Leeds Studies in English

Article:

Karl Inge Sandred, 'Ingham in East Anglia: A New Interpretation', Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 18 (1987), 231-40

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Leeds Studies in English
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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. 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 Ingibjorg, Ingibjorn, Ingigerd, 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. 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. As far as England is concerned, Ekwall was aware that the OE pers.n. Inga is poorly evidenced and that compound pers.ns. in Ing- are rare, (DEPN 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. 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.

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 (Ekwall 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
Ingham
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.na.) 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 -hām 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, Coddenham, Debenham, Fakenham, Falkenham, Freckenham, Lavenham, Pakenham, Tuddenham; and from Norfolk: Bradenham, Brettenham, Buckenham (2 x), Fakenham, Freckenham, 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 *Ingaeones*. 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.

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,* a goddess of fertility mentioned by Tacitus and well evidenced in Swedish place-names, for instance Närlnunda (*Nerdalunda* 1386) in Västmanland, and Nártuna (*de Nierdhautunum* 1298) in Uppland. *Nerthus,* who has changed gender in Scandinavian mythology to masculine (*OSwed Njárd, Oicel Njórdr*), 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, Njórdr* 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ing} & \text{ was Ærest mid East-Denum} \\
\text{gesewen sceggun, op he siðan est} \\
\text{ofar wæg gewæl; wan after ran;} \\
\text{bus Heardingas þone hæle nemdun.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 Hroðgar 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 Ingulones". 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, OWScand Ing-, OE Ing-, Ing-, OHG Ing- 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 Ingulones. 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 Ingulones. 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 Ingulonic 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 Ingulonic 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 Ingulones (PrScand *Ingwian), meaning simply "the Ingulone".

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 *Ingwia*, -ian-, OSvScand 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, 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.

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)

   Hinchem (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; Ingchem 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); Engham 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)

   Gingelem 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 CourR 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)

   Ingewra, Inghewurda 1086 DB; Ingewrde 1140-53 Holme; Igerworth 1199 Cur, 1207 Abbr; Ingworth(e) 1207, 1317 FF, 1242 P, 1250, 1286 Ass, 1262 Ipm, 1275 RH, 1302 FA, 1321 Ch, 1379, 1384, 1391 Pat, 1436 Past; Ingwrth(e) 1209, 1250, 1257 Ass, 1242 Fees, 1285 FF; Hnigewrd' 1209 AR; Ingewrth(e) 1219, 1234 FF, 1226-8 Fees, 1261 Pat, 1269 Ass; Iggewurth' 1230 P (p); Yngewurth 1247 Pat; Ingwrth(e) 1256 Ipm, 1263 Cl, 1269 Ass; Yngwrthe 1258 Pat; Ingworth(e) 1275 RH, 1286 Ass, 1314 Ipm, 1316 to 1428 FA, 1548 Pat; Inggworthe 1320 BM.
Karl Inge Sandred

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


Map showing the situations of the place-names discussed
NOTES

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..


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).


On this see for instance J. Sahlgren, "Nerthus, Freyr och Freyja", Namn och Bygd 6 (1918) pp.22ff.


Krause, "Ing", p.240.

Ibid., p.234. Most of Krause's examples are from Förstemann (see above, n.4.).


The original reads: "Freyr hét Yngvi gúru nafni. Yngva nafn var lengi síðan haft í hans átt fyrrir tuginarnafn, ok Ynglingar varu síðan kallaðir hans áttmann" (Heimskringla I, ed. Bjarni Ædalbjarnarson, Íslenzk fornrit 26 [Reykjavik, 1941]).


R. Müller, Untersuchungen über die Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitæ, Palaestra 9 (Berlin, 1901) p.106. The manuscript is usually dated to the late 8th or early 9th century.