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Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England: A Historical and Toponymical Investigation

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FRYSKE NAMMEN 3

ûnder redaksje fan

N.R. Ârhammar, W.T. Beetstra,

Ph.H. Breuker en

J.J. Spahr van der Hoek



Nr. 597

	215 De Jonge Geertruida Henderica	jòl	1
	216 Klaaske		1
	217 De Jonge Geertruida	Fryse boat	1
	218 De Jonge Geertruida		2
	219 Geeske	jòl	2
	220 Klaske		2
	221 Geeske		2
	222 De Vrouw Klaske	sloep	3
ZWEED, Jappe	223 Henderica		1
	224 Jacoba	botter	1
	225 Kniertje		1
	226 Jacoba		1

Skippen dy't fan mear as een eigenaer west hewwe.

Understaende nommers komme oereen mei jin út 'e list, sodòt de skipsnemmen en de eigenaers maklik te fynden binne. In ? betiat dòt wy naat wis binne fan de krekte gegevans.

8-224	95-154-217	162-143
13-126	98- 49	163- 71
24- 18 ?	101-214 ?	176-218
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34- 70	114-203	210-165
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G. Blom

FRISIANS IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND: A HISTORICAL AND TOPONYMICAL INVESTIGATION

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1. Introduction

Our decade thus far has seen a steady growth of studies on the Anglo-Saxons, be it their language and literature, history or culture. The yearly publication of a number of original studies on various aspects of the period in *Anglo-Saxon England* (Clemoes *et.al.* 1972) is one instance of this phenomenon. The aim of the editors is to bring together the work of scholars of various disciplines in order to get a better insight into the multifarious facets of the Anglo-Saxon world, and to stimulate students to combine their efforts. Another example of increasing interest in the language of the Anglo-Saxons is the forthcoming publication of a *Dictionary of Old English* (Frank and Cameron 1973) which eventually is going to replace the near century-old *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Bosworth-Toller 1898). Recently a second supplement (Campbell 1972) has been added to this monumental work.

There is also an increasing output of books, new or reprinted, which apparently are meant for a wide reading public, as one may judge from their lay-out and price. Some of these books are beautifully illustrated and will certainly widen the circle of those who have fallen under the spell of the Anglo-Saxons. From a scholar's point of view, though, these books suffer from more than one disadvantage: they usually show a tendency to generalize and, as a result of this, statements are rarely supported by a critical apparatus. The reader is only provided with a 'select bibliography', so that the diligent student of Anglo-Saxonia is often left with a bundle of question-marks after having read them.

Leafing through a number of these books and dwelling a while on the chapters devoted to the *Adventus Saxonum*, we usually find the Frisians

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 Sf 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 romantic 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, they had had every opportunity to study the defensive weaknesses of the island. When the Romans eventually withdrew from Britain, their 'intelligence service' turned out to be very helpful to the invaders. Musset (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 authoress's country, though, led her 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 she 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 fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Iutis. De Iutarum origine sunt Cantuarii et Uictuarii, hoc est ea gens, quae Uectam tenet insulam, et ea, quae hodie in prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Uectam. De Saxonibus, id est ea regione, quae nunc Antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, uenere 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 Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Merci, tota Nordanhymbrorum progenies, id est illarum gentium, quae ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, ceterique 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 'chronolgy' 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 at home 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 adopted 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 uel Saxones, qui nunc Britanniam incolunt, genus et originem duxisse noscuntur; unde hactenus a uicina gente Brettonum corrupte Garmani nuncupantur. Sunt autem *Fresones*, *Rugini*, *Danai*, *Hunni*, *Antiqui Saxones*, *Boructuari*.

HE V,ix.

(For he knew that there were very many peoples in Germania — 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 informs his readers that the *Angli uel 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 interpretation. 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 *Oghgul* 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 several 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:

Βριτανίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον εὐνη τρία πολυανθρώπων ἔχουσι, βασιλεὺς τε εἰς αὐτῶν ἕκαστῷ ἐφέστηκε. καὶ ὀνόματα κεῖται ταῖς ἔθνεσιν ταύτοις Ἀγγελοὶ τε καὶ Φρισσονεῖς καὶ αἱ τῇ νήσῳ ὀνόμυνοι Βριττονεῖς.

(The island of Brittia is inhabited by three very populous nations, each ruled by a king. And the names of these nations are *Angiloi*, *Phrissones* 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 *Brittia* 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 *landnám*. 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 lingual 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. Hallewas 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 Holdworth, 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 rôle 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*/*Frēs*- and discusses toponyms which she thinks have an Old Frisian personal name as one of their initial elements, she finds her refuge in the *lucus a non lucendo* kind of etymology. One instance will suffice to illustrate her method:

O.Fris. *Wet, Wets*: Compare Weeting, Norfolk; Weeton, York, W.R. and E.R.; Weeton, Lanc; Weetslade, Northumb.; Weetwood, York, W.R., etc. (Lyons 1918:653).

Smith (1961 e:51) says about Weeton, YW: "'willow farmstead,' v. wiðig, 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 *Frēs*/*Fris* 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 *Frīsa* 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 Frieston, 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 Sf. 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 **roþ*, it appears that he showed that it was cognate with OFris *rothe*, OHG *rod*, ON *ruð*. 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 Sf, early forms are *Hemegretha* 1086 DB and *Hemegrēde* 1095 (12) Bury. Ekwall argues that the second element originally was OE **grēd* 'pasture land, meadow', which "must be compared with OFris *grēd* 'meadow, pasture', Efris, Wfris *grede* 'pasture land', LowG *grode*, OFris *grōde* 'angeschwemmtes Neuland', Swed *grōda* '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 *gred* 'pasture', recorded in Frisian alone. (Stenton 1940:6, n.2).

The EPNE I: 207, enters an OE *græd* – 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 **grēd*. Cameron (1976:28)

provides the following correction: 'græd. The headforms should read græd OE (WSax), grēd (Angl., Kt.)'. Cameron realized that WSax æ, had its reflex as e in non-WSax, as it had for that matter in Old Frisian.

Stenton has not been the only one in trying 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. *Tester-* he derives from PrGmc **tehs* 'right, south'. (There is a Norton not far 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 *Texuandri* (Toxandria) **Tehs-wandra* 'dwellers in the south'. Even though **thes* '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).

Runes 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:

katae

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. ᚱ, 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 *katae* 'cat?'. According to Hofmann the word represents Proto OFris **kātæ* > OFris *kāte* '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 **cēat* 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:

skanomodu

The meaning is not entirely clear, but the first element is usually derived from Gmc **skaun*, 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 *ea*), 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. Phonological 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 Sea Germanic languages. This idea was put into words by 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 (Hofstra 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 *landnám*.

4. Inventory of place-names with *frīs/frēs-*

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 *Frīs-* + 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 or 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 *Frēs-/Frīs-* + OE element

Cumberland

4.1.1. Frizington: Arlecdon parish, O.S. map 82, NY 034170. The place is on the river Lingla Beck and within 2 kms. of (not yet completely reconstructed) Margary 75. Meaney 1964 does not report any Anglo-Saxon finds. Soil condition Glacial Boulder Clay.

Early forms: *Frisingaton* c. 1160 St.B (p); *Frisintona* c. 1205 *ibid.*; *Frisington* c. 1206 Fleming Mem *et passim*, with variant spellings *Frys-* and *-yng*; *Frisinton* 1246 La Ass (p); *Fresinton* 1259 Pipe (p); *Fresyngton* 1338 StB.

Literature: Mower 1950:336; Ekwall 1953:152.

Devonshire

4.1.2. Frizenham: 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: *Fresingham* 1236 FF; *de Fresingham* 1313-4

Seld 24, 192; *de ffressyngeham, de fressyngham* 1327 Subs.
Literature: Wallenberg 1931:89; Wallenberg 1934:352-3; Ekwall 1962:119; Dodgson 1967b:373; Dodgson 1968:168.

- 4.1.3.2. French Hay: Tenterden parish, O.S. map 184, TQ 917321. It is situated about 4 kms. south-south-east of Margary 130. No A.S. finds are reported.

Early forms: *de ffrisingehegh', de frysingeye* 124 Ass; *de Frisingeheye* 1256-62 Bils Cart; *de Fresighey* c. 1275 Pesh; *de ffrecinge, de fresingge* 1278 Ass; *de fressynhey, de ffresyngeleye, de ffrechyngheheye* 1292 Ass; *de Frenchyngheye* 1313-4 Seld. 24, 198; *de ffrechynghey(e)* 1313 Ass, 1334 Subs; *de fressyngheneye* 1338 Subs.

Literature: Wallenberg 1931:89; Wallenberg 1934:357; Dodgson 1967:372-3; Dodgson 1973:36.

- 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: *Frecinghyrte* 801 BCS 303; *Fresynghurst* 1270 Ass, *Farrenchherst* 1487 Ipm.

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: *Fristune* 1086 DB; *Frestuna* t.Hy 2DC, 1158 BM Facs, -o- c. 1114 Dugd; *Friston'* 1168-9 P, 1193 P, -y- 1183 (m 14th c) HC; *Freston* 1195 P, 1254 Val; *Friston* 1191 P, 1194 P.

Literature: Ekwall 1953:151.

- 4.1.4.2. Frieston: Caythorpe 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 Frieston must be the same as 'Friston, hamlet, 7 1/2 m. N.E. of Grantham, Kesteven,' superfluously entered in Bartholomew 1966).

Early forms: *Fristun* 1086 DB, Hy 2DC, c. 1200 BM; *Friston'* 1181-2 P, 1185 RotDom, 1197 P *et passim*; *Freston* 1234 FF, post 1120 Welles LA, 1242 FF, 1303 FA.

Literature: Ekwall 1953:151.

Somerset

- 4.1.5. *on fresingmede*: now lost, but located in or near Buckland Denham parish, O.S. map (Dinham) 166, ST 753512. Buckland Denham is 2 kms. north-west of the river Mells, 3 kms. due west of Margary 52 and 8 kms. south-east of Margary 5f (Fosse Way). Inhumation burials have been found at Barrow Hill, 1 km. south-west of Buckland Denham.

Early form: *on fresingmede* 951 BCS 889. Birch 1885 wrongly located this Buckland in Dorset, as a consequence of which various scholars copied this error and consequently located *on frisingmede* in Dorset. The error was corrected by the DEPN.

Literature: Middendorf 1902:54; Karlström 1927:165.

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: *Fresantun* c. 995 BCS 1289, *Fresetuna* 1086 DB. Literature: Skeat 1913: 53, 99; Ekwall 1953:152.

- 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: *Frisetuna* 1086 DB; *Freston* 1254 Val.

Literature: Skeat 1913:53, 99; Ekwall 1953:151.

- 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; *Frasingefeld'* 1185 P, c. 1195 Cur; *Fresingefeld* 1182 Bury, 1197 P.

Literature: Skeat 1913:26, Ekwall 1936:116.

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 off 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; *Frishton* 1327 SR; 1382 FF; *Fruston* 1347.

Literature: Mower 1930:420; Ekwall 1936:116-7.

Warwickshire

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

Early forms: *Freselega* 1168 P, *-lege* 1222 FF, 1247 Ass, (Simonis) 1235 P, *-legh* 1256 Ch, 1272 Ass, *-le(ye)* 1265 Ch, 1287 Pat, 1316 FA, 1327 SR (p); *Frisleg'* 1221 Ass; *Fresle* 1375 IpmR.

Literature: Ekwall 1936:116; Gover 1936:21-2.

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; *Frisemareis*, *-eys*, *-ays* 1130, 1190-2 P (p), 1194 P, 1212 Cur, 1246 Ass (p), 1332 FF, *-marasco* 1187-1207 YCh 1402; *Fri*, *Frysmerske* 1275, *Fyrsmersk* 1378.

Literature: Smith 1937: 24-5; Ekwall 1953:152.

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 721 and 2 kms. south of the river Aire. No A.S. finds are reported.

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

Literature: Smith 1961c:245; Jensen 1972:173.

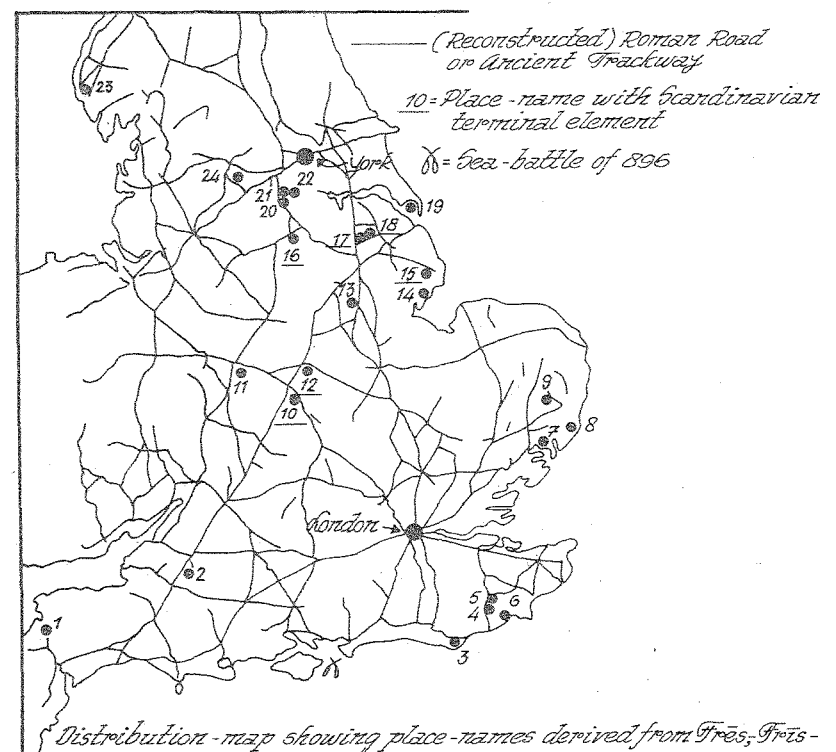
4.1.9.3. Ferry Fryston: Ferrybridge parish, O.S. map 97, SE 479240. Ferrybridge is within 4 kms. north-east of Margary 28b and situated on the south bank of the river Aire. The place is adjacent to Castleford (= Roman *Lagentum*), while Meaney (1964) reports burials in Ferrybridge.

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

Literature: Smith 1961b:65-6.

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 9 1/2 kms. north-east of Castleford. No A.S. finds are reported. In 1086 DB Monk Fryston belonged to Selby Abbey.

Early forms: *on fryyeteune* 963 (13) Reg Alb II, 56 d (emended to *fryeteune* BCS 1112, YCh 6); *Fristun* c. 1030 YCh 7; *Fris-*, *Fryston(a)*, *-tun(a)* c. 1070, 1070-80, 12 (freq) Selby (YCh 41,



1 = Frizenham, 2 = Fresingmede, 3 = Friston, 4 = Frenchkurst, 5 = Freezingham, 6 = French Key, 7 = Freston, 8 = Friston, 9 = Fresingfield, 10 = Frisby, 11 = Freasley, 12 = Frisby, 13 = Friston, 14 = Freiston, 15 = Frisby, 16 = Frisby, 17 = Frisby, 18 = Fresthorp, 19 = Frismarsh, 20 = Ferry Fryston, 21 = Water Fryston, 22 = Monk Fryston, 23 = Frizenham, 24 = Frizinghall.

468, etc.), c. 1216 Reg Alb III, 50d, 1230 Selby *et passim*; (Muneches) 1166 P; (Monk(e)- 1398 YD x.

Literature: Smith 1961d:41.

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)*, *Fryston* 1155-8 YCh 1451, 1255 *et passim*; — *on Ayr(e)*, — *upon Aire* 1289 Ebor.

Literature: Smith 1961b: 66.

4.2. Place-names with ON Frís- + 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 1971:217-8). 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), -ss- 1200 ib (p); *Fresebi* 1166 LN, -by 1166 RBE, Edw 1 Nichols, 1351 Wyg (p); *Friseby* 1220 Cur (p), 1221 Ass, 1225 Cur (p), 1209-35 RHug *et passim* to 1355.

Literature: Ekwall 1953:152; Cox 1971:52, 217-8.

4.2.1.2. Frisby-on-the-Wreak: O.S. map 122, SK 696178. The place is 6 kms. east of Margary 5f (Fosse Way) and 5 kms. south of Margary 58a. No burial finds are known.

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

Literature: Ekwall 1953:152, Cox 1971:28, 51n., 287-8.

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 of West Frisby.

Early forms: *Frisebi* 1086 DB, 1185 Templar, 1200 Cur 1/278, 1212 Fees; *Frisabi* c. 1115 LiS; *Frisbeia* 1137-9YCh iii; *Friseby* 1190 RA ix; *Freseby* Cur 7/14.

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; *Friseby* 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.

4.2.2.3. Friesthorpe: O.S. map 104, TF 072834. The place is 10 kms. east of Margary 2b and 6 kms. of Margary 272. No reports of A.S. finds are known.

Early forms: *Frisetorp* 1086 DB; *Frisatorp* c. 1115 LS; *Frisætorp* c. 1115 LS; *Fristorp* 1154-89 (1329) CH, 1146 RA; *Frestorp* c. 1200 RA, 1202 Ass; *Frisethorp* 1266 RR Gr, 1281 QW.

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

Yorkshire

4.2.3. Firsby: O.S. map 103, SK 494960. The place is 1 1/2 kms. south-east of Margary 710c (at Hooton Roberts). No A.S. finds are reported.

Early forms: *Frisobeia* 1121-7 YCh 1428, 1215 ChR; *Fris-*, *Frysbie*, -by 1164-81 YCh viii, 1403 Min Act 77; *Frisebia*, -by 1189 Nost 4, 1194-9 YCh viii, 1197 (1301) Ebor, 1246 Ass 17d, 1275 WCR (p).

Literature: Ekwall 1953:152; Smith 1961a:127.

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)':

Frēsan; gen. *Frēsena*, *Frēsna*; pl.m. 'The Frisians', *Frisii*, *Fresones*.
Frisan; pl.m. 'Frisians': *Frisii*.

Frysa, *Friesa*, an; pl.nom.acc. *Frysan*, *Frīsan*, *Frēsan*; gen. *Fryšena*, *Fryšna*; dat. *Frysum* 'A Frisian': *Fresius*, *Freso*.

This implies that the first vowel is represented by four different graphs, viz. ⟨e⟩, ⟨i⟩, ⟨ie⟩, and ⟨y⟩. Ekwall (1953:151) maintains that *Friesa* is a continental form, identical with OHG *Frieso*. Strangely enough he does not mention whether the ⟨ie⟩ 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 *Fresisc* (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.

ModE 'Frisian' (adj.) is OE *Fresisc*/*Frysisc*. Campbell (1972) enters a *Frys* (adj.), but it seems this is merely a matter of textual misinterpretation. The word occurs in *Maxims I* (Shippey 1976:68).

Leaf wilcuma

Frysan wife, þonne flota stondeð ll. 24b-5.

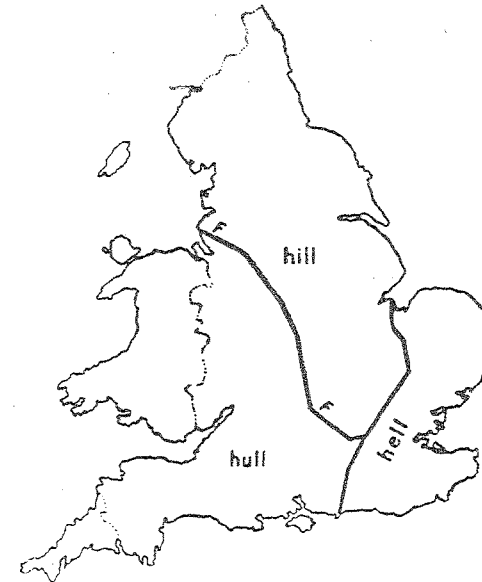
(The Frisian's wife is glad to see the arrival she has wished for, when his ship is drawn up.)

Frysan here may very well be and most likely is then gen.sg.m. of *Frysa* (n.), so that *Frysan wife* ought to be translated as 'the Frisian's wife' instead of 'the Frisian 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: *Frēscyning* 'king of the Frisians', *Frēsland*/*Fryslond* 'Frisia', *Frēswæl* '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. *Gēatmæccgas* 'men of the Geats' or *Swīorīce* 'Sweden', both in *Beowulf*. Ekwall (1953:151-2) calls this type archaic and notes that it also occurs in the earliest recorded forms of Frieston (Inventory 4.1.4.1.), Frieston (4.1.4.2.) and Friston (4.1.6.2.), which in the case of the latter is not entirely true (*Frisetuna* 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 Ekwall. 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 *fyr*s. 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 Ekwall'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 *fyr*s. Departing from this conclusion he reconstructed a **Fyr*s-*dūn* 'furze-covered hill', adding that the place is on a hill the top of which reaches the height of 323 ft.

An OE **fyr*s-*dūn* 'furze-covered hill' as such would not be impossible. Toller (1921) lists six compounds with *fyr*s, viz. *fyr*s-*gāra* 'a triangular piece of land covered with furze', *fyr*s-*īg* 'an island on which furze grows', *fyr*s-*lēah* 'a lea on which furze grows', an uncertain *fyr*s-*penn* 'a pen or fold made of furze', *fyr*s-*ræw* 'a row of fence of furze', and an uncertain *fyr*s-*ceaga* 'a furze-thicket (?)'. **Fyr*s-*dūn*, however, implies at least two radical interventions, or even three, preceding the earliest recorded forms. To begin with, *-*dūn* > *-tūn*. This change, according to Ekwall, was influenced by the preceding *s*. That this is not necessarily the case is shown by the well-attested phenomenon of OE *-dūn* > *-tūn*, e.g. OE *Ebandun* > ModE Edington W, OE *Heorpadon* > ModE Repton Db. On the other hand OE *æt Byligesdone* > ModE Balsdon Hall Sf shows that *d* could be preserved after *s*. What speaks against *-*dūn* > *-tūn* in Friston here is the absence of any, early or late, form with *-dūn*.



Development of OE [y] in Middle English. After Mossé (1959:43).

A second objection against **Fyr*s-*dūn* can be made. It supposes a metathesized *r*: **Fyr*s-*dūn* > **Fry*s-*dūn*. Metathesis is a wide-spread 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 (Ekwall 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 **Frīs(an)tūn* seems to be the most obvious, since it entails fewer conjectures. There are seven other place-names of the type *Frīs-* + *tūn* to support this conclusion.

Apparently, it is a risky business for philologists to make assumptions without adducing 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: *Ferselleia*, *Fersellei* 1086 DB, *Ferselee* 1203 FF, *Ferseley* 13 Calverney, *Ferslay* 1203 Cur, *Frislay* Ed 3 Calverney (Smith 1961c:xiii, 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 *fyr̥s*, 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 **Frēsanlēah*, as I take it. The combination of tribal name + *lēah* also occurs in e.g. Hastingleigh K and Angley 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 *Fersafeld* c. 1035 (14) Wils, *Ferseuella* 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 *fyr̥sene feld* . . . First element OE *fyr̥sen* 'covered with furze'". This adjective is not given by Bosworth-Toller (1898) or Toller (1921), but entered in Campbell (1972) as **fyr̥sen* '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 **Frēsing(a)feld* or **Frēsanfeld* 'the open land of the Frisian(s)', against which interpretation I can see no serious objections. On the contrary, the forms seem to point to such an etymology, as was assumed by Skeat (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 **fyr̥s-/*fyr̥sen* as a possible etymology for the first element.

Several fieldnames occur of the type Friesland/Friezeland 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 **Fry̥s(an)land* 'land of the Frisian(s)' or OE **fyr̥sland* 'land growing with furze', although the latter seems the most likely to me, since the Anglo-Saxons probably reserved *Fry̥sland* 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: *tūn* (9x)

Topographical element: *feld* (1x), *halh* (1x), *hām(m)* (2x), *(ge)hēg* (1x), *hyrst* (1x), *lēah* (1x), *mēd* (1x), *mersc* (1x)

6.1.1. *tūn* 'an enclosure, a farmstead, an estate, a village'. So Friston and its variants mean 'the enclosure, etc., of the Frisian(s)'. The *EPNE* calls *tūn* "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 *tūn* 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 *tún* 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 *tún*.

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

this: "The period during which *tun* was an active name-forming element was very long, covering the whole of the OE period and continuing for some time after the Conquest". A recent investigation into the earliest recorded English place-names, however, strongly suggests that those names ending in *tūn* "belong by and large to the period after c. 730" (Cox 1976:63, 65). This conclusion cannot be 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 enclosure, etc., 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 *Frisnoth* 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 common and if they "can 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 Friesa, ond Æbbe Friesa, ond Æðelherð Friesa . . .'. The *Friesa* 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 *Friesa* indicates a certain rank on analogy with *ASC* 894: '... Æpered ealdormon ond Æpelm ealdormon ond Æpelnoþ ealdormon . . .'. *Friesa* 'Frisian' is excluded by him, not only on grounds of orthography, but also because the names of tribes and peoples in Old English were quite strictly treated as collectives and, apart from translations, never indicate a single person or a somewhat coherent group of members of a tribe. Although in general this appears to be true, there is nonetheless the example of *Gēat* 'the Geat' in *Beowulf*. Moreover, *Wealh*, though originally meaning 'foreigner', was also used throughout the Old English period to indicate a Briton. The mistake Kuhn seems to make is that he attaches too much weight to the spelling variants. As a result of this his investigation raises more questions than it answers. I would prefer to stick to the traditional interpretation, not only because it makes more sense and entails less conjecture,

but also because it is more logical than *Friesa* 'a rank?'. Only one line further the *ASC* 897 explicitly states that sixty-two Frisian and English members of the English fleet lost their lives in the battle. If there was a Frisian aboard an English ship, or *mutatis mutandis*, in the neighbourhood, it is very likely that this man was not referred to as e.g. *Æbbe*, but as *Frīsa*, a kind of nickname therefore.

In the main, 'the *tūn* of the Frisian(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 + *tūn* strongly plead in favour of such a solution. Conderton Wo (*Cantuaretun* 875 BCS 541) is a Kentish settlement in Mercia, Exton Ha (*æt East Seaxnatune* 940 BCS 758) must be interpreted as an East Saxon settlement in Hampshire (cf. Saxton Ca, YW, *DEPN*).

Frizington (4.1.1.) deserves our special attention, because its earliest recorded form is *Frisingaton*. For more than a century place-names ending in *-ingas* 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 '*-ingas* 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 Frizington 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 *-ingtun* 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 *lēah* (6.1.7.) did, but the names are not mutually exclusive and in fact often go

together, *lēah* 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 Sf, 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)*. The difficulty with this place-name form is that it can either indicate the element *hām* 'a village, estate, manor, home-stead' 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 *hām* from *hamm* is the orthography. The Old English and Middle English spellings *-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 *hām*. In South East England *hām* 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*)*hēg* 'a fence, an enclosure' or possibly Kt *heg* 'hay, mowing grass'. If a choice must be made, a **Fresingehēg* 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*' *fresind₃*, then through a process of metathesis *frentsind₃-* > *farentfint₃-* > *fərənt₃-* or *frentsin-* *frent₃-*. The same process took place in Frenchhurst (4.1.3.3.).

6.1.6. *hyrst* Kt *herst* 1) 'a hillock, a bank' 2) 'a copse, 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 Frystons in Yorkshire of which the early individual records suggest they are three separate settlements.

6.1.7. *lēah* 'a wood, a clearing in a wood'. This element is extremely common. Dodgson (1966:5) has tentatively suggested that names such as *burna* 'stream', *lēah* 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 *hām* and *tūn*. Gelling (1974:101) points out that at least in the West Midlands *lēah* and *feld* have a quasihabitative significance, while Johansson (1975:28) shows that about 25 percent of the place-names ending in *-lēah* 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 *-lēah* 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. *mēd* '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 *medwe*, see Campbell (1959:596).

6.1.9. *mersc*, *merisc* '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* < OF *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. *by* This element either represents OD *bȳ* or ON *býr* '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. *Frisa* (Claesby-Vigfússon 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 -thorp(e) 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 Friesthorpe.

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 (Jellema 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 Rhineland to Britain. Through their strategic positions these towns developed into important stapleplaces. 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 (Metcalf 1977). Bede (*HE* IV, 22) mentions a Frisian slave-trader who had his basis in London. It must have been the extensive trading-contacts that drew the Anglo-Saxons' attention to the fact that the Frisians were flourishing in materialistic respects, but that from a spiritual point of view they were not so well off.

The knowledge we have of Frisia around the turn of the seventh century we owe to the Venerable Bede who informed the home-front of the early efforts and results of the English mission in pagan Frisia. Levison's lively study (1946:45ff) is still the most authoritative work on this subject. Willibrord, Wictbert, bishop Wilfred of York are great names that will always be remembered in connection with Frisia's conversion. Boniface only worked in Frisia for a couple of years at the beginning of his career

as an assistant of Willibrord, spent his life-time in the organization of the young church in Germany, but became famous, especially in the Netherlands, for his martyrdom near Dokkum in the north of the present-day province of Friesland. Along with the leaders of the mission came lesser known Englishmen, such as Leofwine and Pleghelm whose names still live on in the names of the parochial churches of Deventer and Oldenzaal respectively. We may safely assume that there were many others who all contributed to intensifying the cultural contacts between England and Frisia.

The first Frisian cleric to become a saint, Liudger, was sent by Gregory, Boniface's successor in Utrecht, to the famous school in York to receive his theological education from Alcuin himself. Actually, Liudger went twice. First with his compatriot Sigibod and the English missionary Alubert. 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 Liudgari*, 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 (= 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, pecunia et potestate ditebat. *Vita Alfredi* 76, 1.21ff.

(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, youngmen left their native lands to gain experience, wealth and glory. One may think, e.g., of the Varangian Guard in Constantinople (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 sæde his *hlajorde*, Ælfrede cyninge, þæt he ealra 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 Geat 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-cyððe beoð

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 Ælfred cyng timbran lang scipu ongen ða æscas; þa wærom fulneah tu swa lang swa þa oðru; suma hæfdon LX ara, sume ma; þa wæron ægðer ge swiftran ge unwealtran, ge eac hieran þonne þa oðru. Næron nawðer ne on Fresisc gescæpene ne on Denisc, bute swa him selfum þuhte þæt hie nytwyrðoste beon meahten.

(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* (Jellema 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.l).

It is also very possible that Frisians found a permanent home in England 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* (Shippey 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.
Biþ his ceol cumen ond hyre ceorl to ham,
agen ætgeofa, ond heo hine in ladað,
wæsceð his warig hræl ond him syleð wæde niwe,
lið him on londe þæs his lufu bædeð. 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 gnomic 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 example 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 Markey 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 (Krapp 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 cynne. l. 27

(Finn Folcwalding [ruled] the race of the Frisians.)

and

Mid Froncum ic wæs 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 Hnæf 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 Hygelac 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 *folcagende* 'owner of people', *folccyning* '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 into 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 Lindisfarnenses* (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 *þa Seaxan hæfdun sige, ond þær wæron Frisan 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 Norðanhymbrorum 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 Ingwær (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 Ingwær 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 Ingwær (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 Ingwær 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-*

farnenses 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 (4.2.2.1-2), 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 *gaf(y)ste* 'dry ground as opposed to marsh' -parallel to OFris *gēst*, *gāst* and *-graive*, *-greive* in the compounds *fengreiuē*, *wdegraiue* '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*: 'Ond þy gearē Healfdene Norþanhymbra lond gedælde ond ergende wæren (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 bernat ieftha (wif) nede nimath, ande binna fiftene ierum to londe cume ande muge bikenna sin lond and sine liude, sinne ethel and sin erwe an sinnera eldera statha, sa fare hi ende sin ein god uter liud-scelde. Ac ief ma him bitigie, thet hi hebbe binna tha thorpe hus geberned 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, thruch thet thet hi dede, alsa him sin hera bad, tha hi scalc was; ande hi ach to betane and te fellane, ief hit hebba mei, mith sines vnriuchta hera fia alne tichta, ther ma him tosecht; ac ief hi thet hebba ni muge, thet sines vnriuchta hera fia, sa mot hi wesa fon alla clagum 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 *scelta* (legal official), nor the fine 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 vnriuchte here fia'. 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 Sjölin 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 1950:233; Wrenn 1973:44; Alexander 1973:174; Fry 1974:81). Now Tacitus (Lindauer 1967) already distinguished between Greater and Lesser Frisians:

A fronte Frisii excipiunt, maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatus.

Germania, 34.

(On the northern border live the *Frisii* who are called the Greater and the Lesser *Frisii* 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 *Sincfal* (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-xi) 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 *Hetware*. (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 *comitatus* of the Frisian king? As such his position could be compared with that of *Beowulf*, who, just like his father *Ecgtheow* before him, fought for the Danish king *Hrothgar* (l. 472a). Or did the Frankish monarch at that time, *in casu* *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. Which-ever 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:

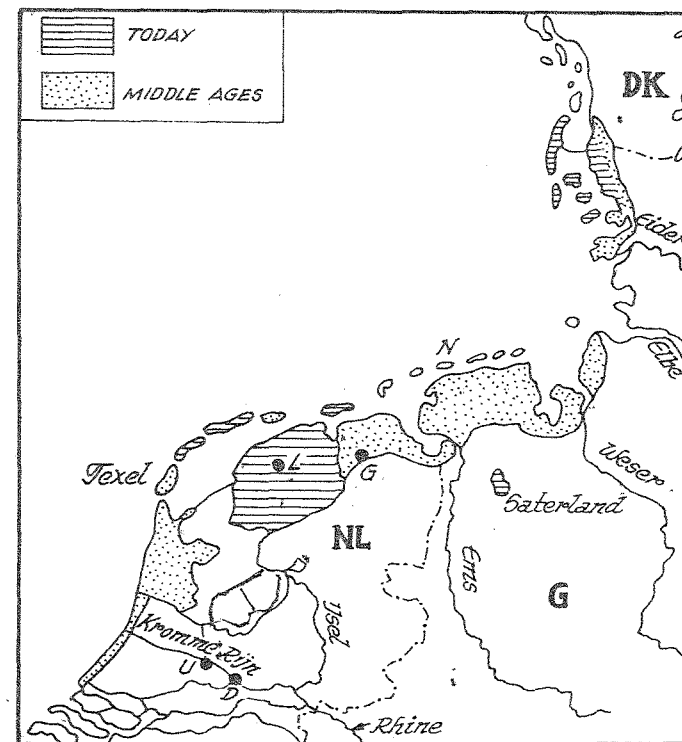
et quia nuper citeriorem Fresiam, expulso inde Rathbedo rege, ceperat, illo eos ad praedicandum missit (i.e. Pippin). *HE V, 10.*

(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 *Norb 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.



Geographical distribution of the Frisian language
(D=DORSTAD, G=GRONINGEN, L=LEEUWARDEN, N=NORDERNEY,
U=UTRECHT.)

The information given is very concise indeed:

. . . be norþanwestan him (i.e. East Franks) sindon Frisan; be westan Ealdseaxum is Ælfe muþa þære ie ond Frisland . . . *Orosius* I.i. (. . . north-west of them (i.e. East Franks) live the Frisians; west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the river Elbe and Friesland . . .)

Again, no distinction is made between a West and an East Frisia. On the contrary, ignorance of the real territory of the Frisians is shown

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 *Frescyning* (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 –, Freston and Friston Sf, Freiston and Friston Lk, Frismarsh YE, and possibly Frizington 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 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 *micel here*.

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

It is significant that all the place-names containing this tribal name are in the Danelaw, that none is compounded with *hām*, 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, the number of 'Frisian' place-names has outnumbered the previous 'systematic' study on this subject (Ekwall 1953) by thirteen. The study of place-names at the

moment is in a state of rapid transition. It has nonetheless been rewarding enough to reopen the case of the Frisians, whose relative activity in Anglo-Saxon England may be concluded from the fact that, after the Vikings, they score the highest number in place-names of all 'foreigners'.

Nijmegen

Rolf H. Bremmer Jr.

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Abbreviations

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

Angl	–	Anglian	OE	–	Old English
EFris	–	East Frisian	OF	–	Old French
Kt	–	Kentish	OHG	–	Old High German
(1)WSax	–	(late) West Saxon	ON	–	Old Norse
LowG	–	Low German	OS	–	Old Saxon
MDu	–	Middle Dutch	(Pr)Gmc	–	(Proto)Germanic
ModDu	–	Modern Dutch	(Pr)OFris	–	(Proto)Old Frisian
ModE	–	Modern English	Swed	–	Swedish
ModFris	–	Modern Frisian	WFris	–	West Frisian
OD	–	Old Danish			

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Sûnt de publikaesje 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 stúdzjes fan de Fryske sêskiednis), 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, Roardhuzum, 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 bigjinnensein oan, al meitsje de forwizings nei de akten yn it floreenkohier fan 1858 ús hwat paedwiis. Oan nije nammen smiet it nije notarieel archyf *de Gear, de Hounekop* en *it Mêd* op, wylst *de Swarte reed* dêrmei to plak brocht wurde koe. Oaren kamen eardere of lettere fynplakken fan foar it ljocht. Dêrneist wie der oanlieding de eardere forklearring fan inkelde nammen oan to foljen.

It Achterom (it eastlike part fan De Havens)

1964 Achterom; Bepaling rioolaanleg . . . ; Gemeentewurken, G.A.; 1976.

Forâldere namme foar de strjitte — foar in part net oars as in fuotpaed oant it tichtsmiten fan de *Skippershaven* — binnen troch de Buorren, in ein ôf 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 ûnmooglik dat mei de „Oudlants” roede yn de ier-sechstjinde-ieske roedetabel fan Westergoa, mear yn it bysûnder fan súdlik Westergoa om it kleaster Thabor tusken Snits en Bolsert hinne, doeld wurdt op it Boazumer Aldlân. „Oudlants” folget fuort op „Bosemer” en it slút it rychje nei it easten ta ôf út Thabor weirekkene. Bûten Boazum wurde der winliken ek gjin plakken neamd oan de Middelsé — dêr't it Aldlân it meast foarkomt — dy't yn forbân brocht wurde kinne mei dat „Oudlants”. Alle âlde lân fan lit ús sizze de Fiif Dielen kin der ek net mei bidoeld wêze, hwant Easterein, Hinnaerd, Wommels en Littens wurde apart neamd. Dêr komt noch by dat ien fan Thabor nei alle gedachten yn 1519 it Boazumer Aldlân útmetten hat (sjoch *Toponymy* 63).

Wis is dat der to Boazum op syn minst mei twa mietten metten waerd. It docht bliken dat deselde stikken lân op it Nijlân yn de sawntjinde ieu