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# ENGLISH AND NORSE DOCUMENTS

## RELATING TO THE REIGN OF ETHELRED THE UNREADY

by

**MARGARET ASHDOWN, M.A.**

*formerly Lecturer in English at Westfield College  
University of London*

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*To  
my friends  
I. A. and D. G. P.*

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## PREFACE

THIS volume has been taking shape over a period of some years, and bears the marks of an interrupted development. Starting from a study of *The Battle of Maldon*, I found myself constrained to enlarge my scope in order to place the original subject in its proper setting, thus becoming involved in historical questions with which I am not qualified to deal. For faults arising from lack of historical discipline, as well as for weaknesses of proportion and detail, I ask my readers' indulgence.

It is hoped that the material here offered may interest students both of literature and history. As the needs and concerns of these two classes are not identical, an attempt has been made to isolate matters likely to appeal to one class alone. An unusually large amount of material has therefore been relegated to appendices and indices, where it can conveniently be ignored.

The anglicising of proper names is a task which must have reduced many editors to despair. How pleasant, with the author of *Revolt in the Desert*, to spell the names anyhow 'to show what rot' all 'scientific systems' of transliteration are! Lacking, however, the prestige and assurance of a Lawrence, I have adopted the principle formulated by Prof. Chambers for the treatment of Old English names in his *England before the Norman Conquest*: 'When the name is current at the present day, that form is given....Otherwise the form is usually given as it occurs in the document translated.' It is to be feared, however, that an attentive reader may find some variants for which no justification can be offered.

My thanks are due to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for their willingness to undertake the publication of this volume, and to the staff for its vigilance and its unfailing patience under great provocation.

No student of Norse literature can evade a heavy debt to Professor Finnur Jónsson, but I am specially indebted for permission, granted with a courtesy which increased the obligation,

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to make use of several of his editions of Norse texts. Thanks are also due to the publishers of these texts; to the *Kommission for det Arnamagnæanske Legat* for permission to use texts from *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*, to the *Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur* for the use of their edition of *Gunnlaugssaga*, and to Messrs G. E. C. Gad for permission to reprint passages from their edition of *Heimskringla*.

Among many from whom I have received help or suggestions on specific points, I wish to record my obligation especially to Mr Sigfús Blöndal of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, to Miss Anna Samundsson who read in typescript the section on skaldic verse, and to Miss A. J. Robertson who read the notes to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

My indebtedness to Prof. R. W. Chambers, to Prof. H. M. Chadwick, who taught me to love Norse literature and history, and gave me a glimpse of the austerity and beauty of true scholarship, and to my friend Mrs Chadwick is not easily put into words. Fortunately there are many, who, through their own experience, will in some measure understand.

I owe much to the enthusiasm and criticism of several generations of students, especially to those who have valiantly embarked with me upon the sea of Norse studies. I am also glad to record my debt to Westfield College, where the greater part of this work has been carried out.

Mr Bruce Dickins has read my proofs. Many could bear witness to the generosity with which Mr Dickins lavishes not only time but his wide and sound scholarship upon the work of others. I have been saved from many pitfalls by Mr Dickins' wise advice and aptly applied knowledge, and I am well aware that in the few cases where I have not adopted his suggestions my book is probably the poorer. The frequent appearance of Mr Dickins' name in the notes and elsewhere is no measure of my indebtedness.

MARGARET ASHDOWN

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| <i>A.S.C.</i>      | 2. <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> (C), annals 978–1017.                          |
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| <i>O.H. (Hk.)</i>  | 8. <i>Óláfs Saga Helga</i> ( <i>Heimskringla</i> ), cc. 12–16, 20, 24–29, 130–131. |
| <i>O.H. (Fl.)</i>  | 9. <i>Óláfs Saga Ins Helga</i> ( <i>Flateyjarbók</i> ), cc. 20–21.                 |
| <i>J.</i>          | 10. <i>Jómsvíkinga Saga</i> (A.M. 291), cc. 13, 14.                                |
| <i>G.</i>          | 11. <i>Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstungu</i> , cc. 8–10, 15.                                |

### 2. Periodicals and Series:

- Archiv.* *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.*  
*A.N.F.* *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi.*  
*A.N.O.H.* *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie.*  
*E.E.T.S.* *Early English Text Society.*  
*E.H.R.* *English Historical Review.*  
*Eng. St.* *Englische Studien.*  
*M.L.R.* *Modern Language Review.*  
*Mod. Phil.* *Modern Philology.*  
*P.M.L.A.A.* *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*

### 3. Other References:

- Ad. Br.* Adam Bremensis. *Gesta Hammenburgensis Ecclesiæ Pontificum*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, 1846, in *M.G.H.S.*, VII.  
*Altn. Sag.-Bibl.* *Altnordeische Sagabibliothek*. Halle. 1892 ff.  
*A.M.* The Arna-Magnæan collection in the University Library, Copenhagen.  
*Anglia Sacra.* *Anglia Sacra*, ed. H. Wharton, 1691.  
*Birch.* W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 1885–1893.  
*Brandl.* A. Brandl, *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*, 1908.  
*B.-T.* *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary based on ms. collection of J. Bosworth*. Edited and enlarged by T. N. Toller, 1898 ff. Supplement, T. N. Toller, 1908 ff.  
*Cl.-V.* *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, R. Cleasby and G. Vigfússon, 1874.  
*C. Med. H.* *Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney, 1911–. In progress.  
*C.P.B.* *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ed. G. Vigfússon and F. York Powell, 2 vols., 1883.

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*Crawford Charters. The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, 1895.

*D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography*.

*D.R.H. Danmarks Riges Historie*, 6 vols., 1897–1907. Vol. I by J. C. H. R. Steenstrup.

*Encomium Emmae. Cnutonis Regis Gesta. M.G.H.S. xix*, 1866.

*Falk, Altn. S. H. Falk, Altnordisches Seewesen*, 1912.

*Falk, Altn. W. H. Falk, Altnordische Waffenkunde*, 1914.

*Fant. Scriptores Rerum Svecicarum Medii Ævi*, 3 vols., ed. E. M. Fant, 1818–1876.

*Fas. Fornaldarsogur Norðrlanda*, 3 vols. ed. C. C. Rafn, 1829–1830.

*Fgr. Fagrskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson (*Samf. g. n. Lit.*), 1902–1903.

*Fl. Flateyjarbók*, 3 vols., ed. G. Vigfússon and C. R. Unger, 1860–1868.

*Fms. Fornmannasogur*, 12 vols., ed. C. C. Rafn, etc., 1825–1837.

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*Fritzner. J. Fritzner, Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, 3 vols. 2nd. ed. 1886–1896.

*F.W. Florence of Worcester. Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols., 1848–1849.

*Gale. Historiæ Britanicæ scriptores xv*, ed. T. Gale, 1691.

*Gjerset. K. Gjerset, History of the Norwegian People*, 2 vols., 1915.

*Grein-Wülcker. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, ed. by C. W. M. Grein; revised by R. P. Wülcker, 1883–1898.

*Grein. C. W. M. Grein, Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter*, 2nd revised ed. 1912–1914.

*I.P.N. Index of Personal Names*.

*I.Pl.N. Index of Place-Names and Names of Peoples*.

*K. C.D. Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, 6 vols., ed. J. M. Kemble, 1839–1848.

*Laȝ. Lazamon's Brut*, ed. F. Madden (Soc. of Antiquaries), 3 vols., 1847.

*Langebek. Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii ævi*, 9 vols., ed. J. Langebek, etc., 1772–1878.

*Larson's Canute. L. M. Larson, Canute the Great (Heroes of the Nations Series)*, 1912.

*Lex. Poet. Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Linguæ Septentrionalis*, ed. S. Egilsson, revised by F. Jónsson, 1913–1916.

*M.G.H.S. Monumenta Germaniæ historica, Scriptores*, 32 vols., ed. G. H. Pertz, etc., 1826–1913.

*M.H.N. Monumenta historica Norvegiæ*, ed. G. Storm, 1880.

*Munch. P. A. Munch, Det norske Folks Historie*, 8 vols., 1852–1863.

*N.E.D. New English Dictionary (Oxford English Dictionary)*. ed. Murray, etc.

*N.G.L. Norges gamle Love*, ed. Keyser, Munch, etc., 1846–1895.

*N.H. Norges Historie*, vol. I, Pt II, ed. A. Bugge, 1910.

*N.-i. Skj. Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigting*, 4 vols., ed. F. Jónsson, 1913–1916.

*Noreen. A. Noreen, Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik*, 4th ed., 1923.

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- O.L.H.* F. Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., 1893–1902.
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- W.M. William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, 2 vols., ed. W. Stubbs (R.S.), 1887–1889.
- Wulfstan. Wulfstan, *Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, ed. A. S. Napier, Berlin, 1883.
- Note.* The sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendinga Sögur*) are quoted, unless it is otherwise stated, in the Reykjavík edition.
- The Anglo-Saxon Laws are referred to sometimes according to F. Liebermann's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols., 1898–1916, sometimes in F. L. Attenborough's *Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, 1922, and A. J. Robertson's *Laws of the Kings of England*, 1925.
- Anglo-Saxon poems are quoted, unless it is otherwise stated, according to Grein-Wülcker's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, 1883.