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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 Rennings, 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 (p) 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 Sครรสลสъり, not under Sครรสลทลิ; (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. Damaskgjar; (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. (Edwί) (S). Note 3. Names of mythological and legendary characters mentioned in the verse are not included here. See Appendix IV.


Anlaf, see Olafr (3).

Astrfdr (A. 14). Daughter of Eric bjгбёskall of the Uplands (see I.P.N.), wife of King Tryggv, and mother of Olaf Tryggvason. Agrip 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 Estonian pirates. For Astrith’s later history, according to this tradition, see O.T. (Hk.), c. 52.


Bersi (O.H. (Hk.) 131). Mentioned as having been at Canute’s court with Sigvat. He was the son of the poetess Skйldorfa (q.v.) and himself a skald, but little of his work except a part of a flokkur 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 Hlithir 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 flokkur 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.

Byrn inn brekka (J. 13), to whom Falnstoki committed his kingdom in Breitland, 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 Іfhe(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.C. Bishops, p. 438) denies the possibility of identity.
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Búðilsáf (J. 13; cf. hertogi ngkurr i Vindlandi, A. 17). Represented as buying off the attacks of Palnatoke 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 Burzilaf, 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 Burzilaf’s son-in-law, Olaf Tryggvason, and later became his wife. Burzilaf 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 Burzilaf’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 Búðilsáf (Búðileaf) is generally held to represent Boleslav, the name of the son and successor of Mieszko (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 in name, Burzilaf 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 Burzilaf was a heathen, history gives no support. Duke Mieszko 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 Burzilaf is represented as king of Wendland, the confusion is not surprising.

Byrhtelm (M. 92). Father of Byrhnoth (q.v.).

Byrhtnoth, Byrhtnoth (M. 17, 42, 101, 114, 137, 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, cit, pp. 15–28, 1898, which forms the basis of the present account. An earlier account, upon which Liebermann draws, is that found on pp. 86–88 of the Crawford Charters, ed. Stevenson and Napier, 1885. 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 eori, l. 6, 28, etc., Eðelredes eori, l. 203, and in l. 151 Eðelredes eogen. The title of ealdormanns 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

epel hyrne, Eðelredes eard, ealdreca mince, folc and foldan. (ll. 52–54)

But his force is described as Easteazzena eori in l. 68. Of his bodyguard the poem states that one is of Mercian race, l. 217, another comes from Sturmer (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. 82 Byrhtnoth is described as the son of Byrhthelm, and in ll. 113–115 and ll. 211 and 224 two of his kinsmen are mentioned, Wulfmar his sister’s son, and Ælfrinc, son of Ælfric, probably the Mercian earlorman 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 996 and 990, i.e. within a year of his death. Byrhtnoth himself signs as duxb, 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 Ælfric’s, daughter of Ælfgar, earlorman apparently of East Anglia. Sedgfield states that Ælfgar was Byrhtnoth’s ‘predecessor in the earldomanship of Essex,’ which seems to be a variation of Hunt’s suggestion (D.N.B.) that Byrhtnoth followed his father-in-law in the earldomanship of East Anglia (see Crawford Charters, p. 85). The charters also show that Ælfric was sister of Æthelflaed, the second wife of King Edmund, and that Bythnoth gave Ælfgar lands in Essex, as a morning-gift (morongyfes). Grants of land were made to Byrhtnoth by his wife’s father, Ælfgar, and by his wife’s sister, Ælfsse, who refers specifically to Essex as waldorpes and mire swynter. Birch, 1287.

In the will of Ælfric, which a reference to Ely as the place per minea hlaflorpes lichona rest (Birch, 1289) places after Byrhtnoth’s death, the word hlaflor is used ambiguously both of King Ethelred and of the dead Byrhtnoth. Liebermann assumes that in the phrase Ælfric’s minea hlaflor for the word hlaflor refers to the king. This seems probable, not only because the name is actually that of the king’s mother, Ælfrithryth (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 Ælfrithryth as mother of the earlorman Byrhtnoth.

In the same document, a certain Æthelmar is mentioned, minea hlaflor mego. This person is taken by the editors of the Crawford Charters as identical with Æthelmar, son of the chronicler Æthelwald, ‘an undoubted son 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, sturus contra paganum, 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 earlorman. It does not state that he was earlorman 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 fyrd.

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, 18-2
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ed. J. Raine, t, pp. 399–475) which presents Bryhtnoth 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 Bryhtnoth’s age, non reminiscendus episcopum canitem suj capitati, and debilis et quibus suj corporis. The statement et Bryhtnothu occisit et religi fugerunt, which suggests that the fall of the leader was the signal for a general flight, has already been discussed (p. 3).

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

The Historia Elenensis shows a curious duplication of the event of the battle of Maldon. It is first recorded that Bryhtnoth repulsed a Danish invasion at Maldon, slaying most of the invaders super pontem aquae. Bryhtnoth 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 Bryhtnoth to meet the invaders in battle. Bryhtnoth, 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, Wulfsegé (who did not, in fact, become abbot until after Bryhtnoth’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 Bryhtnoth and seven of his followers. To this Bryhtnoth is represented as replying in the following words: scio Dominus Abbas, quod solus sine tatis solo grandare, quia solus sine tillis regem pugnare.

Continuing his journey, Bryhtnoth then came to Ely where he made the same request, with the result that the abbot joyfully opened his gates to Bryhtnoth and his entire host and entertained them royally. Bryhtnoth 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, Bryhtnoth 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 Bryhtnoth’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 Ælfi, Bryhtnoth’s widow, who on her lord’s death granted to Ely her ‘morning-gift,’ the manor of Rotenden and other property. Of special interest is the statement that among Ælfi’s bequests was cestygatia virtute sine in excitation arque depositam, depitam in memoriam probitat eijus. 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 Rameiensia (ed. W. D. Murray, B.S.) agrees in the main with the Historia Elenensis in its account of Bryhtnoth, 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 Elenensis. If the Historia Ransoniensis avoids some of the obvious mis-statements of the Historia Elenensis 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 Brithnoth 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’… Its 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).

Byrhtwalod (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.

Coles (M. 76). Father of Wulfstan (q.v.); the name is a shortened form of a compound such as Coelmund, Coelred, Coelwic.

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.

Edgar (1) (A.S.C. 1016), Jægerir (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)), Eadgarir (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 elito 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. (Fmns.), c. 285, l. 1). Storm (Konungspegur, p. 242, 1906) states that Eadwig and Edgar were Ethelred’s sons by his first marriage, and this seems very probable.

(Eadmund (1)), Eadmundr inn helgi (O.H. (Hk.) 12). Snorri refers to an English tradition to the effect that St Edmund slew King Swegian, ‘in the same way as St Mercurius slew Julian the Apostle.’ 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 Sanci 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 Eodgar (1) above). This is presumably King Edmund (d. 946), successor of his more famous brother Athelstan.

Eadmund (3) (A.S.C. 1015, 1016 (10)), Eadmundr (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 Sigeforth 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 ‘hardly 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 1037 (D).

Eadnoth (A.S.C. 1012, 1016). Bishop of Dorchester (Oxon.), associated with Bishop Ælfstan 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 Byrhnotho’s loyal retainers, unknown outside the poem.

Eadric (2) streona (A.S.C. 1007, 1009, 1012, 1015, 1016, 1017 (6)). Æðrēr hrēr strēfna (O.H. (Fl.) 20, 21). Earlorman of Mercia. Snorri calls him Þeinskr strējona (O.H. (Hk.) 26). Cf. Jómsvíkingas (Fms. xi. p. 161), c. 52, where he appears as Ælfrēr er sumir kollunz Eyrk, and Knytlingasaga (Fms. xi. p. 199), c. 16, where he is called Ældfrēr. The A.S.C. represents him, in succession to Ælfrico, as the arch-traitor. Later tradition ascribed to him crimes with which his name is not associated in the A.S.C.; see under Æýrkr. 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, svaþte rīhtlice according to A.S.C. (7).

In O.H. (Hk.), 20 and 21, Eadric is called the fosterer both of Emma and of Edmund. Cf. Ælfrēr strēfna, er sumir kollunz Eyrk, var fóstir Játmundar, brōttir Emma (Jómsvíkingas. (Fms. xi. p. 161), c. 52).


Eadward (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.’

Eadward (3) (A.S.C. 1013, 1014), Eadwaðr (Eatvaðr) (O.T. (Fms.), 285 (2),
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286 (3); O.H. (Hk.) 16, 20; O.H. (Fl. 20 (3)). 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 Sweyn. 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 again against Canute.

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

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

Edward (5) se langa (M. 273). One of Byrhtnoth’s loyal retainers who fell at Maldon.


Edward (3) (A.S.C. 1017), Ælfgar (O.H. (Hk.) 20). Called ædeling in the A.S.C., rege Eadmundi germanus by F.W. One of Canute’s first acts on ascending the throne was to banish Edward, 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 Ælfgar, son of Ethelred and Emma and brother of Edmund. Cf. Knýtlinga saga (Fms. xi, p. 190), c. 10, where Ælfgar is called the third of the sons of Ethelred and Emma.

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


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


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

Ealgar (M. 267). Father of the Northumbrian hostage, Ælfgar, who fought on the English side at Maldon.

Eimarr þambarstefgar (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 Croxforf 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. Graf. (Hk.), cc. 8, 20; O.T. (Hk.), cc. 40-42; Fl. 1, pp. 65, 155-186, 201; Njálsegos, c. 89, etc.

In the famous battle of Hjörungavág 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.), 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. 1, 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 sief 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, 1, 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. Ct. Ellu stellaþ, i.e. ‘England,’ Knútskrófa, st. 3, by Hallvarðr hárkeðlaði (N.-i. Sfn. B. 1, 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 (Rogn. Lot (Fas. 1), cc. 15, 18).

The A.S.C. knows of a King Ella (uneccynd, 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 (uflf).’ 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 varð Ælfprœie (on Engliche), Ymma (on Francisc). Her death is recorded in 1051 (C): on þys ylican geare forferde seo ealle hlæfðige, Eadweardes einges moder og Hardcanutes Imme hale.

Pryfegyst (A.S.C. 993). Associated with Framma (q.v.).

Frama (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 Brychsof 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)goda, ‘comrade.’ Mr B. Dickins has sent me the following alternative suggestions:


(2) That Gadd represents the Biblical Gad. (Cf. especially 1 Chron. xii. 8: Sed et de Gaddi transfigurunt ad David, cum latet in desert, virtu robustissimi, et pugnatores optimi, tenentes clupeum et hastam: facies eorum quasi facies leonis, et velox quasi capreà in montibus (Vulgate). Cf. also vu. 14, 15.) In this case the phrase Gaddes mey 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.


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 (2) (A.S.C. 993). Associated with Frama and Fryjegyst (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.


Gormr (O.H. (Hk.) 130; O.F. (Fl.) 20), inn gamli. King of Denmark, father of Harold Bluetooth, grandfather of Sweyn Forkbeard. An account of Gorm and his notable wife Thyri, Danmarkhild, is to be found in Lasen's Canute, pp. 4–6.

Gunnhildr (1) (A. 13 (2), 14 (2); O.H. (Hk.) 130). Wife of Eric Bloodaxe, styled konungamødir, ‘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. Háf. (Hk.), c. 33. Her father was Ósrur tófi 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 Njáldasaga, cc. 3–6. See also Egilas. passim. She bore Eric eight sons (Har. Háf. (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.F. (Fl.) 20). Daughter of Canute and Emma. Magn. Goð. (Hk.), c. 17, mentions her marriage with the Emperor, Henry III.

Gunnlaugr (G. 8, 9 (22), 10, 15 (5)) ormenunga. 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., in, pp. 627–631). Gunnlaug's career is especially interesting as illustrating the position of the Icelandic in the Viking Age as an international purveyor of skaldic verse. See p. 111, and notes on extract 11 above, and O.L.H. 1, pp. 569–572.

Göngu-Hröfelt (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 Hlahir, nicknamed ins 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 Thambarkaður (according to Órðasögur, c. 10, 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 Aarnson, on the ground that Hakon was 'so scrupulous (heilhuugi) 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 epitr festarmey sinnt (Pyr. 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. 194). This agrees with the entry of the A.S.C. (C) under 1030. See Crawford, pp. 147–148, where F.W.'s statement that Hakon was exiled by Canute, quasi legationis causa, is discussed.

Halfreðr vandráðasúklað, whose poem Oláfsféðr (erfdrápa) is given on pp. 126–135. The fullest account of Halfreðr is found in his saga, embedded in Flateyjarbók, and in the ‘Longer Saga of Olaf Tryggvason’ (Fms. r iii). A shorter account, found in A.M. 132, is printed separately in the Reykjavík edition of Hallfriðsæga. See also O.T. (Hk.), c. 83; Laxdælausaga, c. 40, ed. K. Kåland, Alm. Sag-Bibl. 4, 1896; Gunnlaugs saga, c. 10.

Born about 967 in N.W. Iceland where his father Ottar had settled, Halfreðr 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. Gunnlaugs saga, c. 4). The earlier part of his saga is concerned with his relations with Kolfinna, and her husband Gríðr.

Olaf's encounter with Olaf Tryggvason at Nidaros is related somewhat differently in Hallfriðsæga, and in O.T. (Hk.), c. 83. Both accounts are given in the Reykjavík edition. Hallfriðr 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 Hallfriðr reduced to tears by the king's disapproval (Hallfriðsæga, c. 6). It is interesting to note that Hallfriðr 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 Hallfriðr 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 quarral with his former rival Gríðr. On his reception of the news of King Olaf's fall, see note to O. l. 27.
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On reaching Norway he gathered what information he could concerning Olaf’s fate and composed his famous erfráupa. 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 Olaf Tryggvasonar. Hallfreth travelled restlessly for some time, and ‘took no pleasure in anything (undir 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 (lausaurteyr), there survives of Hallfreth’s verse only the earlier of Olafráupa, which celebrates Olaf Tryggvason’s exploits up to 996, and the Olfráupa (erfráupa) printed in this volume.

Haraldr (1) (A. 13) hárfragr. King of Norway. Ágríp 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 (3)), 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 grífsfær. 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 grenaki, because he was fostered in Greenland, great-grandson of Harold Fairhair and father of Olaf Haroldsson. A. seems to have transferred the name of grenaki 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 þat he ware Cnutus sunu cynges at Ælfjóru Ælfjelms dohtor caldormanus, ac hit þuhte swiðe ungodæflicæ manægæ manæum. 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.

Heimrðr drjóna (O.H. (Hk.) 26). See under Eadric (2).

Hemingr (O.H. (Fl.) 20 (2); C. 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 J.R.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 Eplafus. Jónamiklaars. (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 Slesvik.’ See also under Ælfgifu and Ælfric (1) below.


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, Hroï, had fostered Harold gremski (Har. Gráf. (Hk.), c. 11). Hrani appears to have remained with Åsta, wife of his foster-brother Harold, and so became the foster-father of his foster-brother’s son, with the title of konungsfostri. When, at the age of twelve years, Olaf was given a Viking ship and a host, Hrani was put in charge of his fostering.

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 coorl, whether with reference to low birth or his treacherous character is not clear.

Jóhanns (O.H. (Hk.) 12). Julian the Apostle, 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, t., pp. 450–452, 1842–1846). Plummer notes that the same parallel is drawn in S. Eidm. Mirac., Vet. Script. . . collectio, vi, p. 827, ed. Martène et Durand (1729).

Knútr (1) (K. 1; L. 4; A. 18; O.H. (Hk.) 24, 25, 26 (4) (e), 28, 130 (13), 131 (20) (e), (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 Burizlaif, hence of mixed Slavonic and Danish descent, nicknamed hinn riði and hinn gømli, 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 fostering of Thorkel the Tall (Fl. t., p. 203). According to the same saga (cf. Knutl. (Flms. 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 Larsson’s Canute.

Knútr (2) (O.T. (Flms.) 285; O.H. (Fl.) 20). Son of the preceding and of Emma, called Ærluknútr (O.E. Hardacnut). See under Haraldr (5). In 1039 Hardi-canute joined his mother at Bruges, whither she had fled as a result of the ascendency of Harold’s party in England. On Harold’s death, however, Hardicanute was accepted as king in England, but reigned less than two years.

Leofui (A.S.C. 982), styled æsteling. Referred to as father of Odda (i.e. Otto). He was half-brother of Otto II, whose encounter with the Saracens is recorded. Ludul’s name is accounted for by the fact that he had an English mother.


Leofgeat (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, Leofgeat 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.

Leofwine (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.


Maccus (M. 80). One of the three warriors appointed to hold the ford at Maldon. A. Bugge (Vikingafor, xi, pp. 279-286, 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: “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 inevalarum 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. t, I, pp. 73-74.

Markvís (O.H. (Hk.) 12). Saint. See under Jóhannis.

Morcor (A.S.C. 1015). Described with Sigeferth 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 Sigeferth’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 Scandinvians in England.

Norfrán (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 sedecent 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.

Searlo 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 Godrio, 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 Orbriht, but usually represents a Norse name; cf. O.W.Sc. Oddi, O.Dan. Odda, O.Sw. Odda.

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. nöte on O.H. (Hk.), c. 130, l. 1); father of Leodulf, grandfather of Odda (4).

Odda (3) (A.S.C. 982). Romanus caser, 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. II. 5 and 198, and on Oddes meyp, l. 287.

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

Óláfr (Ælrfr) (2) (O. 10, 15, 17, 22, 29; A. 13, 14, 16 (4), 17 (3), 18, 19; O.T. (Fma.) 285 (3), 286 (7); O.H. (Hk.) 20, 24), Ánlafr (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.

Agrip’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. III)), represents Olaf as learning something of Christianity in Wendland through a meeting with Thangbrand the priest. Odd (Fma. 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. 904.

A different tradition seems to be embodied in the chronicle of the Swedish Olaus Petrius: Olof Tryggvason var then første Christen Konung som i Norge var, thy att i hans tid kom ther en predikare utaf Englanda som heet Bernhardus, han predikade ther en tid lång, och så tog Konungen stelf dog och Christendom af honum (Scriptores rerum Suecicarum medii evii, ed. E. M. Fant, i (2), p. 233, 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 Halfreth in his dirge for the fallen king.


Óláfr (3) (A. 17 (3) svensk). 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 Hluthir 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 Svegen 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 Hluthir, who held it as his vassal (O.T. (Hk.), c. 113). Agrip, 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. 89). 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 Sigurd (1) below.
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Óláfr (Álfés) (4) (A. 19; O.H. (Hk.) 12 (4), 13 (2) (c), 14 (d), 15 (6) (p), (h), 16, 20 (2), 27 (4), 28 (2), 29 (2), 130 (4), 131 (6) (p); O.H. (Fl.) 20 (13), 21 (13)), Haraldsøen, hinn digri. On the title greneki 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 (Norge Historie, 1, 2, p. 325) points out in favour of this that the name Olaf was foreign to the family of Harold greneki. Elsewhere, however, St Olaf is represented as having received baptism at Rouen, while Swedish tradition (see K. Maurer, Bekehrung des Norwegischen Stammes, 1, p. 613, 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, Snorro Sturlasson’s Historisk skrivning, 1873, and S. Nordal, Om Olaf den Heilige 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. (1), pp. 233–236, H. 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 Dedication, 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 Olai, 1881.

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

Orðulf (A.S.C. 997), the destruction of whose minister at Tavistock is recorded.

He signs as ‘minister’ from 980–1006. See Crawford Charters, p. 122.

Ormr (O.T. (Fns.), 286). Son of Thorjot, an inhabitant of Dyrmess in the Orkneys. The story of Edward the Confessor’s announcement to his court of Olaf Tryggvason’s death is given onOrm’s authority.

It is interesting to find that the Orkneyinga saga, ed. Nordal, p. 122, records an Orm, son of Thorjot in the twelfth century.

Ósung (A.S.C. 1010). Son of Æðelstan, described as the king’s ðæm, slain in Thorkel’s attack upon Cambridgshire.

Ónulf (M. 304). Brother of Æadwald, both mentioned as loyal retainers.


Óttarr (O.H. (Hk.) 13, 14, 15 (2), 29) swært. 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 Hofskvæma, said to have been composed at Sigvat’s instigation in order to placate St Olaf, who was incensed by some verses (now lost), which Óttarr 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.e. 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 Knáðastróða (see pp. 129–130 above) was composed. See O.L.H. t, pp. 597–599.

Palnatoki (J. 13 (6), 14 (6)). According to the saga, Palnatoki was the first head of Jomborg. 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 grand-father, 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 Olaf, daughter of the Earl of Breotland (Wales). See note on J. c. 13, 1. 1. So great was the terror he inspired that Borilistei, King of Wendland, in order to buy off a threatened attack, offered him land at Jom, on which Palnatoki (see extract) built Jomborg 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.B.H. 1, 11, 3, pp. 324 ff.) rejects the account of the founding of Jomborg by Palnatoki altogether, though he admits the possibility that a chieftain Toki was at one time associated with the colony. (Cf. Steenstrup’s Vendøre 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 (Tobo) see Bk. ii, pp. 329 ff.

Petroc (St). See I.P.N. under Petrocstow.

Ricard (1) (A.S.C. 1002, 1017), Rikarðr (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 langaspjót by Snorri), son of Gøgru-Hróðr (q.v.) Cf. the genealogy in Har. Hérfr. (Hk.), c. 24.

Ricard (2) (A.S.C. 1000, 1013), Rikardr (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 prince Edward and Alfred, and finally Ethelred himself sought shelter there.

Robert (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 lónnumspéidi in Har. Hérfr. (Hk.), c. 24. He is known to history as Robert the Devil or the Magnificent. See F. N.C. t, p. 468.

Sibryth (M. 282). Referred to as brother of Ethelric, one of the heroes of Maldon.

Sigeþérf (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 etheling Edmund.

Sigeric (Syrpisc) (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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Ælftric dedicated his homilies to Sigéric. See Plummer’s note on this point, ii, p. 173.

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

Flateyjarbók, 311 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. 265). He is certainly identical with the guidam 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 (in unius persona).

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, Fl. ii, p. 344-346, where Sigfrid is called Arch-bishop of York. For a discussion of the identity of Sigurth and Sigfrid see H. Koht, ‘De første norske biskoper,’ Hist. Tid., 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.

Sigurth (2) (O.H. (Fl.), 21 (9)). 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 Hakan over Norway gave him Bishop Sigurth as his chaplain, and that the bishop said meas diei ðæn ðæl Olfa beorungu. 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.

Sigvat (O.H. (Hk.), 13, 14, 15, 26, 151 (4)). In cc. 13, 14, 15, Sigvat’s Vikingsaga 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, ‘marshar,’ 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 Halfrith he was unintentionally absent in his master’s last battle, since in 1029-1030 he and Bersi were on pilgrimage to Rome. The innundation of false stories 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 Halfreth's Oláfadrápa, 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 Bergrímr, 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. 116 above.

Sigvat's chief works are the Vikingasíður in which King Olaf's battles are enumerated; Nesjarvísir; Austfaravísir, a humorous account of an adventurous journey to West Götland; Vestfaravísir, of which little survives, on his journey to France and England; Knútsdrápa, from which stanza (l) O.H. (Hk.) is drawn; the famous BergþrúÎvísir and the Bríðardrápa on his master, King Olaf.


Skálditorfa (O.H. (Hk.), 131). Mother of Óðr (q.v.).

Sveinn (1) (X. 6; A. 17 (6), 18 (2); O.H. (Hk.), 12 (2), 130 (2); O.H. (Fl.), 20 (3), Svegen (A.S.C. 994, 1003, 1004, 1013 (5), 1014). King of Denmark, son of Harold Bluetooth, father of Canute (q.v.). He is styled fýgguskegg (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 Svegen's activities in England, and his death in 1014. If Snorri is right in stating that Englishmen ascribed Svegen'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 'Svegen ended his days and the fleet all chose Canute as king.' The fact probably was, as Snorri and others state, that Svegen'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 Svegen'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 Svegen's character, viz. the account of F.W., which embodies the legend of St Edmund's intervention to which Snorri refers and represents Svegen as pagan and as filled with malice against the English saint, and, on the other hand, the account of the Encomium Ermiae (cf. Saxo, p. 342), where Svegen 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. 1, p. 212) relates the same story as F.W., he also refers to the uncertainty regarding the manner of Svegen's death.

For an account of Svegen's career see D.R.H. 1, pp. 364–381, and Larson's Canute, c. xi. See also F. N.C. 1, Appendix QQ.

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

Grettis saga (c. 19) states that Earl Eric made his brother protector to his young son Hakon when he left Norway for England, but see under Hakon (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. gót. (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.

Ulfgeat (A.S.C. 1006). With Wulfsah, said to have been blinded. According to F.W. the two were brothers, sons of Baldorman Ælhelm whose slaying is reported under the same year. On Ælhelm 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 Guisborought. 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 ryde. 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 Walthew, Earl of Bernicia, and that he distinguished himself in driving back the invading Scots from Durham (see Robertson, I, pp. 92–98), 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 Flummer suggests that Eric received only the Scandinavian Deira, Uhtred’s brother succeeding to Bernicia.

Ulfcytel (A.S.C. 1004 (4), 1010, 1016), Ufkel (Snithling) (O.H. (Hk.), 14 (d), 25 (b); 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 Ufkel duz), 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 iwissee 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. Jónsmjólkings. (Fms. xii, p. 159), c. 51) makes Ulflærd, 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 Ulflærd as married to Ethelred’s daughter Ulfhild, and Freeman (F. N.C. Appendix SS) is inclined to accept this.

On the circumstances of Ulflærd’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). Jónsmjólkings. (Fms. xii, p. 162), c. 52 (cf. Fl. 1, 204), relates that Thorkel, after slaying Ulfcytel, made Úlfhild his wife, and that Canute, who had married Emma on Thorkel’s advice, saw Úlfhild and considered himself wronged, and began to plot Thorkel’s death.

Viljálmr (1) (O.H. (Hk.) 20) langaspjóð. Duke of Normandy, father of Ricard (1) (q.v.), the William Longsword of Norman authorities.
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Viljálm (2) (ibid.). Mentioned by Snorri as brother of Robert (Rödbert, 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. 287). One of the loyal retainers who fell at Maldon. He is called ‘burstan’ sunu in l. 298 and ‘Wigelines barn’ in l. 300. Two explanations of the apparent discrepancy are possible: (1) that sunu and barn are not synonyms, barn standing for ‘descendant,’ not ‘son’ (cf. use of barn in Geata barn (plur.) (Beow. l. 2184), niðja barna (plur.), Gen. l. 1135), or (2) that ‘burstan’ and ‘Wigelin’ are the same person. See Klaeber, Eng. St. LV, p. 392, 1821. This is rendered the more probable in that ‘burstan’ 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 norferne cyning. . . . [see full text name was Ephetan (A.S.C. 890 (A)).]

Womer (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 Abbatiae Sancti-Petri Blandiniensis, ed. R. D. F. Van de Putte, p. 9, 1842. Womer 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. 1066). Deprived of his property. F. W. adds that Wulfgeat was thus disgraced propter iniquita judicia et superba qua gesserat opera, while a charter (K. C.D. 1310) refers to the forfeiture of his property as being quia inimiciis regis se in insiders socium applicavit. See F. N.C. Appendix II, and Plummer’s note. Wulfgeat signs as minister up to the year 1005.


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

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

Wulfmar (3) (M. 183). Probably but not certainly identical with Wulfmar (2).


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 Cœla’s son (sunu), whereas in l. 155 Wulfstan is mentioned as father of Wulfmar se geonga (q.v.). We have thus the series Cœla, father of Wulfstan, father of Wulfmar.

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:

Cœla

| Wulfstan |

Leofwine

Wulfmar

N.B. There is nothing to indicate which of the two brothers was the older.
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Wulfstan (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. Theodoric calls him Theodbrand, which is presumably the right form. According to the same authority he was a Fleming, according to Kristins saga he was the son of Vilhaldus greið af Brjum. This saga gives a curious and interesting account of Thangbrand’s youth and early dealings with King Olaf, but, according to B. Kahle (Kristins saga (Alt. Bild.), p. 14, note to v, 2–6), the narrative rests upon a very uncertain foundation.

Snorri (O.T. (Hk.), c. 73) describes him as ọfstopamblr miðkoll ok vígamaðr, en klærkr göðr ok máðr 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 Kristins saga, cc. vii–ix. Cf. Ítiðsmál, cc. 100–104.

Þóðr (1) (O.H. (Hk.), 24, 25). Kolbeinason, whose verses are quoted. See also p. 115 above. His career is described in Bjarnar saga Húlafjörða, 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.


Þórkr (2) (O.H. (Fl.), 20), ‘the Viking.’ Represented as one of the leaders of the Danish host when in the Flateyjarbók version, Olaf Haraldsson 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.

Þórekoll (1) (O.H. (Fl.), 20 (7)), þurkill (þurkl, þurkyl(0) (A.S.C. 1009, 1013 (2), 1017). Thorkel the Tall (inn hávi), son of Strutharold, Earl of Zealand, brother of Sigvaldi and Heming (Jomsvikingas. ca. 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 þórekoll havi in Knytlingasaga, c. 8, seems to imply a misreading of f for s, the original form being hafi (hári), and (b) that the authority ‘for Thorkill’s wife being a daughter of Æthelred,’ upon which Freeman could not lay his hands, is presumably one of the saga accounts. See under Úlfgeði 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. 1, 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 Emmae (1, 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 Ælfhesh 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. l, p. 293) 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.

(Þorkelli) (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 Þorkell in Halfreth'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 Purcell (2) below.

Þórjsxóð (O.T. (Pms.), 298). Father of Orn (q.v.) of Dyrness 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. Thorod accompanied Gizur the White and Hjaltri Skeggason to Iceland in order to establish Christianity there, and was present at the 'Althing' in the year 1000 at which Christianity was adopted.

Þorfei (A.S.C. 926) 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 Þorfei Gunneres sunu forherygde Westmorings land, probably acting under King Edgar's orders. Gunner signs as duæ in 931, and Thureth duæ in 979, 983 and 988. See Plummer, ii, pp. 159–160.

Þórór (A. 14, 15) ísærskog, 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.

Purcell (1) (A.S.C. 1010) myranheafod, who instigated flight at the battle in East Anglia 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. heistofða, Birka saga rauma, c. 5). In Fóstrandebœgasa, c. 24, Thoromo says to King Olaf: 'Thir þott mér jafnaðr þeira vera við mik; þar at þeir jafnaðr mér til merar—jafnaðr miki vera með mænum sem meri með heatum.' Ronvange adds: 'Vårkum vor hat, at þeir mælilokaði þeira umræða.'

Purcell (2) (A.S.C. 1016), Nafnan sunu. Slain, together with Uhtrit (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 Purcell to Þorkell see Appendix II (b), D.
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Burstan (M. 298). Referred to as father of Wistan (q.v.).

Pyri (A. 17). Daughter of King Harold Bluetooth, sister of King Swegen. According to Fgr. (p. 82) she was first married to the Swedish prince, Styrborn, who fell in 985. According to A. she was later given in marriage to a noble in Wendland (according to other authorities to King Burzlad), 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. 82 ff.). For the story of Thyri’s death see Flateyjarbók (t, 496–497).

Æþelpur (1) (M. 320). Father of Godric (2).

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

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

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

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

Æþelward may have much the same meaning as the Norse ðegri, applied to St Olaf.

Æþelred (M. 53, 151, 203; A.S.C. 978, 979, 1013 (2), 1014 (3), 1016, 1017). Æsæladr (O.T. (Fms.), 285 (8); 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 wæradas (1011), unwæred (1016), wælæless (1009). It occurs in the chronicle of the fifteenth-century Thomas Radburne (see Plummer, II, p. 168), who describes Ethelred as dictus Unredi, quod Latine sonat Inconsistens (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. 1, ch. v.

Æþorse (M. 390). Sibryth’s brother, a valiant fighter at Maldon.

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

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

Æþelward (2) (A.S.C. 1010). Son of Ealdorman Æthelwine (q.v.), one of the leaders slain at Assandun.

Æþelward (3) (A.S.C. 1017). Son of Æthelmer (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 Æthelward (2).
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Ælfgifu (A.S.C. 1002). Ethelred’s high reeve, slay in Ealdorman Lofosige (q.v.).
Ælfgar (A.S.C. 993). Son of Ælfric (3) (q.v.).
Ælffeh (1) (A.S.C. 994, 1006, 1011). Known later as St Alphege. A.S.C. (A) records under 994 that Ælffeh’s other name was Landwine. The same chronicle records that he became Bishop of Winchester in 994, and this position he held in 994 when he was sent to bring Anlaf to Andover. According to Osenborn’s life (Anglia Sacra, ii, p. 132) Ælffeh was especially concerned with the conversion of Scandinavians in England, and although Osbern is not a reliable witness (see F. N.C. Appendix FP) this statement appears probable, and would explain Ethelred’s choice of Ælffeh 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 rhetorical lament for the archbishop’s death.

On the churches dedicated to St Alphege see Arnold-Forster, Studies in Church Dedication, 1, 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 F. Nelson, Ancient Painted Glass in England, pp. 107, 119, 189, 198.

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

Ælffeh(b)aelm (A.S.C. 1006), of Northumbria, slain in this year. F.W. makes Wulflaed and Hegeat (q.v.) his sons. He signs as dux and held at least a part of Northumbria. His daughter Ælffae was rumoured to have been the mother of Harold Harefoot, but see under Harualdr (5). See Crawford Charters, pp. 121–122.

Ælffwera (1) (A.S.C. 983). Ealdorman of Mercia, died, and succeeded by Ælfric (2). E states that Ælffwera 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 A.

Ælffwerc (2) (M. 80). With Maccus, guarded the ford over the Pante.

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

Ælffwera (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 Ælffwera’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 Ælmmor who made his escape abbas.


Ælfric (M. 183). Fell, with Wulfmært, at Byrhtnoth’s side.

Ælfric (A.S.C. 1013), who, with his brother Edward, was sent to Normandy under the care of Bishop Ælfric. He was the son of King Ethelred and Emma. In 1036 he came to England to visit his mother, 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 Ælhelm (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 (coṣmemento puere) is referred to. F.W. states that Ælfric here, who preceded him in the ealdormanry of Mercia, was Ælfric’s father. If, then, Ælfric (1) and (2) are identical, the Æl(h)elm(æ)m of M. 218 must have been Ælfric’s maternal grandfather.

Ælfric (3) (A.S.C. 992, 993, 1003, (1) 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 fyrd of Wilt 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, n. p. 170.

Ælfric (4) (A.S.C. 992 (wrongly called Ælftan), 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 Ælftan 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.

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

Ælftan (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.

Ælfteward (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, Ælfgifu, daughter of Ælfgar, an East Anglian ealdorman, or Ælfwine may have been of the same family as Æthelmer, 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 Ælhelm, Ælfric, Ælfwine conform to the nomenclature of either family.

Ælfgifu (M. 287). Englag’s son, a hostage in Byrhtnoth’s army, of Northumbrian race. See note on l. 265.

Æscuige (A.S.C. 992). Bishop of Dorchester; shared command of the English fyrd with Ælfric (3), Earl Thored and Bishop Ælftan, i.e. Ælfric (4).
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Abbandun (A. S. C. 981, 982, 983, 1016). Abingdon, Berks. The C text is believed to have been compiled here, hence the frequent references to local ecclesiastical affairs.


Anglo- jynn. See under Engla.

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

Assandum (A. S. C. 1016). Aesastn (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. Hence se here gewende eft ip on Eastesceah and forde 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) not hidan and offerde hi on Eastesceah se hare dune þe man het Assandum.

Putting together the phrases ferde into Myrcum and offerde hi on Eastesceah, 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 at hidan. Had F. W. any independent source for his statement that the Danes ad naves repelandi festini?

(c) Under the year 1020 the A. S. C. C, D and F record the consecration of a mynster at Assandum, while F states that Canute had it built of stone and lime far dre manno caute de bar ofelagene wæran. No direct evidence is afforded by this annal regarding the site of Assandum, but the question arises whether any trace survives of a foundation of the period corresponding to that here described.

Turning to the Knátadrópa, if, as seems probable, Canute’s victory at Aesestn is identical with that described in the A. S. C. as occurring at Assandum, we learn that the site lay north of the unidentified Danamægær (q. v.). It may also be noted that Thorth (O. H. (Hk.) (b)) states that Earl Eric fought with (Snorri states that he actually slew) Ulfkelfr yr vestan... Lundún, but according to the A. S. C. Ulfcytel fell at Assandum. We do not know, however, whether Norse tradition associated Ulfkelfr’s (Ulfcytel’s) death with the battle of Aesastn (Assandum), 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 Ashington. 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 Archeological
Association, New Series, xxxi, pp. 188-190, 1925. The author, contrary to
the majority of scholars, pronounces emphatically in favour of the north-
westernly site, a view to which the present editor had strongly inclined before
seeing the article. For an explanation 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 dus referred to in the A.S.C. is here
found 'many times more readily than at Ashington' (i.e. the site near the
River Crouch in south Essex), (c) that Canute's mystes 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 con-
vincing. 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 Acedun, 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 settle-
ment. Searle records several instances of Aesc, and, although no examples of
*Aesa from O.E. documents appear, Aesso 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 Acedunum loco and explains as montem
fraxinorum it is not only perpetrating a piece of popular etymology but sub-
stituting the element 'Ec- for original 'Aes-. It may be noted that the Norse
Sætaði supports the A.S.C.

P. H. Reamy (Essex, p. 48, 1928), however, identifies Assandun with
Ashington, 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.

Beareweccia (Borowceair) (A.S.C. 1006, 1009, 1011). Berkshire. See also under
Readingas. Harried by 'Thorkel's host' in 1009. Mentioned in list of subju-
gated shires.

Bebbanburh (A.S.C. 993). Bamborough. 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).

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

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

In the course of his third campaign, Edmund defeated the Danes near Brent-
ford. 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. brexizm brynnjum, L. 5, where the application is more general.

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

Canegonmerse (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, herself based upon unpublished papers of Earle and Stevenson, writes of this name, "probably in the neighbourhood of All Cannings and Bishopsgates 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 (Hamstun) crossed the Thames into Wessex, and so towards Canegonmerse.

Canuweardur(u), Cantuweardur(u) (A.S.C. 1009, 1011, 1013), Kantara-byrget, 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.

Cant, Centingsas (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 fyrd 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 Cnut passed through Kent on his way to Wessex. In 1016 King Edmund opened in Kent his fourth campaign.

Ceolesig (A.S.C. 1006). Cholesey, Berks. The Danish host passed a night here on its way from Wallingford to Cwicemeshlaw.

Cilern (A.S.C. 1009). The Chil terns, 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.

Cleaghongra (A.S.C. 1016). Clayhanger, Essex, through which King Edmund passed on his way to London from the north.

Cornwawal (A.S.C. 997). Cornwall. The Danes, with the Severn estuary as base, ravaged Wales, Devon and Cornwall. See also under Weakas.

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. Cosham is mentioned in the boundaries of a grant made by King Ethelred to Shaftesbury (K. C.D. 796).

Cregelad (A.S.C. 1016). Cricklade, Wilts, which, as the annal implies, lay on the borders of Wessex and Mercia.

Cristes cynrice (A.S.C. 996). Christchurch, Canterbury, where Æthelric was consecrated archbishop.


Cwicemeshlaw (A.S.C. 1006 (2)). Cuckmalsey Barrow or Scutchamfyl Knob, Berks. See note on this annal. The significance of the Danes' forced march to Cwicemeshlaw 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 Cholesey to Cwicemeshlaw (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 Cyneate with the River Kennet; Freeman with Kennet, now Marlborough; Wyatt with East Kennet, near Marlborough. Yet Kinthbury-on-Kennet, between Hungerford and Newbury, suggested by Earle, has the advantage of lying most directly on the route between Cwicelmessewulf and Winchester. The Danes, however, may have had their reasons for making a detour as far west as Marlborough.

Danaskógur (K. 8). If Ottar is right in placing Danaskogar south of Assatun (q.v.) the identification of Bafn 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. xi, pp. 171 ff.) is the place referred to? It is interesting that the modern Danbury (D.B. Danangabaria) lies within this district.

Danmark, Dana-(herr,-konung,-völd), Danir, danskr (O. S: L. 4, 5; A. 15, 17 (2); O.H. (Hk.), 12 (6), 14, 24, 27 (2), 130 (2), 131 (4); G. 9, 15 (3)), Denan, Demnar, denese, Denise (A.S.C. 991, 998, 1002, 1003, 1010). Denmark, Danish.

Defenas, Defenasceir, Defensce (A.S.C. 981, 988, 997 (2), 1001, 1017). People of Devon; Devon; of Devon (adj.).

Dorset (A.S.C. 978, 982 (2), 988, 1015). Dorset, the scene of Danish ravaging in the three last mentioned years.

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

Ealddelmeshburgh (A.S.C. 1015). Malmesbury, Wilts. E and F have Mealdelmes- byrig (g). The form of our text is due to the substitution of the name of Abbot (later Bishop) Aelhelm for that of his predecessor Maidulfus (Maidivib, the original founder. The latter's name is clearly seen in the form Maldivesburgh, while the form Mealdelmesburgh shows a confusion of the two names. See Plummer's Bede, ii, p. 311.

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

East Sca(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.


Englaland, Engelsbrode, englisc (Anglescyn) (A.S.C. 986, 994, 1005, 1006, 1008, 1009 (2), 1011, 1012, 1014 (2), 1016 (4), 1017), England, Engla (-konung) (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 (6), 20, 24, 25 (3), 26 (5), 27 (5), 130 (3), 131 (5); O.H. (Fcl), 20 (5), 21 (4); G. 9 (6) (a), 10, 15 (4)). England; English people; English.

Englandshaf (G. 8). The North Seas. Cf. O.H. (Hk.), c. 130.


Estdland, 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 Estonians in Alfred’s Ororwisa, E.E.T.S. ed. Sweet, pp. 20–21, 1883.

Exancaester (A.S.C. 1003, also referred to as ðre 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.

Exe (A.S.C. 1001). River Exe. The Danes entered the river mouth, and then proceeded to ðære byrig, i.e. Exeter. See above.

Eyvinda (A. 14). Æiel, 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 (1016). 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.

Fife (O.H. (Hk.), 131 (p)). Fife, Scotland, whence two kings came to make their submission to Canute.

Fifouringas, Fifourga (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 of Danir heldu margvg borgum (O.H. (Hk.), c. 14). Four of the five became the nuclei for shires. On the form Fifouringas see note on annal 1013.


Flamingaland (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.

Fronmanga (A.S.C. 908, 1015). Mouth of the River Frome, which runs into Poole Harbour. Coming east from Tavistock, the Danes entered the Frome and marched into Dorset.

Furuwald (O.H. (Hk.), 28). A harbour in Northumbria, from which Olaf Haroldson set out for Norway. A.M. 37 fol. has yrjolatid. Gustav Storm (Snorre Sturlassons Kongesagnar, p. 247, 1900) translates 'foran Váld,' and explains (n. 3): 'Váld is taken to mean the Walds, ridges of hills running from north to south along the coasts of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.'

Færeyjar (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 Göttland, South Sweden (cf. the Geats of Beowulf), mentioned among followers of Olaf Tryggvason in his Viking raids.

Gingeburh (A.S.C. 1013, 1014). Gainborough, 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.

Gillingham (A.S.C. 1016). Gillingham, Dorset. Poennon (q.v.) is said to be wîd Gillinghamam.

Glamestastrecir (A.S.C. 1016). Gloucestershire, harried by Canute, before the meeting at Olange.

Glastonburh (A.S.C. 1016). Glastonbury, Somerset, where King Edmund was buried, with his grandfather Edgar.


Granabriocir (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 -brioc occurs in both instances, it has been preserved. See Appendix II (b), C (vii).

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Gyvnesvíc (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.

Hampshire (A.S.C. 994, 1010). In the former annal Southampton, in the latter Northampton, is referred to. In 980 (C) the name Sudhamtun 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.

Hamstowceor (A.S.C. 982, 994, 998, 1003, 1006, 1009, 1011 (2), 1016). Like Hamstow, 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.


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

Hemingborough (K. 6). Cf. v.l. Hemingsborg. Here, according to Ottar, Canute won a victory west of the Ouse. The Knýtlinga Saga describes how Canute had a battle first in Lindsey, another at Hemingborough, and others in Northumbria, near the Tees. If the reading Hemingsborg is the correct one, it is tempting to connect the place with the mysterious Slíevik à Englândi (q.v.), over which ruled Heming, brother of Thorkel the Tall (Por. xi, p. 159). J. B. Johnston (Place-Names of England and Wales, p. 299, 1915) identifies Hemingborough with Hemingbury, 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 for Þau vestan must not be pressed too hard.

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

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

C.P.B. ii, pp. 155–156, translates Ottar’s i breðri borg Heminga as ‘in broad Nottingham,’ without explanation. See under Slíevik below.


Hjalland (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.

Hlogneoir (A. 14, 15 (2)). Norgord on the Volga, the centre of Scandinavian influence in North Russia (Gardarik). 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, 1, p. 220, etc., 1905.

Hordaland (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.

Hringmaraðsigr (O.H. (Hk), 14 (d), (e)). Snorri describes it as í Úlfkelandi, i.e. in East Anglia. A.S.C. 1010 states of the Danish host: womund upp át Gypseoric and eodan ánrecos þær hi geceodcon Úlfcelýt mid hís fyrdre. 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 Hringmaraðsigr as occurring after Swegen’s death, and with Olaf Haroldson 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, Laxansævar, 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 Hringmaraðsigr are probably to be identified. A.S.C. and F.W. both state that the Vikings landed at Ipswich. Hence they marched to Ringmere, according to F.W., ‘to the place where they knew Úlfcelýt 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 (S.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 Úlfcelýt’s country, and appears to offer no difficulties.


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

Hunedunocir (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. n. 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 Palatokki. See A. Walsh, Scandinavian Relations with Ireland during the Viking Period, pp. 13–14, 1922.

Jóm, Jómaborg, Jómavikingar (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 (r.l. Ilunum), 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 Jomaborg. The chief motive seems to have been to protect Danish colonists and merchants in Julin (Saxo, Hist. Dan. Bk. x, ed. Holder, 1886). Cf. Krøningaseaga (Fms. xi, p. 179), c. 1.

Jomsvikingaseaga’s circumstantial account of the founding of Jomaborg by Palnatoke is rejected by Steenstrup as legendary. See D.R.H. i, 2, pp. 322–326, for an account of the colony. See also S. Larsen, O.N.O.H. 1927, pp. 1–138.

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

Jørsalaland, Jørsaali (A. 17; O.T. (Fms.), 286). Palestine, Jerusalem; said to have been visited by Olaf Tryggvason, after his escape from Swold.

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

Leicester (A.S.C. 1000, 1016). Chester. Cf. ad civisatem Legionum, quas a gente Anglorum Legacestire, a Brittonibus autem rectius Carleon 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.


Lindcolnesir (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), Lindsey (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. Óttar represents Canute as making war ‘in green Lindsey.’

Lunden, Lundenburch, Lundenvorou (A.S.C. 982, 992 (2), 994, 1009 (3), 1012 (2), 1013 (2), 1016 (12), Lundán, Lundásnâborg, Lundâna-bryggjur (L. 7; O.H. (Hk.), 12, 25 (2) (k); O.H. (Fk.), 20 (4), 21). London. There seems to be no clear distinction in meaning between Lunden and Lundenvorou; cf. on þa buruh Lundene (A.S.C. 1000). The Norse sources show the same ambiguity, though in þa lokun þær fryst til Lundana...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.

Mapesnte (A.S.C. 1016), amongst whom Eadric Streona instigated flight at Assandun; hence, presumably, the inhabitants of part of his ealdormanship of Mercia, probably in the western border. For the ending -snte cf. Scrobosnte, Dorsnte, etc. See Plummer’s note, ii, pp. 197–198.

Med(aw)age (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 subjugged shires. Mense (A.S.C. 1000). B agrees with C in this reading, but E has Mense, 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). Mostera, west of the opening of the Hardanger Fjord (see Hordaland above). Snorri (O.T. (Hk.), c. 47) states that Olaf Tryggvason landed at Mottar when he came to claim Norway, and later had a church built here.

Myrca, Myrcenace (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 earldomship in 1007. By the pact of Oianig Mercia passed to Canute; but in 1017 Canute, who now held the whole country, granted Mercia again to Eadric.

Maldon (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.

Morir (O.H. (Hk.), 20). North and South Mørr, Norway, coast provinces, divided by Raumadale, running as far north as the Trondhjem Fjord and as far south as the Is fjord. Rognvald, father of Rolf ‘the Ganger,’ is called Mora-jaeti.

Nordmør, Nørg (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.


Nordvælás (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 Northwalesas, Cornwall and Devon.

Nordveg (A.S.C. 1004), Nordvik (K. 9). Norwich, ravaged by Sweegen in 1004, and, according to Ottar, the scene of one of Canute’s battles.

Northumb (M. 296; A.S.C. 993, 1013, 1016 (4), Nordisbury(k)nd) (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. 1. 266.

Nýjamóða (O.H. (Hk.). (h)). The site is unknown. Storm suggests that it is near London; Rahn and Magnusson suggest Newhaven (Sussex), but see S.E.P.N., Swæsæ, ii, p. 324. A. D. Jørgensen (Den nord. Kirke Grundlæggelser, p. 462, 1874–1878) suggests Newhaven at the mouth of the Essex Ouse.


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, differing here from Snorri, represents Astrith as fleeing here with her child after the fall of Trygvi. For its early history see Har. Härf. (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.

Oxenafordesc (A.S.C. 1016, 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. Yhancaster) est in ripa Penta annia (Bede, Lib. iii., c. 22, ed. Plummer, r, p. 173). See T. Wright, History...of Essex, ii. p. 40, 1886; Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc. Pt. i., vol. xvii, pp. 44-46. Ekwall (English Place-name in Essex, 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 l. 7 of this stanza.

Penwildestrect (A.S.C. 997), Penwooht- (D), Penwight- (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, r, p. 179). The word is a hybrid, of which the last element is probably O.E. scept, 'tail.' Cf. Start Point, Devon. See S.E.P.N. r, 2, p. 56.

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 Peonhó with Pinhoe, which lies near a group of Clys.

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. kōh, 'projecting ridge of land.' See S.E.P.N. r, 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), wid Gillingham. 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 653, but see F. N.C. r, p. 385, n. 1.

Petrocestow (St) (A.S.C. 981). Bodmin, Cornwall, ravaged by the Danes. On the name cf. the Domeday entry Ecclesia Sancti Petro tenet Bodmune. On this Celtic saint, to whom many churches in Devon and Cornwall are dedicated, see F. Arnold-Forster, Studies in Church Dedication, ii. pp. 279-281.

Portland (A.S.C. 992). 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.

Raumarík (A. 13). A Norwegian province lying north-east of the Oslo Fjord. The text as it stands implies that Sótenes is in this province, whereas it was in fact situated in Bamriki, a more southerly province, now Swedish territory. See note on the passage for proposed emendation.

Readingas (A.S.C. 1006). Leaving their fríddol in Wight, the Danes crossed Hampshire and Berkshire and reached their gearæan feorme at Reading. Plummer in his Index states that the Danes ravaged Reading, but is this certain? Either gearæan 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 (casera) (A.S.C. 982), Rám(ferd) (O.H. (Hk.), 25). (Emperor of) the Romans; (pilgrimage to) Rome.
Ráða (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 Ráða-jarlare. For the form Ráða cf. Rotemagi (A.S.C. (E), 311) and Rotem (ibid. 1124).

Sandwic (A.S.C. 1006, 1009, 1013, 1014, 1015). Sandwich, Kent; played an important part in the Danish inroads of this period.
Særcena (A.S.C. 982). Saracens, said to have been defeated by Emperor Otto, but see note on this annal.
Scapa (A.S.C. 1016). Scapie, Kent, to which the Danes fled before King Edmund during his fourth campaign.
Scorestan (A.S.C. 1016), Skorstein (K. 6). Sherston, Wilts, where King Edmund fought his second battle. Neither English nor Norse source clearly states the issue of small st. K. refers to Skorstein as being to the south of the River Frome.
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 Sciræburc also occurs.
Seorbac (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.
Seeofonburga (A.S.C. 1015). Presumably the Fyrburga (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 civilis 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.
Scoðenig (A.S.C. 980). Selcay, 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.
Sjáland (A. 17). Island of Zealand, off which according to Agrip, 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 Palmotoki. Canute is said to have brought a great part of Scotland under his authority.
Skånsnar (K. 2). Inhabitants of Skåne, South Sweden, the Svedenig or Scëeland of Bosulf. 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.
Slevik à Englandi (O.H. (Fl.), 20). The headquarters of one of the bodies of ‘thingmen’. The other was in London. Suhm identified the name with Sloswick, a small village in Nottingham. The editors of the Crouse R Charms (p. 140), however, point out how unsuitable such a position would be for a...
military station. Since Úlfketel is said to have been responsible for the slaughter of the ‘thingmen’ at Sævnik (e.g. in Jōmersvitingas, (Fms. xi), c. 51), it has been suggested that Sævnik must be sought in Úlfkeldisland, i.e. in East Anglia, but this is not conclusive. See under Heimingaborg above.

Støtingahammar (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. 1, 1, p. 103.

Sōanes (A. 13). A headland in Råsrike (now Bohus, Sweden), scene of Trygvi’s murder and burial. See under Raumariki above.

Stadfr (O. H. (Hk.), 29). Apparently Stadtlund, South-west Norway, off which land (A. S. C. o. 99, 1006, 1009, 1010 (2), 1011, 1013 (3), 1016 (3)). Temp (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 Tempford (see below). In O. E. the word is treated as strong feminine o-declension or as weak declension.

Stenhammar (A. S. C. 1010). Tempford, Bedfordshire. Proceeding from Buckinghamshire, the Danes followed the Ouse to Bedford and so to Tempford.
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Teneizland (A.S.C. 980). Isle of Thanet, Kent, harried by the Danes.

Tena (K. 6). River Tees, near which Canute, according to Ottar, wrought havoc among the English.

Trennta (A.S.C. 1013). River Trent, upon which Swegen, having entered the mouth of the Number, proceeded to Gainsborough.

Tryggvahreyr (A. 13). Where King Trygguv was buried. The mss. have au, which can represent øu, ey and æ. See Dahlerup's Aşrip, pp. x-xi. The second element is interpreted by Cl-V. (see hrdr) as 'a ruin, a fallen tomb,' being cognate with O.E. hrœsan, 'to fall.' Cf. id est tumulus Turgentis (Hist. Norv. M.H.N. p. 110). But may not the meaning be rather 'the place where Trygguv fell'? Cf. the name Austmannafell, given to the place where two Norwegians were slain (Gislañ. 7). Tryggvahreyr is said to be in Stoneman, q.v.

Tünsberg (O.H. (Hk.), 131). Tonsberg, 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. Hærf. (Hk.), c. 36; O.H. (Hk.), c. 83.

Tægninges (A.S.C. 997). Tavistock, Devon, where the Danes burned Ordulf's minster.

Upplönd (A. 14). Where King Trygguv married Astrith; the Norwegian Uplands, a group of five districts including Guthbranddale. According to Snorri (O.T. (Hk.), c. 1) Astrith's father belonged to Oprostadir, which some scholars identify with Oer in Guthbranddale, but Storm with Orsted in Jadar, Rogaland. Aşrip's statement supports the former identification.

Usa (K. 5). Presumably the Yorkshire Ouse, to the west of which Helingamborg is said to lie.

Valland, cf. vallsa (O.H. (Hk.), 12, 20 (2), 27, 28; G. 9). Here Normandy. See note on G. 9, l. 5. In the Poetic Ædda 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 after swi to Ricaræ, i.e. to the kingdom of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. Rouen (Rûå, q.v.) is said to be i Vallandi.

The root of val- is that found in O.E. Wealth. See Wealas below.

Vindland, Vinðir (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, Winidas in Jordanes, and Winidaland, Wemöland, 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 Jomeborg (above) and Bürzilrå (L.P.N.).

Wealas (A.S.C. 981). Here used of Cornwall. See also Cornwealas, Nordwealas and Valland.

Wellingford (A.S.C. 1006, 1013). Wallingford, Berks, burned by the Danes in the former year on their way from Reading to Choolsey. In the latter year, Swegen crossed the Thames at or near Wallingford, on his way from London to Bath.


Westsex (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 Olainig, Wessex went to Edmund, but in 1017, when Canute was in control of the entire kingdom, he retained Wessex as his special province.

Wihland (A.S.C. 998, 1006, 1009, 1013). Isle of Wight, called in 1006 the frideotl of the Danes. Steenstrup (Norm. ill, 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.


Wintunseaster, Winchester, Winceasterloode (A.S.C. 982, 1006, 1013). Submitted to Swegen in this last year. In the first of these annals, Ealdorman Æthelmer is said to have been buried here at the New Minster. See note.

Wæctingastreæt (A.S.C. 1013 (2)). Watling Street, beyond which boundary the people submitted to Swegen. C has Wæcting- in both cases in this annal; E Wæsting in one, Wæcting 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. Wæctingaster, i.e. St Albans (Beo, 1, 7, and Plummer's note).

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

Þraudir, cf. frónzir (O. 3, 23). People of the province of Trondhjem. Although in this district was the famous seat of the Earls of Hlastir, 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.

ßucendan (A.S.C. 1006). Ashdown, Berks, along which the Danes passed on their way to Cwicelmeshlaw.