

On the etymology of *at Jóni*, *Jumne* and *Jónsborg*

By Alexandra Petrusevich

1. General introduction

The situation regarding the toponyms under study here (*at Jóni*, *Jumne* and *Jónsborg*) is extremely complex, since there are more than 10 place-name forms (to mention just a few: *at Jóni*, *Jumne*, *Julin*, *Wolin*) recorded in Scandinavian, German and Slavic primary sources which, according to the majority of scholars,¹ denote one and the same place – identified, as a rule, as the town of Wolin, situated on the southern tip of Wolin island in Polish Pomerania.

1.1. Objectives and points of departure

The abundance of the place-name forms suggests that, apart from considering the etymology of *at Jóni*, *Jónsborg* and *Jumne*, I will have to try to answer the following questions:

1. whether the forms mentioned in the primary sources are in any way related;
2. if so, what their relationships may have been; and
3. what could possibly have led to this sort of diversity.

The answer to the first question is the most crucial, as it affects the points of departure of the present research. Having examined most of the primary and secondary sources, I am convinced that all the toponym forms denoting Wolin are in some way connected (of course, not all the name forms in question share the same etymology).

It is natural to assume that there are a few groups of place-name forms, related in different ways, within the ‘Wolin group’ as a whole, given the linguistic and historical evidence (e.g. the forms themselves, the correlation between the names used and the events described, suggesting the way the place-names were transmitted, the author’s competence etc.). More-

¹ See Lexicon 1, p. 328; *Saga of the Jomsvikings*, p. vii; Labuda 1964, p. 184; Schmidt 2000, pp. 120 f.; Słupecki 2000 and references there.

over, this is the only way the problem of the various Wolin names can be solved.

Owing to the limitations of this article, I will not be able to deal with all the toponym forms at length. I have therefore picked out the names recorded in Scandinavian sources (skaldic poetry, sagas, chronicles written in Latin): *at Jómi*, *Jomne*, *Hynnisburg*, *Jómsborg*, *Jumpne*, *ath Jomune*, *af Jomni*, and forms from German sources that are related to them (*Jumne*, *Jum(ne)ta*), using an etymological criterion. I shall consider these toponym forms to be the subject of my investigation and shall examine them in the greatest possible detail.

Saxonis Gesta danorum is an exception among the Scandinavian sources. Saxo does not follow the common Scandinavian practice, but uses the forms *Julinum*, *Jumensis provincia*/*Julinensis provincia* to denote the town of Wolin and the ‘region of Wolin’, respectively. I shall analyse these variants with other place-name forms, which are not related to Scandinavian forms, explaining why Saxo used these toponyms, and how he came to have two forms for the region of Julin – *Jumensis provincia* and *Julinensis provincia*.

As for the place-names that are not related to Scandinavian forms (in Slavic chronicles and documents, as well as in related German chronicles), I shall limit myself to a concise summary of what has been done by other scholars, who have suggested different etymologies and hence ways in which the toponyms within the group are related.

To make the writing process easier, I am dividing the toponym forms denoting Wolin into two major groups: Group 1 or ‘Scandinavian place-names’, i.e. the place-names used in Scandinavian and related German sources, excluding *Saxonis Gesta danorum* (see Table 1), and Group 2 or ‘Slavic place-names’, i.e. the place-names used in Slavic and related German sources, including *Saxonis Gesta danorum* (see Table 3). I would like to emphasise that the names of these groups have nothing to do with etymology, but reflect the frequency of certain forms in written sources in particular territories.

2. The evidence of Scandinavian and related German sources

2.1. Base forms

There are two base forms of the place-names studied, recorded in the mid and late 11th century respectively: a form in the dative, *at Jómi*, which is used by

Arnórr jarlaskáld Þórðarson² (c.1046), and *Jumne*, a form used by Adam of Bremen (c.1072).

In *Hrynhenda* and *Magnúsdrápa*, devoted to Magnús góði, Arnórr depicts Magnús's victory over the Wends, mentioning some sort of Wendish 'habitat' (see Table 1). The source used by the skald is unknown. However, it is likely that the toponym *at Jóni* was either taken from the oral tradition or borrowed by the author from one of the eyewitnesses of the events.

The magnificent Slavic town of *Jumne* appears in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (see Table 1). It is primarily described as a commercial port, but the author gives accounts of Harald Bluetooth's escape and of Magnús's siege as well. Adam could have obtained the name of the town from two possible sources – German merchants (who described the town as a trading port) or Sven II Estridsson of Denmark (Adam's main informant on Danish history).

2.2. The forms *at Jóni* and *Jumne* in later sources

The two base forms *at Jóni* and *Jumne* were borrowed into later sources, either changed or distorted to a varying degree. It is worthwhile to divide the primary sources mentioning these toponyms into two groups or traditions: Old Norse (skaldic poetry, *konunga sögur*, including *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum* and *Ágrip af sögu danakonunga*) and Latin (chronicles). I am aware of the narrowness of this approach, which does not take into account the familiarity of authors with works written in both languages and, accordingly, the mutual influence of the traditions. Nevertheless, such a division will best enable me to trace the development of the base forms.

A compound *Jónsborg* and its derivatives appear in Old Norse sources by the end of the 12th century (see Table 1). The compound is formed in accordance with the standard model (dat. (*at*) *Jóni* > gen. *Jóns* + the generic *-borg*, cf. *Steinsborg* (Kamień Pomorski), *Burstaborg* (*bursta* is a gen. pl. of *burst*) (Szczecin), *Jórsalaborg* (*sala* is a gen. pl. of *salr*) (Jerusalem)). It is interesting that the aforementioned declension of the toponym *at Jóni* is the only one found in primary sources. It is likely that the name was considered to be either masculine or neuter, which was enough to form a genitive, but not enough to determine a nominative, resulting in 'fossilisation': the form *at Jóni* was used only in combination with the preposition *at* (*ath*, *af*) and in

² Apart from in the poetic works of Arnórr jarlaskáld, the form *at Jóni* is encountered once again in the *Jónsvikingadrápa* (c.1200) by Bjarni Kolbeinsson, the bishop of Orkney (see Table 1).

most cases functioned in parallel with the compound *Jómsborg* (JómS., p. 74, Fsk., pp. 80, 115, 208, Hkr. 3, p. 43), the declension of which did not cause any problems. Naturally, the form *Jómsborg* is much more frequent than *at Jómi*.

In the Latin tradition, the form *Jumne* was transformed into *Ium(ne)ta* and *Vinneta* in Helmold's³ *Chronica Slavorum* (c.1172); into *Jomne* in *Historia Norvegiae* (12th–13th centuries); into *Hynnisburgh* in *Svenonis* (1185–9); and into *Iumpne*⁴ in AL (14th century) (see Table 1).

I would like once again to emphasise the possible interrelationship between the two base forms. It is likely that Adam's form *Jumne* alone is behind the variants from Helmold and AL, *Jum(ne)ta* and *Iumpne*, whereas the author of *Historia Norvegiae* was apparently familiar with both Latin (HN, p. XXI) – Adam's *Gesta* is one of the sources used – and Old Norse names (cf. *at Jómi*), and his choice of the root vowel *o* (*Jomne*) in a Latin text can be seen as a correction of Adam's form.

Wolfgang Laur (2005, pp. 14, 22) adduces two more forms, *Junume* and *Iulinum*, which are said to be used in Annalista Saxo under the year 1160. First, Annalista Saxo incorporates the years 741–1139 and, second, the town of Wolin is not mentioned there (AnS, pp. 1–616). Perhaps Laur had Saxo Grammaticus in mind, who described events that happened in 1160 and used the toponyms *Julinum* and *Jumensis provincia/Julinensis provincia* in his work.

The form *Jomne* in *Historia Norvegiae* was corrected by Gustav Storm to *Jome* (HN, p. 113), which, to my mind, only obscures the situation. Apparently, dat. *Jómi* can denote a town only in combination with the preposition

³ According to Roderich Schmidt (2000, p. 121), the oldest manuscript suggests the reading *uineta*, which was changed by a copyist into *iumta* = *iumenta* or *iumneta*. Mikołaj Rudnicki (1936, p. 91) points out that the suffix *-eta* is not known in Polish or even Slavic toponymy, but in names like *Lgota* < *Lbg-ota* from *lekki* ('light') < **lbg-ōkō*, *u-lg-a* etc. there is the suffix *-ota*, which stands in an apophonic relationship to the probable **eta*, cf. the male suffix *kok-ot* < *kok-otō* : *kocz-ot* (*kok-etō*); however, there are no such examples for the female suffix **eta*. The form *Vinneta* 'beruht auf einer falschen Lesung oder einem Schreibfehler für *Jumneta*' (Bach 1953, p. 26). For more information on Helmold's forms, see Schmidt 2000, p. 121, and Rudnicki 1936, p. 91.

⁴ Inserting *-p-* in the consonant cluster *mn* in Slavic *-nb-* names was quite common in Latin documents, cf. *Črmno*: *Cermule*, *Cermulepotoka* (1269), terra *Chermona* (1293), *Chrmna* (1300), *Cherempne*, *Cherumpna* (1352), *Czermnuo*; *Łomno*: de Hompno... *Lompno* (1440), *Lomno* (1480), *Lomno* (1578); *Lomná*: *Lompna* (1382), *Lumpna* (1390); *Slomno*: *Slomno* (1283), *Slompno* (1283), *Slomno* (1291, 1295), etc. (Borek 1968, pp. 41, 132, 221). According to Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen (1957, p. 275), inserting *-p-* in the consonant clusters *mt* (*md*) and *mn* is characteristic of East Danish, Scanian in particular; *-p-* is possibly an 'ortografisk Udtryk for Ophævelsen af Læbelukket ved Artikulationsovergangen fra Labial til Dental'. The appearance of *-p-* in *Jumne* in a text from Lund is not surprising; *Jumne* and *Jumpne* should be seen as equivalents.

at (see 5.1). I see no possibility of using the form to name a town in the context (see Table 1), unless a further preposition is added (*in civitate in/at Jome*). Naturally, the author of *Historia Norvegiæ* copies Adam's form, which in *Gesta* denotes both the town and, apparently, the island it is situated on (see 5.2).

The form *Hynnisburgh* is most likely a result of copyists' mistakes. However, I do not accept the original form *Hyumsburgh* suggested by some scholars.⁵ I am convinced that the genuine form was a logical development of *Jumne*, which was seen as an *ia*-stem by the Danish author. Irrespective of the root vowel and the gender, one can expect a form **Jumnesborg/*Jumnisborg*⁶ in the circumstances.

The scribal version *Hynnisburgh* was it seems a result of orthographical transformations. An *h*- before the initial vowel was quite common in Latin texts, cf. *horebro*, *herjcs*, *Hæspíryd* ~ *espiryd*; *hæabro* ~ *Esibro* (Nordberg 1926, pp. 165 f.). The letters *nn* appeared because of a miswriting of *mn*. However, the change of *iu*- into *-y*- can hardly be satisfactorily explained. According to Stig Olsson Nordberg (1926, pp. 141 f., 144 ff.), the letters *u/ui* could be substituted for *y* in Swedish Latin texts, e.g. *Wicbu*, *wigbui*, *Walby*; *dalbui*, *dalby* etc., but not the other way around. The German element *-burgh* is natural for the Latin chronicles used by the author, cf. *Hammaburg*, *Magdeburg*, *Mersiburg*, *Brandanburg*, *Aldinburg* etc. (Adam).

The late compilation *Flateyjarbók* (14th century) uses variants of both base forms, Old Norse *at Jóni* > *a Jome* and Latin *Jumne* > *af Jomni*, *ath Jomune*, as well as the commonest form *Jónsborg* (see Table 1). Although the Old Norse and Latin forms appear in one work, they are mentioned in different sagas (*a Jome* in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* and *Jónsvíkinga saga*, and *af Jomni/ath Jomune* in *Magnús saga hins góða ok Haralds saga harðráða*). If the saga contexts are compared with those of Adam's *Gesta* (a short abstract of which is included in the manuscript), it is possible to explain the presence of Latin forms in the Old Norse text. Adam makes no mention of Jónsvíkingar and their connection with the Slavic town of Jumne, but the siege of Jumne by Magnús góði is briefly described (Adam, p. 137). Apparently, the *Flateyjarbók* authors used the forms *ath Jomune* and *af Jomni* to correspond to the

⁵ See *Svenonis*, p. 118, Labuda 1964, p. 184. *Hyumsburgh* is hardly possible at all from the point of view of the linguistic evidence. The only condition under which *-n*- 'im inlaute' can be dropped in Old Norse is in a combination of three consonants (Noreen 1923, p. 214). One cannot possibly get a form **Jumnsburg* that would allow *-n*- to be eliminated from an *ia*-stem *Jumne*.

⁶ *Mimer* is the only exception known to me which 'nicht ganz selten' takes an *a*-stem gen. *Mims* (Noreen 1923, p. 258).

Latin source.

Clearly, *afJomni* and *athJomune* are late orthographical variants of *Jumne*. If, as I believe, the two forms are related, it is not easy to determine which of them is the original one. The form *afJomni* is used in skaldic poetry (Arn. Magndr., Flat. 3, see Table 1), which is believed to be a highly reliable source. However, if *afJomni* is accepted as the genuine form, the epenthetic vowel in the prose form *athJomune* is difficult to explain. More likely, the original form *Jomune* is based on the spelling variants of *Jumne*, which contain an epenthetic vowel, cf. *Junume*, *Iuminne*, *Iuminem*, *Iunine* etc. (see Table 2). *Jomune* was then adjusted to suit the requirements of skaldic verse, i.e. shortened to the disyllabic *Jomni* by the loss of a short unstressed vowel in the penultimate syllable.

The Latin forms are combined with prepositions in the Old Norse text, which is natural in a place-name derived from the name of a landscape feature. The most plausible explanation for the different prepositions – *af* in the poetic text and *ath* in the prose – is a mistake (*f* was written instead of *t*), which is suggested by parallels with *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna*, cf. *afJomni/athJomune* ('away from *Jóm'n') in *Flateyjarbók* and *atJómi* ('at *Jóm') in *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna* (Table 1). Otherwise the meaning of the skaldic verse is distorted. In the context, with no motion implied, the preposition *af* most likely denotes 'direction from but at the same time continuous connection with an object from which an act or thing proceeds, *from*' (e.g. 'gengr þar af Meðalfellsströnd') according to Cleasby (p. 4); 'away from, off' (e.g. '.iiii. milur af Jerusalem') according to ONP (p. 55). Cf. Arn. Magndr. 8 in *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna*: 'at *Jóm', and *Flateyjarbók*: 'away from *Jóm'n'.

2.3. Conclusions: the root vowel and the relationship between *atJómi* and *Jumne*

Having examined the toponyms in question (*atJómi/Jómsborg* and *Jumne*), the German researchers Wolfgang P. Schmid, Laur and Jürgen Udolph come to the conclusion that the vowel *u* in the root is authentic, and that the base form for these place-names is **Jum(i)na*. In his *RGA* article on *Jumne*, Roderich Schmidt (2000, p. 120) does not establish possible base forms or the etymology of the place-name, but he does comment on the relationship between *Jumne* and *Jómsborg*: 'Man nimmt an, daß Adam diese singuläre Form [*Jumne*] einem dän. Gewährsmann verdankt, und hat gemeint, es sei eine Wiederlatinisierung des nord. Jomsborg.'

Schmid (1979, p. 266) discusses the meaning of the IE root **ǵem-*, which in his view is suitable for denoting river confluences, river forks and settlements in such places, e.g. ‘die *nobilissima civitas Jumne*, die *Jomsburg* an der Odermündung, zur Zeit Adams v. Bremen ein von Slaven besiedelter internationaler Handelsplatz. Dieser Name lässt sich auf ein **Jumina-* zurückführen.’

Laur (2005, p. 22) is convinced that both *Jumne* (which he sees as an Old Danish form) and *Jónsborg* are derived from **Jum(i)na*: ‘Ortsnamen aus einer anderen Sprache können wie Lehnwörter auf der lautlichen und der formalen Ebene in die eigene integriert, das heißt eingegliedert werden. Ein Beispiel dafür in unserem Zusammenhang stellen *Jóm* und *Jónsborg* mit der Hinzufügung des eigensprachlichen Grundwortes *borg* = «Burg» im Altwestnordischen oder *Jumne* im Altdänischen zu wohl **Jum(i)na* für Wollin dar.’

Udolph (2007, p. 219) retells Schmid’s hypothesis concerning the base form ‘*Jumna* oder *Jumina*’, after assuming that ‘Unter Berücksichtigung der nord. Parallele *Jomsborg* und vielleicht der wenigstens im Anlaut verlässlichen Form *Iulin* darf man für die mutmaßliche Grdf. aber wohl von einem Ansatz *Jumne* ausgehen.’

First, I do not think that it is correct to consider the form *Julin* when dealing with the original root vowel of *at Jóni* and *Jumne* and their possible base form, as Udolph seems to do, since the former has no etymological connection with the latter two forms.

Second, the relationship between the forms *Jumne* and *Jónsborg* needs to be borne in mind. If it were accepted that *Jumne* was the base form, it would not be possible to derive the form *Jónsborg* from it without forcing the linguistic evidence, as I have already pointed out (see footnote 5). I would like to add that a derivation in the other direction, i.e. of *Jumne* from the forms *at Jóni*/*Jónsborg*, is also rather problematic, since there is no plausible explanation for where an extra nasal *-n-* comes from.

Third, I cannot agree that the original root vowel of the forms *at Jóni* and *Jumne* was *u*. To examine this problem properly I will have to use the findings of the analysis carried out in detail in other parts of the article. References to the corresponding sections of the paper are given.

The place-name forms from Group 1 and Group 2 existed in parallel, as can be seen from the datings (see Tables 1 and 3). They were also used to denote the town of Wolin within parallel types of sources: Group 1 in Scandinavian, and Group 2 in Slavic (on the form *Julin*, see 4.1–4.3). Overlapping occurs in German chronicles, which were influenced by either a Scandinavian or a Slavic element.

Since the name of the town in question was always *Wolin* to Slavs, the place-name *Jumne* was obviously the name of something else used as a name for the Slavic town. In my view, both *Jómi* and *Jumne* were names of a waterway used as oikonyms, i.e. names for an inhabited place (for details, see 5.3–5.4).

The direct transmission of *Jumne* from Wolinians to Adam of Bremen seems very unlikely. The toponym was most probably obtained either through German merchants or through Sven Estridsson, the Danish king. Scandinavians were more likely to denote the town by the name of a nearby landscape feature. Thus, in all probability, *Jumne* was transmitted through Sven Estridsson.

Apparently, the forms *at Jómi* and *Jumne* shared the same root and were used in parallel, since it is not possible to derive one from the other, cf. the parallel usage *a Jome* and *ath Jomune/af Jomne* in *Flateyjarbók*.

In the manuscripts of Adam's *Gesta*, only the forms with a root vowel *u* can be found (Labuda 1964, p. 187 – see Table 2 – and Udolph 2007, p. 219). Danish authors retained the Latin tradition of a *u*. However, in West Scandinavian sources (both Latin and Old Norse), *Jumne* was corrected to *Jomne* and *Jomune* in accordance with the form *at Jómi* preserved in skaldic poetry.

The preserved forms *at Jómi* and *Jumne* are authentic. Taking into account the adoption of the Latin name *Rōma* > Old Norse *Róm*, *Rúm*, one can assume that the root vowel was most likely *-o-*, and there could be two variants of each name form in Scandinavia, i.e. *at Jómi*, **Júmi* and **Jómne*, **Júmne* (the ending is of minor importance), but only two were preserved in written sources.

3. The evidence of Slavic and related German and Scandinavian sources

3.1. Various *Wolin* forms and their interpretation

The first toponym from Group 2 that appears in a primary source is *Livilni*, used by Thietmar of Merseburg in his account from 1007: 'Sed quia raro illucescit serenitas, quam non sequatur caliginosae nubis obscuratis, regi pascha Ratisbone celebrati de Liuticis et ab hiis, qui a civitate magna Livilni dicta missi fuerant et a Iaremiro duce, Bolizlavum multa sibi contraria molyri cupientem asserebant seque ad haec perficienda verbis ac pecunia ab eodem

introducitur affirmabant' (*Thietmari*, p. 153).⁷ A generally accepted identification of Thietmar's *Livilni* with Wolin is based, first, on the phonetic similarity (*Li-vilni*), the relativity of which is explained by the inaccuracy of German adaptation; and second, on the political situation mentioned, i.e. the confrontation between the Polish king and the 'anti-Polish coalition', since Wolin could belong to the latter, being an active participant in a constant struggle for the independence of Pomerania.

The names *Julin* and *Wolin* (in different spelling variants) are consistently used to denote the town of Wolin in Latin works from the early 12th century on. *Julin* is first mentioned in *Vita Ottonis episcopi Bambergensis* (*Vita Ottonis*, pp. 788, 841) by Ebbo (1153) and Herbordus (1158), and, in all probability, is borrowed from there by Saxo Grammaticus (*Saxonis*, p. 480). *Wolin* is first mentioned in a Latin document from 1140 as *civitas Wulinensis* and *Willin* (PU 1, p. 33).

Rudnicki (1936, pp. 70, 73) drew attention to the peculiar distribution of the forms *Wolin* and *Julin* in primary sources: *Julin* is mostly used in Latin chronicles, *Wolin* (*Volyn*, *Wolyn* etc.) in acts and other documents. The possible reason for the frequency of *Julin* in chronicles is popular etymology, which connected the form with the name of Julius Caesar and was first mentioned in *Vita Ottonis* by Ebbo (Lehr-Splawiński 1935, p. 42, Rudnicki 1936, p. 73).

The relationship between the forms *Livilni*, *Julin* and *Wolin* has been interpreted in different ways. Udolph (2007, p. 219) refuses to acknowledge any possible etymological connection between the forms: 'Die unterschiedlichen Schreibungen *Liivilni*, *Julin*, *Willin*, *Velin*, *Vulin*, *Wolin* lassen sich etym. nicht vereinen.' Polish scholars are inclined to believe that the forms are connected, although there is no consensus on how.

Tadeusz Lehr-Splawiński (1935, p. 40) examined different forms of the place-name in question, as well as the name variants of the tribe associated with the town, and came to the conclusion that there were several parallel forms of the place-name: a primary name *Wotyń* and secondary forms based on the root *Vel-*: *Wieleń*, *Wieluń*, *Wieluniec*. The following parallels to the form *Wotyń* are given: a historical region of *Wotyń* (Volhynia) in Ukraine (Old Russian also *Vetynь* and *Vetynjane*), a town *Volyně* and a river *Volynka* in the Czech Republic, a village *Wotyń*, forest districts of *Wotynie* and *Wotyny* in Poland, and *Wolěna* in German Pomerania.

⁷ 'It is rare for the heavens to shine brightly without the shadows of dark clouds following. Thus, while the king [Henry II] was celebrating Easter at Regensburg, representatives of the Liutizi and the large city of Wollin, and also Duke Jaromir, informed him that Boleslav was trying to instigate a great conspiracy against him and employing both his words and riches to lure them into it' (*Chronicon*, p. 259).

The forms *Vuloini*, *Vulini* and *Wolin* are said to be root equivalents, since using the letters *o* and *u* for the vowel *o* in Slavic names is very common in the German-Latin tradition. The forms *Volin*, *Wolin* and *Julin* are said to be graphic variants of the form *v'olyń*, since *v* could be written as *V* or *W*, *I* or *J* (to highlight its palatal quality), *o* as *o* or *u*, *ł* as *l*, *y* as *i*, and *ń* as *n* (Lehr-Splawiński 1935, pp. 39 ff.).

Rudnicki (1936, pp. 70 f.) suggests an early ablaut in the initial syllable of the root *ovel-/*euel-* from which, according to him, the name *Wolin* should be derived: *vol- : vel- : ul- (jul-)* (cf. *von- : ven- : (j)un-* from **euen-*). The pronunciation variants **vol- : *vel- : *ül-* are seen as possible from an Indo-European perspective, cf. *vod- : ud- : ved-* (Old Indic *udán-*, Greek *ὕδωρ*, Umbrian *utur*, Latin *unda*, Old Prussian *unds* : Lithuanian *vandũ*, Old Church Slavonic *voda*, Gothic *watō*, Old High German *wazzar* : Armenian *get* < **vedo-*) (Rudnicki 1936, p. 72). Thus, there were three parallel primary forms, **Vol-inō/*Vol-ynō*, **Vel-inō* and **Jul-inō/*Ul-inō*, which explains the variety of the place-name forms recorded in Latin documents. However, Udolph (2007, p. 220) objects to the idea of an early ablaut and writes that such a view 'ist mit dem idg. Ablautsystem und dessen Weiterentwicklung im Slaw. nicht zu vereinigen.'

It is also suggested that two different forms can be distinguished, one for the island and one for the town of Wolin: **Vol-ynō* and **Vol-inō*, respectively (Rudnicki 1936, pp. 70 f.).

Stanisław Rospond (1984, p. 436) argues that the form *Julin* arose as the result of a transformation of *Wo-* into *O-*, due to the similarity of the pronunciation (cf. *Wologoszcz – Ologoszcz*).

Laur (2005, p. 22) considers the form *Julin* to be a contamination: 'Wahrscheinlich liegt eine Kontamination vor, eine Vermengung der Namenform *Wollin* mit einer, die mit einem *j* beginnt wie *Jumne* und *Jómsborg*.'

3.2. The origins of *Julin*

The first author to use *Julin*, Ebbo, most probably acquired the form from one of the people directly involved in the conversion of Pomerania, e.g. from his informant Udalricus, who had been Otto's close friend and companion (*The Life of Otto*, pp. 10 f.). Thus, the place-name was apparently not a contamination of *Wolin* and *Jumne* created by somebody who did not have access to authentic sources of information.

Rudnicki adduces the evidence of the only Pomeranian document, No. 74 from 1178, which mentions *Julin* ('castellano Iuliensi') (PU 1, p. 58). The

document is of major importance, since it seems to use the form independently, with no possible allusions to *Vita Ottonis*. It was composed in the presence of Pomeranian witnesses: *Jakso*, a prince (domino *Iaczone*), *Bogusław I*, a prince (domino *Bogozlao*), *Kasimierz I*, a prince (domino *Cazimero*), *Warcisław*, a castellan of Szczecin (*Wartizlao* castellano de Stetin), *Zawist*, a castellan of Kamień Pomorski (*Zauist* castellano Caminensi), *Więcesław*, a castellan of Wolin (*Vencezlao* castellano *Iuliensi*), *Gościsław*, a castellan of Usedom (*Gustizlao* castellano Vznomiensi), *Dzirzko*, a castellan of Demmin (*Dirskone* castellano Diminensi), and *Budowoj*, his relative (*Budowoy* cognate eius) (Rudnicki 1936, p. 73). Rudnicki is therefore convinced that the toponym *Julin*, used in the presence of Pomeranians and the castellan of the town in question, has to be authentic (Rudnicki 1936, p. 73). The form was seen as a rare one (cf. the name of the lake *Wonieść*, which was almost always recorded as *Von-* (*Van-*) in 1258–1397, but once as *Uneszce* = **Uniescie* = Pom. *Uneste* (1397), and as *Onyeszce* in the 15th century), which disappeared from the spoken language, but was preserved in written texts, partly thanks to the popularity acquired by its association with Julius Caesar (Rudnicki 1936, p. 73).

However, there are two more Pomeranian documents that mention *Więcesław*, a castellan of Wolin: No. 66 from 1175 and No. 97 from 1184 (see Table 3), the evidence of which does not seem to be taken into account by Rudnicki. No. 66 is an act of Kasimierz I (*Kasimerus* Pomoranorum princeps), by which he presents a village of Schlatkow to the Grobe monastery. Among the witnesses we find: *Zauist* castellanus de *Camyn* (*Zauist* castellano *Caminensi* from No. 74), *Vencezlaws* castellanus de *Wolyn* (*Vencezlao* castellano *Iuliensi* from No. 74), *Dyrsk* castellanus de *Dymyn* (*Dirskone* castellano *Diminensi*), and *Buduwyn* (most likely corresponds to *Budowoy* from No. 74). No. 97 is an act of Bogusław I (*Boguzlao* princeps Pomoranorum), by which he presents another village to the Grobe monastery. The document is witnessed by *Wenzeslao* castellanus de *Wolin*.

Thus, *Więcesław*, a castellan of Wolin, appears in three documents: as a castellan of *Wolin* in 1175, of *Julin* in 1178, and of *Wolin* in 1184. Moreover, the documents Nos. 66 and 74 were composed in the presence of almost the same witnesses.

In the circumstances, and taking into account the different spellings of the same names in the documents cited above (cf. *Vencezlaws* – *Vencezlao* – *Wenzeslao*, *Buduwyn* – *Budowoy*), I doubt that *Julin* could be a rare form of the place-name *Wolin*. I would rather agree with Lehr-Splawiński (1935, pp. 41 f.) that *Julin* is most likely a spelling variant (cf. the variants of the

place-name *Wolin* from the decree of Pope Calixtus II, cited by Ekkehard of Aura: *Vulin, Wilin, Ulin*; *Ekkehardi*, p. 264), which became widespread owing to popular etymology.

3.3. *Julin* and *Jumne* in *Gesta danorum*

The original manuscript and early copies of *Gesta danorum* are lost, except for a few pages. The earliest edition was published by Jodocus Badius Ascensius in 1514. Doubts were cast upon the authenticity of the form *Julin*, which was believed by Richard Hennig (1935, p. 50), for example, to be a later correction from *Jumne* to *Julin*. Hennig (pp. 51 f.) also accused Petrus Erasmus Müller of inventing the form *Julinensis provincia* and using it instead of *Jumensis provincia*.

First of all, a change of the form from whatever it might have been to *Julin* can hardly be proved, since *Julin* is used in a later summary of Saxo's *Gesta danorum*, the *Compendium Saxonis* (13th century), the earliest copy of which is dated to the 15th century. Second, *Jumensis provincia* and *Julinensis provincia* are two separate forms, the first used in Book 8, the second in Books 14 and 16 (*Saxonis*, pp. 379, 859). I assume that if Müller had wanted to correct the name, he would have been consistent in his 'Berichtigungs-Wut' and used the form *Julinensis provincia* in all cases. I therefore consider the forms *Julin*, *Julinensis* and *Jumensis provinciae* to be authentic.

Jumensis and *Julinensis provinciae* are used in different contexts: 'Post quos Toki Jumensi provincia ortus cum Otrito, cui agnomen Juvenis erat, illustris agnoscitur' (*Saxonis*, p. 379),⁸ which refers to Pálna-Tóki, one of the Jomsvikings; and 'Cumque rex eodem die Julinensis provinciæ denuo invadendæ consilium agitasset, Absalon concubia nocte opportuna ascensui loca scrutatus' (*Saxonis*, p. 859),⁹ which refers to the campaign of Absalon and Valdemar I against Wolin. It is not clear whether Saxo was in any way equating the toponyms. He was aware of the pirates of Danish origin (whose names suggest they were Jomsvikings) living in Wolin: 'Post hec Haraldus, armis Sclauia potitus, apud Iulinum, ... Sturbiorno duce, competencia militum presidia collocavit. Quorum piratica, egregio animorum robore celebrata ac finitimus paulatim tropheis alita, eo demum ferocitatis excessit, ut continuis nautarum cladibus septentrionalem repleret Oceanum. ... Inter quos fuere

⁸ 'After these, Toki, born in the province of Jomsborg, is known to fame together with Othrik, called the Young' (Saxo Grammaticus, p. 238).

⁹ 'As the king had formed the plan of invading the district round Wolin once more, on that same day, Absalon had reconnoitred the best ways of gaining access on a night watch' (Saxo 2, p. 521).

Bo, Vlff, Karlshefni, Sivaldus ...' (*SaxonisG.*, p. 325).¹⁰ It can therefore be assumed that he considered *Julin* and *Jónsborg* to be the same town, and, since Pálna-Tóki was the leader of the Jomsvikings, *Jumensis provincia*¹¹ and the earldom *at Jóni* shared their denotation as well. It is not clear, then, why two different names are used to denote the area around Wolin. I assume that, although Saxo obviously associated both *Jumensis* and *Julinensis provinciae* with the same town, he did not know whether (or believe that) their borders were identical.

The use of both *Jumensis* and *Julinensis provinciae* can be seen as a linking of two independent traditions: a Scandinavian tradition, which is based on the name of a landscape feature used as the name of the town and the area around it (see 5.1–5.2), and a Slavic tradition, which later took over, based on the name of the town used as the name of the area (see 5.2). Thus, the form *Jumensis provincia* is a 'Scandinavian relic' in Saxo's work.

4. The denotations of *at Jóni*, *Jumne* and *provincia Wolin*

4.1. The denotation of *at Jóni*

The toponym *at Jóni* is used either on its own (*at Jóni*, e.g. Arn. Hryn., see Table 1) or in combination with the verb *heita* (*hæitir at Jóni*, e.g. Fsk., see Table 1).

According to Cleasby (p. 26), the preposition *at*, used in combination with a proper name in the dative in contexts in which no motion is implied, has the following meanings: (a) it denotes 'the kingdom or residence of a king or princely person', e.g. 'konungr, jarl, att öllum Nóregi, king, earl over all N.', 'konungr at Dyflinni ... but í or yfir Englandi'; cp. the phrase, *sitja at landi, to reside*, of a king when *at home*, e.g. 'at Jóni'; 'used of a bishop', e.g. 'biskup at Hólum', but 'biskup í Skálaholti ... : at Rómi'; (b) 'in denoting a man's abode the preposition "at" is used where the local name implies the notion of *by the*

¹⁰ 'After which, as Haraldus was master of Scavia he put Sturbiornus in charge of a formidable garrison at Wolin ... The piracies of these men made their bravery notorious, and were encouraged by victories over their neighbours, until at last they grew so bold that they covered the waters of the north with the continual destruction of seafarers. ... Among them were Bo, Ulff, Karlshefni, Sivaldus ...' (Saxo 1, p. 6).

¹¹ The Jomsvikings are not mentioned in Adam's *Gesta*, and it seems strange to use the name based on Adam's *Jumne* to refer to the province owned by one of them. The usage of the *u*-form is, most likely, connected with the Danish tradition of following Adam even when relying on West Scandinavian sources. However, the form confirms that *Jumne*, *at Jóni* and *Jónsborg* share (one of) their denotation(s).

side of, and is therefore esp. applied to words denoting *a river, brook, rock, mountain, grove*, or the like, and in some other instances', e.g. 'at Hofi (*a temple*) ... at Borg (*a castle*) ... at Helgafelli (*a mountain*) ... at Hálsi (*a hill*)' etc.

According to ONP (pp. 658 f.), *at* + proper names in the dative has the following semantics (excluding the indication of origin): (a) '*at, in*': *at* kirkio, *at* scipe ... *at* Borg; (b) '(... *as part of a place-name, usually in conn. with the vb. kalla, heita, nefna*)', e.g. 'Kona hét Þorgerðr ... ok bjó í Fljótsdal, þar sem nú heitir *at* Þorgerðarstöðum'; 'Hann ... setti þar bæ, ok kallaði *at* Borg, en fjorðinn Borgarfjorð'); (c) (*denoting dominion*) *over, of*, e.g. 'hann setti Erlend jarl Haralldz son *at* Orknéyivm', 'hinn hælghi Petr *at* Rumi'.

Skaldic verses do not provide sufficient evidence to clearly determine the denotation of the toponym *at Jóni*. The lines of *Magnúsdrápa* are the most ambiguous (see Table 1), with *at Jóni* denoting either the Wendish area of **Jóm* wasted by Magnús góði, or his earldom *at Jóni*, or the Wendish town *at Jóni*. However, it seems that in the context of *Hrynhenda* we are dealing with an oikonym derived from a topographical feature, which can be literally translated as 'a settlement at **Jóm*'. It is impossible to define with certainty the type of settlement involved. But taking into consideration the phrase 'í virki breiðu', as well as the meaning of the Old Norse word *virki* ('*a work ... wall, stronghold, castle*'; Cleasby, p. 710), one can say that the Wendish settlement burnt by Magnús góði was at least ramparted with a wall.

Comparing the use of the formulae *heita* + preposition + toponym in the dative and *heita* + toponym in the nominative in *Landnámabók* and *Íslendinga sögur*, Jan Nilsson came to the conclusion that the former was typical of oikonoms and the latter typical of names of topographical features. Cf. 'Þorbjörn hét maðr, er bjó á þeim bæ, er í Árskógi heitir' (*Reykdeila saga*); 'hann bjó þar, sem heitir á Blámýri' (*Hávarðar saga*) and 'þat er suðr frá holti því, er Smiðjuholt heitir' (*Fóstbræðra saga*); 'Er ekki sagt frá ferð þeira, fyrr en þeir kómu í ey þá, er Høð heitir' (*Egils saga*) (Nilsson 1986, pp. 14 ff., 33 f., 36 f.).

Thus, *at Jóni* is referred to as: (a) a stronghold *at Jóni* named after some area/landscape feature called **Jóm* (Fsk., p. 80); (b) the area called **Jóm*, an administrative district, an earldom according to Cleasby, or an area 'dominated over' according to ONP (Fsk., pp. 115, 208). In *Jómsvíkinga saga*, Búrisleifr/Búrisláfr, the king of the Wends, promises Pálna-Tóki a district of his land named **Jóm* ('heitir *at Jóni*') on condition that he will constantly live there and defend the country (JómS., p. 74). It seems that the use of the formula *heita* + preposition + toponym is a discrepancy in the context, since in the sentence the toponym *at Jóni* clearly refers to a certain piece of land

(from which the name of the town could be formed: *at Jóni*), and thus the nominative is much more frequent. However, the context becomes logical if one assumes that both the name of the earldom and the name of the town *at Jóni* are derived from the name of a landscape feature **Jóm*.

4.2. The denotations of *Jumne* and *provincia Wolin*

Adam (pp. 79 f.) writes: ‘Urbs illa mercibus omnium septentrionalium nationum locuples nihil non habet iocundi aut rari. ... Ibi cernitur Neptunus triplicis naturae: tribus enim fretis alluitur illa insula, quorum aiunt unum esse viridissimae speciei, alterum subalbidae, tertium motu furibundo perpetuis saevit tempestatibus. Ab illa civitate brevi remigio traicitur hinc ad Dyminem urbem, quae sita est in hostio Peanis fluvii, ugi et Runi habitant.’¹² It seems that the author equated the Slavic town of *Jumne* with the island it was situated on. Thus, relying on the example, I assume that the town of the Wends and the island could have had the same name, *Jumne*.

Hennig (1935, p. 94) mentions that in the Sorøer Handschrift of Adam’s *Gesta*, which was lost in 1728, the town *Jumne* is once called *Jumnö*, ‘Jumn-Insel’. The manuscript was transmitted through the 1579 publication by A. S. Vedel (who, most likely, used several manuscripts (Adam, p. XXI)) and thus, as Hennig (1935, pp. 94 f.) admits, the evidence cannot be relied on.

Although in B2 (Vedel’s publication), *Jumne* is indeed twice named *Iumnoe*, I doubt that this form can be interpreted as ‘the island of *Jumne*’, since there are no parallels: the islands mentioned in *Gesta* are not usually given additional endings, but are indicated by the word *insula*, e.g. ‘insula Bant’ and ‘Ceterum insulae Funi adiacent aliae VII minores ab euro, quas supra diximus frugibus opulentas, hoc est Moyland, Imbra, Falstra, Laland, Langland ...’ (Adam, pp. 239, 243). Moreover, the generic *ø* in the island names *Sprogø*, *Morsø*, *Samsø* is transmitted via *a* or *e*, e.g. *Morse*, *Samse* (Adam, pp. 233, 242).

The name *provincia Wolin/provincia Volin* is used in two Latin documents (Nos. 127 and 171) from 1195 and 1216, which are almost identical in their enumeration of settlements (PU 1, pp. 169 ff., 212 ff.). Rudnicki (1936, p.

¹² ‘Rich in the wares of all the northern nations, *that city* lacks nothing that is either pleasing or rare. ... There Neptune may be observed in a threefold mood: *that island* is washed by the waters of three straits, one of which they say is of a very green appearance; another, rather whitish; the third rages furiously in perpetual tempests. From *that city* it is a short passage in one direction to the city of Demmin, which is situated at the mouth of the Peene River, where the Rugiani also live’ (Adam of Bremen, p. 67, italics mine).

68) assumes that the toponym *provincia Wolin* denotes the island of *Wolin* in the context. However, the village of *Dramino* (villa *Drammine*; German *Drammin*), which is located in *provincia Wolin* (No. 127: in *provincia Wolin villam Drammine*; No. 171: in *provincia Volin villam Drammine*), is not situated on the island, but on the mainland. Thus, in my view, *provincia Wolin* denoted not the island, but the coastal area on either side of the river Dziwna.

4.3. Conclusions

The toponyms *at Jómi* and *Jumne* seem to have two denotations each, in contrast to the place-names from Group 2, *Livilni, Julin, Wolin*, which exclusively denote the town of Wolin.

In the 11th century, *at Jómi* most probably denoted a town, and *Jumne* both a town and the island it was situated on. In later Scandinavian sources (*Fagrskinna, Jómsvíkinga saga*), *at Jómi* came to denote an administrative region with unknown borders.

I do not have enough evidence to claim that the area denoted by *at Jómi* in sagas and poetry and *Jumne* in Adam's *Gesta* is identical to that denoted by *provincia Wolin* in Latin documents (although *Jómsvíkinga saga* clearly states that Búrisleifr/Búrisláfr gave Pálna-Tóki a *fylki* of his land). However, it is possible to claim a continuity of denotation, from *provincia Wolin* in the 12th century to the present *gmina* (district, commune) of Wolin, which still includes two coastal areas of land separated by the Dziwna and the town of Dramino.

The administrative boundaries of the earldom *at Jómi* could therefore have included the island (Adam),¹³ or the island and the immediate coastal area on the other side of the Dziwna.

5. The etymology of *at Jómi* and *Jumne*

In my view, the forms *at Jómi* and *Jumne* share the same root: *at Jómi* is primary, and *Jumne*, which has a suffix *-n-*, secondary. I will therefore begin with the etymology of *at Jómi*, and then show how *Jumne* could have been formed, and what relationship could have existed between the two in Slavic society.

¹³ An island having the same administrative and natural boundaries is not an exception: Gotland was considered to be an independent administrative unit under the nominal control of a jarl (*Guta saga*, p. 7).

5.1. Introduction

The ‘fossilisation’ of the form *at Jóni* suggests that it was, most likely, a ‘foreign’ toponym, i.e. not Scandinavian. It seems logical to look for the origins of *at Jóni* and *Jumne* in the region they come from – Polish Pomerania, which is part of the area earlier inhabited by Balts. It is known that hydronyms usually survive an ethnic shift, and Baltic hydronymy occurs widely in Slavic territories. However, I am convinced that the hydronym in question is of Slavic origin, as are the other hydronyms at the mouth of the Oder, e.g. *Dziwna*, *Świna* and *Peene*.

Gerard Labuda (1964, p. 188) questioned the possibility of deriving the toponyms under study from Slavic languages. He assumed that the place-names ‘*Jóm : Jónsborg*’ and *Wolin* denoted the same Slavic town, and claimed that the existence of two Slavic names for one and the same place was very unlikely.

The toponym *at Jóni*, which denotes both a town and an earldom, is derived from the name of a landscape feature that characterised the town, as well as a considerable area of land around it. I would therefore propose the hypothesis that the toponym in question was formed from one of the names of the waterways at the mouth of the Oder, cf. e.g. ‘at Á (*river*) ... at Bægisá, ... Giljá, ... Myrká, ... Vatnsá, ... Þverá, ...at Lækjamóti (*waters-meeting*)’ etc. (Cleasby, p. 26). Thus, the names **Jóm*/**Jómnr* and *Wolin* could originate in Slavic languages, since they functioned in parallel in Wolinian society, as the names of the waterway and the town, respectively.

Indigenous local names could be treated in different ways by Scandinavians – the toponyms in question could either be borrowed into Old Norse or else be rejected and replaced with newly coined Scandinavian ones. To illustrate the first possibility: several settlements in Yorkshire, the names of which contain the Scandinavian element *-by*, existed before the arrival of Scandinavians, who adopted the Old English elements: *Eppleby* (from OE *appel*), *Huby* (from OE *hōh* ‘spur’), *Swainby* (from OE *swān* ‘young man’) in the East Riding, and *Wauldby* (from OE *wald* ‘wold’) in the West Riding (Fellows-Jensen 1995, p. 175). To this I can add the toponyms *Jórsalir* and *Orkneyjar*, behind which there most probably lies a purely phonetic ‘Scandinavian modification’ of indigenous place-names: *Jór-salir* from *Jerusalem* (phonological adaptation: *Jór* + *salir*, pl. of *sabr*); cf. Cleasby, p. 468, Blöndal Magnússon, p. 693, on the toponym *Orkn-eyjar*.

Peder Gammeltoft draws an interesting conclusion about the possible origins of the names of the three Shetland Islands ‘in the extreme northeast of

Shetland, the area closest to Norway': *Unst*, *Yell* and *Fetlar*. He argues that these island names 'appear to be pre-Norse in origin but have been given a thin layer of Scandinavian "varnish". This layer of "varnish" has not been applied in order to conceal the fact that they are not Scandinavian – after all, a place-name only needs to function, not to mean anything – but rather to make them palatable to the Scandinavian tongue and morphology' (Gammeltoft 2004, p. 93). Gammeltoft (op. cit., p. 94) states that there are no pre-Norse toponyms in Orkney and suggests that the type of contact is a major factor determining name borrowing by Scandinavians: 'Only under these circumstances [a peaceful contact of a mercantile and exploratory nature], it seems, would it make sense to transfer place-names of a Pictish origin into Old Norse. When the Scandinavian settlement of the Northern Isles began, the Scandinavians assumed a much more active naming role and named places exclusively in Old Norse.'

It is quite problematic to determine how Scandinavians dealt with the Pomeranian place-names mentioned in sagas. *Steinsborg* (now *Kamień Pomorski*) and *Burstaborg* (*bursta* is a gen. pl. of *burst*) (now *Szczecin*), for example, appear to have sound Old Norse etymologies. However, it can still be argued, for instance, that they may represent originally West Slavic names adapted by speakers of Old Norse (in these two cases, the West Slavic components were translated and an Old Norse generic was then added).

It is plausible to assume that Magnús góði's campaign against Wolin was preceded by a period of peaceful contact. Most probably, Scandinavians were often guests in Pomerania (taking into account that in 1043 they apparently punished the Wends for not paying tribute) and used the waterways to get into the bay to the island of Wolin and the town situated on it. Thus, they may have adopted the name of one of the waterways, which survived in written sources in the name of the town and the region around it – *at Jóni*.

5.2. The etymology of *at Jóni*

My etymological starting point is the suggestion presented in earlier works, e.g. by Hennig (1935, pp. 92 ff.) and Rudnicki (1936, pp. 90 f.), that the toponym *at Jóni* might be derived from the Slavic *jama* f., 'pit; ditch'. The root *jama* is very productive toponymically on Polish territory, e.g. *Jama* (1), *Jamka* (1), *Jamna* (1), *Jamno* (6), *Jamy* (2), *Jamieńskie Góry* (Rospond 1951, p. 101) etc. The toponyms derived from *jama* are mostly oikonyms; however, there is also an oronym *Jamieńskie Góry*, and the hydronyms *Jamno* (a lake),

Jamiéńskie Bagno (a bog) and *Jamiéński Nurt* (a stream) in West Pomerania, which is of special interest to me.

Friedrich Lorentz (1958, p. 298) adduces two forms of the word *jama* f. – *jama* and *joma*¹⁴ – in Pomeranian, a variant of which was spoken on the island of Wolin and in the nearby area. Taking into account the direct transmission of the place-name *at Jóni* from Wends to Scandinavians, I assume the toponym to be formed from the Pomeranian form *joma*, which corresponds well with the root vowel *o* attested in West Scandinavian sources.

However, the Scandinavian toponym *at Jóni*, formed, as I believe, from feminine *joma*, can be either neuter or masculine. As a rule, Slavic feminine words preserved their gender when borrowed into Old Norse, e.g. *káza* f. ('porridge') < Russian *kaša* f.; *leðja* f. 'a type of boat' < Old Slavonic *ladija* f. (de Vries 1962, pp. 5, 304, 349); but cf. Latin *Rōma* f., borrowed both as *Róm*, *Rúm* neut. and *Róma*- f.

I would like to point out that the difference in the borrowing pattern of feminine toponyms might be connected with the time of actual adoption, a possibility I can demonstrate with the example of *Róm/Róma*-. The toponyms *Róm* or *Rúm* neut. (Sigv. 13, 25; Mark. 1, 10, 12; Eil. 3; Ív. 2; Skapti), as well as a compound *Rúmsborg* (Pl. 15), are used in skaldic poetry of the 11th–12th centuries (Lexicon 2, pp. 472 f.). The element *Róma*- f. in the compound *Rómaveldi* is mentioned once in a poem from *Ragnarssaga loðbrókar* (Ragn. 8), 13th–14th centuries (Lexicon 2, p. 472). Compounds with the elements *róma*-/*rúma*- or *rómaborgar*-/*rúmaborgar*-, e.g. *rómaborgarhofðingi*, *rómaborgarlýðr*, *rómaborgarmaðr*, *rúmarveldi*, appear in prose sources in the 13th–15th centuries (Rómv. 117³², Heilag. 2 230²² 215¹⁴⁻¹⁵, DN 4 866 (1437), Lars. AM 645 67¹⁴⁻¹⁵ etc. (Fritzner 1972, pp. 292 f.)). Latin *Rōma* f. was therefore apparently borrowed twice – first as *Róm*, *Rúm* neut., and then as *Róma*- f.

It seems possible that the Slavic toponym **Joma* f. was borrowed into Old Norse as **Jóm* (and, possibly, **Júm*) neut., according to the pattern *Rōma* f. > *Róm*, *Rúm* neut.

¹⁴ In Lorentz's dictionary the letters ρ o \dot{o} \bar{o} ω ϱ denote different *o*-allophones (' \bar{o} = gpom. *o* oder \dot{o} , ϱ = gpom. \dot{o} oder ρ ', Lorentz 1958, p. XX). Lorentz (op. cit.) writes: 'Ich ziehe es ... vor, einige Hilfszeichen einzuführen, die keine neuen Laute darstellen, sondern nur besagen sollen, daß für die gemeinpomoranische Form mehrere Laute in Betracht kommen.'

5.3. The etymology of *Jumne*

Place-names with the suffix *-bn-* occur widely in all Slavic territories and belong to the most ancient type of Slavic toponyms (Borek 1972, p. 90). The suffix *-bn-* is still very productive and forms adjectives from nouns, adverbs, prepositional phrases and compounds.

The process of toponym formation can be illustrated thus: (1) An adjective is formed with one of the three variants of the suffix *-bn-* (*-bnō* m., *-bna* f., *-bno* neut.), according to the gender of the head noun, e.g. **brezbnō* > **brezbnō* polje ('a field', neut.); (2) The head noun is dropped, and the adjective becomes a toponym, e.g. **brezbnō* polje ('a field', neut.) > **Brezbno*. Typical head nouns are **ezero* ('lake', neut.), **gora* ('mountain', f.), **polje* ('field', neut.), **rēka* ('river', f.), **sedlo* ('village', neut.) etc. (Borek 1968, pp. 305 ff.).

The choice of the suffix may also be determined by analogy, depending on what suffix prevailed in a certain region, or even changed from the original to a commoner one: the suffix *-no*, for example, is common in West Slavic territory (in modern times also occurring as *-ne/-né*), thus *Bielne*, *Górne*, *Chłodne* (*łąka* 'grassland', although the head noun is feminine); *Nadrożny* > *Nadrožno*. The affix *-bn-* could also be used to create secondary place-names from other toponyms, e.g. *Kosobudno* : *Kosobudy*, cf. primary toponyms like **brezbnō* : **Brezbno*. (Borek 1968, pp. 307 ff.)

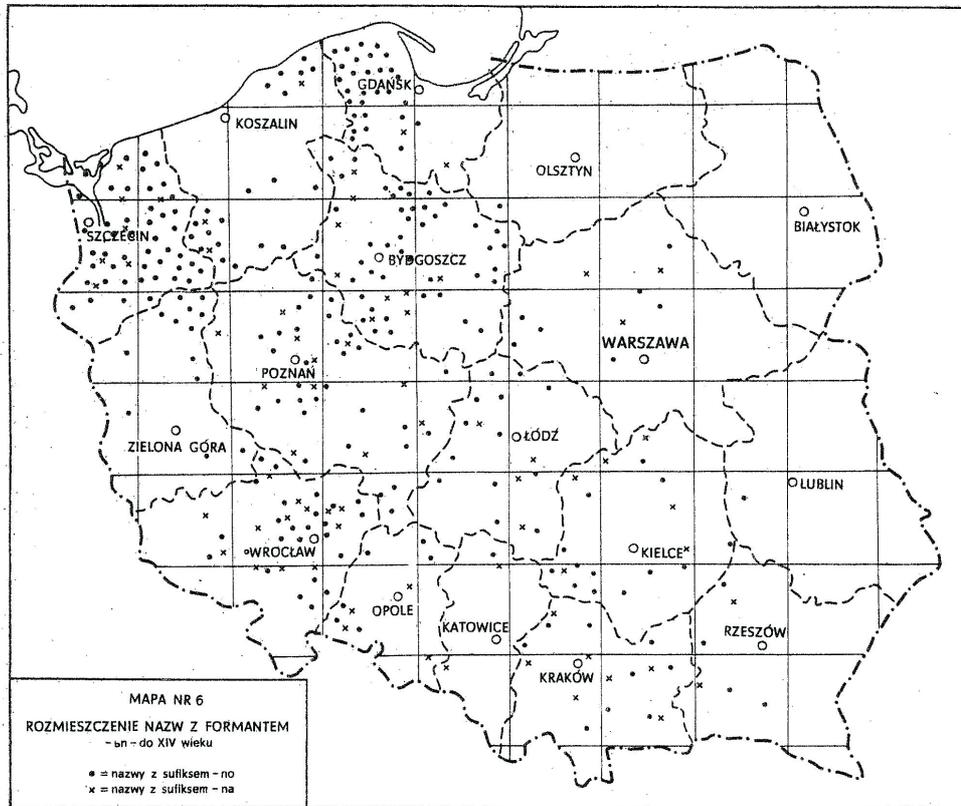
The form *Jumne* apparently originates in either **Jōmna* or **Jōmno*. In the first variant, the suffix *-na* corresponds to the most likely head noun, Pom. *zwtoka* f.¹⁵ ('a bight; bay', see below). In the second variant, the suffix *-no* is a result of analogy, since, as can be seen from Map 1, *-no* toponyms in fact prevailed in West Pomerania until the 14th century (and still do).

5.4. The denotation of and explanation for **Jōma* and **Jōmna/no*

Rudnicki (1936, pp. 66, 90) raises the question whether Zalew Szczeciński (Szczecin Lagoon) ever had an early Slavic name¹⁶ before it became known by the name of the town Szczecin, and considers it possible that the Scandinavian toponym **Jóm*, from Slavic *jama*, could have been this name. I second

¹⁵ Cf. Pom. *zwtoka* f. 'Wiek, Bucht' (Lorentz 1971, p. 1129) and Polish *zatoka* f. 'bay'. Although Pom. *hówinga* f. 'Hafen' (Lorentz 1958, p. 1129) is used in modern toponyms, cf. Kash. *Púckô Hówinga* and Polish *Zatoka Pucka*, Kash. *Gduńskô Hówinga* and Polish *Zatoka Gdańska*, it is a loan word from Middle Low German (SEK, p. 254).

¹⁶ Szczecin Bay is first mentioned in 1244 as 'in ... aqua meatum habente aqua dicta Kele usque Stetyń, de Stetyń usque Vkermundis et ab Vkermundis usque ad aquam, que vulgariter Peńe' or 'water between Kehle, Szczecin, Ueckermünde and Peene' (PU I, No. 428, p. 507).



Map 1. Poland. The distribution of *-bn-* place-names before the 14th century. The map is taken from Rospond 1976, Map 6.

● = *-no* place-names – × = *-na* place-names

the proposal that the toponym **Jóm/*Jómŕ* could be a Scandinavian variant of an early Slavic name for the Szczecin Lagoon (or, more likely, the Wielki Zalew (Great Lagoon), one of the two parts of Szczecin Lagoon, closest to the island of Wolin), as it fits perfectly into the overall picture of *at Jómi* – *Jumne* – *Wolin* relations.

The relationship between the forms **Joma* and **Jomna/no* could be different. If the toponyms in question shared their denotation, **Jomna/no* could be either a later variant of **Joma*, cf. *Chelmno*, a village, Szamotuły – *Chelm* (1396), *Chelmno* (1478); *Borowna*, a lake, Złotów – lacus duo, unus *Borowo* (1583–4), inter la. *Borowna* (1766–7) (Borek 1968, pp. 29, 83); or a parallel variant of **Joma*, cf. *Bělno* (German *Biehlen*), a town, Hoyerswerda – *Bylen*, *Byla* (1529); *Čermná*, Klatovy – na vsi *Čermné* (1444), ves *Czerma* (1630) (Borek 1968, pp.

24, 41). It is possible that **Joma* and **Jomna/no* had different denotations and indicated a bay and an island/a piece of land, respectively. However, there is insufficient evidence either to support or to reject this proposal.

The explanation for **Joma*, as well as for *Jamno*, the name of a lake in the *gmina* (district, commune) of Koszalin, could be connected with one of the meanings of the word *jama* = *zatoka* 'bay, gulf', suggested by Rudnicki (1936, p. 90).

The lake and the village of *Jamno* were first mentioned in 1278 (*Jamno*: German *Jamund*, a village and a lake, Powiat Koszaliński: *Jamene* 1278, in *stagnum Jamene* 1289 (Borek 1968, p. 88)). Today the lake is separated from the Baltic by a narrow sandbar approx. 600 m wide, but up to the 17th century it was navigable and served as a harbour for the town of Koszalin, as there was a passage through the bar (*Jamieński Nurt*, which still exists, although sand periodically blocks the outflow). I believe that the lake could have been seen as a bay by early inhabitants and named **Jama*. The name of the village, *Jamno*, was thus formed from that of the bay and later replaced it. In the same way, the toponym **Jomna/no* could have been formed from the name of the bay **Joma*, and denote the island of Wolin or part of it.

However, I have not been able to find any confirmation that in Polish or Pomeranian *jama*, like *zatoka*, means 'bay' (*jama* and *zatoka* 'sinus' are synonyms in the anatomical sense in Polish; *Słownik*, p. 132). In spite of this, I consider it quite possible that the toponym **Joma* means – perhaps metaphorically – the 'bay', but more likely the toponyms **Joma* and **Jomna* have a semantic explanation connected with the meaning of Pom. *joma* 'a pit'. 'The major parts of the two main sections of the [Szczecin] Lagoon are formed by a relatively flat and poorly differentiated bottom'; however, 'diverse bottom topography is found in the northern part of the Great Lagoon where extensive sand banks ..., stretching for a few km into the lagoon (Wyskok Krzecki, Mielizna Wolińska), are dissected by a trough-like depression 4–6.5 m deep' (Osadczyk, Musielak & Bórowka 2007, pp. 90 f.). In my view, the abrupt depression in the bottom of the Great Lagoon just a few kilometres off the southern tip of the island of Wolin could be the reason for naming the bay **Joma* 'the pit'.

5.5. Conclusions

All the place-name forms denoting Wolin in primary sources can undoubtedly be divided into two main groups: (1) *at Jómi, Jumne, Jomne, Hynnisburg, Jómsborg, Jumpne, ath Jomune, af Jomni, Jumneta* and (2) *Livilni, Wulinensis civitas, Willin, Julin, Wolyn, Wolin, Volin* etc.

The coexistence of these two groups is explained by a difference in origin. The toponym *Wolin* was the original name of (and served exclusively to denote) the town. The forms *at Jóni* and *Jumne* are derived from **Joma* and **Jomna/no*, which most likely go back to the appellative *joma* and denoted the Great Lagoon, a part of Szczecin Lagoon. These toponyms were used by Scandinavians to name both the town of Wolin and the land around it. The authentic names of the Great Lagoon (**Joma* and **Jomna/no*), which were preserved thanks to Arnórr jarlaskáld and Adam, disappeared from the Slavic onomasticon.

There are two base forms in Group 1, *at Jóni* and *Jumne*, which were most likely used in parallel by Scandinavians to refer to the town and the region of Wolin; all other forms are either spelling variations or compounds based on them. I have not carried out a detailed study of the Group 2 toponyms, but it seems that most of the forms are spelling variants of the base form *Wolin* (the form *Willin* 1140 still needs to be clarified, as does the question whether the author of *Chronica Poloniae Maioris* may have confused *Wieleń* with *Wolin*; see Table 3 and commentary there).

The names attested in primary sources suggest the following scenario for the development of the Group 1 base forms. (1) In the period when they were establishing trade with Wolin (10th–11th centuries), Scandinavians adopted the Slavic names for the Great Lagoon, **Joma* and **Jomna/no*, which became a part of oral tradition. The declension of the names did not cause any difficulties; **Joma* is preserved in the dative in Arnórr jarlaskáld's poetry (*at Jóni*), **Jomno/na* in Adam's *Gesta* (*Jumne*). (2) By the time the sagas were created (end of the 12th century), the genuine name of the bay had already been forgotten, and Wolin lost its status as a prosperous trading port owing to devastating Danish campaigns. As a result, saga authors had at their disposal only Arnórr jarlaskáld's *at Jóni* in the dative (and, most likely, could not identify the nominative), and chroniclers Adam's *Jumne*. (3) The late variants, *Jomne*, *Hynnisburg*, *Jónsborg*, *Jumpne*, *ath Jomune*, *af Jomni*, *Jumneta*, appeared for various reasons (spelling mistakes, the need for clearer denotation etc.).

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See also Abbreviations.

Table 1. The transmission of the Group 1 place-names.

No.	Year	Place-name	Primary source	Text and reference
1.	1043	<i>at Jóni</i>	Hrynhenda and Magnúsdraþa by Arnórr Þórðarson jarlaskáld	Arn. Hryn. 12: 'hæstan kynduð, hlenna þrýstir, hyrjar ljóma suðr at Jóni; hvergi þorði hallir varða heiðit folk í virki breiðu; buðlungr, unnuð borgar-mönnum björtum eldi stalldræp hjörtu' (Skj B 1, p. 309) ¹⁷ Arn. Magnr. 8: 'Vann, þás Vinðr of minnr vápnhríð konungr, síðan; sveið ófám at Jóni illvirkja hræ stillir; búk dró bráðla steikðan blóðugr vargr af glóðum; rann á óskírð enni allfrekr bani hallar' (Skj B 1, p. 313) ¹⁸
2.	1072	<i>Jumne</i>	Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae pontificum	II, XXII: 'In cuius ostio, qua Scythicas alluit paludes, nobilissima civitas Iumne celeberrimam prestat stationem Barbaris et Grecis, qui sunt in circuitu. ... Est sane maxima omnium, quas Europa claudit, civitatum, quam incolunt Scavi cum aliis gentibus, Grecis et Barbaris' (Adam, p. 79) ¹⁹
3.	earliest 1152, latest 1264	<i>Jomme</i>	Historia Norvegiae	De ortu regum: 'Augmentabant enim ejus classem Norwegenses ac Dani, Gautones et Scavi, qui cum illo in ²⁰ civitate Jome, quæ est firmissima inter Sclaviae urbes' (HN, p. 113)
4.	c.1172	<i>Jum(ne)ta, Vinneta</i>	Helmoldi Presbyteri Bozoviensis Chronica Slavorum	I, II: 'De civitate Vinneta', 'In cuius ostio, qua Balthicum alluit pelagus, quondam fuit nobilissima civitas Iumneta, prestans celeberrimam stationem barbaris et Grecis, qui sunt in circuitu.' (Helmold, pp. 7 f.)
5.	1185–1189	<i>Hynnis-burgh</i>	Svenonis Aggonis Filii Brevis historia regum Dacie	VIII: 'primus urbem fundasse dicitur, que Hynnisburg nuncupatur.' (Svenonis, p. 119)

¹⁷ 'crasher of thieves, you kindled a towering blaze of fire south at Jóni. No wise dared they halls defend, the heathen host in the broad stronghold; royal one, you wrought in the townsmen, by bright flame, terror-struck hearts'. Transl. by Diana Whaley (1998, p. 116).

¹⁸ 'the ruler singed not a few wrong-doers' corpses at Jóni. A body swift-roasted the bloody wolf dragged from the embers; darted on unbaptised brows the most ravenous death of the hall'. Transl. by Whaley (1998, p. 120).

¹⁹ 'At its [Oder] mouth, where it feeds the Scythian marshes, Jumne, a most noble city, affords a very widely known trading center for the barbarians and Greeks who live round about. ... It is truly the largest of all the cities in Europe, and there live in it Slavs and many other peoples, Greeks and barbarians' (Adam of Bremen, pp. 66 f.).

²⁰ Lars Boje Mortensen, in the commentary to his edition of *Historia Norvegiae*, states: 'There is no reason to insert *in*, as Storm does. The author of *HN* often makes use of a pure ablative without *in*' (*Historia Norvegiae*, p. 145).

6.	c.1190	<i>Jómsborg</i>	Ágrip af Nóregs konunga sögum	XIX, 1: 'Hann [Óláfr Tryggvason] drýgði víða herskap bæði á Vendlandi ok á Flæmingialandi, á Englandi ok á Scotlandi, á Írlandi ok á mörgom öðrom löndom. Hafði iþuliga vetrseto sína á Vendlandi í borg þeirri, er hét Jómsborg.' (Ágrip, pp. 20 f.)
7.	c.1190	<i>iómsborg</i>	Saga Óláfs konungs Tryggvasonar by Oddr Snorrason	11: 'Oc með þessum sigri ferr Olaftr apttr oc fórdi drotningu gull oc silfr oc ageta gripi þat hava menn firir satt at þessi hafi verit Iomsborg er Olaftr sat um oc menn villdu suikia hann oc var hann byrgbr ib. með lx manna.' (Oddr, p. 35)
8.	c.1200	<i>at Jómi</i>	Jómsvíkinga-drápa by Bjarni Kolbeinsson	Bjbp. Jóms. 6: 'Suðr frögum vér sitja (seima guðr) at Jómi (fögr rænr mik flaumi) fimmm höfðingja snemma' (Skj B 2, p. 2)
9.	c.1200	<i>at Iome, Iomsborgb</i>	Fagrskinna	17: '(H)aralldr konongr Gorms sunr hæriaðe a Vinlandd. oc let þar gera borg mikla er hætir at Iome. oc er sub org callað síðan Iomsborgh.' 22: 'Olaftr konongr fær mikitt fe. oc allt eignaðezk hann þat er han villdi. oc olle þui mest liðvæizla Astridðar dottor Burizlæifs konongs er ate Sigvallde iarll at Iome.' 41: 'vinna aftr iarls ríki þat er Dana konongr hafðe att at Iome.' (Fsk. 1902–03, pp. 80, 115, 208)
10.	c.1200	<i>Jómsborg, at Jómi</i>	Jómsvíkinga saga	23: 'Þat lét hann [Búrizlafi] ok fylgja þessu heimboði, at hann bauð at gefa honum [to Pálna-Tóki] eitt fylki eða ríki af landi síno, þat er heitir at Jóme'; 'Ok þetta þiggv Pálnatóki ok aller hans menn, at því er sagt er; ok þar lætr hann gera brátt í síno ríki sævarborg eina mikla ok rammgjörva, þá er Jómsborg er kölluð síðan.' (JómS., p. 74)
11.	13th c.	<i>Jómsborg</i>	Ágrip af sögu danakonunga	'varð Haraldr konongr sárr ok flýði til Jómsborgar í Vinðland.' (ÁgripSDan., p. 328)
12.	c.1230	<i>Jómsborg, at Jómi</i>	Heimskringla by Snorri Sturluson	Magn., 24: 'En er hann kom þar, spurði hann þau tíðendi af Vindlandi, at Vinðr höfðu horfit undan hlýðni við hann í Jómsborg; þar höfðu Dana-konungar haft jarls-ríki mikitt, hófu þeir Jómsborg at uphafi, ok var þat orðit allstyrkt vígi.' (Hkr. 3, p. 43)
13.	c.1260–70	<i>Jómsborg</i>	Knýtlinga saga	1: 'Haraldr Gormsson var tekinn til konungs í Danmørk eptir föður sinn. ... hafði hann mikitt jarlsríki í Vindlandi. Hann lét þar gera Jómsborg' (Knýt., p. 179)

14.	c.1270–1300	<i>at Jóni, Jónsborg</i>	Hulda-Hrokkinskinna	SMagn., 28: 'Síðan sigldi hann með flotann yfir til Vindlands, ok kom með herinn utan at Jóni; gekk Magnús konungr þar á land ok herjaði, brendi bæði bygðir ok menn'; Arn. Magndr., K. 28: 'Vann, þá er Vindr um minnir, vapnhrið konungr síðan; sveið ófám at Jóni illvirkja hræ stillir' (Magn. Fms., p. 55)
15.	14th c.	<i>a Jome, af Jomni/ ath Jomune, Jomsborg</i>	Flateyjarbók	ÓTryg, 132: 'konung [Burizlafr] let þat ok fylgia þessu heimboðe at hann baud at gefa honum [Pálna-Tóki] ætit fylki eðr ríki af lande sinu þat er a Jome heitir'; 'ok þa letr Palnatoki gera æina borg mikla. þat var sæborg ok handla uid ok ramgeor su var kollut Jomsborg.' (Flat. 1, pp. 165 f.) (cf. JómS., K. 23) Magn.o.Har., 5: 'Sidan sigldi hann [Magnús góði] með flotanum yfir til Vindlandz og kom með herinn vt ath Jomune. geingu þeir aa land vpp og heriödu og brendu þar bæði bygðir og men.' (cf. Hulda-Hrokkinskinna, SMagn., K. 28); Arn. Magndr., K. 5: 'Vann þa er Vindr of minner vopnhrið konungr sedan suefnis ofan af Jomni' (cf. Hulda-Hrokkinskinna, Arn. Magndr., K. 28) (Flat. 3, p. 275)
16.	14th c.	<i>Jumpne</i>	Annales Lundenses	936: 'In quo, miserabili morte et plus quam ciuili bello uicta est pars Haraldí. Ipse autem uulneratus fugiens ex acie ascensa naue elapsus est ad ciuitatem Sclauorum, que Lumpne dicitur.' (AL, pp. 45 f.)

Table 2. *Jumne* in Adam's *Gesta*²¹

Lib., c., p.	A, A1 and A2	B, B1 and B2	C, C1 and C2
II, 22 (79)	Uimne	Jumne, Junume, Umme	Jumne, Julinum
II, 22 (80)	Uimne	Iummem, Iumme, Jumnoe	
II, 22 (80)	Uimne	Iummem, Iumme, Iumnem	Iumnem, Iuminem
II, 22 (81)	Uimnem	Iummem, Iummen	Iuminem
II, 27 (87)	Iumne (Uimne?)	Iumme, Iumnoe	Iulinum
schol. 56 (137)		Iummem	Iuminem
schol. 121 (245)		Iuminne, Iumme	Iunine
IV, 20 (249)		Iummem, Iümmen	Iuminem

²¹ This table is taken from Labuda 1964, p. 187. The signa A, A1 etc. refer to different text versions.

Table 3. The transmission of the Group 2 place-names in the 11th–14th centuries

No.	Year	Place-name	Primary source	Reference
1.	1012–1018	<i>Livilni</i>	Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi chronicon	Thietmari, p. 153
2.	1124 (cf. Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991, p. 88)	Nomina civitatum: <i>Piriz, Stetin, Vulin (Wilin, Ulin), Gamen, Colbrech, Belgrado, Lubin, Gresch</i>	Chronica Ekehardi Uraugiensis	Ekkehardi, p. 264
3.	1140	<i>in civitate Wulinensi, Willin</i>	Rom; Innocentius episcopus	PU 1, No. 30, pp. 32 ff.
4.	1153 (Vita auctore Ebbone), 1158 (Vita auctore Herbordo) (The Life of Otto, p. 10) ²²	<i>Iulina, Iulin</i>	Vitæ Ottonis episcopi Bambergensis	Vitæ Ottonis, pp. 788 ff., 841 ff.
5.	1175	<i>Vencezlaus castellanus de Wolyn</i>	Treptow; Kasimerus Pomoranorum princeps	PU 1, No. 66, pp. 84 f.
6.	1178	<i>Venzelauo castellano Iuliensi</i>	Ueckermünde; Conradus episcopus	PU 1, No. 74 (see 51a), p. 97 (56 f.)
7.	1184	<i>Wenzeslaus castellanus de Wolin</i>	Boguzlauus princeps Pomeranorum	PU 1, No. 97, pp. 126 f.
8.	1188	<i>Wolyn cum foro, Wolyn dicitur</i>	Rom; Clemens episcopus	PU 1, No. 111, pp. 145 ff.
9.	before 1223	<i>circa Velen (Weylen, Wyelen, Welen, Velyen, Vyelun)</i> ²³	Magistri Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum	MPH 2, p. 334
10.	1195	<i>Sulistrig et Dobeslau de Wolyn</i>	A. Pomeranie ducissa	PU 1, No. 126, pp. 167 f.
11.	1195	<i>item in provincia Wolin</i> ²⁴ <i>villam Drammine</i>	Rom; Celestinus episcopus	PU 1, No. 127, pp. 169 ff.

²² Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma (1991, p. 88) have 1088 for Ebbo's and 1124 for Herbord's *Vita Ottonis* (the years when the events are believed to have taken place; however, the chronicle was written after Otto's death). Udolph (2007, p. 218) follows them, as does Laur (2005, p. 22), who ascribes Herbord's work to Herbort von Fritzlar, a German poet (c.1180–after 1217).

²³ In 1108, while at war with Gnyewomir, Boleslav captured *Wieleń*, a town on the river Noteć, not *Wolin* (VCh, p. 216). In my view, Winsenty Kadłubek's *Velen* clearly denotes *Wieleń*, while the author of *Chronica Maioris* seems to confuse *Wieleń* with *Wolin* (op. cit., p. 216). The authors who considered *Velen* to be a form of the name *Wolin* (to mention just a few: Lehr-Splawiński 1935, Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991 etc.) were misled by the references in MPH 2 (p. 994). *Velen* in *Chronica Polonorum* by Wincenty Kadłubek *cannot* be seen as a form of the name *Wolin*; the *Wol*-variants found in some copies of *Chronica Maioris* in accounts of the siege of *Wieleń* (MPH 2, p. 501) are the result of the author's mistake.

²⁴ Rudnicki (1936, p. 68) assumes the toponym *provincia Wolin* to denote the island of Wolin. However, although the village of Drammin (Polish *Dramino*) belongs to the *gmina* (district, commune) of Wolin, it is situated on the mainland, some 17 km south-west of Kamień Pomorski. See 4.2 on the denotation of *provincia Wolin*.

12.	1190–1208	<i>Julinum, Julinensis provincia, Jumensis provincia</i>	Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica	Saxonis, pp. 379 (Jumensis), 859 (Julinensis), 480, 490, 491 ff. (Julinum)
13.	1216	<i>in provincia Volin villam Drammine</i>	Grobe; Siguinus episcopus	PU 1, No. 171, pp. 212 ff.
14.	1217	<i>Wolin cum foro, que Wolin dicitur</i>	Rom; to Seguino episcopo	PU 1, No. 177 (see 178a), p. 222 (223 ff.)
15.	1232	<i>Wolin</i>	Wollin; Condradus episcopus	PU 1, No. 283, pp. 345 f.
16.	1240	<i>in villa Woldin ? (K. Conrad: wohl Wollin)</i>	Stolpe; Barnim dux Sclauorum	PU 1, No. 377, pp. 451 ff.
17.	1243	<i>Wolyn</i>	Wollin; Barnen et Wartizlaus Slauorum duces	PU 1, No. 412, p. 490
18.	1243	<i>Gberardus de Woldin ?</i>	Stettin; Marianna ducissa	PU 1, No. 414, p. 492
19.	1260	<i>in villa Wolin</i>	Hermannus Cominensis episc. (PU 2, No. 684)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
20.	1263	<i>in Wolin</i>	Wartizlaus d. Diminensis (PU 2, No. 744)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
21.	1265	<i>Wolin</i>	Barnim d. Slauorum (PU 2, No. 772)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
22.	1270	<i>in Wolin</i>	Zwerin (PU 2, No. 744)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
23.	1277	<i>opidum nostrum Wolin (twice)</i>	Barnim d. Slauorum (PU 2, No. 1058)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
24.	1279	<i>in civitate Wolyn</i>	Buggeslaus d. Slauorum (PU 2, No. 1130)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
25.	1279	<i>Wolyn</i>	Buggeslaus d. Slauorum (PU 2, No. 1147)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
26.	1280	<i>in civitate Wolin</i>	Zarnowe; Buggeslaus d. Slauorum (PU 2, No. 1182)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
27.	1283	<i>civitatem Wolin (twice)</i>	Stetin; Bugeslaus d. Slauorum (PU 2, No. 1262)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
28.	1286	<i>burgensibus in Wolin</i>	Nientrebetowe; Buguslaus d. Slauorum et Cassubie (PU 2, No. 1397)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
29.	1288	<i>in civitate nostra Wolin (5 times)</i>	Vkirmunde; Bugeslaus d. Slauorum et Cassubie (PU 3, No. 1453)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
30.	1288	<i>opidi Wolin (3 times), Wolyn (twice)</i>	Wollin (PU 3, No. 1478)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
31.	1293	<i>castrum Wollin</i>	(PU 3, No. 1667)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
32.	1294	<i>civitate Wolin (twice)</i>	Barnym et Otto duces Slauorum et Cassubie (PU 3, No. 1680)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
33.	1295	<i>civitatem Wolin cum terra adiacente</i>	Stetin; Bugeslaus d. Slauorum et Cassubie (PU 3, No. 1730)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69

34.	1297	<i>villam Dayghebanz, sitam in terra Wolyn</i>	Bugzlaus (PU 3, No. 1806)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
35.	1297	<i>monasterii in Wolin</i> (3 times)	Camyn; Petrus epics. Camyn. (PU 3, No. 1812)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
36.	1298	<i>in Wolin</i> (twice)	Camyn; Bugzlaus (PU 3, No. 1871)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
37.	1299	<i>consules civitatis Wolin</i> (twice)	(PU 3, No. 1903)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
38.	1299	<i>in Wolin</i> (twice)	Wollin; Bugeslaus (PU 3, 379, No. 1904)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
39.	1299	<i>Wolin</i> (3 times)	Wollin; Bugeslaus (PU 3, 380, No. 1904)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
40.	1299	<i>Wolin</i>	Wollin; Bugeslaus (PU 3, No. 1905)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
41.	1299	<i>Wolin</i> (4 times)	Wollin; Bugeslaus (PU 3, No. 1907)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
42.	1301	<i>Wolin</i> (3 times)	Bugeslaus d. Slauorum et Cassubie (PU 3, No. 1953)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
43.	1321	<i>nec portum Wolin</i>	Otto et Wartislaus Slavic, Cassubie, Pomeranie duces (PU 6, No. 3530)	Rudnicki 1936, p. 69
44.	1347	<i>Anno d, MCLXX obiit Bugiczlaus Leuticie, Pomeranie, Stetinensis d... quem beatissimus presul Otto personaliter baptisavit; Julin sedem episcopalem</i>	Kronika p. t. Genealogia de 1347	Rudnicki 1936, p. 68
45.	1464–1472	<i>a.d. millesimo centicimo XLV obit ... Julin sedem episcopalem</i>	Cronica de ducatu Stetinensi	Rudnicki 1936, p. 68
46.	13th–14th c. (VCh, pp. 12 ff.) ²⁵	<i>aliud vero Julin quod nunc Volin dicitur (Julin q. n. Welen dicitur); Welunecz (Wolmiecz, Wolimesz, Walunecz), quod alias Julin dicebatur; in castro Wolinensi (Welinensi, Welunensi), Wolin (Welin, Welun)²⁶ castro.</i>	Chronica Poloniae Maioris (Chronicon Boguphali Episcopi)	MPH 2, pp. 476, 481, 499, 501
47.	13th c.	<i>apud Iulinum</i>	Compendium Saxonis	Compendium Saxonis, pp. 353, 387

²⁵ The dating and authorship of the *Chronica Poloniae Maioris* are still disputed. Since the edition of Sommersberg (Boguphali Episcopi), the chronicle has been ascribed to Boguchwał, an archbishop of Poznań, and Godysław Pasko, a *kustos* of Poznań, who continued Boguchwał's work; *Chronica Maioris* was dated to their lifetime, the 13th c. Since the second half of the 19th c. the chronicle has been dated to the 13th–14th c., on the basis of the text structure, sources analysis etc.; Jan of Czarnkow (Jancone de Czarnekow) is one of the proposed authors (VCh, pp. 12 ff.).

²⁶ See note 23.

Abbreviations

Arn. Hryn. = Hrynhenda by Arnórr Þórðarson jarlaskáld	lib. = liber
Arn. Magndr. = Magnúsdraða by Arnórr Þórðarson jarlaskáld	Magn. = Magnúss saga góða
Bjbp. Jóns. = Jónsvíkingadraða by Bjarni Kolbeinsson	Magn.o.Har. = Magnúss saga hins góða ok Haralds Saga harðráða
cp. = compare	Mark. = Markús Skeggjason
Eil. = Eilífr Goðrúnarson	ÓTryg = Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar
g. = gotisch	Pl. = Plácítúsdraða
Gesta = Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum	Pom. = Pomeranian
gpom. = gemeinpomoranisch	PU = Pommersches Urkundenbuch
Heilag. = Heilagra manna sögur	Ragn. = Ragnarssaga (verse af)
Ív. = Ívarr Ingimundarson	Rómv. = Rómveriasaga
Kash. = Kashubian	s. = saga
Lars. AM 645 = Ísländska handskriften No 645 4 ^o i den Arnamagnæanske samlingen	schol. = scholium
	Sigv. = Sigvatr Þórðarson
	Skapti = Skapti Þóróddson
	Slaw. = slawisch
	SMagn. = Saga Magnusar konungs ens goda

