

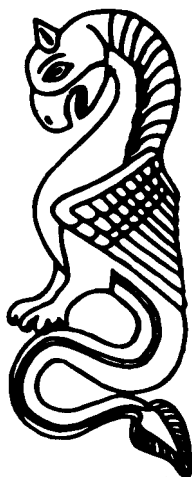
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INGHAM IN EAST ANGLIA: A NEW INTERPRETATION

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From among all the lively onomastic research that has been going on in Sweden in recent years, two central fields of interest are especially worthy of notice: research in anthroponymy, which has led to the foundation of a new onomastic journal, *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica* (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1983-), which is being edited by Professor T. Andersson and Dr Lena Peterson; and the research project, "Place-Names and Society", which has resulted in a series of publications entitled *Ortnamn och samhälle* (Uppsala University, 1977-), edited by Professors T. Andersson and L. Hellberg.

In the course of my own research on Norfolk I have recently had occasion to discuss place-names whose first elements have usually been explained as Old English or Old Scandinavian personal names but are in fact more plausibly to be explained as terms for members of Anglian social-class groups which were of importance in the Anglo-Saxon period. These socio-onomastic reflexes range from royalty to peasantry.¹ It is of course natural that this research has led to discussions with participants in both these Uppsala projects, but especially Professor Lars Hellberg, whose research within the project "Place-Names and Society" is in part concerned with the same historical period in Sweden.

Hellberg has been engaged in research on place-name evidence for Old Swedish administrative centres, i.e. centres in the territory of the king of the *Svear*, who had his more permanent residence at Uppsala (the present Old Uppsala) in the Merovingian and Viking periods, but whose expansionist policy necessitated the organisation of centres for administration and defence in many places, sometimes a long way from Uppsala. Up to the middle of the eleventh century Uppsala was also the centre of the official pagan cult, in which the king was the high priest. The chronological frame given here with data from Swedish history corresponds roughly with the Old English period.

Ingham and Ingworth

This brief description of the current situation as regards onomastic research at Uppsala would seem an apt background for the present article, which discusses especially the East Anglian place-name *Ingham*, found both in Norfolk and Suffolk, and compares it with the Norfolk place-name *Ingworth* (see map). It seems that we can safely assume that these two Inghams belong to the earliest period

of Anglian settlement. Place-names in *-hām* have always been considered to be among the oldest in their areas, and in the revised chronology of the earliest Anglo-Saxon place-names established by English place-name scholars it is now claimed that the names in *-hām* are in fact even older than the names in *-ing*.² In the social scale just mentioned, from royalty to peasantry, the Inghams belong at the upper end.

The traditional explanation of Ingham and Ingworth is "Inga's *hām*" and "Inga's *word*", i.e. the first elements are taken to be an OE personal name *Inga*, which is poorly evidenced in Old English but which can be postulated as a short form of compound names beginning with *Ing-*. Such compound names are evidenced early in Germanic. According to Tacitus' *Annales* (I.60) the name of Arminius' paternal uncle was *Inguiomerus*, which corresponds to the still very popular Swedish name *Ingemar* (well known as the name of the slalom skier Ingemar Stenmark). In Scandinavia names such as *Ingibjörg*, *Ingibjörn*, *Ingigerðr*, *Ingileif*, *Ingimarr*, etc. (here quoted in Old Icelandic forms, although this type originally belonged to East Scandinavian) would seem to have been popular as far back as the study of personal names can take us. The shorter names, OSw *Ingi* masc. and *Inga* fem. (ModSw *Inge* and *Inga*), have usually been looked upon as hypocoristic formations. Hellberg, however, has raised objections to this interpretation as far as the masc. *Ingi* is concerned.³ For our present purpose it is more important to note that there appears to have been a corresponding name pair in Continental Germanic, OHG *Ingo* masc. and *Inga* fem..⁴ As far as England is concerned, Ekwall was aware that the OE pers.n. *Inga* is poorly evidenced and that compound pers.n.s. in *Ing-* are rare, (DEPN⁵ s.n. *Ingham*), but it has traditionally been assumed that the short name *Inga* could have been formed from such compounds as *Inguburg* and *Ingweald*, which are recorded fairly early in Old English.⁶ The uncompounded *Inga* is only evidenced as the name of a tenth-century moneyer and, according to Blunt, it belongs to a group of moneyers' names with a distinctly Continental Germanic flavour.⁷

The original forms to be expected of Ingham and Ingworth, assuming they contain this pers.n., are **Ingan hām* and **Ingan word*, with the pers.n. in the genitive. If we look at the material we have for Ingworth, beginning with *Inghewurda* 1086 Domesday Book (DB), we find that the vast majority of the spellings show a medial *-e-* and can be regularly derived from OE **Ingan word* (see Appendix). They have a vowel which we assume is what remains of the old genitive ending *-an*. But for Ingham, where the spellings also begin with a DB form (*Hincham* 1086), the vast majority of the spellings have no medial *-e-* to connect the elements (see Appendix). It looks as if we are dealing with stem composition. The same applies to the place-name Ingham in Suffolk (Ekwall⁸ gives *Ingham* 1086 DB, c.1095 Bury, 1251 Ch, *Hingham* 1121-35 Bury), about which Carol Geddes, who has collected material for *The Place-Names of Suffolk*, has kindly informed me that she has found an almost total monopoly of *Ingham* forms. In a large collection of material (over 50 spellings) she has found only five forms with a medial *-e-*.

Although I am concerned mainly with East Anglia, I want to

draw attention to the fact that there is a well-known Ingham also in Lincolnshire, which is probably very old. Professor K. Cameron kindly informs me that in his files up to 1610 there are 45 spellings with *Inge-*, *Ynge-*, but 99 without a medial *-e-* (from 12th cent. onwards), which would seem to place this Ingham in the same category as those in East Anglia. Another likely candidate is Ingham in Oxfordshire, for which there is only one spelling with a medial *-e-* (in Domesday Book); otherwise only *Ing-*spellings are recorded, between 1050 and 1605 (for both these names, see the Appendix).⁹

This difference in the old spellings for the Inghams and Ingworth seems remarkable enough to serve as the starting-point for a discussion. First it has to be investigated whether the medial vowel in the spellings for Ingham may have been lost because of the following *h*. We are concerned here with the treatment of the Old English composition-joint *-an-* in genitival compounds of weak nouns or names, and there is actually some information to be gained about this, at least for East Anglia.

The Composition-Joint

According to Jordan (§ 170 Anm. 2) the *n* in the medial syllable *-an-* (the genitive ending of weak pers.ns.) in place-names is usually preserved before a vowel or *h* and dental plosives, but is otherwise lost.¹⁰ In an article on Kentish place-names in *-hām* and *-hamm* with a view to explaining the problem presented by early Old English forms like *Bioraham* and *Uuldaham* (Barham and Wouldham in Kent), Ekwall made a comparison with corresponding names in Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, and this led him to conclude that *n* was lost before *h* in the Kentish dialect at a time when *h* was still pronounced as a fricative, whereas "no loss of *n* before *h* took place in early Old English in the three eastern counties north of Kent".¹¹ To prove his point Ekwall lists from Essex: Dagenham, Elsenham; from Suffolk: Akenham, Blakenham, Brettenham, Cavenham, Coddendam, Debenham, Fakenham, Falkenham, Freckenham, Lavenham, Pakenham, Tuddenham; and from Norfolk: Bradenham, Brettenham, Buckenham (2 x), Fakenham, Frettenham, Hedenham, Lakenham, Pickenham, Quidenham, Tibenham, Tuddenham, Weasenham. As one possible explanation Ekwall suggests that the fricative pronunciation of *h* was preserved longer in the Kentish dialect than in East Saxon or Anglian. He compares the Germanic loss of *n* before *h* which has taken place in Goth *fāhan* (from **fanhan*). Unfortunately we have no Old English forms for any of the East Anglian names treated in this article, but Ekwall's results lend weight to the Middle English forms.

In a review of Ekwall's work, Tengstrand showed that we must reckon with an early change *an* > *a/h* in Kentish place-names and that this problem requires further investigation. Tengstrand himself had independently arrived at the result that *n* must have been lost owing to a phonetic change, but he had tried to bring the development into relation with other similar reductions in Old English unstressed syllables.¹²

If the starting-point for Ingham in East Anglia was **Ingan hām*, we should expect the *-n-* to be preserved before *h*, judging by

Ekwall's results. It seems thus less likely that the first element is the gen. of a pers.n. *Inga*. We will then pass on to discuss another interpretation.

As already mentioned, the two Inghams in East Anglia can, with reason, be looked upon as very old names, not unlikely two of the oldest names in their areas. We know that the Angles, when they lived on the Continent, belonged to the group of Germanic tribes which Tacitus calls *Ingaeuones*. This is the form given in *Germania* ch.II (AD 98), while Pliny the Elder (AD 24-79) has the form *Inguaeones* in his *Naturalis Historia* (IV.99). In an article on the *Ing*-problem in 1944, the German philologist Wolfgang Krause gives strong reasons for his opinion that the original form was **Inguiones*. This article has long been overlooked by scholars, probably because it was published at the end of the war, which was a difficult time for research, and perhaps also because there are no longer many people competent to judge in questions concerning comparative Germanic philology.¹³

The *Inguiones* are mentioned together with the *Herminones* and *Istaeuones* by Tacitus and have been considered to be a tribal group united above all through their worship of a common deity, *Nerthus*,¹⁴ a goddess of fertility mentioned by Tacitus and well evidenced in Swedish place-names, for instance *Närlunda* (*Nerdalunda* 1386) in *Västmanland*, and *Närtuna* (*de Nierdhatunum* 1298) in *Uppland*.¹⁵ *Nerthus*, who has changed gender in Scandinavian mythology to masculine (OSwed *Njörd*, OIcel *Njörðr*),¹⁶ is suggested to be a predecessor of the Swedish fertility gods *Frö* and *Fröja* (OIcel *Freyr* and *Freyja*). The cult of *Frö* was prominent in the pagan temple at Uppsala. The term *Inguiones* has been derived by scholars from the name of a god or legendary ultimate ancestor called *Ing*. The pedigree of the royal Swedish dynasty of the *Ynglingar*, which is only preserved in Icelandic sources (for instance the *Ynglingasaga*), begins with three divine ancestors, *Yngvi*, *Njörðr* and *Freyr*. Moreover, *Freyr* also appears in Icelandic sources as *Yngvi-Freyr*. Not surprisingly, scholars have tried to connect *Yngvi* with the above-mentioned god or hero *Ing*.

The only time *Ing* is mentioned directly and unambiguously in ancient texts is in the Old English *Runic Poem*, where the passage in question reads:

Ing wæs ærest mid East-Denum
gesewen secgun, op he siððan est
ofer wæg gewat; wæn æfter ran;
þus Heardingas þone hæle nemdun.¹⁷

This may be translated:

Ing was first seen by men among the East Danes,
until he then travelled eastwards over the sea;
the wagon travelled after [him]; thus the
Heardingas named this hero.

These lines seem obscure today, for we do not know to what tradition

they referred, although it was probably well-known to the audience for which this poem was composed, and we do not need to discuss this topic here. Krause says that since there must have been some vague knowledge of this *Ing* among the Anglo-Saxons at the time of the Runic Poem, the appellation *frēa Ingwina*, applied to Hróðgar in *Beowulf* (line 1319), must really have been understood to mean "the lord of Ing's friends", although the gen. plur. *Ingwina* should probably be seen as the result of a folk-etymological re-interpretation of an original *frēa *Ingwena* "the lord of the *Inguiones*". The name of the people would most easily be confused with a compound in OE *wine* in the gen. and dat. plur..¹⁸

Krause makes it clear that when we have OSw, ODan, OWS cand *Ingī-*, OE *Ingu-*, *Ing-*, OHG *Ingu-* as a first element in an Old Germanic personal name, it is the PrGerm stem **Ingwia-* in which the *-ia-* suffix has been obscured by various phonological developments. **Ingwia-* is the stem form of the name of the people, i.e. the *Inguiones*. The stem form of several other folk names entered into many early Germanic personal names, for example *Wandalburgis*, *Angilburgis*, *Warinburg*, *Wendilheri*, *Warinhari*, *Swabheri* (PrScand *Swabaharjar* in an early runic inscription).¹⁹ It should be noted that this conclusion, which seems quite convincing, is not entirely Krause's own. It is identical with the Swedish philologist Otto von Friesen's results, published in a work on the Rök inscription in the twenties.²⁰

Krause thus rejects the idea that the stem **Ingwia-* refers to the name-bearer as an individual who was a descendant of the god or hero *Ing*. It should be interpreted as denoting a member of the dynasty or clan of the *Inguiones*. Neither the tradition about the ancient god *Ing* (who is considered to have been a fertility god and a predecessor of both *Nerthus* and *Freyr*) nor his cult is likely to have been alive in the period we are concerned with, but the tradition about membership of an *Inguionic* family is likely to have lived in people's memory much longer, and would of course have been kept alive especially in the royal families who claimed membership of an *Inguionic* dynasty.

According to Snorri Sturluson, "*Yngvi* was another name for *Freyr*, and *Yngvi* was then used for a long time as a princely name in his family, and the members of his dynasty were called *Ynglingar*" (*Ynglingasaga*, Ch.10).²¹ When we find *Yngvi* used as a name for the first ancestor of the *Ynglinga* dynasty in Old Icelandic sources, it is according to Krause nothing but the singular of the name of the people, the *Inguiones* (PrScand **Ingwian*), meaning simply "the *Inguione*".

In his study of place-name evidence for administrative centres in the early Swedish state, Hellberg has investigated place-names with initial *Inge-*, which we find in the area around Lake Mälaren, the central district of the old Swedish kingdom, for instance *Ingeby* (four examples), *Ingespjuta* and *Ingeberga*.²² In the oldest medieval spellings (1257-1300) the medial vowel is *-i-*. Later it appears as *-e-*. In this connection he has drawn attention to Krause's article from 1944. The first element *Inge-* in these

place-names has traditionally been explained as the gen. of the pers.n. *Inge* (masc.), but Hellberg finds this explanation formally impossible, for the medial *-i-* which we find in the earliest spellings clearly suggests an *-ia-* stem. He concludes that they are stem compounds of OSw **Ingvi* < PrScand **Ingwiæ*, *-ian-*, OWScand *Yngvi*, used as a term for the king of the *Svear*, who was of the *Ynglinga* dynasty and thus indeed an *Inguione*. It was simply a tag to mark certain places as royal or state property.

Conclusion

It is a priori possible that the element under notice here could have left traces in the earliest stratum of Anglian place-names. It would not be surprising if the Angles, prominent members of the *Inguionic* family, when they settled in Britain named a few of their earliest centres *Ingham* (PrGerm **Ingwia-haimaz*). The medial stem-forming suffix *-ia-* was syncopated early and the *-w-* (vocalized to *u*) would regularly disappear after a long root syllable. The above-mentioned OE form *Inguburg*, recorded once in the early Northumbrian *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*,²³ where we find it preserved as *-u-* after a long syllable, may seem to tell against this conclusion. This irregularity was actually discussed by Morsbach in an article on the dating of *Beowulf*. He explained *Ingu-* in *Inguburg* as an archaic form which was preserved longer in a proper name than in appellatives. He also showed that the *-u-* has disappeared regularly in other similar names in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*.²⁴

In the discussion of these names we are concerned with a period when the territorial framework of settlement can probably never be recovered, but place-name scholars have agreed that there were central places even in this early period and found that the names in *-ham* were such centres. In conclusion I should like to emphasise that this explanation of the first element of *Ingham* can only be applied to names with initial *Ing-* from the very earliest period of settlement. The other name mentioned at the beginning, *Ingworth*, which has a medial *-e-* in the majority of the old spellings, could very well, in spite of the loss of the *-n-*, contain the genitive of a pers.n. *Inga* (**Ingan* *word*). Most of the place-names in which *-n-* is preserved in the modern form listed by Ekwall (*Dagenham*, *Elsenham*, etc.; see above), also show Middle English spellings with only a medial *-e-*. A wider study of the development of the composition-joint *-an-*, whether the first element is the genitive of a weak noun or name, would seem to be an urgent task for place-name scholars.

APPENDIX

Recorded Forms of the Names *Ingham*, *Ingworth*

1. *Ingham* (parish), Norfolk (15.5 miles NE of Norwich)
Hincham (3x) 1086 DB; *Ingham* 1127-34 Holme (p), 1209, 1269, 1286 Ass, 1209 to 1367 FF, 1214 RP, 1254 Val, 1275 RH, 1283 RotOrig (p), 1289 NoRec (p), 1305 Bodl, 1302 to 1428 FA, 1303, 1351 Ipm, 1315 AD, 1330 SR, 1335 Ch, 1344, 1378 Cl, 1396, 1401 Pat, 1427 Fine, 1451 Past, 1535 VE; *Ingeham* 1189-99 to 1208 P (p), 1196 Cur (p), 1205 FineR (p), 1209, 1257 Ass, 1222 Bract (p), 1226 Cl, 1248 Ch; *Ygham* 12 HMC; *Yngham* 1212 Fees (p); *Ingham* 1460 Past.

2. *Ingham* (parish), Suffolk (4 miles N of Bury St Edmunds)
Ingham 1086 DB, c.1095 Bury, 1251 Ch; *Hingham* 1121-35 Bury (from Ekwall DEPN).
 Of a material of over 50 spellings, there are only five forms with a medial -e- (inf. from Carol Geddes).

3. *Ingham* (parish), Lincolnshire (7.5 miles NNW of Lincoln)
Ingeham 1086 DB; *Ingheham* c.1115 LiS; *Ingaham* 1163 RA; *Ingham* 1202 Ass (from Ekwall DEPN).
 Up to 1610 the following spellings have been found: 45 *Inge-*, *Yngeham* from 1086 to 1325 Pat (7 in DB); 99 without a medial -e- from early Henry II onwards (inf. from K. Cameron).

4. *Ingham*, Watlington parish, Oxfordshire (12.5 miles SE of Oxford)
Ingham 1050-2 (13c) KCD 950, 1385-6 CourtR et freq; *Ingam* c.1605 Survey; *Adingeham* 1086 DB (from Gelling PNO).

- To be compared with:

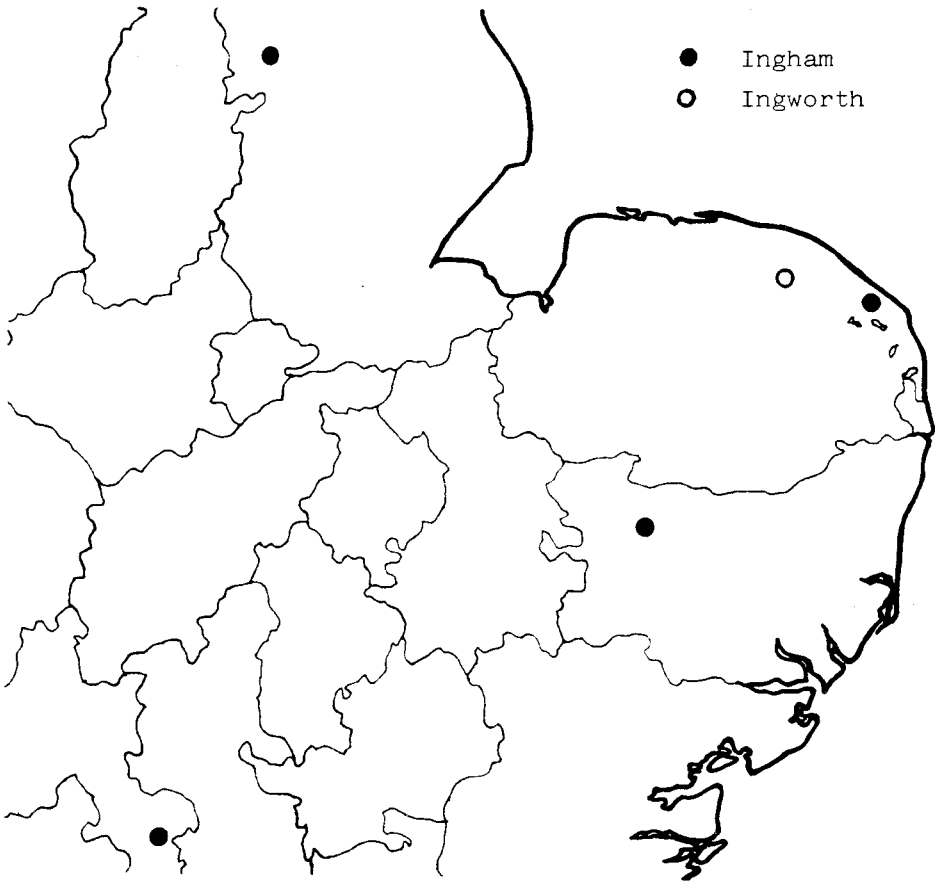
5. *Ingworth* (parish), Norfolk (13.5 miles N of Norwich)
Ingewrda, *Inghewurda* 1086 DB; *Ingewrde* 1140-53 Holme; *Ingerworth* 1199 Cur, 1207 Abbr; *Ingeworth(e)* 1207, 1317 FF, 1242 P, 1250, 1286 Ass, 1262 Ipm, 1275 RH, 1302 FA, 1321 Ch, 1379, 1384, 1391 Pat, 1436 Past; *Ingewrth(e)* 1209, 1250, 1257 Ass, 1242 Fees, 1285 FF; *Hnigewrd'* 1209 AR; *Ingewurth(e)* 1219, 1234 FF, 1226-8 Fees, 1261 Pat, 1269 Ass; *Iggewurdh'* 1230 P (p); *Yngewurth* 1247 Pat; *Ingwrth(e)* 1256 Ipm, 1263 Cl, 1269 Ass; *Yngewrthe* 1258 Pat; *Ingworth(e)* 1275 RH, 1286 Ass, 1314 Ipm, 1316 to 1428 FA, 1548 Pat; *Inggeworth* 1320 BM.

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The abbreviations for sources are the standard EPNS ones. The following are specific to Norfolk:

NoRec = *The Records of the City of Norwich*, ed. W. Hudson and J.C. Tingey, 2 vols. (Norwich, 1906-10).

Past = *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. N. Davis, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1971-6).



Map showing the situations of the place-names discussed

NOTES

- 1 See also my article, "From the King's Retainers to Unfree Peasants: Some Reflexes of Anglian Social-Class Groups in Norfolk Place-Names", *Nomina* 9 (1985) pp.21f..
- 2 See for instance Margaret Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (London, 1978) pp.106ff.
- 3 L. Hellberg, "Inge and Inga, ett omaka kortnamnspar", forthcoming in *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica*.
- 4 E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch, I, Personennamen* (2nd ed., Bonn, 1900) col.960.
- 5 E. Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th ed., Oxford, 1960).
- 6 E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittelenglischer Zeit*, *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, 37 (Halle, 1910) p.72; and id., *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, 47 (Halle, 1912) p.48.
- 7 M. Redin, *Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919) p.67; C.E. Blunt, "The Coinage of Athelstan, King of England 924-939", *The British Numismatic Journal* 42 (1974) pp.82, 129, 137.
- 8 See DEPN, s.n..
- 9 A detailed list of spellings for Ingham in Lincolnshire is not yet available. I am indebted to Professor Cameron for the above information and to Dr Margaret Gelling for drawing my attention to Ingham in Oxfordshire, discussed in her work, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire I*, *English Place-Name Society*, 23 (Cambridge, 1953) p.96. Dr Gelling points out that one of the sets of charter boundaries in the vicinity of the Oxfordshire Ingham has *Englingadene* for one of its boundary marks, which seems to denote an Anglian element in a predominantly Saxon population (*ibid.* p.xix).
- 10 R. Jordan, *Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik I* (Heidelberg, 1934).
- 11 E. Ekwall, *Studies on English Place- and Personal Names* (Lund, 1931) p.33.
- 12 *Namn och Bygd* 19 (1931) pp.173f.
- 13 W. Krause, "Ing", *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1944 (Göttingen, 1944) pp.229-54.
- 14 E. Wessén, *Studier till Sveriges hedna mytologi och fornhistoria*, *Uppsala universitets årsskrift* 1924: 6, p.49. Cf. W. Baetke, "Yngvi und die Ynglinger", *Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 109: 3 (Berlin, 1964).
- 15 E. Elgqvist, *Ullvi och Ullinshov* (Lund, 1955) p.115; H. Ståhl, *Ortnamn och ortnamnsforskning* (2nd ed., Uppsala, 1976) p.80.

- ¹⁶ On this see for instance J. Sahlgren, "Nerthus, Freyr och Freyja", *Namn och Bygd* 6 (1918) pp.22ff.
- ¹⁷ B. Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems of the Old Teutonic Peoples* (Cambridge, 1915) p.20. Cf. E. Björkman, *Die Eigennamen im Beowulf*, Stud. zur engl. Phil. 58 (Halle, 1920) p.80 and n.2.
- ¹⁸ Krause, "Ing", p.240.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p.234. Most of Krause's examples are from Förstemann (see above, n.4.).
- ²⁰ O. von Friesen, *Runstenen vid Röks kyrka, Lysings härad, Östergötland* (Stockholm, 1920) pp.135ff..
- ²¹ The original reads: "Freyr hét Yngvi þóru nafni. Yngva nafn var lengi síðan haft í hans átt fyrir tígnarnafn, ok Ynglingar váru síðan kallaðir hans áttmenn" (*Heimskringla I*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Íslensk Fornrit 26 [Reykjavík, 1941]).
- ²² L. Hellberg, "Ortnamnen och den forntida sveastaten", *Inledningar till NORNAS fjärde symposium Ortnamn och samhälle på Hanaholmen den 25-27.4.1975*, p.106 (typescript). Hellberg has also discussed these names in an article, "Aktuell forskning om tuna-namnen (4)", published in the *Uppsala Nya Tidning*, 26.2.1985.
- ²³ R. Müller, *Untersuchungen über die Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitae*, Palaestra 9 (Berlin, 1901) p.106. The manuscript is usually dated to the late 8th or early 9th century.
- ²⁴ L. Morsbach, "Zur Datierung des Beowulfepos", *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1906 (Berlin, 1906) p.259.