FRYSKE NAMMEN 3

Under redaksje fan
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FRYSKE AKADEMY — LJOUWERT — 1981
Skippen dy't fan meur as een eigenaer west heuwe.
Understaende nommers komme oereen mei jin út 'e list, sodot de skips­
nemmen en de eigenaers maklik te fynden binne. In ? betiat dòt wy naat
wis binne fan de krekte gegeaven.

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in company with the time-honoured Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. Lester (1976:13), e.g., mentions Frisians among the Anglo-Saxon settlers. This conclusion is arrived at by pointing at the relation between archaeological finds in Frisia and England. He also hints at the linguistic kinship between English and Frisian. As a third argument he adduces place-names such as Friston St and Frieston Li. Thomas (1971:33), on the other hand, includes the Frisians without any further comment as if their presence were a solid fact, as is done by Brown (1978:7). Blair (1963:161-2, 170) gives an almost passionate touch to his account of the invasions. According to him the number of Frisians that came to Britain was prominent. And he has a reason for this assumption: Frisian soldiers had been serving in Britain under the Roman aegis, witness a votive stone found at Hadrian's Wall at Housestead (Collingwood/Wright 1965:508). As such, he suggests, the Frisians (1975:97) calls the Frisians one of the leading groups of the Germanic immigrants. Present-day Dutch scholars assume on archaeological and historical grounds that groups of Frisians joined the Anglo-Saxon settlers (Boersma et al. 1972:53). Morris (1973:214) remarks that west from Bernicia there are no traces of early English conquest apart from a few place-names, several of them described as the homes of the Frisians. He does not make clear, though, to which places he is referring. Dixon (1976:52), in his tastefully edited book, confines himself to a cautious remark about Frisian pottery found in Canterbury. From these rather arbitrarily selected examples we may safely conclude that on the whole present-day scholars of the Anglo-Saxon period have the Frisians play a part in the Germanic invasion of Britain, albeit to varying degrees and on account of different arguments. For that reason, I think, it would be useful to (re-)consider what evidence there is of a Frisian rôle and to what extent traces of it may have been preserved in later centuries. In doing so, this study will pay attention to the historical, archaeological, linguistic, and toponymical arguments. The last time someone attempted to collect and digest all that was known about the relations between Frisia and Anglo-Saxon England was some forty years ago (Fenger 1936). The political and spiritual climate of the author's country, though, led him to conclusions few of us would like to endorse nowadays. More space than I think necessary was spent on matters such as national character and Reinraßigkeit. Moreover, the author did not gather any new evidence, but merely presented a survey of what was known up to then. For that reason much of what he advanced has become out-dated or is seen in a different light. So much more reason to venture a new investigation into the problem of Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England.

2. Once upon a time . . .

Any student when asked which Germanic tribes they were that crossed the North Sea in the fifth century to find themselves new homelands, will answer: the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. And if his memory serves him well, he may add that in the year 449 AD a British king, named Vortigern, invited a band of Saxon soldiers to fight for him against raiding Picts and Scots. But in due time their leaders, Hengest and Horsa, decided to occupy parts of Britain for themselves, and sent word to relatives in the home-country to come over and help them. And that is how it all began.

Now this information which the student no doubt diligently learned at school, mainly derives from the Venerable Bede. Writing more than two hundred and fifty years after the event, he tells the following story about the origin of the Anglo-Saxons:

Aduenerant autem de tribus Germaniae populis fortiorebus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Iutis. De Iutarum origine sunt Cantuarii et Uictuarii, hoc est ea gens, quae Uectam tenet insulam, et ea, quae holie in prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsum insulam Uectam. De Saxonibus, id est ea regione, qua nunc Antiquorum Saxorum cognominatur, tenere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis, hoc est de illa patria, quae Angulus dicitur, et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter prouincias Iutarum et Saxonom peribetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Merci, tota Nordanhmbrorum progenies, id est illarum gentium, quae ab Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, ceteraque Anglorum populi sunt orti.

HE I.xv.

(They came from three very powerful Germanic tribes, viz. the Saxons, Angles and Jutes. Of Jutish stock are the people from Kent and the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, and the people still called the Jutes today in the territory of Wessex lying opposite the Isle of Wight. From Saxony, i.e. what is now called Old Saxony, have come the East Saxons, the South Saxons and the West Saxons. From the Anglian homeland, called Angulus — they say that this district, lying between the territories of the Jutes and the Saxons, has remained deserted from that day until the present — have come the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, the entire race of the Northumbrians, viz. those living north of the river Humber, as well as the other Anglian tribes.)

This is a clear-cut picture and easy to memorize, but whether it reflects the historical truth is another question. More likely, Bede projected the political map of his England onto the map of the latter days of Roman Britain. In the recapitulation or chronology of his Historia Bede only mentions sub anno 449 that the Angles arrived in Britain. One might deduce from this that he saw the Angles as the most prominent of the
three peoples, which they definitely were in his days. It could even betray
a touch of chauvinism: after all, as far as Bede knew, he was an Angle
himself. The most obvious explanation of Angli in the epitome is, however,
that they cover all the Germanic peoples that settled in Britain. Bede
may omit the Saxons and Jutes in his 'chronology', it is evident that he
does not anywhere include the Frisians in his account of the Adventus
Saxonum, unless we are willing to listen to Dr Myres. This historian and
archaeologist, fully in the period of the Germanic invasions,
not long ago expressed his surprise that a list of Germanic and Slavonic
tribes in the Historia Ecclesiastica 'has been strangely neglected by students
of English origins' (Myres 1970:151). His suggestion has already been adopt-
ed with some mitigation by Harrison (1976:20, n.8). While recognizing the
importance of Dr Myres' contribution to our knowledge of the period,
I think in this case his idea is based upon a misinterpretation of the text.
The passage in question occurs in Bede's account of the first English
initiative to convert the still-pagan Continentals. St Egberth, we are
told, had been very eager to leave his monastery in Ireland to preach the
Gospel to those who had not yet heard of the word of God:

quarum in Germania plurimas nouerat esse nationes, a quibus Angli
vel Saxones, qui nunc Brittaniam incolum, genus et originem duxisse
noscurtur; unde hactenus a uicina gente Brittonum corrupte Garmani
nuncupatur. Sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Danai, Hunni, Antiqii
Saxones, Boructuarri.

HE V, ix.

(For he knew that there were very many peoples in Germany — the
Angles or Saxons, who now inhabit Britain, are known to derive
their origin from them; that is why even today they are corruptly
called Garmani by the neighbouring Britons. Well, these peoples
are the Frisians, Rugians, Danes, Huns, Old Saxons and Bructeri.)

From this passage it becomes clear that Bede by way of parenthesis
forms his readers that the Angli vel Saxones had their origins in Germania,
and for that reason the Celtic people in Britain corruptly called their
conquerors Garmani 'Garmans'. This nickname was omitted in the Old
English translation of Bede's History (Miller 1890-1), probably because it
was no longer in use at that time (Plummer 1896:286). The passage can
hardly be an earlier version of Bede's account of the coming of the Anglo-
Saxons, as Dr Myres would make us believe. The presence of the East
Germanic Rugini and the Hunni (= Avars?) argues against such an inter-
pretation. The only objective here was to give an enumeration of those
tribes in Germania who were still ignorant of the light of the Gospel.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Plummer 1892) has not much to add to
Bede's picture of the invaders. The different versions seem to copy his
story almost literally. For the account of the subsequent conquest of
Britain the Chronicle apparently relies on other traditions. One thing
remains certain, however: there is not a trace to be found of Frisians
in the early entries of the Chronicle.

Gildas, the British historian-prophet, who wrote in the second quarter
of the sixth century, does not say a word about Frisians among the invaders.
In his thundering account of the decadence of the British people and the
subsequent invasions of continental marauders, he calls the latter: 'the fierce
and impious Saxons, a race both hateful to God and men'. (Giles
1912:310).

Another British historian, Nennius, who wrote his Historia Brittonum
(Lot 1934) some 150 years after Gildas's De Excidio Britanniae, agrees
with the latter in identifying the invaders with the Saxons (31, 36). He
comes one step nearer to Bede's story when he tells that Hengest's advisers
were of the Oghuoi race (37), i.e., the Anglian tribe.

The above records come from Britain itself and we may trust that
they at least present a picture of what its inhabitants knew about the
Germanic invaders, either from eyewitness (Gildas), or tradition (Nennius,
Bede and the Chroniclers).

The only historical indication that there were Frisians in Britain after
the Germanic migrations comes from Procopius, who occupied a high
position in the military administration of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian
(527-563 AD). He accompanied severd! expeditions against the Persians
as well as the various Germanic enemies of the Byzantine Empire. Thus
he was offered the opportunity to collect all kinds of illustrative material
about the history and customs of these peoples with which he could
enliven his History of the Wars. When in the Gothic War he comes to talk
about the Franks he seizes the chance to devote a chapter to some peculiar
tales. He had heard these himself from a Frankish embassy to the imperial
court sent by King Theudebert. The political aim of this legation was to
obtain the imperial recognition of certain claims on Britain that Theudebert
fostered (GW IV, xx, 10, Veh 1966). As a living proof of his rights he had
sent along some Angles who informed the Emperor of all he wanted to
know about Britain. It is in this context that Procopius gives the following
demographical sketch:

Britannia est insula diu occupata Persiorum qui novas sedes dari
Angelorum denuntiavit, sed illi locum vel imperium non dedit. In eadem
virtutibus, sed aliis, occupata est. Angelorum autem gentes et Brittonorum
tribus, ex Persoribus strictos et temerosos, praeferentes alligantes
sese cum Persoribus. Theudaebertus, imperator, Brittaniam in factum
tribus, quae diu occupata est, dedit Angelorum et Brittonum. Procopii
architectura, diu occupata, quasi suum imperium illa occupata est.

(The island of Brititia is inhabited by three very populous nations,
each ruled by a king. And the names of these nations are Angiloi,
Phrisones and, after the island, Brittones.)

This well-known statement has been the cause of great controversy and
confusion in the world of historians. Not in the least because Procopius
himself distinguishes between two islands, viz. Brettania, which is 400
stades from the Continent, and Brittica which is only 200 stades from the
coast. Burn (1955) would suggest that this is due to the old trade route
which went by way of Spain and the new one which went via the Frankish
coast across the Channel. This may very well be true, but it remains a
fact that whenever Procopius writes about Brettania, it is about Roman
Britain as we know it. But when he comes to talk about *Brittia* there is hardly anything which transgresses the border of legend into the tangible realm of history. For that reason scholars have argued that Procopius’s information about the population of *Brittia* has just as much value as the fantastic tale about the romantic affair between an Anglian princess and a Warinian prince in the same chapter. The most careful among them gave the remark a willing suspension of disbelief until conclusive evidence turned up. Others tried to manipulate the passage to make it fit better in their preconceived ideas about the Anglo-Saxon landnam. Hodgkin (1952:82), e.g., tackles the problem with arithmetic skill: ‘By taking his (i.e. Procopius’s) Angles to mean both Angles and Saxons, and by a simple subtraction sum, it is found that the Frisians of Procopius may be equated with the Jutes. Stenton (1940:5), who argued a Frisian share in the Germanic invasions from a linguistic point of view, tried to find another solution for the fact that Procopius had no word for the Saxons. ‘To a foreign observer, the Frisians and the Saxons must have appeared to be men of common speech’. This is not a very plausible solution, though, for the linguistic differences between the Frisians and Angles at that time cannot have been much greater than those between the Frisians and Saxons. Another view is expressed by Martin (1971:94):

Procopius is equating Phrissones with Saxones since in his time, the Saxones were doubtless able to be regarded as ‘people from in Frisia’ because they had dwelt in Frisia for some time before going to Britain.

It is not entirely clear whether or not Wilson (1972:27) is of the opinion that the Saxons and Frisians had amalgamated on the Continent or in Britain, when commenting on Procopius’s remark he says:

Although the Frisians apparently inhabited the coastland of North Holland, it is possible that at this time the Frisians and Saxons had merged into one people, the Frisians losing their identity in the process, a not uncommon occurrence in the Migration period.

Martin (1971:94) seems to be one of the last exponents, however, of the theory developed by the Frisian historian Boeles (1951:207-18). A sudden interruption in the production of local Frisian pottery, the rise of a new, so-called Anglo-Frisian type of earthenware, a change in burial rites, and the presence of sunken huts – which he thought to be typically Anglo-Saxon, but cf. Van Es (1965:563-4) – were ample indications for him to formulate a theory according to which the Anglo-Saxons had invaded Frisia and massacred the majority of its population. This idea has been followed by Fisher (1973:23-4). Present-day scholarship, in the main, rejects this view (cf. Russchen 1967:25-9; Boersma 1972:53; Dixon 1976:48). Apart from Boeles, Myres (1937:457; 1969:36) also distinguishes a separate Anglo-Frisian type of pottery, although he has admitted that the term is not very felicitous, because it suggests a too closely-knit group, specimens of which have in fact been found all along the coast of North West Europe (Myres 1970:153; cf. Hailewas 1975:113-4).

Quite recently, attention has also been drawn to the occurrence of the so-called Frisian barred comb in England (MacGregor 1975). Specimens of this type of comb, which can be dated to the late fourth or fifth century, show a very close affinity with those found in the provinces of Groningen and Friesland, although one has turned up as far as Cologne. Not many examples of this ‘Frisian’ type have been found yet in England, mainly in East Anglia and York. However, recent finds from Newark-on-Trent, NT, the Nene Valley, and Southampton, which have not yet been published, seem to point to a wider distribution (MacGregor, personal communication, August 1978; Philip Holdsworth, Southampton Archaeological Research Committee, personal communication, August 1978). Even though we may have an indication here of a specific Frisian contribution to the Anglo-Saxon settlements, the material is rather scanty and an inventory has not been made up at the present. The combs may turn out to be Anglo-Frisian in the widest sense of the word (Russchen 1967:25) and as such lose their value as evidence of the presence of Frisians among the Anglo-Saxon invaders.

For a proper solution of this problem we should not try to distort Procopius’s information. I would rather suggest that he does not distinguish between Angles and Saxons in the first place because the Anglo-Saxons themselves were not at all consistent in a distinction between the two (Myres 1937:343 ff.). We must bear in mind that Procopius talked with members of a Frankish embassy whose purpose was not primarily to provide the Byzantine court with all sorts of geographical data, but to further Frankish interests and territorial claims. The whole thing smells very much of a diplomatic trick. If the Emperor justified Theudebert’s claims, the latter would have had a stacked deck to play against the Frisians on the Continent and assume suzerainty over them as well. It was not until the reign of Charlemagne that these Frankish aspirations fully materialized. This does not imply that Procopius’s remark is null and void. In view of the above we may cautiously conclude that the Frankish envoys exaggerated with preconceived intentions the number of Frisians in Britain.

All in all, taking the historical evidence into account, it would seem that the assumption that the Frisians played a role of some significance in the early history of England only hinges on a questionable remark in Procopius. It is altogether too weak to allow any safe conclusions, let one to argue a Frisian origin of the English nation (contra Wade-Evans 1951), but it may serve as a stimulus to find more evidence in other fields.

3. What place-names can tell

The study of place-names started to be practised seriously about the turn of the century and received an important stimulus by the foundation of the English Place-Name Society in 1923. Today it has gained a fully
recognized position in the eyes of both historian and linguist. Its results are especially helpful in throwing light on the so-called Dark Age period. Questions like ‘What pattern did the invaders follow in their settlement? What happened to the autochthonous population?’ have at least been partly solved with the assistance of toponymy.

As was shown in the Introduction, modern historians use the existence of certain place-names as evidence of a Frisian participation in the Anglo-Saxon invasions in Britain. They are not the first to do so. The argument goes back at least as far as 1863 when the Scottish historian W.F. Skene adduced place-names in a speculative attempt to prove that bands of Frisians had settled in certain districts of Scotland circa 400 AD.

The first to provide an inventory of place-names which showed or were supposed to show connections with the Frisians was Lyons (1918). Chadwick’s impressive study The Origin of the English Nation (1907) had suggested the idea to her because the latter assumed that neighbouring tribes of the Angles had also had a share in the Anglo-Saxon migrations. On top of that she wanted to ‘give some credibility to the statement of the old Latin (sic!) writer Procopius’ (Lyons 1918:644). In her enthusiasm, though, and perhaps through a lack of etymological tools, she arrives at conclusions no one nowadays would like to support. Especially when she turns away from the place-names compounded with OE Fris/ Fris- and discusses toponyms which she thinks have an Old Frisian personal name as one of their initial elements, she finds her refuge in the locus a non locendo kind of etymology. One instance will suffice to illustrate her method:


Smith (1961 e:51) says about Weeton, YW: ‘willow farmstead,’ v. wīðgī, tūn, a fairly common, p.n.”. The DEPN gives the following explanation of Weeting Nf and Weetwood Nb respectively: ‘“Wet district.” See WAET, -ING” and ““Wet wood.” Cf. WAET.” It must be said that Miss Lyons admits not to have been in a position to check all her presuppositions, yet she is bold enough to suggest that there were far more Frisian settlers in Britain than scholars had thought until then. This conclusion led her to give future students a sound warning:

... our study of Frisian place-names appears to indicate a Frisian settlement pretty well covering the Scandinavian district in England and will require that the investigators of the Scandinavian elements revise their conclusions with this in mind. (Lyons 1918:648-9).

The next to present a kind of inventory of place-names compounded with OE Fréis/ Frís was the Dutch scholar W.J. Bense. His list is considerably shorter than Miss Lyons’s: apparently he was more sober in his judgements than she. Discussing the Anglo-Saxon invaders he comments: ‘That there must have been Frisians in various parts of England in those early times is evident from the following place-names: ...’ after which he lists twelve place-names (Bense 1952:2). Yet he, too, suffered from a lack of information which has come to light since then.

The last one to discuss Frisian place-names at some length was the famous Swedish scholar Eilert Ekwall in 1953. He calls his study a ‘systematic survey’ (p. 130), but, as we will see, he could have been a bit more systematic. What Bense and Ekwall have in common in their approach, and to a lesser degree Lyons, is that they only discuss place-names with the element Frísa or variant forms, which on the whole is the safest method.

There is another current in place-names studies, however, that tries to find evidence of a Frisian share in the Anglo-Saxon settlements from a different angle. A quotation from Stenton (1940:5-6) may serve to illustrate this approach:

... there is a small amount of definite place-name evidence for the presence of Frisian settlers in England at an early date. It does not turn on names like Friston and Freiston, which may have arisen at any time between the sixth and tenth century, but on a number of words, unrecorded in written English but compounded in English place-names, for which the best continental parallels come from the remains of the Old Frisian language.

If this is true, entirely new horizons will open up for the student of place-names. In a note to this statement, Stenton gives two examples to make clear what he is thinking of, viz. Rothwell Li, Np and Rothley, Le, Nb, and Hengrave Stf. Relying on the authority of Ekwall who had analysed these names, Stenton maintains that the latter has shown that OE roth ‘clearing’ is an ‘exact parallel to the Frisian rothe’ (p.6). Looking up what Ekwall really did say about the hitherto unnoted OE *ropb, it appears that he showed that it was cognate with OFris rothe, OHG rod, ON roð. Moreover, the word is attested in an Old English charter (BSC 737) as roðe. That the word is very rarely recorded in Old English texts does not necessarily imply that it was introduced by Frisian immigrants. The existence of the word in Old High German and Old Norse indicates that it was also known to other Germanic languages.

As regards Hengrave Stf, early forms are Hemegretha 1086 DB and Hemegeed 1095 (12) Bury. Ekwall argues that the second element originally was OE *gréð ‘pasture land, meadow’, which “must be compared with OFris gréð ‘meadow, pasture’, EFrís, WFrís gród ‘pasture land’, LowG grode, OFris gróðe ‘angeschwemmtes Neuland’, Swed gróda ‘crop’ and others.” (Ekwall 1936:174-5). Stenton, the historian, picks from Ekwall, the philologist, what tallies with his ideas:

The most significant evidence comes from such place-names as Hengrave, which contains a word greð ‘pasture’, recorded in Frisian alone. (Stenton 1940:6, n.2).

The EPNE I: 207, enters an OE gréðd — Ekwall did not take this word into consideration on the presumption that ‘it will hardly do here’ (Ekwall 1936:175), without arguing why — and a kt *gréð. Cameron (1976:28)
provides the following correction: ‘grōd. The headforms should read grōd OE (WSax), gřēd (Angl., Kl.).’ Cameron realized that WSax a-, had its reflex as e in non-WSax, as it had for that matter in Old Frisian.

Stenton has not been the only one to find evidence of vestiges of Old Frisian in place-name elements. In a convincing article O.K. Schram has examined the argument that Testerton Nf and Stibbard Nf contain words which are also attested in the Frisian area. From he derives from PrGmc *tehs ‘right, south’. (There is a Norton far not away from Testerton. He compares this element with the first one in Texel (the southernmost of the Frisian Islands) *tehs-el ‘the south island’ as opposed to Norderney (off the coast of Lower Saxony) ‘the north island’, (but certainly not the northernmost of the Frisian Islands, RHB.). The element is also found in Teisterband (in the province of Gelderland) *tehs-tor-band ‘the south district’, and in Texuandria (Textandria) *tehs-wandra ‘dwellers in the south’. Even though *tehs ‘south’ might have become obsolete by the time of the Migration, as Schram admits, he considers the possibility that the word was brought to Norfolk by Frisians. The second element in Stibbard gives rise to the same speculations. This -bard is attested in early forms such as -byrde, -berde, -byrd and is related, according to Schram, to ModFris -bert, -birt, an element often used in place-name formations — especially in the north of the Netherlands — to indicate a place on a bank of a river or a road. Nevertheless, Schram’s conclusion is very careful:

There would seem no good reason for assuming that in names like Testerton and Stibbard we have evidence of direct Frisian influence in England or of Frisian settlements (Schram 1929:78).

Now the premise behind both Stenton’s and Schram’s article obviously is that the Frisian language at the time of the Germanic migrations to Britain was distinctive enough from the English language to be traceable in place-names. It is generally agreed nowadays that the departure of the Anglo-Saxons from northwest Europe caused a split in the linguistic unity existing until then. This unity comprised all the Germanic tribes except for the Gothic peoples that had moved south-eastward in the direction of the Black Sea about 200 AD. Runic inscriptions up to well into the fifth century show no sign of a disintegrating tendency away from this linguistic unity. After the tribes from the north-west coast of Germany had started moving, they still retained a certain degree of linguistic similarity among themselves variously called Ingvaeonic or North Sea Germanic (Antonsen 1967:20-1). This linguistic group gradually shared certain innovations setting it apart from the Germanic dialects spoken further inland on the Continent. (For a more detailed discussion of the several and sometimes diametrically opposed views on this matter, see Kufner 1972).

Runic inscriptions may serve to illustrate how difficult it is to tell early Old English from Old Frisian. Page 1973 discusses two objects with runic inscriptions presenting problems for a satisfactory explanation. The one is a bone found in Hamwih, i.e. Anglo-Saxon Southampton, which bears the inscription:

\[\text{kata}\]

On external evidence Page could not be more exact than dating the bone somewhere between the mid-seventh and the early eleventh century. As to its origin he says:

... Hamwih was a major port and the inscription could be the work of a traveller, perhaps even a Frisian as the form of one of its runes (viz. F, RHB) faintly suggests (Page 1973:30).

Three years later Hofmann (1976) proved Page’s suggestion as to the Frisian origin of the inscription to be right, but rejected the latter’s reading kata ‘cat’. According to Hofmann the word represents Proto OFris *kate > OFris kate ‘knuckle-bone’. This reading is confirmed by the bone itself which happens to be a cow’s proximal phalanx. Had the inscription been Old English, it would have read *dat or the like, but the word has not been recorded for Old English. Page’s date for the bone tallies quite well with Hofmann’s identification of the legend as being Old Frisian. This excludes a Migration date on purely linguistic grounds.

The other one is a gold solidus which for numismatic reasons provides a date 423 AD ante quem non. It was discovered in the coin collection of King George III, so that nothing can be said about the original find spot in England. In view of similar solidi found in the Low Countries ‘there is no numismatic objection to a Frisian provenance for this one’ (Page 1973:186). The runic legend is:

\[\text{skanomodu}\]

The meaning is not entirely clear, but the first element is usually derived from Gmc *skau, a form which also seems to be reflected in the first part of the Old English personal name Scenuulf. The second element Page takes to be related to OE -mōd ‘of mind’ and the two combined most probably indicate a personal name. About the language it represents Page offers an interesting explanation:

There are two linguistic features that favour Frisia as the area of striking: in the first element Gmc au has developed to a (contrasting with OE ae), and the ending has the unstressed vowel -u found in other Frisian runic texts (Page 1973:188; Miedema 1974:115, 118). These features together with parallel finds in the Low Countries lead Page to this conclusion:

Had the coin not appeared in an English king’s collection, and been published first when few Frisian runes were known, I do not think it would ever have been taken as an Anglo-Saxon (Page 1973:188; so too Sipma 1960:73; Krause 1970:91; for the opinion that skanomodu is the oldest English runic inscription, see Elliot 1959:77).
Summing up, it becomes clear that not much can be said with certainty about early Frisian loan-words in Old English, and even if they have been there, it is very hard to tell them apart from Old English words. Phonetic similarities may exist in words found in runic inscriptions, but the date for which the above discussed place-names have first been attested is at least some five to six centuries later.

The bearing this conclusion has on the quest for Frisian place-names in England becomes obvious now. It is hardly feasible to prove the presence of Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England on the evidence of their language. For a long time it has been common practice among philologists to speak about Anglo-Frisian as a separate group within the North Germanic languages. This idea was put into words the influential Stenton: '... linguistic analysis has established a fundamental connection between English and Frisian which is the first certain fact in English history' (Stenton 1971:6), a statement which remained unaltered since the first edition of his book in 1943, and was repeated by e.g. Fisher 1973:24 and Blair 1977:8). But the term has become out-dated in the light of present state of linguistic studies. The older generation of linguists did not take Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian into consideration (Markey 1976a:36-7, Ramat 1976:60-3). Even when Markey seems to have found words only occurring in Old English and Old Frisian, his statement appears not to be water-tight (Hofstén 1977:451). It will be safer to show the relation of Old English words to their cognates in Old Frisian than to assume that they have been borrowed or imported. If this is right, it implies that the only reliable testimony of the Frisians' presence in Anglo-Saxon England comes after all from written sources and place-names explicitly saying so, i.e., place-names containing the element Frīsa 'Frisian' or the like. Only a thorough discussion of these toponyms can decide whether they involve a Frisian participation in the Anglo-Saxon landnam.

In order to get a clear impression of the nature of Frisian settlements in Anglo-Saxon England a distinction should be made between place-names coined from OE Frīs- + OE element and those consisting of ON Fríss- + ON element. In this inventory as much evidence as possible has been incorporated that may help in considering the relative date of the settlement in question. Two restrictions should be made, however. Firstly, no personal observations have been made at the actual sites, since this would have transcended the scope of the present study. Secondly, the Geological Drift Map of Great Britain has not yet been completed, and proved to be inadequate in some instances, so that a final conclusion on the soil condition of the settlements is still wanting.

Decisive for an early date of settlement are the relation of a site to a Roman road (Margary 1967) and/or easy access from a river or to a water supply, the presence of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials (Meaney 1964), early Anglo-Saxon finds, and the condition of the soil. The first settlers, after all, would most probably have claimed the easiest accessible lands, depending, of course, on the opposition of the autochthonous population. Only after the most favourable sites had been occupied would they have settled on heavier of poorer soils.

The inventory is alphabetically arranged according to the pre-1972 counties. The grid references have been taken from the One Inch Ordnance Survey Map. The reader is also referred to books or articles where the place-name in connection with the Frisians has been discussed. Finally, the abbreviations of the sources of the early forms will be found in the volumes of the EPNS, while the abbreviations of the counties are those of the DEPN.

4.1. Place-names with OE Frīs-/Fríss- + OE element

Cumberland


Early forms: Frisingaton c. 1160 St.B (p); Frisingtona c. 1205 ibid.; Frisington c. 1206 Fleming Mem et passim, with variant spellings Frys- and -yng; Frisington 1246 La Ass (p); Friesington 1259 Pipe (p); Friesyngton 1338 STB.


Devonshire

4.1.2. Frizhenham: Little Torrington parish, O.S. map 165, SS 478182. The place is situated on the 350 ft. contour in a fork of the river Torridge and tributary. It is not near a known Roman road, but possibly on a lost extension of Margary 493. No A.S. finds are reported.

Early forms: Friseham 1086 DB, t.Hy L Montacute et passim; Frisenham 1333 SR (p.).

Literature: Gover 1931:110.

Kent

4.1.3.1. Freezingham: Rolvenden parish, O.S. map 184, TQ 865303. The place is on the 50 ft. contour and 1/2 km. east of the New Mill Channel. It is about 6 1/2 kms. south-east of the junction of Margary 130/31 and bordering on low reclaimed land. No A.S. finds are reported.

Early forms: Fressingham 1236 FF; de Fressingham 1313-4
4.1.3.3. Frenchhurst: Sandhurst parish, O.S. map 184, TQ 785275. Sandhurst is 1 km. east of Margary 13 and bordering on the Kentish Ditch in the 100 ft. contour. No A.S. finds are reported. Early forms: Freschhyrte 801 BCS 303; Freysynhurst 1270 Ass, Fenrenchferst 1487 I.p.m.

Literature: Middendorf 1902:54; Skeat 1913:53; Karlström 1927:159; Dodgson 1967b:373.

Lincolnshire

4.1.4.1. Freiston: O.S. map 113, TF 376438. There is no Roman road nearby, and no recorded A.S. finds, but the place is about 5 kms. north of the mouth of the river Witham and 3 1/2 kms. east of the coastline. Early forms: Frestone 1086 DB; Freston t.Hy 2DC, 1158 BM Facs, -o- c. 1114 Dugd; Friston' 1168-9 P, 1193 P, -y- 1183 (m 14th c) HC; Freiston 1195 P, 1254 Val; Friston 1191 P, 1194 P.


4.1.4.2. Friston: Qyntorpe parish, O.S. map 113, SK 938477. The Ermine Street (Margary 28b) runs 5 kms. east of Frieston, which itself is 2 kms. north of a Normanton. A mixed A.S. cemetery, primarily in barrows, has been excavated. (This Friston must be the same as 'Freston, hamlet, 7 1/2 m. N.E. of Grantham, Kesteven,' superfluously entered in Bartholomew 1966).

Early forms: Friston 1086 DB, Hy 2DC, c. 1200 BM; Friston' 1181-2 P, 1185 RotDom, 1197 P et passim; Freston 1224 FF, post 1120 Welles LA, 1242 FF, 1303 FA.


Suffolk

4.1.6.1. Freston: O.S. map 150, TM 168390. The place is about 6 1/2 kms. east of Margary 3c, and 1 1/2 kms. south-east of the river Orwell. Meaney 1964 reports a mixed cemetery in Ipswich, 5 1/2 kms. north of Freston. The soil consists of glacial gravel and sand. Early forms: Frestanta c. 995 BCS 1289, Frestunt 1086 DB.


4.1.6.2. Friston: O.S. map 137, TM 412600. The place is 12 kms. south-west of Margary 34b, 3 kms. north of the river Alde, and 1 1/2 kms. north-east of Snape, the site of one of the few known A.S. ship burials. Early forms: Fristuna 1086 DB; Freston 1254 Val.


4.1.6.3. Fressingfield: O.S. map 137, TM 260773. The place is about 1 km. south-west of Margary 35. No A.S. finds are reported. Early forms: Fessefelda 1086 DB; Frisingefeld' 1185 P, c. 1195 Cur; Fressingefeld 1182 Bury, 1197 P.


Sussex

4.1.7. Friston: O.S. map 183, TV 552993. The place is about 7 1/2 kms. east of Margary 144 and 3 kms. south of Margary 143. It is 3 1/2 kms. east of Cuckmere River and 2 kms. north of the coast. Meaney 1964 reports a single inhumation burial, thought to be A.S., on Friston Hill. There have been discovered more important finds at Eastbourne, 7 kms. east of Friston. The site is on a patch of clay with gravel.
Early forms: *Friston* 1200 Cur et passim to t.Hy 8 AD V, with variant spelling *Fryston*; *Freston* 1262 FF, 1290 Pat; *Frisshton* 1327 SR, 1382 FF; *Fruston* 1347.

**Warwickshire**

4.1.8. Frestley: a hamlet 5 kms. south-east of Tamworth, O.S. map 131, SP 240999. The place is about 1 km. south of Margary lg (Watling Street). No A.S. finds are reported.

Early forms: *Frestley* 1168 P, -lege 1222 1247 Ass, 1235 P, -lege 1256 272 Ass, -le(ye) 1265 Ch, 1316 FA, 1327 SR *Frisshton* 1221 Ass; *Fresle* 1375.

**Yorkshire**

4.1.9.1. Frismarsh: the lost name of Sunken Island in the Humber estuary, O.S. map 105.

Early forms: *Frisamersc* 1122-57 YCh 310; *Frisemareys, -eys* 1130, 1190-2 P (p), 1194 P, 1212 Cur, 1246 Ass (p), 1332 *-marasco* 1181-1207 Y Ch 1402; *Jri-*, *Frysmerske* 1275, *Fyrsmersk* 1378.

**4.1.9.2. Frizinghall:** now a part of Bradford (W.R.), O.S. map, SE 149361.

The place is within 3 kms. east of the established part of Margary lg and 2 kms. south of the river Aire. No A.S. finds are reported.

Early forms: *Frizinghale* 1265 (p); *Frezinghall* 1287 DodsN, -hale 1288 *Fresynghawe* 1492 *Fyrsingale* 1402 FA.

**4.1.9.3. Ferry Fryston:** Ferrybridge parish, O.S. map 97, SE 479240.

Ferrybridge is within 4 kms. north-east of Margary lg and situated on the south bank of the river Aire. The place is adjacent to Castleford (= Roman Lagentum), while Meaney (1964) reports burials in Ferrybridge.

Early forms: *Friston(e), -tona, Fryston* 1086 DB, 1154 YCh, c. 1160 Pont et passim; *Freston* 1300 Ebor.

**4.1.9.4. Monk Fryston:** hamlet, O.S. map 97, SE 506298. The place is 5 kms. north of the river Aire, 8 kms. east of Margary 28b, and 19 1/2 kms. north-east of Castleford. No A.S. finds are reported. In 1086 DB Monk Fryston belonged to Selby Abbey.

**4.1.9.5. Water Fryston:** Ferrybridge parish, O.S. map 97, SE 468266.

The place is 4 kms. north-east of Margary 28b. See 1.9.3.

Early forms: *Friston(a), Fyrstun* 1155-8 YCh 1451, 1255 et passim; — on Ayr(e), — upon Aire 1289 Ebor.

**Literature:** Smith 1961b: 66.
4.2. Place-names with ON Fris- + ON element

Leicestershire

4.2.1.1. (Old) Frisby: O.S. map 122, SK 705015. 'Frisby is a depopulated village now represented by Frisby Farm House' (Cox 1971:217-28). It is on good soil (Cox 1971:52), and 4 kms. south of Margary 58a. No A.S. finds are reported.

Early forms: Frisebi 1086 DB, c. 1130 Leic Surv., 1190 P, 1199, 1200 Cur (p), Frisebi 1166 LN, -by 1166 RBE, Edw 1 Nichols, 1351 Wyg (p); Friseby 1220 Cur (p), 1221 Ass, 1225 Cur (p), 1209-35 RH et passim to 1355.


4.2.1.2. Frisby-on-the-Wreak: O.S. map 122, SK 696178. The place is 6 kms. east of Margary 5f (Fosse and 5 kms. south of village now represented by Frisby Farm House) 1971:217.

Frisby is about 8 kms. east of Margary 2d (Ermine Street). One km. north of East Frisby is a Saxby and 2 1/2 kms. north a Normanby. There was a Roman settlement about 2 1/2 kms. north-west of West Frisby, while inhumation burials, primarily in barrows, are reported at Caenby, 4 1/2 kms. north-west of West Frisby.

Early forms: Frisebi 1086 DB, hy 1 Dugd, 1190 P, c. 1200 Dane, 1200 Cur, m. 13 (1404); Frisebia, c. 1130 Leic Surv., c. 13 (1404); Friseby, -ys- Hy 1 Dugd, 1202 Fine, 1213 Cur; Freseby 1244 Cl, 1280 Banco, 1316 FA.


Lincolnshire

4.2.2.1. Frisby, East (TF 006854) and West (SK 980849): O.S. map 104. West Frisby is about 1 1/2 kms. and East Frisby about 3 1/2 kms. east of Margary 2d (Ermine Street). One km. north of East Frisby is a Saxby and 2 1/2 kms. north a Normanby. There was a Roman settlement about 2 1/2 kms. north-west of West Frisby, while inhumation burials, primarily in barrows, are reported at Caenby, 4 1/2 kms. north-west of West Frisby.

Early forms: Frisebi 1086 DB, 1185 Templar, 1200 Cur 1/278, 1212 Fees; Frisabi c. 1115 LiS; Frisbeia 1137-9 YCh iii; Frisby 1190 RA ix; Freseby Cur 1/74.

Literature: Ekwall 1953:152; Cameron 1975:118.

4.2.2.2. Firsby: O.S. map 114, TM 456633. The place is 4 1/2 kms. south-west of Margary 27. About 1 1/2 kms. to the west is Irby-in-the-Marsh. Meaney 1964 reports a doubtful inhumation burial at Candlesby, 4 kms. north of Firsby and an inhumation burial, primarily in barrow, at Burgh-le-Marsh, 5 kms. north-east of Firsby.

Early forms: Frisby 1115 (14th c.), 1276 RH, 1281 Ass; Frisebi c. 1145 Bard, 1147, 1156, 1159, 1175-8 Anc, 1178 Bard, 1202 Ass, 1226 Bard; Freseby 1125 Bard, 1206 FF, c. 1221 Welles, 1225 Welles, 1254 Val. (No metathesized forms until the 16th century, 3rd quarter).

Literature: Ekwall 1953:152; Cameron 1975:118.

Yorksire

4.2.3. Fristhorpe: O.S. map 104, TF 072834. The place is 10 kms. east of Hooton Roberts. No A.S. finds are reported.

Early forms: Frisebi 1086 DB; Frisatorp c. 1115 LS; Frisatorp c. 1115 LS; Frisatorp 1154-89 (1329) CH, 1146 RA; Frestorph c. 1200 RA, 1202 Ass; Fresthorph 1266 RR Gr, 1281 QW.

Literature: Ekwall 1953:152-3; Cameron 1975:142.

5. Analysis of the initial element

As can be seen from the inventory in the previous chapter, a great variety in spelling exists as regards the initial element, viz. Freas-, Freez-, French-, Firs-, Fris, and Friz-. For an explanation of all these different forms it is clarifying to see what the dictionary says. Bosworth-Toller (1898)/Toller (1921) give the following entries for 'Frisian(s)':

Friesan; gen. Frēsana, Frēsana; pl.m. 'The Frisians', Frisii, Fresones. Frisian; pl.m. 'Frisiana': Frisii.


This implies that the first vowel is represented by four different graphs, viz. (e), (o), (de), and (y). Ekwall (1953:151) maintains that Friesa is a continental form, identical with OHG Freso. Strangely enough he does not mention whether the (de) points to a continental (Frisian?) pronunciation or to a continental orthographical practice. It is a well known phenomenon that in late West Saxon there is evidence of scribal variation between i, ie, and y, the so-called 'unstable y' (Campbell 1959:127-8). The possibility of a scribal error must be excluded, since the word occurs three times in succession. Elsewhere the scribe writes Frestac (adj.) sub anno 879, so that a solution for this spelling will most probably never be found.

In the earliest Latin texts in which the Frisians are mentioned there is
not yet vacillation between $i$ and $e$, but differentiations are well attested in Old Frisian. Numerous explanations have been offered for this phenomenon (see e.g. Förstemann 1968:123, 434). Since it is not the place here to deal with this problem, it may suffice to note that this variation is reflected in Old English, too.

Modern English 'Frisian' (adj.) is OE *Fresisc/Fryisc. Campbell (1972) enters a Frya (adj.), but it seems this is merely a matter of textual misinterpretation (see not yet vacillation between $i$ and $e$). The word occurs in Maxims | (Shippey 1976:68).

Leof wilcuma

Frysa, Frysan, Frys, Frysan (n.), so that Frysan wife ought to be translated as the Frisian's wife instead of 'the Frisian's wife' (e.g. Shippey 1976:69; cf. Krogmann 1964:336-40).

Three compounds are recorded in Old English of which the first element designates 'pertaining to Frisia, - to the Frisians', to wit: Fræcing 'king of the Frisians', Frisland/Fryslond 'Frisia', Fræwael 'Frisian battlefield'. All these compounds occur in Beowulf, while the OE Orosius (Sweet 1883:16) has a Frisland. The same type of compound, viz. stem + noun is found in e.g. Gætanægas 'men of the Geats' or Sworlice 'Sweden', both in Beowulf. Eykall (1953:151-2) calls this type archaic and notes that it also occurs in the earliest recorded forms of Friston (Inventory 4.1.4.1.), Friston (4.1.4.2.) and Friston (4.1.6.2.), which in the case of the latter is not entirely true (Frístona 1086 DB). Cameron (1961:72) seems to have taken the wrong implication of this remark and concluded that these names belong to an early period of the Anglo-Saxon occupation. An archaic type is not necessarily the same as an early settlement, and what to think of Friston (4.1.7.) and the three Frystons (4.1.9.3-5.) in Yorkshire?

It is important to list all the Old English forms of 'Frisian', because they may help to solve a problem raised by several scholars, but most thoroughly by Eykall. The difficulty lies in the question whether the forms fris-, fres-, frys- should be taken to mean 'Frisian' or 'furze', the latter being derived from OE fyrs. As an illustrative example in this discussion Friston may serve (4.1.7.). From the inventory one can see that there is quite some variation in the third graph, viz. (i), (e), (u), and (y). The uncertainty of its explanation is embodied in Eykall's discussion of the name itself. In 1923 he suggested a *Friges gen.sg. of the Old English personal name Freo as the etymology of the first element. In 1936:116-7 he postulated a new hypothesis. The 'Freo-explanation' was dismissed, but instead he concluded from the varying vowels that an OE [y] was involved which pointed to OE fyrs. Departing from this conclusion he reconstructed a *Fyrsdän 'furze-covered hill', adding that the place is on a hill the top of which reaches the height of 323 ft.

An OE *Fyrsdän 'furze-covered hill' as such would not be impossible. Toller (1921) lists six compounds with fyrs, viz. fyrsdun 'a triangular piece of land covered with furze', fyrsig 'an island on which furze grows', fyrsleah 'a lea on which furze grows', an uncertain fyrspeu 'a pen or fold made of furze', fyrsdew 'a row of fence of furze', and an uncertain fyrssegca 'a furze-thicket (?)'. *Fyrsdän, however, implies at least two radical interventions, or even three, preceding the earliest recorded forms.

To begin with, *-dän > -dun. This change, according to Eykall, was influenced by the preceding s. That this is not necessarily the case is shown by the well-attested phenomenon of OE -dän > -dun, e.g. OE Epardun > ModE Edington W, OE Hearpodon > ModE Repton Db. On the other hand OE æt Bygtesdon > ModE Balsdon Hall SF shows that d could be preserved after s. What speaks against -dän > -dun in Friston is the absence of any, early or late, form with -dun.


A second objection against *Fyrsdän can be made. It supposes a metathesized r: *Fyrsdän > *Fyrdsdän. Metathesis is a widespread feature in Old and Middle English and as such it could have taken place here. But again, there are no early forms to suggest that this is the case, contrary to e.g. Fresdon W which is Fersedon in 1263 (Eykall 1936:116).

Finally, the variation of the first vowel is fully in accordance with the
different Old English spellings of Frīsa ‘Frisian’. Only Fruston 1347 seems to be out of harmony, but this is a relatively late example.

Taking the above arguments into consideration, it will become clear that there are at least two alternative etymologies for Friston (4.1.7.). And if a choice must be made *Fris(an)tuôn seems to be the most obvious, since it entails fewer conjectures. There are seven other place-names of the type Frīs- + tuôn to support this conclusion.

Apparently, it is a risky business for philologists to make assumptions without adding some corroborative evidence. Thus Ekwall (1936:115-6) may be correct in taking the etymology of Farsley YW to be ‘furze-covered lea’. Early forms are: Ferseleia, Ferseleil 1086 DB, Ferselee 1203 FF, Ferseley 13 Calverney, Fersley 1203 Cur, Frislay Ed 3 Calverney (Smith 1961c:xi, 228-30). In spite of the last form showing metathesis and i which could point to an underlying OE Frīs-, all the other forms are in favour of an OE fyrs-, on the unlikely assumption that unrounding of [y] > [e] took place north of the Humber (cf. Smith 1959).

In his discussion of Freseley (sic!) Wa – for early forms see 4.1.8. – Ekwall (1936:116) comments: “Identical with Farsley YWR, though with metathesis of the r”. All forms, though, could just as well indicate an OE *Frīsanleah, as I take it. The combination of tribal name + leah also occurs in e.g. Hastingleigh K and Aylege K (see DEPN).

The same procedure by which Farsley YW is equated with Freasley Wa is applied by Ekwall (1936:116) to Fersefield NF and Fressingfield SF. Early records of the former are Fersefield c. 1035 (14) Wils, Ferseuellia 1086 DB, Fersefelde 1212 Fees. For early forms of Fressingfield, see 4.1.6.3. Both names are explained by Ekwall as ‘open land covered with furze, furze-covered field’. The etymology of Fressingfield would be: “OE fyrsana ðeal . . . First element OE fyrsan ‘covered with furze’. This adjective is not given by Bosworth-Toller (1898) or Tollor (1921), but entered in Campbell (1972) as *fyrsen ‘growing with furze’ based on the authority of EPNE (I: 190). It is one of the instances where the study of place-names has enriched our knowledge of the Old English vocabulary. The noun is turned into an adjective by the suffix -en ‘characterized by, growing with, overgrown with, made of’. It is sensible, though, to remain somewhat sceptical in this case, for taking Fressingfield to mean ‘furze-covered field’ excludes the possibility of *Frēsingalefd or *Frēsanfelde ‘the open land of the Frisian(s)’, against which interpretation I see no serious objections. On the contrary, the forms seem to point to such an etymology, as was assumed by Skcoat (1913:26). The DEPN does not present this alternative.

One last word on metathesis must be said here. From the inventory it appears that metathesis only took place occasionally in Frismarsh (4.1.9.1.) and Frizinghall (4.1.9.2.). There is always ample evidence in these cases, however, to reject a *fyrs-/*fyrsen as a possible etymology for the first element.

Several field-names occur of the type Friesland/Friesezeland throughout England, especially in the north, most of which are recorded for the first time in the last few centuries. In Gloucestershire, e.g., there is a Friezeland Brake, mentioned in the previous century as Furze Land 1841 TA (Smith 1964:194). In this case it seems quite obvious that Friezeland originally designated ‘furze-covered land’. Because of the absence of early forms of the place-names in general, it is hard to decide whether they derive from OE *FYR(an)land ‘land of the Frisian(s)’ or OE *fyrsland ‘land growing with furze’, although the latter seems the most likely to me, since the Anglo-Saxons probably reserved Friseland to indicate Frisia. Whatever it may be, I do not think it very safe to use these names for conclusive evidence of Frisian settlements in Anglo-Saxon England. For that reason I have not included them in this survey.

6. Analysis of the terminal elements

6.1. The Anglo-Saxon terminal elements

In this section the terminal elements of the place-names and the nature of the settlement, where relevant, will be discussed. Such a study will eventually reveal the probable date of the places in question and hopefully settle the more than fifty-year-old problem of Frisian place-names as evidence of a Frisian participation in the Germanic invasions of Britain.

The terminal elements can readily be divided into two groups, viz. 1) denoting habitation and 2) denoting the topographical situation.

Habitation element: tuôn (9x)

Topographical element: feld (1x), halh (1x), hám(m) (2x), (ge)hég (1x), hyrst (1x), leah (1x), mēd (1x), merse (1x)

6.1.1. tuôn ‘an enclosure, a farmstead, an estate, a village’. So Friston and its variants mean ‘the enclosure, etc., of the Frisian(s).’ The EPNE calls tuôn “by far the commonest element in English place-names” and this statement tallies well with the above figure. The occurrence of this word in both Old English and Old Norse could make it problematic to decide whether a place-name compounded with this element dates from before or after the Viking settlements in England. But, as EPNE II:192-3 shows, the element often may very well be OE tuôn linked with an initial Old Norse element, the so-called ‘Grimston-hybrid’. Sometimes the initial element is the Old Norse cognate of the original Old English element. Since ON tuôn appears to have come into disuse as an active place-name element before the start of the Viking era (Jensen 1972:1), it is very unlikely that the etymology of ModE -ton should be reduced to ON tuôn.

About the age of the Friston type of place-names Stenton (1940:4-5) has said that they ‘may have arisen at any time between the sixth and tenth century’. The EPNE II:191 goes even further than
were not contested in the case of our Fristons, the earliest record of which dates from c. 995, while most of them are recorded for the first time in the Doomsday Book.

Summarizing, Stenton’s assumption that Friston and its variants cannot be adduced as conclusive evidence of early Frisian settlements appears on the whole to be true, although on different grounds. How then should one explain the occurrences of ‘the Frisian’? There is a theoretical possibility that OE Frīsa should be taken as a personal name, but no such name, according to Searle (1897), is recorded for the Old English period. A dithematic Fresnotus, the name of a Kentish monk, is found, but since Frísnoth also is a Flemish name (Gysseling-Koch 1950:128), the Kentish Fresnotus may well have been an ‘imported’ Flemish monk. Especially in the eleventh century there is an increase in contacts between Flanders and England (Kirby 1967: 266). Personal names compounded with Frēs-/Frīs- were not found, and if they were to be said to have flourished at all, they did so among the Old Saxons of the Continent (Droege 1966:171).

In the ASC sub anno 897 (Parker MS) are mentioned among the victims of a sea-battle against the Vikings: ‘...Wulfheard Frīsa, ond AEbbe Frīsa, ond AEðelherð Frīsa ...’. The Frīsa here functions as a further qualification of the personal names. In a sense they are the precursors of the ModDu surname De Vries, i.e. The Frisian. In a discussion of the name of the Frisians Kuhn (1972) pays special attention to the Old English material. He would suggest that Frīsa indicates a certain rank on analogy with ASC 894: ‘... AEþeræd ealdormon ond AEþelm ealdormon ond AEþelnoþ ealdormon ...’. Frīsa ‘Frisian’ is excluded by him, not only on grounds of orthography, but also because it is more logical than Frīsa ‘a rank’.

In the main, ‘the Frīsa of the Frīsian(s)’ seems to point to a comparatively late date, certainly after the settlement period, and is to be explained as a ‘manorial’ name. Other occurrences of the place-name type of tribal name + tun strongly plead in favour of such a solution. Conderton Wo (Cantuaretun 875 BCS 541) is a Kentish settlement in Mercia, Exton Ha (at East Saxonatuine 940 BCS 758) must be interpreted as an East Saxon settlement in Hampshire (cf. Saxton Ca, YW, DEPN).

Frisington (4.1.1.) deserves our special attention, because its earliest recorded form is Frisingaton. For more than a century place-names ending in -inges or compounded of -inga- terminal element were held to be the oldest English place-names dating from the Germanic conquest of Britain. One of the most remarkable results of English place-name studies of the last decade is that this ‘-ingsa theory’ showed serious lacunas. Pioneer was Dodgson (1966) who was struck by the anomalies of the distribution of pagan burial-sites and the distribution of -ingas and -inga- place-names. These two could by no means be reconciled. In his study he considered the material of South East England and found that the -ingas and -inga- names belonged to a later period than was generally assumed. Splitting up the period of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest into an immigration and a settlement period, he concluded that the -ingas, -inga- names belonged mainly to the settlement period. Although he called his study ‘an experiment’, recent investigations have proved his theory to be very fruitful (Cox 1973, Kuurman 1974). In the case of Frisington it appears to be just as valid. Even though there are some other -inga- place-names in Cumberland, mainly along the coast, not a trace is left there of pagan burial-sites. The absence of these burials is easily explained by the fact that Cumberland was conquered by the Northumbrians only in the eighth century, i.e. more than three centuries after the arrival of the Germanic invaders, at a time when they had at least been partly converted to Christianity. Besides, Cox (1976:65) has shown that the compound element -ingthus in general belongs after c. 730.

6.1.2. feld ‘open country’ as opposed to woodland or fenland. It seems that feld indicated a larger tract of land than leah (6.1.7.) did, but the names are not mutually exclusive and in fact often go
together, *leah* being the common word. As a place-name element it was in use from early times, but in the West Country and West Midlands less frequently than in South East England. For the combination of tribal name + *feld*, compare Archenfield He, Redlingfield St, Englefield Brk, Sr (DEPN).

6.1.3. *halh* 'a nook, a corner of land, a water-meadow'. This is a common element, very often compounded with a personal name.

6.1.4. *ham(m)le*. The difficulty with this place-name form is that it can either indicate the element *hám* 'a village, estate, manor, homestead' or *hamm* 'a bend in a river, a river-meadow, an enclosure'. Dodgson (1973) has shown that *hamm* comprises a larger range of meanings than was hitherto thought. (For a somewhat contrary view see Sandred 1976). One clue in distinguishing *hám* from *hamm* is the orthography. The Old English and Middle English spellings *ham, hamm, homm, ham(m)e, hom(m)e* which show the geminated consonant or the dat.sg. *e* inflexion indicate *hamm*. Where spelling criteria fail, the topographical situation can be decisive. For Freezingham (4.1.3.1.) Dodgson (1973:7) assumes an underlying *hamm* on topographical evidence, although early forms would rather suggest a *hám*. In South East England *hám* seems to belong to the period after the Anglo-Saxon immigrations and Freezingham is well away from the pagan burial areas in Kent.

Judging by the map, *hamm* is most probably the etymology of *ham* in Frizenham (4.1.2.). Against an early date for this place argues the relatively late conquest of Devon by the West Saxons, a process not completed before 836.

6.1.5. *Kt (ge)hég* 'a fence, an enclosure' or possibly *Kt heg* 'hay, mowing grass'. If a choice must be made, a *Fresingehég* seems the best interpretation to me. The place-name then would mean 'fenced-in land called at Fresing(e)', i.e. the place called after the Frisian. One may wonder how this *Fresing(e)* eventually became French, but Dodgson (1967b:372-3) has convincingly shown that in certain *-inga* place-names in England there are traces of an old locative. For French Hay he reconstructs the following development: first the locative *Fresing* 'at Fresing' *fresing*2, then through a process of metathesis *frent*3 > *frent*2 > *frent*1 > *frent*1- or *frent* in *frent*. The same process took place in Frenchhurst (4.1.3.3.).

6.1.6. *hyrst* Kt *herst* 1) 'a hillock, a bank' 2) 'a cope, a wooded eminence'. It is a common place-name element, although not very often compounded with personal names and other words denoting ownership. Freezingham, Frenchhurst and French Hay are situated remarkably close to each other and yet the distance between them is great enough not to suppose that these places at one time referred to the same Frisian. Through lack of textual or archaeological evidence nothing definite can be said about them, but the possibility should not be excluded beforehand that we have to do here with a small Frisian 'colony'. It is interesting to note that all three places are situated at the end of hill-spurs jutting out into what is now reclaimed land, but what must have been tidal marshland in the days of the Anglo-Saxons. A nice speculation would be that these places once were naval bases of Frisians working for King Alfred (see section 7), since they could easily be reached by flat-bottomed vessels. A similar kind of 'colony' is constituted by the three Fristons in Yorkshire of which the early individual records suggest they are three separate settlements.

6.1.7. *leah* 'a wood, a clearing in a wood'. This element is extremely common. Dodgson (1966:5) has tentatively suggested that names such as *burna* 'stream', *leah* and *feld* are the first to be used by settlers in a new land. They could well be older than names indicating habitation such as *hám* and *tun*. Gelling (1974:101) points out that at least in the West Midlands *leah* and *feld* have a quasihabitative significance, while Johansson (1975:28) shows that about 25 percent of the place-names ending in *leah* have a habitative meaning. Freasley for that reason could be a relatively old settlement, also in view of its relation to Margary lb, but it is well away from pagan burials. A further investigation of the distribution of place-names in *leah* is wanted before a decisive pronouncement as to the date of Freasley can be made.

6.1.8. *mede* acc.sg < OE *mæd* or Kt, Angl. *med* 'a meadow, a piece of grassland kept for mowing'. This is a very common element in Old, Middle and Modern English field-names. It is somewhat surprising to find this seemingly Anglian form in a West Saxon area. For the loss of -w- in *mede*, see Campbell (1959:596).

6.1.9. *mersc*, *merts* 'watery land, a marsh'. Smith (1937:24-5) suggested a post-Conquest date for this place on the basis of the Anglo-Norman forms *mareis, -eys, -ays* < OE *mareis*. Ekwall (1953:152), though, pointed out that Smith had overlooked the form *Frisamersc* which precedes the Anglo-Norman forms in date. Whether his explanation, that the place refers to a shipwreck in which Frisians were involved, is right I cannot say. It is at least more imaginative than Smith's assumption that the place alludes to a Frisian trading-post. Concentrations of Frisian traders are more likely to be found in the more important trading centres of Anglo-Saxon England, such as York, London, and possibly *Hamwih* (Southampton, although the last one mainly had commercial ties with France).
6.2. The Scandinavian terminal elements

6.2.1. This element either represents OD bjœ or ON bjïr 'a farmstead, a village'. It is one of the commonest place-name elements in the Danelaw, in particular in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Yorkshire. And these are exactly the three counties in which the five Fris-/Firsby's are found. The Old Norse for Frisians is Frisir, gen.pl. Frīsa (Claesby-Vigfusson 1957), so that Frisaby and the like must be explained as 'farmstead or village of the Frisians'.

6.2.2. þorp 'a secondary settlement, a dependent outlying farmstead or hamlet'. Cameron (1975) has extensively shown that most place-names ending in -thorpe are situated on second choice soil and indicate a late occupation of lands by the Scandinavian settlers after the more profitable sites had been claimed. Most probably Fries-thorpe must be thought of as a colony of East or West Frisby which is about 9 kms. west of Friesborough.

7. Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England

In this section an attempt will be made to consider the textual evidence of Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England from the seventh century onwards. The result may support the several pointers we have discovered so far that certain place-names are the consequence of Frisian settlements some centuries after the Germanic invasions.

First of all, then, we must think of Frisian traders who virtually possessed a monopoly in the transit traffic between the mainland of North-West Europe and England (Jellemann 1955; Ellmers 1972:17-29). Especially Dorestad and Tiel, but also Domburg on the Island of Walcheren (Capelle 1976:42-3), lay on the vital route from the prosperous Rhine land to Britain. Through their strategic positions these towns developed into important stapelplaces. Perhaps most significant is the case of the sceatta. This originally English coinage of the second half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries was also struck in Frisia and found its way back into England (McTavish 1977). Bede (HE IV, 22) mentions a Frisian slave-trader who had his basis in London. After a short time he returned to Utrecht a deacon. Gregory soon recognized his talents and Liudger was allowed to revisit York. Having completed his studies there he was ordained priest. All in all he spent three and a half years in England. Through the Life of St. Liudger we know of the existence of quite a sizeable colony of Frisians in the archiepiscopal town of Northumbria (Vita Liudgardi, i, 10-1; Diekamp 1881).

Some 150 years later, during the turbulent reign of King Alfred the Great (871-899), Frisians play a role of some importance on the Anglo-Saxon political scene. Alfred’s biographer, bishop Asser, (Stevenson 1904) tells us that:

Franci autem multi, Frisones, Galli, pagani (= Vikings), Britones, et Scotti, Armorici (= Bretons) sponte se suo dominio subdiderant nobiles scilicet et ignobiles; quos omnes sicut suam propriam gentem, secundum suam dignitatem regebat, diligebat, honorabat, pecuni et potestate ditebat. Vita Alfredi 76, 1.11ff. (And many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, Vikings, Welsh, Scots and Bretons submitted to his authority of their own free will, noblemen as well as commoners; and just like his own people he ruled them all in accordance with his own dignity, loved them and honoured them with money and legal rights.)

Brief mention has been made (6.1.1.) of the fact that Alfred employed Frisian sailors in his navy. It need not be surprising that he engaged foreigners for his military campaigns, since this is a recurrent phenomenon in the Middle Ages. Especially, young men left their native lands to gain experience, wealth and glory. One may think, e.g., of the Varangian Guard in Constantine's Historia (Jones 1968:266), or, nearer home, of King Athelstan’s use (and misuse) of Norsemen in his wars against the Vikings. One of the pagani, as Asser called them, enters the floodlights in the Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius’s History. In this lively addition to the Latin text the account of the Norwegian Ohthere is introduced as follows: ‘Ohthere seade his hlaþorfe, Ælfredes cyninge, þat he calra Norðmonna norþmest bude’. (Ohthere told his lord, King Alfred, that he dwelt northernmost of all Norwegians.) (Sweet 1883:17). But probably the best-known example comes from poetry: the Gæt Beowulf who, with a small band of fellow-
countrymen, comes to the assistance of the Danish king Hrothgar, or, as
the hero himself voiced this ideal in a proverbial saying:

Feor-cyfðe beód
selran gesohte þæm þe him selfa deah! (ll. 1838b-9)
(Foreign countries are visited most profitably by one who has
character.)

In the same entry of the ASC 896 the Chronicler informs us of Alfred's
activities in what seems to be an early version of our modern arms race:

þa het Ælfræð cyng timbran lang scipu ongen da æscað; þa wæoran
fulneah tu swa lang swa þa oðru; suma hæðdon LX ara, sume ma;
þa wæron ægðer ge swiftran ge unweALTAN, ge ec hieran þonne þa
oðru. Ñærun návínder ne on Fresisc gescæpene ne on Denise, bute
swa hie sylfum palhte þæt hie nytwyrðost beon meahen.
(Then King Alfred commanded warships to be built as a match for
the Viking ships; they were almost twice as long as the others; some
were equipped with sixty oars, some with more. They were both
faster and steadier as well as higher than the others. They were
neither constructed after the Frisian design nor after the Danish,
but as the King thought in such a way that they could be most
effective.)

It would be very tantalizing to suggest on the basis of this passage that
Frisian shipwrights were working in the shipyards of King Alfred (cf.
Whitelock 1974:70; Stevenson 1904:101). The Frisian model mentioned
here probably was a predecessor of the popular Hansa boat, the kogge
(Jellem 1955:32; Ellmers 1972:63ff.). In view of the above, particularly
the reference in Asser, the possibility cannot be dismissed that King
Alfred, if not other English kings, granted land to Frisians in return for
the services they rendered him (cf. Whitelock 1955:268 n.1).

It is also very possible that Frisians found a permanent home in Eng-
land after they had married an English girl. This is after all one of the
most frequent reasons for individual foreigners to settle in a guest country.
Such an explanation would at the same time offer a key for a better
understanding of what are probably the most often-quoted lines of
Maxims I (Shipley 1976). In this poem, which is a concatenation of
gnomic and proverbial sayings, we read:

Scip sceal genægled, scyld gebunden,
leoht linden bord. Leof wilcuma
Frysan wife, þonne flota stondeð.
Bīp his ceol cumen ond hyre ceorl to ham,
agen ætgeofa, ond heo hine in ladað,
wæscðe his warig hrael ond ham syleð waede niwe,
lið him on londe þæs his lufu bæðe. ll. 23-9.
(A ship is riveted, a shield, the bright linden wood, is lashed with
hides. The Frisian's wife is glad to see the arrival she has wished
for, when his ship is drawn up. His boat has come and her husband
is at home, her own breadwinner. She calls him in, washes his dirty
clothes and gives him fresh ones, giving him on the land what his
love demands.)

This passage is remarkable in that it is the only example in gnostic poetry
in which a member of a Germanic tribe is mentioned. The question must
be asked here why the poet of Maxims I took the Frisian's wife as an
e xample of marital harmony and the natural performance of domestic
duties (cf. Whitbread 1946). No other solution seems more at hand than
an association of scip sceal genægled with a shipwright and hence a
Frisian sailor.

Krogmann's attempt (1964; 1971:165-7, followed by Markary 1976b:
239) to prove an Old Frisian origin for these seven lines from Maxims I
seems highly incredible, however ingenious his hypothesis may be. It is
therefore little surprising that his efforts have found hardly any response.
The scanty evidence we have of Old English poetical translations from
another Germanic language, viz. the OS Genesis, into Old English rather
suggests that the Anglo-Saxons did not practise a word for word translation
method. A justification for the Frisian's presence in the poem is not to
be found in an Old Frisian original, but in the Anglo-Saxon predilection
for detail (Shippey 1972:154), which puts the Frisian sailor, as a picture
of 'everyday reality' (Shippey 1976:17), rightfully in his place within
the structure of Maxims I.

Five Old English poems or fragments of poems have been preserved
which deal with subject matter from the Heroic Age. These are Beowulf
(Klaeber 1950), The Finnsburh Fragment (sometimes called The Fight
at Finnsburh) (Fry 1974), Widsith (Chambers 1912), Deor (Malone 1977),
and Waldere (Norman 1948). (Possibly six, if one includes Alfred's addition
to the Metres of Boethius I, 1-84 (Kropp 1932) in which the sacking
of Rome by the Goths is described). Three out of these five poems have
the Frisians play a part in the narrative, ranging from two brief mentions
in the encyclopedic Widsith (Chambers 1912):

Fin Folcwalding (weold) Fresna cyinne. l. 27
(Finn Folcwalding [ruled] the race of the Frisians.)

and

Mid Froncum ic was ond mid Frysum . . . l. 68a
(With the Franks I was and with the Frisians . . .)

to The Fight at Finnsburh, a fragment of some forty-five lines describing
a fight between the Danes under their leader Hnael and Frisians in the
hall of their king Finn. In the longest Germanic heroic poem, Beowulf,
not only is a version given, as a song in a song, of the fight between
the Jutes and the Frisians (ll. 1068-1159), but on four different occasions
we hear about a raid of the Geatish king Hycelac into the territory of
the Frisians and Franks. Especially the two versions of the Finnsburh fight
have led to the speculation that part of the Beowulf-story, or even the
entire story, was introduced to the Anglo-Saxons by Frisian traders (e.g.
Fenger 1936:73-4; a highly speculative study of supposedly Frisian
influences in East-Anglia is Homans 1957:189-206). We do not e.g.
attribute Waldere to Aquitanian traders or Deor to a joint embassy of Scandinavian and Gothic travellers in England. And what to think of Widsith? The heroic stories of the Migration Age were common property to all Germanic peoples. For that reason it is not at all necessary to assume Frisian intermediaries for the transmission of Beowulf or The Finnsburh Fragment.

A curious aspect of the Frisian king Finn is that he also seems to figure in some Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies (Sisam 1953). In most West-Saxon pedigrees he appears as the son of a certain Godwulf. In Nennius’s Historia cap. 31 (Lot 1934), however, we read in the oldest MS: ‘... Fran (for Finn), filii Folcpald (for Folcwald) ...’. Sisam, with his characteristic scepticism, rightly questions whether Finn Godwulfing is the same as Finn Folcwalding. A Finn Folcwalding supported by heroic tradition would not easily have been superseded by a Finn Godwulfing of whom nothing is known to us (Sisam 1953:311). A possible solution for this problem has been offered by Hans Kuhn (1972). He argued that Folcwald, the father of Finn in the Beowulf and Widsith tradition, was not a personal name, but an epitheton ornans ‘ruler of the army’. As such it would be parallel with OE folkcyning ‘owner of people’, folkcyning ‘king of the people’, folctoga ‘leader of the people’ and the like, all used to describe kings. But as far as I know none of these epitheta occurs with the patronymic -ing. The temptation to equate Finn Godwulfing with Folcwalding is great, for it would provide the West-Saxon dynasty with a legendary Frisian ancestry (contra e.g. Oman 1929:219). But on the whole it is safer to refrain from such speculations, and pronounce an ignoramus.

8. Frisians in Anglo-Scandinavian England

As appears from the Inventory (4.2.) seven place-names occur compounded with a Scandinavian terminal element. Smith (1956:187) assumed a Frisian participation in the Viking raids and subsequent settlements to explain their occurrence. It is the object of this chapter to see whether Smith was right, and if possibly any more arguments could be brought in to settle this problem. For a problem it is, so it seems.

Although recent studies on the Vikings do mention commercial contacts between Frisians and Vikings (e.g. Jones 1968:460; Foote 1970:98, 213; McGregor 1978:37, 39, 53), as well as Viking expeditions to Frisia (Jones 1968:460; Sawyer 1971:209), none of them, to my knowledge, seems to know of a Frisian share in the Scandinavian settlements in Britain, not even Loyn (1977). And yet one cannot deny that the evidence of the Frisian place-names in the Danelaw seems to be witness of such a participation. In fact, the same problem arises here as we have seen with the Anglo-Saxon occupation of Britain: only one near-contemporary historical source has come down to us in which we find confirmed that Frisians and Vikings were fighting shoulder to shoulder, viz. the eleventh century Annales Lindisfarneenses (MGH XIX:502 ff.). Sub anno 855 we read that a Viking army, consisting of Dani et Frisones, hibernated on the Isle of Sheppey, but to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicler (855) they are just hæðne men ‘heathen men’. In view of the Annales one would expect that the Frisians constituted a considerable number of the Viking army, otherwise they had not been mentioned separately. On the other hand, by the middle of the ninth century the Frisians had at least for some generations been Christians. If they had been prominent the Chronicler would not have hesitated to mention them, being much closer to the spot than the Annalist. This is what he does in 885, when he reports about a Viking battle in Saxony in which ‘pa Seaxan hæðon sige, ond þær wæren Frisian mid’ (the Saxons were victorious, assisted by Frisians).

Thirteen years later, the Lindisfarne Annalist becomes quite vivid when he comes to relate of the turbulent events in his own region. The Northumbrian kings Osberht and Ælla desperately attempted in 868 (867) to frustrate the assaults of the Vikings (Dani) on York: ‘Set non multo post dominico palmarum ab Ubba duce Fresonum populus pene totum Norþan-hymborum occisus est cum suis regibus’ (But not long after Palm Sunday almost the entire Northumbrian nation with its kings was slaughtered by Ubba the leader of the Frisians). The conquest of York was part of a devastating campaign started by a mycel hæðen here ‘great heathen army’ in East-Anglia in the autumn of 865 and which lasted until well into the seventies of that century. The leaders of this army seem to have been Ingwar (Ivar) and Healfdene (Halfdan), the sons of Ragnar Loðbrok (Stenton 1971:246). From the Chronicle (878) we know that the two had a brother who is usually identified as Ubba/Ubbi, because the F-version of the Chronicle mentions Ingwar and Ubba as the murderers of the East-Saxon king Eadmund in 870. Because F is a late eleventh-century MS. Stenton (1971:246n.) regards this statement ‘too late to have independent authority’. This would indeed be the case were it not for the fact that F is corroborated by earlier sources. In his Life of St. Edmund (Winterbottom 1972), written about 985-7, Abbo of Fleury mentions Ubba (Hubba) and Ingwar (Hinguar) as the leaders of the great heathen army (chaps. 4, 5), but he also explicitly states that they are Dani. Although Abbo wrote more than a century after the martyrdom of Eadmund, we know from the preface to his Life that he had heard the story from Dunstan, the archbishop of Canterbury, who must have been over seventy by that time. Dunstan himself had heard it as a young boy from an old man who had been in the king’s company at the time of his death. Abbo confirms that Ubba and Ingwar had been in Northumbria and had left the province almost depopulated (chap. 5, 25-8). Knowing that the scribe of F mainly utilized the A and E versions of the Chronicle, but also employed Canterbury sources (Whitelock 1961:xvii), there seems good reason to suppose that he had had access either to the Life of St.Edmund — be it the original or Ælfric’s Old English translation (Skeat 1890: 314ff.) — or to some other Canterbury tradition concerning Eadmund’s death.

Considering the above all odds seem to be against the Annales Lindis-
famines as for their witness of a Frisian participation in the Viking ranks. And yet they are the only historical straw one can catch at.

In order to secure their testimony a different line may be followed which inevitably entails some speculations. Ubba dux Fresonum, as we have seen, cannot have been a Frisian himself, and it also seems doubtful for the men whose leader he was. It might be possible, though, that his men were not Frisians proper, but had made a name for themselves in Frisia. The wealthy coastal district was a recurrent target for the Vikings from about 800 until well into the eleventh century. Frankish kings even set up petty Viking counties as a buffer against the pirate activities of their former fellows, but this never resulted in a permanent settlement (Halbertsma 1965:81 ff; Besteman 1971; Blok 1978). Now Ubba might have come to England by way of Frisia, and to distinguish his men from Frisians proper, we might call them 'Frieslanders', i.e. Norsemen who have come from Frisia. This line offers a solution for the Frisby's, analogous to that of the Irby's, which are so abundant in the Danelaw. No one would interpret Irby as 'the settlement of the Irishman', but as 'the settlement of the Norseman who came from Ireland'. Six out of the seven Scandinavian-Frisian place-names are to be found in the Five Boroughs. The land of this district was shared out to the members of the micel here by Healfdene, a brother of Ubba, as we have seen. It would be interesting to know whether the distribution of land happened according to a certain pattern in which the origin of the individual Viking played a part. As appears from the Inventory (4.2.1.1-2), place-names compounded with a 'tribal' name can often be found in the neighbourhood of a Frisian/Frieslandish settlement.

A rather different approach has been followed by Hald (1951), in a paper addressed to the Third International Congress of Toponymy and Anthroponymy in Brussels 1949. Reading his contribution one cannot escape the impression that Hald follows a retrograde way of reasoning. His final object is the explanation of two Middle English words, showing supposedly Frisian traces. They are gadyste 'dry ground as opposed to marsh' -parallel to OFris gest, gast and greive, greive in the compounds fengreive, wdegraeve 'manorial officer' -parallel to MDu dijckgrave 'official surveyor of the dikes'. To support his hypothesis he drastically excludes a number of Frisian place-names as being non-Frisian on various grounds, until he is left with ten places, all within the Danelaw. Faithful to their nature, Hald almost seems to imply, the Frisian Vikings became a dike-building population in the English fenlands and so enriched the English language with two more words. However, such an explanation is very unlikely, once we know that the Frisians in their homelands did not start building dikes on any large scale until the twelfth century (Boersma 1972:64). Moreover, in section 3 it was shown that it is not feasible to argue the presence of Frisians in England on basis of the English language, unless one can adduce solid phonological arguments or more than just two doubtful examples, as was already argued in the discussion following Hald's paper (Hald 1951:631-2). Even though Hald (1959:645) does not appear to have been convinced by his colleagues, it is the absence of these two conditions that makes his contribution useless for a solution of our problem.

If a Frisian origin of these place-names should be maintained, I would suggest that they must be ascribed to individual Frisians. In the first place one might think of adventurers, looking for plunder and new land. As a matter of fact the Vikings, whatever their nationality may have been, were not only pirates, but also farmers. This is subtly indicated by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle when it writes sub anno 876: 'Onid by geare Healfdene Norpanhybrom Lund gededege ond ergende waeren (i.e. the Vikings) ond hiera tilgende' (In this year Healfdene shared out Northumbria and they plowed it and started to live from it). In the second place these place-names may be the result of Viking practices for which the Twentieth Frisian Landlaw made a number of provisions. I will quote it in full to show the impact of the Viking terror of Frisian legislation:

Thet istet tuintegeste londriucht: Hwene sa Northmen nimat ande hine ur sine willa and ur sine wald bindath and utlendes ledat ende hia tha thorpe enna scatha duat, men slath ieftha fath, thet thorp bermat ieftha (wif) nede nimat, ande binn fittene iorum to londe come ande mugu bikenma sin lond and sine liude, sinne ethel and sin erwe an sinnera eldera statha, sa fare hi ende sin ein god uert liudsceldc. Ac ief ma him bitigie, thet hi hebbe binn tha thorpe hus geberner ieftha mon eslein, vif benet ieftha othere morthdeda den, sa spreke hi, thettet elle wer se, hwande therumbe ni ach hi te fellane asega dom ni sceltata bon ni liuda wirde, thruth thet thi dede, alsa him sin hera bad, thia hi scale was; ande hi ach to betane and te fellane, ief hit hebbia mei, mith sines vnruchtta hera fia alne tichta, ther ma him toset; ac ief hi het hebbia ni mugue, thet sines vnruchtta hera fia, sa mot hi wesa forn alla clamgu fri. H III, 20 (Buma 1969).

This is the twentieth landlaw: In case the Vikings take a captive and fetter him against his will and power and carry him abroad, and they do damage to the village, kill men or capture them, burn down the village or rape women, and he returns home within fifteen years and is still able to recognize his land and his people, his tribal possessions and his heritage and his parents' farmstead, then he should take possession of his own property without paying recompense to the people. But in case he is accused of having burnt down houses in the village or killed men, raped women or committed suchlike evil deeds, then he should say that it is all true. For he need not pay the verdict of the asega (legal official), nor the ban of the people, because he only did what his master told him, when he was his servant. And all the charges that are brought against him, must be paid by him from the booty of his unlawful master, if he happens to have such. But if he does not
happen to have any of his unlawful master's booty, he should be exempt of all charges.)

From this law (cp. the Third Landlaw and the Fourteenth Privilege, H II, 14), which originated from the second half of the eleventh century (Algra 1966:60-1), it becomes evident that Frisians were sometimes abducted by the Vikings and forced to fight on their side. They even were allowed to profit from the plunder -sines variúchte here fin'. It seems more than probable that not all Frisians who had thus joined the Vikings would have returned to their homesteads. They may also have started a new life somewhere else. The Frisian place-names in the Danelaw may very well be an indication of this.

9. Anglo-Saxons and Frisian geography

Some concluding remarks will be made here about the knowledge of the Anglo-Saxons about Frisia in as far as we can reconstruct this from the available written evidence. This is important because some misunderstandings about the geographical and political situation of Frisia persist with modern scholars of Old English literature. In one respect such a misunderstanding may be attributed to the confusing distribution of the name Friesland today, witnessing the extensiveness of medieval Frisia.

At the present there are four areas carrying the name of Friesland. West Friesland, a district in the Dutch province of Noord-Holland and bordering on the IJsselmeer - the former Zuyder Zee - was separated from the rest of Frisia by the ever increasing Zuyder Zee. By the end of the thirteenth century the Counts of Holland succeeded in annexing it after a struggle which had lasted for tens of years. But the fact that this part was cut off by the sea from the Frisian mainland eventually proved to be to the advantage of the Hollanders. One of the residences of the Frisian kings, Medemblik, was in this district.

Travelling from West Friesland across the IJsselmeer dam we arrive in the province of Friesland in the North-West of the Netherlands (sometimes called Middle Friesland by Frisian scholars, see Sjolin 1969:2. Much in these paragraphs was taken from this short but informative introduction to the study of Frisian). In this province about half a million people speak Modern Frisian, the descendant of Old Frisian which together with Old English, Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian formed the group of the North Sea Germanic languages.

The province of Friesland is separated by that of Groningen from East Friesland (Ostfriesland), a district in the German state of Lower Saxony (Niedersachsen). Apart from a small Frisian speaking community in Saterland the Frisian language has been superseded there by Low and High German. Finally there is the district of North Friesland (Nordfriesland) on the west coast of the state Schleswig-Holstein, just under the Danish border. Scattered over some islands and the coastal area Frisian dialects are spoken there by some 10.000 people.

In connection with Beowulf-studies the present-day distribution of the Frisians has often been projected into the Dark Ages. In doing so the Frisians of Finn are said to be either North Frisians (but cf. Jørgensen 1946 passim) or East Frisians (e.g. Wyatt 1920:169; edition 1952; Klaeber 1950:232; Wrenn 1973:44; Alexander 1973:174; Fry 1974:81). Now Tacitus (Lindauer 1967) already distinguished between Greater and Lesser Frisians:

A fronte Frisii excipiant, maioribus minoribusque Frisii vocabulum est ex modo virum. Utraque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur ambiunque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatur. Germania, 34. (On the northern border live the Frisi who are called the Greater and the Lesser Frisi according to the measure of their strength. Both tribes dwell on either bank of the Rhine down to the sea and their territory also includes vast lakes which have been navigated by the Roman navy.)

By the time of the English missionary activities Frisia emerges as a much larger country than it had been in Roman times. It stretched from the Sinecal (near the mouth of the Westerschelde on the border with Belgium) to the mouth of the Weser in Germany and seemed to have formed a political unity (cf. Russchen 1967:9, 51, 56), Therefore it is not necessary to make Finn king of the East Frisians and to link the so-called West-Frisians with the Franks, as has been done by e.g Klaeber (1950:xxxix-xl) and Wrenn (1973:295). The fact that in Widsith (line 68) the Frisians are mentioned in one breath with the Franks does not so much indicate that these two peoples formed a political alliance at one time, but rather that they were somehow related to each other in heroic lore. Of course, the fatal raid of the Geatish king Hygelac into Frisia and his eventual defeat by Frisians and Franks may have led scholars to invent East and West Frisians in the Beowulf-context, but this is not at all necessary.

The Beowulf-poet clearly brings out that the raid in the first place was directed against the Frisians (ll. 1207a and 2914b-5). Once arrived there Hygelac's band probably ventured further inland along the Rhine, met with Frankish forces, and was eventually utterly crushed through the combined military efforts of Frisians, Franks, and Hetrwari. (An imaginatively but somewhat speculatively geographical and historical reconstruction of Hygelac's itinerary is Magoun 1953 and 1954).

A strange detail which I think has not sufficiently been noticed is the relationship between Dæghrefn, the Frankish champion, and the anonymous Frisian king (ll. 2502-4). Do we have to assume a Frankish warrior in the cornitatus of the Frisian king? As such his position could be compared with that of Beowulf, who, just like his father Ecstheow before him, fought for the Danish king Hrothgar (l. 472a). Or did the Frankish monarch at that time, in causa Theuderic, already have suzerainty over the Frisians? That Gregory of Tours does not mention Frisians in his account of Hygelac's raid and defeat is not so surprising. There are more
differences between the story as we find it in *The History of Franks*, III, 3 (Thorpe 1974), compared to that of *Beowulf*. In Gregory Chlochilaicus (= Hygelac) is a Danish king who invades Gaul, not a Geatish king who invades Frisia. But after all, from a Frankish point of view, it is more glorious to omit the help of others and to demand the victory only for oneself. From the *Beowulf*-text we could even infer that this Frisian king had supremacy over the Franks, at least in the Low Countries. Whatever it may be, the paucity of evidence does not allow anything more than some speculations.

The political situation in Frisia changes when in the middle of the seventh century the Franks begin to press northwards to the Rhine. During the reign of Pippin II (687-714) the border between the two realms seems to have been established along what is now the Oude and Kromme Rijn. It was by no means a secure border. King Redbad, the last independent Frisian king as far as we know, was able to venture raids into Frankish territory, even as far as Cologne. Nonetheless, it is in the newly conquered parts of Frisia, south of the mouth of the Rhine, that Pippin allowed the English missionary Willibrord to convert the still-pagan Frisians to Christianity. Only then do the Anglo-Saxons really distinguish between two parts of Frisia.

Three such references have come down to us, all in connection with Willibrord's mission. Bede tells us that:

> et quia nuper citeriorem Fresiam, expulso inde Rathbedo rege, ceperat, illo eos ad praedicandum missit (i.e. Pippin). *HE* V, 10.

(and because Pippin had recently occupied Nearer Frisia after having King Radbod expelled from it, he send them to preach there.) In the Old English version of the *Historia* (Miller 1890-1) the translator, probably some 150 years later, renders *citeriorem Fresiam* ... *ceperit* ... *with He geeode þa fyrran Fresan* (He had conquered the Farther Frisians), thus introducing two slight changes which may prove to be of some importance. Instead of to the country the translator refers to the people. More significant, though, is the shift from *citeriorem* to *fyrran* 'farther', where *nearran* 'nearer' would have been more appropriate. This could either indicate that the translator had placed himself in the position of the Frisians north of the Rhine, or suggest that he had lost the notion of two Frisians. In case of the latter he identified *citeriorem Fresiam* with what was left of Frisia in his own days and thought that Willibrord's missionary field was situated in those regions. We know that this is not the case. Frisia 'Ulterior' was converted considerably later than Willibrord's first attempts. Fifty years after the arrival of Willibrord in Frisia Boniface suffered a martyr's death at Dokkum when Frisians, who probably identified their pagan religion with their political independence, vainly tried to bring a halt to his rigorous evangelizing methods.

The same confusion we detected in the Old English translation of the *Historia* is also shown by the glossator of MS Cotton Tiberius C.ii (Meritt 1945:13). In a late insular hand a scribe has glossed *citeriorem Fresiam* with *Nørp Fresan* 'North Frisians'. These two independent translations suggest that the Anglo-Saxons were not at all acquainted with the notion of two different parts of Frisia. They were only forced to make such a distinction by Bede's mention of a *citeriorem Fresiam*, most probably invented for the nonce by the venerable man himself. This conclusion is supported by a description of Europe as we find it in the Old English *Orosius* (Sweet 1883), traditionally ascribed to King Alfred. Even if this addition was not written by the King himself, it originates from his days.
by having them occupy the land west of the Elbe, whereas this should have been west of the Weser (see the map on page 86).

Summing up the above discussion, we may conclude that Frisia — in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxons at least — must be thought of as one country, ruled by one king. It is therefore unnecessary and superfluous to make Finn king of the East Frisians and the anonymous Beowulfian Frescwining (1: 2503) king of the West Frisians in the period depicted in Beowulf, the Finnsburh Fragment and Widsith (cf. Malone 1962:150-1).

10. Conclusion

From the preceding sections it may have become clear that, as matters stand, the settlements in Anglo-Saxon England referring to Frisians can hardly be ascribed to the period of the first Germanic invasions in Britain. A first objection arises from the types of place-names and their distribution in relation to pagan burial sites and major Roman roads. A second objection arises from their distribution throughout England, from which it appears that if there were Frisians among the Angles and Saxons they did not operate as an important body, i.e. important enough to claim a separate area in Britain to which their name has been given. A striking result of plotting the places on the map is the relatively high number of littoral settlements: French Hay, Frenchhurst and Freezingham — all in Kent —, Freiston and Friston St, Freiston and Friston Lk, Frismarsh YE, and possibly Frinton Cu, Frizenham De, and Friston Su. All these are compounded with Old English elements and must therefore be attributed to the Anglo-Saxon sphere of influence. Their position points to connections with the sea and might betray that their owners had once been sailors. Their etymology often betrays links with agriculture. These two facts can operate as an important body, i.e. important enough to

be reconciled when we realize that in those days the profession of sailor and farmer were often combined according to the seasons.

Six out of the seven place-names compounded with an Old Norse element occur in the region of the Five Boroughs and could indicate that these settlements are the result of a Frisian/Frieslandish benefit from the spoils of the mice here.

One conclusion emerges as certain: the outcome of this study must be different from what the EPNE (1:187) maintains:

It is significant that all the place-names containing this tribal name are in the Danelaw, that none is compounded with ham, but several with distinctively ON elements. It would seem therefore that these isolated settlements of individual Frisians or small groups of Frisians belong to the Viking period.

At least six places occur outside the Danelaw, two of these end in ham/hamm, and the ratio of Old English to Old Norse elements is 18:7.

Although the approach in this study has been critical, this number has been west of the Weser (see the map on page 86).

Summing up the above discussion, we may conclude that Frisia — in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxons at least — must be thought of as one country, ruled by one king. It is therefore unnecessary and superfluous to make Finn king of the East Frisians and the anonymous Beowulfian Frescwining (1: 2503) king of the West Frisians in the period depicted in Beowulf, the Finnsburh Fragment and Widsith (cf. Malone 1962:150-1).

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Nijmegen Rolf H. Bremmer Jr.

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Abbreviations

ASC — Plummer 1892
BCS — Birch 1885
DEPN — Ekwall 1960
EPNE — Smith 1956
EPNS — English Place-Name Society
HE — Plummer 1896
MGH — Monumenta Germaniae Historica
O.S. — Ordnance Survey

Angl — Anglian
EFrIs — East Frisian
Kt — Kentish
(1)WSax — (late) West Saxon
LowG — Low German
MDu — Middle Dutch
ModDu — Modern Dutch
ModE — Modern English
ModFris — Modern Frisian
OD — Old Danish
OE — Old English
OF — Old French
OHG — Old High German
ON — Old Norse
OS — Old Saxon
(Pr)Gmc — (Proto)Germanic
(Pr)OFris — (Proto)Old Frisian
Swed — Swedish
WFrIs — West Frisian
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Sønt de publikæsje fan Toponymy fan Boazum is it notarieel archyf fan 1843 oant 1895 iepenbier wurden. Yn de akten fan notaris S. Haagsma (1846-1911, bikend om syn stûdzjes fan de Fryskse sëskiednis), dy’t yn 1878 bineamd waerd yn it nije stânplak Boazum, komt nochal ris in namme foar, dat hy hat der fêst mei sin om tocht. Al de oare notarissen — en foar Boazum sitte se yn Ljouwert, Snits, Bolsert, Wommels, Jorwert, Raerd, Roarhuzum, Grou en hwer al net — folsteane sa goed as altyd mei de kadastrale oantsjutting. It sykjen om nammen yn it notarieel archyf is dêrom hast gjin bigjinnensin oan, al meitsje de forwizings nei de akten yn it floreenkohier fan 1858 us hwat paedwiis. Oan nije nammen smiet it nije notarieel archyf de Gear, de Hounekop en it Med op, wylst de Swarte reed dérmei to plak brocht wurde koe. Oaren kamen eardere of lettere fynplakken fan foar foar it ljocht. Dêrneist wie der oanlieding de eardere forklearring fan inkele nammen oan to foljen.

It Achterom (it eastlike part fan De Havens)
1964 Achterom; Bepaling rioolaanleg . . . ; Gemeentewurken, G.A.; 1976.
Foråldere namme foar de strjitte — foar in part net oars as in fuotpaed oant it tichtsmiten fan de Skippershaven — binnen troch de Buorren, in ein òf fan de trochgeande wei de Foarstreek deL Sjoch ek Feartsstrjitte.

It Aldlân
ca. 1520 Oudlants (roede), Hs 103 U.B. Grins, ôfprinte by Steensma 291; 1891 het Oudland, Not. 1355
It is net unmooglik dat mei de „Oudlants” roede yn de ier-sechtjinde- ieuske roedetabel fan Westergoa, mear yn it bûsynder fan sëdlik Westergoa om it kleaster Thabor tusken Snits en Bolsert hinne, doeld wurdt op it Boazumer Aldlân. „Oudlants” folget fuort op „Bosemer” en it slût it rychje nei it easten ta òf út Thabor weirekken, Bûten Boazum wurde der winlikên ek gjin plakken neamd oan de Middelsé — dér’t it Aldlân it meast forarkomt — dy’t yn forban brocht wurde kinne mei dat „Oudlants”. Alle åldê lân fan lit òs sîze de Fiif Dielen kin der ek net mel bidaald wêze, hwant Easterein, Hinaerd, Wommels en Littens wurde sparit neamd. Dêr komt noch by dat ien fan Thabor nei alle gedachten yn 1519 it Boazumer Aldlân utmetten hat (sjoch Toponymy 63).
Wis is dat der to Boazum op syn minst mei twa mieten metten waerd. It docht bilken dat desele stikken lân op it Nijlân yn de sawntjinde ieu