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THE SCANDINAVIAN COLONIES IN ENGLAND AND NORMANDY

THE Scandinavian settlements in England and France naturally invite comparison. In point of time they are little more than a generation apart. The colonies in eastern England were founded between 876 and 879.<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the colony which became the duchy of Normandy cannot be dated so precisely. But there can be no serious doubt that the Scandinavian occupation of Upper Normandy had taken place by the year 918 and there is good reason for believing that it began soon after 911.<sup>2</sup> It is also probable that a considerable number of veterans who had been campaigning in England between 892 and 896 took part in the foundation of Normandy, for there is a definite statement in the *Chronicle*<sup>3</sup> to the effect that vikings who had made no profit in the recent war crossed to the Seine in the latter year. In any case, the movement from which the duchy of Normandy arose clearly belongs to the same phase of Scandinavian enterprise which had founded the English Danelaw and thrown the kingdom of the West Franks into confusion in the last third of the ninth century.

But although the general circumstances of the Scandinavian settlement in Normandy are reasonably clear, its details and the nature of the social order to which it gave rise are impenetrably obscure. The history of the English Danelaw, doubtful as it is at many points, is illustrated by a considerable amount of ancient material. The course of the war which brought the Danelaw under the West Saxon monarchy is related at some

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under 876, 877, and 880.

<sup>2</sup> The circumstances of the occupation have recently been discussed, with a critical discussion of the historical evidence, by Professor D. C. Douglas, *English Historical Review* (1942), lvii, pp. 417-36.

<sup>3</sup> Under 897.

length by the contemporary Old English *Chronicle*. There still survive a number of careful statements of the customs prevailing in Danish England under the late Anglo-Saxon kings. The social order of the early Danelaw can in great part be recovered from Domesday Book, supplemented by charter-evidence of the Norman age. The intensity, and to some extent the nature of the settlement, are shown by the Scandinavian place-names of that country. There is much that will never be known about the condition of eastern England in the century before the Norman Conquest, but the main outlines of its Anglo-Danish society can be drawn with reasonable assurance.

For the study of early Norman society materials are few, and many of them are untrustworthy. The foundation of Normandy took place in an age which produced no contemporary chronicle in France or the Low Countries. There is no consistent Norman tradition about the foundation of the duchy. The panegyric history of the early dukes written by Dudo of St. Quentin for Duke Richard II<sup>1</sup> has suffered irretrievably from modern criticism. There are no early Norman surveys or treatises on the management of estates, such as the English *Rectitudines singularum personarum*. The reconstruction of early Norman society from later records, in any case a hazardous task, is made still more difficult by the fluctuating terminology applied to different social classes in different parts of the duchy and at different periods. Private charters of the middle ages which for the English Danelaw supply information of almost embarrassing volume, give much less help for Normandy. They are sparing of detail, particularly in regard to topography and to the facts which throw light on the relations between men of different classes. It follows that there are questions of the first importance about the Norman settlement on which it is hard to form any definite opinion. It may be hoped that the early Norman scene may become clearer when the Norman charter-evidence has been analysed more completely, but it is very unlikely that the social condition of any district in eleventh-century Normandy will ever be known as the social condition of the Danelaw shires is known to-day.

The most important of all the problems connected with early Normandy relates to the density and character of the settlement. In England the Danish colonisation of Alfred's time can fairly be described as a migration. It produced a settlement which in volume must have been intense and was

<sup>1</sup> *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniæ ducum*, ed. J. Lair (1865).

sufficiently coherent to preserve in England a large amount of inherited Danish custom. In at least the northern Danelaw, the settlement began with the ordered colonisation of definite regions by the rank and file of Danish armies under the supervision of the men who had led them in previous wars. In Normandy, large numbers of individual warriors must have taken part in the colonisation. The distinction between the Normans and the men of other provinces in northern France was recognised as late as the very end of the tenth century, when, for example, a contemporary writer records that Richard duke of the Pirates died of the lesser apoplexy.<sup>1</sup> The descent of a considerable number of Norman families can be traced back to an ancestor bearing a Scandinavian name. But the strength of the popular element in the Norman colony is still an open question. Here and there Norman records of the middle ages suggest the existence of small landholders who, though no more than peasants economically, were personally free from all the heavier forms of manorial servitude. It is not unreasonable to assume that some and probably many of these peasants represent the undistinguished ranks of the armies of the settlement. It is on the whole most probable that the peasants' revolt which is recorded by William of Jumièges in connection with the reign of Duke Richard II was a rising in defence of threatened liberties. On the other hand, there is no continuous tradition of Scandinavian influence behind the peasant order of medieval Normandy and there is nothing in the authorities for Norman history comparable to the explicit statement of the *Chronicle* that after the Danish leader Halfdan had divided Northumbria among his men in 876 they turned immediately to the cultivation of the land.

The study of Norman place-names which may in time make this essential problem clearer, is at present in an early stage of development.<sup>2</sup> A large number of early forms are preserved in medieval charters and it is not difficult to find references to at least the more important manorial centres of the duchy. But at the present time there are comparatively few cases in which the history of a particular name can be traced continuously through the middle ages. Moreover, names of insignificant settlements are recorded far less fully in Normandy than in the English Danelaw, and Norman records give much less information about field-names and names of uninhabited

<sup>1</sup> Richer, *Libri quatuor historiarum*, ed. G. Waitz, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known account of early Norman history by H. Prentout, *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du duché de Normandie* (Paris, 1911), does not discuss this kind of evidence.

sites. In England, names of this kind supply some of the most convincing arguments for the intensity of the Scandinavian settlement of the Danelaw, and the comparative scarcity of this material for Normandy means that the picture of the settlement as supplied by local names is blurred. Comparatively little, even of the published evidence, has so far been critically studied for this purpose, and until this work has been carried through, any observations that are made about Norman place-names in general or about the character of early Norman society can be no more than tentative.

In much of what has been published on this subject, its difficulties are minimised. The book which gives the most convenient general view of the field, *Danske Minder i Normandie* by A. Fabricius,<sup>1</sup> provides what is at first sight a very impressive list of Scandinavian words occurring in Norman place-names and of Scandinavian personal names occurring in Norman records. The more familiar work of Auguste Longnon, *Les noms de lieu de la France*,<sup>2</sup> devotes a section to the Scandinavian element in French nomenclature which again gives the impression of a considerable Scandinavian vocabulary in early Normandy. Many of his examples are clear enough. But Longnon approached the subject as a historian rather than as a philologist, and his work, like that of Fabricius, needs much revision. In particular, neither Fabricius nor Longnon made sufficient allowance for the fact that for more than four hundred years before the Norman occupation, Normandy had been part of the Frankish kingdom, nor for the well-recorded settlement of Saxons in western Normandy before the Franks had gained possession of the Norman coast-lands. Many of the elements which are generally taken as evidence of Scandinavian colonisation may equally well be due to earlier Saxon or Frankish settlement. There are many words of common Germanic origin of which the Scandinavian, the Saxon and the Frankish forms are indistinguishable in medieval spellings. On a strict examination such as that recently carried through by Hermann Gröhler,<sup>3</sup> many elements generally regarded as characteristically Scandinavian prove to be of little if any value as evidence for the racial composition of the Norman people. It is, for example, an important fact that many names which have at one time or another been regarded as proofs of Scandinavian influence in Normandy, have parallels in the Somme valley or in parts of the Low Countries where Scandi-

navian settlement can never have been more than negligible. The whole study of Norman place-names needs to be re-handled, with constant reference to recent work upon the early vocabulary and habits of name-formation of the various people inhabiting the coast of the North Sea.

It is already clear that the Scandinavian element in Norman place-names is much less extensive than might at first sight be expected. The words which can be of no other than Scandinavian origin are few. The chief among them are *búth*, 'booth',<sup>1</sup> *bú*, which in Normandy was used, though rarely, where *by* would have been used in England,<sup>2</sup> *thorp*, 'hamlet or farm',<sup>3</sup> *thveit*, 'enclosed clearing',<sup>4</sup> *toft*, 'dwelling',<sup>5</sup> *haugr*, 'hill',<sup>6</sup> *holm*, 'water meadow or low-lying land',<sup>7</sup> *hafn*, 'haven',<sup>8</sup> and Old Norse *floi*, Swedish *flo*, 'water-course'.<sup>9</sup> Among the words not specifically Scandinavian which from their context may generally be regarded as of northern origin, the chief are *bec*, 'stream',<sup>10</sup> *gata*, 'road',<sup>11</sup> *marr*, 'lake or pool',<sup>12</sup> and *dalr*, 'valley'.<sup>13</sup> The impression of an intensive Scandinavian settlement which many writers have derived from the local names of Normandy, is due not so much to the number of Scandinavian elements which are employed as to the numerous cases in which such elements as *bec*, *búth* and *toft* re-appear in local names in different parts of the Duchy. When all allowance has been made for the imperfect record of minor names in Norman documents, it is clear that there is a fundamental distinction between the character of the Scandinavian place-names of Normandy and the English Danelaw. The most remarkable feature of the English evidence is its variety, which places the popular nature of the Danish settlement beyond dispute. The Norman evidence is varied enough

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Daubeuf (Eure), Daubouf (Calvados), 'booth in a valley', Elbeuf (Seine Inférieure), 'booth by the elder-trees'.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Rarely found, but survives in Torps (Calvados), le Torpt (Eure).

<sup>4</sup> Fairly common. Survives, e.g., in numerous examples of Le Thuit (Eure) and in compounds such as Longthuit (Seine Inférieure).

<sup>5</sup> Very common, both independently as in Le Tôf (Manche) and in compounds. Ecquetot, which contains ON *eshi*, 'ash grove', is identical with Eastoft in Axholme. Sassetot (Seine Inférieure) contains the personal name Saxi, which occurs in Sasseville (below, p. 8) and elsewhere in Normandy.

<sup>6</sup> As in Saint-Waast-la-Hogue (Manche).

<sup>7</sup> Often appears independently as in le Houleme (Seine Inférieure).

<sup>8</sup> Of which the most interesting compound is Fécamp, 'fish haven'.

<sup>9</sup> As in Honfleur (Calvados). This word does not seem to occur in Danish England.

<sup>10</sup> Very common, Houlbec (Eure), 'stream in a hollow', has several parallels in England, such as Holbeck near Leeds.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. Houlgate (Calvados), 'Hollow way'.

<sup>12</sup> Common, as in Longuemare (Seine Inférieure).

<sup>13</sup> Common, as in Daubeuf above.

<sup>1</sup> Copenhagen, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1920-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Über Ursprung und Bedeutung der französischen Ortsnamen*, Part ii, Heidelberg, 1933.

to show that the leaders who carried through the colonisation were accompanied by a considerable number of followers of lower rank. But there is no sign in any part of Normandy of the wholesale incorporation of Scandinavian loan-words into the local agricultural vocabulary.

Perhaps the most striking contrast between the Scandinavian place-names of Normandy and those of the English Danelaw is the rarity of Norman names corresponding to the innumerable English names in *-by*. The English evidence shows that a word *byr*, or *by*, had come into common use as the designation of a settlement by the middle of the ninth century. In Normandy the one clear example of this name seems to be Hambye (Manche), of which the first element is uncertain. There is more evidence for the use in Normandy of the closely related *bú*, of which the only recorded English example is apparently Barnbow in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In Normandy the elements *by* and *bú* sometimes appear interchangeably with one another in the same name. Carquebut (Manche), for example, appears in early sources both as *Quierquebu* and as *Kirkebi*. But the total number of place-names containing either word is negligible in comparison with the number of English names in *-by*. In addition to Hambye and Carquebut, Bourguèbus (Calvados), 'settlement by the fort', Tournebut (Manche), 'village by the thorns', and Tournebu, of which there is one example in Calvados and another in Eure, are well recorded. To all appearance the element *bú* stands by itself in La Bu sur Rouvres in Calvados. Some names of this type may have escaped notice owing to the absence of early forms. But it is clear that the element was used most sparingly and its rarity gives some ground for the belief that colonisation in village settlements was far less common in Normandy than in England. The same impression that the settlement of Normandy was much more individualistic than that of the English Danelaw is given by the numerous Norman names containing the elements *buth* and *toft*, neither of which is at all prominent in the earlier names of Danish England. Regarded as a whole, the place-names of Normandy give the impression that the Scandinavian colonisation was a process essentially aristocratic, in which the settlement of large groups of peasant warriors was, to say the least, exceptional.

The Scandinavian strain in the Norman aristocracy is naturally reflected to some degree in the personal names borne by its members. But the reflection is less clear than could be wished, for before Norman records become numerous a

large number of important Norman families had adopted names of continental Germanic origin similar to those in use elsewhere in northern France. The change began early in the ducal house itself. Rollo, the founder of the duchy, gave the Germanic name Wilhelm to his son and heir. The personal names in the oldest extant collection of Norman records—the cartulary of the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Rouen<sup>1</sup>—show that the process had gone very far before 1066. At the date of Domesday Book, which is by far the most important source of material for this study, there is no doubt that names of Scandinavian origin, with few exceptions, were completely out of fashion in baronial, and even in knightly circles. Here and there among the Normans in England there appear names which recall earlier history. Thurstan son of Rolf, who had carried the Norman standard at Hastings, bore, as his father had borne, a name undoubtedly of Scandinavian origin. In the names of Hugh son of Grip, William son of Manne and William son of Stur, the father's name is Scandinavian and the son's name is continental Germanic. Stigand bishop of Chichester who was of Norman extraction, bore, like Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, the Old Norse adjectival name *Stigándr*. On the other hand, it is clear that names like these represent a tradition in name-giving which was rapidly becoming faint. In the end the only Scandinavian name-stems which retained much vitality in Normandy were *Ás*,<sup>2</sup> *Ketel* and *Thór*. Whatever the rate at which the change may have proceeded, it seems clear that the stock of Scandinavian names which was still being drawn upon by the English thegns of 1066 had in great part been abandoned by their contemporaries of equal rank, the barons of pre-Conquest Normandy.

The prevalence of northern names among the Norman aristocracy of an earlier time comes out clearly enough in the series of personal names preserved in Norman place-names. Here again much of the evidence is ambiguous. Among the names thus preserved a considerable number may equally well be of Scandinavian or Germanic origin.<sup>3</sup> It is, for example,

<sup>1</sup> *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité du mont de Rouen*, ed. A. Deville (*Collection des cartulaires de France*, iii. 1840).

<sup>2</sup> Generally represented in Normandy by the Saxon equivalent *Os*, as in Osbern for Ásbjörn, Osmund for Ásmundr, or by the Frankish equivalent *Ans*, as in Ansgar for Ásgeirr, Ansfrid for Ásfridr. On the conditions which produced these replacements, see O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest personal names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937, p. 164.) In course of time, *Ans* frequently became *An*, as in the name of Anquetil Mallory, a well-known baron of the earl of Leicester's fee in the reign of Henry II.

<sup>3</sup> The relationship between the personal nomenclature of the Scandinavians and that of other Germanic peoples is set out in detail by H. Naumann in *Altnordische Namenstudien* (Berlin, 1912).

uncertain whether the personal name compounded in Fatouville is the Scandinavian *Fastulfr* or the Germanic *Fastulf*. It is necessary to make large deductions from the long list of Scandinavian personal names in Fabricius's *Danske Minder i Normandiet*. But more recent and more critical studies of these names, such as that of Jakob Jakobsen in *Stednavne og Personnavne i Normandiet*,<sup>1</sup> leave no doubt of the extent to which names of northern origin were at one time prevalent in the duchy. Éculleville (Manche) contains ON *Skalli*; Émondeville (Manche), ON *Amundi*; Carville (Seine Inférieure and Calvados), ON and ODan *Kári*; Heugueville (Seine Inférieure and Eure), ON *Helgi*; Équiqueville (Seine Inférieure), ON *Skeggi*; Écauville (Eure), ON *Skalli*; Équeurdreville (Manche), ON *Skejlár*; Sotteville (Seine Inférieure, Eure and Manche), ON *Sóti*; Sasseville (Seine Inférieure), ON *Saxi*; Azeville (Manche), ON *Ási*; Catteville (Manche), ON *Káti*; Hattenville (Seine Inférieure), ON *Hásteinn*; Thouberville (Eure), ON *Thorbjörn*; Tourgeville (Calvados), ON *Thorgils*; Turlaville (Manche), ON *Thorlár*; Tremauville (Seine Inférieure), ON *Thormódr*; Toutainville (Eure), ON *Thorsteinn*; Torqueville (Seine Inférieure), ON *Thorketill*; and Quetteville (Calvados) ON *Ketill*. This list contains nothing beyond a representative selection of the Scandinavian names preserved in the local names of Normandy. It could be more than trebled at the present time, and it is probable that many new examples will be found when the analysis of Norman place-names has gone further, and the influence of French sound-changes on this Scandinavian nomenclature can be traced more clearly. Many of these names are recorded in or before the second half of the eleventh century. Nothing definite can be said about the date at which they came into being. But their variety leaves little doubt that they arose in the first half of the period between the Scandinavian settlement of Normandy and the Norman invasion of England.

In any case they offer a line of approach towards some difficult questions in early Norman history. In particular they afford a small amount of trustworthy evidence on what is still the controversial question of the origin of the Norman people. The relative strength of the Danish and Norwegian elements in early Normandy is one of those problems for which no very definite solution is ever likely to be found. The origin to be assigned to Rollo, the original Norman leader, depends on a nice balancing of probabilities.<sup>2</sup> On the other

<sup>1</sup> Published in *Danske Studier* (1911), pp. 59-84.

<sup>2</sup> Discussed most recently by Professor Douglas in the article, noted above, p. 1, which indicates the weight of the evidence for Rollo's Norwegian descent.

hand, the general question of Norman origins has been brought a little nearer a solution by modern work upon the personal names of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. There is a small but gradually increasing number of these names which can be ascribed with reasonable certainty to Denmark or Sweden on the one hand, and to western Scandinavia on the other.<sup>1</sup> Although the great majority of the personal names compounded in Norman place-names may equally well be derived from east Scandinavian or west Scandinavian sources, there are a few about which it is possible to be definite. It is doubtful whether any of these names are specifically west Scandinavian, and the study that has so far been given to them certainly strengthens the impression that the Danish element was definitely preponderant in the tenth century duchy. *Áhi*, for example, which is contained in Acqueville (Calvados and Manche); *Ápi*, which occurs in Appeville (Manche, Eure and Seine Inférieure); *Toki*, from which Tocqueville is derived; and *Manni*, which underlie three separate examples of Manneville (Seine Inférieure, Eure, and Calvados), are all specifically east Scandinavian. *Múli*, which is compounded in Muneville (Manche), occurs in Swedish and Danish runic inscriptions, but, apart from place-names, is only recorded as a bye-name in west Scandinavian sources. Dragueville (Manche) and Draqueville (Seine Inférieure) contain a name *Draki*, or *Draghi*, which is only found in Sweden and Denmark. *Barni*, found in Banneville (Calvados) and Barneville (Eure, Calvados and Manche), is not recorded in Old Norse, but occurs in Denmark both independently and in place-names. The unidentified *Maltevilla*, where the monastery of the Holy Trinity, Rouen, had property,<sup>2</sup> is derived from a name *Malte*, which seems to be confined to Denmark, but is well-recorded there. *Bondi*, found in Bondeville (Seine Inférieure) is among the commonest of names in Denmark, but is extremely rare in western Scandinavia. In view of the obscurity of many Norman names and the imperfect record of others, even a brief list like this proves a strong east Scandinavian element in the society which has left its memorial in the place-names of Normandy.

The group of place-names from which these examples have been quoted is also of value as an illustration of general conditions in Normandy in the period following the original settle-

<sup>1</sup> Other examples are likely to appear when the definitive collection of Danish personal names appearing in *Danmarks Gamle Personnavne* (Copenhagen, 1936-9) has been completed. At present it does not extend beyond the letter I.

<sup>2</sup> *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité*, pp. 437 et seqq.

ment. In each of these names a Scandinavian personal name is compounded with the Late Latin word *villa*. It is impossible to define at all closely the sense which this word bore at the beginning of the tenth century. Of its various meanings, 'manor' probably represents the word most nearly. Whatever may have been the type of estate denoted by the word, there can be no doubt that at the time of the Norman settlement the word itself was part of the current vocabulary of the districts which passed into Scandinavian occupation. On general grounds it is more than probable that compounds such as Hattenville and Éculleville arose, not among the Scandinavian colonists themselves, but among the peasantry of whom in varying degrees they had become the lords. In many cases it is possible that the Scandinavian personal name has replaced the name of an earlier Frankish or Saxon owner of the estate. In any case the remarkable frequency of such compounds proves at least that the pre-invasion peasantry of the region cannot have been displaced in any wholesale manner by the new settlers from the North.

Names of a type which is essentially similar to this occur in very considerable numbers in the English Danelaw. The word *villa* was never adopted by the original Anglo-Saxon colonists of England. The word which was applied most frequently in England to the nucleus of an estate was the familiar Old English *tūn*. In the Danelaw there are many place-names in which this native element is preceded by a Scandinavian personal name. Compounds such as Thorkell's *tūn*, Gunnulf's *tūn*, Thorgeirr's *tūn*, and Aslak's *tūn*, which have become Thurcaston, Gonalstone, Thurgarton and Aslocton, correspond both in type and in historical significance to Norman names like Azeville, Heugueville or Torqueville. If the distribution of these Anglo-Danish hybrids is plotted on a map, the result is interesting. They occur in largest number not within, but on the fringes of the districts where other signs of Scandinavian influence are most numerous and convincing. They are characteristic of regions such as Derbyshire, the centre and south of Nottinghamshire, and East Anglia, where Scandinavian settlement was clearly less intensive than in counties such as Lincoln and York. Like the hybrids of a similar type in Normandy, they point to a state of society in which the immigrants from the North formed a minority of the population, dominant, but too small to impress a purely Scandinavian character on the names given to estates.

The most interesting point of contrast between the place-names of Normandy and those of the English Danelaw is the

fact that while hybrid formations of this type are exceptional in Danish England, they give a distinctive character to the village names of Normandy.<sup>1</sup> So far as can be seen, there is no part of Normandy in which, as in many parts of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, large numbers of local names were created by men speaking a Scandinavian language. In particular, there are no Norman parallels to the innumerable village names of a Scandinavian pattern which are characteristic of the English Danelaw. It is possible that the Latinised spellings in which these Norman names repeatedly appear, may sometimes conceal Scandinavian forms preserved in common speech. But the general contrast between the local names of Normandy and those of the English Danelaw is too clear to be explained away on these lines, and there can be little doubt that its origin lies very far back in the history of these countries.

It can at least be said that a contrast of this kind might be expected to follow from the different circumstances under which the Scandinavian colonies in England and Normandy came into being. The effect of these contrasted circumstances can be traced through all the subsequent history of these colonies. As a political unit the English Danelaw has no history. Its inhabitants were brought to accept West Saxon lordship within fifty years from the original settlement. Thenceforward their main concern was to preserve the ways of life which they had found for themselves in the time of their independence. Their allegiance to the West Saxon monarchy was secured, a century after the landing of their ancestors in England, when King Edgar granted them autonomy in all matters of law and social custom. In the wars of the eleventh century their attitude was determined far more effectively by the personal interests of a small group of great families than by any general consciousness of an alien origin. Their action at any particular crisis was incalculable. They were ready to fight at any time for their ancestral liberties, but they continued to regard themselves as members of a united English state.

There is no need to underline the contrast between the massive rustic conservatism of the Danes in England and the passion for militant adventure through which the Normans changed the course of European history. But there is much to

<sup>1</sup> The contrast has often been obscured by inaccurate parallels drawn between individual names in England and Normandy, such as the statement that Hacqueville (Manche) is identical with Haconby in Lincolnshire. In reality, the two names differ from each other fundamentally. Each contains the ON personal name Hákon. But while Haconby is a purely Scandinavian compound, Hacqueville is partly Scandinavian and partly Frankish Latin.

suggest that the contrast itself reflects an essential difference between the nature of Scandinavian colonisation in England and in Gaul. The Danish colonies in England were founded after more than ten years of incessant fighting by men who deliberately turned from warfare to agriculture. The establishment of Rollo's army in upper Normandy was not the conclusion of an enterprise but an episode in a series of campaigns. It may be doubted whether Rollo himself foresaw that the lands by which King Charles the Simple had purchased his support would form the nucleus of a permanent state. Earlier Frankish kings had given land to earlier viking leaders for the greater security of the Frankish kingdom. None of the viking colonies thus founded had survived. What Rollo and his followers obtained from the grant of upper Normandy was not land for peaceful settlement so much as a base of operations for future wars. The later acquisitions of Rollo and his son—Maine and the Bessin in 924, the Cotentin and Avranchin in 933—were made with difficulty, and some of them proved to be impermanent. There was little opportunity under these conditions for the conversion of fighting men into farmers, which is the outstanding feature of the Danish settlement in England. In dealing with any aspect of early Norman history it is impossible to get very far down beneath speculation to concrete fact. But it may at least be claimed that the facts which are at present known about early Norman society, the personal names which it employed and the place-names which in some degree reflect its character, agree with the picture of Norman origins which is suggested by the historical evidence.