); Isand (= Isaud) RH II p. 382; Isonde (= Isoude)
ibid. p. 552; Essolda KC p. 134; see further Bardsley p. 420.

OF Iseut (l'amie de Tristan), Isalt, Isaut, Ysole Langlois p. 362, Schultz p. 187. Most scholars now agree on deriving this name from a Germanic etymon *Ishild¹. For the first member see Isard. The OF development of the second member (for which see *Ainild) is -hild > (h)elt ((h)eut) >(h)alt ((h)aut) > (h)olt ((h)out); cf. Schultz p. 187. For the loss of l in Isota, Isata cf. Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 148. Isenbard, Isenbert: Isembert mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 181 Isenbard (Northampt.), Isenbardus (Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 344; Isenbardus LVH (quoted from Searle); Isenbardus artifex Chr. Petr. p. 172; Isenbard', Isenbard de Fontibus Exc. Rot. Fin. I pp. 427, 456 (AD 1244, 46) = Isenbertus de Funtayns ibid. II p. 439 (AD 1266); Isenbard (Ysembert) de Braham Ped. Fin. III p. 155 (AD 1198), Rot. Fin. p. 447 (AD 1207); Isembert' Burell RLP I p. 140 (AD 1215); Isumberto (dat.) de São Blumundo Rot. Orig. I p. 227 (Edw. II.); Isemberd, Isamberd, Isanberd (surnames) CR I p. 487 (AD 1222), CCR II p. 229 (AD 1280); Ysenbard (surname) Ped. Fin. III p. 98 (AD 1198), etc.

OG Isanbard, Isenbard, Isenbard, Isanbert, Isenbert, etc. (common) F. 973 f., OF Isenbart, Isanbart, Isanbert Langlois p. 362. The first member is OHG îsan (OE īsern)²

¹ Cf. Schultz p. 187, Zimmer p. 73 ff. and Björkman, Pers. p. 194

² Occurring in *Isernuulf* LV, see Müller p. 81. The first member of the pl. n. *isenan œuvylm* is explained by Middendorff as the adj. *isen* 'eisern'.

'Eisen', For *-bard* and *-bert* see *Bardwulf* and *Adalbert*. Longnon (p. 289) considers *-bard* to be a deformation of *-bald* in the regions bordering on Lorraine, where te thinks a change of *-ald* > *-ard* (*Renaud* > *Renard*) has also taken place. It seems most likely that a confusion between the forms *-bard* and *-bert* has been caused by their resemblance and especially by the occurrence side by side of Rom. *Bart*and *Bert*-; cf. *Bertram* above¹.

Isenburh LVH (11th c.) quoted from Searle.

Isanburg, Isemburgis (Rom.), etc. F 975. For the members see Isenbard and *Engelburg.

Isenda, see Iseldis.

Isengod, Isngod mon. (Aethelred II.) Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 54.

The moneyer's name Is(e)god Grueber pp. 213, 246, Hildebrand p. 216 evidently designates the same person. The relation of Is- to Isan- in OG p. ns is not clear, as has been pointed out above (under Isard). They may very well originally be two distinct name-elements, of which the former may have come to be looked upon as a short form of the latter. It is further equally possible that OG Is- has arisen as a shortened form of Isan-. At any rate, both elements occur side by side in some OG compounds, e.g. Isibold : Isinbold, Isabert : Isanbert, Isbrand : Isanbrand, Hisburg : Isanburg, Iseger : Isanger, Isgildis : Isangildis, Hisigrim : Isangrim, Ishard : Isanhard, etc.; cf. also Iso = Hisenger Stark p. 40 and Socin p. 212. The present name, however, is recorded on the continent only in the form Isingaud, Isengaud (Rom.) F 976, but from what has been said above it will be seen that a by-form *Is(e)gaud may very well have existed. Another explanation has been suggested by Björkman (in E St, 1916, p. 278), viz. that Isengod is from Isegod with insertion of an inorganic n. Iseuda, see Iseldis.

Iseward mon. (Cnut) Grueber p. 246, Hildebrand p. 311;

¹ -beard is often a reverted spelling of -berd (< -bert).

Iseuuardus (Oxf.) Ellis Intr. II p. 344; Isward Cart. Eynsh. I p. 73; Ysward (surname) RH II p. 724 (Edw. I).

Cf. OG Iseward, Iswart, Isoard (Rom.), etc. F 972, OF Isoart Langlois p. 363. For the members see Isard and Beluard. Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 194.

Isgar (surname) see Bardsley p. 421.

Cf. OG Is(e)ger, Iskar F 971. For the members see Isard and Berenger. The above name is, however, perhaps a hybrid form.

Isiemund mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 120.

Cf. OG Isimund, Isemund F 972. For the members see Isard and Claremunda. Cf. also O Swed. *Ismund in the pl. n. Ismundbacken, Lundgren p. 138.

Isla (fem.) LVH (12th c.) quoted from Searle.

Cf. Isla, Hisla (Rom.) F 971 and the male form Islo ibid., which are either dim. forms of Isa, Iso F 970 or hypochoristic forms of compounds with Isel-, for which see F 972 f. and Bruckner p. 272.

Isolda, Isouda, see Iseldis.

Isware vidua CMR III p. 286; *Isewar* RH I p. 281 (Edw. I.). No OG or ON equivalent seems to be on record. It is perhaps a native formation with OE *-waru*.

Isulf mon. (Eadgar, Eadweard II.) Grueber pp. 164, 191.

Cf. OG *lsulf*¹ F 972 and ON *Isólfr* Lind 659; see Björkman, Pers. p. 194.

[Itamar, Ithamar Rofensis episcopus BCS 22, 838 (AD 664), though looking like an OG name, is probably Celtic; cf. *Itmâros*, Stokes p. 201.]

Iter, Iterius: Iter de Berbezi CR I p. 197 (AD 1215); Itero (dat.) de Chastery ibid. p. 496 (AD 1222); Yterus clericus RH II p. 818 (Edw. I.); Itherii (gen.) de Concoreto Rot. Orig. II pp. 44, 45 (Edw. III.); Iterius LVD p. 64; Iterius Bochardi (canon of the King's chapel of Hastings) CCR II p. 206 (AD 1277) = Iterius de Ingolisma ('Angoulême') ibid. p. 257 (AD 1281).

¹ For the members see *Isard* and *Adelulfus*.

OG Ithar, Ither, Iterius F 945, OF Itier Langlois p. 365. The first member is perhaps a shortened form of OHG *itis* (OE *ides*), as Socin (p. 212) assumes; cf. *Ida* above. For the second member see Aedelhere.

Ithrgunt LVD p. 79.

The second member points to continental origin, as Björkman (Namenk. p. 47) observes, but the first member is puzzling. The form is probably either corrupt or non-Germanic; cf. *Itero*, *Iturius*, *Itr-ius*, *Itr-ia* in Holder, and the second member of Celtic *Mailgund* (male) (< *Maelgun* = Gallic *Maglocunos*) Abbr. Plac. p. 52.

lueland de Stowe (Linc.) RB p. 515 (AD 1210-12).

The second member (for which see Amerland) proves this to be a continental name, though I have not met with any instance of it. It is evidently a younger formation with the short form *Ivo* (see below).

luetta, see *Iva.

*Iva, Yva uxor LVD p. 95 (13th c.).

Iva (Rom.) F 978, a fem. form of Ivo (below). — NF dim. forms (derived by means of OF *-ette*, Latinized *-etta*, < Latin *-itta*) are Iuett (probably fem.) LVD p. 32, Ioetta (uxor Willelmi Malesour) Rot. Fin. p. 253 (AD 1205), Iuete (gen.) RCR I p. 100 (AD 1194), Iuetta ibid. II p. 124 (AD 1199), etc.

*Ivelin, Yvelin, Yveliny (gen.) Rot. Fin. p. 315, CR I p. 49 (AD 1205).

A Rom. dim. form of Ivo.

*Ivelina, Iuelina de Bere RCR I p. 367 (AD 1199).

A Rom. dim. form of *Iva above.

Ivo Tailgebosch¹ Ellis, Intr. I p. 490; *Iuo* (Suss., Buck., etc.), *Iuo* (dapifer Hugonis, Bedf.), *Iuo* (homo Gisleberti, Linc.), *Iuo* (homo Eudonis, Linc.), *Ivo* (homo Roberti, Linc.) ibid. II p. 344; *Ivo* (Bish. of Dol) FNC IV p. 636; *Ivo* (founder of the house of Belesme, one of the guardians of

¹ A Norman, see FNC IV p. 215.

Richard the Fearless) ibid. II p. 183; *Ivo* (son of Hugh of Grantmesnil, Sheriff of Leicestershire)¹ ibid. IV pp. 232, 642; *Ivo*, *Yvo* LVD pp. 12, 46, 50, 55, 83, 112, 146 (Obit.); *Ivo* de Rieualle, *Ivo* de Chenai ibid. pp. 97, 98; *Yvo* (prior de Burge) Ann. Wint. p. 73 (AD 1199); *Ivo* Martell (Dors.) RCR I p. 330 (AD 1199); *Yvo* monachus CMR I p. 148 (AD 1114-30); very common; see further Bardsley p. 422.

Cf. Ivo F 978, OF Ive, Yve(s), Ivon, Yvon Langlois p. 365. F suggests it is from OHG iwa 'Eibe' or that Iv- is a secondary name-stem which has arisen from Idwald and similar names. It seems extremely doubtful, however, whether it is a Germanic name at all. It appears chiefly in Rom, sources and was particularly common among the Normans and Bretons², whence I am inclined to associate it with the Celtic name-stem Iv- appearing in Ivacattus, Ivatus, Ivimarus, Ivinus, Ivo, Ivorix, etc., see Holder. Of different origin are certainly OE Ifa (Ecgbeorht) Grueber p. 1, the patronymic form Ifinc(?)³ (Edw. the Conf.) ibid. p. 332, Iua (Eadw. the Elder) ibid. p. 92 and Ive (Eadred, Eadgar) ibid. pp. 155, 182, which are $< *Iba^4$ (cf. Ibba mon., Offa, Keary p. 27 and the pl. n. (on) ibbanhyrste BCS 208, AD 772) and Ibe BCS 154 (AD 736)⁵. These names, which may be compared to OG Ib(b)o, are hypochoristic forms of compounds with Id- or some similar element and a member beginning with b. If the native forms have survived they will have been confused with the continental Ivo.

 $^{1} = Yvo$ de Leircestre LVD p. 63.

² Cf. Yonge p. 326.

³ Yfingus KCD 813 (AD 1062) as well as Yffe, Yffing in the Northumbr. pedigree (AS Chr. 560 A) are < OE Uf(f)a.

⁴ Iba BCS 52, 1330, in a letter of Archb. Theodor, is probably not an Anglo-Saxon.

⁵ On f(v, u) < b see Abbo.

[Jagelin (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 342, also appearing in the pl. n. Purston Jaglin (Preston Jakelin) Moorman p. 151, has nothing to do with the OG name-stem Jag- which F (979) associates with OHG jagôn 'venari' but is a dim. of Jago (e. g. Rot. Obl. p. 12), a Rom. (Spanish) form of Jacob. The names Jachelin, Jacolin, which also occur in ME, are < OF Jaquelin, Jakelin.]

Jerlo, see Gerlo.

Jervays, see Gervas.

Jerwyn, see Gerwin.

Joceram, see *Gosram.

Johais (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 343.

The second member is evidently the same as in Adelais(a) above. The first member is $Gaut \rightarrow OF$ Jo- with loss of the dental, for which cf. Schultz p. 190, Kalbow p. 134 f. Hence the OG etymon is *Gauthaid, Caozheid, Cozheid¹ etc. F 616.

Joibert LVD p. 107; Joibert (Prior of Coventry, a Norman) CMR III p. 179 (AD 1216); Joyberd (surname, Ess.) Inq. Non. p. 309; Joibertus (Prior of Wenlok) Ann. Theokesb. p. 56 (AD 1198);

OF Joibert Langlois p. 374 f. The OG etymon is Gautbert (see Gosbert) > OF Jobert (Langlois ibid.), popularly associated with OF joie.

Jo(s)celin, see Gozelin.

Josfreid, Josfreið, see Gosfrid.

Judelberd mon. (Aethelstan II.) Keary p. 96; Judelbard mon. (Alfred), Grueber p. 73, probably the same person.

A continental equivalent does not seem to be on record. There can be no doubt, however, that the above forms

¹ Cf. Gosbert and Adelais(a); -heid is perhaps in some cases to be derived from *haip- (OE $-h\bar{e}p$) on account of the frequent spellings with d in OHG p. ns.

were introduced from Gaul, where the first member is instanced in the fem. name Judelhildis and probably also in Jodelman F 982. Judel- is assumed by F to be an extension of Jud-, related to the name of the Juts, and Longnon (p. 345) explains it as an "allongement gallo-franc de l'élément onomastique jud-", which he derives from Hebrew Judith. One might also recall the existence of a Celtic name-stem Iud-, not unfrequently met with in England, e. g. S. Iudoces (gen.) AS Chr. 903 F (cf. Iudocus Holder p. 86), Iuðwal subregulus BCS 677 (AD 931) (cf. Iudvalus Holder ibid.), Judichel venator Ellis, Intr. II p. 153 (cf. Iudicael Holder p. 85), and Judhellus, Juhellus Ellis, Intr. II p. 344, Judhel de Totenais ibid. I p. 440 (< Breton Jud + hael, see Zimmer p. 109). - For the second member see Isenbard. The d is due to the WF vacillation in the rendering of final t.

Κ.

Karl, see Carl. [Kerinc liber homo (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 154 is a mistake for Kenric' liber homo (Suff.) ibid. p. 153 and not identical with OHG Kerinc < Gering.] Lambert, Lambert: Lambertus (Ess., Norf.), Lanbertus (Dors., Som., etc.), Lanbertus (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.), Lanbertus (homo Gozelini, Linc.), Lanbertus presbyter (Berks.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 345; Lambertus LVD pp. 16, 45, 47, 52, 78, 79, 110, etc.; abbate Lamberto¹ ibid. p. 136; Lambertus (Prior of Ramsey) CMR I p. 161 (AD 1146—53); Lambertus (Prior of Ramsey) CMR I p. 161 (AD 1146—53); Lambertus (son of Odelardi) MRS p. 65; Lamberti (gen.) de Bremen CR I pp. 610, 635 (AD 1224); Lambertus Teutonicus ibid. p. 277 (AD 1216); Lamberto (dat.) de Cassel ibid. II p. 35 (AD 1225); Lamberti (gen.) Flandr Rot. Canc. p. 10; Lambard (surname, Yorks.) RH I p. 125 (Edw. I.), etc. A probably Italian dim. form is Lambertino (dat.) CR II p. 128 (AD 1226).

OG Lambert, Lanbert (< Landbert) F 1005, Winkler p. 225, OF Lambert Langlois p. 389 f. The first member is OHG lant (OE land, lond) 'Land'. On the loss of the dental and the assimilation of nb > mb see Franck, Afr. Gr. §§ 126.4, 128. For the second member see Adalbert. This name, however, does not seem to have been strange to OE; it occurs in the forms Londberct in LV (se Müller p. 81), Londbriht mon., see Searle, and Landbeorht Earle p. 254. But it is no doubt to continental influence that it owes its great popularity in ME times. Cf. Bardsley p. 464, who states that "the Flemish Lambert had a great influence on English nomenclature for a time, nearly as great, in fact, as Baldwin". — For the dim. form Lambin see Arch. 123 p. 35.

Lancelin, see *Lanzelin.

Lancelina, see *Lanzelina.

Landfranc, Lanfranc: Landfranc, Lanfrancus (Archb. of Canterb.) AS Chr. 1070 A, Ellis, Intr. I p. 443, LVD p.

¹ See under Fromund.

74; Lanfranc (son of Eustace) Rot. Canc. p. 180; Lanfranco (dat.) ('lator litterarum regis') RLP p. 13 (AD 1202).

Lanfranc F 1006. For the first member see Lambert; as regards the second member F says (p. 515): "Zum volksnamen der Franken. Im zweiten teile zeigt sich der stamm in Lanfranc (10), das in Italien, aber auch im Ags. begegnet", and p. 1006: "Landfranc ist sonst oft ags, z. b. häufig in den concilien". This name referred to by F is the above-mentioned Archb. of Canterbury, "a native of the Lombard city of Pavia". According to Kalbow (p. 91), Lanfranc is also once instanced as an OF epic name.

Landric: Landricus, Landric (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 443; Landri (Berks.), Landricus (Nordhampt., Yorks., Linc.), Landricus (homo Alani Comitis, Yorks.) ibid. II p. 346.

OG Landric(us) (very common) F 1009 and OF Landri (common) Langlois p. 391 f. For the members see Lambert and Alberic. It is not on record in ÖE. The NE surname Landry, explained by Bardsley (p. 471) as local, 'of the laundry', is probably partly to be derived from Landri; cf. the surname Landr' RH II p. 719. Lanfrei LVD p. 52.

This is perhaps an AN form of OG Landfrid¹ F 1006, OF Lanfre, Lanfroi Langlois p. 392. But an OE equivalent occurs in Londfrið LV (see Müller p. 81) and Landferð mon. (Eadred, Cnut) Grueber pp. 150, 246. I see no reason why Landferð LVH p. 25 should be continental as Köpke (p. 21) assumes.

*Lanzelin, Lancelin: Lanzelinus (Northampt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 346; Lancelius Chr. Petr. pp. 164, 168; Lancelin (Cant.) RCR I p. 369 (AD 1199), Fines I p. 326; Lantscelino (dat.) MRS pp. 48, 49; Lancelin Boeve de Hamtone v. 2928; Lancelin, Launcelin, Launcelyn (surnames) Rot. Obl. p. 156 (AD 1201), RH I p. 269, FA I p. 19 (AD 1316), etc.; see further Bardsley p. 466.

¹ For the members see Lambert and God(e) frid.

Lancelin (Rom.) F 1004, Langlois p. 390, a Rom. dim. form of Lanzo (below)¹.

*Lanzelina, Lancelina LVD p. 54 (13th c.).

A fem. form of the preceding name.

Lanzo (prior Sancti Pancrati Lewensis venit in Angliam) Ann. Berm. p. 425 (AD 1077) = patre *Lanzone* (abl.) Lib. Hyde p. 299.

OG Lanzo F 1004, a hypochoristic form of compounds with Land-; cf. Lanzo = Lambertus, Landefredus Stark p. 78. Lauda LVD p. 57.

OG Lauta (fem.) and Laudo (male)² are certainly not to be taken under consideration in explaining the above form, any more than Celtic Laudo (male) Holder p. 158, but Lauda is most probably a mistake for Landa owing to the graphical confusion of u with n in ME texts; cf. OG Landa and its male equivalent Lando (F 1003), hypochoristic forms of compounds with Land-, see Lambert.

Lecelina (wife of Fulk Paganel) CCR III pp. 176, 177 (AD 1311); Leceline (gen.) ibid. p. 277 (AD 1314).

This might be a dim. form of *Leza* (uxor Roberti de Abetot) CCR III p. 309 (AD 1316), which perhaps is to be compared to OG *Lezzo* (male) F 1054, Socin pp. 150, 223, 427. But *Lecelina* is rather the same name as *Licelina* (e. g. LVD p. 34, CCR II p. 111, AD 1268), which seems to be a dim. form of *Elizabeth*.

Lefram de Basideis CR I p. 220 (AD 1215).

OG Liubrammus³ (Mod. G. Lieb(e)ram) F 1026. The first member has probably been adapted to the ME form Lef-(e. g. Lefred, Lefrich, etc. RH I p. 162, II p. 92).

Leg(g)ard, see *Leodgard.

Lendard: Medardus Lendard, goldesmyth, FY p. 171 (AD 1451).

¹ For Lancelot, which also occurs in ME, see Zimmer p. 50 ff.

² Related to Goth. laudi 'Gestalt'.

³ The first member is OHG liob (OE leof) 'lieb'; for the second member see Bertram.

OG Lendard F 1007, placed under Landard, Lanthard¹. For explaining the e-form, we must then assume that the first member has been influenced by such names as Lentfridus, Lentrich, in which there was a secondary mutation of a by the i of the second member. Cf. also the form Linthart (Mod. G Lindert) F 1060.

*Leobrant occurring in the pl. n. (æt) Leobrantestune BCS 1130 (AD 972-992).

OG Leobrand, Leubrand, Liuprant, etc. F 1038. The first member is probably OHG liut (OE leod) 'Volk', as is shown by the frequent occurrence of Leutbrand, Liud-Liutbrand, etc. F. 1037 f. It is not necessary to assume OHG leuuên, liuuên 'gnädig, günstig sein', as has been done by Bruckner (p. 277) for Lombard Leoprandus². For the second member see Aedelbrand.

Leobwinus (one of Walcher's favourites) FNC IV p. 669. Cf. OG Leobwin(i), Leuboin, Liubwin, etc. F 1029. For the members see Lefram and Amalwin. The OE equivalent is Leofwine.

*Leodgar: Leodegarius de Diva (Leic.) RB p. 533 (AD 1210 -12); (de) Sõo Leodegar CR I p. 257 (AD 1216) = St. Léger; Leodegarius LVD p. 64; Leger (NE Le(d)ger) Bardsley s. 476.

OG Leodegar³ (common) F 1040, OF Legier (Langlois p. 393), spread all over France and Normandy; cf. Schätzer p. 40 f. No OE equivalent is on record. The surname Liger RH I p. 484 is also a NF form of the same etymon; cf. OF Ligier Langlois p. 396.

*Leodgard: Legard Rot. Obl. p. 47 (AD 1200); Leggard, Lyggard Bardsley p. 476.

OG Leudgard, Liudgard⁴ (F 1040 f.) > French Legard,

¹ Cf. Lambert and *Actard.

² The first member of OE *Leofrith* LV and *Leowinus* Anecd. Oxon. I 7, 29, 151 (AD 1107-37) is certainly not this element, as Müller p. 110 suggests, but they are = Leoffrith, Leofwine.

³ For the members see *Leobrant and Amelger. The first member is a Latinized or learned form.

⁴ For the members see *Leobrant and Aldeardis.

Legeard, Liégeard Kremers p. 51. Incorrect is F's explanation of Legard, Legart (Pol. Irm.) < Laic-. Of the same origin is further the first member of the pl. n. (to) lidgeardes beorge BCS 834, 1125 (AD 947, 963). A fem. equivalent is Leogarda de Torkeseye Rot. Orig. I p. 23 (Hen. III.). Cf. OG Leutgarda, Liudgarda, etc. F 1040.

Leofgod, see under Mangod.

Leogarda, see *Leodgard.

Leonard, Len(n)ard: Leonardus de Venoz (Ess.) RB p. 359 (AD 1166); Leonardo (abl.) Rot. Orig. II p. 281 (Edw. III.); Leonardi (gen.) Pichot CMR II p. 281 (AD 1216-31); Magister Leonardus Rob. Gros. p. 302 (AD 1242); Leonard (canon of Huntingdon) Fines I p. 50 (John); Leonardus carpenter (Hunt.) RH II p. 609 (Edw. I.); Leonardus Asshawe (Lanc.) Duc. Lanc. p. 61; Leonardus (filius Alani dapiferi regis Scotiæ) LVD p. 111; Leonardi (gen.) de Venetia, Leonard de Venice Rot. Canc. p. 160, RCR I p. 183 (AD 1198); Leonardus (abbot of Dublin) CCR I p. 120 (AD 1230); Leonard (surname) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 448 (AD 1266), CMR I p. 194 (AD 1244), RH II p. 610; Lennardi (gen.) CMR I p. 95; Lenard (surname) Inq. Non. pp. 61, 331; the Saint's name Leonard occurs in capella Sči Leonardi (of Cestresham), Fines I p. 253; hospic' Sči Leonardi (of Chesterfield) Rot. Orig. II p. 243; ecclesia Beati Leonardi (of Stratford), St. Leonard's Forest (Suss.), Roberts p. 137, etc.; cf. also the pl. n. Burton Leonard Moorman p. 39 and Pons Leonardi RM I p. 10.

OG Leonard (Rom.) F 1053, Socin p. 25. The first member is OHG leuuên 'gnädig, günstig sein', for which see Bruckner p. 277, Schönfeld p. 156 and literature. For the second member see *Actard. Leonard is a learned form which has been preserved up to the present day, not only on the continent but also in England, where it also appears as Lennard in conformity with the pronunciation. The latter form, which occurs already in ME, as may be seen from the above instances, is probably due to the ME development of eo > e. Cf. also Jespersen, Gr. 3.25. Lesiard, see *Lisiard*.

[Leswinus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 158.

This name is probably an orthographical error for Lefwinus, just as Leswi abbot, Earle p. 574, will stand for Lefwi $(< Leofwig)^{1}$.]

Letard, see *Liudhard.

Letewaria (sister of Walter Esturmi) Exc. Rot. Fin. I pp. 393, 400 (AD 1243).

OG Liuduara, Liutwar, Litwara, etc. F 1048 f. Lete- is a NF form of Leut-, for which cf. *Liudhard; for the second member see the etymologies in F 1531° .

*Leðarius, see *Liudhard.

Leutfredus S., Ellis, Intr. I p. 444 = St. Leufroy in the diocese of Evreux.

OG Leutfrid, Liutfrid³, etc. F 1039. An OE equivalent is found in Liodfrith LV (see Müller p. 89). The spelling eu in the above form is AN, whereas in the native forms Leuredus (< OE Leofred), Leuric (OE Leofric) Ellis, Intr. II p. 162, eu is to be considered as [ev] < OE [eov]. Cf. the ME spelling Alured for Alfred.

Leuint LVD p. 31.

The second member is strange to native p. ns. -winda, -wint occurs in OG, cf. F 167, but there is no equivalent of the present form on record. The two names between which it occurs in LVD, Lefsi and Lefwar, render it likely, however, that the first member is actually Leu- < Lef-, (see Leutfredus) and the second member corrupt. Cf. such ME forms as Leuild, Leuine, Leuid, Leuiet, etc.

¹ Cf. Luhmann p. 42 ff.

² The surname *Letelin* RH I p. 50 is perhaps non-Germanic (see Holder p. 191). Cf., however, the name *Leto* F 999 and *Let* (Ellis, Intr. II p. 158), for which latter see Björkman, Pers. p. 92.

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³ For the members see *Leobrant and Amelfrid.

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*Leuthere, Leutherius, Leotherius (episcopus Occidentalium Saxonum) BCS 25, 30, 37, 43, 107 (AD 670-704), Bede, HE L III, C VII¹.

OG Leutheri, Leother, Liuthar², etc. F 1043 f. No native equivalent is on record.

Leza, see Lecelina.

Liardus, see under *Liudhard.

Liboret (Bedf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 349.

OG Liubarat, Liuberat, etc. F 1027. For the members see Lefram and *Amaldredus. Lib- < Liub- is due to OF influence, see Mackel p. 128. -ret is found in DB also for native -red owing to the AN interchange of final d and t. *Lidgeard, see *Leodgard.

Liger, see *Leodgar.

*Lipperd in the pl. n. Lipperdes gemære KCD 681 (after AD 972).

OG Liuppert (F 1037) < OG Liutbert⁸ F 1036 f. In this case the *i* of the above form is accounted for as an OF rendering of the OG diphthong *iu*. Cf. the Rom. form Litbert F 1037 and Mackel p. 128. The ME surname Lyppard (RH I p. 542) is perhaps the same name. It might also be explained with Bardsley (p. 478) as identical with the surname Leopard 'the leopard'.

Liseman, see the following name.

Lisiard, Liziard: Lisiard (canon) Rot. Canc. p. 321, probably = magistro Lisiardo (canon of York) Prior. Hexh. II p. 88; Liziard de Monasteriis, Mustiers ('Moûtiers') RCR I p. 125 (AD 1194), Rot. Fin. p. 253, Fines I p. 294, CR I p. 404, RH II p. 302 = Lesiardo (dat.) de Monasteriis Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 37.

Lisiard (Rom., AD 1089) F 1061. For the continental name-element Lis- various etymologies have been establi-

¹ He was a nephew of Bish. Agilberct (see *Aegelbert).

² Cf. *Leobrant and Aedelhere.

³ Cf. *Leobrant and Adalbert.

shed: F associates it with **lis* 'gehen', Bruckner (p. 278) with OHG *liso* 'leise' and Longnon (p. 302) derives it from *Elis*- (see *Aelismer*) with aphæresis of the initial *e*, which seems rather probable at least in the present case¹. The same element perhaps occurs in *Liseman* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 181, 349. Cf. *Lis(e)man* Socin p. 428.

*Liudhard, Liudhardo² (abl.) Bede, HE L. I, C. XXV = Leðarii (gen.) BCS 8. The same person in also Letardi (gen.) episcopi Silvanetensis in Galliis Hist. Aug. p. 132; Letardus (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 347; Letardus (Kent) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 83 (AD 1250); Letard(us) de Heny(n) Plac. p. 718, CCR II p. 187 (AD 1274); Letard (surname) RH I p. 410, etc.

OG Leuthard, Liuthard³, etc. F 1042 f. The form Letard is given by F 999 under laitha- (OHG leid, OS lêd; "doch kommt auch in betracht ahd. leitjan, alts. lêdian, ags. laedan, nhd. leiten ducere"). But most of these names containing Lēt- are taken from Rom. sources and therefore probably to be derived from OG Leut- 'Volk' with OF loss of the second component of the diphthong for which see Mackel p. 128. Liardus RB p. 187 (AD 1166) and Lyard (surname RH II p. 755) are probably NF forms of OG Liuthard, Liudard with iu > i and loss of the dental.

Loswardus (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 448, Losoardus, Losuardus (homo Episcopi Baioc.) ibid. II p. 350.

Hildebrand (DB p. 351) suggests that this name is from Laudwart quoted from Pott, which seems more than uncertain especially since this form does not seem to be on record in OG times. OG $l\hat{o}s$ (OE $l\bar{c}as$) might constitute the first member of the name under notice, but this element does not seem to have been used as a name-stem. One might further compare the names Lozhilt F 1052, Luz-

¹ For the second member see Aldeardis.

² The Frankish chaplain of Queen Berta.

³ Cf. *Leobrant and *Actard.

man F 1051, and Luzardus Socin p. 27, of which the first members may be original hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Hlod-*, *Hlud-* (cf. Lutze = Ludewig Stark p. 77); in such case Losward (with s for z, see Azelin) would be a variant of OG Ludewart F 855. Finally, it remains to be taken into account that it may be a hybrid form of Germanic -ward and some non-Germanic element; cf. e. g. Los- in Celtic names, Holder p. 289.

*Lutin, Lotyn: Luttinus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 182; Lotyn de Paris (Linc.) RH I p. 385 (Edw. I.).

OF Lotin, Lutin (Langlois pp. 405, 409) dim. forms of OG Lodo, Lotto, Ludo, Lutto (F 849), short forms of compounds with Hlod-, Hlud- (see *Hludowic). Loten (Ellis, Intr. II p. 182) is probably = Loden, see Björkman, Pers. p. 92. Lyard, see under *Liudhard. Lyggard, see *Leodgard.

M.

Maald, see Mahtild.

Macharius (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 350, LVD pp. 14, 55.

Cf. Macarius, Macharius F 1069, which he explains from *mag (related to magan 'können' and OHG magan 'Kraft, Macht') + hari (see Aedelhere), but he observes that it may sometimes be of Greek origin. Holder (p. 363) explains the same name as partly Greek, partly Celtic. — Of Celtic origin are also Machel (Ellis, Intr. II p. 182) < Macelus, Holder p. 369, Macus, Machus (ibid. p. 182) < Macus, Holder ibid.; Macca(n eige) (KCD 1069) < Macco, Holder p. 365, and some other compounds with Mac(c)- in OE and ME times.

Madfrey, see Mat(e)frid.

*Maginarius, *Maginario* abbate (probably of the Abbey of St. Denis in France) BCS 259 (AD 790).

OG Maginhar, -heri, Maginarius, etc. F 1077. The first member is OHG magan (OS megin, OE mægn) 'Kraft, Stärke'; for the second member see Aedelhere¹.

Magnard, Mainard, Meinard: Magnard mon. (Eadw. the Elder, Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 83, 102; Mainard (Wilts.), Mainardus (Hants., Norf.), Mainardus (Linc.), Mainardus (homo Rogeri Pictaviensis, Linc.), Meinardus (homo abbatis de S. Bened., Norf.), Meinardus vigil (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 183, 353; Mainardum (acc.) Flandrensem ESC p. 132 (AD 1144).

OG Maganhard, Maginard, Mainard (very common), Meginard, Meinard F 1076 f. For the members see *Maginarius and *Actard.

Mahald, Mahild, see the following name.

Mahtild, Mathild, Matild etc.: Mahtild (Willelmes cynges cwen)² AS Chr. 1083 E = Mathild ibid. 1067 D = Mathildis regina Ellis, Intr. I p. 452; Matheld, Mathild, Mathila, Mathildis ibid. II pp. 184, 352; Mathilda (daughter of Will. the Conq.) FNC III p. 660; Mahtild LVD p. 52; Mathildis (wife of Rodbertus le Peiteuin) ibid. p. 80; Matildis ibid. pp. 3, 15, 16, 17, 19, 27, 34, 59, 64, 83, 84, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 108; Matild(a) ibid. pp. 23, 88, 97, 101; Matilda de Clare (Countess of Gloucester) RM I p. 260; Matildis de Evereus Ann. Wig. p. 534 (AD 1297); Edith-Matilda³ (wife of Henry I. and daughter of King Malcolm of Scot-

² Sister of Baldwin VI., Count of Flanders, see FNC II p. 304. ³ "To please Norman ears, Eadgyth had, most likely at the right of her crowning, to change her English name for the continental *Matilda*, just as, to please English ears, Emma had once to change her continental name for English Aelfgivu" FNC V p. 169.

¹ With the exception of *Mægenhere*, which Searle gives from LVH, other instances of this name are lacking in OE.

land) = Magtild regina LVD p. 2 = Mahalde (acc.) AS Chr. 1100; Matilda (daughter of Eustace of Boulogne and Queen of Stephen) FNC V p. 244; Matilda (daughter of Henry I.) FNC V p. 195; Matilda (daughter of Fulk of Anjou and wife of William Aetheling) FNC V pp. 183, 193; Matilda (daughter of Wigod)¹ ibid. IV p. 734; Matilda (daughter of Waltheof) FNC IV p. 605 = Mahald Reg. Lib. p. 151; Machtild (surname, Suff.) RH II p. 192; Mahild, Mahald, Mahalt, Mahaut, Maholt, Maald, Mauld(e), Mald LVD pp. 16, 17, 19, 32, 47, 50, 53, 57, 61, 64, 70, 71, 78, 79, 80, 82, 112, 130; Mahald vel Matilda ibid. p. 18; Mahald (mother of Simon de Beauchamp) CMR I p. 143 (AD 1124-30); Mahalt (mother of King Henry II., cf. above) Chr. Jord. Fant. v. 383; Maude (surname) RH II p. 674; see further Bardsley p. 521.

OG Mahthild(a), Mathilda, Mat(t)ild(a), etc. F 1084, OF Maheut, Mahaut Langlois p. 413. The first member is OHG maht (OE meaht, miht) 'Macht', which does not occur in native OE p. ns. On the spellings th, t see Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 154, 5, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 113 and Beckmann p. 86. For the OF loss of the dental see Schultz p. 190 and Kalbow p. 135. For the second member and its NF development see *Iseldis* above. Mihthild BCS 711 (AD 936) has been identified as Mechtild, mother of the German Emperor Otto.

*Maiencia, Maienciam (acc.) RCR II p. 141 (AD 1199).

OG Maganza, Maginza, Meginza (F 1072) dim. derivatives from the name-stem Magin- (see *Maginarius). For similar formations see Stark p. 75 f., Socin p. 61².

Maillard, Maylard: Maillard (surname, Nott.) Rot. Fin. p. 546 (AD 1214); Raoul Maillart Rot. Orig. II p. 295 (Edw. III.); Walteri (gen.) Maylard (Ess.) RB p. 804.

¹ According to FNC ibid. she had probably changed her name like Eadgyth.

² To be kept distinct is the OF pl. n. Maience, Maiance, present Mayence.

OF Maillart (Langlois p. 419), derived by Kalbow (p. 123) from an OG etymon *Magilhard. Cf. the compounds Magelpertus (Maiolbertus), Magel-, Maielpotus, Magelfred, Magelgard (Bruckner p. 282, F 1070), of which the first member is considered to be an extension of Mag- (see Macharius). Cf. also the Celtic name-stem Magl- <*maglo-s 'Vornehmer'. It seems most probable that Maillart is a hybrid form on Rom. soil where -hard had assumed the nature of a suffix from its frequent occurrence in p. ns. Mainard, see Magnard.

*Mainfrid, Mainfridus (Som., Nott.), Mainfridus (homo Radulfi de Limesi, Nott.), Meinfridus (et Robertus, Som.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 351, 353.

OG Maginfrid, Meginfrid, etc. (very common) F 1074 f., OF Mainfrois Langlois p. 419. For the members see *Maginarius and Amelfrid. Cf. also *Manfrid below.

Maino seu Manno (North.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 449; Maino (Oxf.), Maigno seu Maino Brito (Buck., Leic.) Maino quidam (Oxf.) ibid. II pp. 183, 351; Mainonem (acc.) camerarium de Lewes Ped. Fin. I p. 6 (AD 1190).

OG Megino, Meino, Magno, Mod. G. Maine, (Magina, Maina, fem.) F 1071, hypochoristic forms of compounds with Magin- (see *Maginarius). In the spelling Manno¹ above, nn is probably used to denote n 'mouillé', and the same is also the case with ign in Maigno².

Maingod (surname) RC p. 197 (AD 1213-14); Maingat de Metulo ibid. p. 59 (AD 1200); Meingot Naper (Ess.) Rot. Fin. p. 264 (AD 1205).

OF Maingot (Langlois p. 419) < OG Megingaud (very common), Meingaud, Meingot, etc. F. 1075. For the members see *Maginarius and Aingot.

Maisent LVD p. 59; Maisent (Yorks.) Rot. Canc. p. 290; Maisenta (Linc.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 320 (AD 1259-60);

² See Menger p. 88.

¹ Cf. also the p. n. Manno, Björkman, Pers. p. 95.

Maiesent Wint. DB p. 537; Meisente (dat.) ibid. I p. 115 (AD 1224); Maysant (Yorks.) Ped. Fin. II p. 91 (AD 1197); Maysanta (Dev.) Plac. p. 170 (Edw. I.); Maysanda (wife of Radulfus de Armeley, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 434 (AD 1266).

OF Maissent (Langlois p. 420), by Kalbow (p. 121) derived from OG Mathasuent(a)¹, with OF loss of intervocalic d (< p) and preservation of the composition-joint a as i. Another OG etymon, however, might also be taken under consideration, viz. *Magisind, Megisend (F 1070), of which the first member is Mag-, see *Macharius. For the second member see Alsent.

Mald, see Mahtild.

Mal-: for compounds with this element see under Malger. Malger (Dors., Som., etc.), Malgerius (Kent), Malgerus (Suss., Hants.), Malgerus (homo Episcopi Lincoliensis) Ellis Intr. II p. 351; Maugeri (gen.) de Sco Albino Rot. Orig. I p. 83; Malgerus de Contreu RCR II p. 107 (AD 1199); Malgiers (filius Hugonis) RB p. 413 (AD 1166).

Malger (Rom.) and Madalger F 1113, OF Maugier Langlois p. 444. Mal- is certainly in many cases < Madal- (related to Goth. mapl 'Versammlungsort, Markt', and OE mæpel 'Versammlung')². But besides, there probably existed a namestem *Mala- which Kögel, AfdA 18, 58, assumes to be related to Greek $\mu \delta \lambda \varsigma$ 'mit Mühe' and $\mu \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \rho \delta \varsigma$ 'gewaltig, stark'. Cf. also Wrede, Ostg. p. 143, who points to similar Celtic formations. For the second member see Berenger.

Mal- occurs in England in several other p. ns of which the origin is more or less difficult to determine: *Malbert (Mauberti (gen.) BB p. 42, Malbart (surname) Inq. Non. p. 300, and the pl. n. Malbertorp (Linc.) RCR II p. 62, AD

² Cf. also the pl. n. *Mæfelgares byrig* (*Maugersbury*, Glouc.) BCS 882 (AD 949) perhaps containing a native p. n. from which ME *Malger* might sometimes be derived. See further Stark p. 49 and Sievers, IF IV p. 336.

¹ Cf. Schönfeld p. 165, F 1110.
1199) is probably of OG origin (cf. Malbertus Bruckner p. 283 and OF Malbert Langlois p. 422); Maugodi (gen.) RC p. 154 (AD 1205) is probably a mistake for Mangodi (see below); Malerus Abbr. Plac. p. 188, is perhaps from OG Madal-, Madelhere F 1114; for Malgrim see Björkman, Pers. p. 94; Maluinum¹ (acc.) BCS 250 (AD 787) perhaps < OG Madalwin F 1115. Malisii (gen.) comitis de Strathern² Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 90 is certainly Celtic (< Maol Ioso 'disciple of Jesus', according to Yonge p. 260); cf. also the Celtic names Malcolm, Mælpatric, etc. Finally, Mal- in ME surnames is sometimes < OF mal (< Latin malum), e. g. Maldoith, Maldvith Ellis, Intr. I p. 449 = the common ME form Mauduit (Maldut, Maudut, etc. < maledoctus), and Malpertus BB p. 357 (AD 1166), etc. Manbodo (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 352.

The second member (for which see Anderboda above) points to continental origin, though the present compound does not seem to be on record. It is not impossible, however, that Man- stands for Main- (see Manfred below); cf. OG Mainbod, Meginbodo, etc. F. 1073.

Maneboia (Medesh.) BCS 1130 (AD 972-992).

This name is certainly not English, but does not seem to be on record' on the continent, any more than other compounds with *-boia* (see *Boia* above). Is it a hybrid formation coined on Rom. soil or in England with this element and *man* 'Mann'?

*Manfrid: Manfridus Lib. Eliens. p. 497; Manfredus (presbiter cardinalis) RM I p. 358, CMR II p. 162 (AD 1185— 87) = Mainfredi presbyteri ibid. p. 184; Manfred de Palastrell (Lond.) CPR I p. 166 (AD 1285); Bernardus Manifred Bardsley p. 511; Maunfrey (surname) RH II pp. 482, 665.

OG Manfred F 1091, OF Manfrois Langlois p. 427. For

² Cf. FNC V p. 300.

¹ Mentioned as 'lector' in a report of the legates George and Theophylact of their proceedings in England.

the first member see the preceding name, for the second member, God(e)frid. The interchange of Main- and Manis also found in OF Mainfrois for Manfredus, see Kalbow, p. 26. For Maun- see Behrens p. 77. Cf. Meinfridus below.

Manger RH II p. 805; *Manger* (surname) ibid. pp. 239, 556, 558; *Mangar* (surname) ibid. pp. 581, 583, Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 526; *Maungerson* (surname) Pt. Y p. 218 (AD 1379).

These forms are probably in many cases = Mauger < Malger (see above), which is fairly common from DB onwards. The form *Maungerson* (for *Maun*- see the preceding name) proves, however, that *Manger* also existed. *Mangar* is not on record in OE and is rarely met with in OG; cf. F 1091, Winkler p. 250.

Mangod, Manegod, Manegot: Mangod, Manngod mon. (Eadwig, Aethelred II., Cnut) Grueber pp. 159, 160, 214, 246, Hildebrand pp. 55, 205; Mangodo¹ (dat) BCS 1309 (AD 978); Mangode (dat.) Thorpe p. 638; Manegot (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 183; Manegod (surname, Buck.) RH II p. 353 (Edw. I.); the pl. n. Manegodesfeld, Manecotesfeld (Mangotsfield, Glouc.) Ann. Theokesb. p. 81 (AD 1231), Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 84 (AD 1250).

Baddeley (p. 105) explains the first member of Mangotsfield as an OE p. n. Mangod: Manegot and adds: "The Anglosaxons used both this one and Godeman". From the spelling it is not to be seen whether God- is OE $g\bar{o}d$ 'good' or $g\bar{o}d$ 'god' and from the NE forms we can only draw the conclusion that $G\bar{o}d$ - was used an OE name-element. Cf. e. g. NE Goodman ($< G\bar{o}dman$)², Goodrich ($< G\bar{o}d$ ric), Goodwin ($< G\bar{o}dwine$). As regards NE $G\bar{o}dman$, $G\bar{o}drich$,

¹ The same person appears as Mangoda (nom.), Manegodan (dat.), ibid.

² The pl. n. Godmanchester [Gvmsistə] represents a development $G\bar{o}dm$ -> $G\bar{u}dm$ -> $G\bar{u}dm$ -> $G\bar{u}dm$ -> $G\bar{v}dm$ -> Gvm-.

Godwin they may be from God-, but it is equally possible that they may have arisen through shortening of the \bar{o} in $G\bar{o}d$ - before the transition of ME $\bar{o} > \bar{u}$. From the occurrence of Got- and Guð- in OG and ON p. ns, we may, however, be allowed to presume the existence of God- in OE p. ns, too. Which of these two name-elements does Baddeley assume to constitute the second member of Mangod? The ON equivalent of OE god is, as far as my knowledge goes, not found in that function and of OG p. ns F (659) mentions the uncertain Autgodo, Filogud and Megingodi (gen.) as perhaps containing $-g\bar{o}d$. As regards $g\bar{o}d$ it is certainly found in some O Icel. p. ns given by Lind (366), e. g. *Farmaguð, *Hangaguð, Haptaguð, etc., but it should be particularly noticed that all these forms were used as bynames of Oden and in some instances of Freya. In OG they are altogether lacking. From this state of things in the kindred Germanic dialects it will hardly be too daring to infer that names in -god are absent from OE, the more so as compounds with this element are of late appearance. Björkman¹ is therefore no doubt right in explaining the name-element -god, -got² occurring in England as ON or OG. Of the present name there is no OG equivalent given by F, but Provencial Manigot seems to presuppose an OG etymon *Manegaut or *Manegot3; cf. Kalbow p. 83. - As regards the moneyer's name Leofgod, Liufgod or Livegod (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 200, it might be a hybrid form, but it seems more probable that it is of OG origin (cf. Liepgot, Liubgoz F 1024) with the first member Anglicized,

² Cf. Aingot above. -god is either due to the AN interchange of final d and t or, when earlier instances are concerned, to WF influence ("wohl auf Grund westfr. Erweichung" Franck, Afr. Gr. § 32, 3). Most of the Cont.-Germ. p. ns in OE were no doubt introduced from some part of the WF dominion.

³ For the first member see Maneboia.

¹ Pers. pp. 68, 177.

since there were a considerable number of continental moneyers in England in the reign of Aethelstan¹. Manno, see Maino.

Markeward (surname) Rot. Fin. p. 295 (AD 1205).

OG Marcward, Marquard², etc. (very common) F 1097 f., Pott p. 220, Carstens p. 26. Not on record in OE. Markvarðr Lind 766 is mostly of foreign origin.

*Marscalc, Marscale³ mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 175.

OG Marscale F 1105⁴. It seems most probable that the first member is OG mâri (see Aelismer) rather than OHG mar(a)h (OE mearh) 'Pferd', which constitutes the first member of the homonymous appellative occurring as a surname from DB onwards (e. g. Goisfridus Marescal, Rogerus Marescalcus, Gilbertus Marescallus Ellis, Intr. I p. 451, LVD pp. 84, 96 etc.). For the second member see Goldesscalc. Mas(s)elyn, see Mazelin.

Mat(e)frid, Matefrey, Madfrey: Matefridus Barlig Chr. Petr. p. 68; Matefrey CMR I p. 53, III p 318, RH II p. 642; Matfrid ibid. p. 658; Matefrey, Madfrey (surnames) ibid. p. 431, Inq. Non. p. 315⁵.

OG Matfrid (very common), Matfred, Madfrid, Mathfrid⁶ F 1109. The first member is obscure; it might be related to Madal- (see Malger) or is to be associated with Celtic

¹ The moneyer's name Godgod, London (Cnut) Grueber p. 245 is probably not an instance of reduplication, as Searle suggests, but quite simply = God mon., London (Cnut), the name having been written twice by mistake. In the same way Wulfulf mon., Linc. (Edw. the Conf.) is probably to be explained = Wulf mon., Linc. (Edw. the Conf.) Grueber p. 333.

² The first member is OHG marka (OE mearc) 'Grenze, Gebiet'; for the second member see Beluard.

³ e for c is due to the likeness of these letters on the coins.

⁴ Cf. also Marescaus de Melante, a Sarrazin, Langlois p. 432.

⁵ Bardsley (p. 511) has wrongly placed this name under Manfred.

⁶ Also occurring as OF *Mafreiz* according to Kalbow p. 135 and Provencial *Matfré*, Mackel p. 168.

matu- 'gut'¹; cf. IF 4, so4 f. For the second member see Gaufrid. No OE equivalent is on record².

Matelina, see Mazelina.

Mazelin: Mazelini (gen.) CMR I p. 328 (AD 1252); Mazelino (abl.) RH II p. 159; Mazelin (surname) ibid. p. 795; Mazelins (surname) RLP p. 40 (AD 1204); Mas(s)elyn (surnames) Inq. Non. pp. 9, 244; Mazalin (surname) Cart. Eynsh. II p. 227 (AD 1220-26).

Bardsley (p. 519 under *Maslen*) suggests that *Mazelin* is < *Marcelin* (a dim. form of OF *Marcel*). Without denying the possibility of this explanation I prefer to derive it < OG *Mazelin*, *Macelin*, *Matzilin*, *Mazolin*, *Maselin*, etc. F 1107, 1120 and OF *Masselin* (a Saxon) Langlois p. 441, dim. forms of OG *Mazo³* F 1119. *Maceling* Rot. Obl. p. 18 (AD 1199) is probably the same name with excressent g. For s(s) and c by the side of z see *Azelin*.

Mazelina, Matelina CMR I pp. 326, 328 (AD 1252), Exc. Rot. Fin. p. 349 (AD 1241); Mazelina (daughter of Walter de Crich, Dors.) CCR II p. 243 (AD 1280); Mazalina CMR III p. 253; Mascelina (wife of Roger de Mubray) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 264 (AD 1234); Mascelin (wife of William de Kantelup) Fines I p. 78; Mazelina (daughter of Matild de Smalemor) RH II p. 162; Matelina (daughter of William Garneys) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 568 (AD 1272).

¹ Cf. Matomarus Holder p. 463.

² Maiffray (surname) Rot. Orig. II p. 314 (Edw. III.) might be a AN form of *Madafrid (cf. Maisent), OG Magafrid F 1069, or OE Meifrith (see Müller p. 81). The p. n. *Mainfrid (see *Manfrid) is perhaps also to be taken into account. The surname Macefrey, occurring several times in ME records, is probably to be considered as a side-form of Matefrid. The first member Mace- is due to the occurrence of Mace by the side of Mat(t)e as a ME nickname of Matthew.

³ Perhaps a hypochoristic form of compounds with *mapa- or *mapal-, for which see Malger and Matefrid. Cf. Mathelin = Mascelin (F 1109), Stark p. 84 and Bruckner p. 53. It may further have been used as a short form of Matthew; cf. the preceding foot-note.

Cf. the preceding name. It is possible that Mazelina was used as a dim. form of Matilda (cf. Mazelina daughter of Matild above), in which case it is probably not to be kept distinct from Matelina (cf. Mettelina = Mathilde, Stark p. 63). The latter name may further be a dim. form of Margareta (cf. Margareta dicta Matila, Socin p. 60). Finally, Miss Yonge (p. 32) mentions Mazaline as a French form of Magdelaine. Cf. also Mazelainne, Maselainne for Madeleine Langlois p. 436.

Medardus LVD p. 54 (13th c.); *Medardus* Lendard, goldesmyth, FY p. 171 (AD 1451); (de) Sancto *Medardo* Chr. Petr. pp. 41, 140.

The last instance refers to St. Medard¹ (Bish. of Noyon 530-45) who popularized this name in France. The first member is obscure. Kalbow (p. 94) considers it to be an older form of $M\bar{a}t$ -(?); is it perhaps < OS mêde, OHG mêta (OE mēd) 'Bezahlung, Lohn'? For the second member see *Actard.

Meinard, see Magnard.

Meinfridus, see *Mainfrid.

Meingot, see Maingod.

*Meisent, see Maisent.

Mergessent LVD pp. 60, 68.

The ending recalls continental *-sent* (see *Alsent*). Is it an error for **Mercesent* (cf. OG *Marcsind* F 1097)? The form is, however, perhaps non-Germanic.

Merkebrun LVD p. 35 (12th or 13th c.).

Cf. OF *Marcabrun*², which Kalbow (p. 154) assumes to be a hybrid formation. On *er* for *ar* see *Arnald*.

Milesent, Milisent (Northampt.) RCR I pp. 29, 227 (AD 1199); Milisent (wife of Milo) ibid. p. 113 (AD 1194); Milisent (filia Milonis) ibid. II p. 274 (AD 1200); Milisent(a) (wife

¹ On the various French forms of this name see Schätzer p. 42, Kalbow p. 94.

² Cf. also the fem. Marcabruna, Bergert p. 107.

of Hervei Bagot) Rot. Fin. pp. 217, 530 (AD 1204—14); *Milisent(a)* Exc. Rot. Fin. I pp. 24, 49, II pp. 193, 346, 434, 473 (AD 1219—70); *Melisenta*, *Milisenta* de Monte Alto (= *Milicente*, *Milsenta* de Mouhaute) Ann. Dunst. p. 341 (AD 1288), RM I p. 190, CRC p. 126; *Millesente* (acc.) Cruche RH I p. 503; *Milesand*, *Milisant* CR I p. 300, II p. 61, Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 64, Linc. Obit. p. 155, Test. Nev. p. 49; *Milesant* (surname) RH II p. 68; *Milisencia* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 423 (AD 1265), etc.

Milesindis, Milesenda, Miles(s)ent (Rom.) F 1124, Langlois p. 450. This name seems to occur exclusively on Rom. soil. The first member is probably the same as in Milo (below). For the second member see Alsent. The above forms are, at least in most cases, fem. A male equivalent is Milessantus (de Freisenville) RB p. 586 (AD 1211--12). Milessantus, see the preceding name.

Milo mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 97; *Milo* monachus KCD 754 (AD 1020—38); *Milo* Crispin¹ (Surr., Berks., etc.), *Milo* portarius (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 402, 453; *Milo* LVD pp. 15, 37, 71, 82, 102, 112, etc.; *Milo* Borel ibid. p. 109; *Milo* Basset Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 473 (AD 1268); *Milo* de Verdoun Rot. Orig. I p. 290; *Milo* de Bello Campo Rot. Obl. p. 5 (AD 1199); *Milo* (chamberlain of Ricardus de Clare) Ann. Theok. p. 149 (AD 1252); *Milo* Pichard' Ped. Fin. II p. 86; *Milo* de Boun RH I p. 97; very common.

OG Milo (common) F 1123, OF Milon, Miles Langlois p. 451 ff. F (1122) and Bruckner (p. 285) associate Milwith Old Slavonic milŭ 'barmherzig'. To judge by the OF forms, in which i is always preserved, and the NE forms Milo [mailou], Miles² [mailz], the stem-vowel would seem to be long, but is in the former case perhaps a learned spelling and in the latter due to spelling pronunciation.

¹ Cf. FNC IV p. 39.

² The instances of *Miles* given by Bardsley (p. 532) are ambiguous, since it occurs only as a surname and may be = Latin *miles* 'soldier'.

Morand, Morant: Moran(us) (Chesh.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 356, LVD p. 56; Morandus CMR III p. 267; Morant Ped. Fin. I p. 27 (AD 1195); Morant, Morand, Moraunt, Moraund (surnames) RM II pp. 324, 327, Rot. Fin. p. 381 (AD 1207), Rot. Orig. I p. 284, CRC p. 347, RH I p. 390, Duc. Lanc. p. 146.

OF Moran, Morant (common) Langlois p. 469 f. The instances of this name given by F 1117^{1} are probably all Rom. It seems to be < OG *Modrannus, Moderannus² F 1130; cf. Morandus = Moderandus F ibid. Moriland (Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 356.

The second member points to continental origin, cf. Amerland above. Mor- in OG p. ns is assumed by F 1116 to be < Latin Maurus; Bruckner (p. 284) associates it with maur 'Moor, Sumpfland', "das noch im Ortsnamen Mauringa erhalten ist". An element Mor- also occurs in a few OE p. ns³ where it is probably to be explained as OE mor 'Moor'. Mor- is further found in Celtic p. ns. The ME surname Morland (e. g. Willelmus Morland, Ricardus Morland FY pp. 139, 203, AD 1426, 1480) is no doubt originally a pl. n.; cf. de Morland Rot. Fin. p. 355 (AD 1206).

N.

*Nadelharius, Nadelharium (acc.) BCS 259 (AD 790), a monk of St. Denis in France.

Identical with Natlahar (Rom.) F 1155. The first member might be a WF extension of Nâd- occurring in OHG

¹ Under *Maura-.

² First member is OHG muot, OS mod (OE mod) 'Mut'; for second member see Bertram.

³ E. g. Moruuinus Ellis, Intr. II p. 356, Morulfus ibid. p. 187. The form Morfled LVD p. 68 is uncertain, since the same name appears as Merfleda ibid. p. 60. For Moregrim, see Björkman, Pers. p. 96.

gi-nâda 'Gnade' but is more probably associated with Latin natalis. Cf. Nadaltrudis, Tochter der Natalia, Socin p. 203¹. For the second member see Aeðelhere. Nansige mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 122.

The first member might be Nan(d)- <*nanp- (see Elinant), but considering the fact that the present name is not on record on the continent and, moreover, OG names in *-sige* are extremely rare, it seems most likely that Nan- is an error for Ean- or some similar OE name-element.

Nardredus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 357.

Cf. the OG name-element Nard- F (1152 f.)². But the present name is probably merely an error for Hardred (< OE Heardred). Cf. Nuboldus for Huboldus Ellis, Intr. II p. 359. *Natelina, Natelin uxor CR I p. 75 (AD 1206-7).

Cf. Nadalina (Rom.) F 1155 and *Nadelharius above. *Natelina is perhaps a dim. form of Natalia.

Niuelin (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 188; *Niuelig* ibid.; *Neuelinus* LVD p. 104 (13th c.); *Nevelyn* (surname, Yorks.) Rot. Orig. I p. 29 (Edw. I.); further instances are found in Binz (p. 205).

These forms are identical with OG Nibelung, Nivelung, Neveling etc. F 1161 f. For the etymology see ZfdA XII (289), XLIII (43), F 1160 ff. Niuelin etc. (above) is a NF form for Niueling. This name was no doubt borne by foreigners in England.

Norgot (Northampt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 358; Norgodus (Southampt.) RB p. 207 (AD 1166).

OG Norigaud, Norgaud and Northgaud F 1169, 1170. The first members are *nori- and *norpa-, for which see Bruckner p. 288, F 1168 and AfdA 18, 53. For the second member see Aingot. In Norgiot, Ellis, ibid., which designates the same person, gi might signify [dz]; cf. *Ermengot above. The variant Nogiold ibid. is corrupt.

¹ OHG $n\hat{a}dala$ 'Nadel' is probably not to be taken under consideration.

² Cf. Nardulus = Eginhardulus Socin p. 193.

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Odard: Odardus balistarius (Surr.), Odard (Chesh.), Odardus (Leic., Linc., Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 457, II p. 360; Odardi (gen.) Chr. Petr. p. 159; Odard(us) Rot. Obl. p. 145, CR II p. 83, Plac. p. 124; Odardus (vicecomes Northymbrensium) Sim. Durh. I p. 116 (AD 1121); Odard de Karleolo Abbr. Plac. p. 66 (John); Odard(us) LVD pp. 15, 52, 53, 55, 60, 69; Odard (surname) CR I pp. 62, 63 (AD 1206); etc.

OG Authart, Othard, Odard (Rom.) F 194 f., Odard Chr. Norm. III 557. For the first member see Audoenus. Odmight further belong to OS $\delta\delta al$, OHG uodal 'Erbgut'¹. For the second member see *Actard. The form Udard(us), sometimes met with in ME records², is an AN variant of Odard³. In other cases Ud- may stand for Wud-, e. g. in Udeman Ellis, Intr. II p. 248, = Wudeman.

Odbert, Otbert: Otbert mon. (At. Eadmund) Keary pp. 123, 124; Odbertus (Surr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 360; Otbertus (Yorks.), Otbertus (Surr., Hertf., etc.), ibid. pp. 199, 364; Outbert (Linc.) ibid. p. 199; Odberd LVD p. 53; Odbard Abbr. Plac. p. 35.

OG Aud-, Aut-, Od-, Otbert F 190, OF Obert Langlois p. 492. For the members see Odard and Adalbert. The form Outbert is due to the influence of ON Aud- (Oud-); see Björkman, Pers. p. 106. For Autbert (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 375, II p. 45 cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 66.

*Odbold, Otbold(us) (Dors., Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 364.

OG Od-, Otbald, Otbold etc. (common) F 189. For the

³ Cf. Stimming p. 190 f.

¹ Cf. Bruckner p. 288 f., ZfdA 43, 24.

² E. g. RCR II p. 30 (AD 1199), Fines I p. 233, Reg. Lib. p. 110. *Udardi* (gen.) de Baenb' AC p. 33 (AD 1133) is, according to Genealogist, Jan. 1888, identical with *Odard*, Sheriff of Northumberland.

members see Odard and Albod(o). The OE equivalent is Eadbeald.

*Odelard, Odelardi (gen.) MRS p. 65; Oidelard(us) (Kent, Hants. etc.), Oilard lardarius (Hunt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 361; Oyl(l)ard (surname) Rot. Fin. p. 307 (AD 1205) CR II p. 122 (AD 1226); Olardi (gen.) RCR I p. 216 (AD 1198).

OG Odalhard, Odel(h)ard, Odilard etc. (also frequent in Rom. sources) F 1187 f. The first member is OS $\delta\delta il$, OHG udil, uodal (OE $\bar{e}\delta el$). The OE noun odal was not used as a name-element¹. Oilard is probably from Odelard with loss of the dental. Is Oidel- a blending of Oil- and Odel-? For Ol-² < Odel- see Bruckner p. 289.

*Odelbert, Odulbert mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 121, 122. OG Odalbert, Odelbert etc. F 1184 f. For the members see *Odelard and Adalbert. u (in Odulbert) is perhaps a mistake for a. Odelbyrhte (dat.) KCD 1290 (c. AD 995) might be an Anglicized form of the same continental name but is rather an error for Oedelbyrhte; Oedel- for Edel- is not unfrequently found in the charters.

Odelerius³ FNC IV p. 495 f.; Olerius CCR II p. 234 (AD 1280). OG Odelhar, -her, Odeler(ius) etc. F 1188. For the members see Odelard and Aedelhere.

Odelin, see Björkman, Pers. p. 103, Namenk. p. 64.

Odelina: Odolina, Ellis, Intr. I p. 458; Odeline (gen.) RH II p. 84; Odelina Abbr. Plac. p. 98, Ped. Fin. IV p. 31, CR I p. 4, etc.

Cf. Odelina (Rom.) F 1184 and the preceding name. This name as well as Odelin are probably dim. forms of Odo, Oda but might also be dim. forms of compounds with Odel.

¹ For second member see *Actard.

² Ol- in Olbolt, Olgrim, Oluuardus etc. in DB is < Wulf- or Ulf-, see Björkman, Pers. p. 166, foot-note 2.

³ A priest of Orléans, who came into England as a follower of Roger of Montgomery; he is the father of the well known Orderic Vitalis. *Odelric, Odelric mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 151.

Cf. OG *Odalric* etc. (very common) F 1190 f. For the members see **Odelard* and *Alberic.* δ in the above name may well be *d*, since these letters are not seldom confused on the coins. In LVD p. 13 (13th c.) we find a form *Odelrig*, occurring between the names *Auun* and *Afun* (for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 24). This form is perhaps due to ON influence. Cf. *Odalrikr* (German?) Lind 799. Is *Odalrinus* LVD p. 47 a mistake for *Odalricus*? [Odeman Ellis, Intr. II p. 190 is certainly not to be derived from OG *Autman*, *Otman* (Mod. G *Odeman*, *Ottman*) F 198, but is an AN form of OE *Wudeman*, occurring as

Wodeman Ellis, Intr. II p. 416].

Oder: Oderus (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 90 = Odarus (Norf.) ibid. p. 360; Oder LVD p. 52.

These forms are perhaps ON^1 . Cf. also OG Aud-, Odher, Other² (Mod. G Oder), etc. F 195, OF Odier Kalbow p. 133. — As regards Oter, occurring as the name of a moneyer of Offa, Keary p. 25, it is probably OG³. Later instances are as a rule uncertain, because they may stand for Ohter (cf. Oter, Sim. Durh. II p. 93, = the Earl Ohter in AS Chr. 911 D)⁴. The ME surname Oter is probably in most cases originally an appellative; cf. Isabella le Oter RM I p. 146.

Odeua (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 190.

OG Odigeba, Odgiva⁵ etc. F 192. The OE equivalent is *Eadgifu*, appearing in DB as *Ediua*, *Edeua* (Ellis, Intr. II pp. 82, 83).

*Odeward, Otheward LVD p. 7 (13th c.).

¹ Cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 64.

² For the members see *Odard and Aeðelhere.

³ Of continental origin is probably also (Walterius filius) Other, Ellis, Intr. I p. 504.

⁴ The pl. n. Otereshol contains OE oter, see Middendorff p. 100.

⁵ For first member see *Odard; second member is OHG geba (OE gifu) 'Gabe'.

Cf. OG Audoard, Odoard¹ etc. F 203. The first member of the above form has perhaps been influenced by ON $Au\delta$. Odfrid (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 190. For this name and Oudfride ibid. p. 199 see Björkman (Pers. p. 106).

Odger, Og(g)er: Ogerius Brito (Linc.), Ogerus Brito (Leic., Linc., etc.), Ogerius (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 458, II p. 361; Ogerus LVD pp. 55, 57; Ogerum (filium Ogeri) KC p. 149; Odger de Eyton CCR II p. 382 (AD 1290); Odgerus de Waltone CMR II p. 327, Odgar RC p. 180; Oger(us) CMR I p. 172, Fines I p. 235; Ogger Ped. Fin. I p. 158 (AD 1196); the pl. n. Ogerstone, Otegarstone, Otegerstone CMR II p. 304, RM II pp. 274, 275; see further Bardsley p. 566.

Cf. OG Autger, Odger, Otker², Og(g)er, Od-, Otgar etc.³ F 192 f. On the loss of the dental and the assimilation of dg > gg see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4, Mackel p. 163. In OF we find the form Ogier le Daneis (Langlois p. 495) which is from *Odger (cf. Oddgeirr Danski Lind 801 and Udgerus, Otgerus Danus by the side of Olger Danske, Nielsen p. 69). In England we meet with Oggerus, Oggirus le Daneis Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 58 (AD 1202). Cf. also Ogerus (filius Ungemar)⁴ Ellis, Intr. I p. 458. Hence the abovementioned forms may be of ON as well as of OG origin. Odierna de Luserñ (Buck.) RCR II p. 262 (AD 1200); Odierna LVD p. 65; Odierñ (Wilts.) Rot. Fin. p. 236 (AD 1204); Odierne (surname) RH II pp. 382, 384; Hodyern' (Suss.) Inq. Non. p. 396.

OF Odierne, Langlois p. 492, Odierna, Hodierna (several instances) Schultz p. 201. The latter, who has dealt with

¹ For the members see *Odard and Beluard.

² The form Otcer, KCD 981, might belong here but is perhaps non-Germanic. Many Welsh names occur in the same charter. ³ For the members see *Odard and Beringer.

 $^{^{4}}$ = Ungeman, for which see Björkman (Pers. p. 170).

this name in detail, derives it from OG $*Audigerna^1$ but suggests that Breton *Alt-tigern may have been confused with the OG form.

Odil (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 190.

Cf. Odilus, Odelus (Rom.), Uodal etc. F 1183, OS Odil Heyne p. 21. See *Odelard above.

Odilo mon. (Eardwulf-Aethelred II.) Keary pp. 143, 156, 180, 199(?); Odilo prior de Bermundeseie, Ann. Berm. p. 445 (AD 1220).

OG Odilo (very common) F 1183, a hypochoristic form of compounds with Odil-, see *Odelard, or a hypochoristic dim. form of Odo (below).

Odinel, see Björkman, Pers. p. 103, Archiv 123, p. 36.

Odlent CCR III p. 71 (AD 1306); Olenta (wife of Walter de Rudes) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 76, CR I p. 482 (AD 1221); Olencia (Berks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 86 (AD 1222).

OG Audelinda, Odelindis, Odelenda (Rom.), Ollind etc. F 197 f. For the member see *Odard and Godelent. Olencia is Latinized on the model of such names as Clemencia, Laurencia.

Odo, Oda, Oddo, Ot(t)o: Oda dux BCS 393 (AD 826); Oda, Odo episcopus KCD 352, 354, 355, 356, 357, 379, etc. (AD 930—940) = Odo Dorobernensis archiepiscopus ibid. 390, 395, 401, 403; Odo Scyrburnensis episcopus KCD 344 (AD 927); Oda min. ibid. 1111, 1117, 1136 (c. AD 938); *Oda (Odan) mon. (Aethelstan-Cnut) Grueber pp. 118, 123, 136, 191, 215, 297, 300, Hildebrand pp. 61, 120, 153, 154, 163, 213, 284, 312, 475; Odo mon. (Edw. the Elder, Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 83, 102; Odda mon. (Aethelred II.) Hildebrand p. 61; Odda miles KCD 764 (AD 1042); Oda min. ibid. 1309 (c. AD 1014); Odo Baiocensis Episcopus², Odo

¹ For first member see *Odard; second member is a fem. derivative from *-gern* (OHG gërn, OE georn 'gern'), recorded in Gaule in the name Audiernus (Schultz p. 203).

² Half-brother of William the Conqueror and Earl of Kent, see FNC II p. 210.

arbalistarius¹ (Yorks., Linc.), Odo (filius Eurebold, Dors.), Odo (filius Gamelini, Som.), Odo Flandr. (Som.), Otto aurifaber² (Ess.), Odo (homo Walterii de Aincurt, Linc.) etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 458, 462, II pp. 189, 360; Odo, a Norm. abbot of Chertsey FNC IV p. 390; Odo, Oda, Otto, Otho LVD pp. 2, 12, 23, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 55, 56, 60, 62, 64, 65, 69, 70, 78, 87, 96, 101, 107, etc.; Odo, Otto (diaconus cardinalis) Chr. Petr. p.º 14 (AD 1237); Odonis (gen.) de Hispania RB p. 588 (AD 1211-12), RM I p. 351; Otto de Grandisono (Surr.) CRR p. 109 (Edw. I.); Odonis (gen.) de Groningen CR I p. 604 (AD 1224); Ot(t)o CR I p. 422, RH II pp. 122, 141, Ped. Fin. I pp. 5, 8, Plac. pp. 119, 354, Rot. Orig. I p. 262, etc.; the pl. ns Ottan forda AS Chr. 773 A, Otansihtre KCD 179 (AD 801), Otanhyrst ibid. 198 (AD 811); Odingalea ibid. 209 (AD 816), Oddan heal BCS 765 (AD 941); cf. further Björkman Pers. p. 99 ff.

The above instances have been placed together, though they are in many cases of different origins. It would be a useless task, however, to try and keep them distinct in detail. On the ON influence see Björkman (Pers. p. 99 f. and Namenk. p. 66). Odo (Oddo) is further a very common NF p. n.³ and has also in some cases been introduced into England by Flemings and Germans. Otto⁴, originally an OHG form, was popular also outside the OHG district. To judge by the comparatively late appearance of this name in England, it has perhaps in all instances been introduced from abroad. Cf. Björkman (Pers. p. 100). Odomer (?) mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 121; the form

Odomorer (?) mon. (St. Ladmund) Keary p. 121; the form Odomoner occurring on another coin is the same name.

⁴ Cf. also the dim.-form *Otelinus* (Ferre) = *Otto* (Ferre) CPR II pp. 224, 232 and *Otelinus* Alemaund ibid. IV p. 138.

¹ One of the foreign adventurers accompanying Will. the Conqueror, see FNC IV p. 216.

 $^{^{2} =} Otho$, Otto aurifaber ibid. II pp. 364, 365.

³ In most cases hypochoristic forms of compounds with Od-, see *Odard.

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Cf. OG Audomar, Odmar, Otmar etc. F 198. For the members see *Odard and Ainmer.

*Odred, Odredo (dat.) RH II p. 271.

Cf. OG Odrad¹ etc. F 199, OF Otré Langlois p. 510 f. Odulf mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 122, 136.

Cf. OG Odulf² F 204 f. See Björkman (Pers. p. 107). Og(g)er, see Odger.

Oggod BCS 1130 (AD 972-992); the same p. n. enters into the pl. n. *Oggodestûn*, *Oggedestune* KCD 710, 1298 (AD 1002, 1004).

The geminated consonant is certainly due to assimilation of dg > gg (cf. Odger). The etymon is probably OG Odgaud (Autgoz etc.)[§] F 193 f. Cf. also Audgautr Lind 97. Ogisus (Dors., Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 361.

OG Autgis, Otgis⁴ etc. F 194; cf. also ON Auðgísl Lind 97. The loss of the dental is probably NF; cf. Kalbow p. 83.

Oidelard, Oilard, see *Odelard.

Oirant, Oiranti (gen.) (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 459, II p. 191.

This might be an OF form of OG *Audaramnus (cf. Audoramnus, Auderamnus, Auteramnus⁵ etc. F 196 f.) which would easily become Oirant. Or is it from an etymon *Odilramnus (cf. Odilcramnus F 1189), the first member showing a development analogous to that of Oilard (see *Odelard)? The loss of l might be due to assimilation of lr > rr and simplication of the geminated consonant.

*Olard, see *Odelard.

Olencia, see Odlent.

Olenta, see Odlent.

*Omeric, see Amalric.

¹ For the members see *Odard and *Amaldredus.

² For the members see *Odard and Adelulfus.

³ For the members see *Odard and Aingot.

⁴ For the members see *Odard and Ansegis.

⁵ See *Odard and Bertram.

Omulung abbas BCS 116 (AD 706) = Omolincg abbas ibid. 76 (AD 691-92) = Homolunch abbas ibid. 118 (AD 706).

For this name, which is < OG Amalung, Amelung etc. F 90, I refer the reader to Binz p. 213.

Orielda (wife of Thom' Crawe, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 37 (AD 1219); *Oriolda* (wife of Willelmus le Bret) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 116 (AD 1208); *Oriolda*, *Oriolt* de Ainderby Abbr. Plac. pp. 58, 151 (John).

Both Orieldis and Orieldis occur in Pol. Irm. and some other Rom. records; cf. Schultz p. 192. The first member is perhaps $*aur^{-1}$, recorded in a number of OG p. ns; cf. Aurildis (Pol. Irm.) F 210. Schultz (ibid.) thinks that the first member is rather originally Or-. For the second member see Iseldis.

Orlandinus, see Rol(l)and.

Ostebrand (Chesh.) Ellis Intr. II p. 197.

No continental equivalent seems to be on record. The first member might be $Ost - \langle *austa - \text{`east'}, \text{ occurring as a name-element in the Germanic dialects. It seems more probable, however, that <math>st$ is an AN spelling for ht^2 , whence the above name will be identical with Uctebrand below. In the same way, Ostred CCR III p. 113 (AD 1308), is probably to be explained from OE Uhtred.

Ostula liber homo (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 198.

Perhaps to be compared to Aostilo and Austolus (F 212), dim. derivatives from Ost-, see the preceding name. For -ul- see Ebulo above.

Ostrilda KC p. 29.

OG Ostarhilt, Ostrehildis, Ostrildis³ (Pol. Irm.) F 215.

¹ Cf. Bruckner p. 230, Wrede, Ostg. p. 113, Meyer-Lübke p. 16.

² Cf. the spelling *Brist-* for *Briht-*, *Brict-* in DB (Ellis, Intr. II p. 59) and Luhmann p. 32.

³ First member is OHG ostar (< *austar-) 'nach, im Osten'; for second member see *Ainild. An OE equivalent is Aestorhild LV (see Müller p. 101). 202

Cf., however, Ostrilda Sym. Durh. I p. 349, a mistake for Ostryðe (acc.) AS Chr. 697 E (< Osðryð).

Otbert, see Odbert.

Otbold, see *Odbold.

Otelin, see Odo.

*Oðelbyrht, see *Odelbert.

Odelric, see *Odelric.

Ot(h)er, see Oder.

Otheward, see *Odeward.

Otic mon. (Aethelstan, Eadmund, Eadwig) Grueber pp. 102, 137, 156; the same name is *Otie* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 125.

OG Odich, Oddic, Otich, Otycus etc. F. 188, Otic Socin p. 47, dim. forms of compounds with Od-, see *Odard. Some instances of -*ic* in native p. ns are given by Eckhardt p. 345.

Otewi(c) (Norf.) RCR I p. 254 (AD 1199).

OG Otwich, -wic, -wih F 204, OF Otoïs Langlois p. 508. For the members see *Odard and *Hludowic. Otto, see Odo.

Otwine mon. (Edw. the Conf.) Grueber p. 332¹; Otewin' de Insula Rot. Obl. p. 168 (AD 1201); Willelmus Otwyn, boucher, FY p. 176 (AD 1456).

OG Audoin, Odwin, Otwin (very common), etc. (F 204), of which Audoenus (above) in many cases is a NF learned form. The OE equivalent is Eadwine. Outbert, see Odbert.

¹ Otibuinro mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 124, 125, is probably a corrupt form of the same name. Pandulf, Pantulf: Pandulfus (Bish. of Norwich) Chr. Petr.
p. 8 (AD 1223) = Pandolfus presbiter cardinalis RM I p. 363, Ann. Wint. p. 81 (AD 1209)¹; Willielmus Pantulf, Pantul (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 365; Pantulf, Pantolf (surnames) Rot. Fin. pp. 460, 506, RC p. 162, RCR I pp. 18, 142, II p. 88, MRS p. 104, CR II p. 111, AC p. 36, Test. Nev. p. 55, etc.

Pandulf, Pandolfus, "ein in Unteritalien sehr gebräuchlicher name", F 245, Bruckner p. 232. The first member is related to Goth. bandwa, bandwô, M Lat. bandum 'vexillum'²; the initial p and probably also the t are HG. For the second member see Adelulfus.

Panto (surname) CR I p. 43 (AD 1205), Rot. Fin. p. 495 (AD 1213).

Cf. Panto, Pando (F 245, Pott p. 133, Stark p. 87), which might be hypochoristic forms of compounds with Pant-, Pand-; cf. the preceding name. It is possible, however, that they are non-Germanic as is certainly the name *Pantus (Panti (gen.) thelonarii BCS 177, AD 748)³.

[Papaldus (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 365.

The first member is rather to be associated with non-Germanic Pappus, Papolenus etc. occurring in continental records (cf. also Latin Papus, Papilus, Papius etc. adduced by Mowat p. 322) than with an OG name Papo, see F 223, whence Papaldus will be a hybrid form. The pl. n. Papanholt BCS 596 (AD 901) is probably rightly explained by Middendorff (p. 101) as containing $p\hat{a}pa$ 'Papst, Geistlicher'].

² See Bruckner, ibid.

³ Of non-Germanic origin is perhaps also *Banta* BCS 159 (AD 738), 228 (AD 779), and not an OE equivalent of OG *Panzo* (OS *bant* 'pagus') as F 246 suggests.

¹ Cf. also Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 126.

Pepin, see Pip(p)in.

Perlo (Som.) Ellis Intr. II p. 200.

An explanation of this name is given by Moorman (under *Parlington*), who says that "it is possible that it is a contracted form of OHG *Pertilo* or *Perahtilo*". It seems more likely that it is a hypochoristic form of some HG compound with *Ber*- (see *Berardin* above), such as *Perlaicus*, *Perelant*, *Perliub* etc., or a dim. form **Perilo*. Cf. F 261. **Pernier**, see under *Beringer*.

Pip(p)in, Pepin: Radulfus *Pipin* (Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 367; Wills *Pippin* (Bedf.) RH II p. 323 (Edw. I.); Will *Pipin* (canon of Leicester) RCR II p. 62 (AD 1199); Hugo *Pepin* (Leic.) Rot. Orig. I p. 59, etc.

Pip(p)in (very common), $Pepin^1$ F 300. The same p. n. is probably also found in the pl. n. (of) *pippenespenne* BCS 882 (AD 949)². As regards Bardsley's explanation³ of *Pippin* as a variant of *Phippen* (< *Phip* < *Philip*), it seems improbable, since, apart from the phonetical difficulties presented by the discrepancy of the initial consonants, *Phip* does not seem to appear till a much later date. But it is not impossible that the above surnames might be from NF *pepin* (an apple), ME *pepin*, *pipin* (cf. NED), originally used as a nickname.

¹ Borne e. g. by *Pepin l'Heristal* and *Pepin* le Bref. For this name cf. PBB 37, 122.

² In the pl. ns (on) *pippan slæd*, (on) *pippan lêage*, Middendorff (p. 102 f.) recognizes an adj. *pippe* 'klein, winzig'. ³ P. 608.

*Raba, see Rabel. Rabboda, see Radbod(a).

Rabel: Rabellus artefex (Norf.), Rabellus carpentarius (Norf.), Rabel (Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 470, 471, II p. 370.

OF Rabel Langlois p. 542 f. It is very uncertain whether this is an OF dim. form of a Germanic name Rabo as Kalbow¹ assumes, and the same holds good of the surname Rabelyn Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 247 (AD 1256-57). The form Ravelin Ellis, Intr. II p. 204, might be NF variant of this name with regular transition of intervocalic b > v. Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 110.

Racelin le cordewanerius KC p. 69; Racelin de Belnes CCR II p. 128 (AD 1269).

Cf. OG Razilin, Racelin (F 1208), dim. forms of the common name Razo² ibid. Cf. also Stark pp. 78, 94.

Radbod(a), etc.: Radboto (dat.) Lincolniensi vicedomino BCS 461 (AD 851); Radbodus (Prior of St. Samson's monastery in France) ibid. 643 (AD 925); Radbodus comes ibid. 872 (AD 948); Radboda prepositus (Norf.) Rabboda (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 202, 370; Radbodus CMR III p. 262; Radbod de Hengham CCR III p. 368 (AD 1317; Radbode, Rabbod, Rabot (surnames) RH I pp. 451, 528, Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 27, Plac. p. 189, Pipe Roll III p. 6, etc.³

OG Radobod, Rad(e)bod, Ratbod, Rad(e)bodo, Rab(b)odetc.⁴ (very common) F 1209 f. On the assimilation of db> bb see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4.

¹ P. 52. The name **Raba* (*Raban*, gen.) BCS 42 (AD 676) is equally difficult to judge. It is at any rate not of OE origin.

² Cf. Razo = Ratfrid Socin p. 193.

³ Rathbedo (dat.) Bede, HE L V, C IX is the Frisian king Radbod.

⁴ First member is OHG $r\hat{a}t$ (OE $r\bar{a}d$, $r\bar{c}d$) 'Rat'; cf. also Bruckner p. 291. For second member see Anderboda.

Radegund (abbes of Wilton 871—) according to Searle; *Radegunda* (uxor Stephani Dorneford) FA I pp. 233, 493 (AD 1428); cf. also ecclesia *Sce Radegundis* de Bradeshole RC pp. 12, 223 (AD 1199, 1216), *Sce Radegund* de Dover CR I p. 125 (AD 1212)¹.

OG Rad(a)gundis etc. F 1213 f. For the members see Radbod(a) and Gundbert; the OE equivalent is Redgyth.

Rademar (Dev.), Rademer(us) (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 370. Cf. Ratmar, Radmer etc.² F 1216. No earlier instances are on record in England.

Rader, Rather, Ra(h)er: Rader(?) mon. (Harold I.) Grueber p. 315; Rather(us) mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 125; Raerus RB p. 305 (AD 1166); Raher LVD p. 55 (13th c.).

OG Radheri, Rathar, Rather, etc.³ (very common) F 1214. In Ra(h)er, the loss of d is NF. The name $R\overline{a}dhere$ occurs in Widsip (v. 123) as the name of a prince. For Reder see Björkman, Pers. p. 112.

Radfredus presbyter (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 370; Rafridus (Norf.), Rafri (Suss.) ibid. p. 373; Raffrey (Norf., Suff.) Pipe Roll III p. 7, etc.⁴

Cf. OG *Ratfrid*, $-fred^5$ etc. F 1211. It is not possible to determine whether the above or similar forms may sometimes be continuations of a native form $R\overline{a}dfri\delta$. They are, however, most probably continental.

Radulf: Instanses of the various forms of this name in England are found in Björkman, Pers. p. 108 f. It was introduced either direct from Scandinavia or, in the majority of cases, from Normandy and France. Another source of

¹ This Saint is *Radegund*, Queen of Clothar I.; she was honoured all over France. Cf. Schätzer p. 51, Bernoulli p. 80 ff.

² For the members see Radbod(a) and Ainmer.

³ For the members see Radbod(a) and $Ae\delta elhere$.

⁴ The form *Rasridus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 204 is a mistake for *Raffridus*.

⁵ For the members see Radbod(a) and Gaufrid.

this NF name is OG $Radulf^1$, F 1219. In a few cases, *Radulf* was also borne by Flemings and Saxons in England; cf. *Radulfo* (dat.) Flemank (Cornw.) Inq. Non. p. 345 and *Radulfo* (dat.) nuncio Ducis Saxonie CR I p. 546 (AD 1223).

Radwine miles KCD 754 (AD 1020-38).

OG Radwin, Ratwin etc. F 1219. For the members see Radbod(a) and Amalwin. Other OG p. ns occur in the same charter.

Rægenulf, see *Rainulf.

Raimar clericus (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 373; Reymer (Suff.) FA V p. 28 (AD 1302-3).

OG Ragimar, Raimar (Rom.), Regemar, Reimar etc. F 1235. The first member is from *ragin-, *regin- (Goth. ragin 'Rat, Beschluss', OS regin, OE rezn-)². For the second member see Ainmer³.

Raimund, Reimund: Raimundus (Ess.), Giraldus Reimundus (Ess.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 373; Raimundus Bigod (Norf.) RB p. 393 (AD 1166); Reimundus LVD p. 55 (13th c.); Raimund Jocelin Rot. Fin. p. 452 (AD 1207); Raimundus de Tiches (Surr.) ibid. p. 492 (AD 1213); Reymundi de Boccville CMR I p. 229 (AD 1207); Reymundus de Dynaunt FY p. 1 (AD 1273); Reimundus de Valentia LVD p. 101; Reimond de Luka Bardsley p. 638; Reymund, Reymond (surnames) RM II p. 123, Plac. p. 514, Rot. Fin. II p. 534, etc.; Remund LVD p. 8 etc.; common.

OG Ragimund, Regemund, Raimund, Rem(m)und F 1236. For the members see Raimar and Dagemond. Remund (above) is probably due to the AN monophthongization of $ai > e^4$. The instances of this name in England are Rom. *Raina, Reyna vidua CMR II p. 21; Reinna LVD p. 50; Rayna ibid. p. 82.

- ¹ Cf. Radboda and Adelulfus.
- ² Cf. Bruckner p. 292 f.
- ³ Reimarr, Lind 854, is German.
- ⁴ Cf. Airard above.

NF forms of OG Regina¹ etc. F 1222. Cf. also the male Raino < Ragino ibid. A NF dim. form of this name is Rainetta CCR I p. 462 (AD 1257). Rametta LVD p. 97, RH II p. 25, is certanly only a misreading for Rainetta. Rainald, Reginald, etc.: Rainoald² mon. (Halfdan) Keary p. 203; Reginald de Gant CR I pp. 37, 46; Reginald Flemeng (Kent) Ped. Fin. III p. 147 (AD 1198); Reginaldus de la Legh de Brugges Rot. Orig. I p. 289; Riginaldus van the Brouke FY p. 171 (AD 1451); Riginaldus Okes, textor, ibid. p. 171 (AD 1451); Jacobus Raynald, hatmaker, ibid. p. 197 (AD 1476); Ranald Flemyng Reg. Corp. Chr. p. 171, etc.

OG Raginald, Reginald, Rainald (Rom.), Reinold, Riginolt, etc.³ F 1237 f. Reginald is a stereotyped Latin form. Riginald (< Reginald) is probably due to the vacillation between e (< a + i) and i that is sometimes to be noticed in some OG dialects; cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 13, Weinhold § 29, v. Helten § 26, remark 3. The form Riniald (Grueber p. 102) is probably a mistake for Reinald. Cf. Rainard below. Of the frequent instances of Rainald, Reginald in England some are also ON (cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 112), but in most cases this name was introduced from France and Normandy where both OG and ON forms will have contributed to its popularity.

Rainard, Reinard, etc.: Reynardus comes BCS 521 (AD 868); (Rogerus filius) Rainardi (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 206; Reinard LVD p. 51 (13th c.); Renard (or Rinard) mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102; Renard (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 283, etc.

OG Raginhard, Rainard (Rom.), Reinard, etc.⁴ (Mod. G Reinhardt) F 1230 f., OF Reinart, Renart Langlois p. 549. It seems most probable that the moneyer's names Renard,

¹ For Regin- see Raimar.

² o for w is Rom.

³ Cf. Raimar and Ansoldus.

⁴ Cf. Raimar and *Actard.

Rinard and Rinnard (see Grueber p. 83) are merely errors for Reinard, i and e having been left out by mistake¹.
— The form of the moneyer's name Rinulf Grueber pp. 142, 247, 303, etc. is uncertain. Cf. Grueber, Index p. 523.

Rainbald, Reinbold, etc.: Rægenbald mon. (Aethelred II.) Grueber p. 201; Ræinbaldus presbyter KCD 791 (AD 1050) = Regnbold, Regenbold presbiter ibid. 792, 793, 796, 800, (AD 1050, 1054); Raimboldus ibid. 815 (AD 1065); Reinbaldus cancellarius ibid. 813 (AD 1062) = Rengebold cancheler ibid. 891²; Regenboldus regis sigillarius ibid. 810 (AD 1061); Rainbaldus de Cicestre, Rainbaldus presbyter³ (Berks., Wilts.) Rainbaldus aurifaber (Norf.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 472, II p. 374; Reinbaldus (Rembaldus) RB p. 224 (AD 1166; Reinbald LVD p. 54 (13th c.); Reinbald Grim KC pp. 46, 49; Reymbaud (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 179; Rambaldi (gen.) RH I p. 16, etc.

OG Raginbald, Rainbald, Reginbald, Reinbald⁴ etc. F 1223 f., OF Raimbaut, Rainbaut, Rambaut, Reinbaut Langlois p. 543 ff. The form Rambald (above) might be due to OF reduction of ai > a in pretonic position but is rather a mistake for Rainbald. The pl. n. Ramboldes dene BCS 986 (AD 956) probably contains the same p. n.⁵

*Rainbert, Reinbert: Rainbertus Flandrensis (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 374; Reinbertus (Suss.), ibid. p. 376; Reinbert LVD p. 49 (12th or 13th c.); Reimbert (surname) CCR II p. 88 (AD 1199); Reimberdi (gen.) de Stauere⁶ CR I p.

² A Norman; cf. FNC IV p. 41.

³ = Reinbaldus, Renboldus, Rembaldus Ellis, Intr. I p. 398, II pp. 473, 475.

⁴ Cf. Raimar and Albod(0).

⁵ Cf. also Rambert, etc. F 872, explained from *hraban-; Bruckner (p. 295) associates Ram- with ON ram(m)r 'stark'.

⁶ A German merchant.

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¹ Rinardus (occurring in a grant by Aelfthryth to the Abbey of St. Peter at Ghent, BCS 661, AD 918) is probably to be explained in the same way. Cf. also the compounds with *Rin*-(among others *Rinhard*) F 1277.

604 (AD 1224); cf. also Reginberht who, according to Adam of Bremen, was sent to Funen by King Cnut¹.

OG Raginbert, Rainbert (Rom.), Reginbert, Reinbert etc. F 1224 f. For the members see Raimar and Adalbert. Rainburgis (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 472.

OG Reginburg, Rainburgis (Rom.) etc. F 1226 f. For the members see Raimar and Gerburg.

Rainelmus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 374; Rainalmus, Renelmus (Ess.) ibid.; Regnelm mon. (Aethelstan), see Searle; Rainelm, Reinelmus, Reinalmus, Reignelmus (Bish. of Heref. 1107-15)2, Ann. Wint. p. 42, Ann. Dunst. p. 14. The same person appears as Remelinus Ann. Wig. p. 374.

OG Raginhelm, Reginhelm, Rainalm (Rom.), Reinelm etc. F 1233. For the members see Raimar and *Anshelm. The form Remelinus (above) is due to graphical confusion between in and m. The name Remelinus LVD p. 53, CMR I p. 155 (AD 1134) certainly also belongs here.

Rainer, Reiner: Rainerus (Norf.), Raynerius (pater Roberti, Hertf.), Raynerus diaconus (Linc.), Rainerius (Wilts.), Rainerus (Suss., Wilts., etc.), Rainerus (homo Drogonis, Yorks.), Rainerus (homo Gozelini, Linc.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 473, II pp. 204, 205, 374, 375, 376; Reiner(ius), Reynerus LVD pp. 17, 18, 23, 51, 52, 53, 58, 82, 142; Ragnerus Flandrigena (Yorks.) RB p. 426 (AD 1166) = Reinerus Flemingus (Yorks.) ibid. p. 431; Reyner le Flemeng CCR III p. 195 (AD 1312); Reyner (a merchant of Lucca) Giff. Reg. p. 115 (AD 1270).

OG Raginhari, Rainer (Rom.), Reiner³ (common) F 1231 f., OF Rainer, Renier Langlois p. 552 ff. Most of the above instances are continental. But Regenhere is also found as a native name, e.g. borne by a son of King Redwald of East Anglia. Native is perhaps also Re-

¹ Cf. FNC I p. 488.

² See FNC V p. 225.

³ For the members see Raimar and Aedelhere.

genhere(?) mon. (Aethelward) Keary pp. 88, 89. Of uncertain origin is *Reinere* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102.

Rainfrid, Reinfrid: Reinferð mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 152; Regenfrið (a Norman, who restored the monastery of Whitby) FNC IV p. 666; Rainfridus (homo Ivonis Taillgebosc, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 374; Reinfredus LVD p. 44 (13th c.); Reinfrridus (sic!) ibid. p. 144 (Obit.); Rainfredus Arundel FA I p. 227; Reynfrey de la Bruer' RH II p. 533; Reinfrei (surname) Ann. Dunst. p. 205 (AD 1205); Reinfray RB p. 159, etc.

OG Raganfrid, Rainfrid (Rom.), Regenfrid, etc. F 1227 f. For the members see Raimar and Gaufrid. Rainoald, see Rainald.

*Rainulf, Rægenulf, Rænulf, Regnulf mon. (Eadw. the Elder-Aethelred II.) Grueber pp. 92, 109, 118, 137, 191, 201.

Cf. OG Raginulf, Reginulf etc. F 1240. For the members see Raimar and Adelulfus.

*Rainward, Regenward mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102; Regenweard, mercator BCS 1216 (AD 968); Raynouuardus (Derb.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 376; Reynward (surname) Inq. Non. pp. 344, 345; Reneward MRS p. 145.

OG Raginward, Reginward, Rainoard (Rom.), etc. F 1239. For the members see Raimar and Beluard. Stimming p. 220 adduces Reneward in Boeve as an example of insertion of w to avoid hiatus, which explanation might perhaps also be applicable to the above form. It is more probable, however, that the identity of Reneward and Renard is due to a confusion between the suffixes -ward and -(h)ard. Rambald, see Rainbald.

Ranald, see Rainald.

Ran(n)ulf: Ranulf mon. (Osberht) Keary p. 187; Ranulf dux KCD 800 (AD 1054); Ranulf minister ibid. 801 (AD 1055); Rannulfus (Oxf.), Rannulfus (frater Ilgerii, Midd., Hertf., etc.), Rannulfus (filius Walteri, Norf., Suff.), Rannulfus (homo Ernegis de Burun, Yorks.), Rannulfus (homo Widonis de Credun, Linc.), Rannulfus vicecomes (Surr.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 473, II pp. 374, 375; *Ran(n)ulfus*, *Ran(n)ulf*, *Ranulph* LVD pp. 31, 34, 44, 46, 55, 56, 59, 61, 62, 64, 67, 70, 78, 85, 89, 97, 98, 99, 100, etc.; *Rannulfus* de Glanuile¹ ibid. p. 17; *Rannulf* of Dunholme² AS Chr. 1099, 1100, 1101 = *Randulf*³ Passeflambard ibid. 1128; *Ranulphus* de Veer ibid. p. 500, etc.

OG Hrannulf, Ran(n)ulf, etc. F 874 f. The first member is OHG hraban, see Bertram. Besides, a name-stem *Rana- (ON rani 'Eberschnauze, Keil') is to be taken under consideration⁴. Another source of the first member of this name in England may be Rain-. For the second member see Adelulfus.

Rauemerus (homo Gisleberti de Gand, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 375.

This name does not seem to be recorded on the continent, but is probably from OHG *hraban* (see the following name) + *mer*, see *Ainmer*.

Rauengarius (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. pp. 204, 375.

OG Hrabangar, Rabangar, Ravengar, etc. F 872 f. For the first member see *Bertram*⁵; for *-gar* see *Berenger*. No ON equivalent is on record.

Reg(e)nbold, see Rainbald.

Regenw(e)ard, see *Rainward.

Reginald, see Rainald.

Reginberht, see *Rainbert.

Regnulf, see *Rainulf.

Reimbert, see Rainbert.

Reimund, see Raimund.

Reinard, see Rainard.

¹ Cf. FNC V p. 432.

² See FNC IV p. 521.

³ For this name see Björkman, Pers. p. 111.

⁴ Cf. Bruckner p. 295, Wrede, Ostg. p. 132 and Meyer-Lübke p. 42 f.

 $^{^5}$ This name-element is absent from OE p. ns either as a first or as a second member.

Reiner, see Rainer.

Remelinus, see Rainelmus.

Remund, see Raimund.

Renard, see Rainard.

Renelmus, see Rainelmus.

Reneward, see *Rainward.

Restold: Restoldus (Linc.), Restaldus, Restoldus (Surr., Chesh.), Restolt (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 475, II p. 377; Restold, Restoud CR II p. 138 (AD 1226), Fot. Orig. I p. 211, MRS pp. 2, 35, Abbr. Plac. p. 96, RH II pp. 753, 755, 761, Plac. p. 665, etc.

OG Restald, Restold F 1252, Bruckner p. 296. The first member is explained by Bruckner (p. 295) from OS resta 'Rast, Ruhe'. According to F, it is an almost exclusively Frankish name-stem perhaps of Celtic origin. Longnon (Intr. p. 268) explains it from Latin Restitutus. For the second member see Ansoldus¹.

Ribald (Yorks.), *Ribaldus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 377; *Ribaldus* LVD p. 58 (12th c.); *Ribaldus* presbyter ibid. p. 81 (13th c.); *Ribald* Pipe Roll I p. 15, Rot. Canc. p. 335, CCR III p. 115 (AD 1308); see also Bardsley p. 644 (under *Ribble*).

OG Ribald, Ripald F 1258. F has placed this name under Ricbald (< richi, riki). The first member might also be Rid- (found in OHG ritan 'reiten'); cf. Bruckner p. 296. For the second member see under Albod(o). Bardsley's explanation (p. 644) of Ribald as a "curtailment of Rimbault" is hardly correct.

Riccold, see *Ricwald.

Ric(h)ard: Richardo (dat.) abbati KCD 771 (AD 1044); Ricardus de Curci² (Oxf.), Ricardus (Som. etc.), Ricardus

¹ The pl. n. Resteslea BCS 377 (AD 824) is assumed by Middendorff (p. 106) to contain rest, ræst 'Ruhestätte, Lager, Ruhe'. But the first member might be a p. n., which is perhaps to be compared to Rest- in Welsh Restyn (Cornw.) Inq. Non. p. 344. ² A Norman. (filius Erfasti, Yorks.), *Ricardus* (filius Gisleberti Comitis, Kent), *Ricardus* forestarius¹ (Warw., Staff.), *Ricardus* legatus (Glouc.), *Ricardus* (homo Rogerii de Busli, Nott.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 403, 477 f., II pp. 205 f., 377 f.; *Ricard(us)* LVD pp. 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 31, 32, 35, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 70, 78, 80 etc.; *Ricardo* (abl.) Flandre RM I p. 449; *Ricard* le Franceis CR I p. 209 (AD 1214); *Richard* de Alemannia CPR I p. 116 (AD 1284); *Ricardus* de Alman FY p. 40 (AD 1347); *Ricardus* Braband (Cornw.) FA I p. 227 (AD 1428); further instances of this extremely common name are superfluous.

OG Ricard, Richard² etc. F 1263 f., OF Ricart, Richart Langlois p. 555 ff., also very common in Normandy³, from where this name has in most cases been introduced into England⁴. Its popularity is certainly to some extent due to the circumstance that is was borne by the second son of William the Conqueror and several English kings. The most common ME form is Ricard, which is chiefly AN, whereas the OHG or Centr. F form Richard is more rarely met with. It is perhaps association with the English adjective 'rich' that has caused the prevalence of the latter form in NE.

Ric(h)ere: Richerius (Som.), Richerius (Hants., Wilts., etc.), Richerius clericus, Ricerus (Suff.), Sanctus Ricarius, etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 478, II pp. 378, 379; Richerus de Aquila RB p. 203 (AD 1166); Ricier LVD p. 15; see further Bardsley p. 644.

OG Richere, Richer, Riker etc.⁵ F 1264 f., OF Rich(i)er,

¹ Also called *Ricard* Chineu and *Ricard* venator.

² For the members see Albericus and *Actard.

³ It was also used in the ducal family.

⁴ *Richard* does not seem to have existed as a native name, though both members occur as OE name-elements.

⁵ For the members see Ric(h)ard and Aedelhere.

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Ricier Langlois p. 558 f. No instances earlier than DB are on record.

Richilda Linc. Obit. p. 155; *Richilda* (uxor Fulconis) ibid. p. 159; *Richelda* uxor MRS p. 93; *Richenda* (n=u) RCR II p. 202 (AD 1200); *Richeud* LVD p. 27; *Richoldæ* (gen.) matris Huberti de la Vale Prior. Hexh. II p. 114; *Richonde* (n=u) LVD p. 82; *Rickildis* LVD p. 8.

OG Richild, Richeldis, Richoldis (Rom.) etc. F 1265 f. The first member as in preceding name; for the second member and its various forms see *Iseldis*. This name does not exist in OE.

*Ricwald, Ricowald LVD p. 16; Riccold ibid. p. 17.

OG Ricoald, Ricold, Richold¹ etc. F 1270. In Ricowald, w is inserted to avoid hiatus. Of the same origin is perhaps Rivoldus Ellis, Intr. II p. 379². Another form of the same OG etymon is probably Rigandi (gen.) Rot. Orig. I p. 273 = *Rigaud < Rigald (Rom.) F 1270, OF Rigaut Langlois p. 560³.

*Ricward, *Ricuardus* (Norf., Suff.), *Ricoardus* (Suss., Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 379.

OG Rieward F 1270, OF Ricoart Langlois p. 560. For the members see Ric(h)ard and Beluard. No earlier instances occur in OE.

*Rigaud, see *Ricwald.

Riginald, see Rainald.

Riniald, see Rainald.

Rin(n)ard, see Rainard.

Rinulf, see under Rainard.

Riuoldus, see *Ricwald.

Roberga (relicta Henrici) FA I p. 99 (AD 1302-3); Robergia (wife of Roger de Hele) Fines II p. 64.

The OG etymon is *Hrotberga*, *Rod(e)berga*, *Rotberga*, etc. F 892. Cf. *Ro(d)bert* and *Alberia*.

³ Cf. Kalbow p. 47.

¹ Cf. Ri(c)hard and Ansoldus.

² See Hildebrand, DB p. 349 and Ribald above.

Rocelin, see Rozelin.

Ro(d)bert, etc.: Robert, Robetus, Roidibert mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 127; Rotberht mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 107; Rodber(h)t, Rodbart mon. (Aethelred II., Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 123, 142, 191, 222; Robertus (Londomiæ episcopus)¹ KCD 782, 784, 791, 813, 1338 (AD 1044-62); Roberd Stallere, Rodberd Stellere ibid. 828, 859 (AD 1066); Rodbertus (regis consanguineus) ibid. 813 (AD 1062); Rodbriht presbyter ibid. 792, 793, 796, 800 (AD 1050-54); Rodberd de Frencisce (= Rodbearde pan Freoncyscan)² ibid. 1351, AS Chr. 1051 D; Rotbertus, Rotberd, Rodbeard minister KCD 810, 811, 824 (AD 1060-66); Robertus arbalistarius (Norf.), Robertus dispensator (Glouc., Leic., etc.), Robertus (filius Giroldi, Hants.), Robertus (filius Rozelin, Ess.), etc. (common) Ellis, Intr. I p. 478 f., II pp. 207 ff., 379 ff., Rodberde³ (dat.) AS Chr. 1068 D; Rodbeard (Bish. of Cheshire) ibid. 1085 E; Rodbeard a Mundbræg ('Moubray') ibid. 1087 E; Rodbeard (= Rotbert Bloet) ibid. 1093 E, 1123 E; Rodbert, Rotbert of Bælæsme (Earle of Shrewsbury) ibid. 1098 E, 1102 E, 1104 E, etc.; Rotbert (Abbot of St. Edmund's) ibid. 1107 E; Robert(us), Rodbert(us), Rotbertus LVD pp. 2, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 25, 27, 32, 35, 38, 39, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, etc.; Robertus Flandrensis Lib. Hyde p. 300; Robertus de Gaunt, mercer FY p. 44 (AD 1350); for further instances of this extremely common name see FNC Index.

OG Hrodebert⁴, Rodbert, Rotbert, Robert (very common)

¹ = Rodbeardus episcopus ibid. 792, 793 (AD 1050); he was a Norman monk who had been Prior of St. Ouen's at Rouen and afterwards Abbot of the house of Jumièges. Cf. FNC II p. 70. He is mentoined in AS Chr. 1048 E, 1050 A, 1051 D, 1052 C as Rodbeard, Rotbeard, Rotberd, Hrodberd and Rodbyrd.

² Bish. of London, see above.

⁵ Earl of Northumbria, "seemingly one of the adventurers from Flanders" FNC IV p. 235.

⁴ The first member belongs to Goth. hropeigs 'siegreich', ON hróðr, and is also found in OE p. ns. On the loss of the dental

F 892 ff., OF Robert Langlois p. 563 f. The present forms were absent from the native personal nomenclature, although both members occur as OE name-elements. The earliest instances appear on the coins of St. Eadmund-Aethelred II. Through the great Norman and Flemish immigration into England Robert became one of the most popular names in the Middle Ages. Many dim. forms of it occur (e. g. Robin(el), Robinet, Robelot, Robelin), most of which were probably introduced from Normandy and France where they are also on record. A hybrid form of *Robel- (< Robel-in, Robel-ot) + the common name-suffix -hard is found in Robelard RH II p. 204, Robil(l)ard Rot. Fin. p. 532, CCR II p. 119, Rot. Orig. I p. 182, etc. Cf. further the fem. form Roberta Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 459 (AD 1267). Roderius (Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 382.

OG Hrodhari, Rodher(e), Rothar, etc.¹ F 904. No OE equivalent on record. Here may also belong Rotier Inq. Non. p. 397, representing an OF development of the same OG etymon.

Rodger, Roger, Rogger: Rogerius Comes² (Suss., Surr., etc.), Rogerus Mareschalcus (Ess.), Rogerius de Rames (Midd.), Rogerius (frater Willielmi Comitis, Glouc.), Rogerius Vicecomes (Glouc.), Rogerus (homo Drogonis, Yorks.), Rogerus (homo Gisleberti de Gand, Linc.), Rogerus Pictaviensis (Ess., Norf.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 479 ff., II p. 382 ff.; Rogerius, Roger(us) LVD pp. 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 31, 32, 34, 39, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 67, 69 etc.; Rodgerus ibid. p. 55; Rodgerus Bigodus ibid.; Rogere eorl³ AS Chr. 1087 E; Roger of Searisbyrig⁴ ibid. 1123 E;

see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4, Kalbow p. 136. For $t (\langle d \langle p \rangle)$ cf. Kalbow ibid. For the second member see *Adalbert*. The form *-beard* is probably a reverted spelling after OE *ea* had become *e*.

¹ For the members see Ro(d) bert and Aedelhere.

- $^2 = Roger$ of Montgomery.
- 3 = Roger Bigod (see above), FNC III p. 466.
- ⁴ Cf. FNC V p. 203.

Roger (nephew of Roger of Salisbury)¹ ibid. 1137 E, Roger, Rocger eorl² ibid. 1075 E, 1076 E; Roger (Earl of Warwic) FNC IV p. 192; Roger (Archbish. of York) ibid. V p. 315; Rog' le Flemeng Rot. Fin. p. 430 (AD 1208); Rogerus le Fraunceys Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 220 (AD 1255; Rogger (surname) Inq. Non. p. 25.

OG Hrodger, Rodger, Rotger, Rog(g)er, etc.³ F 898 f. The moneyer's name Hrodear (Aethelstan, Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 112, 123, 142, probably stands for Hrodgar. It seems most likely that this is also continental, since, with the exception of Hroðgar in Beowulf, which is the name of a Danish king, no other instances are found till DB. It is further to be noticed that this name appears on coins from a time when a considerable number of continental moneyers were working in England. The appearance of Roger in ME is chiefly due to NF influence. The ON equivalent, which may have contributed to the popularity of this name among the Normans, is Hróðgeirr, Lind 583 f.

Rodland, see Rol(l)and.

Roghard mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102.

Probably from OG Ruochart⁴, F 881, OF Rochart Langlois p. 565. If this derivation be correct, g in the above form will stand for c; cf. *Actard.

Rogo (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 384; the same person appears as *Rogus* ibid.; *Rogo* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 254 (AD 1234); *Rogoni* (dat.) CR II p. 18 (AD 1225); *Rogonis* (gen.) RH I p. 94; *Rogone* (in servicio domini Regis in Wasconia) CR II p. 79 (AD 1225).

Cf. OF Rogon (Langlois p. 569) < OG Roggo (Mod. G

⁴ The first member seems to be $r\hat{o}ka$ (OHG ruch 'Bedacht, Sorgfalt'). Cf. Bruckner p. 298 and F 878. For the second member see *Actard.

¹ See FNC V p. 287.

² Earl of Hereford, son of William Fitz Osbern.

³ For the members see Ro(d) bert and Amelger.

Rogge, F 880) a short form of Rogger or some similar name. Cf. also Stark p. 121.

Rohais, Roheis, see Rothais.

Rohard(us), see *Rothard.

Ro(h)esia, see Rothais.

Rol(1)and: Rolland (Northampt.), Rollandus (Suss., Cornw., etc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 384; Roland LVD p. 18 (12th or 13th c.); Rol(l)andus ibid. pp. 83, 99, 111, 123, 129, 130, 131 (13th—15th c.); Rolandus Decanus CMR II p. 271 (AD 1133—60); Rolland de Dinant Rot. Oblat. p. 149 (AD 1201); Rodlandus Malherbe RC p. 7 (AD 1199); Rotland KC p. 6; Roteland, Rotholand RH I pp. 484, 487; Rolland (= Rotholand) CR II p. 151, RH II p. 29; Rodland' (dat., socio Walland' Teutonici) CR I p. 233 (AD 1215); Rodland, Rotlandus LVD pp. 104, 108; Rolent de Anvers RB p. 69 (AD 1186—87); cf. Roelandū (acc.) de Anvers Rot. Fin. p. 534 (AD 1214) = Rotelandus Danvers Abbr. Plac. p. 75; Roelent (de Anvers) ibid. p. 73; Rowlande (surname) LVD pp. 123, 125, etc.

OG Hrodland, Rodland, Rol(l)and, etc.¹ F 909, OF Rol(l)ant, Rolent, Roulant, etc. Langlois p. 570 f. A dim. form of this name is Rolandino (dat., Rector of Wissenden) Abb. Lind. p. 121. Cf. further the Italian forms Orlando and Orlandinus (merchants of Lucca) CPR I p. 315 (AD 1289), RB p. 982 (AD 1279-80)².

Roricus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 384.

OG Roric(us), Rorich, etc. F 1281. It seems most likely that these forms belong to OG *Hrodric*, *Rodric*. Cf. the form *Hroric* in F ibid.

¹ For the members see Ro(d) bert and Amerland.

² The forms *Ruelend*, *Ruelent* (male) (e. g. Rot. Canc. p. 266, Biogr. Misc. p. 36, RB p. 309, etc.) are perhaps to be explained with Kalbow p. 151. When occurring as a surname, *Roelent* may be an original pl. n. Cf. *Roelent* and *Rodelent* (= *Rhuddlan*) Ellis, Intr. II p. 382.

Rosamunda, Rosemunda, RH II p. 839, Rot. Canc. p. 18,

Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 560, FA I p. 198, etc.

Ros(e)munda, F 1282. The origin of the first member is obscure. Of the etymologies suggested it may suffice to mention OHG hros 'Ross', ON rausa 'laut sprechen', ON rausn 'Ruhm' and Latin rosa 'rose'. For the second member see Claremunda.

Roscelin, see Roselin.

Rosselin, see Rozelin.

Rostand, see Rustand.

Rotbert, see Ro(d)bert.

Roteland, see Rol(l)and.

Rothais (uxor Ricardi filii Gisleberti, Hertf., Hunt.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 481; *Roheis* (wife of Walter Rastell) Abbr. Plac. p. 51. Miss Yonge (p. 204) mentions *Rohais* (wife of Gilbert de Gaunt).

OG Hrodohaidis, Rothaid, Ruodheid etc. F 903. For the members see Ro(d)bert and Adelais(a). Here also belongs the ME name Ro(h)esia, exhibiting a development of the second member analogous to that of Alesia < Adelaisa.

*Rothard, Rothardo (dat.) CCR III p. 420 (AD 1320); Rohard(us) (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 384; Rohard Rot. Canc. p. 108.

OG Hrodhard, Rodhard, Rotard, etc. (F 903 f.) > OF Rohart, Roart (Langlois p. 569). For the loss of the dental cf. Mackel p. 168. Here also belong Ruardi (gen.) CMR III p. 244, Ruardus Test. Nev. p. 180, Ruard (surname) CR I p. 444, etc. u for o is AN; cf. Stimming p. 190. Roðin mæsse preost BCS 1010 (AD 958).

Searle derives this name from OE Hrodwine. I prefer to explain it as an Anglicized form of a continental name. Cf. Hrodin, Rodin etc. (F 887 f.) < Hrod-, see Ro(d)bert. The same charter contains other continental p. ns.

Rotier, see Roderius.

Rotland, see Rol(l)and.

Rotroc (Oxf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 385.
Cf. OG Hrodroh, Rodroh, Ruodoroh etc. F 908. For the members see Ro(d)bert and Roghard.

Rozelin (Hertf., Ess., etc.), Rozel' (Yorks.), Rozelinus (Suss., Northampt.), Rozelinus (homo Comitis Hugonis), Ellis, Intr. I p. 479, II pp. 381, 385; Roscelin(us) LVD pp. 61, 69; Roscelyn Rot. Obl. p. 111 (AD 1200); Roscelinus monachus RCR II p. 255; Rotscelino (dat.) MRS p. 155; Roscelin, Rocelyn (surnames) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 183, CRC p. 103, RH I p. 537, etc.; Rocelino (dat.) fil. Clarenbaldi R I p. 9 (AD 1155); Rosselini (gen.) RM I p. 126; see further Bardsley p. 126.

OG Ruozelin, Roscelinus F 890, OF Rocelin, Roscelin Langlois p. 565. Cf. Roscelinus = Rodulfus, Stark pp. 61, 94 and Rozo below. On the various spellings for z, see Azelin.

Rozo (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 207.

OG Rozo, Rozzo etc. (F 890), hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Hrod*-. Cf. Stark p. 78.

Ruard, see *Rothard.

Rumbald: Rumbaldus (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 385; Rumbaldus de Brabant FY p. 104 (AD 1400); Hugo Rumbald, plummer ibid. p. 133 (AD 1405); Tericus Rumbald CCR I p. 273; cf. also the pl. n. Rumboldes wyke FA V p. 164 (AD 1428).

OG Rumbald, Rumbold, etc. F 883. F ibid. and Bruckner p. 300 assume the first member to be OHG hróm 'Ruhm'. It may be questioned, however, whether the almost entire absence of h, the frequent occurrence of the form Rum- and lastly the Mod. G form Raumer do not render it likely that $R\bar{u}m$ - $< r\bar{u}ma$ - 'geräumig' (cf. wid 'weit' in p. ns) is also to be taken into account¹. Cf. also the pl. n. (on) Rumanhelle BCS 1033 (AD 958), which perhaps contains a native short form Ruma.

¹ For the second member see Albod(o).

*Rumwold: Rumwoldes mor BCS 541 (AD 875); Rumoldus presbyter (Wilts.), Rumoldus (Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 385.

Cf. OG Rumald, Rumold F 885, Flemish Rumold Oorkondenboek I 81. For the members see Rumbald and Ansoldus.

Rustand: Magister Rustandus Ann. Dunst. p. 199 (AD 1255); Rustan' RC p. 194 (AD 1213); Rustand Durandi CCR II p. 10 (AD 1258); Rostandus (of Bordeaux) CPR I p. 436 (AD 1291).

OF Rustant, Rostan (Langlois p. 579) < OG Hruodstein, Rodstein, Rostein etc. F 914. For the first member see R(o)dbert; the second member is OHG stein 'Stein'. For the OF development see Mackel p. 115, Kalbow pp. 111, 125¹.

S.

Saisselinus, see Sasselinus.

Salo (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 386.

OG Salo (F 1290 f.), a short form of compounds with Sal- (OHG salo 'schwarz' or sal, OE sele² 'Saal')³.

Sarauuard, Saruurd mon. (Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 138, 155.

OG Saroward, Saraward, Saroard (Pol. Irm.) F 1300.

² Also used as a name-element.

³ The ME surname Selke (Fines II p. 79, RH II p. 222) is probably < OG Salico F 1291 f. Cf. Mod. G Selke, Fris. Selke Winkler p. 333.

¹ The NE surname *Ruston* is of local origin; cf. Bardsley p. 660.

The first member is OHG saro (OE searu) 'Rüstung'1; for the second member see *Beluard*.

Sarpo (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 208.

This is probably a hypochoristic form of some such OHG name as *Saraperath*, *Sarapreth* F 1300. Formations of a similar kind are found in abundance in Stark p. 104 ff. The ME surname *Sarp* (e. g. RH II pp. 637, 647, Cal. Inq. I p. 51) is = *Scarp*, *Scharp* (e. g. RH II pp. 566, 607).

Sasselinus (Ess.), Saisselinus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 482, 483.

A dim. form of the common OG name Saxo² (F 1288). Cf. Longnon p. 361 f.

Sasuualo (Suss., Berks., etc.), Sasuualo (homo Abbatis S. Petri, Linc.) Sasuualo (homo Henrici de Ferrieres, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 386.

Saxwalo (Rom.) F 1289. The first member is the same as in preceding name; the second member might be OHG walah (OE wealh) 'Fremder'.

Savaric: Saverico (dat.) de Malo Leoñ Rot. Obl. p. 72 (AD 1199), Rot. Fines p. 576 (AD 1216), Savaric (Bish. of Bath) RC p. 129 (AD 1204); Savericus de Cotes RCR I p. 378 (AD 1199; Savaricus de Bo(h)un Exc. Rot. Fin. I pp. 270, 451, CR I p. 248; Savaric (of Poitou) CRC p. 2; Savaricum (acc.) de Huc Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 132 (AD 1208); Sauaric (a monk) Ped. Fin. II p. 54 (AD 1197); Savericus Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 520 (AD 1270); Savari LVD p. 61 (13th c.), etc.

Sabaricus, Savaricus F 1286, OF Savari, Langlois p. 609 f. The first member is etymologically obscure; cf. the suggestions by Bruckner p. 54 and F ibid. For the second member see Albericus.

² Belonging to the name of the Saxons; cf. Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142.

¹ This element does not occur in native names. The name Searu BCS 604, 612 is certainly corrupt; it appears as Sedru ibid. 613.

Scolland, see the following name.

[Scotland, Scolland: Scollandus (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 387; Scolland MRS pp. 27, 43; Escolland (Kent) RCR II p. 94 (AD 1199); Scotland (abbot of Augustine's) Hist. Aug. pp. 101, 132; Scotlandi (gen.) RC p. 164 (AD 1206); Escotland (surname) RCR I p. 189 (AD 1198); Scollant Cal. Doc. p. 255; Escolland (a messenger of Rannulf Flambard's to the Archb. of Canterbury) Sim. Dun. (Surtees Soc.) I p. 96.

This name does not occur in Germany but is found in Normandy, where it is a younger formation from the name of the Scots + land, see Amerland. ll is the result of a NF assimilation of tl. When Scotland occurs as a ME surname it is in most cases of local origin (= de Scotland).]

Sebode, see Sigboda.

Sebrand (homo Alex. de Pointon) CR I p. 241 (AD 1215). Cf. Mod. G Seebrandt, which F 1322 explains from older Sigibrand, Segebrand. See Sigebrand below. Selke. see Salo.

*Senebald, Senebaldi (gen.) camerarii domini Pape CR I p. 445 (AD 1220-21); Senebaut (surname) RLP I p. 33 (AD 1203).

Sinebaldus, Senebaldus Bruckner p. 304, Sinibald (an Italian bishop)¹, Sinopold F 1337. The first member is the Germanic prefix sin 'immer' for which see Kluge, Et. W. (under Singrün); it is absent from native p. ns. For the second member see Albod(o).

Serlo, see Björkman, Pers. p. 116.

Sibertus de Colonia, goldsmyth, FY p. 98 (AD 1396).

OG Sigibert, Sibert², etc. F 1320 f. Not to be distinguished from native Sibert < OE Sigebearht.

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¹ Cf. Sinebaldus de Fiesco, subsequently Pope Innocent IV.

² The first member is OHG sigi, sigu (OE sige) 'Sieg'; for the second member see Adalbert.

Siemond, see Sigemund.

Sigboda, Siboda, Sibeoda, Sibode, Syboda mon. (Aethelred II.. Cnut) Hildebrand pp. 163, 164, 237, 313, Grueber pp. 201, 247, 248; Siboda LVH, see Searle.

OG Sigibodo, Sigebodo, Sibodo, Siboto, etc. F 1322, Segebodo Carstens p. 32. For the member see Sibertus and Anderboda. Of different origin is the fem. name Sibota (Isota, Agnes, Alicia et Sibota) LVD p. 111, Sibota Pt Y p. 110, which might be a variant of the common ME name Sibilla.

Sigebrand mon. (Eadw. the Elder, Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 92, 118; Sibrand, Sybrondus CMR I p. 172, II p. 328 (AD 1216-31).

OG Sigibrand, Sigebrand, Sibrand¹, etc. F 1322, Carstens p. 32, Winkler p. 337. Cf. Sebrand above.

Sigeland mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102.

OG Sigilant, Sicland (Pol. Irm.), Mod. G Siegland F 1328. For the members see Sibertus and Amerland.

Sigemund, Siemond mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 127 f.

OG Sigemund² F 1330. The form Siemond (with Rom. o < u) shows that this is a continental name. Semond (Keary ibid.) denotes the same moneyer and is an error for Siemond, not < *Sæmund, as Searle suggests. The OE equivalent Sigemund is on record.

Sinerdus (burgensis de Bruges) CR I p. 567 (AD 1222).

OG Sinard F 1337. For the members see *Senebald and *Actard.

Sinolda (wife of Ricard Pucin, Cornw.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 70 (AD 1221).

Cf. Frisian Sinalda Winkler p. 343, which might be a fem. form of Sinuald³ F 1338. The above name is perhaps a NF form of an unrecorded *Sinhild; cf. Iseldis. Stanard, see Björkman, Pers. p. 130, foot-note 2.

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¹ Cf. Sibertus and Aedelbrand.

² Cf. Sibertus and Dagemond.

³ Cf. *Senebald and Ansoldus.

*Starcher, see Estarcher.

*Starculf, Starcolfus (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 487; Starcolf (surname) Rot. Orig. II p. 77 (Edw. III.).

OG Starculf, Starcolf, etc. F 1362 f. For the members see Estarcher and Adelulfus.

Sunegod mon. (Aethelstan II., Cnut) Grueber pp. 201, 278, Hildebrand pp. 94, 95, 121, 253, 254; Roberto (obl.) Sunegod Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 174 (AD 1228).

Probably from a continental etymon *Sunigaut, the first member of which is related to Goth. sunja 'Wahrheit'¹. For the second member see Mangod. The moneyer's name might also be a reversed form of Godsune occurring in the reigns of Cnut—Edw. the Conf.

Suneman (Yorks., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 233; Sunemannes (weorðig) BCS 1121 (AD 963).

OG Suneman, Suniman² F 1371. OE compounds with Sun(e)- do not seem to have existed. Sunegod (above) is not native, as is to be seen from its second member, Sunulf is probably ON, see Björkman, Namenk. p. 81, Sungeoue³ LVD p. 5 (12th c.), Sungeoua (wife of Gamelo) Sim. Durh. I p. 60, and Sungiue (Askil, Sungiue) LVD p. 5 are Anglicized forms of ON Sunnifa, Sunefa⁴ Lind 978 f., Sunner dux BCS 1044 is a mistake for Gunner dux ibid. 1043. The only remaining compound with Sun- in England seems to be Sunwinus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 233, of which no OG or ON equivalent is on record, and which perhaps is a hybrid formation.

Sungeoue, Sungiua, etc., see the preceding name. Sunwinus, see Suneman.

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke p. 48.

² Cf. Sunegod and Godesman.

³ ... Archillus, Basing, Thorulf, Sungeoue, Thora ...

⁴ Occurring in (Ketel et) Sunniua LVD p. 58 and Sunniue ibid. p. 50. Cf. further Sunneue ibid. p. 32, (Ulfkil et) Sungiua ibid. p. 48, and (Swartebrandus,) Sungeua ibid. p. 59.

Tancard (sheriff of Pembroke) CCR II p. 373 (AD 1290); Tancard de la Roche CPR I p. 23 (AD 1282); (Ricardum filium) Tancardi (Pembroke) Gir. Cambr. VI p. 85; Willelmus Tankard FY p. 5 (AD 1289); Robertus Tankard, girdeler, ibid. p. 118 (AD 1412); Tankard, Tanc(h)ard, Tankerd (surnames) RCR I p. 285, RH II p. 122, Rot. Orig. I p. 247, Duc. Lanc. pp. 111, 153, etc.

OG Thancard (Mod. G Danckert), Fris. Danchart, Dankert F 1403, Winkler p. 58. The first member is OHG dank, OS thank (OE pane) 'Dank, Gedanke'¹. For the second member see *Actard.

*Tanchelinus, Tanchelini (gen.) MRS p. 137.

Probably a Rom. dim. form of OG Thanco, Tanco, Danco, etc. F 1402 f.; see the preceding name. Cf., however, Celtic Tanconus, Tancinus, etc. Stokes p. 128.

Tancrad, Tancred, Thancred: Thancredus BCS 1297 (AD 973); Tancradus monachus KCD 754 (AD 1020-38); panred munuc ibid. 758 (AD 1038); (Normannus filius) Tanredi, Tanre, Tanri, Tauredi (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 189; Tancredus Ann. Dunst. p. 25 (AD 1190); Thancredi (gen.) RM I p. 460; Tancredus (filius Bernardi CMR I p. 370; Tancredi, Tancreti (gen.) ibid. I p. 86, II p. 229 (AD 1254-67); Tangredi (= Tancredi) RB p. 208 (AD 1166); (Willelmus filius) Tancred Cust. p. 74 (Edw. I.).

OG Thancrad, Tancrad, Tancred (Norman), etc. F 1404 f.,

¹ The predominant spelling T in this element is due to NF influence. Thanc- is missing from native p. ns and, in OE times, occurs only in the continental name Tancrad. The Celtic name Tangisilus, Thangil (regis optimas) BCS 4, 5 (AD 605) is probably identical with Old Cornish Tanc-unestel <*tanco-'Friede' and *geis(t)lo-s (OE gīsel) 'Geisel'. OF Tangré¹ Langlois p. 630. For the first member see Tancard. The second member *-rad* (for which see *Adradus*) may have been Anglicized into *-red*, but *e* is rather due to the NF development of OG \bar{a}^2 .

Tascelinus, see Tezelinus.

Tasin CR I p. 202 (AD 1215).

Probably a Rom. dim. form of OG $Tas(s)o^3$ F 405. Cf. also Tas(s)ilo (see Schatz, Altbair. Gr. § 23) F ibid. and OF *Tassinel* Langlois p. 631.

Te(d)bald, see Theodbald.

*Tedred, see Theodred.

*Tedwarettus, Tedwaretto (dat.) de Botein CR I p. 460 (AD 1221).

Seemingly an Italian dim. form of *Thedware* below. **Tedwine**, see *Theodwine*.

Teherus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 393.

This name is $< OG Theothere^4$, etc. (F 1433 f.) with NF loss of the dental. Of the same origin is probably *Terus* (< *Teerus) Ellis, Intr. II p. 238⁵.

Terbertus (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 394, is an error for *Tetbertus*, see Hildebrand DB p. 324, foot-note 1. The latter name occurs in F 1389 (from Rom. sources). For the members see *Tetbaldus* and *Adalbert*.

Terri(c), see Theodric.

Tetbaldus, (Wilts., Dev.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 492; Tetbaldus (Suss.), Tetbaldus (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Linc.), Tetbaldus presbyter (Suss.), Tetbaudus (Bedf.) ibid. II p. 394.

¹ For this form see Kalbow p. 142.

² The pl. n. *Tankersley* contains, according to Moorman (p. 186 f.), a p. n. *Thanchere*, *Thancræd* or *Thanchard*. The two latter alternatives are most plausible, since the first-mentioned p. n. is not on record in England, as far as my knowledge goes.

³ Cf. Bruckner p. 48, Kluge, IF IV p. 347.

⁴ For the members see Theodbald and Aeðelhere.

⁵ The form *Teorleda*, LVD p. 49 (12th or 13th c.) would seem to be ON, to judge by the second member.

Tetbald, Tetbold, Tetbaud, etc. are placed by F (1388 f.) under *taita- (OHG zeiz, OE tāt, also used as a name-element see Müller p. 97, ON teitr). But most of the compounds with Tet- given by F are taken from Rom. sources and are to be derived from Theod- <*peuda-'Volk'¹. Hence the above forms are identical with Theodbald below. *Tetbertus, see Terbertus.

Tetildis (Suff.) Ped. Fin. IV p. 29 (AD 1198).

Tethildis (several instances from Rom. sources) F 1389, < OG Theothild, Teuthildis², etc. (F 1436), of which no OE equivalent is on record.

Tezelinus coquus (Surr., Suss., Hants., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 492, II p. 394; *Tascelinus* presbyter (Ess.) ibid. II p. 393.

OG Tetzelin, Tecelin, Tescelinus F 388, 1388. These names might be dim. forms of Taz(z)o (F 388), a hypochoristic form of compounds with OHG tât (OS dâd, OE dād, dēd) 'Tat'. Tascelinus is then a non-mutated form of the same etymon *Tazilin; cf. Tazzilo, Tacilo F 388. Tezelin might also be a dim. form belonging to the name-stems *Taitaor Theuda-. On the spelling sc for z see Azelin.

Thanggeoue LVD p. 6 (12th c.).

This is probably a hybrid formation. No OG equivalent is recorded. The first member does not occur in native names (see *Tancard*), whereas the second member, comperatively rare in OG p. ns, is very common in England³. For the first g see *Tangré* under *Tancrad*.

Thedberh LVD p. 52; Theberga vidua CMR II p. 41.

OG Theutberga, Theodberga, etc. F 1420 f. Cf. Theod-

¹ Initial t for original p and e for eu, eo are OF; cf. Kalbow p. 135, Mackel p. 128. In DB and later records, however, it cannot be ascertained whether e is due to the ME rendering of e for $\bar{e}o$. For the second t (< d), see Kalbow p. 134.

² For the members see Tetbaldus and *Ainild.

³ On pages 5 and 6 in LVD the following names in -gifu occur: Aeieoue, Aelfgeofu, Aldgeofu, Brihtgeoue, Earngeoue, Godieoue, Leofgeoue, Merioue, Sægeofu, Sungeoue and Wyngeoue. *bald* and *Alberia*. On the loss of the dental see Kalbow p. 82.

Thedisius, see *Theodgis.

Thedware (Ricardus Thedware) CMR I p. 328.

OG Teodoar, Theotuuar, Deotwar, etc. (male and fem.) F 1451. For the members see Theodbald and F 1531. Cf. *Tedwarettus above.

Theodbald: Tebaldus (Suff.), Tedbaldus (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.), Tedbaldus (homo Judithæ comitissæ, Bedf.), Teodbald (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 393. Teobalde1 (dat.) AS Chr. 1114 H; Teodbald² (Archb., Abbot of Bec) ibid. 1140 E; Tædbalde (dat.) de Blais³ ibid. 1116 E; Tebaldus, Theobaldus, Thedbaldus, Teodbald LVD pp. 19, 53, 63, 90, 104, 144 (Obit.); Theobald(us) de Verdun Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 548 (AD 1271), RH II p. 837; Theob de Colon CR I p. 27 (AD 1205); Theobaldo (dat.) Blundo CR I p. 167 (AD 1214); Theob le Franceis ibid. II p. 97 (AD 1226); Teobald de Valoines Rot. Canc. p. 323; Teobaldus de Bray FA I p. 153 (AD 1316); Theobaldus de Nevill (Leic.) ibid. V p. 185 (AD 1316); Thebaud, Tebaut (surnames) RH II p. 495, Plac. p. 811, FA V p. 52; Tebbolt (surname, Cant.) RH II p. 464; Willelmus Tebott, tapiter, FY p. 109 (AD 1404); Tibaldus Walteri RB p. 141 (AD 1201-12) = Teobaldus Walteri ibid. p. 159 (AD 1201-12); Tybaud de Valeines (cf. Teobald de Valoines above) ibid. p. 588 (AD 1211-12); further instances in Bardsley pp. 740, 744, 749.

OG Theudobald, Teutbald, Theobald etc. (very common) F 1417 ff. The first member is OS thiod(a), OHG diot(a), diet (OE peod) 'Volk'⁴. This name-element, which is one of the most common in OG p. ns, appears in some com-

¹ Bish. of Worc., formerly a canon of Bayeux; cf. *Teobaldus* Baiocensis canonicus LVD p. 147 (Obit.).

- ² = Theo(d) baldus LVD pp. 142, 150 (Obit.).
- 3 = Theobald IV, Count of Blois.
- ⁴ Cf. also Wrede, Wand. p. 62.

pounds in OE¹, but, with very few exceptions², only from the 10th cent. and mostly in moneyer's names from Eadred-Cnut which probably are continental. Binz is therefore certainly right in his suggestion (p. 200) that Theod- is rarely found in native p. ns. The various forms above are in most cases explained by NF or Latin influence. The initial th might be due to the influence of OE peod, but is rather a learned (Latin) spelling. On t, see Tetbald. In the same way, the diphthong eo is probably also in most cases to be considered as Latin; when e occurs, it is OF (see *Tetbald*), although it might also be the result of the ME monophthongization of eo. The forms Tibaldus, Tybaud are < OF Tibaut, Thiebaut, Tybaut (Langlois p. 635 f.) < OG Thiotbald, cf. Mackel p. 128. With these forms OE Tidbald (e. g. BCS 82, 184, 379, etc.) might easily have been confused. For the second member see Albod(o).

*Theodgis, *Thedisius* de Camilla (Dean of Wolverhampton) CPR I p. 226 (AD 1286).

OG Theotgis, Deotgis, Teutgis (Rom.) F 1431. For the members see Theodbald and Ernegis.

Theodred, *peodred*, see the instances in Searle and Birch, Index p. 116 f. It is not possible to determine whether they are native or not, though it is worthy of notice that they are from the ninth and, most of them, from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Of continental origin is perhaps, to judge by its form, the moneyer's name *Tedredo*³ (?) (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 130.

Theodric: Theodricus, Tedricus aurifaber⁴ (Berks., Surr.,

² Cf. e. g. Theodbald, son of Aedelric of Bernicia, OET p. 134.

³ OG Theudrad, Theod(e)rad, Teudered etc. F 1443 f. See Theodbald and Tancrad.

⁴ Cf. FNC IV p. 41: "Doubtless one of those craftsmen from the Teutonic mainland whose presence in England had been encouraged by a constant tradition going back to the days of Eadgar".

¹ See Searle.

Oxf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 492; Tedricus Pointel (Ess.) ibid. p. 468; Tedric (Som., Surr.), Tedricus (Ess.), Teodericus (frater Galteri diaconi, Suff.) ibid. II pp. 238, 394; Teodorici (gen.) episcopi BCS 737 (Aethelstan); Theodric(us) LVD pp. 45. 68; Theodericus CMR I p. 143 (AD 1124-30); Theodorico (dat.) Teutonico CR I p. 199 (AD 1215); Tedrich (surname) RH I p. 15; Theodoricus de Wermewelle Fines II p. 92: Henricus Tetherikson van Durdraght, marchaunt, FY p. 124 (AD 1416); Terricus Alemannus¹ LVD p. 17; Terricus Hareng RB p. 326 (AD 1166); Terrico (dat.) clerico comitisse Flandr CR I p. 175 (AD 1214); Terrico (obl.) Teutonico ibid. pp. 154, 258 (AD 1216); Terricus Baril Test. Nev. p. 171; Terric Flandr Rot. Canc. p. 155; Terricus le Vyleyn (merchant of Flanders) CPR II p. 200 (AD 1309); Theori, Teori LVD pp. 52, 54; Therricus prior CCR I p. 278 (AD 1244); Terry (Yorks.) RH I p. 111 (Edw. I.); Terri, Terry (surnames) ibid. I p. 197, II p. 617; Tierric MRS p. 21; Tierrici ibid. p. 149; Willelmus Tirry, cordwaner, FY p. 181 (AD 1461); Todrici (gen.) R II p. 170 (Ric. I); Thudrich (surname) CPR I p. 75 (AD 1283), etc.

OG Theuderic, Theudoricus, Theodoricus, Thiedericus, Diedric², etc. (extremely common) F 1445, OF Thierri, Tier(r)i Langlois p. 637 f. Theodric occurs in LV and in the Northumbr. genealogies (Sim. Durh. I p. 209, Surt. Soc.)³ and further in Alfred's translation of Boëthius, in Waldere II v. 4, Deor's Klage v. 18, Widsip v. 115 (a king of the East Goths) and ibid. v. 24 (a king of the Franks). It is very

² For the members see *Theodbald* and *Albericus*. *Theodoric* is a learned form. For the NF forms *Terri*, *Terricus* (Latinized) and *Tierric* (< NF *Tierri*) see Kalbow pp. 26, 44. *Tedric(h)*, the probable etymon of *Terri*, is not < OHG *tat*, as Kalbow suggests. The spellings *Tod*- and *Thud*- are explained after Luhmann pp. 81, 147.

³ Not in the genealogies in AS Chr. (see Earle-Plummer II p. 5).

¹ Cf. Terrici (gen.) le Alemaund RH I p. 42 (Edw. I.).

well possible that these instances, too, should be ascribed to continental influence. Cf. Binz p. 200.

Theodulf mon. (Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 139, 140, 154; *Teolf* (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 238.

OG Theudulf, Theodulf, etc. F 1453 f. For the members see Theodbald and Adelulfus.

Theodwine (Abbot of Ely 1076—79, a Norman monk of Jumièges)¹ FNC IV p. 482; *Theodguin* LVD p. 14; *Tedwinus* (?) mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 130.

OG Theoduin, etc. F 1452 f. For the members see Theodbald and Amalwin. The spelling -guin for -win is AN. In OF p. ns, w after consonant appears as gu only when the first member is dissyllabic, as e. g. in Amalguin; see Kalbow p. 118.

[Thurgunda (quædam nobilis domina) CMR I p. 267; (Godwynus cum uxore) *Turgund* RM I p. 328.

This is certainly $< ON porgunna^2$ Lind 1174; cf. also O Dan. Thurgunt Nielsen p. 94. The second member was altered into agreement with the continental form -gund(a).] *Tiard, Tiardi (gen.) R I p. 142 (AD 1156).

OF Thiart (Kalbow p. 111) < OG Thiuthard, etc. F 1432 f. Cf. Tibaldus and *Actard.

Tibaldus, see Theodbald.

Tibert: Willelmus *Tibert*, Petrus *Tibert* LVD p. 107 (13th c.). OF *Tibert*, *Tybert*, *Thibert* (Langlois p. 635) < OG *Thiotbert*³ etc. F 1423. OE *Tidbeorht* is perhaps also to be taken under consideration.

*Tideman, Tidemanno (abl.) de Lymberg (and sociis suis mercatoribus Alemanum) Rot. Orig. II pp. 167, 212 (Edw.

¹ He is called *Thedwinus* abbas Eliensis CMR I p. 23.

² Cf. * *porgun*, Björkman, Pers. p. 150, which he assumes to enter into the pl. n. *Thorganby*.

³ For the members see *Theodbald* and *Adalbert*. It is possible that the moneyer's name *peodberht* (Eadred) Grueber p. 143 is also of continental origin. Cf. also the instance from LVH, given by Searle.

III.); Thomas Tydeman, shipman, FY p. 127 (AD 1418); Johannes Tydeman, brewer, ibid. p. 130 (AD 1420); Tydman van Camp ibid. p. 112 (AD 1409); cf. also Bardsley p. 750.

OG Theotman, Dietman, etc. F 1440, Tidemannus (AD 1304) Carstens p. 17 (Mod. G Thidemann, Tiedemann, etc.), Frisian Ti(e)demann, Tydemann Winkler pp. 390, 391¹. The above forms are to be kept distinct from OE Tidman, the first member of which is OE tid 'Zeit', occurring in a number of p. ns in England. Whether the same element exists in OG personal nomenclature is uncertain. Cf., however, the forms Zita and Zitolfa Bruckner p. 325. ON Tidemann (Lind 1028) is German.

Tierric, see Theodric.

Tigerus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 394.

Probably = OF *Tigier* (Langlois p. 641) < OG *Thiodger*² (F 1428 f.) or some similar form, in which case the OG diphthong *io* was rendered with *i* in OF; cf. Mackel p. 128. According to Kalbow (p. 111), *i* may also have arisen through the influence of the following palatal.

Tilbrandus comes BCS 521 (AD 868).

The second member points to OG or ON origin⁸ but no equivalent form seems to be recorded in these dialects. The first member is Goth. (ga)tils 'passend' and not unfrequently found in OE p. ns. In OG it is rare and appears mostly in the HG form Zil-, in ON it is lacking altogether in p. ns. It is therefore possible that *Tilbrandus* is a hybrid formation. **Tirry**, see *Theodric*.

Tiselinus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 239.

This name is perhaps < OG Thiezelin, Ticelin, Dizelin⁴, etc. F 1417, Stark p. 94, OF Tiecelin, see Kalbow p. 53.

- ³ Cf. Aedelbrand above.
- ⁴ Dim. forms of compounds with * *peuda*-, see Theodbald.

¹ For the members see *Theodbald* and *Godesman*. *Tid*- is due to the development of OG eo $(> io > ie) > \bar{i}$.

² For the members see Theodbald and Amelger.

On s for z see Azelin. It might also be a dim. form of Tiso, see the following name.

*Tiso, *Tisonem* (acc.) RLP I p. 90 (AD 1209); Willelmi (gen.) *Tyso* (Worc.) FA V p. 311 (AD 1428).

Cf. OG *Tiso* (F 411), which Bruckner (p. 242) associates with Goth. (*filu*)deisei 'Klugheit, Arglist'. The form *Tison* (Gislebertus *Tison*) Ellis, Intr. I p. 493, might be a NF variant of *Tiso*, but in consideration of its surname function it is better explained by Hildebrand (DB p. 343) as an original appellative meaning 'Feuerbrand'.

Trasemundus (Wilts.), *Trasmundus* (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 243; *Tresmundus* (of the church of Shenington) Ann. Theok. p. 121 (AD 1241); *Tresmund* Culling RC p. 169 (AD 1207); *Tresmund* Strode Rot. Canc. p. 201.

Thrasamund (King of the Vandals 496-523), Trasamund, Trasemund, Trasimund, Trasmund, etc. F 1463 f. The first member is generally assumed to be related to Goth. prasa (balpei) 'Streitzucht', ON prasa 'streiten'. The above sideform Tres- (cf. also the compounds Tresbert, Tresmir, Tresericus, Tresuin etc. in F) shows the same development as OF tres < tras (< Latin trans); cf. the Latin form Transmundus. For the second member see Claremunda¹.

Tresmund, see the preceding name.

[Truhant (surname, Norf.) RCR I p. 127 (AD 1194), Truan (surname, Suff.) FA V p. 90 (AD 1346), Trouhunt (surname, Suff.) ibid. p. 99 (AD 1401-2) is probably an original by- or nick-name, viz. truant 'an idler' (< OF truand), and not to be connected with OG Truand, Truant, etc. F 1465.]

Tybaud, see Theodbald.

¹ Bardsley's derivation (p. 742) of the ME surname Tacyman, Tesymond, Tossemund etc. < Tras(e)mund is not convincing. **Ubba** dux Fresciorum, *Ubba* dux Fresonum, Sim. Durh. [RS] 202, 204 is probably not a Frisian, but the Danish chieftain *Ubba*, mentioned in AS Chr. 870 F (see Björkman, Pers. p. 165). The distinction between Frisians and Danes, made by early writers, cannot always be taken too seriously, particularly on account of the fusion of the two nations that will have taken place more or less in the border districts.

Ubert, see Hubert.

Uctebrand (Derb., Rotel., Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 248, 398. The second member does not occur in native names (see *Aedelbrand*); a corresponding OG or ON form is, however, not recorded. It seems probable that it is a hybrid formation, the first member being the OE name-element *Uht*, for which see Müller p. 92.

Ugo, see Hugo.

Ugolinus, see Hugelin.

Umfridus (filius Roberti, Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 402; Umfrid de Boun (Dev.) RH I p. 97 (Edw. I.); Umfrid ibid. p. 336, II p. 700; Unfrei (surname) ibid. p. 708; Umfrey (surname) ibid. p. 476, etc.

OG Unfrid, Unfred, Umfred¹ F 1479. The above forms cannot well be kept distinct from Hunfrid (above). In OE the present name seems to occur only in the one instance Unferð (son of Ecglaf) in Beow.

Urlwin(e), see *Erlwin(e).

Urso (Wilts., Dors., Oxf., etc.), Urso vicecomes (Worc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 402; Ursone (abl.) de Abetot CMR I pp. 237, 238, 242 (AD 1102-11), etc.

¹ The first member is the intensive particle un, perhaps occurring in OE $unh\bar{a}r$; cf. Bruckner p. 84. For the second member see *Gaufrid*.

Cf. Urso F 1484. It is possible that this name is, at least sometimes, Germanic. Cf. Bruckner (p. 60), who suggests that Urs- is related to Greek $\breve{a}\rho\sigma\eta\gamma$ 'männlich, tapfer'. A Rom. dim. form is Ursellum (acc.) de Bosco RCR I p. 420 (AD 1199)¹.

Urveus, Urveius, see Hurvey.

W.

Waard, see Wadard.

Wace, see Wazo.

Wacelin, see Wazelinus.

Wachelin, see Walchelin.

*Waco, see Wazo.

Wadard: Wadardus (Kent) Ellis, Intr. I p. 503; Wadard (Oxf., Warw.), Rainaldus Wadard (Oxf.), Wadardus (homo Episcopi Baiocensis², Linc.) ibid. II pp. 403, 404; Walchelin Waard MRS pp. 4, 6; Helewisa Waard Cart. Eynsh. I p. 413; Simon Wahart (Yorks.) RB p. 414 (AD 1166).

OG Wadard F 1492, OF Vadart Kalbow p. 117. The first member is related to OHG watan (OE wadan) 'ire, pergere' and is found is OE Wada in LV and in Widsip (v. 22), where it is the name of a prince of the Hælsingas, further in DB, where it is probably native, and in the well-known ME poem Wade. There are, however, no native compounds with this name-element in OE. The second member is *-hard*, (see *Actard), not *-weard*, as Searle suggests.

¹ Ursus (vicecomes, Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 261 is Latin.

² Mentioned in the Baieux tapestry; cf. FNC III p. 571.

Wadelo, Wadel, Wadels, Wadhel (Kent, Dev., Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 262.

OG Wadila, Watilo, Wadil, etc. (F 1491), dim. forms of Wado = OE Wada, see the preceding name. The above forms are probably NF.

Wahart, see Wadard.

Waifer, Wayfer: Wayfer RM I p. 277; Ricardus Wayfer, Waifer (Wilts.) ibid. II pp. 390, 393, Test. Nev. p. 151; Roberti (gen.) Wayfer (Wilts.) Inq. Non. p. 164; Willelmo (dat.) Waifer RB p. 768 (AD 1204-5); Ricardi (gen.) Wayfere (Wilts.) FA V p. 236 (AD 1428).

Cf. OG Waifar, Waifer, Weifer¹ etc. F 1495, OF Gaifier Langlois p. 245 f. The predominant surname-function of the above forms, however, renders it probable that they are in most cases to be derived from an original appellative waferer 'wafer-baker'. Cf. such ME surnames as le Wafre, le Wayfre, le Wayferer etc.

Wala, see Walo.

Walafraith, see *Walfrid.

Wakelin, see Walchelin.

Walbertus (Staff.), Walbertus (homo episcopi Dunelmensis, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 405; Walbertus LVD p. 47 (12th or 13th c.); Waubert (Lond.) RH II p. 417; Waubert (surname) ibid. p. 390; Gervasius Gaubert CRC p. 9 (John)². OG Walbert³ (very common) F 1501 f., OF Gaubert

¹ The first member is probably related to Goth. *waja*- in *waja-mērjan*; see Bruckner p. 101 and Kalbow p. 107. The second member is explained by Bruckner (p. 247) < *farja-(related to OS far, OHG fora, furi). Cf. also F 496 and literature there quoted.

² The pl. n. Walberton does not, according to Roberts, Suss. Pl. ns, contain this p. n. but OE Wealdburh, which assumption he supports on the form Walburgetone in DB.

³ The first member is Wald- belonging to OHG waltan, see Ansoldus above. Besides, OHG walah (OE wealh) 'Fremder' is also to be taken under consideration. Cf. also Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142, who explains the name-element Wal(a)h- from the Langlois p. 262. There are no instances of this name in England till DB^{1} .

Walchelinus, Walkelinus, Walcelin (Episcopus Wintoniensis)² (Hants., Berks., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 503, II p. 405, LVD pp. 72, 140, AS Chr. 1098 E; Walchel' (homo archiepiscopi Eboracencis, Linc.), Walchelinus (North., Linc., etc.), Walchelinus (homo Walterii de Aincurt, Nott.), Walchelinus iniles (Yorks.), Walchelinus (nepos Episcopi de Winton, Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 405; Walchelin' LVD p. 12; Walkelinus ibid. p. 61; Walkelinus Decanus ibid. p. 81; Walkling ibid. p. 101; (Hugo filius) Walchelini ibid. p. 108; Walkelin = Wachelin ibid. pp. 61, 70³; Walkelin' de Ferar Rot. Obl. p. 75 (AD 1200); Walkelinum (acc.) le Blunt RM II p. 107; Walclin (surname) RH II p. 619; Waukelyn ibid. p. 631; Wakelin KC p. 107, Rot. Fin. p. 456 (AD 1207); Galchelinus RM II p. 395; Gaugelinus (= *Gaucelinus) de Corcella (Baieux) RB p. 647 (AD 1133); further instances in Bardsley p. 792.

A NF dim. form of OG Walho or Walico (Mod. G Walke, Fris. Walke, Walcko, Walko F 1514, Winkler p. 423) < Wal(ah)-, se under Walbertus. The DB-spelling ch, as well as the frequent occurrence of k in later forms and present English Walkling, show that the original pronunciation of this name was Walkelin. The loss of l (in Wakelin) is AN; cf. Menger p. 87, and Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 148. On Gal-, Gau-, see Gaufrid.

name of the Walchi, Celtic Volcae. For other possible explanations of Wal- see F 1513, Bruckner p. 316, Schönfeld p. 250 and literature there quoted. The second member is the same as in Adalbert.

¹ The form *Walberti* (gen.) BCS 22 (AD 664) appears as *Wilberht* AS Chr. 656 E, which latter is no doubt correct.

² A Norman, said to have been a kinsman of the Conqueror. ³ Cf. also *Wakelinus* cum ipso *Walcelino* Abbr. Plac. p. 18. Walchere AS Chr. 1080 $E^{1} = Walcherus$ episcopus Dunelmensis LVD pp. 66, 143 = Gualcherus ibid. p. 140; Walcherus (Dors.), Walicherus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 405, 406; Galicerus (Ess.) ibid. p. 321; Waucher RLP p. 95 (AD 1212).

OG Walcher, Walicher, Walcar (Rom.) etc. F 1517 f. For the members see the preceding name and Aeðelhere. An OE form Wealhhere is on record (e. g. BCS 405, 421, 442, AD 833, 838); it cannot be distinguished from the continental equivalent. The present English surname Walker is of different origin and derives from ME walker 'a fuller'²; cf. Will' le Walker Inq. Non. p. 141.

Waldin: Waldinus (Yorks.), Waldinus Brito³ (Linc.) Waldinus ingeniator⁴ (Linc.), Waldinus (homo Willielmi de Perci, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 503, II p. 405; Waldin LVD p. 51 (13th c.); Waldin, Waudin (surnames) RH II p. 77, Test. Nev. p. 45; Gaudinus (de Albo monasterio) Test. Nev. p. 154; Gaudin' de Orfeure (Yorks.) Abbr. Plac. p. 253; Gaudin, Gaudyn (surnames) RH II p. 176, CR II p. 78, etc.

Searle assumes the DB-forms above to be < OE Wealdwine (cf. Waldwinus Ellis, Intr. II p. 262), but there is no doubt that, as a rule, these instances are < NF Waldin (see the Rom. instances in F 1500) and Gaudin (Langlois p. 262 f.), dim. forms of the name-stem Wald-, see Walbertus. Walebrond (surname, Dors.) Inq. Non. p. 56.

Cf. Walprand (Bish. of Lucca 732-54), Waldprand⁵ etc. F 1502. Cf. also Valbrandr Lind 1065. Or is the above form from OF Walebron (Langlois p. 672) with excrescent d? This might be a hybrid formation (-brun, -bron is often found in OF p. ns). But cf. Walbrun F 1502 and Guala-

- ³ Cf. FNC IV p. 215.
- ⁴ See FNC ibid.

¹ "he sylf wæs on Hloðeringa geboren". Cf. also FNC IV p. 479.

² See also Weekley p. 45.

⁵ For the members see Walbertus and Aeðelbrand.

brûnus Bruckner p. 316. Does the surname Wabrand (Wilts.) Test. Nev. p. 146 belong here?

Walecho LVD p. 78 (12th or 13th c.).

OG Walaho, Walecho, etc. (F 1514) < Walah-, see under Walbertus.

Waleman mon. (Edw. the Elder) Grueber p. 93.

OG Walaman, Walman¹, etc. F. 1519. Not on record elsewhere in OE.

Waleran venator (Hants., Wilts.), Waleramus (Ess.), Walerannus (Dors.), Waleranni, Walerami, Galerami (gen.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 439, 503, II pp. 343, 405; Walerannus, Walramus, Walerandus, Walran (filius Roberti), Waleran LVD pp. 15, 65, 85, 91, 97, 104; Walerannus abbas Ann. Waverl. p. 245 (AD 1187); Waleran de Munceaus Rot. Fin. p. 310 (AD 1205); Waleramo (obl.) de Lenburg (Lunebourg) CR I p. 125 (AD 1212); Waleramo (obl.) Teutonico ibid. p. 456 (AD 1221); Walerando (obl.) de Sancto Germano RM II p. 396; Walerandus Maufe Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 125 (AD 1225); Walerando (obl.) de Sancto Germano RM II p. 396; Walerandus (fil. Normanni) ibid. II p. 220 (AD 1255); Walerant (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 200; Walraund (surname) RM II p. 414; Gilbertus Walronne, merchaunt, FY p. 234 (AD 1509); Walerenus de Ivreio (= Galeranus) RB p. 640 (AD 1172); Gwalerā LVD p. 8; etc.

OG Walahram, Walaram, Waleramus, Walerannus² F 1518 f., OF Galerant. ON Walrafan (Björkman, Pers. p. 173) may easily have been confused with the continental forms. Walericus S. (Ess.), (de) Sancto Walarico, (de) S. Waleri Ellis, Intr. I p. 503 = the Abbey of St. Valery in Picardy. OG Walerich F 1520. Cf. Schätzer p. 53 f.

*Walfrid: Walfridus (homo Aluredi de Lincole) Ellis, Intr. II p. 405; Walafraith LVD p. 58 (13th c.); Walefrei (Bedf.)

¹ Cf. Walbertus and Godesman.

² The first member is probably OHG wal (OE wæl) 'die Erschlagenen auf dem Schlachtfelde'; see further Walbertus. For the second member see Bertram.

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Fines I p. 88 (John); *Walfrei* (surname) RH II p. 560 (Edw. I.), etc.

OG Walahfrid, Walafrid, Wal(e)frid, Walfred¹ F 1503 f., 1516 f. OE *Wealhfrid is not on record, but Uualdfrið occurs in LV and Waltferð is a moneyer's name (Aethelred II.) Grueber p. 217. For th in the AN form -fraith see Behrens p. 175 f. On the usual NF variant Gaufrid see above.

Walger (surname) RH II p. 647, Rot. Orig. II p. 170; Gualgerus episcopus LVD p. 44 (13th c.).

OG Waldger, Walger², etc. F 1504. Whether Walgar (minister) BCS 1344 (AD 930) is a native equivalent of the above forms or < OG Walgar, etc. (F 1505) cannot be determined.

*Walin, Walin' Flandr' (Pembroke) MRS p. 136.

A dim. form of *Walo*, see this name. The form *Walenus* given by Searle from Ellis, Intr. II p. 405 as a nomen viri appears as (Petrus) *de Walenus*.

Walkelin, see Walchelin.

Walo (Suss.), Walo (homo Gozelini, Linc.), Walo (homo Hugonis, Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 406; Walo de Cupella RC p. 186 (AD 1212); Galo (citizen of Nantes) CCR I p. 125 (AD 1230); Gualonem (acc.) legatum in Anglia³ Rob. Gross. Ep. p. 339 (AD 1245); Gala (fem.?) de Curcun (Cant.) RB p. 366 (AD 1166), etc.

OG Walo (F 1514 f., Stark p. 46, Bruckner p. 316), a hypochoristic form of compounds with Wal-, see Walbertus. It is possible that Wala (Ellis, Intr. II p. 405) is a native hypochoristic form of compounds with OE Wealh-, Walh-; on the loss of h see Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 218. The form Wala LVD p. 57 is certainly fem.⁴ Cf. Wala F 1515.

¹ For the members see Walbertus and Gaufrid.

² Cf. Walbertus and Amelger.

³ See FNC V p. 720.

⁴ Githa, Aalis, Margaritha, Wina, Wala, Emalina ...

Walter mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 131; Walter(e) mon. (Edw. the Elder, Eadred) Grueber pp. 94, 143; Walterius (Hants.), Walterius balistarius (Glouc.), Walterius diaconus (Glouc.), Walterius (filius Other, Surr., Hants., etc.), Walterus Flandrensis¹ (Hertf., Buck., Bedf., etc.), Walterus fil. Ponz² (Berks.), Walterus (filius Rogerii, Hants.), Walterus (frater Seiheri, Bedf.), Walterus de S. Waleri, Walterus episcopus Hereford³ (= Walterus episcopus KCD 809, 813, 824, 825, 833, AD 1060-66), Walterus (filius Engelberti, Kent), Walterus (filius Lamberti, Suss.), Walter (gener Gisleberti, Worc.), Walterus (homo Goisfridi Alselin, Nott.), Walterus monachus (Bedf.), Walterus (nepos Durandi, Heref.) etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 504, 505, II pp. 265, 406, 407; Walter(i)us LVD pp. 2, 4, 7, 8, 14, 16, 19, 23, 27, 31, 34, 35, 39, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58, 61, 70, 71, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, etc.; Walterus de Gant MRS p. 25 (AD 1205); Walterus le Franceys CR II p. 204; Walter(us) le Flemyng CCR I p. 478 (AD 1257), FY p. 12 (AD 1308); Walterus Fraunceis, sadeler, FY p. 67 (AD 1369); Waltero (dat.) Alemanno CR I p. 41 (AD 1205); Waltero (dat.) de Bruges ibid. p. 45 (AD 1205); Walter of Cantelupe (Bish. of Worc. 1237-1266) FNC V p. 725; Walter of Douai FNC V p. 800; Walter Giffard ibid. IV p. 39; Walter of Espec (founder of the Rievaux Abbey in 1131) ibid. V p. 232; Walterus de Bardes⁴ (also called Gauto de Barde) RB p. CCCLV = Gauterus de Bardes, mercator (Edw. III.); Waltear bisceop 5 AS Chr. 1095 E; Walterus (de Constancia 6 factus est episcopus Lincolniæ) Chr. Petr. p. 4 (AD 1183); Waltier (surname, Dev.) FA I p. 466 (AD 1428); Galterus cocus (Ess.), Galterus diaconus (Ess., Suff.), Galterus de Ga-

¹ See FNC III p. 312.

² Son of Walter Ponz, brother of Drogo.

³ A Lotharingian, see FNC II p. 451 f.

⁴ A Lombard.

⁵ "Dæs Papan sande ... Waltear bisceop ... of Albin pære ceastre."

 $^{^{6}}$ = Coutances.

domo (Norf.), Galterus arbalistarius¹, Gualterus (Norf.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 421, II pp. 321, 332; Gualter(i)us LVD pp. 45, 51; Gualter de Gant ibid. p. 78. See further Bardsley p. 792.

OG Walter (very common) F 1507, OF Gautier Langlois p. 266 ff. The first member is Wald-, see Walbertus. According to Kalbow p. 134 the t of the Rom, forms need not necessarily be < OHG forms with t (< d) but the original d may have been unvoiced when it came to stand at the end of the syllable after the loss of the composition-vowel. For the second member see Aedelhere. The OE equivalent is W(e)ald(h)ere², which under continental influence may easily have assumed the form Walter(e). Thus, it is not possible to determine whether Walterus sacerdos (BCS 118, AD 706) with the variant Uualdherus is a native or continental name. The English form is rarely met with in the 10th c. and in the 11th c. begins the great importation, especially from Normandy, France, and Flanders. Binz (p. 219) has collected a number of instances of Walter, which in his opinion prove the spread of the legend of Walther and Hildegund in England, but which cannot as a rule serve as evidence in this respect, since they were more likely to have been brought into the country by foreign invaders or immigrants.

Waltier, see the preceding name.

Wandebertus LVD p. 54 (13th c.).

OG Vandberch, Wandabert, Wandebertus, Wantpert F 1526, Stark p. 89, Bruckner p. 318. The first member is probably to be connected with the verb windan 'winden'³. No OE compounds with this element exist. The p. n. Uont in LV has, as it seems, been wrongly associated with OG Wanzo by Müller (p. 43). The latter name is certainly not a short

¹ Cf. Walterus arbalistarius above.

² Cf. also the well-known OE Waldere fragments.

³ For the second member see Adalbert.

form of an original compound with *Want-, since such a name-element does not exist, but is < Wando or, as Stark p. 88 suggests, <*Wanizo. Uont (of non-Germanic origin?) is further to be kept distinct from the surname Wanz, Wants, Wand Ellis, Intr. I p. 506, II p. 408, which is < M Lat. wantus (cf. "tegumenta manuum quae Galli wantos vocant" in Bede) of Germanic origin¹. The moneyer's name Oanddert (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 121 is probably a mistake for *Oandbert. The spelling O for W proves it to be a WF-Rom. form.

Wandefred mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 131.

OG Wandefrid, Wantfrid F 1526. For the members see Wandebertus and Amelfridus. Cf. also Bugge, Vesterl. Indfl. p. 276.

*Wandregisel: S. Wandregesili (gen.), Wandregisillus² Ellis, Intr. I p. 506, II p. 408; Wandregiš, Wandrigiš, Wandregisilum (acc.), Wandrille de Curcell RCR I pp. 265, 308, 310, 343, 349, CR I p. 13 (AD 1204); Wandregisilus de Boytun' (Cornw.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 92 (AD 1222); Wandregisili (gen.) MRS p. 19; Wandrig' Test. Nev. p. 167.

OG Wandrigisil, Wandregisil (common) F 1530. The first member seems to be an extension of Wand- (see Wandebertus) almost exclusively found in WF; cf. F ibid., Longnon p. 371. For the second member cf. Gislebert.

Wantelmus LVD p. 55 (13th c.).

This might be a compound of Wand + helm, but, as there is no continental equivalent on record, it seems most pro-

¹ The ME surname *Wante*, le *Wante*, explained by Bardsley (p. 792) as "the want, i. e. the mole", might be of the same origin. As regards the pl. ns *Wandesford*, *Wandesleia* and *Wandestre* (Test. Ebor. p. 256, RB pp. 167, 344), their first member is probably OE wand 'mole' (cf. Kärre, Nomina Agentis in OE p. 28) and not a p. n. "*Wande* or "*Wandefrith*, as Moorman (p. 108) suggests.

² The Abbey of St. Vandrille, in the diocese of Rouen, founded by St. Wandregisilus in 654.

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bable that the form is misread or miswritten for Wantelinus < OG Wantelin (Rom.), Wandelin, Wandalin, etc. (F 1527), dim. forms of Wando¹, Wandilo, or belonging to the namestem Wandel- (from the name of the Vandals).

*Warenbold, Wari(n)boldus² (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 408; Warmebolt de Arleham, goldsmyth, FY p. 84 (AD 1385); cf. also Wormeboldi (gen.) Harlam, goldsmyth, ibid. p. 135 (AD 1423).

OG Warinbold, Warembold (Rom.), Warenbald, Werinbold³, etc. F 1541. The OE equivalent Uernbald occurs in LV (see Müller p. 103). It cannot be determined with certainty whether the ME surname Wernbald (Cant.) RH II p. 434 (Edw. I.) is a continuation of this OE p. n.

Warenger (Dors.), Warengerus (Norf., Suff.), Rogerus Wareng' (Suff.), Waregerius, Waregius (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 408; Warengerus, Warengar (Dors.) Fines II p. 94; Garengerus (Ess., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 322.

OG Weringer and Rom. Warengar, Guarenger F 1543. For the members see *Warenbold and Berenger.

Warimer, Uuarmer mon. (Edw. the Elder) Grueber pp. 84, 93.

These forms are hardly from OE *Wærmær, as Searle suggests. a for æ might certainly very well be ascribed to the carelessness of the moneyer. But apart from the fact that Searle's form is not recorded elsewhere in OE the occurrence of i as the composition-vowel points to continental origin. The OG equivalent is Werimer, Rom. Guarimar, Wairmar F 1536. For the first member see F 1531, Bruckner p. 318. For the second member cf. Ainmer.

Warin, Uuarin mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 152; Uuærin mon.

¹ Often used as a short form of Wandregisil.

² As regards the omission of n see Burghardt p. 105, Luhmann p. 54, Zachrisson, French Infl. p. 10 f.

³ The first member belongs to the name of the Varini (Wærnas, Wernas in Widsip); cf. Bruckner p. 318, Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142. For the second member see Albod(o).

(Eadwig) ibid. p. 162; Warn mon. (Eadmund) ibid. p. 138; Warinus arbalistarius (Wilts.) Warinus (Berks., Suss., Dev., etc.), Warinus (homo Rogeri comitis, Suss.), Warinus miles, etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 507, II pp. 408, 409; Warinus, Varinus LVD pp. 14, 18, 31, 38, 39, 46, 55, 60, 64, 105, 108, 143; Warinus ibid. p. 60 = Werinus ibid. p. 68; Warinus Mansel Chr. Petr. p. 166; Warini (gen.) le buteler RM I p. 122; Warinus le ostricer Test. Nev. p. 283; Waringus¹ RB p. 196 (AD 1166); Garinus (Ess., Norf., etc.), Garinus cocus (Norf.), Guarinus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 322, 332; Garino de Bassingeburn = Warino de Bassingeburne RH I pp. 418, 427, Rot. Fin. p. 459 (AD 1207); Guarinus decanus Ann. Dunst. p. 76 (AD 1222); Guerinus miles et monachus LVD p. 140 (Obit.).

OG Warin and Werin (very common), Guarin, Guerin (Rom.) F 1540, OF Guarin, Garin Langlois p. 254 f. On the etymology of this name-stem see *Warenbold. A NF dim. form is Warinot (surname) RH II p. 596.

Warmebolt, see *Warenbold.

Warnerus (Wilts., Derb., Nott.), Warnerus (homo Widonis de Credun, Linc.), Warnerus (homo Willielmi Peverel, Nott.), Warnerius (Suss., Som., etc.), Warnarius (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409; Warnerius LVD pp. 44, 90; (Sansun filius) Uuarnerii ibid. p. 50; Warennerus ibid. p. 65; Wariner le Botiler (Buck.) RH I p. 30; Warnerus Engayne (Hunt.) ibid. II p. 635; Warner de Lisoriis Pipe Roll I p. 42; Warner (monk) AS Chr. 1114 E; Garnerus (homo Ricardi, Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 322; Guarnerius LVD p. 23; Aguarnier (?) LVD p. 68; Gwarner (Ess.) Rot. Fin. p. 436; Garnerus de Caleto CR II p. 36 (AD 1225); Gerardus Gerner (Dover) RB p. 615 (AD 1211-12).

OG Warinhari, Warinher, Warinarius², Guarner, Garner

¹ Cf. Luhmann p. 37. Warincus Ellis, Intr. II p. 408 probably belongs here.

² For the etymology see *Warenbold and Aedelhere.

(Rom.), Werinhere, Wernher, (very common) F 1544 f., OF Guarnier, Garnier Langlois p. 257 f. Gerner above is probably = *Guerner < Werner. — The surnames Warnare, Warner LVD pp. 109, 112, 118 are of distinct origin, viz. from the ME appellative warner(e), a warren keeper; cf. Eustachius le Warner Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 577 (AD 1272) and the fem. (Emma) la Warnere Rot. Orig. I p. 172 (Edw. II.).

Wasce, see Wazo.

Wascelin, see Wazelin.

*Wasger: Guascher (comes Sci Pauli) CR I p. 488 (AD 1222).

OG Wasuger, Vasger, Vasker F 1548. The first member belongs to wasan 'pollere' or is, according to Bruckner (p. 55), a gradation-form of wisu- 'gut'. Cf. also Gervas above. For the second member see Amelger.

Wasuuic prepositus (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409.

Other compounds with Was-1 are lacking in OE, whereas they are not unfrequent in OG. The present one, however, is not on record. The second member is the same as in **Herewig* above.

Watelin, Watelyn (surnames) Inq. Non. pp. 259, 319, Rot. Orig. I p. 121, RH I p. 540; Gatelin, Gatelyn Plac. pp. 802, 803, etc.

Cf. Waddolenus, Watlin, Wadelin² (Rom.) F 1491, OF Guadelin Langlois p. 301. It is probable, however, that Watelin is a dim. form of Wat < Walter. In such case, ME Gatelin is < *Gat < Galter; it is at any rate not < Gertrude, as Bardsley (p. 311) suggests³.

Waubert, see Walbertus.

Waucher, see Walchere.

¹ Cf. the preceding name.

² Dim. forms of compounds with Wad-, see Wadard.

³ The pet-form *Gatty* (< *Gertrude*), from which *Gatelin* would be a derivative, is, as far as I know, a NE formation.

Waudin, see Waldin.

Wayfer, see Waifer.

Wazelinus (Leic., Warw., Derb.), Wazelinus (homo Episcopi Baioc., Nott.), Wazelinus (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.), Wazelinus (homo Goisfridi de Wirce, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409; Wascelin, Wascelyn, Wacelin, Wacelyn (surnames) Exc. Rot. Fin. II pp. 10, 66, 233 (AD 1247-56), CR I pp. 237, 314, 450 (AD 1215-21), CRC p. 22, RH I p. 120; Wazelin (surname, Linc.) Test. Nev. p. 344; Wesselin (surname, Norf.) RH I p. 456; Gascelin, Gacelin, Gacelyn, Gas(s)elin (surnames) CR I pp. 236, 361 (AD 1215-18), II p. 99 (AD 1226), Exc. Rot. Fin. II pp. 13, 95 (AD 1247, 51), CRC pp. 94, 138, 143, 145, 148, 153, 205, RM II pp. 137, 269.

OG Wazilin, Wazelin, Wacelin, Wascelin, Wezelin (F 1550), OF Gacelin, Gaselin (Langlois p. 244), dim. forms of Wazo (below). Cf. also Wezil = Werinhardus Stark p. 93.

Wazo (Surr., Berks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409; Wazo (archidiaconus, Durham) Prior. Hexh. p. 167 (AD 1153); Walterus filius) Waconis (Wationis) RB p. 241 (AD 1166); Waze (surname, Norf.) RH I p. 439 (Edw. I.); Waz (surname) RH II pp. 43, 44, 269; Wace de Ponte (Lond.) RLP p. 58 (AD 1207); Wace KC pp. 110, 112; Wace (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 224 (Edw. II.), RH II p. 764 (Edw. I.); *Wacius (Wacio, dat.) CR I p. 152 (AD 1213); Wace, the well-known AN chronicler; Wasce (surname, Cornw.) Fines I p. 343 (John); Gazo Wint. DB p. 533; Gace de Gisorz CR II p. 12 (AD 1225); Gaceus FY p. 21 (AD 1322); Gase (surname) CR II p. 174 (AD 1227), etc.

OG Waz(z)o, Fris. Watso, Watse (F 1549, Stark p. 82, Winkler p. 427), OF Gace (Langlois p. 244), hypochoristic forms of compounds with Wad- or Warin- (cf. Wadard and *Warenbold). Cf. Azo above.

*Wederan: Guederan' (gen., Norf.) Rot. Fin. p. 526 (AD 1214).

This name is probably to be derived < OG Widuram,

Widrannus (Pol. Irm.), Guiderand etc. F 1570 ff. The e of the first member of Guederan' might be due to the OF transition of i > e (cf. OHG witu 'Wald'; OE wudu was used as a name-element). The first member might further be OHG wît (OE wid) 'weit', since e for i is not unknown in ME texts. And lastly, the original form might have been Wed- (OHG wet(t)i, O Fris. wed 'Pfand'). Cf. the instances in F 1491 ff. For the second member see Bertram. Weland: Welland (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 265; Weland (Linc.) RCR I p. 299 (AD 1199); Weland (Suff.) ibid. p. 222 (AD 1199); Ricardus Willand FY p. 221 (AD 1496); Galland, Galant (surnames) RH I p. 147, Inq. Non. pp. 3, 171 (AD 1341); Galent (surname) Inq. Non. p. 307.

Weland further occurs in Beowulf v. 455 (Welandes geweorc), Waldere I, 2 (Welandes work), II, 9 (Welandes bearn) and in Deor's Klage v. 1, and in all these instances it is the name of the famous smith. Cf. also the pl. ns Welandes smiððan KCD 1172 (AD 955) and Welandes stoce BCS 603 (AD 903)¹. For OG Weland see F 1553 f. Etymological suggestions are found in Heusler (ZfdA 52, 98 f.), Meyer (Germania XIV, 289), Kluge (ZfdWortf. 8, 144), Paul's Gr. 2, 159-62, AfdA 13, 23, etc. Willand above is probably < OG Wiland (<Wieland). As regards the form Galant etc. it might be < OF Galant, the epic form of Weland, see Kalbow p. 94, but also the OF adj. gal(l)ant 'gallant'². Wenelincus, see Wenenc.

*Wenemarus, see Winemarus.

¹ See Binz p. 186 f.

² To be kept distinct from the p. n. Wel(l)and is the river name Welland, as Binz has already pointed out; further the pl. n. Welland, parish and village in co. Worc. (see Bartholomew, Gazetteer); cf. Willelmo Welond (RM II p. 227) and Willelmo de Weland (ibid. p. 255). Cf. further (of) Weallande AS Chr. 1040 E ('Welsh i. e. foreign country"). And lastly, the surnames Weiland, Weyland are of local origin; cf. de Weylaund, de Wegeland etc. Plac. p. 735, Wickw. Reg, p. 278.

Wenenc, Wennenc presbyter (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409.

Cf. OG Wening (Mod. G Wening), a mutated form of the common p. n. Waning¹ F 1523. -enc < -ing is NF. — The form Wenelincus² (Bedf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409, is probably a patronymic derivative from OG Wenilo (OF Guenelon) F 1522, Kalbow p. 49.

Werinus, see Warin.

*Werlin, Guerlinus (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333.

A NF form of an OG etymon *Werilin³ (cf. Rom. Waralenus F 1533). Incorrect is Hildebrand's derivation (DB p. 350) of *Guerlinus* < OG Warlind, which is a fem. name. Cf. also *Gerling* above.

Werno cantor Linc. Obit. p. 160; Guerno de Peiz (Poix?) Hildebrand DB p. 341.

OG Werino, Werno (<*Warino⁴) F 1540. The OE pl. ns (on) Wærnan hylle (AD 958), (on) Wernan festen (AD 739), (on) Wernan brôc (AD 854)⁵ probably contain a native equivalent Werna.

Wer(r)ic: Guericus (Norf.), Gueri (canonicus S. Pauli, Lond.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333; Gueri Flandr MRS p. 142; Werrie de Marines (Hertf.) Rot. Fin. pp. 247, 277 (AD 1205); Werry de Cadamo ('Caen') RH II p. 528 (Edw. I.); Werrico (obl.) de Loherenn CR I p. 262 (AD 1216); Werricus Flandrensis (brother of the hospital of Jerusalem at York) CCR II p. 450 (AD 1294); Werric' de Valoines (Cant.) Abbr. Plac. p. 56 (John).

OF *Guerri* (Langlois p. 302) postulates a Germanic groundform **Werric*⁶, see Kalbow p. 44. *Wericus* (F 1533) is rather a dim. form. The discrepancy between the above

¹ The stem is perhaps OHG wân (OE wēn) 'Hoffnung'; cf. F 1521.

² Wenellic LVD p. 61 is probably the same name.

³ Mod. G Wehrlein.

⁴ For Warin- see *Warinbold.

⁵ See Middendorff p. 144.

⁶ Cf. Warimer and Albericus.

instances as regards the rendering of r may be due to the ME vacillation between single and double consonants, for which cf. Menger p. 89 and references.

*Werrina, *Guerrina* (wife of Robert de Bello Tofte) Abbr. Plac. p. 230; *Guerrine* (dat.) (wife of Galfred de Gurdun) CR II p. 10 (AD 1225).

A NF form of OG Werina (<*Warina) F 1540, Heyne p. 29, the fem. equivalent of Warin and Werno above. For the double r see the preceding name.

Wesselin, see Wazelinus.

Wiard, see *Wic(h)ard.

Wiberga (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 410, LVD p. 110.

Cf. the Rom. form *Guiberga* < *Wicbirga* (F 1579), the first member being OHG wig, wie 'Kampf'. For the second member cf. *Alberia*.

*Wibert, Guibertus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333; Guibertus Marlesuein CMR III p. 269.

OG Wigbert, Wibert, Guibert (OF) F 1580, Langlois p. 302 f. Cf. Wiberga and Adalbert. The OE equivalent Wigbeorht is not uncommon.

*Wibrand, Wibrandi (gen.) de Stauere¹ CR I p. 604 (AD 1224); Wybrand ibid. p. 197 (AD 1215).

OG Wigbrand, Wicbrand, Wibrant, etc. F 1581, Frisian Wibrandus, Wybrandus Winkler p. 435. Cf. Wiberga and Aeðelbrand.

Wicelin LVD p. 51 (13th c.).

OG Wizelin, Wicelin, etc. (F 1627 f.), in most cases hypochoristic dim. forms of compounds with Wid-; cf. also Wicelin = Werinhardus Stark p. 94 and Wizo below².

*Wic(h)ard: Guichardus KCD 754 (AD 1020-38); Wicardus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 410; Wychardus, Gwychardus de

¹ Mentioned together with several other German merchants.

² It is not probable that Wicelin is = Wikelin < OG Wikelin < Wig- (F 1578). As regards the form Wigelin (Grein 871), it is perhaps a mistake for Wigelm < the common OE p. n. Wighelm, as Searle suggests.

Charron (Northumbr.) Plac. pp. 598, 604 (Edw. I.); Ernald *Guichard* (merchant of Toulouse) CR II p. 159 (AD 1226); Hugo *Wycharde* LVD p. 113; Amauric *Gychard* (Winch.) CCR II p. 9 (AD 1258); *Guicard* de Lebreto (Archdeacon of Canterbury) CPR II p. 484 (AD 1312).

OG Wighard, Wichard (very common), Wicart, Wiard, Guiard, etc. F 1583, OF Guichart, Guicart Langlois p. 304. The first member is OHG wig, wic (see Wiberga) in which latter form c has remained in Norman but become ch in Centr. F before the following a. This explains the coexistence of Wicard, Guicard and Wychard, Guichard. For the second member see *Actard¹.

Widaldus (homo Widonis de Credun, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 410; Vidald de Fontard CR I p. 201 (AD 1214).

OG Widald, Witald, etc. F 1573 f. The first member is OHG wit (OE wid) 'weit'; for the second member see Ansoldus. No OE equivalent is on record.

Widardus (Heref.), Widard (Shropsh.), Widardus (Suss., Glouc., etc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 267, 410; Widard' Flandr' (Kent) Rot. Canc. p. 217.

OG Withard, Witard F 1570. Cf. Widaldus and *Actard. No earlier instances recorded in England.

Widboldus(?) mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 131.

OG Witbald -bold, etc. F 1565. Cf. Widaldus and Albod(o). Not found elsewhere in OE.

Widelardus (North.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 410; Nich's Wypelard RH II p. 745 (Edw. I.); Johannes Withelarde Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 324.

Continental compounds with Widel, an extended form of Wid- (see Widaldus), occur, e. g. Widelbertus (Bruckner p. 321), Widelfred (Pol. Irm.), Widelhagdis (ibid.), Widler, etc.

¹ As regards the moneyer's name *Wiard* (Alfred, Aethelstan), Grueber pp. 33, 121, it might be from the common OE p. n. *Wigheard*. Cf. also *Wig(e)ard* mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 139. *Wiardus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 410, Cart. Eynsh. I p. 68 might also be < *Widardus* (below) with NF loss of the intervocalic dental. F 1574 f.¹ - Here also belong Wielardus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 509, II p. 410, Wielard (Kent) CRC pp. 237, 238 (AD 1200), Abbr. Plac. p. 65 (John), and Wihelardus² (de Trophil) RB p. 438 (AD 1166) with NF loss of the dental. Wido de Oilgi³ (Oxf.), Wido de Rembuedcurt (Linc., Cambr., North., etc.), (Willelmus filius) Widonis (Som., Glouc.), Wido angevinus (Norf.), Wido (gener Hugonis) (Linc.), Wido presbyter (Som.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 459, 474, 512, II p. 410; Abbas Wido LVD p. 31; Wido ibid. pp. 38, 80, 82, 85, 145 (Obit.); Vido ibid. p. 39; Wido de Brionne ibid. p. 96; Wido de Beureun ibid. p. 103; Wid le Franceis ibid. p. 107; Widonem abbatem⁴ AS Chr. I p. 290; Wido, Guido, Gwido de Diua KC pp. 79, 84, 95, 109; Wydo de Bretevill CR I p. 264 (AD 1216); Widon' (obl.) de Verdun (Suff.) Abbr. Plac. p. 44 (John); Gidonem (acc.) de Erencurt CR I p. 40 (AD 1205); Gwido de Humez LVD p. 32; Guido de Bello Campo, comes Warrewici⁵ FA V p. 213 (AD 1324); Gydon' (abl.) Bryan = Wydon Bryan RH I p. 85; Gwidonis (gen.) Flemeng RLP p. 134 (AD 1215); cf. also Wido of Amiens, who came to England with Mathilda, FNC IV p. 178.

OG $Wido^6$ ("ungemein häufig"), Guido, Gido (Rom.) F 1563. On the Rom. spellings Gu, G for W see Kalbow p. 117. It is not quite certain whether OE Wida is recorded, since such pl. ns as (to) widan geate, (on) widan leh, (on) widan cumb might contain the OE adj. wid 'weit, breit'; cf. Middendorff p. 150. But Wid- certainly occurs in native compounds which might have given rise to a hypochoristic form.

Wielard, see Widelardus. *Wiger, Guigerio (abl.) LVD p. 73.

- ² h may have been inserted to avoid hiatus.
- ³ See FNC IV p. 47.
- ⁴ See FNC IV p. 412.
- ⁵ Cf. FNC IV p. 191.
- ⁶ A hypochoristic form of compounds with Wid-, see Widaldus.

¹ For the second member see *Actard.

OG Wigheri, Wiger, etc. F 1584, OF Guigier, Langlois p. 305. Cf. Wiberga and Aedelhere. The OE equivalent is Wighere.

Wigeran the clerk CCR II p. 360 (AD 1290).

OG Wigram, Wigramnus, etc. F 1585. Cf. Wiberga and Bertram.

[Wihtbrond minister BCS 585, 600 (AD 901, 903), RM I p. 301, is an error for Wihtbrord.]

Wilard de Amiens RLP p. 85 (AD 1208).

OG Willihard, Wilhart¹, etc. F 1599. Other instances of this name in ME are perhaps as a rule < OE Wilheard.

*Wilgrim, cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 177, and OG Willegrim, Wilgrim F 1599.

Willelm: Willelmus, Willielmus, Wyllelm episcopus Londoniensis² KCD 811, 813, 815, 817, 824, 825 (AD 1061-66); Rex Willelmus (the Conqueror) mentioned for the first time in AS Chr. 1031 E; Willelmus (Dors., Oxf., etc.), Willelmus (filius Ansculfi, Surr., Berks., etc.), Willelmus arcuarius (Hants.), Willelmus (filius Azor, Hants.), Willelmus camerarius (Buck., Bedf.), Willelmus comes (Norf.), Willelmus (filius Constantini, Buck., Ess.), Willelmus (filius Corbucion, Berks., Worc.), Willelmus episcopus Tedfordensis³, Willelmus (filius Goisfridi, Kent), Willelmus hostiarius (Dev., Nott.), Willelmus (filius Ricardi, Berks.), Willelmus (filius Widonis, Wilts, Som., etc.), Willelmus de Warene⁴, etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 506, 510 ff., II pp. 269, 412 ff.; Willelm (Bish. of Durham) AS Chr. 1087 E; Willelm of Ou⁵ (Eu) ibid. 1096 E; Willelm of Alderi (cousin of William of Eu) ibid.; Willelme (dat.) Giffarde⁶ (Bish. of Winchester) ibid. 1100 E; Willelm (Archb.

⁶ See FNC V p. 167.

¹ The first member is OHG willo, willio (OE willa) 'Wille'; second member as in *Actard.

 $^{^2 =} Willelm$ pæs cynges preost AS Chr. 1048 E. Cf. FNC-IV p. 26.

³ = William Belfagus, Beaufoe. Cf. AS Chr. 1085 E.

⁴ Earl of Warren in Normandy.

⁵ See FNC IV p. 39.

of Canterbury)¹ ibid. 1140 E; Willelm de Walteuile (Abbot of Peterborough) ibid. 1154 E; Willelmus, Will'mus LVD pp. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 34, 35, 37, 39, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, etc.; Willelmus Franceys Chr. Petr. p. 111; Will' Lotoringensis Anec. Oxon. 13, 38 (c. AD 1107-37); Willelmi (gen.) Flandrensis² CMR III p. 216; Willo (abl.) de Frisia CR I p. 282 (AD 1216); Willelmus Flemyng, mercer, FY p. 95 (AD 1394); Willem LVD p. 79; William (surname, Ess.) Inq. Non. p. 319; Guilliam Rot. Orig. II p. 267 (Edw. III.); Arnaldus Gilliam ibid. I p. 175 (Edw. II.), etc. Cf. also William of Warelwast (Bish. of Exeter 1107-36) FNC IV p. 378; William Longchamp (Bish. of Ely 1189-97) ibid. V p. 689; William of Roumare (Earl of Lincoln) ibid. p. 295; William Malet ibid. III p. 466.

OG Willihelm³, Willehelm, Willelm, Guill(i)elm (Rom.) F 1601 f. Most of the instances of this name in England have come over from Normandy and France, where it was extremely common⁴. The fact that it was borne by the Conqueror and his son William Rufus and by a great many important Normans, both secular and ecclesiastical, contributed to giving this name the popularity that it has preserved up to the present day⁵. It does not seem, however, to have been altogether unknown in OE, although it is rarely recorded. It occurs in LV as Uilhelm and in the East Anglian Genealogies (OET p. 171) as Wilhelm and the patronymic Wilhelming. Next instance is Wilhelm presbyter KCD 792, 800 (AD 1050, 1054). In consideration

- ² Cf. William le Fleming CCR I p. 211 (AD 1235).
- ³ Cf. Wilard and *Anshelm.

⁴ Cf. also Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 55 (AD 1153): "Eodem anno natus est duci Henrico et Alienora filius, quem vocavit *Willelmum* quod proprium nomen est ducibus Aquitanorum et comitis Andegaviæ".

⁵ From England it was borrowed into ON, see Lind 1110.

¹ = William of Corbeil, a Norman.
of the fact that there is a lapse of about two hundred years between these instances, and that in the same charters in KCD several continental p. ns occur, it is probable that the last-mentioned instance is of foreign origin, like those in DB and later records. The present form *William* is <NF *Williaume* (*Guilliaume*). Of the great number of dim. forms that have sprung from this name we may mention *Wilemin*, *Wilmot*, *Gilemota*, *Williametta*, *Wilin*, *Wil(l)iot*, *Wilot* and *Wilkin*.

Willelma CPR I p. 441 (AD 1291); Gwillelme (gen.) domicelle Regine Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 47 (AD 1248-49).

NF fem. forms of the preceding name, OF Guillelma Bergert pp. 29, 50. Cf. F 808: "Zur bildung von fem. auf *-helm* verirrten sich nur romanisierte Westfranken".

*Winand, Wynando (dat.) Tyrel (Cornw.) Rot. Orig. I p. 217 (Edw. II.); Ginant (Cant.) Abbr. Plac. p. 54 (John); Guynand ibid. p. 290 (Edw. I.); Gwinant (fil. Lancelin') Fines I p. 326 (John).

OG Wignand, Winand, etc. F 1587, Heinzel p. 331, Bruckner p. 321, Carstens p. 34, OF Guinant, cf. Kalbow p. 81. For the etymology of the members see Wiberga and Elinant. *Winda, Guindam, Gindam (acc.) (wife of Will. de Bisket) Fines I pp. 132, 140 (John).

The etymon of these NF forms is perhaps OG *Winda (cf. Windo F 1618), a short form of fem. compounds with Wind-¹, such as Windberta, Windegunda, etc. F 1618 f. Windilgerus LVD p. 6 (12th c.).

OG Wendilger F 1528. Windil- for Wendil- (occurring in such OG names as Windelburg, -gard, -mar, -mod, etc.) is probably to be explained as representing a dialectal development of OG $e (\langle a+i \rangle \rangle i;$ cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 13, Gallée, As. Gr. § 54.

¹ Which might belong to the name of the Wends, see Winedulf. It is possible, however, that the name under notice is Celtic. Cf. Vindilla, Vindillius, Vindo, Vindon(i)a, etc. (Stokes p. 265) < *vindo-s 'weiss'.

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Winedulf mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 132.

OG Winidulf, Winidolf ("öfters") F 1620. The first member is OHG Winida¹ (ON Vindr) 'Wenden'; cf. Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142. For the second member cf. Adelulfus.

Wineger, Winiger, Winier mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 132 ff., 137.

OG Winiger² F 1613. An OE equivalent *Winegar is probably found in the pl. n. (to) Winagares stapule KCD 746 (AD 1032) and perhaps in the moneyer's name Winegear (Edw. the Elder) Grueber p. 84.

Winegod, see Björkman, Pers. p. 177.

Wineman mon. (Cnut, Edw. Conf.) Grueber pp. 300, 333; Winemannus (Hertf.) BCS 812 (AD 944-46); Wineman presbyter ibid. 1228, 1264 (AD 969, 970); Wynemannes (gen.) ibid. 1130 (AD 980); Wineman (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 415.

This name is of comparatively late appearance in OE, as may be seen from the above instances, and perhaps < OG Winiman, Wineman (also occurring in Rom. records) F 1615. Cf. Wineger and Godesman.

Winemarus (Northampt.)³, Winemarus Flandrensis (Buck.), Winemar (Dev.), Winemerus (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 513, II pp. 269, 415; Wenemari (gen.) advocati⁴ BCS 661 (AD 918).

OG Wini-, Winemar, Wenemar F 1615 f. For the members see Wineger and Ainmer.

Wintrehardus (homo Walterii de Aincurt, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 415.

This name is hardly native. Cf. the compounds with *Winter*- in F 1620 f. On *Winterfugel* and *Winterleda* see Björkman, Pers. p. 177.

Wistricus (Nott., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 270 is not a com-

¹ Cf. Winedi BCS 172 (AD 745).

² The first member is OHG wini (OE wine) 'Freund'; for the second member see Amelger.

³ "Chief steward to the Earl of Brittany".

⁴ Appearing as a witness to a grant by Elstrudis to the Abbey of S:t Peter at Ghent.

pound with Wist- or West-, as Searle seems to think, but = Wihtric (Suff.) ibid. p. 268. On the spelling st for ht see Morsbach, Me Gr. § 16.]

Witso, see the following name.

Wizo (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 416; Witson' (obl.) Flandr' (Pembroke) MRS p. 136; Witso (fil. Leuestani) ibid. p. 145.

OG Wiz(z)o, Witzo (F 1627, Heyne p. 31), hypocoristic forms of compounds with Wid- or Wig-1; cf. Wizo = Wigbert Stark p. 84.

Wlbrand LVD p. 80.

Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 167, and OG Wolfbrand, -brant, Wolbrand, etc. F 1648, Fris. Wolbrand Winkler p. 449.

*Wolfwine, Guolfwine mon. (Edw. Conf.) Grueber p. 374.

A Rom. form of OG Wolfuin, etc. F 1661 f. For the members cf. Adelulfus and Amalwin.

*Wulfbert, Gulbertus (homo Hugonis, Yorks.), Gulbertus (Hunt., Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 135, 333; Gulbert of Hugleville (one of the Conqueror's companions) FNC IV p. 449; Gulb'd LVD p. 60 = Gulberd de Riviere ibid. p. 69.

A NF form of OG Vulfbert, Wolfbert² F 1646 f. On the loss of f see Mackel p. 181. The final d of Gulberd is due to the AN vacillation between final d and t.

*Wulfer, Gulfer of Neuchâtel mentioned in FNC IV p. 644. OG Wulf-, Wolfhere³, Gulfarius (Rom.) F₁652 f. Wrong is Bardsley's explanation⁴ of Gulfer < Scandinavian Gunnolfr by change of l for n, "a common habit". Further, the AN surname Gulafra, Gulafre (see Moisy p. 166) has been erroneously derived from the same etymon. Wulfheard Friesa AS Chr. 897 A.

OG Wulfhard⁵, Fris. Wolfert F 1651, Winkler p. 450. Wulfheard is also a common OE name.

¹ See Widaldus and Wiberga.

² Cf. *Wolfwine and Adalbert.

⁸ Cf. *Wolfwine and Aedelhere.

⁴ P. 342.

⁵ Cf. *Wolfwine and *Actard.

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*Wulfram, Wulfrani (gen.) Abbr. Plac. p. 209 (Edw. I.); Wlframus LVD p. 61.

OG Wulfram, Wolfram, etc. F 1654. Cf. *Wolfwine and Bertram. It is not quite certain whether Wolramus (Linc.) Rot. Orig. II p. 92 (Edw. III.) belongs here or is identical with Walramus (see Waleran).

*Wulfred, Gulferedus¹ (homo Roberti de Statford, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333.

A NF form of OG Wulfrad, Wulfred², etc. F 1657 — Gurred (frater Hugonis) CCR III p. 116 (AD 1308) is most likely identical with OF Gurrei < Guirré < OG Widrad; see Langlois pp. 320, 322, Kalbow p. 44.

*Wulfward, Guluert (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 135.

A NF form of OG *Wulfward (Ulfoard Pol. Irm.) or of the common OE p. n. Wulfweard.

Wulind de Turroc Rot. Canc. p. 347.

Cf. OG Vulflindis (Pol. Irm.), Wolflind(a), etc. F 1656. For the members cf. *Wolfwine and Godelent. Wybrand, see *Wibrand. Wydo, see Wido.

Y.

Ylbert, see Ilbert.
Ylger, see Ilger.
Ymberd, see Imbert.
Yngelmar, see Ingelmar.
Ysenbard, Ysenbert, see Isenbard.
Ysolda, see Iseldis.
Ysudo LVD p. 102 is certainly a variant of Iseldis.
Ydelbard, see *Idelbard.
Yva, Yvo, see *Iva, Ivo.

¹ The same person is called *Gulfer* (ibid.).

² Cf. *Wolfwine and *Amaldredus.

Principal tests for Cont.-Germ. p. ns in England.

The first Germanic conquerors of England brought over with them the personal nomenclature that we call the Old English or Anglo-Saxon. In point of their formation the OE p. ns do not exhibit any differences from the Cont.-Germ. names. The technics of forming a p. n. by uniting two themes was inherited from Indo-European times and is common to all Germanic dialects. The same also holds good of the method of coining hypocoristic forms by adding a weak ending to a name-stem or to the contracted product of the two name-stems by which a p. n. is as a rule made up¹. Further, the way of coining dim. formations by means of suffixes (e. g. -ic(a), -il(a), uc(a), etc.) is the same in OE and OG, although the suffixes offer some points of variety, as will be seen below. A question, however, that

¹ The names in -a (Latinized -d) in OE are in many cases very difficult to judge. Sometimes they are native hypocoristic forms which easily can be joined to existing names or name-stems. In other cases, when there are no name-stems with which they can be associated, they may be the last survivals of name-elements otherwise gone out of use in the language. It is perhaps also possible that such names may be original agential nouns indicative of some prominent activity of their bearers. It should further be borne in mind that there exist similar Celtic hypocoristic forms, of which many, although in most cases etymologically distinct, cannot be distinguished from homonymous Germanic names. And finally, OG and ON short forms occur in England; some of these are easily recognized, others are uncertain or not distinguishable at all.

will require particular consideration is the treatment of the end-vowels of the first members of compound names, i. e. the preservation or syncopation of the composition-joint. In the oldest p. ns in AS sources the composition-vowel is syncopated after long stem-syllables, but preserved after short ones except in a- and wa-stems¹. Exceptions to this rule are Cyn- (for Cyne-), Hyg- (for Hyge-), Sig- (for Sige-), Hildi- (for Hild-) and the short u-stems Frið- (for Friðu-) and $Ha\delta$ - (for $Ha\delta u$ -). These vacillating forms mark the first instances of a growing uncertainty as to the treatment of the composition-joint. It is difficult to ascertain the causes that have effected these early deviations. The above-mentioned name-stems Hyg- and Sig- are possibly due to a dialectal (Northumbrian) curtailment (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 263, remark 5). Cyn- may have arisen through the influence of the simplex cyn(n) or by analogy with such a compound as cynlic (cynelic) 'proper, suitable'. Frið- and Had- may have been influenced by the instances in which these elements occur in a syncopated form as second members of compound names. Similar analogical influences have gradually caused vacillation also in other name-elements. It is noteworthy, too, that compound nouns exhibit a considerable uncertainty in the treatment of the composition-vowel (see Bergsten, A study on compound substantives in English p. 31 ff.), which might have influenced the compound p. ns. When, therefore, we meet with such late OE forms as the moneyer's names Aldewine, Dudeman, Ealdabert, Huneman, Hwat(a)-, Hwat(e)man, Lefenoð, Tuneman, or from Latin charters Kenewold, Nodehardus, Plegomund, Rodeward, Tateman, Werehard, etc., the composition-vowel contrary to the above statement might

¹ The *ja*-stems show a double development: either loss of *-ja*, e. g. Bil- (<**bilja*-), or loss of *a* and vocalization of *j*, e. g. Cyni-(<**kunja*-). In the originally short *jō*-stem Ecg- (<**agjō*-) the composition-joint was lost after the gemination by *j* of the preceding consonant.

be explained as the outcome of indigenous analogical influences. But it seems appropriate not to pass in silence another factor that has very likely contributed to cause confusion and uncertainty in the rendering of the OE p. ns. It is well known, especially from the investigations of Bader and Gröger, that the OG p. ns show such a vacillation as regards the preservation or syncopation of the compositionvowel that no definite rules can be established in this respect. And it is particularly worthy of notice that in the OG p. ns that interest us most in this case, the West Frankish, a vowel appears in the joint of the two namestems by far much more frequently than is ever the case even in late OE p. ns¹. Considering the lively literary intercourse between Gaul and England, the influence that WF monasteries and other abodes of learning in some periods exercised on English education, and the circumstance that there were a considerable number of continental, mostly West-Frankish, monks who lived in England and perhaps wrote or copied many of the documents in which the OE p. ns are preserved, it need not surprise us, if the scribe or copyist, when writing Latin documents, sometimes imitated the patterns he happened to know from continental records in order to give the AS p. ns what seemed to him a decent Latin appearance. And the native p. ns on the coins may also to some extent be under continental spelling influence as imitations of inscriptions on coins struck by continental moneyers. Further, the moneyer himself or the person who taught him to write his name, may have had some knowledge of documentary spellings.

The native p. ns found in DB and other records under NF influence require special consideration as far as the composition-vowel is concerned. In these p. ns the extremely

¹ By way of illustration we may mention such WF names as Aigobert, Allamund, Aldegarius, Andefred, Anseberct, Baldomerus, Bertichramn, Dagaric, Erlebertus, Frameric, Gundiric, etc.

frequent appearance of e in all possible compounds may of course to some extent be explained as a continuation of late OE traditions, but in a great many cases the e-vowel is due to continental influence and often to be looked upon as a svarabhakti, inserted to avoid consonant-combinations which were either strange to the Normans or difficult or impossible for them to pronounce. A survey of the instances in which such a svarabhakti-vowel is found in OF epic names of Germanic origin is given by Kalbow (p. 78 ff.).

As regards the quality of the composition-vowel in OE p. ns, it is *i* or *e*, except in the $w\bar{a}$ -stem Badu- and in the *u*-stems Friðu-, Haðu-, etc., in which *u* appears later as *o*, *a*, *e*. When we meet with such forms as Hwataman, Ealdabert *a* may (apart from possible errors) be a reversed spelling after unstressed *a* had become *e* (e. g. Haða->Haðe-). It is further possible that *a* may sometimes be due to an assimilatory, change owing to neighbouring sounds. ME forms with *u* like Columan, Heluwisa are probably to be explained in this way. On the other hand, names like Theodoric are merely stereotyped Latin spellings.

Apart from the test of the origin of a p. n. that is to be had from an express statement about the nationality of its bearer, or from the addition of a place-name indicative of the locality from which the person in question has come, and the inferences that may be drawn from neighbouring names or those occurring in the same document etc., the tests of the Cont.-Germ. p. ns dealt with in this book are *phonetical criteria* and *onomatological evidence*.

I. Phonetical criteria.

In the period that elapsed between the Germanic conquest of Britain and the earliest appearance of OE p. ns in literary monuments, the names had, on the whole, undergone the same linguistic development as other words in

the language, so that the phonetical criteria which distinguish the OE dialects from the kindred Germanic dialects of the continent should also serve to distinguish the OE p. ns from continental ones. That already at an early date the dialect of the West Franks differed widely from OE is among other things also manifested by the hint in Bede (L III, C VII) about the Frankish Bishop Agilbert's "barbarous speech", and in time the dialects in question drifted still more apart. An examination from this point of view of the p. ns collected in the name-list above shows, hovewer, that owing to circumstances which will be dealt with in the following pages, only comparatively few safe phonetical criteria can be established.

First of all, conservative tendencies have been more strongly at work in the orthography and form of names than in the language in general, so that they have often assumed a fixed form that, in spite of sound-changes, has remained intact for centuries. Archaic tendencies of this kind are to a large extent to be ascribed to Latin spelling influence which has proved to be the strongest preservatory factor. We need only recall the occurrence of such forms as Eudo, Galfred(us), Hugo, Leonard, Milo, Otto, and Reginald, of which some have been preserved down to our own days. But Latin orthographical influence has not only stereotyped certain forms once current in a district but also effected changes in the aspects of the names. In OE p. ns, the common ligature æ was often replaced by a, eo by e, p or th by d, etc., whence e. g. OE Aedel- assumed the form Adel-. -mær and Beorn- became -mar(us) and Bern-, and thus coalesced with the equivalent continental forms. It has also been pointed out above in the discussion of the composition-vowel, that the scribes or copyists of OE charters in Latin probably were influenced to some extent by WF spelling habits, otherwise prevalent all over Western Europe. Of particular interest in this respect is the form Bert-, -bert, of early occurence in OE charters and certainly an imitation

of the WF form, not due to an indigenous development. -fred(us) is certainly also in most cases caused by WF -frēdus. Other WF peculiarities are the Latinized forms -arius (< -here) and -garius (< -gār). We may further mention the substitution of OE -a by Latin -o in male hypocoristic names and the introduction of -a as a fem. ending (Ada, Emma, Ida, etc.)¹. Of continental origin is probably also such an inflection of weak forms in Latin charters as Abbanæ (gen.) BCS 8, containing both the OE weak gen. ending -an and Latin gen. æ. Cf. the WF fem. genitives Adelane, Aldebergane, Berthanae, Gerbergane, etc. Gen. forms like Brordani, Eoppani, Obani (< Brorda, Eoppa, Oba) are also the outcome of a desire to give the names a Latin dress.

Concerning the orthography of the documents that are under NF influence — and they are by far the most numerous — it still more reduces the value of phonetical criteria. The p. ns occurring in these records, both native and foreign, to a great extent exhibit NF peculiarities, which have been pointed out as far as possible in the treatment of each name. It may be added that these, often very voluminous, records are as a rule the results of many scribes whence any homogeneity in spelling cannot be expected. and that they have often treated the names in a very cavalier manner. Instead of advancing further arguments on this point we may be allowed to quote the description of the orthography of the names in the Pipe Rolls², since this holds good also of many other ME documents that have been excerpted for the material: "Great ambiguity prevails in the proper names of persons and places which occur on the Pipe Rolls; for these were either Latinized or Gallicized, whenever it was possible to do so, according to the fancy of the scribe or the degree of knowledge he happened to

¹ Of WF-Rom. origin are also fem. derivatives from male names such as **Amalrica*, *Henrica*, *Willelma* etc.

² Introduction to the study of the Pipe Rolls (Pipe Roll Soc., London 1884), p. 5.

possess. Thus he rendered into Latin or French a Norman or Saxon appellation, just as he happened to prefer one to the other. Consequently, to express one and the same name, we sometimes find it written Boscus, at other times Bois; for de Alneto elsewhere will be found Dauncy.... Even when the unaltered name is preserved in the ancient vernacular language, still, owing either to the unsettled and changeable orthography of those times, or to the undistinguishable junction of the letters i, n, m and u in the same word, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the true reading; one document frequently exhibiting material variations in the spelling of the same name and to such a degree that a person, not familiar with the almost countless modifications of English nomenclature, would scarcely be able to recognize the modern name from seeing it as it was anciently written".

Of some interest in this respect is also the following description of the treatment of ME names, because it is given by a mediæval writer and probably is one of the oldest statements on English p. ns¹: "... quem ille Cantuaritis regem loco præfecerat Ethelberti prætacti, cognomento Wren, qui ab aliquibus chronicis nominatur Egbrithus sive Egbertus, quæ idem sunt. Et nota quod hoc nomen Ethelbertus plerumque corrumpitur a scriptoribus; pro quo ponuntur illa duo nomina prætacta, et nonnumquam Edbertus; et sic aliquando per metathesim, aliquando per syncopam, talia nomina transformantur. Mos enim est barbaricæ locutionis et maxima Saxonum, verba et nomina, etsi non transponere, transformare tamen apocopando, et sæpius syncopando: ut pro Thoma, Tomme sive Tomlin; pro Johanne, Jankin sive Jacke; et in omnibus talibus apocopæ et syncopæ quasi apponuntur epenthesis et paragoge; unde talis corruptio barytona vitium, ut mihi videtur, inexcusabile compromit, cum improprietas excusabilis appropriari non poterit per figuras".

¹ Hist. Aug. p. 338 (at the beginning of the 15th c.).

Further difficulties in establishing phonetical criteria are caused by analogical influences. In names like Aba, the intervocalic b has probably been kept by the influence of the form Abba, in which the geminated b is regularly preserved. *Ec*- may be from E(c)g- analogically even in forms where the g was not followed by a voiceless consonant. The form *Harding* by the side of *Herding* may be due to the influence of the non-mutated name-element H(e)ard-, but it is also possible that the patronymic is a later formation after the time of the *i*-mutation.

It is also to be noticed that continental names or nameelements have sometimes been Anglicized or native p. ns assumed a continental form, which could happen the more easily as most of the OG name-elements also existed in OE p. ns, or at least in the OE vocabulary. There are also some instances of p. ns in England in which OG nameelements have been influenced by ON or vice versa. We need only mention the forms *Outbert*, *As*- and *Ans*- and *-gund(a)* in T(h)urgund(a) < ON *porgunna*. Owing to the insertion or loss of d, ON Gun- and OG Gund- are sometimes difficult to keep distinct as in *Gundlaf*, *Gundred*, *Gunwine*, *Gunbert*. Some other instances of coalescence of ON and OG name-elements have also been mentioned in the name-list.

For establishing phonetical criteria the principal thing to know is of course the etymology. Everyone who has dealt with the study of p. ns has certainly had the experience that in many cases the etymologies of name-elements are nothing but conjectures. In making out the origin and meaning of a name-stem, one has as a rule not the comparatively safe starting-point that other words in the language present with regard to the sence they have or may be known to have had at an earlier stage of the language. Thus e. g. it is not certain whether *-lind* is = OHG *-linta* (OE *lind*) 'Linde', or = OHG *lint* 'Schlange', or = OHG *lindi* (OE *lide*) 'weich, sanft'. In the first case *-lind* does not constitute a phonetical criterion, whereas in the other cases it does. *Actard

might be < OHG aht (OE oht) 'feindliche Verfolgung' or < OHG ahta (OE eaht, acht) 'cura, attentio', in which latter case no phonetical criterion can be said to be present owing to the changeable orthography. Audoenus is no doubt in some cases a Latin form containing the OG element Aud- (OE Ead-), but it might also be < Ald- with NF vocalization of l. In some cases, however, it is possible to speak of phonetical criteria, although the etymology of a name-element is not quite certain; -sind e.g., whether < *-sinpa or < *-swinpa must be continental, since the equivalent OE forms are -sip and -swip and there are no other alternative explanations possible. It is further to be noticed that phonetical criteria may exist only on certain conditions, owing to the character of the records in which the names are preserved. In the moneyer's names Rainoald (with WF vocalization of w), Rainoald and Haiebert (with WF ai < agi, aga), Deinolt (with t < d), Dagemond, Ergemond, etc. (with WF o < u), we have phonetical criteria. But such peculiarities in names occurring in documents which are, or at least may be suspected to be, under NF influence do not prove anything, since they may equally well be found in native names. In view of the above-mentioned considerations only the following phonetical criteria¹ can be established:

A. Vowels and diphthongs.

ai (ei), OE ā : Ait- (Aitard); Bain- (Bainard); Gai-, Wai-(Gaimar, Waifer); Gail- (Gail(l)ard, Gaillarda); Haim- (*Haimard, *Haimelin, Haimer, *Haimeric, Haiminc, Haimo, Heimfrid); Hait- (?) (Haitele); Heil- (Heilewis, *Eylewisa).

ai (< aga, agi): only in the moneyer's names Ainmer, Haiebert, Rainoald.

¹ Some of these are also ON.

au (OE ea) :	*Auelin, Auelina, Auesgot; Audoenus and
ē (< ai, OE ā) :	Er- (?) (Erhart); Ger- (Gerald, Geram, Gerard, Gerbald, Gerberg(i)a, Gerbert, Gerbodo, Ger- brandus, Gerbrun, Gerburg, Gerelmus, Ger- ferð, Gerin, Gerling, Gerlo, Germund, *Gero, Gerrad, Ger(r)ic, Gersent, *Gertrud, Gerulf, Gervas, *Gervasia, *Gerwig, Gerwin); -ger (Amelger, Ansiger, Berenger(a), Bergerus, Engelger, Erchenger, Flodger, Fro(d)ger, Harger, Ilger, Malger, Manger, Odger, Ro(d)ger, Walger, Warenger, *Wasger, *Wiger, Windilgerus, Wineger).
eu (OE eo) :	Eudo.
i (< e < a + i) :	Windil- (Windilgerus); Riginald.
$i \ (<\bar{e} < ai)$:	Gir- (Girald, Girard, Girbert, *Giric, Girin, Gyreweard).
i (< iu, io < еы):	Liardus, Liboret, *Lidgeard, Liger, *Lipperd, *Tiard, Tibaldus, Tibert, *Tideman, Tigerus, Tirru.
o (a) < i :	Hold- (?) (Holdabrand, Holdegrim, Holdiard); -hold, -hald (Biliald, *Godehold, Isolda, Ma- holt (Mahalt), Oriolda, *Richolda).
o (< u, OE u) :	-mond (only in the moneyer's names Dage- mond, Ergemond, Siemond).
$oi \ (< au + i)$:	Gois- (Goisbert, Goisfrid, Goislin, Goismer); Joi- (Joibert).
\bar{o} (OE $\bar{e} < \bar{o} + i$):	Conrad.
ō (< au, OE ea) :	-got, -god (Aingot, *Arngot (?), Auesgot, *Ermen- got, *Fredegod, *Fulgod, Helgot, Ise(n)god, Leofgod, Maingod, Mangod, Norgot, Oggod, Sunegod, Waringod, Winegod); Gos-, Goz- (Gosberia, Gosbert, Gosbold, Goscelmus, Gose- wold, Gosfrid, *Goshard (?), Gosinus, *Gosmer, *Gosram, Goswin, Gozel(in), *Gozelina, *Gozer, Gozo); Hōh- (Houardus); Jo- (Johais, Jouin);

-not (Fresnotus); Od- (Odard, Odbert, *Odbold, *Odburg, Odelin(a), Oder, Odeua, *Odeward, Odfrid, Odger (Ogger), Odierna, Odlent, Odo (Otto), Odomer (?), *Odred, Odulf, Oggod (< *Odgod), Ogisus (< *Odgis), Otelinus, Otewi(c), Otic, Otinel, Otwine); Ost- (Ostebrand (?), Ostula); Ostr- (?) (Ostrilda).

u (OE y < u + i): -brun (Gerbrun); compounds with Hu(g)-, if < OHG hugi (OE hyze); see p. 155.

B. Consonants.

vin, 20b- 2). 2).
eob- !). ï)a,
i). i)a,
i)a,
i)a,
ir-
n);
·ed,
nd-
nd-
lin,
nd,
int,
ent,
ent,
(?),
(2)
(8),

¹ OE *Os*-.

Ansiger, Ansoldus); -funs¹ (Alfonsus).

- o (< w) : Oanddert, Rainoald.
- p (< b, OE b) : Pand-, Pant- (Pandulf, Panto); Perlo; -pold (Frampold); Sarpo.
- t (< d, OE d) : Ait- (Aitard); Diota; Frot- (Frotier); Hart-(Hartald, Hartmari); It- (Iter); Le(u)t- (Letard, Letewaria, Leuthere); -not (Fresnotus); Ot-(Otbert, Otbold, Other, Otic, Otewi(c), Otwine); Pant- (Pantulf, Panto); Rat- (Rather); Tet-(Tetbaldus, *Tetbertus, Tetildis); Walt- (Walter); Want- (Wantelmus)².
- t (< p, OE p) : Rot- (Rotbert, Rot(e)land, Rothais, *Rothard, Rotier, Rotroc).
- z (s)c, s(s), (< t(t), d(d)) : Azelin(a), Azilia, Azo, Bascelin, Benza, Benzelin(a), Bercelin, Blize, Cunse, Gos-, Goz-, *Gunzelin (Guncelin), *Guncolda, Hizeman, *Lanzelin(a), Lanzo, Leza, Mazelin(a), Racelin, Rozelin, Rozo, Tascelinus, Tezelinus, Wacelin, Wazelinus (Ga(s)celin), Wazo, Wesselin, Wicelin, Wizo (Witso).

II. Onomatological evidence.

Of far greater importance than phonetical criteria is what I call *onomatological evidence*, by which I mean the evidence afforded by the observation that certain OG names or name-elements are either altogether lacking in OE or very rare or used only in a special function, i. e. only as a first or as a second member of compounds. It goes without saying, however, that an examination of the OE stock of p. ns with a view to determining what is native and what is foreign often meets with considerable difficulties. This is chiefly

² $t \ (< d)$ in moneyer's names such as *Deinolt*, *Heldalt* is certainly WF, although it might be explained after Bülbring § 566.

¹ OE fūs.

due to the circumstance that the OE material of extant names is very defective in point of view of the classes of society that are represented in these names. When therefore, in later times, names or name-elements appear which have not been recorded earlier, they were in many cases not strange to the native personal nomenclature. It may also be possible that names or name-elements gone out of use for a certain time have later again become used or fashionable. Further, new combinations of name-stems may have been effected in later times; thus it would seem as if -man had acquired a certain popularity in late OE compounds. To this category of names also belong the hybrid formations of native and foreign name-elements that are not seldom met with. New name-stems may also have been coined from words in the OE vocabulary, either spontaneously or by analogy with synonymous words used as nameelements. In cases where native and foreign names agreed in form, it is possible that the introduction of the latter may have rendered the former popular. Consequently, some of the name-stems given below as evidence of non-English origin are uncertain or debatable, but on the whole they will be fairly reliable. Some of them also occur in ON p. ns in England.

A. Name-elements occurring as first members of p.ns.
Aegel-, Egel-(?): see *Aegelbert and the compounds mentioned
there.
Agin-, Ain-, Ein-: Aginulfus, Aingot, *Ainild, Ainmer, *Ainsie (?),
*Einbold, Eingar, *Einhard, Einulf.
Ain-, see Agin
Air-(?) : Airard.
Als- (but probably for Ans-): *Alsard, Alselin.
Amal- : Amalberga, *Amaldredus, Amalinus, Amalric,
*Amalrica, Amalwin, Amelfridus, Amelger,
Amelina, Amelrey, Amerland, Omulung.

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Ander-	:	Anderboda.
Aui-	:	*Auelin, Auelina.
Aues-	:	Auesgot.
Bas-	:	Basuin.
Blanc-	:	Blancard(us), Blanch(i)a.
Carl-1	:	Carleman.
Clare(n)- (Latir	ı):	Clare(n)bald, Claremunda.
Col-	:	Colbert(us), Colman.
Drog- (Droc-)	:	Drogo (Droco), Druard.
Dur-	:	Durand.
*Ebur- (?)	:	*Eburhard, *Eburwulf, Euerwacer, Euerwinus,
		Eurebold, Euroldus.
Ein-, see Agin	l	
Elis- (?)	:	Aelismer.
Engel- (Ingel-)	:	Engelard (Ingelard), *Engelbald (Ingelbald),
		Engelbert (Ingelbert), *Engelburg (Ingelburg),
		*Engeleisa (Ingeleis), Engeler (Ingelarius),
		Engelger (Ingelgar), Engelin, Engelram (Ingel-
		ram), Engelric (Ingelric), Ingelmar, *Ingelsent,
		Ingeraldus (?).
Engen-, Ingen	- :	*Engenalda (Ingenolda), *Engenold, Engenulf
		(Ingenulf).
Ēr- (?)	:	Erhart.
\bar{E} ren- can no	ot	be distinguished from Eren- < Ern- < Arn
Erge-	:	Ergemond.
Erl-	:	Erlebald, *Erlebert, Erlefred, *Erleua, *Erl-
		gyth, *Erlin, *Erlwald, *Erlwin(e).
Erp-	:	Herpul.
Ew- (?)	:	*Ewald, Ewart, Ewram.
Fader-	:	Faderlin.
Fagen-	:	Fagenolf.
Falc- (?)	:	Falco (Falcesius).
Fart-	:	Farthild.

¹ The simplex Carl (OG and ON) also occurs in England. Other simplicia are Birinus (?), *Brun, *Ernost.

Flan-	: Flanbard.
Flod-1	: Flodger, Floheld, Flohere, Fluold.
Fres-	: Fresnotus.
Gai-, see Wa	ii
Gail-	: Gail(l)ard, Gaillarda, Gelram (?).
Godes-	: Godesbrand, Godesman, Godesscalc, Godsalm (?).
Hag(an)-	: Haganild, *Hagebert, Hagheburnus, Hago,
	Hagona, Henaud, Henric.
Hize-	: Hizeman.
Hud-	: Hudeman.
Hug- (if belo	onging to the name of the $H\bar{u}gas$, see p. 213):
	Huard, Hubald, Hubert, Hugelin(a), Hugo.
*Idel-	: *Idelbeard.
Ides-	: Idesbald.
Ingel-, see En	ngel
Is- (?)	: Isard, Isbert, Isbrand, Is(e)god, Iseldis, Is(e)-
	ward, Isgar, Isiemund, Isla, Isulf, Isware.
Isen-	: Isenbard, Isenburh, Ise(n)god.
Judel-	: Judelberd.
Lend-	: Lendard.
Leon-	: Leonard (Len(n)ard).
Lis-	: Liseman, Lisiard.
Los-	: Loswardus.
Mad-, Mat-	: Mat(e)frid (Madfrey), Matelina.
Maht-	: Mahtild.
Mail-	: Maillard.
Med-	: Medardus.
Mil-	: Milisent, Milo.
Nadel- (Natel-): *Nadelharius, *Natelina.
Niue(l)-	: Niuelin.
Odel-	: *Odelard,*Odelbert,Odelerius,*Odelric,Odil(0).
Omul-, see A	mal

¹ In reality representing a phonetical criterion, Fl being < Hl, but as such it can be proved only by the observation that *Flod*-('flood') is lacking in Germanic p. ns whence I have thought it convenient to include it here.

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Or-	:	Orielda (Oriolda), Orulfus (?).
Pand- (Pant-)	:	Pandulf, Panto
Rest-	:	Restold.
Rog-	:	Rogo.
Ros-	:	Rosamunda.
Sal-	:	Salo.
Sar(a)-	:	Sarauuard, Sarpo.
Sava-	:	Savaric.
Sin-, Sene-	:	*Senebald, Sinerdus, Sinolda.
Starc-	:	*Starcher, *Starculf.
Sun(e)-	:	Sunegod, Suneman, Sunwinus.
T(h)anc-	:	Tancard, *Tanchelinus, Tancrad, Thanggeoue.
Tis-	:	Tiselinus, *Tiso.
Tras(e)-	:	Tras(e)mundus.
Urs-	:	Urso.
Wai-	:	Gaimar, Waifer.
Wand(e)-	:	Wandebertus, Wandefred, Wantelmus.
Wandr-	:	*Wandregisel.
Wantel-	:	Wantelard.
Wede-	:	*Wederan.
Wel-	:	Weland.
Widel-	:	Widelardus.
Win(e)d-	:	*Winda, Winedulf.

B. Name-elements occurring as second members of p. ns.

-and	: Durand, Weland.
-berga	: Alberia, Amalberga, Gerberg(i)a, Gosberia, Ro-
-bod(o)	berga, Thedberh (I heberga), Wiberga. : Albod(o), Anderboda, Gerbodo, Helbodo, Here- hod Ilbodo, Marthala, Balla (c), Sich la
-boia	: Maneboia (?).
-fer	: Waifer.
-franc	: Landfranc.

-funs	:	Alfonsus.
-gand	:	Fredegand.
-gard (in OE	excl	lusively used as the termination of male names):
		Aldeardis, Cunegard, Elmegard, Erme(n)gard
		(Armegard), *Hildiarda, Holdiard, Leogarda.
-gerna	:	Odierna.
-gota	:	Ercongota.
*-haid(-ais,-ei	s):	Adelais(a), *Engeleisa (Ingeleis), Johais, Rot-
		hais.
-hund	:	Bertunt.
-iz(a)	:	Adeliz(a), Amiza, Godes(s)a.
-land	:	Amerland, *Eliland, Godland, Iueland, Mori-
		land, Rodland (Rol(l) and), [Scotland], Sigeland.
-lind (-lent)	:	Godelent, Gurlind, Odlent (Olenta), Wulind.
-not	:	Fresnotus.
-scalc	:	Godes(s)calc, *Marscalc.
-wis(a), -wize	. :	Alweis, *Anwis, Deudeuize, Eluis, *Eylewisa,
		Hathewis(a), Helewis.

C. Name-elements occurring both as first and as second members of p. ns.

Bard-	: Bardel (?), Bardwulf.
-bard	: Flanbard, *Idelbeard (?), Isenbard.
Brand-	: Brandardus, Brandulf, Branuuine.
-brand	: Aeðelbrand, Aetlebrant, Aldebrandus, *Ale-
	brand, Echebrand (Egbrand), Eldebrand,
	Erchebrand, Gerbrandus, Godesbrand, Hade-
	brand, Hel(d)ebrand, Herbrand, Hildebrand,
	Holdabrand, Ildebrand, Isbrand, *Leobrant,
	Ostebrand, Sebrand, Sigebrand, Tilbrandus,
	Uctebrand, Walebrond (?), *Wibrand, Wlbrand.
Gis-	: Gisbertus, Giso, *Gisulf.
-gis	: Alis(ius), Anneis (?), Ansegis, Ernegis (Er-
	neis), *Fredeais, Oaisus, *Theodais,

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Grïm-	: Grimbald, Grimbert, *Grimmund, Grimwald, Grimward
-arim	: Holdegrim, *Wilgrim (?).
Ran(n)-	: Ran(n)ulf.
-ram, -ran(d)	: Aldran, Alerannus, Aurandus, Bertram, Engelram (Ingelram), Etram, Ewram (?), Fulcran, Gelram, Geram, *Gosram, Got- heram, *Gundran, Lefram, Morand, Oirant, Waleran, *Wederan, Wigeran, *Wulfram.
Raue(n)-	: Rauemerus, Rauengarius.
-rauen	: Leodrauen.
*Roc-	: Roghard.
-roc	: Rotroc.
Was-	: *Wasger, Wasuuic.
-was	: Gervas, *Gervasia.

Along with these tests are to be mentioned the suffixes which, originally unknown or almost unknown in native p. ns, occur in names especially under NF influence. The most important of these suffixes are -in and its combinations with *l*- and *k*-suffixes -*līn* and -*kīn*, which latter. however, has not been dealt with in the present work. As regards -(1)in in native OE p. ns, it may practically speaking be considered as absent, since the few names, in which it occurs are either uncertain in their forms or etymologically obscure¹. The suffix -in in ME p. ns has been made the subject of an investigation by Björkman (Archiv 123, p. 23 ff.). From this examination it appears clearly enough that, with the exception of instances where -in stands for OE -wine or is a Rom. form of -si (< -sige), the examples of this suffix in ME p. ns are as a rule to be explained from the common NF suffix -in, either of

¹ Cf. e. g. *Tidlin*, adduced by *Eckhardt* from Bright's chapters on early English church history, *Wigelin*, see p. 252, foot-note 2, and *Ceawlin* which is probably not Germanic.

Latin or of OG origin¹. The same also holds good of the suffix -(e)lin, which, however, in ME documents has very often been confused with -(h)elm, so that it is difficult to ascertain the true reading. Although in and -(e)lin are thus mostly of continental origin, the names in which they occur are not always imported, since the suffixes in question may have been added also to native name-stems. -ein, which sometimes appears as the ending of p. ns, is either an AN spelling for -in or = OF -ain < -anus, owing to a confusion between the Latin suffixes -enus and -anus. Cf. Junenus. Junainus, Junanus Ellis, Intr. II p. 344 and the Latinized forms Haldenus, Haldeinus, Haldanus in DB. In the following list I have given those p. ns in -in(a) and -(e)lin(a) which seem likely to have been taken over from the continent. In some cases, when there are name-stems both with and without -l (e.g. Gis- and Gisel-) it is impossible to say whether a diminutive (e. g. Giselinus) is formed by means of -lin or -in².

-in(a)
: Adelina, Albinus, Amalinus, Amelina, Anselin(a), Audena, Audin, Berardin, Bertinus, Bodin, Engelin, Engina, *Erlin, Gerin, *Giselinus, Godin(a), Gosinus, Gundinus, Halebrandin, *Lutin, *Natelina, Orlandinus, Roðin, Tasin, Waldin (Gaudinus), *Walin.
-(e)lin(a)
: Alselin, Anselin, *Auelin, Auelina, Azelin(a),

: Alselin, Anselin, *Auelin, Auelina, Azelin(a), Bascelin, Benzelin(a), Bercelin, Beslin, Boselin(us), Dachelin, Emelina, Faderlin, Faucelinus, Froelina, Gerlin, Geslinus, Godelena, Gozelin, *Gozelina, *Gunzelin, *Haimelin, Hamelin,

¹ Another source of -in is in some cases *-ing* under NF influence; cf. *Adelinus* (p. 9) and *Soartin* = *Swarting* Ellis, Intr. I p. 486.

² Sometimes, forms in *-in* and *-lin* were certainly used as diminutives of the same name and may denote the same person. *Hardelin, Herbelinus, Hugelin(a), *Ivelin(a), *Lanzelin(a), Lecelina, Matelina, Mazelin(a), Odelin(a), Otelin, Rabelyn, Racelin, Rocelin, Rozelin, Sa(i)sselinus, *Tanchelin, Tascelinus, Tezelinus, Tiselinus, Wacelin, Walchelinus, Wazelinus, *Werlin, Wesselin, Wicelin.

The NF suffixes -et, -ot, -(e)let, -(e)lot, -inet, -inot are of frequent occurrence in ME p. ns especially in the 13th and 14th centuries. In many cases such names are of NF introduction, in others the suffixes have been added to native name-stems. In the present work such formations have not been dealt with otherwise than in passing, since they do not fall within the range of Cont.-Germ. p. ns. That names in -in and -lin, although mostly of NF provenience, have been treated of is due to the fact that both suffixes are also found in OG p. ns.

Before finishing this chapter we may also mention the continental suffixes $-ung^1$ (the English equivalent in p. ns is the gradation-form -ing) and -ulo, -ol (in *Ebulo*, **Gundolus*, *Ostula*). As regards the suffix -isc (*Franciscus*) it occurs only in English adjectives (OE -isc, later -ish, issk in Orrmulum, see Reichmann p. 75), not in Christian names.

¹ In Englunga dene (p. 71), Omulung.

Addenda.

P. XVII. Inq. Eliens. = Inquisitio Eliensis in DB vol. 4. p. XVII. KC = Three Rolls of the King's Court (AD 1194

-95). Pipe Roll Soc. 14, London 1891.

p. 16. *Aimeric, see *Haimeric.

p. 17. Ainulfus, see Aginulfus.

p. 23. Alerannus Inq. Eliens. p. 497 is < OG Alaramnus, Alerannus, etc. and identical with Aurandus (p. 38).

p. 23. Alfonsus; according to Kern (ZfdWortf. IX p. 1 ff.) < Hadofuns with Spanish or Portuguese transition of d > l.

p. 23. Alina, see Adelina.

" " Aliz(a), see Adelais(a).

" " Aubri, see Albericus.

p. 26. Omeric' for Americ is better accounted for as due to a ME confusion between o and a. Cf. Falco (p. 87).

p. 27. Amerland; cf. also Joh'es Amellant Rot. Norm. p. 133 (AD 1417).

p. 28. *Anfrid; here probably also belong the forms Anfra LVD p. 49 and Anfreth ibid. p. 79.

p. 29. Annois, see *Anwis.

" " Ansegis; the second member might also be related to gîsal 'Geisel'. The same is also true of the first member of Gisbertus and other compounds with the same element.

p. 30. Ansel; the occurrence of this name for Anselin and vice versa might also be due to the fact that dim. forms in *-el* and *-elin* could be used indiscriminately about the same person. p. 30. Ansera; is this name perhaps < OG Anshere (cf. F 127 f.), the final *a* being a reverted spelling after OE unstressed *a* had become e?

p. 36. Aubray, Auveray, see Albreda.

p. 38. Auiza, Avicia, Avisia, see Hathewisa.

p. 40. Asso, see Azo.

p. 43. **Basuin** (homo Roberti, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 293 is probably < OG Basuin (F 249). Compounds with Bas- are absent from OE.

p. 44. Berardus (Norf., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 294 is < OG, OF Berard, cf. Berardin (p. 44). Of continental origin are further Bereuold (homo Normanni de Adreci) and Beroldus (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 294 f. (< OG Beroald, Berold etc. F 265).

p. 44. Bergerus (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 294 is < OG Ber(e)ger (Mod. G Berger) F 261, and not < OE *Burghere, as Searle suggests.

p. 45. Berengera; cf. Berengera, Berengaria in Bergert pp. 41, 54.

p. 46. **Berner** (Cornw., Shrops.), *Bernerus* arbalistarius (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 382, II p. 294, < OG *Bernhari*, *Berner* etc. (F 269 f.), also common in Rom. records.

p. 46. [*Bernguidis, Bernguidi (dat.) abbatissæ BCS 28, 57 (AD 672, 681) is not < OG Bernoidis (Rom.) but < OE Beorngyð. Cf. the form Quoenguyda < Quoengyth BCS 87 (AD 695).]

p. 49. Biliald LVD p. 32 is < OG Bilihild; for the second member see *Iseldis* (p. 164). This name is wrongly explained by Searle as **Bilweald*. Cf. also *Belieldis* in Deloche p. 188.

p. 51. Boia; for this name see further Anecd. Oxon. X (p. 131) and AfdA 18, 56.

p. 52. Borghillus (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 297 is probably a Rom. dim. form of some compound with Burg.

p. 52. Brandulf and Branuuine Ellis, Intr. II p. 52 are probably to be derived from OG *Brandulf* and *Branduin*

(F 335). Of continental origin is perhaps also *Brandardus* LVD p. 64.

p. 55. Colenard mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 190 might be a WF-Rom. compound with *Colen- < Col- (see Colbertus p. 55). Cf. e. g. Colamfrid adduced by F 372. It might also be read *Colehard owing to the confusion between the letters n and h on the coins.

p. 57. **Cuierolt** LVD p. 51 is perhaps = *Guerolt < OGWerolt (F 1537), or < OG Werhilt (F 1535). c for g is sometimes met with in ME (see e. g. Luhmann p. 44) and *ie* for e is not unusual in AN; cf. Menger p. 39.

p. 66. Edelina, see Adelina.

" " Eginulfus, see Aginulfus.

" " Eincund, Aeincund BCS 1130 (AD 972—92) is a male name and, consequently, is not a compound with OHG *-cund* (*<-gund*), which is a fem. termination. It occurs between the ON p. ns *Ulf* and *Grim*, but there exists no similar ON formation. It does not seem unlikely that it is a non-Germanic name. Cf. *Cunda* (p. 57).

p. 73. Engelram; add Inge(l)ram BCS 1101, 1102 (AD 963).

p. 83. Ersalt mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 117 is certainly a corrupt form, and possibly = *Ermalt (< OG *Ermald*, *Ermold* < *Ermoald* F 473). Cf. *Bomecin* for *Bosecin* Keary p. 109 f. and Intr. p. 92.

p. 83. [Esmoda (femina Toli vicecomitis) Ellis, Intr. II p. 109 seems to be a fem. derivative from ON Asmoth, instanced by Björkman (Pers. p. 21) from LVD.]

p. 84. **Esturmi**: (Walter) *Esturmi* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 393 (AD 1243) < OF *Estourmi* < OG *Sturmi* (F 1367). The form *Sturmid* (*Sturm'*) Ellis, Intr. I p. 488, II p. 391 is < Latinized *Esturmitus*, for which see Kalbow p. 32. For the dim. forms *Sturmin*, *Stormin* see Archiv 123 p. 37. Cf. also the Norman surname *L'étourmy* given by Moisy p. 283.

p. 86. Ewram mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 117 is

probably OG to judge by the second member; the first member might be OHG *êwa* 'Gesetz', but is perhaps corrupt.

p. 90. Flohere Thorpe p. 636 and *Floerii* (gen.) R I p. 48 (AD 1155) are < Rom. *Flothar*, *Flother*, etc. < OG *Hlodhar*, *Hludhari* (F 852, 859 f.). The development is analogous to that of *Floheld* (p. 90). Incorrect is Ferguson's derivation (p. 158) of this name < *Floghere* (!), of which the first member is assumed to be related to *fleogan* 'fly'.

p. 90. Fluold; cf. also *Flodaldus* Deloche 3, 71. Since the gender of *Fluold* is unknown, it is possible, however, that it is identical with *Floheld*, the second member showing the same development as that of *Iseld* > *Isold*. u for o might also be due to dissimilation.

p. 98. *Fulgod (Fulgodes, gen.) BCS 608 (AD 904) is < OG Fulgaud, Fulgot, Folcgot, etc. F 550. Cf. Fulbertus and Mangod (pp. 97, 186).

p. 100. Gala, see Walo.

" " Gasselin, see Wazelinus.

" " Gatelin, see Watelin.

p. 102. Gaugelinus, see Walchelinus.

p. 108. [Gernon (surname) Ellis, Intr. I p. 423 is originally an appellative. According to Moisy (p. 180) it means a 'moustache'.]

p. 113. Gido, see Wido.

" " Giffard: the Norman surname *Giffard* is explained by Moisy (p. 160) as meaning 'joufflu' from *giffe* 'joue'.

p. 114. *Giffred, see p. 102, foot-note 4 and p. 114, foot-note 2.

p. 115. *Ginda, see *Winda.

" " Gisbertus; G(h)isebrecht is common in Flemish records.

p. 117. Gisloldus (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 325 is < OG Gislold, etc. F 655 f. Not on record in OE.

p. 117. God(d)ard, see *Godehard.

p. 123. Godzer, see *Gozer.

" " Goisfrid, see Gosfrid.

p. 123. Goislin, see Gozelin.

" " Goismer, see *Gosmer.

p. 130. **Graulf(us)** LVD pp. 60, 68 might be < OG Gradulf (F 665), exhibiting a development analogous to that of Raulf < Radulf. Cf., however, Björkman, Pers. p. 50.

- p. 132. Gualo, see Walo.
 - " " Gualter, see Walter.
 - " " Guarinus, Guerinus, see Warin.
 - " " Gueric, see Wer(r)ic.
 - " " Guibertus, see *Wibert.
 - " " Guichard, see *Wic(h)ard.
 - " " Guido, see Wido.
 - " " *Guigerius see *Wiger.

", " Gulcreo mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 118 is probably meant to be a Rom. form of OG *Wulf(f)red* or *Wulfrad* (F 1648 f., 1657). *o* sometimes denotes *d* on the coins.

- p. 137. Guynand, Gwinant, see *Winand.
- " " Gychard, see *Wic(h)ard.
- p. 142. Hanselin, see Anselin.

p. 147. Heppo; Sedgefield (Pl. Ns of Cumberland p. 155) derives the pl. n. Heppeston < *Hepp or Heppo. This derivation seems very questionable, since the former name is not recorded elsewhere and the latter only once in England in the example adduced from DB. It seems more likely that the pl. n. in question contains the OE p. n. Eppa, Eoppa, occurring in OE pl. ns.

p. 151. Herpul (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 337. Cf. OG Erpolf, Herpolf (also occurring in the pl. n. Erbolfinga) F 143. The loss of the final f is regular in OF. Cf. also Pantul < Pantulf Ellis, Intr. II p. 365. This explains such forms as Selecolf, Sortcolf (< Selecol, Sortcol) in DB as reverted spellings.

p. 163. Imena LVD p. 19 is probably < OG Im(m)ina, etc. (F 951 f.) < Irmina (F 474). Cf. Emino and Ermina

pp. 69, 82. But its relation to the ME p. n. Imaina, Imaine is not clear.

p. 164. Isbrand is a very common name in Flemish records.

p. 168. [Iwardus (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 345 is probably identical with Old Danish *Iwar*, *Ivar*. Cf. the pl. n. *Iwardeby*, *Iwarbi* adduced by Björkman, Namenk. p. 50.]

p. 170. Jouin, Jovinus (Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 153, 344 is probably < OG Gautwin (F 620). Cf. Johais p. 170.

p. 174. Le(d)ger, see *Leodgar.

" " Leiteld LVD p. 51 is = *Leteld < OG Leuthild, etc. F 1044. For Let- see *Liudhard p. 179. The intrusive l is due to anticipation of the l of the second member. Analogous instances are aldele for adele, Aldelbert for Adelbert, etc. in Luhmann p. 51. Cf. also Stingandus for Stigandus Ellis, Intr. II p. 230 and Sturstanus for Turstanus ibid. p. 391.

p. 176. *Leodgard; cf. also the pl. n. (de) *Lidgardesuude* LVD p. 68.

p. 178. Lewys, see **Hludowic* (p. 153).

p. 179. Lodewic, Lo(e)wis, see *Hludowic (p. 153).

p. 181. **Magerus** LVD p. 96 is probably < OG *Magher* (F 1069) and identical with *Macharius* (p. 180), if this name happens to be Germanic.

p. 184. **Maiulf** (North.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 351 is probably < OG *Maiulf*, *Maiolf* (Rom.), *Magulf*, etc. (F 1070). Native *Meguulf* occurring in LV would exhibit the same form but need not be taken into account.

p. 185. Maneboia; in view of the fact that other compounds with *-boia* are lacking, it is not impossible that we have to explain this name as an error, two different names **Mane* (< *Mani*, for which see Björkman Pers. p. 95) and *Boia* (which occurs in the same charter) having been written or read together by mistake.

p. 188. Marcer(e) mon. (Eadgar, Edw. the Conf.) Grueber pp. 183, 356 (= Morcere occurring ibid.?); Marcherius (Kent)

Ellis, Intr. II p. 352. OG Marcher, etc. F 1096. Mearcalso seems to have existed in native names, e. g. Mearcrædes burnan stæðe AS Chr. 485 A. Of continental origin is probably Marculf(us) Ellis, Intr. II p. 184. Cf. OG Marculf F 1098. Another compound with the same element is Mearchealf in Widsip, a king of the Hundings.

p. 188. Mat(e)frid; cf. also Matfredus, Madfredus Deloche 173, 177.

p. 194. Oanddert, see Wandebertus.

p. 200. [Off Ellis, Intr. II p. 190 is a mistake for Olf < Ulf.]

p. 200. **Olenta** is also found in Flemish records. Cf. Oorkondenboek I, 425.

p. 201. [Onouuinus Ellis, Intr. II p. 191 is not <*Onwine (cf. OG compounds with On - < Aun-), as Searle suggests, but = *Olouuinus = Oluuinus (< OE Wulfwine). The same person appears as Uluuinus ibid. I p. 501. Owing to a similar confusion between the liquids l and r in AN are explained Oruenot (Ellis, Intr. II p. 193) = *Oluenot =Ulnodus (< OE Wulfnod) ibid. p. 255, and Orgrim (ibid. p. 192) = Olgrim. Further, Wirelmus (ibid. p. 270) stands for Wilelmus.]

p. 201. **Orulfus** (Cambr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 193 might be < OG Orulf (F 212) but is perhaps an error for Ordulf.

p. 202. Owine KCD 804 (AD 1049-58), Owen BCS 909 (AD 955), Ouuine Ellis, Intr. II p. 199, etc. are probably Celtic. Cf. p. 37.

p. 207. Rægenbald, see Rainbald.

" " Rænulf, see *Rainulf.

" " Ragnerus, see Rainer.

p. 212. Rauengarius; cf. also Flemish Rauengerus Oorkondenboek I, 95 (AD 1105).

p. 212. Regerus (Staff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 376 is probably < OG *Ragihari, Ragar (Mod. G Reger) F 1241 f. Cf. Raimar (p. 207).

p. 215. Roberta, see Ro(d)bert.

p. 219. Romild LVD p. 52 seems to be < OG Romilda, Rumhilt F 884. Cf. Rumbald (p. 221).

p. 220. [Rotlesc Ellis, Intr. II p. 207 is corrupt for Roscet(e)l.]

p. 224. [Scaldefort (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 210 might be a hybrid form of ON Skiald- (recorded in England in Sceldeware in DB and *Sceldmar in pl. ns, see Björkman, Pers. p. 123, Namenk. p. 75) and native -frid and be identical with the p. n. Scelfride (Yorks.) Ellis, ibid. p. 210. For -fort = -frid cf. Asfort, Sasford (ibid. pp. 42, 208) = Asfrid, Sasfrid.]

p. 224. Sessisbert (Glonc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 388 stands for *Seisbert < Rom. Saisbert < OG Sahsbert (F 1289). Cf. also Sessi = Sexi, Saxi Ellis, Intr. II p. 212.

p. 225. [Sileburh LVD p. 48 is < OE Seleburh.]

p. 226. [Stubart Ellis, Intr. II p. 230 is identical with Stanhart ibid. p. 228.]

p. 226. Sturmin, see Esturmi above.

", "Sungeoue; add Sonneua (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 226.

p. 228. Teolf, see Theodulf.

p. 233. Ticheld (et uxor ejus Emma) LVD p. 16 cannot be compounded with *-hild*, since it is a male name. It is very likely identical with the p. n. *Tihellus* (Britto) Ellis, Intr. I p. 492.

p. 236. Undela mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 130 is < OG Undila (male) AD 782 (F 1482). Cf. also OG Undo, Undinus (ibid.), and the compounds Undabert, Underich, Undoin, Undulf, etc. Und- is < OHG undea 'Welle, Woge', of which the OE equivalent is $Y\delta$ - (occurring in Ythswið in LV). F's identification of OG Undoin with OE Ontwine is incorrect.

p. 252. *Wibrand; Wibrand also occurs in Flemish records.

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p. 257. Wina (Aalis, Margaritha, Wina, Wala, Emalina) LVD p. 57 is probably < Rom. Wina (cf. F 1611), a hypocoristic form of compounds with Wine-. It might of course also have been coined in England as a fem. equivalent of native Wine.

p. 258. Winemarus is found in Flemish records, e. g. Oorkondenboek II 671.

p. 259. Wlfgatus LVD pp. 60, 69 is probably = *Wulf-gotus (cf. OG Wulfegaud, Ulfegaud, etc. F 1650). Cf. Maingat for Maingot (p. 183).

19 T. Forssner

Errata.

- P. 10, line 4 from top (and in several other places), read hypocoristic.
 - " 17, line 5 from top, read Aelismer.
- " 23, foot-note 2, read Aelismer.
- " 29, line 13 from top, read Anseïs.
- " 44, " 6 " bottom, read Bercelin.

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