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Dorothy Whitelock

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ENGLAND BEFORE THE CONQUEST



Studies in primary sources
presented to
Dorothy Whitelock



Edited by
PETER CLEMOES
and
KATHLEEN HUGHES



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- I-VIII *between pages 304 and 305*
- I Part of the Rothbury cross: the Ascension
- II Part of the Wirksworth stone: the Ascension
- III*a* Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27, 118r, initial
b Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27, 121v, initial
c Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10, 93r, initial
d Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 6401, 5v, miniature
- IV*a* Fragment of wall-painting from the foundations of the New Minster,
 Winchester
b Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27, 55v, initial
c Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27, 115v, initial
- V*a* BM Add. 40618, 22v
b BM Add. 40618, 49v
c Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 6401, 159r, miniature
- VI Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 6401, 158v
- VII Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gamle Kongelige Sammling 1595
 4°, 66v
- VIII*a* The Sulgrave brooch
b The Hereford *Agnus Dei* penny
c and *d* The Durham cross-heads, details

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Photographs have been taken by the following: for the frontispiece by B. Gaye; for plate I by A. D. Phillips; for plate II by R. L. Grew; for plate VIII*a* by A. Hidalgo; and for plate VIII*b* by N. Lagergren. Those for plate VIII*c* and *d* are reproduced by courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral. Figures 1–7 are based on the Ordnance Survey Map by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office and Crown copyright is reserved. Figures 10–24 have been drawn by H. M. Taylor.

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Preface

This book, intended to represent as many as possible of the various kinds of source material for Anglo-Saxon studies, has been written by some of Dorothy Whitelock's friends to mark the occasion of her seventieth birthday. Not only on our own behalf but also on behalf of other friends whom the plan of the book has inevitably excluded, we are expressing our gratitude for Dorothy's own work, for her concentration on primary materials, her treatment of a wide range of sources, and her accurate, judicious and imaginative scholarship. Like many others we admire not only the qualities of integrity and intellect that are basic to her work but also her powers of expression – the gift to seize an elusive idea and bind it concisely in words, the ability, in a few brilliant sentences, to condense complex considerations into the essentials which the student needs, the capacity to write with breadth of mind, humanity and elegance. These qualities which she has to such an exceptional degree have advanced the study of Anglo-Saxon literature and history, place-names and numismatics; they have educated many students, and, through her Penguin volume, *The Beginnings of English Society*, have reached a much wider public.

Those of us who have written this book, and many others besides, know her generosity as well as her scholarship, and have appreciated her knowledgeable, acute, searching and constructive criticism. More personally, the pleasure and charm of her companionship are valued by a wide circle of friends. We offer this book in gratitude for her friendship as well as for her scholarship and with our good wishes for her present and future work.

PETER CLEMONS
KATHLEEN HUGHES

Abbreviations

- AJ* *Archaeological Journal*
 Allen W. Allen coin sale, Sotheby, 14 March 1898
AntJ *Antiquaries Journal*
APS *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*
Archiv *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*
 Argyll Coin collection of the late Duke of Argyll, now dispersed
ASC *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
 Ashdown, *Documents English and Norse Documents Relating to the Reign of Ethelred the Unready*, ed. and trans. M. Ashdown (Cambridge, 1930)
ASPR *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie (New York, 1931–42)
 Asser *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904; repr. 1959 with contr. by D. Whitelock)
 Baldwin A. H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd
 Bd Bedfordshire
BdaProsa *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, ed. C. W. M. Grein, R. P. Wülker et al. (Göttingen, Kassel, Leipzig and Hamburg, 1872–1933; most vols. repr. Darmstadt, 1964–8, in some cases with suppl. material)
 Belfast Ulster Museum, Belfast
 Bethurum, *Wulfstan The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. D. Bethurum (Oxford, 1957)
 Birch *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de Gray Birch (London, 1885–99)
 Björkman E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England* (Halle, 1910)
 Bk Buckinghamshire
 Blunt C. E. Blunt coin collection
 BM British Museum
BMC *A Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series* (London, 1887–93)
BM Facs *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. E. A. Bond (London, 1873–8)
BNJ *British Numismatic Journal*
 Brk Berkshire
 Bruun L. E. Bruun coin sale, Sotheby, 18 May 1925
 BT J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898)
BT Suppl T. N. Toller, *Supplement to BT* (Oxford, 1921)
Bury *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. D. C. Douglas (London, 1932)
 C Cambridgeshire
 Campbell A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959)

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Abbreviations

- Carlyon-Britton P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton coin sales, Sotheby, 17 November 1913, 20 November 1916 and 11 November 1918
- CC *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
- CCCC Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
- Chester hoard C. E. Blunt and R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Chester (1950) Hoard', *BNJ* xxvii (1952-4), 125-60
- CLA E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (Oxford, 1934-)
- Co Cornwall
- Councils *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (Oxford, 1869-78)
- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
- Cu Cumberland
- D Devon
- DB *Domesday Book*, ed. A. Farley and H. Ellis (London, 1783-1816)
- Db Derbyshire
- DBS P. H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames* (London, 1958)
- DEPN E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1960)
- DGP *Danmarks Gamle Personnavne* (København, 1936-64)
- Douglas Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man
- Douglas hoard H. A. Grueber, 'The Douglas Find of Anglo-Saxon Coins and Ornaments', *NC* 4th ser. XIII (1913), 322-48
- Drabble G. C. Drabble coin sales, Glendining, 4 July 1939 and 13 December 1943
- Dublin National Museum of Ireland, Dublin
- Dymock Rev. T. F. Dymock, *Saxon Coins*, unpub. MS owned formerly by J. D. A. Thompson and now by C. E. Blunt
- Earle, *Charters* J. Earle, *A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters and other Saxon Documents* (Oxford, 1888)
- Earle and Plummer, *Chronicles Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel...*, ed. C. Plummer on the basis of an ed. by J. Earle (Oxford, 1892; repr. 1952 with contr. by D. Whitelock)
- ECW H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester, 1964)
- ECWM H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961)
- Eddius *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927)
- EEMF Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen, 1951-)
- EETS Early English Text Society
- EGS *English and Germanic Studies*
- EHR *English Historical Review*
- eME early Middle English
- eOE early Old English
- EPNE A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, EPNS 25-6
- EPNS English Place-Name Society
- ERY East Riding of Yorkshire

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Abbreviations

- ES *Englische Studien*
 Ess Essex
 ESts *English Studies*
 F. Baldwin A. H. F. Baldwin coin collection
 Fellows Jensen G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1968)
 Forssner T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times* (Uppsala, 1916)
 Förstemann E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* 1 (Bonn, 1900)
 Forum C. C. F. Keary, 'A Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Rome', *NC* 3rd ser. iv (1884), 225–55
 Gl Gloucestershire
 Glasgow Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow
 Grantley Lord Grantley coin sale, Glendining, 22 March 1944
 H Division of Holland, Lincolnshire
 Ha Hampshire
 Harmer, *SELHD Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. F. E. Harmer (Cambridge, 1914)
 Harmer, *Writs Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. F. E. Harmer (Manchester, 1952)
 HBS Henry Bradshaw Society
 HE Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*
 He Herefordshire
 Hildebrand B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinetet funna i Sveriges Jord*, ny tillökt upplaga (Stockholm, 1881)
 Holm S. Holm, *Studier öfver Uppsala Universitets Anglosaxiska Myntsamling* (Uppsala, 1917)
 Holme *St Benet of Holme 1020–1210*, ed. J. R. West, *Norfolk Record Society* 2–3
 Hrt Hertfordshire
 Hu Huntingdonshire
 Janzén A. Janzén, *Personnamn* (Stockholm, 1947)
 JBAA *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
 JDANHS *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*
 JEGP *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
 JEH *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
 Jost, *Polity Die Institutes of Polity Civil and Ecclesiastical, ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. K. Jost (Bern, 1959)
 Jost, *Wulfstanstudien* K. Jost, *Wulfstanstudien* (Bern, 1950)
 JRS^{AI} *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*
 JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
 K Kent
 Karl der Grosse Karl der Grosse, ed. W. Braunsfels (Düsseldorf, 1965–8)
 Kemble *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. J. M. Kemble (London, 1839–48)
 Ker, *Catalogue* N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957)
 Kest Division of Kesteven, Lincolnshire

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Abbreviations

- L Lincolnshire
 Leeds University coin collection, Leeds
 Lei Leicestershire
 Levison W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946)
 LibEl *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Camden 3rd ser. 92 (1962)
 Liebermann, *Gesetze Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann (Halle, 1903–16; repr. Aalen, 1960)
 Lockett R. C. Lockett coin sales, Glendining, 6 June 1955, 4 November 1958 and 26 April 1960
 IOE late Old English
 Luick K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1914–40)
 LVD *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Society Publications 13 (1841); facs. ed. Surtees Society Publications 136 (1923)
 LVH *Liber Vitae. Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. W. de Gray Birch (London, 1892)
 MA *Medieval Archaeology*
 MÆ *Medium Ævum*
 Maish W. M. Maish coin sale, Sotheby, 25 March 1918
 Mann A. Mann coin sale, Sotheby, 29 October 1917
 Mansion J. Mansion, *Oud-Gentsche Naamkunde* ('s-Gravenhage, 1924)
 MDu Middle Dutch
 ME Middle English
 MED *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. H. Kurath and S. M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor, 1952–)
 MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
 Migne, PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne
 MLG Middle Low German
 MLR *Modern Language Review*
 Montagu H. Montagu coin sale, Sotheby, 18 November 1895
 Morlet M.-T. Morlet, *Les Noms de Personne sur le Territoire de l' Ancienne Gaule du 6^e au 12^e Siècle I* (Paris, 1968)
 Napier, *Wulfstan Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, ed. A. Napier I (Berlin, 1883; repr. with app. by K. Ostheeren, Berlin, 1966)
 NC *Numismatic Chronicle*
 NED *New English Dictionary*
 Nf Norfolk
 NNUM *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*
 NoB *Namn och Bygd*
 Nordman C. A. Nordman, *Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland* (Helsingfors, 1921)
 NR North Riding of the Division of Lindsey, Lincolnshire
 NRY North Riding of Yorkshire
 Nt Nottinghamshire
 Nth Northamptonshire
 O Oxfordshire

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Abbreviations

- ODan Old Danish
 OE Old English
 OET *The Oldest English Texts*, ed. H. Sweet, EETS o.s. 83
 OFr Old French
 OG Old Germanic
 OIr Old Irish
 OLG Old Low German
 ON Old Norse
 OS Old Saxon
 OSw Old Swedish
 P Pipe rolls
 Plummer, *Bede Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896)
 PMLA *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
 PN Bd A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, EPNS 3
 PN Bk A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire*, EPNS 2
 PN C P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and The Isle of Ely*, EPNS 19
 PN Cu A. M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and Bruce Dickins, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, EPNS 20–2
 PN D J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Devon*, EPNS 8–9
 PNDB O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937)
 PN Db Kenneth Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, EPNS 27–9
 PN Ess P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex*, EPNS 12
 PN Gl A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, EPNS 38–41
 PN La E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922)
 PN NRY A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, EPNS 5
 PN Nt J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire*, EPNS 17
 PN Wa J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton with F. T. S. Houghton, *The Place-Names of Warwickshire*, EPNS 13
 PN We A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, EPNS 42–3
 PN Wo A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton with F. T. S. Houghton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, EPNS 4
 PN WRY A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, EPNS 30–7
 Pokorny J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern and München, 1959–69)
 PSAL *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*
 QF Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker

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- Ready W. T. Ready coin sale, Sotheby, 15 November 1920
- Redin M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919)
- RES *Review of English Studies*
- Robertson, *Charters Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1939)
- Robertson, *Laws The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925)
- Rom Romance
- RSV *The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version*
- Ru Rutland
- Ruding Rev. R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 3rd ed. (London, 1840)
- Ryan V. J. E. Ryan coin sale, Glendining, 22 January 1952
- Sawyer P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London, 1968)
- SBVS *Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research*
- SCBI *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (London, 1958-)
- Schlaug I and II W. Schlaug, *Studien zu den altsächsischen Personennamen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Lund, 1955) and *Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000* (Lund, 1962)
- Searle W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897)
- Settimane di Spoleto Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto, 1954-)
- Sf Suffolk
- Shand F. J. Shand coin sale, Glendining, 8 March 1949
- Sigsarve M. Stenberger and P. Berghaus, *Der Schatz von Sigsarve, Gotland, Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, 83, *Antikvariska Studier* 5, 119-74
- Sisam, *Studies* K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953)
- Smarmore C. E. Blunt, 'The Smarmore Hoard of Tenth Century Pennies', *BNJ* xxvii (1952-4), 161-6
- Smart Veronica J. Smart, 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage, 973-1016', in *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia Repertis* II (Stockholm, 1968)
- SN *Studia Neophilologica*
- So Somerset
- SR South Riding of the Division of Lindsey, Lincolnshire
- Sr Surrey
- Staf Staffordshire
- Stenton, *A-S England* F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947)
- Stenton, *Charters* F. M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955)
- Stockholm Swedish royal coin collection, Stockholm, but not in Hildebrand

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- Sw Swedish
 TCWAAS *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*
 Tengvik G. Tengvik, *Old English Bynames* (Uppsala, 1938)
 Tetney J. Walker, 'A Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Coins from Tetney, Lincolnshire', *NC* 6th ser. v (1945), 81–95
 TRE tempore regis Edwardi
 TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
 TRW tempore regis Willelmi
 Uppsala University coin collection, Uppsala
 VCH *Victoria County History*
 W Wiltshire
 Wa Warwickshire
 We Westmorland
 Wells Coin collection of the late W. C. Wells, bought by A. H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd
 Whitelock, *Æthelgifu The Will of Æthelgifu*, ed. and trans. D. Whitelock (Oxford, 1968)
 Whitelock, *ASC The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. D. Whitelock with D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961)
 Whitelock, *EHD English Historical Documents* 1, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1955)
 Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. D. Whitelock, 3rd rev. ed. (London, 1963)
 Whitelock, *Wills Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock (Cambridge, 1930)
 Wo Worcestershire
 WR West Riding of the Division of Lindsey, Lincolnshire
 WRY West Riding of Yorkshire
 WS West Saxon
 WW *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. T. Wright and R. P. Wülcker (London, 1884)
 Y Yorkshire
 YAJ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*
 YCb *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C. T. Clay (Edinburgh and Wakefield, 1914–)
 ZeN E. Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde* (Halle, 1912)