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978-1-107-41923-0 - English and Norse Documents: Relating to the Reign of
Ethelred the Unready

Margaret Ashdown

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Note 1. In this Index and in the Index of Place-Names and Peoples, references to *Maldon (M.)* are by line, to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A.S.C.)* by annal, to Norse verse by stanza, and to Norse prose by chapter. On such references as *O.H. (Hk.) (a)*, see note 1 to *Analysis of Kennings*, Appendix IV.

The number of times which any name occurs in the annal, chapter or stanza is indicated within brackets. If no number is given, the name occurs once only. A reference such as *O.H. (Hk.) 24 (2) (j)* indicates that the name occurs twice in the prose and once in the verse of the same chapter.

Note 2. In this Index and in the Index of Place-Names and Peoples (a) when a name occurs in both an English and a Norse extract, it is listed under the spelling of the language to which it belongs. Thus Sherston occurs under *Sceorstan*, not under *Skorsteinn*; (b) if an English name occurs only in a Norse extract, and has no known English equivalent, it is listed under the Norse spelling, e.g. *Danaskógar*; (c) if an English name occurs only in a Norse extract, and the English equivalent is known, it is listed under the English form, which is placed within brackets, e.g. (*Eadwig*) (3).

Note 3. Names of mythological and legendary characters mentioned in the verse are not included here. See Appendix IV.

Alfwold (A.S.C. 978). Bishop of Dorset, died.

Anlaf, see *Óláfr* (2).

Astriðr (A. 14). Daughter of Eric *bjóðaskalli* of the Uplands (see I.Pl.N.), wife of King Tryggvi, and mother of Olaf Tryggvason. *Ágrip* represents Astrith as fleeing to the Orkneys on her husband's fall, with her three-year-old son, whom she then sent east in the charge of Thorolf. Snorri, on the contrary, represents Olaf as a posthumous child, and Astrith as accompanying him east until she was separated from him by the Esthonian pirates. For Astrith's later history, according to this tradition, see *O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 52.

Benedictus (A.S.C. 983). Pope Benedict VII, died.

Bersi (O.H. (Hk.) 131). Mentioned as having been at Canute's court with Sigvat.

He was the son of the poetess *Skáldtorfa* (q.v.) and himself a skald, but little of his work except a part of a *flokkr* on St Olaf has survived. He appears in the *Grettissaga* as a staunch friend of the hero (cc. 15, 23, 24). His first allegiance was to the Hlathir earls, and after the battle of Nesjar he seems to have fled with Earl Svein to Sweden. On his return to Norway he was seized by King Olaf, but saved himself by composing a *flokkr* in the king's praise. His visit to Canute in England belongs to about the year 1026. Three years later, he made a pilgrimage to Rome with Sigvat, and on his way home in the following year heard the news of St Olaf's fall, upon which he is said to have returned to Rome, where he died and was buried.

Bjorn inn brezka (J. 13), to whom Palnatoki committed his kingdom in Bretland, when he left that country on the death of his wife Olof.

Brihtric (1) (A.S.C. 1009). Brother of Eadric Streona, whom, as the events of the annal show, he seems to have resembled in character. Cf. F.W. 1008.

Brihtric (2) (A.S.C. 1017). Son of *Ælfhe(a)h* (2) (q.v.), put to death after Canute's accession. It is noticeable that Eadric's death is associated with that of Brihtric, but if Brihtric (2) were identical with Brihtric (1) (see above), it would be natural for the *Chronicle* to mention that he was Eadric's brother. As the name of Eadric's father is unknown, the matter cannot be settled. Searle (*A.S. Bishops*, p. 438) denies the possibility of identity.

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Búrizláfr (J. 13; cf. *hertogi nokkurr í Vindlandi*, A. 17). Represented as buying off the attacks of Palnatoki by granting him the territory of Jom in Wendland. He is represented as having three daughters, whose marriages are shown in the genealogical table included in the note to A. c. 17, l. 14. Snorri, with other authorities, states that Thyri, sister of Swegen Forkbeard, was promised in marriage to Burizlaf, but refused to marry 'a heathen man and an old' (O.T. (Hk.), c. 92). She made her escape to Norway, and claimed the protection of Burizlaf's son-in-law, Olaf Tryggvason, and later became his wife. Burizlaf seems to have taken this philosophically, for when Olaf visited Wendland to claim his wife's estates there, 'things went well between the two kings' (O.T. (Hk.), c. 97).

The genealogical table mentioned above indicates Burizlaf's position in inter-Scandinavian relations, according to the tradition followed by Snorri.

A., however, and *Hist. Norv.* represent Thyri as given to a certain noble of Wendland.

The name of *Búrizláfr* (*Búrizleifr*) is generally held to represent Boleslav, the name of the son and successor of Mescio (Miesco), Duke of Poland, who held sway over a number of Slavonic tribes beyond the limits of his own dukedom. Yet in spite of the coincidence of name, Burizlaf of Scandinavian tradition seems to correspond to the father (964–992), rather than to the son (992–1025), though the careers and personality of both may have contributed to the figure of Scandinavian tradition. To Thyri's statement that Burizlaf was a heathen, history gives no support. Duke Mescio was the first Christian king of the Poles, while Boleslav was zealous in propagating Christianity. See *C. Med. H.* III, p. 304. But the Wendish tribes of this period were either heathen or only in part Christianised, and, since Burizlaf is represented as king of Wendland, the confusion is not surprising.

Byrhtelm (M. 92). Father of *Byrhtnoð* (q.v.).

Byrhtnoð, *Brihtnoð* (M. 17, 42, 101, 114, 127, 162, 257; A.S.C. 991). Such facts as have come down to us which bear upon the life of Byrhtnoth have been collected and discussed by Liebermann in his article *Zur Geschichte Byrhtnoths* in *Archiv*, CI, pp. 15–28, 1898, which forms the basis of the present account. An earlier account, upon which Liebermann draws, is that found on pp. 85–88 of the *Crawford Charters*, ed. Stevenson and Napier, 1895. See also W. Hunt's account in the *D.N.B.*

The following are the chief sources upon which the life of Byrhtnoth can be built up: (a) the poem, (b) charters, (c) chronicles. These, with certain other sources, will be considered in their order.

(a) *The poem*. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the evidence the poem affords of Byrhtnoth's character and ideals and of his relations with his men. These things emerge from any reading of the poem. But the following definite biographical facts might be overlooked.

Byrhtnoth is styled *eorl*, ll. 6, 28, etc., *Æpelredes eorl*, l. 203, and in l. 151 *Æðelredes þegen*. The title of *ealdormann* is not applied to him (see note to l. 6).

There is no mention of the province over which he rules. His aim is to defend

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| <i>Æpelredes eard,</i> | <i>epel þysne,</i> | |
| <i>folc and foldan.</i> | <i>ealdres mines,</i> | |
| | | (ll. 52–54) |

But his force is described as *Eastseaxena ord* in l. 69.

Of his bodyguard the poem states that one is of Mercian race, l. 217, another comes from *Sturmere* (l. 249), probably Sturmer in Essex, while a Northumbrian hostage is found fighting on Byrhtnoth's side (ll. 265–266).

The phrase *har hilde-rinc* (l. 169) is probably, as other sources show, more

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than an empty formula, but the poem suggests that Byrhtnoth not only directed his troops but took his full share in the hand-to-hand fighting.

In l. 92 Byrhtnoth is described as the son of Byrhtelm, and in ll. 113–115 and ll. 211 and 224 two of his kinsmen are mentioned, Wulfmær his sister's son, and Ælfwine, son of Ælfric, probably the Mercian ealdorman of that name. See notes on ll. 113, 115 and 218.

(b) *Charters*. The charters may be divided into two classes, those in which Byrhtnoth signs as an independent witness, and those in which he is himself concerned in the grant.

The value of the first is mainly chronological. Byrhtnoth is found signing charters between the years 956 and 990, i.e. within a year of his death. Byrhtnoth himself signs as *dux*, but in a charter in which land is granted to him by King Eadwig, to which he appends his usual signature, he is described as *princeps* (Birch, 966).

From the charters of the second class it emerges that Byrhtnoth's wife was Ælfæd, daughter of Ælfgar, ealdorman apparently of East Anglia. Sedgfield states that Ælfgar was Byrhtnoth's 'predecessor in the ealdormanship of Essex,' which seems to be a variation of Hunt's suggestion (*D.N.B.*) that Byrhtnoth followed his father-in-law in the ealdormanship of East Anglia (see *Crawford Charters*, p. 85). The charters also show that Ælfæd was sister of Æthelfæd, the second wife of King Edmund, and that Byrhtnoth gave Ælfæd lands in Essex, as a morning-gift (*morgangyfu*). Grants of land were made to Byrhtnoth by his wife's father, Ælfgar, and by his wife's sister, Æthelfæd, who refers specifically to *Bæorhtnoðe æaldormen and mire swustær*. Birch, 1287.

In the will of Ælfæd, which a reference to Ely as the place *per mines hlaforðes lichoma rest* (Birch, 1289) places after Byrhtnoth's death, the word *hlaword* is used ambiguously both of King Ethelred and of the dead Byrhtnoth. Liebermann assumes that in the phrase *Ælfþræðe minæs hlawordæs medder* the word *hlaword* refers to the king. This seems probable, not only because the name is actually that of the king's mother, Ælfthryth (the reputed cause of the murder of Edward the Martyr), but also because it is unlikely that Byrhtnoth's mother would be living at this date. Yet these arguments are not conclusive and it may be that Searle is right in listing this Ælfthryth as mother of the ealdorman Byrhtnoth.

In the same document, a certain Æthelmær is mentioned, *mines hlaforðes mege*. This person is taken by the editors of the *Crawford Charters* as identical with Æthelmær, son of the chronicler Æthelwald, 'an undoubted scion of the royal house of Wessex.'

A charter of 974 shows Byrhtnoth as benefactor of Ramsay (Birch, 1310), while a spurious document belonging to Canterbury Cathedral, recording grants made to Canterbury by Byrhtnoth, *iturus contra paganos*, probably, according to Liebermann, commemorates real benefactions. Liebermann further suggests that the fact that the date of Byrhtnoth's death is recorded in a calendar belonging to the New Minster points to his having been also a benefactor of this foundation.

(c) *Chronicles*. The *A.S.C.* adds nothing to the life of Byrhtnoth except the fact that he bore the title of *ealdorman*. It does not state that he was ealdorman of Essex, but this is perhaps implied in the statement that the battle took place at Maldon, and that Byrhtnoth came against the invaders *mid his fyrde*.

Three later chronicles are of special interest as throwing light, if not upon the authentic history of Byrhtnoth, at least upon the tradition which had gathered about his name.

The first of these is the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* (*Historians of Church of York*,

ed. J. Raine, I, pp. 399–475) which presents Byrhtnoth in two aspects, first as the supporter of the cause of the monks, and then as the defender of his country. There is little of interest in the rhetorical account of the battle (p. 456) except the insistence upon Byrhtnoth's age, *non reminiscens cigneam canitiem sui capitis*, and *debilitationem oblitus sui corporis*. The statement *et Byrhtnothus cecidit et reliqui fugerunt*, which suggests that the fall of the leader was the signal for a general flight, has already been discussed (p. 3).

The *Historia Eliensis* (ed. D. J. Stewart, 1848) devotes a complete chapter (II, 62) to an account of Byrhtnoth and his relations to Ely. The account is suspicious in several respects, such as the reference to Byrhtnoth as *Northanimbrowum dux* and the statement that the battle lasted fourteen days, but is of considerable interest, notably the opening passage, as showing that the figure of Byrhtnoth had retained, at least in the Ely tradition, that heroic quality with which it is invested in the Anglo-Saxon poem.

The *Historia Eliensis* shows a curious duplication of the event of the battle of Maldon. It is first recorded that Byrhtnoth repulsed a Danish invasion at Maldon, slaying most of the invaders *super pontem aquae*. Byrhtnoth is then described as returning to Northumbria, while such of the enemy as survived made their way back to their own country and prepared a new force. Four years later a second invasion took place, again at Maldon, and a challenge was sent to Byrhtnoth to meet the invaders in battle. Byrhtnoth, presumably at this time in Northumbria, summoned his former companions and set out to meet the enemy *cum paucis bellatoribus*. Passing near Ramsey, he asked the abbot, Wulfsige (who did not, in fact, become abbot until after Byrhtnoth's death), to give hospitality to him and his men. The abbot replied that he could not feed so great a host (the *paucis bellatoribus* must be taken as relative), but offered to entertain Byrhtnoth and seven of his followers. To this Byrhtnoth is represented as replying in the following words: *sciat Dominus Abbas, quod solus sine istis nolo prandere, quia solus sine illis nequeo pugnare*.

Continuing his journey, Byrhtnoth then came to Ely where he made the same request, with the result that the abbot joyfully opened his gates to Byrhtnoth and his entire host and entertained them royally. Byrhtnoth then showed his gratitude for this liberality by granting lands to the monastery, promising a further grant on the condition that, if he should fall in the coming battle, his body should be brought to Ely for burial.

On reaching the place where the enemy awaited him, he refused to be moved by the disparity of numbers and proceeded to engage the invaders. The battle lasted for fourteen days, and at last, when but few of his men survived, Byrhtnoth himself was decapitated as he fought and his head carried off by the enemy to their own country. True to his promise, the Abbot of Ely fetched Byrhtnoth's headless trunk, and gave it honourable burial within the church at Ely, placing a lump of wax where the head should have been. Years later, says the *Chronicle*, the body was identified through this fact.

There follows a short chapter dealing with Ælfæd, Byrhtnoth's widow, who on her lord's death granted to Ely her 'morning-gift,' the manor of *Ratendun* and other property. Of special interest is the statement that among Ælfæd's bequests was *cortinam gestis viri sui intextam atque depositam, depictam in memoriam probitatis ejus*. If the record here is reliable, and Liebermann, though suspicious of the *Chronicle* as a whole, sees no intrinsic improbability in the statement, then time has destroyed a treasure hardly less precious than the Bayeux Tapestry itself.

The *Historia Ramesiensis* (ed. W. D. Murray, *R.S.*) agrees in the main with the *Historia Eliensis* in its account of Byrhtnoth, describing ruefully the story of the hospitality refused at Ramsey and granted at Ely with such satisfactory results to the latter foundation. Yet, according to this chronicle,

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Byrhtnoth's earlier affection for Ramsey re-asserted itself before the end, so that after receiving his last mortal wound he bequeathed to the abbey a hide of land at Doddington, a statement hard to reconcile with the account of his death given in the *Historia Eliensis*. If the *Historia Ramesiensis* avoids some of the obvious mis-statements of the *Historia Eliensis* this is probably due to its greater brevity.

It is reputed that Byrhtnoth's remains, said to have been removed from the Saxon church in 1154, are now buried within an arch on the south side of Bishop West's chapel in Ely Cathedral. The following extracts from a letter read before the Society of Antiquarians in 1772 dealing with the removal of certain remains from the North Choir to Bishop West's chapel are of interest. 'I apprised those who attended on that occasion, May 18, 1769, that if my surmises were well founded no head would be found in the cell which contained the Bones of Brithnoth, Duke of Northumberland... (Under the effigy of) Duke Brihtnoth there were no remains of the head, though we searched diligently, and found most, if not all his other bones almost entire, and those remarkable for their length, and proportionally strong; which also agrees with what is recorded by the same historian with regard to the Duke's person, viz. that he was 'viribus robustus, corpore maximus'... It was estimated... that the Duke must have been 6 foot 9 inches in stature. It was observed that the collar bone had been nearly cut through, as by a battle axe or two-handed sword' (C. W. Stubbs, *Historical Memorials of Ely Cathedral*, pp. 92-93, 1897).

Byrhtwold (*M.* 309). The 'old companion' whose heroic words conclude the speeches of the loyal retainers at Maldon. Nothing is known of him outside the poem.

Ceola (*M.* 76). Father of *Wulfstan* (q.v.); the name is a shortened form of a compound such as *Ceolmund*, *Ceolred*, *Ceolwin*.

Dunnere (*M.* 255). The 'simple churl' who, with the loyal retainers, urged his companions to avenge Byrhtnoth. His name, presumably from an older *Dunhere*, is not otherwise recorded.

Dunstan (*A.S.C.* 988). St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, dies. His work and influence lie outside the period covered by this volume.

Eadgar (1) (*A.S.C.* 1016), *Játgeirr* (*K.* 3). English king, d. 975, referred to as buried at Glastonbury, also the burial place of his grandson Edmund Ironside. *Ottar* refers to the English royal house as *Edgar's* race.

(*Eadgar* (2)), *Eatgeirr* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 20). Snorri names the sons of Ethelred and Emma as Edmund, Edward, Eadwig and Edgar, but the *A.S.C.* has nothing to say of this Edgar. An *Eadgar clito* does, however, appear as signatory of charters of the early years of the eleventh century. See *F. N.C.* Appendix SS. The saga writers seem to have had great difficulty in keeping the members of the West Saxon royal house distinct; cf. the confusion concerning Ethelred's father (note on *O.T. (Fms.)*, c. 285, l. 1). Storm (*Kongesagaer*, p. 242, 1900) states that Eadwig and Edgar were Ethelred's sons by his first marriage, and this seems very probable.

(*Eadmund* (1)), *Eaðmundr inn helgi* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 12). Snorri refers to an English tradition to the effect that St Edmund slew King Swegen, 'in the same way as St Mercurius slew Julian the Apostate.' Edmund was King of East Anglia, and fell in the attack of Ragnar Lothbrok's sons in 870. It is noteworthy, in view of the accretion of later legend, that the *A.S.C.* merely records the slaying of the king, not his murder. See F. Hervey's *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, 1907.

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(*Eadmund* (2)), *Játmundr* (*K.* 7; *O.H. (Hk.)* (b)). Ottar refers to Ethelred and his sons as Edmund's race or kin (cf. his reference to *Eadgar* (1) above). This is presumably King Edmund (d. 946), successor of his more famous brother Athelstan.

Eadmund (3) (*A.S.C.* 1015, 1016 (10)), *Eaðmundr* (*O.T. (Fms.)* 285; *O.H. (Hk.)* 16; *O.H. (Fl.)* 20 (3), 21 (2)). Edmund Ironside, first mentioned in the *A.S.C.* under the year 1015, where he is represented as opposing his father's wishes in marrying the widow of Sigferth of the Seven Burghs. The motives of the actors in this story are hard to disentangle, but Edmund's share in it does not appear to have been a particularly creditable one. Later in the same year, on the invasion of Canute, Edmund raised a force in the north, but was betrayed by Eadric Streona. In the next year, Edmund again gathered a force, which, however, refused to act without the help of the Londoners and unless the king should be present in person, and so disbanded. Another force was raised and the king sent for, but, on a rumour of intended treachery, the king deserted and returned to London. Edmund then joined Earl Uhtred of Northumbria and went harrying in the west, but when Earl Uhtred submitted to Canute, Edmund rejoined his father in London.

Up to this point Edmund's career is represented as curiously unsteady, and he does not appear to have won the confidence of his father's people. But on the death of Ethelred he appears in a new light, as a king who 'hardily defended his kingdom while his time was.' Most of annal 1016 is concerned with Edmund's heroic stand against Canute, his defeat at Assandun, the partition treaty between the two kings and Edmund's death in the same year. See note on this annal. On Edmund's parentage see *F. N.C.* Appendix SS.

The term 'Ironside' is first found applied to Edmund in 1057 (D).

Eadnoþ (*A.S.C.* 1012, 1016). Bishop of Dorchester (Oxon.), associated with Bishop Ælfhun in conveying the body of St Alphege to London, and slain at the battle of Assandun. The *A.S.C.* has several instances of ecclesiastics taking part in military and naval affairs. See Plummer, II, p. 71; and cf. 992, where Bishop Ælfstan is mentioned among those put in command of the English fleet.

Eadric (1) (*M.* 11). One of Byrhtnoth's loyal retainers, unknown outside the poem.

Eadric (2) *streona* (*A.S.C.* 1007, 1009, 1012, 1015, 1016, 1017 (6)), *Eaððrikr strjóna* (*O.H. (Fl.)*, 20, 21). Ealdorman of Mercia. Snorri calls him *Heinrekr strjóna* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 26). Cf. *Jómsvíkingas.* (*Fms.* XI, p. 161), c. 52, where he appears as *Alrekr er sumir kǫlluðu Eirík*, and *Knytingasaga* (*Fms.* XI, p. 199), c. 16, where he is called *Heiðrekr*. The *A.S.C.* represents him, in succession to Ælfric, as the arch-traitor. Later tradition ascribed to him crimes with which his name is not associated in the *A.S.C.*; see under *Eiríkr*. The *A.S.C.* evidently regards Eadric's treachery at Assandun as his greatest crime, emphasising Edmund's folly in receiving him back into favour before the battle, and Eadric's villainy in betraying 'his liege lord and all the people.'

The year after Edmund's death Canute assigned to Eadric his former district of Mercia, but in the same year (1017) Eadric was slain, *svyðe rihtlice* according to *A.S.C.* (F).

In *O.H. (Hk.)*, cc. 20 and 21, Eadric is called the fosterer both of Emma and of Edmund. Cf. *Álrekr strjóna, er sumir kǫlluðu Eirík, var fóstri Játmundar, bróðir Emma Jómsvíkingas.* (*Fms.* XI, p. 161), c. 52).

Eadweard (1) (*A.S.C.* 982). King Edward 'the Elder,' son and successor of King Alfred, here referred to as father-in-law of Otto the Great.

Eadweard (2) (*A.S.C.* 978). King and 'martyr,' half-brother of King Ethelred, treacherously slain at Corfe. His death opens a period of disaster. It is noteworthy that while A and E simply use the word 'slain,' C uses the word 'martyred,' which indicates, according to Plummer, 'a later point of view.'

Eadweard (3) (*A.S.C.* 1013, 1014), *Eaðvarðr* (*Eatvarðr*) (*O.T. (Fms.)*, 285 (2),

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286 (3); *O.H. (Hk.)* 16, 20; *O.H. (Fl.)* 20 (2)). Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, later King Edward the Confessor; sent to Normandy in 1013, but in 1014 dispatched to prepare the way for his father's return after the death of Swegen. Snorri represents Edward as ruling jointly with his brother (i.e. his step-brother Edmund), after Ethelred's death. Snorri records his parentage correctly, but is mistaken with regard to Edmund's.

In *O.H. (Fl.)* Edward is also associated with Edmund in holding London against Canute.

In *O.T. (Fms.)* Edward is shown at a later period as King of England, honouring the memory of his father's friendship with Olaf Tryggvason.

Eadweard (4) (*M.* 117). One of Byrhtnoth's retainers at Maldon, who avenged the death of Byrhtnoth's sister's son.

Eadweard (5) *se langa* (*M.* 273). One of Byrhtnoth's loyal retainers who fell at Maldon.

Eadwig (1) (*A.S.C.* 1010). Brother of Ælfric (q.v.), slain in the attack upon Cambridgeshire.

Eadwig (2) (*A.S.C.* 1017, *Eatvigr* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 20). Called *æðeling* in the *A.S.C.*, *regis Eadmundi germanus* by F.W. One of Canute's first acts on ascending the throne was to banish Eadwig, and later, according to the C text, to have him put to death. It is this prince who is probably referred to by Snorri as *Eatvigr*, son of Ethelred and Emma and brother of Edmund. Cf. *Knyttlingasaga* (*Fms.* xi, p. 190), c. 10, where *Eatvigr* is called the third of the sons of Ethelred and Emma.

(*Eadwig*) (3), *Eatvigr* (*O.T. (Fms.)* 285), wrongly named the father of King Ethelred. See note on this passage.

Eadwine (1) (*A.S.C.* 982). Ealdorman of Sussex, buried at Abingdon.

Eadwine (2) (*A.S.C.* 985, 990). Abbot of Abingdon; his appointment and death recorded.

Eadwold (*M.* 304). Brother of *Oswold*, whose valour at Maldon is recorded.

Ealdulf (*A.S.C.* 992, 1002). Abbot of Peterborough, succeeded *Oswold* as Archbishop of York.

Ealhelm (*M.* 218). Referred to as grandfather of *Ælfwine*, one of the heroes of Maldon.

Ecglaf (*M.* 267). Father of the Northumbrian hostage, *Æscferð*, who fought on the English side at Maldon.

Einarr þambarskelfir (*O.H. (Hk.)* 24). The famous bowman who fought on the 'Long Serpent' at Swold (*O.T. (Hk.)* 108). *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 21, records that Einar received quarter at Earl Eric's hands and great estates and the hand of Eric's sister, and that Einar became 'the greatest support of the earls and their devoted friend.' When later Earl Eric left Norway for England, he made Einar, according to the tradition followed by Snorri, protector to his young son Hakon.

Eiríkr (*O.* 18; *A.* 17 (3), 18 (4); *O.H. (Hk.)* 24 (5) (j), 25 (3)), *Yric* (*Irke* (dat.)) (*A.S.C.* 1016, 1017). Eric, son of Hakon the Bad, Earl of Hlathir. An excellent account of him is given in *Crawford Charters*, pp. 142–148, where the discrepancy between the form of the name in English and Scandinavian records is also discussed.

The story of Earl Eric's relations with his father Hakon, to whom he appears to have been antipathetic, may be read in *Har. Gráf. (Hk.)*, cc. 8, 20; *O.T. (Hk.)*, cc. 40–42; *Fl.* i, pp. 65, 185–186, 201; *Njálssaga*, c. 89, etc.

In the famous battle of Hjørungavag against the Jomsvikings, however, Eric supported his father, and after Hakon's fall and Olaf's assumption of kingly power in Norway, Eric left the country and went east to Sweden (*O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 51), having evidently assumed the obligation of avenging his father's death. His Viking exploits in the following years are referred to in

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O.T. (Hk.), cc. 89, 90. He became doubly bound to King Swegen of Denmark by his marriage with Swegen's sister Gytha and by the fact that both he and Swegen, like Olaf of Sweden, had personal wrongs to avenge upon Olaf Tryggvason. The story of Eric's part in the conspiracy which ended in Olaf's defeat at Swold should be read in *O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 98 to end. *Fl. i*, pp. 496–497, has a characteristic story of Eric's chivalrous treatment of Thyri after her husband's fall.

After Swold, Eric ruled Norway jointly with his brother Svein, who had received certain districts in fief from his father-in-law, Olaf of Sweden, to whom they had been assigned at the partition of Norway between the confederates. Eric's share of Norway fell to him in part direct, as one of the confederates, in part from his father-in-law, Swegen of Denmark.

Snorri and *A.* are in disagreement about Eric's attitude towards Christianity. See note on *A.* 19. Snorri's statement (*O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 113) that the brothers followed a policy of religious toleration is more consistent with the character of Eric, which tradition has preserved with most convincing consistency. See Introduction to Norse Texts, p. 120.

On Eric's coming to England, probably in 1015, in the service of Canute, see *A.* 18, and *O.H. (Hk.)* 24, 25, and notes on these passages, and cf. *A.S.C.* 1016, l. 29, and note. The *A.S.C.* does not record his death, but the evidence of the charters suggests the year 1023 or 1024. On W.M.'s statement that he lost Canute's favour before his death and was exiled see *Crawford Charters*, pp. 147–148.

Ella (O.H. (Hk.) (d)). Sigvat uses the phrase *Ellu kind*, 'race of Ella,' for the English people. Cf. *Ellu ætteleifð*, i.e. 'England,' *Knútsdrápa*, st. 3, by *Hallvarðr hárekablesi (N.-i. Skj. B i, p. 293)*. Ella appears to be the Northumbrian king who, according to Scandinavian tradition, seized Ragnar Lothbrok and threw him into the snake-pit, and upon whom Ragnar's sons carved the blood-eagle in vengeance for their father's death (*Ragn. Loð (Fas. 1)*, cc. 15, 18).

The *A.S.C.* knows of a King Ælla (*ungecynd*, i.e. not of royal race), who was slain by 'the great host' at York in 867.

Emma (O.T. (Fms.) 285; O.H. (Hk.) 20; O.H. (Fl.) 20). In the *A.S.C.*, where Emma is referred to (1002, 1003, 1013, 1017), her name is not used. In the first three cases she is called 'the lady,' in the last 'Ethelred's widow (*lāf*).' Emma was the daughter of Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy (she is wrongly represented as his granddaughter in *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 20). Her mother is said to have been a Danish woman, Gunnor, who only became Richard's wife, *Christiano more*, after Emma's birth (*W. of Jumièges*, iv, 18).

She was married first to Ethelred, then to Canute. By her first marriage she was the mother of the princes Alfred and Edward, by the second of Hardicanute. Scandinavian tradition also makes her the mother of Edmund Ironside (q.v.).

Emma bore a double name, referred to by *A.S.C. (F)*, 1017: *þæt wæs Ælfgiue (on Englisc), Ymma (on Frencisc)*. Her death is recorded in 1051 (C): *on þys ylcan gear forðferde seo ealde hlæfdige, Eadwerdes cinges moder and Harðacnutes, Imme hatte*.

Fryþegyst (A.S.C. 993). Associated with *Fræna* (q.v.).

Fræna (A.S.C. 993). One of the leaders who instigated flight among the English *fyrd* in an engagement with the Vikings near the Humber.

Gadd (M. 287). The interpretation here adopted equates Gadd's kinsman with Offa. See note on this line. Searle gives no other example of the name. Klæber (*Zu Byrhtnoð's Tod, Eng. St. Bd. 55, p. 390, 1921*) suggests a Danish origin, Redin (*Studies in Uncompounded Personal Names in O.E.* p. 16, 1919)

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- an English, connecting it with O.E. (*ge*)*gada*, 'comrade.' Mr B. Dickins has sent me the following alternative suggestions:
- (1) That Gadd corresponds to the first element of the Leicestershire Gaddesby (*D.B. Gadesbi*; c. 1129 *Leics. Survey, Gadesby*).
- (2) That Gadd represents the Biblical Gad. (Cf. especially 1 Chron. xii, 8: *Sed et de Gaddi transfugerunt ad David, cum lateret in deserto, viri robustissimi, et pugnatores optimi, tenentes clypeum et hastam: facies eorum quasi facies leonis, et veloces quasi capreae in montibus* (Vulgate). Cf. also *vv.* 14, 15.) In this case the phrase *Gaddes mæg* would be merely a kenning for warrior. It would, as far as I know, be of a type otherwise unknown in O.E. poetry. This interpretation would support the theory of a clerical origin for *Maldon* (cf. pp. 6–7), but is exceedingly doubtful.
- Godá* (*A.S.C.* 988). A thane of Devon, slain in an encounter with the Danes.
- Godric* (1) (*M.* 187, 237, 325). Son of Odda, brother of Godwine and Godwig, who deserted their fellow retainers after Byrhtnoth's fall. The fact that he used his dead lord's horse led many to mistake him for Byrhtnoth, causing panic among the *fyrd* and the breaking of the shield-wall.
- Godric* (2) (*M.* 321). Son of Æthelgar, carefully distinguished from Godric (1); one of the loyal retainers at Maldon.
- Godwig* (*M.* 192). Brother of Godric (1), and like him a deserter at Maldon.
- Godwine* (1) (*M.* 192). An emendation of Hearne's *Godrine*, son of Odda, brother of Godric and Godwig, a disloyal retainer at Maldon.
- Godwine* (2) (*A.S.C.* 993). Associated with *Fræna* and *Frypegyst* (q.v.). It is not impossible that this Godwine is identical with the preceding.
- Godwine* (3) (*A.S.C.* 1011). Bishop of Rochester according to F.W., captured in the Danish attack upon Canterbury. His fate is not recorded.
- Godwine* (4) (*A.S.C.* 1016). Ealdorman of Lindsey, slain at Assandun.
- Gormr* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 130; *O.H. (Fl.)* 20), *inn gamli*. King of Denmark, father of Harold Bluetooth, grandfather of Swegen Forkbeard. An account of Gorm and his notable wife Thyri, *Danmarkarbót*, is to be found in Larson's *Canute*, pp. 4–6.
- Gunnhildr* (1) (*A.* 13 (2), 14 (2); *O.H. (Hk.)* 130). Wife of Eric Bloodaxe, styled *konungamóðir*, 'mother of kings.' The story of how Eric found Gunnhild in a hut in Finland whither she had come to study sorcery is told in *Har. Hárf. (Hk.)*, c. 33. Her father was *Ózur tóti* from Halogaland. She is consistently represented as an overbearing woman, of strong personality and of sinister influence. (See e.g. *Fgr.* p. 24.) One of the more striking accounts of her is found in *Njálssaga*, cc. 3–6. See also *Egils. passim*. She bore Eric eight sons (*Har. Hárf. (Hk.)*, c. 44). After the fall of Hakon the Good, Gunnhild and her sons ruled Norway until they were driven out by King Harold of Denmark in alliance with Earl Hakon, whose father had been slain by the sons of Gunnhild. Presumably Gunnhild died in the Orkneys (see *O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 16).
- Gunnhildr* (2) (*O.H. (Hk.)* 26; *O.H. (Fl.)* 20). Daughter of Canute and Emma. *Magn. Góð. (Hk.)*, c. 17, mentions her marriage with the Emperor, Henry III.
- Gunnlaugr* (*G.* 8, 9 (22), 10, 15 (5)) *ormstunga*. Icelandic skald, hero of the saga which bears his name, which is well known from William Morris's translation in *Three Northern Love Stories* and from Landor's poem (1846 ed., II, pp. 627–631). Gunnlaug's career is especially interesting as illustrating the position of the Icelander in the Viking Age as an international purveyor of skaldic verse. See p. 111, and notes on extract II above, and *O.L.H.* I, pp. 569–572.
- Göngu-Hrólf* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 20). The founder of the duchy of Normandy.
- Hákon* (1) (*O.* 18; *A.* 13, 14, 17, 18; *O.H. (Hk.)* 24, 130 (3); *O.H. (Fl.)* 20). Son of Earl Sigurth of Hlathir, nicknamed *inn illi*, 'the bad.' With the support of King Harold Bluetooth of Denmark Hakon succeeded in wresting Norway

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from the sons of Eric and Gunnhild, who had treacherously slain his father Sigurth. He held Norway till the coming of Olaf Tryggvason, when he met his death at the hands of an attendant, tempted by the price which Olaf had put upon his master's head. His son's participation in the confederacy against Olaf at Swold is to be considered as an act of vengeance for Hakon's death. See Snorri's admirable summing up of the career and fate of 'the bad earl' in *O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 50.

Hákon (2) (*A.* 18; *O.H. (Hk.)* 24 (2), 130). Grandson of the above, son of Earl Eric. When the latter was summoned to the support of his brother-in-law Canute, he placed his son Hakon over Norway, and, since Hakon was only seventeen years old at the time, committed him to the care of Einar Thambarskelfir (according to *Grettis*. c. 19, of Earl Svein).

Olaf Haroldsson's first action on coming to Norway was to entrap Hakon, and force him to renounce his claim to Norway (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 30). Hakon took refuge in England with his uncle, King Canute (*ibid.* c. 31).

Hakon does not seem to have regarded this enforced promise as binding, and *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 130, shows him eager to claim his rights in Norway. Later, when Olaf was forced to flee the country and take refuge in Russia, Canute gave the government into Hakon's hands, but as King Olaf is said to have prophesied (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 180) Hakon's rule was a short one. Snorri represents Canute as offering the rule of Norway to Kalf Arnason, on the ground that Hakon was 'so scrupulous (*heilhugi*) that I do not think that he would shoot a single shaft against King Olaf should they meet' (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 183), and proposing to recall Hakon to England. Hakon returned to England *eptir festarmey sinni* (*Fgr.* p. 88), i.e. Gunnhild, Canute's niece, and set out for Norway in the late autumn. He never reached Norway, and was believed to have perished in a storm in the Pentland Firth (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 184). This agrees with the entry of the *A.S.C. (C)* under 1030. See *Crawford Charters*, pp. 147-148, where F.W.'s statement that Hakon was exiled by Canute, *quasi legationis causa*, is discussed.

Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld, whose poem *Oláfsdrápa* (*erfidrápa*) is given on pp. 126-135. The fullest account of Hallfreth is found in his saga, embedded in *Flateyjarbók*, and in the 'Longer Saga of Olaf Tryggvason' (*Fms.* I-III). A shorter account, found in A.M. 132, is printed separately in the Reykjavík edition of *Hallfreðarsaga*. See also *O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 83; *Laxdælasaga*, c. 40, ed. K. Kálund, *Altn. Sag.-Bibl.* 4, 1896; *Gunnlaugssaga*, c. 10.

Born about 967 in N.W. Iceland where his father Ottar had settled, Hallfreth was fostered by his maternal grandfather. His marked and turbulent character showed itself early. He was not popular, partly, it is clear, as a result of his aptitude for composing satirical verse (cf. *Gunnlaugssaga*, c. 4).

The earlier part of his saga is concerned with his relations with Kolfinna, and her husband Gris.

Olaf's encounter with Olaf Tryggvason at Nidaross is related somewhat differently in *Hallfreðarsaga*, and in *O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 83. Both accounts are given in the Reykjavík edition. Hallfreth fell completely under the spell of King Olaf. Nowhere is the force of the latter's personality better illustrated than in the story of the unruly and stiff-necked Hallfreth reduced to tears by the king's disapproval (*Hallfreðarsaga*, c. 6). It is interesting to note that Hallfreth is said to have been instructed in Christian doctrine by Jostein, the king's uncle, believed to be identical with that Justin who was concerned in the treaty between the Vikings and King Ethelred. See note on *A.S.C.* 991.

King Olaf sent Hallfreth on a difficult mission to Sweden, where he married and remained for some time. His wife died soon after his return to Norway, and in 1000 he returned to Iceland and re-opened his quarrel with his former rival Gris. On his reception of the news of King Olaf's fall, see note to *O.* I. 27.

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On reaching Norway he gathered what information he could concerning Olaf's fate and composed his famous *erfdrápa*. Hallfreth determined to avenge his lord's death by killing Earl Eric, but fell into the earl's hands, and only saved himself by composing a poem on the earl. Yet the earl would not keep him with him *sakir Óláfs Tryggvasonar*.

Hallfreth travelled restlessly for some time, and 'took no pleasure in anything (*undi sér engu*) after King Olaf's fall.' At last he determined to settle in Sweden, but in returning to Iceland for his goods, already a sick man, he was struck by a falling spar and died at sea. His body was thrown overboard and the coffin came ashore in the Hebrides. It was revealed to the Abbot of Iona in a dream in which King Olaf appeared to him, that his servants had ransacked the coffin and treated the body shamefully. Hallfreth was subsequently given honourable burial in the church. The death of Hallfreth is usually placed c. 1007. See *O.L.H.* i, pp. 556–566.

Besides a few lines of a *Hákonardrápa* and various occasional verses (*lausarvísur*), there survives of Hallfreth's verse only the earlier *Óláfsdrápa*, which celebrates Olaf Tryggvason's exploits up to 996, and the *Óláfsdrápa* (*erfdrápa*) printed in this volume.

Haraldr (1) (*A.* 13) *hárfagr*. King of Norway. *Ágrip* refers to Olaf's claim to the title of king through his descent from Harold Fairhair. See note to this passage (p. 208), where a genealogical table is given. See Snorri's account of the unification of Norway under Harold in *Har. Hárf.* (*Hk.*).

Haraldr (2) (*O.H.* (*Hk.*), 130 (2)), Gormsson. King of Denmark, grandfather of Canute. His intervention in Norwegian affairs is referred to in this passage, and again, by implication, in c. 131, ll. 22–23, where Olaf Haroldsson points out that King Gorm had been content to rule over Denmark alone. For an account of Harold's reign see Larson's *Canute*, pp. 7–15.

Haraldr (3) (*O.H.* (*Hk.*) 130) *gráfeldr*. The most powerful of the sons of Eric Bloodaxe and Gunnhild, who ruled Norway after the fall of Hakon the Good. His fall was brought about by the machinations of Harold (2) and Earl Hakon the Bad.

Haraldr (4) (*O.H.* (*Hk.*), 27, 130, 131 (2)). Nicknamed *grenski*, because he was fostered in Greenland, great-grandson of Harold Fairhair and father of Olaf Haroldsson. *A.* seems to have transferred the name of *grenski* from Harold to Olaf (*A.* 19), but the text is possibly corrupt. See note on this passage. Harold was 'burnt in' by Sigrith the Ambitious (*O.T.* (*Hk.*), c. 13).

Haraldr (5) (*O.T.* (*Fms.*) 285; *O.H.* (*Hk.*) 26; *O.H.* (*Fl.*) 20). King of England. The *A.S.C.* (E), 1036, states: *Sume men sædon be Harolde þæt he wære Cnutes sunu cynges and Elfgiue Ælfelmes dohtor ealdormannes, ac hit þuhte swiðe ungeleaflic manegum mannum*. C and D actually deny this account of his birth. After Canute's death, Harold was chosen to hold England on behalf of himself and his brother Hardicanute, who was then in Denmark, but the claim of the latter was disregarded by popular consent, and Emma, his mother, driven out. Harold, however, died in 1039, and was succeeded by his brother. Norse tradition makes both Harold and Hardicanute sons of Canute and Emma.

Heinrekr strjóna (*O.H.* (*Hk.*) 26). See under *Eadric* (2).

Hemingr (*O.H.* (*Fl.*) 20 (2); *G.* 15). Brother of Thorkel the Tall. The latter is represented as coming to England to avenge Heming, who had fallen at Slesvik in England (see I.Pl.N.).

F.W. records, under the same year in which the *A.S.C.* (C) records the arrival of Thorkel's host, the coming of a fleet under *Hemingus* and *Eglafus Jómsvikingas*. (*Fms.* xi, p. 107), c. 37, represents Heming as considerably younger than his brothers, Sigvaldi and Thorkel.

The editors of the *Crawford Charters* (p. 141) are inclined to accept the

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- Norse tradition of Heming's fall, and point out 'that Heming's name does not appear in English history after the assumed date of his death at Slessvik.' See also under *Ulfcytel* and *þorkell* (1) below.
- Herelufu* (*A.S.C.* 982). Abbess of Shaftesbury, died.
- Hrani* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 27 (2)). Fosterer of St Olaf, sent to England from Normandy to gather forces in support of Ethelred's sons. Hrani's father, Hroi, had fostered Harold grenski (*Har. Gráf. (Hk.)*, c. 11). Hrani appears to have remained with Asta, wife of his foster-brother Harold, and so became the foster-father of his foster-brother's son, with the title of *konungsfóstri*. When, at the age of twelve years, Olaf was given a viking ship and a host, Hrani was put in charge of his fosterling.
- Huga* (*A.S.C.* 1003). A Frenchman who was made reeve of Exeter by Emma and betrayed the city to the Danes. He is called *ceorl*, whether with reference to low birth or his treacherous character is not clear.
- Júliánus* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 12). Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor, 331–363. The story of Swegen's death at the hands of St Edmund is compared with the legend of the death of Julian at the hands of St Mercurius. The story of how the saint slew Julian at the instigation of the Virgin, in order to save the city of Cappadocia, is told by Ælfric (*Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, pp. 450–452, 1842–1846). Plummer notes that the same parallel is drawn in *S. Eadm. Mirac., Vet. Script. . . collectio*, VI, p. 827, ed. Martène et Durand (1729).
- Knútr* (1) (*K. I*; *L. 4*; *A. 18*; *O.H. (Hk.)* 24, 25, 26 (4) (e), 28, 130 (13), 131 (20) (o), (p); *O.H. (Fl.)* 20 (15), 21 (14)), *Cnut* (*A.S.C.* 1013, 1014 (3), 1015 (2), 1016 (7), 1017 (2)). Son of Swegen and Gunnhild, daughter of King Burizlaf, hence of mixed Slavonic and Danish descent, nicknamed *hinn ríki* and *hinn gamli*, the latter title distinguishing him from later Danish kings of the same name. Canute is said to have been brought up at home, under the fosterage of Thorkel the Tall (*Fl. I*, p. 203). According to the same saga (cf. *Knyttl. (Fms. XII*, p. 203)), Canute was only ten years old at his father's death. This is difficult to reconcile with the statement of the *A.S.C.*, which represents him in 1013, a year before Swegen's death, as entrusted with English hostages. Canute's ambition to build up a great empire of the North is referred to in Olaf's speech in reply to Canute's messengers (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 131). For an account of Canute's career see Larson's *Canute*.
- Knútr* (2) (*O.T. (Fms.)* 285; *O.H. (Fl.)* 20). Son of the preceding and of Emma, called *Hörðaknútr* (O.E. *Hardacnut*). See under *Haraldr* (5). In 1039 Hardicanute joined his mother at Bruges, whither she had fled as a result of the ascendancy of Harold's party in England. On Harold's death, however, Hardicanute was accepted as king in England, but reigned less than two years.
- Leodulf* (*A.S.C.* 982), styled *æðeling*. Referred to as father of Odda (i.e. Otto). He was half-brother of Otto II, whose encounter with the Saracens is recorded. Ludulf's name is accounted for by the fact that he had an English mother.
- Leofrun* (*A.S.C.* 1011). Abbess, mentioned among those taken by the Danes at the sack of Canterbury.
- Leofsige* (*A.S.C.* 1002). Ealdorman of Essex (see *Crawford Charters*, p. 135), sent by King Ethelred to negotiate terms with the Danish host. In the course of these negotiations, however, Leofsige slew the king's high reeve and was outlawed. Plummer draws attention to a charter (*K. C.D.* 719), where the crime is referred to.
- Leofsunu* (*M.* 244). One of the loyal retainers at Maldon.
- Leofwine* (1) (*A.S.C.* 1010). Referred to as father of Wulfric, who fell in Cambridgeshire in this year. The editors of the *Crawford Charters* (p. 123)

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- suggest that this person is possibly identical with a testator of a will dated 998, who is called son of Wulfstan. This Wulfstan is perhaps to be identified with Wulfstan of *M.* 1. 75, q. v.
- Leofwine* (2) (*A.S.C.* 1017). Referred to as father of Northman, who was slain in the year of Canute's succession.
- Lyfinc* (*A.S.C.* 1013). Called by F.W. *Wellensis episcopus*; appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1013.
- Maccus* (*M.* 80). One of the three warriors appointed to hold the ford at Maldon. A. Bugge (*Vikingerne*, II, pp. 279–280, 1906) considers this name as a corruption of Magnus (i.e. Carolus Magnus). Cf. the story of Sigvat's baptism of St Olaf's son. 'The King said: "Why did you have the boy called Magnus? That is not a name belonging to our race." Sigvat replied: "I called him after Karla-Magnus, King, the best man I knew of in all the world"' (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 122). Cf. Klaeber, *Engl. St.* 55, p. 390, 1921. According to Symeon of Durham (*R.S.* II, 197), the name was borne by the slayer of Eric, last king of Northumbria, while Maccus, *plurimum insularum rex* is found among the signatories of King Edgar's will. Bugge notes that the name is connected with the Viking settlements of Limerick, Man and the Hebrides, and it is curious to find a man of this name serving in Byrhtnoth's force. The place-name Maxey is perhaps to be compared. See S.E.P.N. I, 1, pp. 73–74.
- Mercurius* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 12). Saint. See under *Júliánus*.
- Morcor* (*A.S.C.* 1015). Described with Sigferth as 'the chief (*yldestan*) thanes connected with the Seven Burghs.' F.W. calls them *filios Earngrimi*. They were entrapped and slain by Eadric and their property seized by the king, but after Edmund's marriage with Sigferth's widow, the property of both thanes passed into the possession of the prince. The brothers were no doubt of Danish race as W.M. states, and the father's name, as recorded by F.W., has a second element which is distinctively Norse. The name is presumably the same as that of an Earl of Northumbria mentioned as Morkere in *A.S.C.* 1065. *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 152, names Morukári as one of the sons of Godwin and the Danish Gytha. The name thus seems to be associated with Scandinavians in England.
- Norðman* (*A.S.C.* 1017). Son of Ealdorman Leofwine (2), slain in the year of Canute's accession. F.W. describes him as *filius Leofwini ducis, frater scilicet Leofrici comitis*, and a Leofric comes is found granting land, which formerly belonged to his brother Normannus, to Evesham. See F. *N.C.* Appendix CCC on the whole family.
- Searle lists sixteen persons of this name, all probably from the tenth century onwards.
- F.W. adds that Canute constituted Leofric *ducem* in his brother's place.
- Odda* (1) (*M.* 186, 238). Father of the deserters Godric, Godwin and Godwig. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England*, 1910, pp. 99–100, notes that in England the name in some cases corresponds to German Otho, Otto (see *Odda* (2), (3) and (4) below), in a few cases to such names as Ordbriht, but usually represents a Norse name; cf. O.W.Sc. *Oddi*, O.Dan. *Odda*, O.Sw. *Odde*.
- See also M. Redin, *Studies in Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, pp. 68–69, 1919.
- Odda* (2) (*A.S.C.* 982). Called 'the old' (cf. note on *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 130, l. 1); father of Leodulf, grandfather of Odda (4).
- Odda* (3) (*A.S.C.* 982). *Romana casere*, Emperor Otto II, whose encounter with the Saracens is recorded. Otto's invasion of Denmark, the peace between him and Harold Bluetooth, and the latter's acceptance of Christianity are dealt with in *O.T. (Hk.)*, cc. 24–28.

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Odda (4) (*A.S.C.* 982). Grandson of *Odda* (2); died as his uncle, *Odda* (3), was returning from the East.

Offa (*M.* 5, 198, 230, 286, 288). One of the most prominent members of Byrhtnoth's bodyguard. See notes on *M.* ll. 5 and 198, and on *Gaddes mæg*, l. 287.

Óláfr (1) (*A.* 13). Grandfather of *Óláfr* (2). See genealogical table in note to *A.* c. 13, l. 3.

Óláfr (*Áleifr*) (2) (*O.* 10, 15, 17, 22, 29; *A.* 13, 14, 16 (4), 17 (3), 18, 19; *O.T.* (*Fms.*) 285 (3), 286 (7); *O.H.* (*Hk.*) 20, 24, *Anlaf* (*A.S.C.* 994). Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway, 995–1000. On the form of the name, see note on *O.* st. 10, l. 4.

Ágrip's account of Olaf's career is given here (pp. 144–151) unabridged. It should be compared with Snorri's account (*O.T.* (*Hk.*)), which follows a somewhat different tradition regarding Olaf's childhood and the events leading up to his last battle.

The crucial point in Olaf's career was his acceptance of Christianity, and here the Norse authorities are not in entire agreement. *Kristni Saga*, c. 5 (ed. B. Kahle, 1905 (*Altn. Saga Bibl.* II)), represents Olaf as learning something of Christianity in Wendland through a meeting with Thangbrand the priest. Odd (*Fms.* XI, p. 242) states that Olaf was 'primesigned' in Greece, and later christened in the Scilly Isles. This latter tradition is adopted by Snorri (*O.T.* (*Hk.*), c. 31), and is accepted by modern scholars as probable. On Olaf's confirmation in England see note on *A.S.C.* 994.

A different tradition seems to be embodied in the chronicle of the Swedish Olaus Petrus: *Olof Tryggvason var then förste Christen Konung som i Norige var, thy att i hans tijd kom ther en predikare utaf Engeland som heet Bernhardus, han predikade ther en tijd lång, och så tog Konungen sielf dop och Christendom af honom* (*Scriptores rerum Suecicarum medii ævi*, ed. E. M. Fant, I (2), p. 235, 1818).

Olaf belonged to that category of heroes whose death appeared to their followers so calamitous that they refused to face the fact, an attitude decreed by Hallfreth in his dirge for the fallen king.

An important article is A. Bugge's *Sandhed og Digt om Olav Tryggvason*, *A.N.O.H.* pp. 1–34, 1910. See Jørgensen, *Den nord. Kirkes Grundlæggelse*, pp. 307–384, 1874; A. Taranger, *Den angelsaksiske Kirkes Indfyldelse paa den norske*, pp. 122–127 and *passim*, 1890; *Norges Historie*, I, 2, cc. 36–41; K. Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, I, pp. 174–197, 1915.

Óláfr (3) (*A.* 17 (3)) *svenski*. King of Sweden in succession to his father Eric the Victorious. His mother was Sigrith the Ambitious, whom Olaf Tryggvason mortally insulted (*O.T.* (*Hk.*), c. 61). When Olaf Tryggvason became King of Norway, Olaf of Sweden received Earl Eric of Hlathir and other nobles who refused to conform to the new regime.

Olaf the Swede's part at Swold is not represented as a glorious one in Norse tradition, but, since Swegen shares the same obloquy, allowance must be made for national bias. After the battle Olaf of Sweden is said to have received a share of Norway, but to have handed it over to his son-in-law, Earl Svein of Hlathir, who held it as his vassal (*O.T.* (*Hk.*), c. 113). *Ágrip*, however, does not mention this. See note on *A.* c. 18, and on *O.H.* (*Fl.*), c. 20, l. 34. When Earl Svein was forced to flee Norway at the coming of St Olaf, he naturally received the support of his father-in-law, who is said to have borne such ill-will towards St Olaf that he could not bear to hear his name mentioned (*O.H.* (*Hk.*), c. 69). Later, however, popular feeling effected a reconciliation.

Olaf is represented as the first Christian king of Sweden, baptised, according to Swedish tradition, by St Sigfrith (see Fant, *op. cit.* I (1), pp. 17–18). See *Sigurðr* (1) below.

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Óláfr (*Áleifr*) (4) (*A.* 19; *O.H. (Hk.)* 12 (4), 13 (2) (c), 14 (d), 15 (6) (g), (h), 16, 20 (2), 27 (4), 28 (2), 29 (2), 130 (4), 131 (6) (p); *O.H. (Fl.)* 20 (13), 21 (13)), *Haraldzson, hinn digri*. On the title *grenski* see note on *A.* 19, l. 5.

Snorri connects Olaf (2) and Olaf (4) by representing the former as standing sponsor to the latter (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 60). Bugge (*Norges Historie*, I, 2, p. 325) points out in favour of this that the name Olaf was foreign to the family of Harold *grenski*. Elsewhere, however, St Olaf is represented as having received baptism at Rouen, while Swedish tradition (see K. Maurer, *Bekehrung des Norwegischen Stammes*, I, p. 513, 1855) and at least one Norse source (see A. Taranger, *op. cit.* p. 128) represent him as having accepted Christianity in England. See note on *A.* c. 16, l. 3.

Snorri relates the story of St Olaf with far greater fullness than that of any other of the Norwegian kings. There exists, moreover, apart from the *Heimskringla* version, a separate saga of St Olaf by Snorri. On the relation between Snorri's two versions see G. Storm, *Snorre Sturlassóns Historie-skrivning*, 1873, and S. Nordal, *Om Olaf den Helliges Saga*, 1914.

The *A.S.C.* knows nothing of St Olaf's campaigns in England, which are vouched for by Norse and Swedish tradition. (For the latter see e.g. Fant, *op. cit.* I (2), pp. 235–236, II, p. 31.) As a saint, however, Olaf early gained a footing in England. His canonisation is referred to in *A.S.C.* 1030. In the *Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren, 1883, preserved in a ms. attributed to c. 1060, Olaf is the only non-English saint included.

On churches dedicated to St Olaf see F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, II, pp. 451–454, 1899. The account of St Olaf in this work must, however, be treated with caution. Mr B. Dickins has supplied me with references to P. Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass in England*, pp. 238–239, 1913 (a reference to a window in Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York), to C. E. Keyser, *List of Buildings...having Mural...Decorations*, 1883, pp. 20 and 170 (references to screen paintings at Barton Turf, Norfolk and Manaton, Devon) and to F. Harrison, *The Painted Glass of York, passim*, 1927.

Accounts of St Olaf's career will be found in the works quoted under Olaf (2) above. For a legendary account of St Olaf, see F. Metcalfe, *Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi*, 1881.

Ólof (*J.* 13). Wife of Palnatoki (q.v.), daughter and heir of Earl Stefnir of Bretland. Grief for her death is said to have driven Palnatoki to return to a viking life, and thus led indirectly, according to the saga account, to the founding of Jomsborg.

Ordulf (*A.S.C.* 997), the destruction of whose minster at Tavistock is recorded. He signs as 'minister' from 980–1006. See *Crawford Charters*, p. 122.

Ormr (*O.T. (Fms.)*, 286). Son of Thorljot, an inhabitant of Dyrness in the Orkneys. The story of Edward the Confessor's announcement to his court of Olaf Tryggvason's death is given on Orm's authority.

It is interesting to find that the *Orkneyingasaga*, ed. Nordal, p. 122, records an Orm, son of Thorljot in the twelfth century.

Oswig (*A.S.C.* 1010). Son of Æthelstan, described as the king's *afum*, slain in Thorkel's attack upon Cambridgeshire.

Oswold (1) (*M.* 304). Brother of Eadwold, both mentioned as loyal retainers.

Oswold (*Oswald*) (2) (*A.S.C.* 992). Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, died.

Óttarr (*O.H. (Hk.)* 13, 14, 15 (2), 29) *svarti*. Sister's son of Sigvat (see below). See p. 115 above. He was associated with three kings, Olaf of Sweden, St Olaf of Norway and Canute. The verses quoted by Snorri in the extract from *O.H. (Hk.)* are from the *Hofuðlausn*, said to have been composed at Sigvat's instigation in order to placate St Olaf, who was incensed by some verses (now lost), which Ottarr had composed in praise of the Swedish princess

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Astrith, who became St Olaf's wife. See additions to St Olaf's saga (*Fms.* v, pp. 173–175). As a result of this poem Ottar was admitted into St Olaf's service, but appears later to have passed into the service of Canute, in whose honour his *Knútsdrápa* (see pp. 136–139 above) was composed. See *O.L.H.* i, pp. 587–590.

Palnatóki (*J.* 13 (6), 14 (6)). According to the saga, Palnatoki was the first head of Jomsborg. He is represented as son of Palni and grandson of Toki, of the island of Fynen. Swegen Forkbeard is represented as the son of Palnatoki's daughter by Harold Bluetooth, and as being fostered by his maternal grandfather, since his father was reluctant to acknowledge him. Palnatoki encouraged Swegen to avenge his injuries upon his father, but when, according to the saga, Palnatoki actually slew King Harold, Swegen repudiated his foster-father. Palnatoki then took to the viking life, winning great renown and the hand of Olof, daughter of the Earl of Bretland (Wales). See note on *J.* c. 13, l. 1. So great was the terror he inspired that Burizleif, King of Wendland, in order to buy off a threatened attack, offered him land at Jom, on which Palnatoki (see extract) built Jomsborg and became its first chief. This account has no support outside the saga, and it is certain that the figure of Palnatoki, whether historical or not, has attracted to itself much legendary matter. Steenstrup (*D.R.H.* i, 11, 3, pp. 324 ff.) rejects the account of the founding of Jomsborg by Palnatoki altogether, though he admits the possibility that a chieftain Toki was at one time associated with the colony. (Cf. Steenstrup's *Venderne og de Danske*, 1900, Section 5.)

On possible traces of Palnatoki's family in England see *Crawford Charters*, p. 144. For Saxo's account of Palnatoki (*Toko*) see Bk. II, pp. 329 ff. *Petroc* (*St*). See I.Pl.N. under *Petrocestow*.

Ricard (1) (*A.S.C.* 1002, 1017), *Ríkarðr* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 20). Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy, father of Emma (q.v.). His accession in 942 (E) and death in 994 (E) are recorded in the *A.S.C.* His father was William Longsword (called *langaspyjót* by Snorri), son of *Gongu-Hrólfr* (q.v.) Cf. the genealogy in *Har. Hárf. (Hk.)*, c. 24.

Ricard (2) (*A.S.C.* 1000, 1013), *Ríkarðr* (*O.H. (Hk.)* 20). Richard the Good, Duke of Normandy, son and successor of the preceding. His accession is recorded in the *A.S.C.* under the year 994 (E), his death under 1024 (E).

In 1000 the viking fleet is stated to have left England and passed over to 'Richard's land.' In 1013 first Emma, then the princes Edward and Alfred, and finally Ethelred himself sought shelter there.

Roðbert (*O.H. (Hk.)* 20). Son of the preceding. According to the *A.S.C.* (E) he succeeded to the dukedom of Normandy in 1024. At his death in 1031 he was succeeded by his son William, later William I of England. Robert is called *lönqumspáði* in *Har. Hárf. (Hk.)*, c. 24. He is known to history as Robert the Devil or the Magnificent. See *F. N.C.* i, p. 468.

Sibyrht (*M.* 282). Referred to as brother of Ætheric, one of the heroes of Maldon. *Sí(ge)ferþ* (*A.S.C.* 1015). One of the chief thanes of the Seven Boroughs, who, with his brother Morcor (q.v.) was treacherously slain by Eadric. His widow was carried off by the ætheling Edmund.

Sigeric (*Syric*) (*A.S.C.* 990, 991, 995). Succeeded St Dunstan as Archbishop of Canterbury in 990. Plummer points out that the *A.S.C.* must be in error in referring to Sigeric as *consecrated* to Canterbury. He was in fact *translated* from Ramsbury. In 991 he is represented as having advised the paying of danegeld after the battle of Maldon. His death is recorded in the *A.S.C.* under the year 995. See note on this annal.

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Ælfric dedicated his homilies to Sigeric. See Plummer's note on this point, II, p. 173.

Sigurðr (1) (*A.* 16). Bishop, who, with other ecclesiastics, accompanied Olaf Tryggvason when the latter went to claim his kingdom in Norway.

Flateyjarbók I, 511 states that Sigurth's origins were unknown. It is probable that he came from a Scandinavian family settled in England (*N.H.* I, 2, p. 255). He is certainly identical with the *quidam Johannes episcopus* mentioned by Ad. Brem. (II, 35); the identification is, indeed, made in Odd's *O.T.* (*Fms.* x, p. 373). Theodoric (c. x) states that he was expressly ordained for missionary work, while *Fl.* I, 244 calls him Olaf's court chaplain (*hirðbyskup*).

According to *Flateyjarbók* (*O.T.* (*Fl.*), c. 377) Thyri was entrusted to Sigurth's care at the battle of Swold, and the bishop was with her at her death. Odd (*Fms.* x, p. 374) represents him as denying that Olaf perished in the battle.

For the story of Sigurth's preaching in Sweden after his master's fall, see *Fl.* I, 511–516, and for the Swedish account see *Historia Sancti Sigfridi*, Fant, II, pp. 344–346, where Sigfrid is called Archbishop of York. For a discussion of the identity of Sigurth and Sigfrid see H. Koht, 'De første norske biskoper,' *Hist. Tids.* pp. 128–134, 1920. See also J. Wordsworth, *The National Church of Sweden*, pp. 71 ff., 1911.

This bishop of Olaf Tryggvason (called *hinn ríki*) is to be distinguished from St Olaf's bishop of the same name.

Sigurðr (2) (*O.H.* (*Fl.*), 21 (3)). A Dane by race, bishop of King Canute. In our extract he is represented as upholding the piety of Olaf Haroldsson against that of Canute, so that England became too hot for him. If we are to believe this anecdote, Sigurth must have made a complete change of front in his attitude towards the two kings, for in *O.H.* (*Hk.*), c. 217 (cf. *Fl.* II, 348–349), it is stated that Canute when he set Earl Hakon over Norway gave him Bishop Sigurth as his chaplain, and that the bishop *var inn mesti óvinr Óláfs konungs*. After Olaf's death, indeed, when feeling ran high in Norway towards those who had stirred up feeling against the saint, Sigurth had no choice but to leave the country and seek Canute in England (*O.H.* (*Hk.*), c. 243).

Flateyjarbók makes no attempt to explain the apparent discrepancy. Doubtless the explanation lies in the legendary nature of the story of Olaf's austerities preserved in our extract.

Sigvatr (*O.H.* (*Hk.*), 13, 14, 15, 26, 131 (4)). In cc. 13, 14, 15, Sigvat's *Vikinga-visur* are quoted, in c. 26 his *Knútsdrápa*. In c. 131 Sigvat is represented as talking with Canute's messengers after their audience with King Olaf at Tunsberg. Snorri refers to Sigvat's visit to Canute's court and his relations with Bersi (q.v.), and quotes one of Sigvat's verses on Canute's treatment of the two skalds. Sigvat is here represented as maintaining to Canute's emissaries the courage and independent character of his master, King Olaf.

This is in agreement with the character consistently attributed to Sigvat, a character in which tact and a gift for diplomacy were combined with independence and loyalty to his master.

Sigvat seems to have come to Norway from Iceland in about 1014. St Olaf at first refused to listen to his verses, but on hearing them took Sigvat at once into favour. His influence with the king was remarkable; he became the king's *stallari*, 'marshal,' and was entrusted with diplomatic errands, chief of which were the arrangements for the king's marriage with the Swedish princess Astrith.

In 1025–1026 Sigvat visited Canute, but refused to become his 'man.'

Like Hallfreth he was unintentionally absent in his master's last battle, since in 1029–1030 he and Bersi were on pilgrimage to Rome. The innuendoes of Olaf's other skalds about Sigvat's absence suggest that Sigvat's influential position had subjected him to the jealousy of his fellows (*O.H.* (*Hk.*), c. 206).

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Sigvat's own grief for his lord's fall is expressed in the verse quoted in the note to Hallfreth's *Óláfsdrápa*, st. 19.

Sigvat's relations with Olaf's son Magnus, whom Sigvat himself christened (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 122), are outside the scope of this volume, but the story of how Sigvat averted civil war in Norway which threatened as a result of Magnus's attitude towards his father's enemies by composing the *Bersögliðvisur*, a poem of warning and good counsel to the young king, admirably illustrates Sigvat's character.

Snorri relates of Sigvat (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 160) that he was not an eloquent man in ordinary speech, but composed verse with extraordinary ease. His characteristics as a poet have been referred to on p. 115 above.

Sigvat's chief works are the *Vikingavisur* in which King Olaf's battles are enumerated; *Nesjarvisur*; *Austrfararvisur*, a humorous account of an adventurous journey to West Götland; *Vestrfararvisur*, of which little survives, on his journey to France and England; *Knútsdrápa*, from which stanza (1) in *O.H. (Hk.)* is drawn; the famous *Bersögliðvisur* and the *Erfdrápa* on his master, King Olaf.

See *O.L.H.* I, pp. 590–612.

Skáldtorfa (*O.H. (Hk.)*, 131). Mother of *Bersi* (q.v.).

Sveinn (1) (*K.* 6; *A.* 17 (6), 18 (2); *O.H. (Hk.)*, 12 (2), 130 (2); *O.H. (Fl.)*, 20 (3)), *Swegen* (*A.S.C.* 994, 1003, 1004, 1013 (5), 1014). King of Denmark, son of Harold Bluetooth, father of Canute (q.v.). He is styled *tjúguskegg* (*O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 34), and Otta-Sveinn after his godfather, the Emperor Otto (*O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 28). The extract from the *A.S.C.* quoted in this volume covers the years of Swegen's activities in England, and his death in 1014. If Snorri is right in stating that Englishmen ascribed Swegen's death to the miraculous intervention of St Edmund (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 12), the tradition would seem to have arisen after the annal of the *A.S.C.* for this year had been composed, since there is not even a hint of violent death in the *Chronicle's* statement that 'Swegen ended his days and the fleet all chose Canute as king.' The fact probably was, as Snorri and others state, that Swegen's death, if natural, was also sudden; it might thus easily have been regarded as miraculous. The *A.S.C.* indeed throws no light on the two most enigmatical features of Swegen's career, his attitude towards Christianity and, a related problem, the circumstances of his death.

Two accounts may be taken to represent the two views of Swegen's character, viz. the account of F.W., which embodies the legend of St Edmund's intervention to which Snorri refers and represents Swegen as pagan and as filled with malice against the English saint, and, on the other hand, the account of the *Encomium Emmae* (cf. Saxo, p. 342), where Swegen not only dies a Christian death, but urges his son to advance the Christian faith. It may be noted that while W.M. (*Gest. Reg.* I, p. 212) relates the same story as F.W., he also refers to the uncertainty regarding the manner of Swegen's death.

For an account of Swegen's career see *D.R.H.* I, pp. 364–381, and Larson's *Canute*, c. II. See also *F.N.C.* I, Appendix QQ.

Sveinn (2) (*A.* 18; *O.H. (Hk.)*, 130; *O.H. (Fl.)*, 20). Earl, son of Earl Hakon the Bad, brother of Earl Eric (see *Eiríkr* above). He became the son-in-law of King Olaf of Sweden, and, at the partition of Norway after the battle of Swold, received the Swedish king's share to hold in fief. *Flateyjarbók* (*O.H.* c. 20) has the apparently inaccurate statement that both Eric and Sveinn owed their position in Norway to Swegen Forkbeard.

Grettissaga (c. 19) states that Earl Eric made his brother protector to his young son Hakon when he left Norway for England, but see under *Hákon* (2) above.

Svein's relations with Olaf Haroldsson are described in *O.H. (Hk.)*. Svein was driven out of Norway at the battle of Nesjar and took refuge with his father-in-law in Sweden. An attack on Norway was planned for the following

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year, and Svein, in the meantime, went east on a viking expedition, in order to win wealth. On his return to Sweden Svein fell sick and died (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 55).

Tryggvi (*O.* 12; *A.* 13, 14 (2), 19; *O.T. (Fms.)*, 285 (3), 286 (4); *O.H. (Hk.)*, 20, 24).

Father of Olaf Tryggvason. For Tryggvi's descent from Harold Fairhair see genealogical table in note to *A.* c. 13, l. 3. Snorri (*Hák. Gǫð. (Hk.)*, c. 2) states that Hakon gave Tryggvi the name of king, and (c. 9) that he 'set King Tryggvi his brother's son over Viken.'

For the accounts of Tryggvi's death see note on *A.* c. 13.

Ufegeat (*A.S.C.* 1006). With Wulfeah, said to have been blinded. According to F.W. the two were brothers, sons of Ealdorman Ælfelm whose slaying is reported under the same year. On Ælfelm see *Crawford Charters*, pp. 121–122.

Uhtred (*A.S.C.* 1013, 1016 (3)). Earl of Northumbria. From the *A.S.C.* it appears that Uhtred submitted at once to Swegen when the latter marched upon Gainsborough. In 1016, however, Uhtred appears in alliance with Edmund Ironside, until he learned that Canute was making towards York. He then submitted to Canute for *nyde*. Canute may well have regarded such a man as untrustworthy, and his own political acumen, as well as the egging of Eadric, may have prompted him to rid himself of Uhtred and his son Thurcytel *nafena*.

Symeon of Durham states that Uhtred was son of Waltheof, Earl of Bernicia, and that he distinguished himself in driving back the invading Scots from Durham (see Robertson, I, pp. 92–93), and for this was given the hand of Ethelred's daughter and the Danish kingdom south of the Tyne, the old Deira.

According to the *A.S.C.* Earl Eric succeeded to Uhtred's possessions, and it has been suggested that Canute got rid of Uhtred to make room for his brother-in-law Eric. But Symeon of Durham represents Uhtred's brother as succeeding him, and Plummer suggests that Eric received only the Scandinavian Deira, Uhtred's brother succeeding to Bernicia.

Ulfcytel (*A.S.C.* 1004 (4), 1010, 1016), *Úlfkell (Snillingr)* (*O.H. (Hk.)*, 14 (d), 25 (k); *O.H. (Fl.)*, 20 (2)), of East Anglia. Freeman (*N.C.* Appendix HH) notes that while the *A.S.C.* calls him *ealdorman* 'by implication' in 1016, and the Latin chronicles give him the rank of earl (F.W. e.g. calls him *Ulfketel dux*), he signs charters simply as *minister* or *miles*. Steenstrup (*Norm.* III, p. 255, n. 2) points out, however, that this is not an isolated case. On his relation to the local *witan* see *A.S.C.* 1004, l. 3 and note.

Ulfcytel's name (cf. O.E. *Wulf-*) shows him to have been of Scandinavian extraction (see Appendix II (b), D).

English and Scandinavian sources agree concerning the impression which Ulfcytel made upon the enemy. See note on *A.S.C.* 1004, l. 18, and *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 25, l. 3.

Scandinavian tradition (see *O.H. (Fl.)*, c. 20, l. 4, and cf. *Jómsvíkingas. (Fms.* XI, p. 159), c. 51) makes Ulfcytel, with the brothers of Edmund, responsible for the slaughter of the Thingmen (see note and I.P.N. under *þorkell* (1)).

The same authorities represent Ulfcytel as married to Ethelred's daughter Ulfhild, and Freeman (*F. N.C.* Appendix SS) is inclined to accept this.

On the circumstances of Ulfcytel's death see note to *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 25, l. 3. *Úlfhild* (*O.H. (Fl.)*, 20). Daughter of King Ethelred, wife of Ulfcytel (see above). *Jómsvíkingas. (Fms.* XI, p. 162), c. 52 (cf. *Fl.* I, 204), relates that Thorkel, after slaying Ulfcytel, made Ulfhild his wife, and that Canute, who had married Emma on Thorkel's advice, saw Ulfhild and considered himself wronged, and began to plot Thorkel's death.

Viljálmr (1) (*O.H. (Hk.)* 20) *langspjótr*. Duke of Normandy, father of Ricard (1) (q.v.), the William *Longsword* of Norman authorities.

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Viljálmr (2) (*ibid.*). Mentioned by Snorri as brother of Robert (*Rodbert*, q.v.), son of *Ricard* (2). No such person is known from other sources.

Wigelin (*M.* 300). Possibly a corruption of Wig(h)elm (Searle, p. xxx), father or ancestor of *Wistan* (q.v.).

The change from *m* to *in* is so slight that the emendation to *Wigelm* is probably justifiable. *Wigelin* is elsewhere unknown, and the name does not suggest an O.E. type.

Wistan (*M.* 297). One of the loyal retainers who fell at Maldon. He is called *ƒurstan*es *suna* in l. 298 and *Wigelines bearn* in l. 300. Two explanations of the apparent discrepancy are possible: (1) that *sunu* and *bearn* are not synonymous, *bearn* standing for 'descendant,' not 'son' (cf. use of *bearn* in *Geata bearn* (plur.) (*Beov.* l. 2184), *niðpa bearna* (plur.), *Gen.* l. 1135), or (2) that *ƒurstan* and *Wigelin* are the same person. See Klæber, *Eng. St.* LV, p. 392, 1921. This is rendered the more probable in that *ƒurstan* is an anglicised form of a Norse name, while *Wigelin*, if (see above) it is a corrupt form of Wig(h)elm, is English. For such double nomenclature among Christianised Scandinavians, cf. *Godrun se norþerne cyning*. . . *þæs fulluht nama wæs Æpelstan* (*A.S.C.* 890 (A)).

Womær (*A.S.C.* 981). Abbot of Ghent, died in this year, in England. His death is recorded under this year in the annals of his own foundation. See *Annales Abbatice Sancti-Petri Blandiniensis*, ed. R. D. F. Van de Putte, p. 9, 1842. *Womær* appears to have entered the New Minster at Winchester after resigning his abbacy at Ghent.

Wulfgar (1) (*A.S.C.* 981). Made Bishop of Wiltshire (Ramsbury) in this year.

Wulfgar (2) (*A.S.C.* 990, 1016). Succeeded Eadwine (q.v.) as Abbot of Abingdon in the former year, died in the latter.

Wulfgeat (*A.S.C.* 1006). Deprived of his property. F.W. adds that *Wulfgeat* was thus disgraced *propter injusta iudicia et superba quæ gesserat opera*, while a charter (K. C.D. 1310) refers to the forfeiture of his property as being *quia inimicis regis se in insidiis socium applicavit*. See F. N.C. Appendix II, and Plummer's note. *Wulfgeat* signs as *minister* up to the year 1005.

Wulfheah (*A.S.C.* 1006). Blinded. See *Ufgeat*.

Wulfmær (1) (*M.* 113). Son of Byrhtnoth's sister, slain before Byrhtnoth's own death. See note on this line.

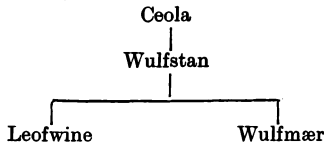
Wulfmær (2) (*M.* 155) *se geonga*. Son of *Wulfstan* (q.v.); avenged the wounding of Byrhtnoth.

Wulf(m)ær (3) (*M.* 183). Probably but not certainly identical with *Wulfmær* (2).

Wulfric (*A.S.C.* 1010). Son of *Leofwine*, slain in Cambridgeshire.

Wulfstan (*M.* 75, 79, 155). Although it cannot be proved that *Wulfstan* of l. 155 is identical with *Wulfstan* of ll. 75 and 79, the identification is highly probable and is here assumed. In ll. 75 and 79 *Wulfstan* appears as one of the defenders of the ford at Maldon. He is called *Ceola's son* (*sunu*), whereas in l. 155 *Wulfstan* is mentioned as father of *Wulfmær se geonga* (q.v.). We have thus the series *Ceola*, father of *Wulfstan*, father of *Wulfmær*.

The will of a certain *Leofwine* (see under *Leofwine* (1) above), son of *Wulfstan* of Essex, is to be found in the *Crawford Charters* (ix), and the editors suggest that this *Wulfstan* is to be identified with the *Wulfstan* of *M.* l. 75. In this case the genealogy stands:



N.B. There is nothing to indicate which of the two brothers was the older.

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Wulfwin (*A.S.C.* 982). Abbess of Wareham, whose death is recorded in this year.

Þangbrandr (*A.* 16). The priest, mentioned as one of the ecclesiastics whom Olaf Tryggvason took with him from England to Norway. Theodric calls him Theodbrand, which is presumably the right form. According to the same authority he was a Fleming, according to *Kristnisaga* he was the son of *Vílbaldus greifa af Brimum*. This saga gives a curious and interesting account of Thangbrand's youth and early dealings with King Olaf, but, according to B. Kahle (*Kristnisaga* (*Altn. Bibl.*), p. 14, note to v, 2–6), the narrative rests upon a very uncertain foundation.

Snorri (*O.T.* (*Hk.*), c. 73) describes him as *ofstopamaðr mikill ok vígamaðr, en klerkr góðr ok maðr vaskr*. King Olaf found his presence at court inconvenient, and hit upon the unfortunate plan of entrusting Thangbrand with the delicate mission of converting Iceland. The results of his mission are described in *O.T.* (*Hk.*), cc. 73, 84. A fuller account occurs in *Kristnisaga*, cc. vii–ix. Cf. *Njáls saga*, cc. 100–104.

Þorðr (1) (*O.H.* (*Hk.*), 24, 25). Kolbeinsson, whose verses are quoted. See also p. 115 above. His career is described in *Bjarnarsaga Hitðælakappa*, where his character is represented in an unpleasant light. He is then described as 'a great skald but not generally popular.' He was attached to Earl Eric's court, and composed an *Eiríksdrápa*, to which the verses quoted by Snorri belong.

See *O.L.H.* I, pp. 573–577.

Þorðr (2) (*O.H.* (*Fl.*), 20), 'the Viking.' Represented as one of the leaders of the Danish host when, in the *Flateyjarbók* version, Olaf Haroldsson helped Canute to take London Bridge. On a possible identification with that Thorth who warned the 'thingmen' of London of the attack intended against them, and with the signatory of one of the 'Crawford Charters,' see *Crawford Charters*, p. 148.

Þorkell (1) (*O.H.* (*Fl.*), 20 (7)), *Þurkill* (*Þurcyl*, *Þurkyl(l)*) (*A.S.C.* 1009, 1013 (2), 1017). Thorkel the Tall (*inn hávi*), son of Strutharold, Earl of Zealand, brother of Sigvaldi and Heming (*Jómsvíkingas.* cc. 26, 37). On the form of the name in the *A.S.C.* see Appendix II (b), D.

An account of Thorkel, founded on the *A.S.C.* and Latin chronicles, is to be found in *F. N.C.* Appendix NN. It may be noted (a) that Freeman's reference to *Þorkell hasi* in *Knyttlingasaga*, c. 8, seems to imply a misreading of *f* for *s*, the original form being *háfi* (*hávi*), and (b) that the authority 'for Thurkill's wife being a daughter of Æthelred,' upon which Freeman could not lay his hands, is presumably one of the saga accounts. See under *Ulfcytel* above.

See also Larson's *Canute*, where the Norse authorities are drawn upon.

No detailed account is attempted here, but it should be noted that Thorkel was associated with most of the chief events of English and Scandinavian history of this period. As a Jomsviking he took part with his brother Sigvaldi in the attack upon Norway which was repulsed at the battle of Hjorungavag (see above under *Eiríkr*). At the battle of Swold he is said to have been on the ship of Earl Eric, his former opponent (*Fl.* I, p. 489). He was associated with St Olaf in his Viking exploits (see note on *O.H.* (*Hk.*), c. 12). His appearance in England in 1009 is recorded in *A.S.C.* (C), and the *Encomium Emmæ* (I, 2) represents this as an expedition of vengeance for the slaying of one of Thorkel's brothers in this country.

Thorkel's connection with the murder of St Ælfheah is uncertain, W.M. representing him as the instigator of the crime, Thietmar as having tried to prevent it. In any case, Thorkel is found on the English side in the following year (1013), and it is possible that this change of side may have been due to

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his conversion to Christianity. Thietmar's account suggests, as Freeman points out (*N.C.* Appendix PP) that Thorkel was a Christian at the time of the Archbishop's martyrdom.

Whatever the circumstances it is clear that Thorkel returned to the Danish side, and the *Crawford Charters* (p. 141) are inclined to accept the Norse tradition which represents Thorkel as called upon to avenge the death of his brother Heming, slain in the massacre of the 'thingmen.' See note on *O.H. (Fl.)*, c. 20, l. 3. On the tradition that Thorkel slew Ulfcytel, who had plotted the massacre, see note on *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 25, l. 3.

Thorkel's importance in England at the accession of his foster-son Canute (see *Fl. I*, p. 203) is shown by the fact that he received in 1017 the province of East Anglia (see under *Ulfcytel* above). Whatever the cause of his subsequent fall from Canute's favour, Thorkel was banished in 1021, and although he was received back into favour two years later and given a position of importance in Denmark, he appears no more in connection with English affairs.

(*Þorkell*) (2) (*O.* 16) *nefja*. Step-brother of King Olaf Tryggvason (*O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 52), who commanded the 'Short Serpent' at Swold (*ibid.* c. 94). His name appears uncontracted as *Þorketill* in Hallfreth's verse. Presumably he had come up on to the 'Long Serpent' in the course of the battle, when 'the men began to leap up from the smaller ships on to the big ships' (*ibid.* c. 106). See *Þurcytel* (2) below.

Þorljótr (*O.T. (Fms.)*, 286). Father of Ormr (q.v.) of Dyness in the Orkneys.

Þormóðr (*A.* 16). One of the ecclesiastics whom Olaf Tryggvason brought with him to Norway from England. The name points to Scandinavian descent. Thormod accompanied Gizur the White and Hjalti Skeggjason to Iceland in order to establish Christianity there, and was present at the 'Allthing' in the year 1000 at which Christianity was adopted.

Þorod (*A.S.C.* 992) *eorl*. One of those to whom Ethelred committed the leadership of the *fyrd*. Both his name and title show Scandinavian descent. On the form of the name see Appendix II (b), D. In 966 (E) it is stated that *Þored Gunneres sunu forhergode Westmoringa land*, probably acting under King Edgar's orders. Gunner signs as *dux* in 931, and Thureth *dux* in 979, 983 and 988. See Plummer, II, pp. 159–160.

Þorólfr (*A.* 14, 15) *lúsarskegg*, who conveyed the child Olaf Tryggvason to Sweden. As he was proceeding to Holmgarth he was slain by Estonian pirates. Later, in Holmgarth, Olaf met and recognised Thorolf's slayer, and avenged his foster-father.

Þurcytel (1) (*A.S.C.* 1010) *myranheafod*, who instigated flight at the battle in East Anglia in this year. His name and nickname point to Scandinavian descent, and his action may have been due to divided loyalties. See note on this annal.

The name almost certainly means 'mare's head' (cf. *hesthofða*, *Eiríkssaga rauða*, c. 5). In *Fóstrbræðrasaga*, c. 24, Thormoth says to King Olaf: '*Illr þótti mér jafnaðr þeira vera við mik; því at þeir jöfnuðu mér til merar—töldu mik svá vera með mönnum sem mér með hestum.*' *Konungr mælti*: '*Várkunn var þat, at þér mislíkaði þeira umræða.*'

Þurcytel (2) (*A.S.C.* 1016), *Nafenan sunu*. Slain, together with Uhtred (q.v.) by the advice of Eadric Streona. Larson (*Canute*, pp. 81–82) tentatively suggests that this is actually *Þorkell nefja* (see above), and that the English chronicler has mistaken the nickname for a patronymic. Larson points out that Thorkel *nefja*, who escaped from Swold, may well have taken refuge in England, and further that to leave King Olaf's half-brother and Earl Eric in close proximity would have created an awkward situation.

On the relation of the form *Þurcytel* to *Þorkell* see Appendix II (b), D.

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Þurstan (*M.* 298). Referred to as father of *Wistan* (q.v.).

Þyri (*A.* 17). Daughter of King Harold Bluetooth, sister of King Swegen. According to *Fgr.* (p. 82) she was first married to the Swedish prince, *Styrbjorn*, who fell in 985. According to *A.* she was later given in marriage to a noble in Wendland (according to other authorities to King *Burizlaf*), but fled to *Olaf Tryggvason* for protection and became his wife. *Olaf* is represented as returning from an expedition to Wendland to negotiate about his wife's property, when he was attacked by the confederates at *Swold* (*O.T.* (*Hk.*), cc. 92 ff.).

For the story of *Thyri's* death see *Flateyjarbók* (I, 496–497).

Ælþelgar (1) (*M.* 320). Father of *Godric* (2).

Ælþelgar (2) (*A.S.C.* 980, 988). Passed from the Abbacy of New Minster, Winchester, to the Bishopric of Selsey, thence in 988 to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, in succession to *Dunstan*, but died fifteen months later.

Ælþelmær (1) (*A.S.C.* 982 (2)). Ealdorman of Hampshire, died and buried at Winchester.

Ælþelmær (2) (*A.S.C.* 1013). Submits to Swegen, along with the 'western thanes.' *F.W.* calls him ealdorman of Devon.

Ælþelmær (3) (*A.S.C.* 1017) *greata*. Mentioned as father of *Ælþelweard* (3) below. See *Crawford Charters*, pp. 87–88. It is not certain that *Æthelmær ealdorman* (2) and *Æthelmær greata* are identical, but it is highly probable.

The nickname *greata* may have much the same meaning as the Norse *digri*, applied to *St Olaf*.

Ælþelred (*M.* 53, 151, 203; *A.S.C.* 978, 979, 1013 (2), 1014 (3), 1016, 1017), *Aðalraðr* (*O.T.* (*Fms.*), 285 (6); *O.H.* (*Hk.*), 12 (6); *O.H.* (*Fl.*), 20 (4); *G.* 9 (2) (a), 15). King *Ethelred*, the Unready, whose reign is covered by the annals of the *A.S.C.* here printed. The title 'Unready' is not used in the *A.S.C.*, but is suggested by the words *unrædas* (1011), *unræd* (1016), *rædleas* (1009). It occurs in the chronicle of the fifteenth-century *Thomas Rudborne* (see *Plummer*, II, p. 168), who describes *Ethelred* as *dictus Unredi, quod Latine sonat Inconsultus* (*Anglia Sacra*, I, p. 225).

O.T. (*Fms.*) emphasises the friendship between *Ethelred* and *Olaf Tryggvason*, which is in harmony with the bare statement of the *A.S.C.* 994, that *Olaf* received honourable treatment at King *Ethelred's* hands, and that the latter stood sponsor to him at his confirmation, while *Olaf*, on his side, respected his promise never again to make an attack upon England.

On *Ethelred's* character according to Norse tradition see note on *G.* c. 9, l. 2.

Ethelred's reign is fully dealt with in *F. N.C.* I, ch. v.

Æþeric (*M.* 280). *Sibyriht's* brother, a valiant fighter at *Maldon*.

Æþelstan (*A.S.C.* 1010). Referred to as the king's *apum*, i.e. connection by marriage, slain in the course of *Thorkel's* attack upon *Cambridgeshire*. See *F. N.C.* Appendix SS.

Æþelweard (1) (*A.S.C.* 994). Ealdorman, sent with Bishop *Ælfheah* to fetch *Olaf* (*Anlaf*) to *Andover*. Freeman and *Plummer* state positively, and the editors of the *Crawford Charters* think it probable, that this was *Æthelweard* the Chronicler, a member of the royal house of *Wessex*. To him *Ælfrie's Lives of the Saints* and his translation of the *Heptateuch* were dedicated.

Æþelweard (2) (*A.S.C.* 1016). Son of Ealdorman *Æthelwine* (q.v.), one of the leaders slain at *Assandun*.

Æþelweard (3) (*A.S.C.* 1017). Son of *Æthelmær* (3) (q.v.), put to death after *Canute's* accession.

Æþelwine (*A.S.C.* 992, 1016). Ealdorman of *East Anglia*. His death is recorded under 992, and in 1016 he is referred to as father of *Æthelweard* (2).

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Æfic (*A.S.C.* 1002). Ethelred's high reeve, slain by Ealdorman Leofsige (q.v.).

Ælfgar (*A.S.C.* 993). Son of *Ælfric* (3) (q.v.).

Ælfheah (1) (*A.S.C.* 994, 1006, 1011). Known later as St Alphege. *A.S.C.*

(A) records under 984 that *Ælfheah*'s other name was Godwine. The same chronicle records that he became Bishop of Winchester in 984, and this position he held in 994 when he was sent to bring Anlaf to Andover. According to Osbern's life (*Anglia Sacra*, II, p. 132) *Ælfheah* was especially concerned with the conversion of Scandinavians in England, and although Osbern is not a reliable witness (see *F. N.C.* Appendix PP) this statement appears probable, and would explain Ethelred's choice of *Ælfheah* as his ambassador. In 1006 he succeeded to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. The story of his capture and murder is related in the *A.S.C.* with a sense of its inherent drama.

Freeman (*N.C.* Appendix PP) weighs the four main accounts of St Alphege's death, attaching great importance to Thietmar's narrative, although admitting that the substitution of the name Dunstan throughout is curious.

The (C), (D) and (E) versions of the *A.S.C.* insert a rhythmical lament for the archbishop's death.

On the churches dedicated to St Alphege see Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, I, pp. 344–345. A composite account of the saint is given on pp. 338–344, where Olaf Tryggvason, curiously, appears as 'that formidable old Viking'! The writer, moreover, seems to represent Thorkel as the actual slayer of the archbishop, on what authority I do not know. See also P. Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass in England*, pp. 107, 119, 169, 198.

Ælfhe(a)h (2) (*A.S.C.* 1017). Mentioned as father of Brihtric (q.v.). His rank is not given.

Ælf(h)elm (*A.S.C.* 1006), of Northumbria, slain in this year. F.W. makes Wulfheah and Ufegeat (q.v.) his sons. He signs as *dux* and held at least a part of Northumbria. His daughter *Ælfgifu* was rumoured to have been the mother of Harold Harefoot, but see under *Haraldr* (5). See *Crawford Charters*, pp. 121–122.

Ælfhere (1) (*A.S.C.* 983). Ealdorman of Mercia, died, and succeeded by *Ælfric* (2). E states that *Ælfhere* removed the body of Edward the Martyr from Wareham, and gave it honourable burial at Shaftesbury.

On his attitude towards St Dunstan's monastic policy see *F. N.C.* Appendix AA.

Ælf(h)ere (2) (*M.* 80). With Maccus, guarded the ford over the Pante.

Ælf(h)un (*A.S.C.* 1012, 1013). Bishop of London, associated with the Bishop of Dorchester in conveying the body of St *Ælfheah* to London. In 1013 he was put in charge of the princes Edward and Alfred when they preceded the king to Normandy.

Ælf(m)ær (1) (*A.S.C.* 1011 (2)). The name appears twice in this annal, first as that of the betrayer of Canterbury to the Danes, secondly with the title of abbot, as one of those allowed to escape when the city was sacked. Does the chronicler imply a distinction between two namesakes by giving a title in the case of one only, or are they to be taken as identical, the reader being left to assume that *Ælfmær*'s escape was the reward of his service to the enemy? The former explanation is supported by F.W., who styles the betrayer of Canterbury *archidiaconus*, the *Ælmær* who made his escape *abbas*.

Ælf(m)ær (2) (*A.S.C.* 1016) *deorling*. Fought on Canute's side at Sherston. For his nickname cf. *Englene durlyng* applied to King Alfred (*Proverbs of Alfred*, I, 11, *O.E. Miscellany*, E.E.T.S. 49).

Ælfnoð (*M.* 183). Fell, with Wulfmær, at Byrhtnoth's side.

Ælfred (*A.S.C.* 1013), who, with his brother Edward, was sent to Normandy under the care of Bishop *Ælfhun*. He was the son of King Ethelred and Emma. In 1036 he came to England to visit his mother, now the wife of

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King Canute. Feeling ran high for Harold, and Alfred was blinded and appears to have died soon after at Ely.

Ælfric (1) (*M.* 208). Father of *Ælfwine* (q.v.). From the poem it appears that *Ælfwine*'s grandfather was Ealdorman Ealhelm (q.v.), and that the family was of importance in Mercia. Freeman (*N.C.* 1, p. 274) asks: 'Is this *Ælfwine* a son of the banished Ealdorman *Ælfric*?' See *Ælfric* (2) below.

Ælfric (2) (*A.S.C.* 983, 985). Possibly identical with *Ælfric* (1), became ealdorman (of Mercia) in the former year, banished in the latter. Plummer quotes a charter (*K. C.D.* 1312) in which the banishment of *Ælfric* *cognomento puer* is referred to. F.W. states that *Ælfhere*, who preceded him in the ealdormanry of Mercia, was *Ælfric*'s father. If, then, *Ælfric* (1) and (2) are identical, the Eal(d)helm of *M.* 218 must have been *Ælfwine*'s maternal grandfather.

Ælfric (3) (*A.S.C.* 992, 993, 1003, (?) 1016). Father of *Ælfgar* (q.v.) and ealdorman of Hampshire. In 992 he is represented as betraying the king's plans to the enemy fleet (see note on this annal), and in the following year his son *Ælfgar* was blinded, no doubt an act of reprisal. In 1003, when in command of the *fyrð* of Wilts and Hants, he feigned sickness, 'playing his old tricks,' and again betrayed the people.

His place as arch-traitor is later taken by Eadric Streona, but we have no evidence that *Ælfric* did not survive till 1016, and it is possible, though not probable, that the *Ælfric* who fell at Assandun, presumably on the English side, was the same person.

On the problems of the contemporary *Ælfrics* see *F. N.C.* Appendix CC; *Crawford Charters*, pp. 120–121; and Plummer's note, II, p. 170.

Ælfric (4) (*A.S.C.* 992 (wrongly called *Ælfstan*), 996, 1006). Succeeded Sigeric as Archbishop of Canterbury and was succeeded by *Ælfheah* (q.v.). *Ælfric* seems to have been interested in naval matters, for in 992 he appears as one of the leaders to whom the command of the fleet was entrusted (Plummer shows that *Ælfstan* is an error for *Ælfric*, his successor at Ramsbury), and his will (see note to *A.S.C.* 1008) includes the bequest of three ships.

Ælfsige (*A.S.C.* 1013). Abbot of Bur(u)h, i.e. of Peterborough, accompanied Emma in her flight to Normandy.

Ælfstan (*A.S.C.* 981). Bishop of Wiltshire, died. Buried at Abingdon, where he was formerly abbot. His name is wrongly substituted for that of his successor *Ælfric* (4) in annal 992.

Ælfward (*A.S.C.* 1011). King's reeve, taken by the Danes in the sack of Canterbury.

Ælfwine (*M.* 211, 231). Son of *Ælfric* (1) (q.v.), fell at Maldon. He refers to Byrhtnoth as both kinsman and lord. The exact relation is not known. The connection may have been through Byrhtnoth's wife, *Ælflæd*, daughter of *Ælfgar*, an East Anglian ealdorman, or *Ælfwine* may have been of the same family as *Æthelmær*, mentioned as Byrhtnoth's kinsman in his wife's will, whom the editors of the *Crawford Charters* (pp. 87–88) suppose to have been a son of *Æthelward* the Chronicler. As regards alliteration, the names Ealhelm, *Ælfric*, *Ælfwine* conform to the nomenclature of either family.

Æscferð (*M.* 267). Ecglaf's son, a hostage in Byrhtnoth's army, of Northumbrian race. See note on l. 265.

Æscwige (*A.S.C.* 992). Bishop of Dorchester; shared command of the English *fyrð* with *Ælfric* (3), Earl Thored and Bishop *Ælfstan*, i.e. *Ælfric* (4).

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Abbandun (*A.S.C.* 981, 982, 985, 1016). Abingdon, Berks. The C text is believed to have been compiled here, hence the frequent references to local ecclesiastical affairs.

Andefera (*A.S.C.* 994). Andover, Hants, scene of Olaf Tryggvason's confirmation.

Angelcynn. See under *Engla*.

Arewe (*A.S.C.* 1016). R. Orwell, on the mouth of which stands Ipswich. Canute's host entered Mercia by this route.

Assandun (*A.S.C.* 1016), *Assatún* (*K.* 8). The identification is a matter of controversy. The evidence of the *A.S.C.* is as follows:

(a) Canute's ships are represented as lying in the Medway, and the host as occupying Sheppey. Thence *se here gewende eft úp on Eastsexum and ferde into Myrcum*.

(b) King Edmund with Eadric Streona, who had joined him at Aylesford, gathered together 'all the English people' for the fifth time, and *ferde him* (Canute and his host) *æt hindan and offerde hi on Eastsexum æt þære dune þe man hæet Assandun*.

Putting together the phrases *ferde into Myrcum* and *offerde hi on Eastsexum*, it seems necessary to assume either that Edmund caught the host on its return from Mercia (which F.W. actually states), or that *ferde into Myrcum* means not 'went into Mercia' but 'were making for Mercia.' The former assumption offers great difficulty, if we are to assume that King Edmund was proceeding from Aylesford, that the Danish host was proceeding to Sheppey and that King Edmund actually came upon it *æt hindan*. Had F.W. any independent source for his statement that the Danes *ad naves repedant festini*?

(c) Under the year 1020 the *A.S.C.* C, D and F record the consecration of a *mynster* at Assandun, while F states that Canute had it built *of stane and lime far ðare manna sawle ðe ðar ofslagene wæran*. No direct evidence is afforded by this annal regarding the site of Assandun, but the question arises whether any trace survives of a foundation of the period corresponding to that here described.

Turning to the *Knútsdrápa*, if, as seems probable, Canute's victory at *Assatún* is identical with that described in the *A.S.C.* as occurring at *Assandun*, we learn that the site lay north of the unidentified *Danaskógar* (q.v.). It may also be noted that Thorth (*O.H. (Hk.) (k)*) states that Earl Eric fought with (Snorri states that he actually slew) *Ulfkell fyr vestan . . . Lundún*, but according to the *A.S.C.* *Ulfcytel* fell at *Assandun*. We do not know, however, whether Norse tradition associated *Ulfkell's* (*Ulfcytel's*) death with the battle of *Assatún* (*Assandun*), and in any case it is impossible, in face of the statement of the *A.S.C.*, to look for the site elsewhere than in Essex.

Two places in Essex suggest themselves: one in north-west Essex, on the Mercian borders, south-west of Sudbury, the other in south Essex, near the River Crouch, between Rayleigh and Canewdon. There appears to be considerable fluctuation in the form of the names of these places in modern times. Miller Christy, in the article discussed below, in accordance with the *Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles*, 1914, refers to the former as Ashdon, the

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latter as Ashingdon. This fluctuation makes the many discussions on the site of the battle exceedingly difficult to follow.

The subject has recently been re-opened by Miller Christy in 'The Battle of "Assandun": where was it fought?' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, New Series, xxxi, pp. 168-190, 1925. The author, contrary to the majority of scholars, pronounces emphatically in favour of the north-westerly site, a view to which the present editor had strongly inclined before seeing the article. For an example of the arguments for the more southerly site, the reader may be referred to *F. N.C.* Appendix VV.

Miller Christy's main contentions are: (a) that the north-westerly site lies 'just where one would expect to find it according to the guidance afforded by the "Saxon Chronicle,"' (b) that the *dun* referred to in the *A.S.C.* is here found 'many times more readily than at Ashingdon' (i.e. the site near the River Crouch in south Essex), (c) that Canute's *mynster* is to be traced in the present church at Hadstock, a parish adjoining Ashdon.

With regard to the forms of the names, however, the author is less convincing. I do not understand his statement that 'there was, in reality, no such name as "Assandun"' (*op. cit.* p. 177) in view of the evidence of the *A.S.C.* (C, D, E). The *A.S.C.* keeps this name distinct from *Æscedun*, though it is easy to see how the two names might be confused. It seems highly probable that both represent the common type of place-name which consists of a personal name in the genitive followed by an element denoting a settlement. Searle records several instances of *Æsc*, and, although no examples of **Assa* from O.E. documents appear, *Asso* of *D.B.* may be taken to presuppose such an O.E. form, and it is interesting to note that the name is that of an Essex landholder (see *V.C.H., Essex*, I, p. 519). F.W.'s explanation of *Assandun* as *Mons Asini* may thus be a piece of popular etymology, but when *Enc. Em.* (Pertz, II, 9) calls the place in *Æsceneduno loco* and explains as *montem frazinorum* it is not only perpetrating a piece of popular etymology but substituting the element *Æsc-* for original *Ass-*. It may be noted that the Norse *Assa(tún)* supports the *A.S.C.*

P. H. Reamy (*Essex*, p. 48, 1928), however, identifies *Assandun* with Ashingdon, but without stating the reasons for his decision. It is to be hoped that the S.E.P.N. when it comes to deal with Essex will be able to throw further light on the forms of the names of the two sites.

Bearrucscir (*Bearrocscir*) (*A.S.C.* 1006, 1009, 1011). Berkshire. See also under *Readingas*. Harried by 'Thorkel's host' in 1009. Mentioned in list of subjugated shires.

Bebbanburuh (*A.S.C.* 993). Bamburgh. Destroyed by Vikings. It lay in the area beyond the Danelaw, in the old kingdom of Bernicia (Robertson, II, Appendix M; *F. N.C.* I, p. 644).

Bedeford (*A.S.C.* 1010). Bedford, on the route of 'Thorkel's host.'

Bedefordscir (*Bedanfordscir*) (*A.S.C.* 1011, 1016). Bedfordshire, one of the subjugated shires; on the route of Canute's march from Buckinghamshire to Huntingdonshire.

Bregentford (*Brentford*) (*A.S.C.* 1016 (2)), *Brandfurða* (*K.* 7). Brentford, Essex. In the course of his third campaign, Edmund defeated the Danes near Brentford. Ottar presumably refers to this engagement, but makes it a victory for Canute. In the course of his fourth campaign, Edmund crossed the Thames at Brentford, on his way into Kent.

Bretar, *Bretland* (*O.* 11; *J.* 13). British, i.e. Welsh. Olaf Tryggvason is called 'foe of the British.' Cf. *brezkum brynjum*, *L.* 5, where the application is more general.

Buccingahamscir (*A.S.C.* 1010, 1011, 1016). On the line of march of the Danish host. Mentioned among the subjugated shires.

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- Buruh* (A.S.C. 992). Peterborough. Eadulf, Abbot of Peterborough, succeeds to the Archbishopric of York. The dedication of the foundation at Peterborough, then Medeshamstede, to St Peter is referred to in annal 654 (E).
- Caneganmersc* (A.S.C. 1010). Usually taken as Canning Fen, Somerset. Miss Harmer (*An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. E. Classen and F. E. Harmer, 1926), however, adopting a communication from Prof. A. Mawer, itself based upon unpublished papers of Earle and Stevenson, writes of this name, 'probably in the neighbourhood of All Cannings and Bishops Cannings, Vale of Pewsey, Wilts.' This agrees better with the indications of the A.S.C. than the more westerly site. The Danes, leaving Northampton (*Hamton*) crossed the Thames into Wessex, and so towards *Caneganmersc*.
- Cantwarebur(u)h*, *Cantwarabur(u)h* (A.S.C. 1009, 1011, 1013), *Kantara-byrgi*, *Borg Kantara* (O.H. (Hk.), 15 (f) and (g)). Canterbury. According to the A.S.C. the city made terms with Thorkel's host in 1009, but was sacked by the Danes in 1011. According to the Norse sources, St Olaf, fighting on King Ethelred's side, led a host against Canterbury, won the city, slew many men and seized the citadel.
- Cent*, *Centingas* (East-, West-), *Centisc*, *Centland* (A.S.C. 994, 999, 1009, 1011, 1015, 1016). Kent; people of Kent; Kentish. Harried by Olaf and Swegen in 994. In 999 the Kentish *fyrð* made an unsuccessful stand, and the people of mid-Kent were almost wiped out. In 1009 east Kent made terms with Thorkel's host, which wintered in Kent the same year. Kent is mentioned among the subjugated shires under the year 1011. In 1015 Canute passed through Kent on his way to Wessex. In 1016 King Edmund opened in Kent his fourth campaign.
- Ceolesig* (A.S.C. 1006). Cholsey, Berks. The Danish host passed a night here on its way from Wallingford to Cwiclemeshlæw.
- Ciltern* (A.S.C. 1009). The Chilterns, on the route of Thorkel's host from London to Oxford.
- Cingestun* (A.S.C. 979). Kingston-on-Thames. Here Ethelred was crowned, as were his predecessors Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Eadred and Eadwig. See *V.C.H., Surrey*, III, p. 487.
- Clæighangra* (A.S.C. 1016). Clayhanger, Essex, through which King Edmund passed on his way to London from the north.
- Cornwealas* (A.S.C. 997). Cornwall. The Danes, with the Severn estuary as base, ravaged Wales, Devon and Cornwall. See also under *Wealas*.
- Cosham* (A.S.C. 1015). Cosham, Hants, a little to the north-east of Portsea Island, probably a royal manor. Here King Ethelred lay sick the year before his death. *Coseham* is mentioned in the boundaries of a grant made by King Ethelred to Shaftesbury (K. C.D. 706).
- Cregelad* (A.S.C. 1016). Cricklade, Wilts, which, as the annal implies, lay on the borders of Wessex and Mercia.
- Cristes cyrice* (A.S.C. 996). Christchurch, Canterbury, where Ælfric was consecrated archbishop.
- Cumerland* (A.S.C. 1000). Cumberland. Harried by King Ethelred. See note on this annal.
- Cwiclemeshlæw* (A.S.C. 1006 (2)). Cuckamsley Barrow or Scutchamfly Knob, Berks. See note on this annal. The significance of the Danes' forced march to Cwiclemeshlæw lies probably in the fact that it is situated in the very heart of England. It was, moreover, the site of the shire-moot; see Thorpe, *D.A.* p. 288.
- Cynete* (A.S.C. 1006). The Danes in this year marched by way of Wallingford and Cholsey to *Cwiclemeshlæw* (see above), returning towards their ships in Wight, 'by another route.' They were intercepted at Cynete by an English

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force, defeated it, and proceeded to the sea by way of Winchester. Plummer identifies Cynete with the River Kennet; Freeman with Kennet, now Marlborough; Wyatt with East Kennet, near Marlborough. Yet Kintbury-on-Kennet, between Hungerford and Newbury, suggested by Earle, has the advantage of lying most directly on the route between Cwiclemeshlāw and Winchester. The Danes, however, may have had their reasons for making a detour as far west as Marlborough.

Danaskógar (*K.* 8). If Ottar is right in placing Danaskogor south of Assatun (q.v.) the identification of Rafn and *C.P.B.* with the Forest of Dean cannot be accepted. The wood must be sought in Essex. Is it possible that the district between Maldon and Chelmsford, formerly part of a great forest (see Laborde, *E.H.R.* xl, pp. 171 ff.) is the place referred to? It is interesting that the modern Danbury (D.B. *Danengaberia*) lies within this district.

Danmark, *Dana*-(*herr*, -*konungr*, -*vold*), *Danir*, *danskr* (*O.* 5; *L.* 4, 5; *A.* 15, 17 (2); *O.H. (Hk.)*, 12 (6), 14, 24, 27 (2), 130 (3), 131 (4); *G.* 9, 15 (3)), *Denan*, *Denemarc*, *denesc*, *denisc* (*A.S.C.* 991, 999, 1002, 1005, 1010). Denmark, Danish.

Defenas, *Defenascir*, *Defenisc* (*A.S.C.* 981, 988, 997 (2), 1001, 1017). People of Devon; Devon; of Devon (adj.).

Dorsæte (*A.S.C.* 978, 982 (2), 998, 1015). Dorset, the scene of Danish ravaging in the three last mentioned years.

Dýrness (*O.T. (Fms.)*, 286). In the Orkneys. This place is twice mentioned in *Orkneyingasaga*. It seems to be identical with Deerness, the extreme eastern peninsula of Mainland. It is referred to as the home of Thorljot, who visited the court of Edward the Confessor.

Ealdelmesburh (*A.S.C.* 1015). Malmesbury, Wilts. E and F have *Mealdelmebyri(g)*. The form of our text is due to the substitution of the name of Abbot (later Bishop) Aldhelm for that of his predecessor Maidulfus (*Mældiub*), the original founder. The latter's name is clearly seen in the form *Maldubesburh*, while the form *Mealdelmesburh* shows a confusion of the two names. See Plummer's *Bede*, II, p. 311.

Eastengle (*A.S.C.* 992, 1004, 1010 (2), 1011, 1013, 1017) (East Anglian). East Anglia (called *Ulfkelsland* in *O.H. (Hk.)*, 14) puts up a gallant defence against the Danes, but is mentioned in 1011 among the subjugated shires. Given in 1017 to Thorkel the Tall.

East Se(a)xe (*M.* 69; *A.S.C.* 994, 1009, 1011, 1016 (2)). People of Essex; Essex. Essex was the scene of two important battles during the period, Maldon and Assandun.

Egelesford (*A.S.C.* 1016). Aylesford, Kent, where Eadric Streona returned to Edmund's side.

Englaland, *Englaþeode*, *englisc* (*Angelcynn*) (*A.S.C.* 986, 994, 1005, 1006, 1008, 1009 (2), 1011, 1012, 1014 (2), 1016 (4), 1017), *England*, *Engla* (-*konungr*) (*K.* 6; *L.* 1 (2); *A.* 16 (2), 18 (2), 20; *O.T. (Fms.)*, 285 (5), 286 (2); *O.H. (Hk.)*, 12 (6) (e), 15 (h), 20, 24, 25 (3), 26 (5), 27 (5), 130 (3), 131 (5); *O.H. (Fl.)*, 20 (5), 21 (4); *G.* 9 (6) (a), 10, 15 (4)). England; English people; English.

Englandz haf (*G.* 8). The North Sea. Cf. *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 139.

Eoforwic (*A.S.C.* 1016). York. Earl Uhtred of Northumbria submitted to Canute when the latter marched on York.

Estland, *Estr* (*A.* 14, 15). Esthonia (Esthonians), on the southern side of the Gulf of Finland, referred to as tributary to the king of Holmgarth. See Wulfstan's account of the customs of the Esthonians in Alfred's *Orosius*, E.E.T.S. ed. Sweet, pp. 20–21, 1883.

Exanceaster (*A.S.C.* 1003, also referred to as *ðære byrig* in 1001). Exeter. Plummer (II, p. 182) suggests that 'royal rights over Exeter had probably

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- been given to Emma as part of her morning-gift.' See Freeman, 'Place of Exeter in the History of England,' *Arch. Journ.* xxx, pp. 309-310, 1873.
- Eze* (A.S.C. 1001). River Exe. The Danes entered the river mouth, and then proceeded to *ǰære byrig*, i.e. Exeter. See above.
- Eysusla* (A. 14). *ǰsel*, an island off Esthonia, near which Olaf Tryggvason was captured by Esthonian pirates. Snorri mentions that Earl Eric harried here during his exile (*O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 90).
- Fennas* (A.S.C. 1010, 1016). The Fens. The district includes Thetford and Cambridge (1010). See note on this annal. Canute, coming from Huntingdonshire, passed 'along the Fens to Stamford' (1016). But it is doubtful whether the word is to be classed as a proper name.
- Fif* (*O.H. (Hk.)*, 131 (*p*)). Fife, Scotland, whence two kings came to make their submission to Canute.
- Fifburgingas*, *Fifburga* (A.S.C. 1013, 1015). Cf. *Seofonburga* below. The Five Burghs were Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby (see 942 (A)). They were evidently centres of Scandinavian influence, and like the burghs founded by Alfred and Edmund the Elder served first for protection and then for trade. Cf. *en þingamenn ok Danir heldu mǰrgum borgum* (*O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 14). Four of the five became the nuclei for shires. On the form *Fifburgingas* see note on annal 1013.
- See note in A. J. Robertson's *Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 318, 1927, and F. M. Stenton, *The Danes in England*, pp. 6-7, 1927.
- Flæmingjaland* (A. 16). Flanders, harried by Olaf Tryggvason. See J. de Vries, *De Wikingen in de Lage Landen bij de Zee*, pp. 298-301, 1923.
- Frisir* (K. 7). See note on this stanza regarding the apparent equation of Frisians and English.
- Frommuða* (A.S.C. 998, 1015). Mouth of the River Frome, which runs into Poole Harbour. Coming east from Tavistock, the Danes entered the Frome and marched into Dorset.
- Furuvald* (*O.H. (Hk.)*, 28). A harbour in Northumbria, from which Olaf Haroldsson set out for Norway. A.M. 37 fol. has *fyrvalldi*. Gustav Storm (*Snorre Sturlasóns Kongesagaer*, p. 247, 1900) translates 'foran Vald,' and explains (n. 3): 'Vald is taken to mean the *Wolds*, ridges of hills running from north to south along the coasts of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.'
- Færejar* (A. 16). The Faroes, one of the five lands Christianised by Olaf Tryggvason. See *Færeyingasaga*, ed. C. C. Rafn, cc. 28 ff., 1832.
- Gautar* (A. 15). Inhabitants of Götland, South Sweden (cf. the Geatas of *Beowulf*), mentioned among followers of Olaf Tryggvason in his Viking raids.
- Genesburuh* (A.S.C. 1013, 1014). Gainsborough, Lincolnshire; an important Danish stronghold. It is implied by the *Chronicle*, and stated by F.W. and others, that Swegen's death occurred here. See under *Seofonburga*.
- Gillingaham* (A.S.C. 1016). Gillingham, Dorset. *Peannon* (q.v.) is said to be *wið Gillingaham*.
- Gleauceastrescir* (A.S.C. 1016). Gloucestershire, harried by Canute, before the meeting at Olanige.
- Glæstingaburh* (A.S.C. 1016). Glastonbury, Somerset, where King Edmund was buried, with his grandfather Edgar.
- Grantabrig* (A.S.C. 1010). Cambridge; burnt by Thorkel's host.
- Grantabricscir* (A.S.C. 1010, 1011). Cambridgeshire; made a stand against the Danes the former year, but mentioned among the subjugated shires in the next. Since the spelling *-bric* occurs in both instances, it has been preserved. See Appendix II (*b*), C (vii).
- Grenawic* (A.S.C. 1013, 1014, 1016). An important port in connection with Danish invasions.

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Gypeswic (*A.S.C.* 991, 1010). From ravaging Ipswich in the former year, the Vikings proceeded to Maldon, while Thorkel's host, in the latter year, landed here and hence proceeded to East Anglia.

Hamton (*A.S.C.* 994, 1010). In the former annal Southampton, in the latter Northampton, is referred to. In 980 (C) the name *Sudhamton* occurs, the first instance of a distinction which had become necessary now that the old kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex had become merged into a unified England. On *port* 'town' see *N.E.D.*

Hamtunscir (*A.S.C.* 982, 994, 998, 1003, 1006, 1009, 1011 (2), 1016). Like *Hamton*, the name has two meanings. In 1011 the name occurs twice among the subjugated shires where the context leaves no doubt of its application in either case. In the first six annals, the reference is clearly to Hampshire, in the last (1016) as clearly to Northamptonshire.

Helga *ǫ* (*ǫ* in *helga*) (*K.* 11). River Helge in Skåne. Ottar represents Canute as smiting the Swedes here and feeding wolf and raven. The *A.S.C.* under 1025 describes a Swedish victory at *ea þære halgan*, but Snorri's account shows that Ottar's reference and the statement of the *A.S.C.* are not irreconcilable. But note Ulf's taunt to Canute in *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 153: *lengra myndir þú renna í Anni helgu, ef þú kvæmir þvi við... er Svitar börðu yðr sem hunda*.

On this disputed question see *F. N.C.* I, Appendix MMM; Plummer, II, pp. 205–206. See also p. x; Larson, *Canute*, c. x.

Helsingaborg (*K.* 5). Cf. v.l. *Hemingaborg*. Here, according to Ottar, Canute won a victory west of the Ouse. The *Knytlingasaga* describes how Canute had a battle first in Lindsey, another at Helsingaborg, and others in Northumbria, near the Tees. If the reading *Hemingaborg* is the correct one, it is tempting to connect the place with the mysterious *Slésvik á Englandi* (q.v.), over which ruled Heming, brother of Thorkel the Tall (*Fms.* xi, p. 159). J. B. Johnston (*Place-Names of England and Wales*, p. 299, 1915) identifies Helsingaborg with Hemingburgh, near Selby, Yorks. This village, it is true, lies east of the Yorkshire Ouse itself, but west of its tributary the Derwent, and Ottar's *fyr Usu vestan* must not be pressed too hard.

The editors of the *Crawford Charters* are inclined to look for Slesvik 'at or near York.' No identification of Slesvik and Helsingaborg is suggested, but it is pointed out that 'the village of Hemingborough (Hamiburg, *D.B.* i, 299 a, col. 2), on the Ouse, near Selby, co. York, may possibly derive its name from the commander of the þingamenn of Slessvik' (*Crawford Charters*, p. 140).

With regard to the variant readings in *K.* 5, it may be noted that *K. C.D.* records two forms, *Helmyngton* and *Hemingeton*, which appear to refer to the same place. See Index, vol. 6. If *Helm-* is the correct form, the Midlands offer several place-names compounded with this element.

C.P.B. II, pp. 155–156, translates Ottar's *í breiðri borg Helminga* as 'in broad Nottingham,' without explanation. See under *Slésvik* below.

Heortfordscir (*A.S.C.* 1011). Hertfordshire, mentioned among the subjugated shires.

Hjallland (*A.* 16). Shetland, one of the five lands Christianised by Olaf Tryggvason.

Hlydanford (*A.S.C.* 997). Lydford, Devon. The Danes, entering the estuary of the Tamar, penetrated as far as Lydford, returning by way of Tavistock to their ships.

Holmgarðr (*A.* 14, 15 (2)). Novgorod on the Volga, the centre of Scandinavian influence in North Russia (*Garðaríki*). Here Olaf Tryggvason is said to have been brought up at the court of King Valdamarr (Vladimir). For a convenient short account of the Scandinavians in Russia see A. Mawer, *Vikings*, pp. 73–81, 1913. Among more detailed studies see V. Thomsen, *The Relations between*

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Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, 1877, and *Sveriges Historia*, I, p. 220, etc., 1903.

Hørðuland (A. 16). The district round the Hardanger Fjord in south-west Norway, corresponding in part to South Bergen, the scene of Olaf Tryggvason's first attempts to advance Christianity in Norway.

Hringmaraheiðr (O.H. (Hk.), 14 (d), (e)). Snorri describes it as *í Úlfkelslandi*, i.e. in East Anglia. A.S.C. 1010 states of the Danish host: *wendon úp ét Gygeswic and eodon ánreces þær hi geacsodon Ulfcytel mid his fyrde*. F.W. adds to this account *ad locum qui Ringmere dicitur*. The battle recorded in the A.S.C. and by F.W. occurred before the death of Swegen, and with Thorkel as leader of the viking host. The Norse sources, on the other hand, represent the battle of *Hringmaraheiðr* as occurring after Swegen's death, and with Olaf Haroldsson as viking leader. Cf. however a verse attributed to Olaf himself, in which he speaks of himself as an eye-witness of Thorkel's exploits at a battle on the heath (*N.-i. Skj.* B I, p. 210, *Lausavisur*, 2). On the reputed relations of Olaf and Thorkel see note on O.H. (Hk.), c. 12, l. 1. This verse seems to form a link between the English and Norse accounts.

In any case *Ringmere* and *Hringmara-heiðr* are probably to be identified. A.S.C. and F.W. both state that the Vikings landed at Ipswich. Thence they marched to Ringmere, according to F.W., 'to the place where they knew Ulfcytel to be,' according to the A.S.C. Freeman's statement (F. N.C. I, p. 346) that they 'landed near Ipswich, at a place called Ringmere' is misleading. W. H. Stevenson (*E.H.R.* pp. 301-302, 1896) suggests identification with Ringmere Pit, in the parish of East Wretham in South Norfolk, and this has been adopted by Storm. It agrees with the statement that the scene of the battle was in Ulfcytel's country, and appears to offer no difficulties.

Hrofeceaster (A.S.C. 986, 999). Rochester. See note on the former annal.

Humberamaþa (A.S.C. 1013). The Humber, entered by Swegen, when making for Gainsborough by way of the River Trent.

Huntadunscir (A.S.C. 1011, 1016). Huntingdonshire, crossed by Canute on his way from Bedfordshire to Northamptonshire; mentioned as one of the subjugated shires. On form of the name see Appendix II (b), C.

Hæsting (A.S.C. 1011). Hastings and the district about it, mentioned among subjugated areas. D, E and F have *Hæstingas*, which may be taken as the normal form. See S.E.P.N. I, 1, pp. 51-53.

Ísland (A. 16). Iceland, one of the five lands Christianised by Olaf Tryggvason.

For Snorri's account see O.T. (Hk.), cc. 73, 81, 82 and 84.

Írland (A. 16; J. 13). Ireland, harried by Olaf Tryggvason, and by Palnatoki. See A. Walsh, *Scandinavian Relations with Ireland during the Viking Period*, pp. 13-14, 1922.

Jóm, Jómsborg, Jómsvíkingar (A. 16; J. 13 (2), 14 (2)). The site is generally agreed to be the island of Wollin, in the Pomeranian Bay, at the mouth of the Oder.

The citadel seems to have stood on a hill called Silberberg, close to Wollin. Between lies a valley, which in the tenth century may well have been a creek, the haven of the fortress. Silberberg gets its name from the number of silver objects found there dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries, while south of the town of Wollin lies another hill, Galgenberg, on which are found about a hundred mounds, containing remains of burned bodies, and objects of Norse origin of the tenth and eleventh centuries. This may have been the burial ground of Jomsborg.

Adam of Bremen describes a market town named *Jumne* (v.l. *Iulinum*), a centre for traders of various nationalities (Ad. Br. II, c. 19). According to Saxo, Harold Bluetooth made an expedition to the mouth of the Oder and won there

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a great earldom. To preserve his power there he founded Jomsborg. The chief motive seems to have been to protect Danish colonists and merchants in Julin (Saxo, *Hist. Dan.* Bk. x, ed. Holder, 1886). Cf. *Knyttlingasaga* (*Fms.* xi, p. 179), c. 1.

Jómsvíkingasaga's circumstantial account of the founding of Jomsborg by Palnatoki is rejected by Steenstrup as legendary. See *D.R.H.* 1, 2, pp. 323–326, for an account of the colony. See also S. Larsen, *O.N.O.H.* 1927, pp. 1–138.

See I.P.N. under *Palnatóki*. It may be noted that Snorri has nothing to say of the founding of the colony. He records, however, the Jomsvikling attack upon Norway (*O.T.* (*Hk.*), cc. 34–42), and later the destruction of Jomsborg by Magnus the Good, son of St Olaf (*Magn. Góð.* (*Hk.*), c. 24).

Jórsalaland, *Jórsali* (*Á.* 17; *O.T.* (*Fms.*), 286). Palestine, Jerusalem; said to have been visited by Olaf Tryggvason, after his escape from Swold.

Jungufurða, v.l. *Auxna* (*O.H.* (*Hk.*), 28). An unknown port in South-east England. See note on this line. For the reading *Auxna* Mr Dickins tentatively suggests identification with Oxney, Kent.

Legceaster (*A.S.C.* 1000, 1016). Chester. Cf. *ad civitatem Legionum, quæ a gente Anglorum Legacæstir, a Bretonibus autem rectius Carlegion appellatur* (*Bede*, Lib. II, c. 2, ed. Plummer, I, p. 4). On King Edmund's harrying of Chester in 1016, see note on this annal.

Legeceasterscír (*A.S.C.* 980). Cheshire, harried by an enemy fleet.

Lindcolnescír (*A.S.C.* 1016). Lincolnshire, crossed by Canute on his way from Stamford (on the borders of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire) to Nottinghamshire.

Lindsey (*A.S.C.* 993, 1013, 1014 (2), 1016), *Lindisey* (*K.* 5). Lindsey in Lincolnshire. Canute is represented by the *A.S.C.* as making a pact with the people of Lindsey after his father's death, and then as leaving them treacherously to the harrying of Ethelred's force. Ottar represents Canute as making war 'in green Lindsey.'

Lunden, *Lundenburh*, *Lundenwaru* (*A.S.C.* 982, 992 (2), 994, 1009 (3), 1012 (2), 1013 (2), 1016 (12)), *Lundún*, *Lundúnaborg*, *Lundúna-bryggjur* (*L.* 7; *O.H.* (*Hk.*), 12, 25 (2) (*k*); *O.H.* (*Fl.*), 20 (4), 21). London. There seems to be no clear distinction in meaning between *Lunden* and *Lundenburh*; cf. *on þa buruh Lundene* (*A.S.C.* 1009). The Norse sources show the same ambiguity, though in *þá lögðu þeir fyrst til Lundúna... en Danir heldu borginni* (*O.H.* (*Hk.*), c. 12) a distinction may be intended between the city as a whole and its citadel or fortified centre. Of the period 991 to 1066 Prof. R. W. Chambers writes: 'Amid all disaster, London became the centre of the nation's defence, so that when Milton was searching Old English history for subjects for poetry, this struck him, loyal Londoner as he was, as an heroic theme' (*England before the Norman Conquest*, pp. x–xi, 1926).

On London of this period see W. R. Lethaby, *London before the Conquest*, 1902.

Magesæte (*A.S.C.* 1016), amongst whom Eadric Streona instigated flight at Assandun; hence, presumably, the inhabitants of part of his ealdormanship of Mercia, probably on the western border. For the ending *-sæte* cf. *Scrobsæte*, *Dorsæte*, etc. See Plummer's note, II, pp. 197–198.

Me(ð)wæge (*A.S.C.* 999, 1016). River Medway, entered by a Viking fleet on its way to Rochester in the former year, used as a base by Canute in the latter. On the form of the name see note on 999.

Middelsexe (*A.S.C.* 1011). Middlesex, mentioned among the subjugated shires.

Monige (*A.S.C.* 1000). B agrees with C in this reading, but E has *Mænige*, i.e. the Isle of Man, which is probably the correct form in view of the context.

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- Man was a Scandinavian centre, and the English fleet, unable to join Ethelred in Cumberland, might well solace itself with harrying Man. The form *Monige*, however, suggests Mona, the old name for Anglesey (cf. Milton's 'shaggy top of Mona high'), and is thus interpreted by Lappenberg and others. Thorp, Freeman, Steenstrup and Plummer, however, all adopt the rendering 'Man.' The two forms were naturally liable to confusion. See *Bede*, ed. Plummer, II, p. 94.
- Mostr* (A. 16). Mosterø, west of the opening of the Hardanger Fjord (see *Hørðuland* above). Snorri (*O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 47) states that Olaf Tryggvason landed at *Mo(r)str* when he came to claim Norway, and later had a church built here.
- Myrce*, *Myrcnarice* (M. 217; A.S.C. 1006, 1007, 1016 (4), 1017). Mercia. A Mercian noble is found among Byrhtnoth's retinue at Maldon, and in 1006 King Ethelred called out the people of Mercia with those of Wessex. Eadric was appointed to the ealdormanship in 1007. By the pact of Olanig Mercia passed to Canute; but in 1017 Canute, who now held the whole country, granted Mercia again to Eadric.
- Mældun* (A.S.C. 991). Maldon, Essex. The poem does not mention the name, but, if it were necessary, the reference to the River Pante (now Blackwater) (see below) would identify it.
- Mærir* (O.H. (Hk.), 20). North and South Mœrr, Norway, coast provinces, divided by Raumsdale, running as far north as the Trondhjem Fjord and as far south as the Isa Fjord. Rognvald, father of Rolf 'the Ganger,' is called *Mœra-jarl*.
- Norðmaðr*, *Nóreg* (O. 25; A. 13, 14 (2), 15, 16 (4), 18 (3), 19, 20; O.H. (Hk.), 12, 13, 20 (3), 24 (2), 29 (n), 130 (7), 131 (6); O.H. (Fl.), 20; G. 9, 15). Norwegian, Norway.
- Norðmandi* (O.H. (Hk.), 23). Normandy; where Olaf Haroldsson wintered, in the region of the Seine, using it as a *fríðland*. Called *Ricardes rice*, A.S.C. 1000.
- Norðwealas* (A.S.C. 997). (People of) Wales; a clear instance of the meaning 'Wales' not 'North Wales,' since the Danes, with the Severn estuary as their base, ravage Northwealas, Cornwall and Devon.
- Norðvic* (A.S.C. 1004), *Norðvik* (K. 9). Norwich, ravaged by Swegen in 1004, and, according to Ottar, the scene of one of Canute's battles.
- Norðymbre* (M. 266; A.S.C. 993, 1013, 1016 (4)), *Norðimbra(land)* (K. 6; O.H. (Hk.), 27, 28). Northumbria. At this period a Scandinavian and an English Northumbria have to be distinguished, the former corresponding to the old kingdom of Deira, with York as its centre, the latter to Bernicia, lying north of the Tees. On Byrhtnoth's Northumbrian hostage see note on M. l. 266.
- Nýgamóða* (O.H. (Hk.) (h)). The site is unknown. Storm suggests that it is near London; Rafn and Magnússon suggest Newhaven (Sussex), but see S.E.P.N., *Sussex*, II, p. 324. A. D. Jørgensen (*Den nord. Kirkes Grundlæggelse*, p. 462, 1874-1878) suggests Newhaven at the mouth of the Essex Ouse.
- Olanig* (A.S.C. 1016). D adds *wið Deorhyrste*, evidently Deerhurst, Gloucestershire. Here the two kings, Edmund and Canute, 'came together,' and shared out England. On the suggested identification with Alney Island, near Gloucester, see Plummer's note on this annal.
- Orkneyjar* (A. 14, 16; O.T. (Fms.), 286). The Orkneys, mentioned among five lands Christianised by Olaf Tryggvason. The islands formed a frequent resort of Norwegian refugees, and A., differing here from Snorri, represents Astrith as fleeing here with her child after the fall of Tryggvi. For its early history see *Har. Hárf.* (Hk.), cc. 19 and 22, and the *Orkneyingasaga*, ed. S. Nordal, 1913-1916.

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Oxenaford (A.S.C. 1009, 1013, 1015). Oxford, burned by Thorkel's host in 1009.

In 1013 the town submitted to Swegen, and in 1015 was the scene of a great 'moot,' at which Siferth and Morcor were murdered. See note on this last annal.

Oxenafordscir (A.S.C. 1010, 1011). Oxfordshire, mentioned in the list of subjugated shires.

Pante (M. 68, 97). River Blackwater, on which Maldon stands. The name occurs in *Bede: quorum prior locus* (i.e. *Ythancæster*) *est in ripa Pentæ amnis* (*Bede*, Lib. III, c. 22, ed. Plummer, I, p. 173). See T. Wright, *History... of Essex*, II, p. 40, 1836; *Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc.* Pt I, vol. XVII, pp. 44-46. Ekwall (*English River Names*, p. 319, 1928) takes the name as weak feminine, and this form is here adopted.

Partar (O.H. (Hk.) (g)). Apparently a name for the English. See note on I. 7 of this stanza.

Penwidsteort (A.S.C. 997), *Penwæð* (D), *Penwiht* (E). Land's End, round which the Viking fleet sailed after ravaging Watchet, on their way to the south coast.

The form of our text is supported by 1052 (C and D), and by the fact that 'the hundred of the Land's End is still called Penwith' (Plummer, II, p. 179).

The word is a hybrid, of which the last element is probably O.E. *steort*, 'tail.' Cf. Start Point, Devon. See S.E.P.N. I, 2, p. 66.

Peonno (A.S.C. 1001). Probably Pinhoe, Devon, about three miles north-east of Exeter. Here the combined forces of Devon and Somerset joined battle with the Vikings. According to the variant account of A (see Appendix III), the *ham* of Peonhó was burned by the Danes, who then proceeded to Glistune, a statement which supports the usual identification of *Peonno* with Pinhoe, which lies near a group of Clysts.

Mrs Martin Clarke writes to me from Exeter that near the supposed site of the battle is a mound 'traditionally thought to contain the bodies of the slain at the battle,' but that this has not yet been excavated.

The second element is presumably O.E. *hōh*, 'projecting ridge of land.' See S.E.P.N. I, 2, p. 38. The first element is no doubt identical with that of *Peonnon* (see below), probably Welsh *pen*, 'head.'

Peonnon (dat.) (A.S.C. 1016), *wið Gillingaham*. Pen Selwood, Dorset, where a battle was fought between Edmund and Canute. It was probably also the scene of a battle between West Saxons and Welsh in 658, but see F. N.C. I, p. 385, n. 1.

Petrocesstow (*St*) (A.S.C. 981). Bodmin, Cornwall, ravaged by the Danes. On the name cf. the Domesday entry *Ecclesia Sancti Petroc tenet Bodmine*. On this Celtic saint, to whom many churches in Devon and Cornwall are dedicated, see F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, II, pp. 279-281.

Portland (A.S.C. 982). Portland, Dorset, harried by the Danes. Tradition places the landing of the three Viking ships which appeared in the days of King Beorhtric of Wessex at this place.

Raumariki (A. 13). A Norwegian province lying north-east of the Oslo Fjord.

The text as it stands implies that Sotaness is in this province, whereas it was in fact situated in Rånriki, a more southerly province, now Swedish territory. See note on this passage for proposed emendation.

Readingas (A.S.C. 1006). Leaving their *friðstol* in Wight, the Danes crossed Hampshire and Berkshire and reached their *gearwan feorme* at Reading. Plummer in his Index states that the Danes ravaged Reading, but is this certain? Either *gearwan feorme* is used ironically, implying that Reading was an easy prey to the Danish marauders, or it implies that the Danes had already taken it and used it as a base. In the latter case they would hardly ravage it now.

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Romana (casere) (*A.S.C.* 982), *Rúm(ferð)* (*O.H. (Hk.)*, 25). (Emperor of) the Romans; (pilgrimage to) Rome.

Rúða (*O.H. (Hk.)*, 20 (2), 27, 28). Rouen, referred to as the headquarters of the exiled sons of Ethelred. The Dukes of Normandy are styled the *Rúðu-jarlar*. For the form *Rúðu* cf. *Rotomagi* (*A.S.C.* (E), 311) and *Roðem* (*ibid.* 1124).

Sandwic (*A.S.C.* 1006, 1009, 1013, 1014, 1015). Sandwich, Kent; played an important part in the Danish inroads of this period.

Sarcene (*A.S.C.* 982). Saracens, said to have been defeated by Emperor Otto, but see note on this annal.

Scaftesburh (*A.S.C.* 982). Shaftesbury, Dorset. The death of an abbess of Shaftesbury is recorded.

Sceapige (*A.S.C.* 1016). Sheppey, Kent, to which the Danes fled before King Edmund during his fourth campaign.

Sceorstan (*A.S.C.* 1016), *Skorsteinn* (*K.* 6). Sherston, Wilts, where King Edmund fought his second battle. Neither English nor Norse source clearly states the issue of the battle. *K.* refers to *Skorsteinn* as being to the south of the River Tees.

Scireburne (*A.S.C.* 978). Sherborne, Dorset, burial place of Alfwold, Bishop of Dorset.

Scrobbsbyrigscir (*A.S.C.* 1006). Shropshire. King Ethelred is said to have crossed the Thames into Shropshire. Either this shire is to be taken to include the present Worcestershire (it is to be noted that the latter name does not occur in the *A.S.C.* till 1041), or the words of the *Chronicle* must be expanded as in the present translation.

As this form of the shire name does not occur elsewhere, it cannot be decided whether the oblique case *byrig* is due to the influence of the preposition *into*, or whether the word is fixed in the compound in its oblique case. The shorter form *Scrobbscir* also occurs.

Searburh (*A.S.C.* 1003). Salisbury, Wilts. The *A.S.C.* does not actually state that the town was ravaged by the Danes, but it may be implied, and F.W. actually states it.

Seofonburga (*A.S.C.* 1015). Presumably the *Fifburga* (q.v.) with two additions. The additional towns are assumed to be York and Chester, but the latter is very far west in relation to the rest. On the relation of the twelve *judices civitatis* of Chester to the twelve lawmen of Lincoln and Stamford, see *The Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, ed. J. Tait, pp. 32–33, 1916. Is Gainsborough (q.v.) possibly intended? It is curious to find the name Siebenbürgen in Bavaria, south-west of Ratisbon.

Seolesig (*A.S.C.* 980). Selsey, Sussex, the episcopal see of the South Saxons, until the time of Stigand, whose death, under the title of Bishop of Chichester, is recorded in *A.S.C.* (E), 1086.

Signa (*O.H. (Hk.)*, 20). River Seine. Olaf Haroldsson wintered in Normandy *í Signu*.

Sjálánd (*A.* 17). Island of Zealand, off which according to *Ágrip*, Olaf Tryggvason's last battle was fought, but see note on this passage.

Skotland (*A.* 16; *O.H. (Hk.)*, 131; *J.* 13). Harried by Olaf Tryggvason and by Palnatoki. Canute is said to have brought a great part of Scotland under his authority.

Skónungar (*K.* 2). Inhabitants of Skåne, South Sweden, the *Scedenig* or *Scedeland* of *Beowulf*. Canute is referred to as leading out the Jutes and the hosts of Skåne, which at this period was still part of the Danish dominions.

Slésvík á Englandi (*O.H. (Fl.)*, 20). The headquarters of one of the bodies of 'thingmen.' The other was in London. Suhm identified the name with Slosswick, a small village in Nottingham. The editors of the *Crawford Charters* (p. 140), however, point out how unsuitable such a position would be for a

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- military station. Since Ulfcytel is said to have been responsible for the slaughter of the 'thingmen' at Slesvik (e.g. in *Jómsvíkingas. (Fms. XI)*, c. 51), it has been suggested that Slesvik must be sought in *Ulfkelsland*, i.e. in East Anglia, but this is not conclusive. See under *Helmingaborg* above.
- Snottingahamscir (A.S.C. 1016)*. Nottinghamshire, crossed by Canute on his way from Lincolnshire to Northumbria. On the relation of this form to the modern form see S.E.P.N. I, 1, p. 103.
- Sótaness (A. 13)*. A headland in *Ránriki* (now Bohus, Sweden), scene of Tryggvi's murder and burial. See under *Raumaríki* above.
- Staðr (O.H. (Hk.), 29)*. Apparently Stadthland, South-west Norway, off which lay the island of Sæla (q.v.).
- Stan (A.S.C. 1009)*, ? *Steinn (L. 5)*. Staines, where the Danes, coming from Oxford, crossed the Thames in order to avoid the English force assembled at London. In *L. 5 steini* may not be a proper name at all (see note on this passage). If it is taken as a place-name, the identification with Staines seems probable, since a place near London is demanded by the context.
- Stanford (A.S.C. 1016)*. Stamford, on the southern borders of Lincolnshire, one of the *Fifburga* (q.v.).
- Sturmere (M. 249)*. Sturmer, Essex, the home of Leofsunu, one of Byrhtnoth's bodyguard.
- Stæffordscir (A.S.C. 1016)*. Staffordshire, harried by Edmund and Uhtred.
- Sumorsæte, Sumorsætic (A.S.C. 1001, 1015)*. The people of Somerset combined with those of Devon against the Danes in the former year. In 1015 the shire was harried by Canute.
- Suðhamtun*. See under *Hamtun*.
- Suðrige (A.S.C. 1011)*. Mentioned among the subjugated shires.
- Suðseaxe (A.S.C. 982, 994, 998, 1009, 1011)*. Sussex. Several times ravaged and mentioned in the list of subjugated districts.
- Súðvirki (O.H. (Hk.), 12) (2), 13 (c)*. Southwark, where the Danes are said to have entrenched themselves when Olaf Haroldsson helped Ethelred to attack London. Snorri represents Southwark as lying south of the *borg* of London, joined to it by a wide bridge. The name first occurs in the *A.S.C.* in 1023 (D) as *Suðgeweorc*.
See W. R. Lethaby, *London before the Conquest*, pp. 107–111, for an account of early Southwark.
- Sviar, Svía-(konungr), Sviþjóð*, cf. *svenski (K. 5, 11; A. 14 (2); G. 15)*. Swedes, Sweden, Swedish.
- Sýrlánd (O.T. (Fms.), 286)*. Syria, where Olaf Tryggvason is said to have settled after his disappearance at Swold.
- Sæfernumuða (A.S.C. 997)*. The estuary of the Severn, from which base the Danes harried Devon, Cornwall and Wales.
- Sæla (O.H. (Hk.), 29)*. An island off *Staðr* in mid-Norway at which Olaf Haroldsson landed on coming to claim his kingdom in Norway, identified with modern Selsø. *Norges Historie*, I, 2, p. 331, suggests a play upon the word *sæla*, 'luck.'
- Tamermuða (A.S.C. 997)*. Estuary of the Tamar, entered by the Danes, who proceeded thence to Lydford.
- Temes(e) (A.S.C. 999, 1006, 1009, 1010 (2), 1011, 1013 (3), 1016 (3)), Temps (L. 3, 6; O.H. (Hk.), 12, 13; O.H. (Fl.), 20 (3))*. River Thames, frequently mentioned in connection with movements of Danes and English during this period. The Scandinavian form shows the same unhistoric *p* as is found in modern Tempsford (see below). In O.E. the word is treated as strong feminine *o*-declension or as weak declension.
- Temesanford (A.S.C. 1010)*. Tempsford, Bedfordshire. Proceeding from Buckinghamshire, the Danes followed the Ouse to Bedford and so to Tempsford.

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- Teneland* (*A.S.C.* 980). Isle of Thanet, Kent, harried by the Danes.
- Tesa* (*K.* 6). River Tees, near which Canute, according to Ottar, wrought havoc among the English.
- Trenta* (*A.S.C.* 1013). River Trent, up which Swegen, having entered the mouth of the Humber, proceeded to Gainsborough.
- Tryggvahreyr* (*A.* 13), where King Tryggvi was buried. The ms. has *av*, which can represent *au*, *ey* and *ø*. See Dahlerup's *Ágrip*, pp. x–xi. The second element is interpreted by Cl.-V. (see *hrör*) as 'a ruin, a fallen tomb,' being cognate with O.E. *hreosan*, 'to fall.' Cf. *id est tumulus Turgonis* (*Hist. Norv. M.H.N.* p. 110). But may not the meaning be rather 'the place where Tryggvi fell'? Cf. the name *Austmannafell*, given to the place where two Norwegians were slain (*Gíslas.* 7). *Tryggvahreyr* is said to be in Sotaness, q.v.
- Túnsberg* (*O.H. (Hk.)*, 131). Tönsberg, in Westfold, on the Oslo Fjord, where Olaf Haroldsson received the messengers of Canute, a trading centre to which resorted Norwegians, Danes and Saxons. See *Har. Hárf. (Hk.)*, c. 36; *O.H. (Hk.)*, c. 83.
- Tæfingstoc* (*A.S.C.* 997). Tavistock, Devon, where the Danes burned Ordulf's minster.
- Upplönd* (*A.* 14), where King Tryggvi married Astrith; the Norwegian Uplands, a group of five districts including Guthbrandsdale. According to Snorri (*O.T. (Hk.)*, c. 1) Astrith's father belonged to *Oprostadir*, which some scholars identify with Öier in Guthbrandsdale, but Storm with Obrestad in Jadar, Rogaland. *Ágrip*'s statement supports the former identification.
- Úsa* (*K.* 5). Presumably the Yorkshire Ouse, to the west of which Helmingaborg is said to lie.
- Valland*, cf. *valska* (*O.H. (Hk.)*, 12, 20 (2), 27, 28; *G.* 9). Here Normandy. See note on *G.* 9, l. 5. In the Poetic Edda the word has a wide significance and can almost be rendered 'foreign'; in the sagas the reference is usually to the Franks.
- Snorri's statement that Ethelred fled south to Valland corresponds to the statement of the *A.S.C.* 1013, that the king went *ofer sæ to Ricarde*, i.e. to the kingdom of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. Rouen (*Rúða*, q.v.) is said to be *í Vallandi*.
- The root of *val-* is that found in O.E. *Wealh*. See *Wealas* below.
- Vindland*, *Vindir* (*O.* 7; *A.* 16 (2); *J.* 13). Wendland, the area lying along the south coast of the Baltic, east of the Danish peninsula, occupied by Slavonic tribes. The name appears as *Veneti* in Tacitus, *Winidæ* in Jordanes, and *Winidaland*, *Weomōdland*, *Winede*, etc. in O.E. (see Alfred's *Orosius*, E.E.T.S. 79, ed. Sweet, 1883). For several centuries the history of Denmark was closely bound up with that of Wendland. See Steenstrup, *Venderne og de Danske*, 1900, and also under *Jómsborg* (above) and *Búrizláfr* (I.P.N.).
- Wealas* (*A.S.C.* 981). Here used of Cornwall. See also *Cornwealas*, *Norðwealas* and *Valland*.
- Wealingaford* (*A.S.C.* 1006, 1013). Wallingford, Berks, burned by the Danes in the former year on their way from Reading to Cholsey. In the latter year, Swegen crossed the Thames at or near Wallingford, on his way from London to Bath.
- Wecedport* (*A.S.C.* 988, 997). Watchet, Somerset, harried by the Danes.
- Werham* (*A.S.C.* 982). Wareham, Dorset. The death of an abbot of Wareham is recorded.
- Wesseaxe* (*A.S.C.* 1006 (2), 1010, 1015 (2), 1016 (3), 1017). The West Saxons, Wessex. It is noteworthy that in 1016 Edmund is represented as reconquering

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Wessex. By the treaty of Olanig, Wessex went to Edmund, but in 1017, when Canute was in control of the entire kingdom, he retained Wessex as his special province.

Witland (*A.S.C.* 998, 1006, 1009, 1013). Isle of Wight, called in 1006 the *frīðstol* of the Danes. Steenstrup (*Norm.* III, pp. 271–272) suggests that Wight was chosen as a base, because it lay so close to the Danish district of the Hague, across the Channel, from which they could draw supplies.

Wiltun (*A.S.C.* 1003). Wilton, Wilts, harried by Swegen on his way to Salisbury.

Wiltunscir (*A.S.C.* 1003, 1011, 1015). Wiltshire. Harried by Swegen in 1003, referred to as to a great extent in the power of the Danes in 1011, and harried by Canute in 1015.

Wintanceaster, *Winceaster*, *Winceasterleode* (*A.S.C.* 982, 1006, 1013). Submitted to Swegen in this last year. In the first of these annals, Ealdorman Æthelmær is said to have been buried here at the New Minster. See note.

Wæclingastræt (*A.S.C.* 1013 (2)). Watling Street, beyond which boundary the people submitted to Swegen. C has *Wæcling-* in both cases in this annal; E *Wælling* in one, *Wæcling* in the other. The variation seems to be due to something other than the not uncommon confusion of *t* and *c* in O.E. mss.; cf. *Wæclingacæster*, i.e. St Albans (*Bede*, I, 7, and Plummer's note).

Ʒeodford (*A.S.C.* 1004, 1010). Thetford, Norfolk, ravaged first by Swegen, then by Thorkel.

Ʒrændir, cf. *Ʒrænzkr* (*O.* 3, 23). People of the province of Trondhjem. Although in this district was the famous seat of the Earls of Hlathir, Olaf is called 'lord of the men of Trondhjem,' since they submitted to him after the fall of Earl Hakon. In st. 3, however, it is implied that this district did not support Olaf at Swold, reverting, presumably, to their allegiance to their hereditary earl, Eric.

Æscendun (*A.S.C.* 1006). Ashdown, Berks, along which the Danes passed on their way to Cwicelmeshlāw.