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Lawman and the Scandinavian Connection

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Previous attempts to identify possible Scandinavian elements in Lawman's *Brut* are conveniently listed by Françoise le Saux but, rightly in my view, she finds them unconvincing and she concludes, 'The quest for Scandinavian influence on the *Brut* thus leads to a dead end'.¹ The finality of this judgement need not preclude further investigation however, and the present study aims to point to elements in Lawman's poem that are absent from his main sources (especially Wace, *Le Roman de Brut*) and are best explained as reflecting material that derived in one way or another from the Scandinavian settlements in England. The main reason for undertaking the quest for Scandinavian elements in the poem lies of course in what le Saux calls (p. 130) 'Lazamon's puzzling Scandinavian name' (representing ON *Lagaman*-, 'man of laws', Icelandic *Lögmaðr*, 'law-man': see *OED* s.v. *lawman*, and *MED* s.v. *laue-man*), presumably on the assumption that possession of a Scandinavian name might be associated with access to tales and other lore of Scandinavian origin. The very rarity of the poet's name has led to the suggestion from Rosamund Allen that Lazamon is not a personal name but a cognomen consisting of an occupational title, though she admits that the way it is used in the poem hardly supports this. In fact, until the late Middle Ages such cognomens seem not to have been used in isolation but only as an appendage to a Christian name (of the type Robert Lawman).² Until clear parallels can be found in the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, it is safer to continue to regard it as a well attested, if fairly uncommon, given name, and as such it provides a convenient starting-point for a reconsideration of what may be called the Scandinavian connection of the poem (echoing the title of le Saux's chapter on 'The French Connection').

Half a century ago J. S. P. Tatlock was much concerned with what he saw as the problem of how a man in the West Midlands in the years around 1200 came to have a name of undoubted Scandinavian origin.³ His study of the distribution

of the name *Lazamon* showed that, while there were examples (in varying spellings) in the old Danelaw, as well as in the wider Scandinavian world, the name was otherwise unrecorded in the West Midlands, and he attached great significance to the uniqueness of this occurrence. If he had been able to study the distribution of Scandinavian personal-names in post-conquest England more widely, a huge task obviously outside the scope of his work, he would have found that in the Danelaw, where personal names of Scandinavian origin were most plentiful, *Lazamon* was a good deal less common than many other Scandinavian names, though a precise percentage would be difficult to arrive at; and he would further have found that in the West Midlands (as elsewhere outside the Danelaw) personal-names of Scandinavian origin do occur in the post-conquest period, so that the appearance of one *Lazamon* among them might well represent something not too far from an expected percentage, rather than being the uniquely significant rarity that he thought. This information about the incidence of Scandinavian personal names outside the Danelaw was not available to Tatlock and in consequence he devised an enchanting fiction concerning Lawman's family background; his arguments are interesting and not groundless, but they are aimed at solving what is in fact a non-problem concerning Scandinavian names in the West Midlands.⁴ In recent years this question has received more careful, if less fanciful, attention, particularly since the late Eric Dobson pointed to the existence in the West Midlands of landholders with Scandinavian names in order to explain the presence of a number of Scandinavian loanwords in the 'AB language' of the early thirteenth century.⁵ Professor R. I. Page has rightly warned us against trying to make deductions from personal names concerning the native language of the holders (or rather the givers) of such names;⁶ all that need be claimed for the present purpose, however, is that a tradition of Scandinavian name-giving in a family might mean nothing more (but also perhaps nothing less) than the existence at some time in the past of some element of Scandinavian ancestry, and the recurrence of certain Scandinavian names in a family might have helped to perpetuate knowledge of this ancestry, particularly if the names concerned were of a distinctive or relatively unfamiliar form. There is some evidence that, at least in some places and periods, there was social pressure from native speakers of English to avoid the perpetuation of distinctively Scandinavian names: Cecily Clark cites tenth-century evidence for some preference among families of Scandinavian descent for names with forms equally acceptable to both communities, while the twelfth century saw a general decline in names of both Old English and Old Norse origin; Gillian Fellows Jensen has also pointed out

that some Danish settlers in the eleventh century felt themselves at risk from hostile English neighbours, which might also have discouraged the perpetuation of distinctively Scandinavian names.⁷ Twelfth-century parents who gave their son an unusual name of Scandinavian origin presumably had some good reason for swimming against the prevailing onomastic current.

There is no doubt, on the evidence of place-names and of regional linguistic variation in Middle English (phonological, grammatical and above all lexical) that the Scandinavian linguistic presence was strongest in certain regions of the old Danelaw, above all in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and some adjoining midland counties, and in parts of the North-West, all areas of Scandinavian settlement in the ninth and early tenth centuries. What we are now in a better position to assess than was possible twenty and more years ago is the impact of the Danish invasion of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, culminating in the reign of Cnut and his sons, for a number of recent studies have advanced our knowledge of that previously rather elusive topic.⁸ Of particular relevance to the linguistic impact are several studies of Danish settlement under Cnut and especially the outstanding articles on the Danish language in England by Roberta Frank and Gillian Fellows Jensen.⁹ From the historical studies in Lawson and Rumble it is clear that Cnut gave lands to many of his followers in areas outside the old Danelaw, not least in Worcestershire.¹⁰ The linguistic impact of this land-giving was obviously nothing like so great as that of the earlier settlements in the North and in the East Midlands, but it seems to have been enough to account for the presence in West Midland English speech of a number of ON loanwords (i.e. to have produced some small lexical impact but no detectable grammatical or phonological impact) and to have established a limited tradition, presumably in particular families, of Scandinavian name-giving. In postulating the existence of a family-tradition of name-giving I admit to following what seems to me a reasonable assumption based on knowledge of naming in later periods in England and several other countries, including Iceland: I have not attempted the kind of survey of Anglo-Saxon and post-conquest documents that might substantiate this postulation, and I am not at all sure that detailed evidence of naming over several generations in one family (outside the mainly Anglo-Norman aristocracy, of course) is anywhere available. The Anglo-Saxons were extremely conservative in name-giving, as is indicated by their resistance to non-English names (e.g. biblical names and Latin saints' names) until well after the conquest, and this conservatism may likewise have discouraged the use of Scandinavian names, except in families that wished to perpetuate the memory of Scandinavian

ancestors. These assumptions may seem to be slightly at variance with a statement by the acknowledged expert in this field, Dr Gillian Fellows Jensen, who writes that men in England with Scandinavian names 'may not even have had a drop of Danish blood in their veins and have been given their Scandinavian names by English parents simply because Scandinavian names were fashionable in the Danelaw in the Viking period'.¹¹ Such a fashion, whatever evidence there may be for it, is certainly more credible in the intensively Scandinavianized society of the Danelaw in the Viking period than in the West Midlands in the late twelfth century, where the giving of a Scandinavian name, particularly so uncommon a name as *Lazamon*, seems to me to mark a deliberate, even demonstrative, attitude that is best explained in terms of a family-tradition deriving from a Scandinavian ancestor, though the influence of godparents can probably not be excluded (relevant parallels might not be easy to find as records are so haphazard). Part of Tatlock's suggestion thus seems to me basically reasonable: if a man with a native English name *Leouenað* (representing OE *Leofnoð*)¹² has a son with the relatively uncommon Scandinavian name *Lazamon*, either Leovenað came from a family with mixed English and Scandinavian names (a possibility that Tatlock did not envisage, and one for which one would wish to seek parallels) or he had married into a family with a tradition of Scandinavian name-giving, which was Tatlock's preference and the basis of his speculations. Unfortunately evidence is lacking as to whether Lawman's mother, whose soul we are asked to pray for (line 34) without knowing her name, was to any degree of Scandinavian descent, but numerous examples in Icelandic sagas attest to a common tradition of naming a son after the mother's father.¹³ The presence of a Scandinavian name in Worcestershire (though admittedly the poet only tells us where he lived, not where he was born) is less puzzling than it seemed in Tatlock's day, and a good deal less puzzling than some other fall-out from the reign of Cnut, such as the presence in a post-conquest Canterbury manuscript of an ON pagan runic charm.¹⁴ On the eve of the conquest there was some degree of Danish presence pretty well all over England and something of this presumably still survived in varying forms a hundred years later about the probable time of Lawman's birth. An inheritance of Scandinavian names need not be combined with an inheritance of oral traditions of Scandinavian origin, but the possibility is reasonable enough to merit some consideration. That Scandinavian legendary material did survive in the West Midlands is shown by the poem *Annot and John* ('Ichot a burde in a bour ase beryl so bryht') in the early fourteenth-century MS Harley 2253, whose final stanza includes references to several Norse legendary

figures: *Regnas* (line 42), a name compounded on *Ragn-* (*Rögn-*, *Regn-*), evidently someone celebrated for wisdom, *Byrne* (line 44), presumably *Björn*, an unidentified boar-slayer, and *Hilde* (line 48), clearly *Hildr* in her role as a healer.¹⁵

All this naturally leads to asking whether there is any trace in Lawman's writing of any special interest in, or knowledge of, Scandinavian matters, whether historical, legendary, literary or even linguistic. The possibility of linguistic knowledge can be ruled out fairly easily: Lawman, like other West Midland writers of the thirteenth century, uses some words of Scandinavian origin, but there is nothing in his usage to suggest that he had experienced any contact with a spoken Scandinavian language, still less that he actually spoke such a language himself. For example, *hustinge* (430, 3275, 5758, 6482) is used in what had become the normal English sense, 'an assembly for deliberative purposes, especially one summoned by a king or other leader' (*OED*), with nothing to suggest the special legal status that the *húsping* had in Scandinavia; indeed, in one case Lawman seems to equate it with the *witena-gemot*, an Anglo-Saxon assembly that may have had a rather different status (cf. *OED* s.v. *husting*): *þat hustinge wes god, hit wes witene-imot* (5759).¹⁶ Even more telling is Lawman's handling of the ME reflex of ON *drengr*: eleventh-century Danish usage is well attested in numerous runic inscriptions that record that the man commemorated was a *góðr drengr*, 'a noble warrior, a good man' (perhaps in the sense of 'a reliable comrade', though the word may have referred to a more specific social rank).¹⁷ As a loanword in Old English *dreng* seems to be applied specifically to Scandinavians, as in *The Battle of Maldon* 149. The ME *Havelok*, a text from the Danelaw with a prominent ON linguistic element, regularly has the form *dreng(es)*, but Lawman only uses the more anglicised form (see note under *OED* *dreng*) *dring* (e.g. 2271), sometimes compounded as *here-dring(es)* (14819); more frequently he varies it by blending with ME *þring* (OE *geþring*), 'troop, company of warriors' (cf. 14439), to produce the quite un-Scandinavian form *þring*, 'man, warrior' (15844), also compounded as *here-þringes* (11877, 12132, 12274).¹⁸ From evidence such as this one can reasonably conclude that Lawman's language as reflected in the Caligula MS shows no Scandinavian linguistic influence other than might be generally expected in the English of the West Midlands in the early thirteenth century. An ignorance of any Scandinavian language is also reflected in Lawman's treatment of personal names of Scandinavian origin. There are several episodes in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* in which Geoffrey of Monmouth gives the names of various Scandinavian people, and from these Tatlock deduces that

Geoffrey's knowledge was derived from hearsay as well as from written sources; many of the alleged Scandinavian names in Geoffrey, he shows, are the names of known Scandinavian churchmen, including some who were actually English.¹⁹ It is indicative of the limitations of Lawman's linguistic knowledge that he generally follows Wace in giving a garbled form of such names, so that their possible Scandinavian origin is no longer apparent. For example, Geoffrey's *Elsingius*, probably meaning '(man) from *Helsinga*' (a common Scandinavian place-name), becomes *Elfinges* in Wace and is further anglicised to *Alfinge* in Lawman 2182; and Geoffrey's *Guichtalacus*, perhaps from ON *Vígleikr*, becomes *Gudlac* in Wace, 2443 etc., and *Godlac* in Lawman, 2241 and 2253. Lawman, like Wace, does not in fact seem to have had any clear idea of what constituted a typically Scandinavian name, which need not of course preclude his knowing that his own name was of Scandinavian origin.

This slender linguistic evidence may be supplemented by two onomastic items that are slightly more informative. First, when Wace (*RB* 1522-24)²⁰ alleges that an original name *Eborac* has been corrupted by the French into *Evrewic*, Lawman sets out the facts more accurately. Beginning with the Welsh form of the name, he goes on to assert that *Eborac* was transformed by strangers who arrived there (presumably the English) into *Eoverwic*, but northern men (and this is Lawman's addition) then called it *Ȝeorc*:

Pa heo wes icleped Kaer Ebrauc, seððen wes icleped Eborac,
Seoððen comen vncuðe men, & Eoverwic heo haten;
& þa norþerne men, nis hit nawiht ȝeare,
purh ane unþewe Ȝeorc heo ihæten. (1334-37)

[Then it was called Kaer Ebrauc, and later Eborac; then
strangers came and named it Eoverwic; then, not very long
ago, northern men with their peculiar habits named it York.]

Lawman's *norþerne men* may only refer to people who live in the north of England rather than to 'north-men' in the sense of Norsemen, Scandinavians (leaving aside the question as to whether for Lawman people who live in the north of England might include people of Scandinavian descent), but Lawman interestingly says *nis hit nawiht ȝeare*, 'it was not at all long ago', making it clear that for him the name York was relatively new, with all that that implies concerning a view of English history. At any rate, Lawman was clearly aware of

the local name for York, which, as far as I know, appears in no other southern and western ME documents at this period: forms like *Everwich*, *Everwick* are not only regular in Lawman²¹ but also persist at least until the fourteenth century outside the Danelaw, and are regular in Anglo-Norman texts.²² Forms of the type *Everwic(h)* are normal over most of the country in fact, until replaced by the hitherto localised form *York* from the late fourteenth century onwards.²³ Even in the north forms closer to the Old English persist remarkably late, so that *Castleford's Chronicle* (a fourteenth-century northern text surviving in a fifteenth-century manuscript) regularly has the hybrid (Latin-English) form *Eborwik* in the text, though *Yorke* appears in three rubrics, presumably later additions, and *Yiorkschire* once in the text, while one of the northern texts in MS Cotton Galba E. ix (early s.xv, of northern origin) has *Eurwik*.²⁴ Lawman's knowledge of the local name of York is, I would say, surprising in a Worcestershire man at this time (or indeed, at any time up to the fifteenth century); its implications for his wider knowledge are obviously uncertain, but it seems to imply some contact with the Anglo-Scandinavian society that had evolved the distinctive local form of the name, virtually in defiance of national usage.

The second onomastic example is more revealing because it is more explicit. Geoffrey of Monmouth relates his version of the widespread tale of the deceptive land-purchase, the story of the town that acquired its name when Hengest measured out the land for it, as it were, on a shoe-string (the motif of the deceptive land-purchase in Geoffrey is presumably modelled on the legend of the founding of Carthage: see Virgil, *Aeneid* I. 370). In Latin, Geoffrey tells us, it was named *Castrum Corrigie*, from Latin *corrigia*, 'shoe-lace', giving the Welsh *Kaer carrei*, later translated into English as *Thanceastre* (*HRB* VI. 11). Wace explains the name *Kaer Carrei* more fully and gives a better form for the English name, *Thwangcastre* (*RB* 6917-24: cf. OE *þwang*, 'thong, shoe-lace'). Lawman, however, gives not only the British and English names, but adds some surprising information that is not in any source:

Pa þe burh wes al zare, þa scop he hire nome:
he hæhte heo ful iwis Kaer Carrai an Bruttisc,
& Ænglisc cnihtes heo cleopeden Pwongchastre;
nu and aueremare þe nome stondeð þere,
& for nan oðere gome næueden þæ burh þene nome,
a þet come Densce men, and driuen ut þa Bruttis,
þene þridde nome heo þer sætte, & Lanecastel hine hæhten,

& for swulche gomen þæ tun haf[d]e þas þreo nomen. (7102-09)

[When the town was complete, he devised a name for it: he called it in fact Kaer Carrai in British, and English knights called it Thwongchastre; now and evermore the name remains there, and the town had that name for no other reason than this trick, until Danish men came and drove out the Britons and gave it its third name, calling it Lanecastel; because of these tricks [*or these people*] the town had these three names.]

The town concerned is presumably Caistor in Lincolnshire and recorded medieval references to this place show two distinct forms, *Caster* and *Thwangcastre* (with obvious spelling variants).²⁵ Nothing like Lawman's form *Lanecastel*, which is presumably the same name as appears in other parts of England as Lancaster or Lanchester, is recorded for this place.²⁶ However, five manuscripts of Wace insert into his account a couplet not included in Arnold's edited text.²⁷

Premierement ot nun Thwancastre
Or l'apelent plusur Lancastre

[At first its name was Thwancastre, but now many people call it Lancastre.]

Assuming (with Arnold) that these lines do not go back to Wace, some French copyist must have confused the unfamiliar name *Thwancastre* with the more familiar *Lancastre* and introduced this erroneous identification, and Lawman may have worked from a Wace-manuscript with this insertion. What is remarkable however is that Lawman should have analysed *Lancastre* as a third name specifically of Danish origin. A Danish form of *Thwangceaster* might be expected to use the cognate ON *þvengr*, 'thong' (giving ME **Pwengcaster*), but this is nowhere attested; a possible justification for Lawman's statement is that his *Lanecastel* may represent an authentic name compounded on the roughly synonymous ON *lengja*, 'long piece, strip' (giving ME **Lengecaster*), but again there is no evidence that any such name existed for this place. It is not important for my purpose, however, whether Lawman's form of the name is authentic or even plausible, or whether it derives from the error of a French copyist unfamiliar

with English place-names; what matters is that he chose to explain it as he does, because his explanation shows that he was aware of the process whereby some English places were renamed by Danish immigrants. Indeed, the probable explanation for the two forms of the Lincolnshire name current in medieval documents is that one derives from an original OE **Pwangceaster* (not recorded in the Anglo-Saxon period, but the OE specific is paralleled by *Thong*, Kent, and the regular initial palatalisation of the generic is attested by Caligula *-chastre* and Otho *-chestre*), while *Caster* is a form adapted morphologically and phonetically by Danish settlers, so Lawman was quite right in saying that the place has a Danish name as well as an English name. That Lawman knew in principle of the Danish influence on English place-names seems to me remarkable and I would say that it argues some acquaintance with the history and geography of the Danelaw. Lawman is of course wrong if he claims (as in the Caligula MS) that the Danes drove out *þa Bruttes*, the British inhabitants, but here the Otho MS states that the Danes drove out the *cnihtes* (i.e. the English knights, *Ænglisc cnihtes*, referred to in 7104), and in this detail Otho may better represent what the poet originally wrote. Some knowledge of the East Midlands is incidentally borne out by Lawman's reference (not in Geoffrey or Wace) to Arthur's returning from his Scandinavian travels and landing at Grimsby (11323), showing that Lawman's knowledge of English geography was broader than has been suggested.²⁸ Whether Lawman came by such knowledge by hearsay or through intelligent observation on the travels that he claims to have made (14-15) must presumably remain uncertain, but his knowledge that there was a Danish settlement in England, and that this had some influence on English place-names, casts an unexpected light on the poet, particularly in view of the fact that neither Geoffrey nor Wace makes reference to either of these subjects. Numerous English chroniclers before Lawman refer to Danes settling in England in the Anglo-Saxon period, but I believe that Lawman is the first writer to note that such settlement could lead to a change in a place-name.

The linguistic and onomastic evidence given here is limited in its implications, but a somewhat fuller picture emerges when we look at references in Lawman's poem to the Scandinavian countries and peoples.

The term Scandinavia, referring to Norway, Sweden and Denmark, is modern in that sense and does not of course appear in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace or Lawman, but something like the later concept of Scandinavia can be deduced from references in Geoffrey that are broadly followed by Wace and Lawman. Geoffrey refers several times to a nucleus of Norway and Denmark

(*HRB* iii.1-4, 11-12; vi.1-3, 7; viii.3; x.6-7), and in two passages he adds to this a periphery consisting of Iceland, Gotland and Orkney (*HRB* ix. 10 and 12), while he twice refers to 'the six islands' of Ireland, Iceland, Gotland, Orkney, Norway and Denmark (ix.19 and xi.7). In the twelfth century Orkney was still part of the Norwegian kingdom so it naturally counts as a Scandinavian province; Ireland is connected with the Scandinavian world because the Norse colony in the south-east still retained some separate identity in the twelfth century (specifically Norwegian, according to Giraldus Cambrensis), and furthermore there were Norse settlers who came to England by way of Ireland rather than directly from Scandinavia, and whose presence in England is commemorated in names such as Irby, Ireby, Irton and Ireton.²⁹ Sweden is not named by Geoffrey, but is represented in so far as Gotland may refer to part of Sweden, either the mainland province of Götland or (more plausibly) the Baltic island of Gotland (Tatlock p. 107). This geographical system is followed by Wace (9704-10, 10304-10 and 11133-40) and, with some rearrangement, by Lawman (11211-281, 11529-665 and 12166-70). Lawman's *Gutlonde* need not refer however to the same place as Geoffrey's Gotland; it more probably refers to Jutland, as this is clearly the sense of *Gutlande* in a contemporary AN text that paraphrases Bede's Angles, Saxons and Jutes (*HE* I. 15) as

Ceus de Suessune e les Engleis
E de Gutlande les Guteis.³⁰

[People of the Saxons and the English and the Jutes from
Jutland.]

In general it may be said that references to Scandinavia in Geoffrey of Monmouth are usually somewhat amplified by Wace, and Wace's references are usually expanded by Lawman. Obviously there are many parts of Lawman's narrative that show this kind of expansion and it is not in any way limited to the Scandinavian episodes,³¹ but one can say that a source-reference to Scandinavia is a factor that triggers expansion in Lawman's narrative. It is in fact as if Lawman were familiar with tales about Scandinavians, especially, but by no means only, as invaders of England, and he occasionally develops his source material to make it conform to aspects of such tales. An examination of the passages concerned shows what sort of associations the Scandinavian world had for Lawman.

The first Scandinavian episode (*HRB* III. 1-7, Wace 2390-2514), referring

to Norway, shows no substantial additions in Lawman's version (2181-2390). The second however (*HRB* V. 16, Wace 6079-6436) shows some interesting changes. This is in the curious transformation of the Ursula-legend, in which the arch-villains are named by Geoffrey as *Wanis*, king of the Huns, and *Melga*, king of the Picts; Wace (6079-81) gives these men a more clearly eastern origin, making *Wanis* king of *Hungrie* and *Melga* king of *Scice*, i.e. Scythia, the supposed homeland of the Picts in Geoffrey (*HRB* IV.17, from Bede, *HE* I. 1; cf. Wace 5165). Lawman however changes these eastern kings into earls from Norway: *þa weoren ut of Norweizen tweien eorles iuaren* (5993) – it is almost as if he were aware of the Scandinavian associations of the title 'earl' – and he adds that they had been declared outlaws in Denmark and Norway (5995). Later the two pagan leaders are said to travel to the places mentioned by Wace, *Wanis* to *Hungrie* and *Melga* to *Scise* (5999-6000). From this one might deduce that the nautical savagery ascribed to these two leaders by Geoffrey and Wace seemed to Lawman to be appropriate to men from Norway, a place not referred to in either source. Their conduct presumably reminded Lawman of accounts of viking atrocities, which he may have known about from written sources or merely by hearsay. Lawman may thus have been motivated by a sense that Norway was a natural country for brutes like *Wanis* and *Melga* to come from; to make them Norwegian was to make them preordained to piracy and murder, and to make them outlaws was simply to expand on this natural tendency. If that is so, this anti-Norwegian attitude is modified in the subsequent more favourable representation of the Norwegians when they become part of the Arthurian empire and assist in Arthur's conquests (11528-668, 12138-70), though one might see Arthur's influence at work here: Norwegian ferocity becomes more acceptable when serving a good cause, or at least when it is directed against enemies rather than friends. Alternatively, the status of *Wanis* and *Melga* as outlaws may characterise them as criminals condemned by their own people, and thus as being exceptional rather than typical.

Much here depends on how one interprets the Scandinavian loanword 'outlaws', for it could be argued that Lawman shapes his narrative so as to avoid a general condemnation of all Norwegians; *Wanis*, *Melga* and their men are outlaws: *heo weren iqueden vtlazen* (5995), 'they had been proclaimed outlaws' (rather than simply 'they were said to be outlaws'): that is to say, they had been repudiated by their own society and the legal ring of the phrase implies a clear condemnation.³² A comparison may again be made with the AN *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei*, in which the killers of St Edmund are described not as Danes (as

in ASC and Ælfric's *Life of St Edmund* for example), but as members of a piratical outlaw-community living in a secluded corner of the Danish coast and hated by their kinsmen the Jutes: *Kar uthlages furent en mer*, 'for they lived on the sea as outlaws (pirates)'.³³ As I have suggested elsewhere, the Anglo-Norman author in this way identifies the killers as coming from Denmark, but avoids the general condemnation of Danes that Ælfric and other Anglo-Saxon writers had been happy to make two hundred years earlier. This might be seen as reflecting a pro-Danish sympathy among post-conquest descendants of Danish settlers in the Danelaw, an attitude exemplified in several texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries whose authors dissociate the perpetrators of atrocities, above all the notorious Yngvar and Ubbe, from the Danish population at large.³⁴ It could therefore be argued that the potential anti-Scandinavianism implicit in Lawman's making Wanis and Melga Norwegians is modified by making them outlaws, outcasts from their own community, and when they muster a large army, it is by assembling outlawed criminals from all over Scandinavia:

heo hafden of Gutlonde utlazen stronge
of Neorewæi & of Denemarke, men swiðe starke. (6165-66)

[They had strong outlaws from Jutland, from Norway and
from Denmark, very powerful men.]

The term outlaw has, however, some ambiguity in Lawman; as used in relation to Wanis and Melga it indicates criminality, reinforced by the quasi-legal terminology of the phrase *iqueden vtlaZen*. With one or two exceptions, however, Lawman uses the term 'outlaw' only of seafarers, as appears early in the poem, *In þære sæ heo funden vtlawen* (644; nautical outlaws are also implied in 563); the word thus seems to have the sense (attested in French and Anglo-Norman) of 'pirate',³⁵ and (with the same exceptions) he restricts it to men from the northern world (Scandinavia and associated lands), so that it means in effect 'Scandinavian pirate' or 'viking'. One apparent exception is when the Roman *keiser* refers to the invading Britons as *utlazen* (13662, translating Wace 12506, *robeur u laruncel*), but the point here is presumably that the Romans see the Britons as foreign invaders coming from across the sea, so the word 'outlaws' here has the same associations as elsewhere, namely pirates coming from the north. As already noted, the evil Melga and Wanis, whose conduct is implicitly compared to that of the Scandinavian invaders described in Anglo-Saxon records, had been declared

outlaws (5995), have fifteen ships full of outlaws (6025) and assemble more outlaws from Jutland, Norway and Denmark (6165-66), and in this story outlaws are clearly marked by their behaviour as criminals; but later in the poem the term outlaw has less hostile associations when it is applied to the men of Orkney who serve king Arthur. There is a partial source for this in Wace, who refers to the king of Orkney as having outlaws among his followers (using the Scandinavian loanword in its French form):

E Gonvais, li reis d'Orchenie,
Ki maint utlage out en baillie. (10309-10)

[And Gonvais, king of Orkney, who had many outlaws under his control.]

In Lawman this becomes *and Gonwæis of Orcaneie king, utlazen deorling* (12170), a variant of the phrase used earlier, *per wes Gonwais þe king, Orkaneies deorling* (11891; also applied in 11893 to the Danish king and in 12166 to the Irish king); phrases elsewhere in Lawman including the word *deorling* clearly imply an element of praise, so collocation with *utlaze* may show a more approving authorial attitude to outlaws.³⁶ In England the romanticisation of the outlaw as hero had already appeared before Lawman's time in Gaimar's account of Hereward, where *utlage* is collocated with *gentilz*.³⁷

Des utlages mult i aveit,
Un gentilz hom lur sire esteit
Qui Hereward aveit a nun (5461-63; cf. 5458 and 5528).

[There were many outlaws, a noble man named Hereward was their leader.]

Gaimar's Hereward, like the later English heroes of the greenwood, is however a land-based figure fighting against tyrannous rulers, and Lawman's nautical outlaws seem independent of this tradition; nor do they have any obvious resemblance to the outlaw-heroes of Icelandic literature, who are typically the victims of unjust legal condemnation. In one case, however, Lawman applies the term outlaw without any nautical overtones: *Osric Edwines sune dude utlazen wune* (15609), 'Edwin's son Osric lived as an outlaw', where the word seems to

mean simply 'refugee', and points to something more like the outlaw-hero of both English and Icelandic tradition.³⁸ In general, however, Lawman's references to outlaws, in spite of their tendency to be applied to Scandinavians, are apparently independent of both the English and the Icelandic outlaw-traditions, while having in most cases clear associations with Lawman's Scandinavian world (Norway, Denmark and Orkney).

The next Scandinavian reference comes in a passage where Wace refers to Danes and Norwegians (6555-58), who are alleged to be planning an attack on Britain; here Lawman expands the list to include the people of Norway, Denmark, Russia, *Gutlonde* and Frisia (6648-52). This is obviously a broader view of the whole complex of peoples east of the North Sea; the inclusion of Frisians is presumably due to their reputation as seafaring people, but the reference to Russia is surprising: it is apparently envisaged as being close enough to participate in a Scandinavian invasion of Britain and thus as being in some way a part of the Scandinavian world. Reference to Russia in connection with Scandinavia appears elsewhere in Lawman and it has surprising implications

The next relevant episode marks the beginning of the expansion of Arthur's empire. Before undertaking his southward move against the Roman empire, Arthur secures his northern and eastern flanks. This Scandinavian campaign has a rapid continuity in Geoffrey (*HRB* IX. 10-12), but Wace, followed by Lawman, expands the narrative and divides it into two (Wace 9703-30, 9805-94; Lawman 11208-323, 11545-654) by inserting a long passage bringing Arthur back to Britain (Wace 9731-804, Lawman 11324-544). Wace considerably expands Geoffrey's narrative here, and Lawman further expands Wace's version. Wace introduces his account with a few names, Gonvais of Orchenie, Doldani of Gotland (both named in Geoffrey) and Rummaret of Wenelande (Wace's addition), and Lawman augments the list by inserting an invention of his own, Ælcus, king of Iceland, and his son Esscol (11208-233). The former name is of unknown origin (perhaps a Latinised version of an OE name compounded on *Ealh-*), but the latter is presumably a form of Danish *Eskil* (OI *Ásketil*), a name that Geoffrey, Wace and Lawman all use elsewhere in varying forms; it is presumably a coincidence that the names *Eskilli atque Alkilli* are paired in Saxo, *Gesta Danorum*, VIII. xi. 1 (the second name may represent Danish *Alfkil*). Lawman's mention of Iceland among Scandinavian countries at this point is of no great significance in itself for there are references to Iceland elsewhere in both Geoffrey (*HRB* IX. 10 and 19) and Wace (9704, 11133), while his invention of a king of Iceland shows that he had no knowledge of Icelandic history and society;

what is striking here is the detail that Lawman adds about the king's family, when Ælcus explains that his wife, Esscol's mother, is a daughter of the king of Russia:

His moder ich habbe to wife, þas kinges dohter of Rusie.
(11227)

Russia is never named anywhere by Geoffrey or Wace, so Lawman's reference to it as a place that has connections with Scandinavia is an individual contribution of his own. A third reference to Russia in connection with Scandinavia occurs in 11258-315. Here Arthur's tour of the Scandinavian world, following Geoffrey and Wace, takes in *Gutlande* (Geoffrey IX. 10 and Wace 9709), and however we interpret this name it clearly refers to some part of Scandinavia. When Arthur arrives there, *Doldanim*, the king of *Gutlonde* (Geoffrey *Doldavius*, Wace *Doldani*), presents his sons and tells Arthur about his family in a passage unparalleled in either source:

Her ich bringe tweiene, mine sunen beiene:
heore moder is kinges istreon, quene heo is min azene;
Ich tache þe mine leofen sunen, miseolf ich wulle þi mon
bicumen:
ich heo biȝat mid ræflac ut of Rusie. (11275-78)

[Here I bring these two, both my sons: their mother is of royal birth, she is my own queen; I give you my dear sons: I acquired her from Russia by robbery.]

Lawman thus gives us three references to Russia (6650, 11227 and 11278), all with no identified source, and each time in connection with Scandinavia; in the first Russia is listed among countries east of the North Sea, implying some proximity to Scandinavia, and in the other two Russia is a place from which Scandinavian rulers acquire their wives. Early medieval Scandinavian connections with Russia and the Slavonic world in general are a historical fact that is well known to us today, but it is strikingly absent from the historical sources that we ordinarily think of as available to Lawman: references to Russia are in fact non-existent in English chronicles of the twelfth century (such as Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntingdon, William of Newburgh and of course Wace and Gaimar). The name

Russia seems to begin to appear in English chronicles only after 1240 as a result of the Tartar expansion into Eastern Europe, for example, in the continuation of Gervase of Canterbury (s.a. 1240). Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, has several references to Tartar attacks on *Russcia* from 1241 onwards, and he mentions under 1250 Danish conquests south of the Baltic that included part of Russia.³⁹ Matthew Paris's reference under 1250 is the earliest I have found by an English author (apart from Lawman) to name Russia in connection with Scandinavia. There is only one English writer I know of before Lawman who names Russia at all and that is Hue de Rotelande, the author of two long Anglo-Norman verse-romances, *Ipomedon* and *Protheselaus*, both written before c.1190. Hue lived near Hereford and wrote as if personally acquainted with Walter Map, so in both time and place he was not far removed from Lawman, though he may have moved in a different intellectual milieu. Each of Hue's poems names Russia, but only as a vaguely remote place, not in any way connected with Scandinavia.⁴⁰ One other AN romance, *Waldef*, likewise mentions Russia in a list of countries ranging from Normandy to Sicily but not including any reference to Scandinavia; *Waldef*, though it ranges widely, is firmly centred in East Anglia and may include some material of Anglo-Scandinavian origin, but it is not likely to antedate Lawman.⁴¹ Scandinavian sources are of course another matter, and Scandinavian-Slavonic marriage connections, obviously frequent in history, are often mentioned in texts such as *Heimskringla* and Saxo Grammaticus;⁴² Lawman need not have known of any particular one of these in order to have had a general impression of frequent Scandinavian connections with north-eastern Europe, including marriage-connections, but his source would presumably have to have been oral and his specific reference to Russia in connection with Scandinavia is striking. The name Russia is, as mentioned, rare in English sources in any language before the mid-thirteenth century, and it is of course a name that developed relatively late. It is not a Classical name like Dacia (regularly applied in the Middle Ages and later to Denmark) and Scythia (applied loosely to vague eastern regions); nor was it a name like Wendland that had long been familiar in the west (Lawman 11301, *Winetlonde*, clearly representing the OE *Weonodland*, *Winodlande* named in the OE *Orosius*; whether Wace's *Wenelande*, *Genelande*, 9710, refers to Wendland is open to question, but Lawman evidently took it to do so). Whatever its origin, Russia is a name that arose after the Scandinavian colonisation of the east and does not appear in western texts until about 1200 or later; it is of course mentioned several times by Saxo in the early thirteenth century. The most likely explanation for Lawman's use of the name is that he had access to mention of

Russia in an Anglo-Scandinavian oral tradition of Scandinavian history, though there is some uncertainty whether the name *Russia* had replaced the ON names *Garðar* or *Garðaríki* among Danish speakers by the reign of Cnut: if not, Lawman's knowledge might derive from later contacts between England and Scandinavia. Lawman is presumably the first person writing in English to name Russia, though not the first Englishman to name it, since Hue de Rotelande preceded him, but he is the first to mention a Russian connection with Scandinavia, unless he wrote, rather implausibly I would say, after about 1250; by connecting Russia with Scandinavia Lawman shows more authentic historical knowledge than those authors like Hue de Rotelande who simply name it as a vaguely remote place.

Mention should perhaps be made of what must be a curious coincidence: Saxo Grammaticus generally refers to Russia as *Ruscia* and to its inhabitants as *Ruteni*, a name obviously connected with the later *Ruthenia* (now part of Ukraine); Matthew Paris also refers to Tartar attacks on the *Ruthenos* (s.a.1241: *ed.cit.* IV.113). The name *Ruteni*, though it never appears in Wace or Lawman, is several times applied by Geoffrey of Monmouth to the inhabitants of a coastal region bordering on north-eastern Gaul (*HRB* iv.1; ix. 12, 19; x. 6, 10, 12); here it is an unrelated name of Classical origin and the sources of Geoffrey's usage are traced by Tatlock (pp. 94-5). Geoffrey names the leader of the *Ruteni* as Holdin, who in Wace becomes Holdin, count of Flanders (10163, 10313, 12375, 12742, 13007-08), and in Lawman Howeldin of *Bulune* (Otho *Boloyne*, 'Boulogne', 12065-66) and of *Flandres þe eorl Howeldin* (12173): Flanders is obviously the general region referred to by Geoffrey, so Wace and Lawman give us a modernising translation of Geoffrey's *Ruteni*. There is no connection between the Classical *Ruteni* of Geoffrey and the Slavonic *Ruteni* of Saxo and Matthew Paris, and the coincidence of names can have no bearing on Lawman's references to Russia.

If Lawman's references to Russia as a thematic adjunct of Scandinavia are striking, his reference, *à propos* of Doldanim of Gutlonde (11278), to wife-stealing as an apparently acceptable route to marriage, and particularly to the abduction of the daughter of a king as a means to a socially advantageous marriage, is even more surprising. We are not concerned here with savage attacks on women as referred to in the Ursula story, which are obviously condemned, nor with any historical incidence of rape or abduction, such as is condemned in early English laws; what seems to underlie Lawman's apparently casual reference, 'I got her from Russia by robbery', is an assumption that among Scandinavians, at least

in legend and fiction, abduction by force (*reafþlac*, 'robbery') is a legitimate, even respectable, way of acquiring a wife, to whom one is subsequently bound by the same ties of loyalty and fidelity as apply in any other marriage. Doldanim seems quite proud of his wife, as if wife-acquisition by robbery were something of a status symbol: 'I managed to steal her from the king of Russia' is no mean boast, particularly if, like the king of Russia mentioned in 6650, the woman's father has at his command *ræhzest alre cnihten*, 'the fiercest of all knights'. At any rate, the Otho scribe omits line 11278, as if it did not fit in with his view of things, and even in Caligula it looks misplaced (syntactically it ought to follow line 11276, and the text is so emended in the translations of Barron and Weinberg and of Allen). I know of nothing in any Anglo-Saxon tradition, whether history, legend or fiction, that illustrates the assumption that abduction is a praiseworthy route to marriage. No doubt there were occasional incidents of abduction in actual history at various times, as is implied by the Anglo-Saxon legislation against abduction and rape,⁴³ but abduction in real life is clearly regarded as an offence and there is nothing in English social history or legend at all resembling Doldanim's complacent pride in his achievement. Tales about the abduction of a nun arise, of course, from quite different social circumstances and are not relevant here; when Æðelwald of Wessex, the king's cousin, was frustrated in his attempt to abduct a nun (ASC A.901), he went over to the Danes (ASC A.904-05), but that was in order to seek support for a rebellion, not to take lessons in successful wife-stealing, and he was killed. Any story or attitude that may once have been connected with the name of Hroðgar's queen, *Wealhþeow*, 'foreign slave', remains unexplained by the *Beowulf* poet, and whatever conjectures we may choose to make are hardly admissible as evidence. It is possible that the Anglo-Saxons knew a version of the legend of Heðin and Hild that is preserved in later Icelandic and German writings, but the references to *Henden* (*Widsith* 21: emend to *Heoden*?) and the *Heodeningas* (*Deor* 36) offer no suggestion that for the Anglo-Saxons this story involved an abduction, and an eleventh-century Anglo-Latin version of the Hild-legend specifically omits the abduction-motif.⁴⁴ Some kind of abduction legend evidently underlies Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of Locrinus and Estrildis (*HRB* II. 2-5, Wace 1315-1440, Lawman 1105-24), but the story contrasts the unstable union based on abduction with the ideally stable relationship of marriage; the episode clearly does not constitute any sort of model for Lawman's introduction of the abduction motif with reference to a Scandinavian king. If however there are no obvious abduction-tales in earlier English sources, they are abundant in Scandinavian legend, especially as

represented in Icelandic sources.

The fundamental abduction-legend, arguably the model for some subsequent literary manifestations of the theme, is the Hild-story, which evidently originated in the south Baltic area and spread north to Scandinavia and south to Germany, being well attested in both literatures. This story is referred to in a number of Scandinavian versions, some of which concentrate on the endless battle (the *Hjaðningavíg*) that subsequently came to be associated with the conflict; not all versions mention the abduction of Hildr that is the cause of the conflict, but this is given prominent reference in two important sources, the skaldic poem *Háttalykill* and Snorri's *Skáldskaparmál*, as well as in the later *Sörla þátttr*.⁴⁵ The earliest ON version, the *Ragnarsdrápa*, does not mention the abduction, nor does the Anglo-Latin version printed by Malone, but the prominence of the abduction motif in the MHG *Kudrun*, as well as in several ON versions, shows that it was part of the original legend. The beginning of the story is given succinctly by Snorri Sturluson:

Konungr sá, er Högni er nefndr, átti dóttur, er Hildr hét; hana tók at herfangi konungr sá, er Heðinn hét Hjarrandason.

[The king named Högni had a daughter called Hildr; another king whose name was Heðinn, son of Hjarrandi, carried her off as war-booty (i.e. on a raid).]

Perhaps influenced by this legend, the abduction theme appears frequently in Icelandic writing. The abduction usually involves a woman of superior social status, the daughter of a king or a rich man, and although her father may often object, the daughter seldom seems to. The motif appears in Snorri's *Heimskringla*, *Hálfðanar saga svarta*,⁴⁶ where Hálfðan the Black acquires a wife by seizing Ragnhildr, the daughter of a minor Norwegian king (she actually suffers a double abduction); as Hálfðan's wife she became the mother of Haraldr hárfagri, who united Norway and founded the Norwegian royal dynasty, so abduction is here part of a legend of dynastic origins. Lower down the social scale, in *Færeyinga saga* the mysterious Norwegian recluse Úlfr had been outlawed after abducting Ragnhildr, the daughter of a royal official.⁴⁷ In both these cases one notes that the woman abducted has a name compounded on *-hildr*, perhaps showing some influence from the Hild-legend.⁴⁸ In Snorri's version of the Hild-legend Heðinn and Hildr seek refuge on the Orkney island of Hoy, and the motif of an island

refuge, present in so many versions of the Hild-story, appears in an abduction-tale related in *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, chapt.32, where the young man Björn carries off the daughter of a local Norwegian chieftain and they flee to the Shetland island of Mousa; their daughter subsequently marries Egil's brother and their descendants were prominent in Iceland, so that here too abduction is an important part of family-origins.⁴⁹ Wife-stealing as a prelude to begetting a hero and founding a dynasty appears in a striking transformation of Danish history in the Icelandic *Knýtlinga saga*, ch. 78, where the Danish king Erik the Good (d. 1103) is said, quite falsely, to have acquired his wife Bóthild by carrying her off as spoils of war: *Eiríkr konungr hafði tekit at herfangi frú Bóthildi* (using the same phrase, *taka at herfangi*, 'to carry off as booty', as Snorri had used in his version of the original Hildr-story): their son was the saintly Knut Lavard, progenitor of a line of great Danish kings, the Valdemars, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The actual historical status of Erik and his wife is reflected in England by the appearance of their names in the Durham *Liber Vitae* (London, BL MS Cotton Domitian A.vii, f. 51v) in a place of honour at the head of a page, *Eiric rex danorum, Botild regina*.⁵⁰ It is remarkable that, when the author of *Knýtlinga saga* wishes to romanticise a normal royal married relationship, he transforms it (perhaps encouraged by the fact that the queen had a name compounded on *-hild*) into an abduction, a striking testimony to the prominence of this theme in Scandinavian fiction.⁵¹ The occurrence of the theme of abduction in Saxo Grammaticus shows that it was not a purely Icelandic literary fashion but a more general Scandinavian motif that Lawman had received in some form.⁵² To the material on abduction and dynastic origins may be added the story told by William of Jumièges (*Gesta* ii. 6) about Rollo, the progenitor of the dukes of Normandy. Rollo sacked and destroyed the town of Bayeux, *in qua quamdam nobilissimam puellam nomine Popam, filiam scilicet Berengerii illustris uiri, capiens non multo post more Danico sibi copulauit* ['where he seized a certain noble girl named Popa, the daughter of a prominent man Berengar, and soon afterwards he bound her to himself in the Danish manner' (my translation)]; from them subsequent dukes of Normandy were descended.⁵³

The abduction tale seems in general to be foreign to the English tradition, but there is one narrative, apparently developed in the Anglo-Scandinavian world, that seems to bear some trace of the convention. The tale has a core of historicity, and Scandinavian sources that deal with the events concerned surprisingly do not present them as a tale of abduction (perhaps because no dynastic origins were

involved), but there are elements of the legendary pattern in the version narrated by an English historian. According to Snorri Sturluson's *Óláfs saga helga*, ch. 122, king Óláfr had an illegitimate son by Alfhildr, a handmaid of good family, and the boy was baptised Magnús; after Ólaf's death Magnús eventually became king of Norway, and the ensuing rivalry between Alfhildr, the young king's mother, and Ástriðr, Ólaf's widow, is narrated by Snorri in *Magnús saga góða* (ch. 7 and 9); nothing in Snorri's narrative suggests any sort of abduction tale, and there is no implication that Alfhildr was anything other than a Norwegian. Concerning the same characters, however, William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum* (V. 259) tells a tale that, while broadly agreeing with Snorri's version, adds numerous details, some of which appear historical, while others conform more closely to the legendary abduction pattern.⁵⁴ According to William, Elfhildis was an English girl who was seized during the late tenth-century Scandinavian invasions and allocated as spoils of war (*in partem prædæ*) to a Norwegian leader who died soon after; then the Norwegian king, whom William does not name, took her to Norway and made her his mistress, concealing the relationship from his wife. Elfhildis bore a son named Magnus, who was brought up by a bishop and became king after his father's death, but who died after a reign of no more than a year and a half (William evidently did not know of Magnus's twelve-year reign). Elfhildis then returned to England and eventually, after undergoing a miraculous cure at the shrine of St Aldhelm at Malmesbury, she became an anchoress, living beside the monastic church there, and when she died (presumably about the middle of the eleventh century) she was buried at Malmesbury. William's role as the Malmesbury chronicler probably guarantees the historicity of the latter part of his story of Elfhildis, but his account of her earlier life looks as if it might have been coloured by Scandinavian abduction tales: the double abduction is reminiscent of Snorri's tale of Hálfðan svarti and Ragnhildr, and William's phrase *in partem prædæ* closely resembles Snorri's phrase *at herfangi* in his summary of the Hild legend. *Elfhildis* is a Latinisation of either OE *Ælfhild* or ON *Alfhildr*; recorded examples of the OE name are all late enough to be borrowings from ON, so Elfhildis may have been from an Anglo-Scandinavian family. It is tempting to conjecture that William had heard an account of Alfhild's early life that had been developed in the Anglo-Scandinavian community and had been shaped by the fact that the woman concerned had a name compounded on *-hild*. This may seem a far cry from Lawman's brief reference to wife-acquisition by abduction, but it illustrates how the abduction-motif might have circulated among people of Scandinavian descent in England

and so been transmitted to Lawman.

One final episode in Lawman's poem may be mentioned for its Scandinavian connection, though it does not involve any explicit reference to Scandinavia and its exact significance is uncertain. When the pagan inhabitants of Dorchester show their scorn for St Augustine by hanging rays' tails on his cloak (Wace, *RB* 13719-26, not in Geoffrey of Monmouth), Lawman embroiders the action by stating that they throw at him not only stones (as noted by le Saux, p. 162), but also, perhaps surprisingly, bones:

and nomen tailles of reh3en
and hangede on his cape an elchere halue,
and bihalues urnen, and wurpen hine mid banen,
and seoððe 3eiden him on mid 3eomerliche stanen. (14751-54)

[They took rays' tails and hung them on either side of his cape, and they ran beside him pelting him with bones, and then they shouted abuse, shamefully throwing stones.]

There is a possible literary source for the practice of throwing bones as a sign of contempt in the OE chronicle account of the martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah: & hine þa þær oftorfodon mid banum & mid hryðera heafdum (*ASC*, MS E, s.a. 1012: 'and then they pelted him there with bones and cattle-heads'); the bone-throwers were of course members one of the Scandinavian armies assisting Cnut in his conquest of England. This detail of bone-throwing is retained by Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham, but it is not mentioned in accounts of the archbishop's death by other chroniclers (William of Malmesbury or Henry of Huntingdon or Gaimar); nor does it appear in lives of St Ælfheah, either the *Vita Ælfegi* by Osbern of Canterbury or the rather later *South English Legendary*.⁵⁵ Lawman may have come across bone-throwing with reference to Ælfheah in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, though knowledge of this work is nowhere obvious in Lawman's poem.⁵⁶ If Lawman had not come across bone-throwing as a Danish gesture of contempt in one of the chronicles that mention it, he may have been aware of an oral tradition concerning this peculiarly Scandinavian (perhaps specifically Danish) custom. In the legendary tales of ancient Danish heroes preserved in the Icelandic *Hrólfs saga Kraka* there is the well-known account of how the hero Böðvar Bjarki came to the help of a man who had been so pelted

with bones that he had built himself a shield-wall of bones to hide behind.⁵⁷ The historicity of the custom is proved not only by the account of the death of Ælfheah but even more forcefully by the Danish *Lex Castrensis* ('Law of Retainers'), written in the twelfth century by Sven Aggesen but claiming to record customs that were already ancient when established by Cnut in England; it is stipulated there that a persistent offender against court-custom should be 'pelted with bones at any man's pleasure'.⁵⁸ Here the bone-throwing is not merely a form of unruly behaviour, but a social sanction allowed by law, so that we see it from the viewpoint of the thrower rather than the target. If Lawman knew of bone-throwing as a Danish custom, the question remains as to why he should have ascribed it to pagan Saxons expressing their contempt for a Christian missionary. This perhaps supports a source in some account of the martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah, and Lawman may have regarded bone-throwing, or even wished to represent it, less as a specifically Danish gesture of social disapproval than as a general pagan gesture of contempt for Christian clergy. A further consideration is that Lawman may have felt (with some justification) that the symbolism of rays' tails was a little recondite and not sufficiently clear in its implications, and might profitably be helped out with some more obvious gesture of contempt, but it is interesting that he should have turned for this to such a characteristically Scandinavian custom, even though he does not mention that that is what it was.

Lawman's knowledge of Scandinavian people and traditions is thus not at all systematic or extensive: he shows no knowledge of any form of Scandinavian language and no understanding of Scandinavian names; on the other hand he did know that some places in England had been renamed by Danish settlers, which is a rather remarkable piece of knowledge that can hardly have come from any written source. Not surprisingly in view of Anglo-Saxon denunciations of viking atrocities, Lawman associated Norway and Denmark with brutal attacks on Christian communities, but his use of the word outlaw in this connection is ambiguous in that it is mainly, but not entirely, condemnatory: written sources could account for a knowledge of Scandinavian atrocities, but the element of moral ambivalence towards outlaws suggests the influence of an oral tradition concerning outlaw-heroes, though Lawman's Scandinavian nautical outlaws do not quite accord with either the English or the Icelandic literary tradition. Source references to Scandinavian countries (Norway, Denmark, Iceland and *Gutlonde*) trigger some striking innovations: Lawman refers to Russia as, in some sense, an adjunct of Scandinavia; his use of the name Russia is most unusual for an English writer and he particularly associates Russia with Scandinavian royal marriages,

which surely argues some knowledge of Scandinavian affairs, presumably from oral tradition as there was so little in writing before the second half of the thirteenth century. His inconspicuous reference to wife-acquisition by abduction is meagre evidence, but it suggests some knowledge of a basic motif of Scandinavian legend that has no counterpart in English legend. Finally, when Lawman wants to represent pagan misbehaviour, he gives it a distinctively Scandinavian flavour by introducing a reference to bone-throwing, though for this he could have had a literary source. The striking thing about these factors is that in thirteenth-century England they all seem to be unique to Lawman: when his source refers to Scandinavia, it has the effect of opening up some store of memories of matters that must mostly derive from Anglo-Scandinavian oral tradition, a body of ideas and assumptions that first circulated among English people of Scandinavian descent; of course subsequent circulation could have been much wider, perhaps even to a point where the possession of a Scandinavian name might be an irrelevance, though it seems reasonable to assume that an oral tradition of Scandinavian material may have been stronger in a family that perpetuated a tradition of Scandinavian name-giving. Even the implicit denunciation of viking atrocities is not inconsistent with Anglo-Scandinavian attitudes: indeed, there is evidence that settlers of Scandinavian descent often took pains to dissociate themselves from the atrocities of their pagan ancestors. As I have mentioned elsewhere, the cult of St Edmund seems to have been fostered by the Danish rulers of East Anglia, and Cnut, the Danish king of England, was celebrated in particular for his patronage of the monastery of St Edmund, who was killed by Ívarr, reputedly Cnut's ancestor, and for his personal involvement in the translation of the relics of St Ælfheah, who had been killed by men assisting Cnut in his conquest of England.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the first *vita* of that saint was written by Osbern of Canterbury, whose name (from ON Ásbjörn) also suggests Scandinavian ancestry (his fellow Canterbury monk, Eadmer, shortly afterwards wrote a *vita* of another Archbishop of Canterbury, St Odo, pointing out that Odo's ancestors were Danes who came over with that same Ingvar who murdered St Edmund). How much of this distinctive Anglo-Danish tradition might have been available to Lawman is uncertain, but I have tried to argue that fragments of it surface in his writing even though his subject-matter offers relatively little scope for insertions on English history. One wonders what kind of a poem Lawman might have written if he had been given a copy of Gaimar instead of Wace.

NOTES

An earlier version of this paper was read at the International Congress on *Lazamon's Brut* at the University of New Brunswick, Saint John, N.B., Canada, in July 1997, and at a meeting of the Medieval Research Seminar at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in October 1997. I am indebted to the editors of *Leeds Studies in English* for numerous helpful suggestions.

¹ Françoise le Saux, *Lazamon's Brut, the Poem and its Sources*, Arthurian Studies XIX (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), p. 188, n. 13; James I. McNelis III, 'Lazamon as Auctor', in *The Text and Tradition of Lazamon's Brut*, ed. by Françoise le Saux (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 253-72, suggests (p. 255) that Lawman knew a Norse version of the tale of the incendiary birds, but the argument is inconclusive.

² *Lawman: Brut*, trans. by Rosamund Allen (London: Dent, 1992), introduction, pp. xxiii-xxiv. Examples given in *MED* s.v. *laue-man*, sense (b) 'in surnames', all (with the sole exception of our poet) show it added to a conventional Christian name: *Hugo Lageman*, *Robertus Lauman*, *Giles Lagheman* etc.; cf. Gustav Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation, 1100-1350*, Lund Studies in English 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1935), p. 20. See also examples cited in P. H. Reaney, *Dictionary of British Surnames* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 211, s.v. *Lawman*. On forms of the poet's name see P. J. Frankis, 'Lazamon's English Sources', in *J. R. R. Tolkien, Scholar and Storyteller*, ed. by Mary Salu and Robert T. Farrell (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 64-75 (note on p. 75); Allen, p. xxxvi, gives a sensible note on the pronunciation. *Lazamon* (Caligula MS) and *Laweman* (Otho MS) are likely to be variant spellings of the same pronunciation.

³ J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1950), pp. 483-531, esp. 510-14 and 528-30; more recently on the name see also Gillian Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1968), p. 183 and works there cited.

⁴ Tatlock pp. 529-30; on wider name-studies see Fellows Jensen, *Personal Names*; I use the term Danelaw as a convenient shorthand for those areas of the North and of the East Midlands in which intensive Scandinavian settlement occurred: for an evaluation of the term see Pauline Stafford, 'The Scandinavian Impact. The Danes and the Danelaw', *History Today*, 36 (1986), 17-23. Tatlock's arguments depend in part on his view of Lawman's knowledge of Ireland, which in turn rests on an assumption that Lawman wrote too early to have been influenced by the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis: this whole subject needs re-examination.

⁵ E. J. Dobson, *The Origins of Ancrène Wisse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 118-21 and 369-79. Some of the material that I cite here on the Danish element in post-conquest England is also used in my 'Sidelights on post-conquest Canterbury: towards a context for an

Old Norse runic charm', to appear in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*.

⁶ R. I. Page, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? The epigraphical evidence', in *England before the Conquest*, ed. by P. Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 165-81; for later views see M. L. Samuels, 'The Great Scandinavian Belt', in *Middle English Dialectology, essays on some principles and problems*, ed. by Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 107-15. For a recent survey of the whole question see Michael Barnes, 'Norse in the British Isles', in *Viking Revaluations*, ed. by A. Faulkes and R. Perkins (London: Viking Society, 1993), pp. 65-84.

⁷ Cecily Clark, 'On Dating the *Battle of Maldon*: certain evidence reviewed', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 27 (1983), 1-22 (p. 13); Cecily Clark, 'English Personal Names c. 650-1300: some prosopographical bearings', *Medieval Prosopography*, 8 (1987), 31-60 (p. 42); Gillian Fellows Jensen, *The Vikings and their Victims: the Verdict of the Names*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture (London: Viking Society, 1995), p. 13.

⁸ See especially M. K. Lawson, *Cnut. The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London: Longman, 1993), and *The Reign of Cnut*, ed. by A. R. Rumble (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994).

⁹ Lawson pp. 163-74; Simon Keynes, 'Cnut's earls' (Rumble pp. 43-88), and Nicholas Hooper, 'Military developments' (Rumble pp. 89-100); Roberta Frank, 'King Cnut in the verse of his skalds' (Rumble pp. 106-24), and Gillian Fellows Jensen, 'Danish place-names and personal names in England' (Rumble pp. 125-40).

¹⁰ See Dobson, *Origins* (as n. 5), Lawson pp. 165-68, and Ann Williams, 'Cockles amongst the wheat: Danes and English in the Western Midlands in the first half of the eleventh century', *Midland History*, 11 (1986), 1-22; see also J. Insley, 'Some Scandinavian personal names in South-West England from post-conquest records', *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica*, 3 (1985), 23-58, esp. 46-53.

¹¹ Fellows Jensen, in Rumble, p. 126; I am mindful of her warning concerning 'the unwary meddler . . . releasing a host of quirky theories to plague the scholastic world' (p. 125), and of the possibility of exposing the world to that risk. Fellows Jensen, *Victims*, gives various examples of families with mixed OE and ON names, which are generally assumed to derive from mixed marriages, particularly cases of a Danish man with an English woman, but in the most striking case (p. 19) we lack information about the family-history.

¹² For examples see W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), p. 329. The Otho MS describes *Laweman* as *Leucais sone*, where *Leuca* represents OE *Leofeca*, a hypocoristic form of a name compounded on *Leof*:- see e.g. *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. by John Earle and Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), henceforth referred to as *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and

abbreviated ASC, II. 183-84; I suspect that the simultaneous currency of both a full form and an abbreviated (hypocoristic) form of an OE name for the same person in the twelfth century or later is uncommon.

¹³ Fellows Jensen, *Personal Names*, p. 183, identifies *Lagmann*, *Lageman* as originally a Swedish name that was borrowed into Danish; since Cnut's army included a number of Swedes, some of whom might have received lands in England, Swedish ancestry cannot be excluded: see Sven B. F. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England, the Evidence of the Rune Stones*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture (London: Viking Society, 1966), and Sven B. F. Jansson, *The Runes of Sweden* (London: Phoenix House, 1962), pp. 49-61. The genealogies in the early chapters of Icelandic family-sagas nearly all include at least one example of a son named after his mother's father: e.g. *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, chs.1 (Úlfr), and 23 (Ketill hængr); *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, chs. 3 and 11 (Ófeigr Grettir); *Laxdæla saga*, chs.1 (Ketill), and 3 (Kjallak); *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 1 (Björn); in *Grettis saga*, ch. 13, Þorsteinn is named after his mother's brother.

¹⁴ *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*, ed. by Lis Jacobsen and Erik Moltke (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1942), no. 419; see my article cited in note 5.

¹⁵ See *The Harley Lyrics*, ed. by G. L. Brook (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1948), pp. 31-32, and *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, ed. by Carleton Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), pp. 136-38 and 226-28; also R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 133-34. There is no obvious discrepancy between the language of the poet and that of the copyist, and the local references suggest a West Midland horizon (Brown's term, p. 225) for the poet; Brown is probably mistaken in trying to identify *Regnas* and *Byrne* with specific characters in *Orkneyinga saga* and he does not specify Hild's role as a healer: on the last see also Gunter Müller, 'Zur Heilkraft der Walküre', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 10 (1976), 350-61; on the Hild-legend see further below. Most other names in this stanza are apparently Welsh.

¹⁶ All references are to *Lazamon: Brut*, ed. by G. L. Brook and R. F. Leslie, 2 vols, EETS os 250 and 277 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963 and 1978), but I insert my own punctuation.

¹⁷ For examples see *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*, nos. 68, 77, 127, 262, 268, 276, 288, 289, 339, 389. On the question of the status of *dreng* see *The Battle of Maldon*, ed. by D. G. Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), p. 77 (149n.), but the phrase 'when the *drengjar* besieged Hedeby' on the Haddeby Stone, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* no.1, shows that a more general sense (e.g. 'warriors, comrades') was also in use.

¹⁸ On some of the linguistic issues involved see John Frankis, 'Word-formation by blending in the vocabulary of Middle English alliterative verse', in *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds, a Festschrift for Eric Dobson*, ed. by E. G. Stanley and Douglas Gray

(Cambridge: Brewer, 1983), pp. 29-38.

¹⁹ Tatlock pp. 139-46.

²⁰ References are to *Le Roman de Brut par Wace*, ed. by Ivor Arnold, 2 vols, SATF (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1938-40), henceforth abbreviated *RB*. References to Geoffrey of Monmouth follow the book and chapter numbers in *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by Acton Griscom (London and New York, 1929), henceforth abbreviated *HRB*.

²¹ With a few exceptions (5179, 5192, 8349) Caligula has forms with an initial digraph representing the OE diphthong *eo* (see 5204, 5310, 8271, 8351, 10184, 11022, 14203, 14208), and with two exceptions (5179, *Euerwicke*, 14208, *Eouerwike*) the second element is *-wic*; Otho has *Euerwich* throughout, except for the defective reading in 14208,*wike*. Wace regularly has forms like *Evrevic*.

²² ME texts before c.1350 with forms like *Euerwic(h)* are too numerous to mention, but Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, while normally having *Euerwike* (e.g. 367), has a passage in one manuscript explaining that it is called *York also thorgh light speche*: cited by Gillian Fellows Jensen, 'York', *Leeds Studies in English*, 18 (1987), 141-55 (p. 150), from Madden's *Layamon* III. 315, which in turn quotes *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1724), I. 27-28 (footnote); this is in fact from a late manuscript of the poem (London, College of Arms, MS 58), which is one of a group that have insertions deriving from Lawman: see *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. by W. Aldis Wright, RS 86 (London: Longman, 1887), I. xxxiii-xxxvii; the lines in Hearne are not cited by Wright, though *York also thorgh light speche* looks very like a rendering of Lawman's *þurh ane unþewe 3eorc heo ihæhten*. AN texts with forms like *Everwic(h)* include Gaimar, *Waldef*, *Gui de Warewic* and Matthew Paris, *St Aedward*.

²³ For a detailed study see Fellows Jensen, 'York', which incidentally states (p. 150) that Lawman's *norþerne men* 'must surely denote the Scandinavian settlers' rather than merely 'the inhabitants of Yorkshire'.

²⁴ *Castleford's Chronicle*, ed. by C. D. Eckhardt, 2 vols, EETS os 305-06 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 25379 and frequently thereafter, 27788, 27949, 28075, 33094; *The Poems of Laurence Minot*, ed. by J. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), p. 103 (*Prophecies of Merlin*, 43: 'þe ta fote in Eurwik').

²⁵ See *Place Names of Lincolnshire*, ed. by Kenneth Cameron, EPNS 64-65 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986-8), II. 87; the *Caster* forms are earliest (from the tenth century), the *Thwang*- forms are recorded only from the late twelfth century. See also Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 444-45, s.v. *Thong*, and A.D. Mills, *Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 325, s.v. *Thong*, postulating the sense 'narrow strip of land'.

Le Saux (1989), p. 188, n. 13, rightly dismisses the suggestion that the motif of land measured with an oxhide thong indicates Scandinavian influence: on this widely current legend see Rory McTurk, *Studies in 'Ragnars saga Loðbrókar' and its Major Scandinavian Analogues*, Medium Ævum Monographs, n.s. 15, (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1991), pp. 243-45. See further Allen's note, p. 435.

²⁶ See Ekwall, p. 272, s.v.

²⁷ Wace, *RB*, p. 367, textual notes to line 6924, and cf. Tatlock p. 24, n. 8.

²⁸ Tatlock pp. 500-02, discussed by le Saux (1989) pp. 145 and 223.

²⁹ *Giraldi Cambrensis Topographia Hibernica*, ed. by James F. Dimock, RS 21, Vol. 5 (London: Longman, 1867), pp. 186-87. On Irby etc. see David Burnley, 'Lexis and Semantics', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, II. 1066-1472, ed. by Norman Blake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 409-99 (417-18). *Annales Cambriæ*, ed. by J. W. ab Ithel, RS 20 (London: Longman, 1860), refers (p. 31, s.a. 1098) to a Norwegian force under king Magnus Barefoot as *de Hibernia piratas*: cf. n. 36 below.

³⁰ *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei*, ed. by Hilding Kjellman (Gothenburg: Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets Samhälles Handlingar, 1935; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), p. 9, lines 177-78. In OE *Gotland* may refer either to the Baltic island or to Jutland: see *The Old English Orosius*, ed. Janet Bately, EETS ss 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 195-97, notes on 16/11 and 16/28. Lawman's *Gutlonde* is consistently (and in my opinion correctly) translated as 'Jutland' in *Lazamon's Arthur: the Arthurian Section of Lazamon's Brut*, ed. and trans. by W. R. J. Barron and S. C. Weinberg (Harlow: Longman, 1989) and in *Lawman, Brut*, trans. by Allen.

³¹ On the whole question of Lawman's treatment of Wace see Françoise le Saux (1989), pp. 24-58, esp. pp. 43-58, for additions and expansions.

³² As in ASC MS E, s.a. 1014, *Da cwæð man Swegen eorl utlah*, 'then earl Swegen was proclaimed outlaw', and ASC MS E, s.a. 1052, & *cweð man utlaga Rotberd*, 'and Robert was proclaimed outlaw'. Allen (p. 155) reproduces the legal flavour by translating 5995 as 'From Denmark and from Norway they were proscribed as outlaws'.

³³ See ASC MSS A and E, s.a. 870, and *Seint Edmund*, ed. by Kjellman, lines 1891-1910; quotation from 1905.

³⁴ John Frankis, 'Views of Anglo-Saxon England in post-conquest vernacular writing', in *Orality and Literacy in Early Middle English*, ed. by Herbert Pilch, (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1996), pp. 227-47 (pp. 233-35, 240-41, 246).

³⁵ [Wace], *La partie arthurienne du Roman de Brut*, ed. by I. D. O. Arnold and M. M. Pelan (Paris: Klincksieck, 1962), p. 177, glosses *Hulague* as 'pirate'; *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, ed. by L. W. Stone and W. Rothwell, Fasc.4 (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1985), p. 482, s.v. *utlage*, sense 1 'outlaw', sense 2 'pirate'; the nautical sense is not

listed in OED.

³⁶ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, II. 7, refers to the Norwegian force under king Magnus Barefoot that attacked Anglesey in 1098 as *ab Orchardum insulis piratae in navibus longis*, 'pirates from the Orkney islands in longships': see *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by J. F. Dimock, RS 21, VI (London: Longman, 1868), 129; see further Henry Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture (London: Viking Society, 1976), pp. 7 and 12, n. 2. For phrases with *deorling* cf. *Alfred þe king, Englelondes deorling* (3148) and variants in 12214 and 13020, and see Françoise le Saux (1989), p. 221.

³⁷ Geffrei Gaimar, *L'Estoire des Engleis*, ed. by Alexander Bell, ANTS 14-16 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), lines 5457-5694; see Maurice Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 9-38.

³⁸ See J. de Lange, *The Relation and Development of English and Icelandic Outlaw-Traditions* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & zoon, 1935).

³⁹ *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. by William Stubbs, RS 73 (London: Longman, 1880), II. 179. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. by H. R. Luard, RS 57, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872-83): see IV.113, 387, 635 and VI. 77, 80, 82 for Tartar attacks, and V.193 for the Danish conquests, where Frisia, as well as part of Russia, is listed; in III. 460, s.a.1237, a letter by Archbishop Germanus refers to Russia among distant eastern countries.

⁴⁰ *Ipomedon, poème de Hue de Rotelande*, ed. by A. J. Holden (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), lines 150, 2423, 3454; *Protheselaus by Hue de Rotelande*, ed. by A. J. Holden, ANTS 47-49 (London: ANTS, 1991-93), lines 9799-9809; on Hue's social-intellectual milieu see Elizabeth Salter, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 26, and compare pp. 66-70 on Lawman's milieu.

⁴¹ *Le Roman de Waldef*, ed. by A. J. Holden (Cologny-Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1984), line 15010: Waldef's son refers to Britain's past glories, mentioning the conquests of Belinus and Brennius (cf. *HRB* III. 8-10) but adding several places, including Russia, to those named by Geoffrey of Monmouth; Holden dates *Waldef* to the early thirteenth century but offers no evidence that would preclude a later date; n. 43 below refers to possible Scandinavian material in this poem.

⁴² *Heimskringla*, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Íslenzk Fornrit 26 (Reykjavik: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1941), *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, ch. 22; *Óláfs saga helga*, ch. 191, 198. In subsequent references this series is abbreviated ÍF and has the same place of publication and publisher. Snorri also records that Harold Godwinson had a daughter Gyða who was married to the king of Novgorod: *Haralds saga harðráða*, ch. 97; also in Saxo XI. vi: see Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia, Books X to XVI*, ed. and trans. by Eric Christiansen, 3 vols, (Oxford: BAR International Series 84 and 118 (1-2), 1980), I. 58,

'Rutenorum regi' (Saxo regularly refers to the country as *Ruscia*, but to the inhabitants as *Ruteni*). Numerous examples of Scandinavian-Russian links, historical and legendary, are cited in Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, *Vikings in Russia* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), esp. pp. 29-38, but the relevant Icelandic texts use the names *Garðar* or *Garðaríki* for Russia. See also Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 9-10 and 22-24.

⁴³ See most recently Carole Hough, 'Alfred's *domboc* and the language of rape', *Medium Ævum*, 66 (1997), 1-27, and works there cited.

⁴⁴ *Deor* and *Widsith*: see George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 150 (with emendation) and 179. Hild-story: Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen: Gad, 1900), pp. 118-19; *Skáldskaparmál* 47 (50); *Kudrun*, ed. by B. Symons, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 5 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1964), pp. 35-94; *Aventiure* 5-8. On sources see R. W. Chambers, *Widsith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), pp. 100-09. Kemp Malone, 'An Anglo-Latin version of the *Hjaðningavíg*', *Speculum*, 39 (1964), 35-44.

⁴⁵ For details of all extant versions see Malone, *Speculum*. I quote from *Skáldskaparmál* 47 (50). An Eddic poem, *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, also seems to involve an abduction story, though the details are elusive.

⁴⁶ *Heimskringla*, I. 86-89.

⁴⁷ In *Flateyjarbók*, [ed. by Guðbrandur Vigfússon and C.R. Unger], 3 vols (Christiania: P.T.Malling, 1860), I. 132-37.

⁴⁸ See also *Egils saga*, chapt.7, where a man named Högni has a daughter Hildiríðr, who is abducted by Björgólfr. A name compounded on *-hild* (OE *Eosterhild*) also underlies the *Estrildis* of *HRB* II. 2-5; in *Waldef* king Erkenwald rescues *Ernild* (ON *Arnhildr* ?) from abduction and marries her (3853-4166) but she is subsequently twice abducted by Saracens (6939-90, 8331-61); this may be the reflex of a Scandinavian element in a romance composed in East Anglia, and it bears obvious resemblances to the material referred to in n. 51.

⁴⁹ *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, ÍF 2 (1933), pp. 83-85: this episode is usually regarded as being influenced by an abduction tale in *Orkneyinga saga*, ed. by Finnogi Guðmundsson, ÍF 34 (1965), pp. 249-50, which also has the island refuge of Mousa but otherwise does not conform to the pattern.

⁵⁰ For *Knytinga saga* see *Danakonunga sögur*, ed. by Bjarni Guðnason, ÍF 35 (1982), p. 230. For the Durham Book of Life see *Liber Vitæ Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis, a collotype facsimile*, ed. by A. H. Thompson, (Durham: Surtees Society 136, 1923), fol. 51v, where the prominent placing of the names is obscured by later interpolations. The spelling *Eiric* is remarkable for not attempting any anglicisation such as appears in ASC s.a. 948, 952, 954, 1016 and 1017, and also for indicating an initial diphthong.

⁵¹ The abduction tradition is perpetuated in several Icelandic *fornaldarsögur* (tales of late composition set in the legendary past, implying that abduction was seen as a feature of life in ancient times): see for example *Gautreks saga* ch. 3, where it appears as a family trait in father and son, and *Yngvars saga víðförla* ch. 1; for *Gautreks saga* see *Seven Viking Romances*, trans. by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), pp. 138-70 (pp. 145-46), and for *Yngvars saga* see *Vikings in Russia* (n. 39 above), pp. 44-68 (44-5). Marianne E. Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance in Medieval Iceland*, *Islandica* 46 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 113, notes that 'Abduction as well as war is an acceptable expedient in romance when it comes to obtaining a bride'; see pp. 169 (referring to 'multiple abductions'), 176-78 and 196 for further examples. Inger M. Boberg, *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*, (Copenhagen: Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 27, 1966), pp. 228 and 178, lists numerous examples under the headings R.10.1, *Princess (maiden) abducted*, and K. 1371, *Bride-stealing*.

⁵² E.g. Gøtrik's acquisition of his wife in VIII. and cf. Othar's wooing in VII. iv. 3: see Saxo Grammaticus, *History of the Danes* [Books I-IX], trans. by Peter Fisher (Cambridge: Brewer, as one vol., 1996), pp. 271 and 208-10.

⁵³ See *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. by Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992 and 1995), I. 58 and n. 5 (on *more Danico*).

⁵⁴ *Heimskringla* II. 209-11 and III. 13-14, 18-20; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS 52 (London: Longman, 1870), pp. 412-15.

⁵⁵ *Vita Elfegi*, PL.149, 384 (which mentions stoning: *lapidibus eum obruentes*); *South English Legendary*, ed. by Charlotte d'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, EETS os 235-36 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 148-55 (p. 154).

⁵⁶ One possible parallel is a phrase in the account of Modred's resistance to Arthur's invasion, *nom alle þa scipen þa þer oht weore* (14192), which is strikingly reminiscent of a phrase in the chronicle account of Æthelred's attempt to raise an anti-invasion fleet: [*he*] *gerædde . . . þæt man gegaderode þa scipu þe ahtes wæron* (ASC, MS E, s.a. 992); the verbal collocation here is not entirely accounted for by the similarity of subject-matter.

⁵⁷ *Hrólfs saga Kraka*: the relevant extract is conveniently available in E. V. Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse* (revised edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 27-29; see also *The Saga of Hrolf Kraki*, trans. by Jesse L. Byock (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. 47-52; the story is also in Saxo, trans. by Fisher, p. 54. A similar, probably derivative, bone-throwing episode also appears in *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, ch. 26: see *Göngu-Hrólfs Saga*, trans. by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1980), pp. 85-86. For further examples and a full discussion see Ian McDougall, 'Serious entertainments: an examination of a peculiar type of Viking atrocity', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 22 (1993), 201-25 (pp. 215-24).

⁵⁸ Quoted from *The Works of Sven Aggesen*, trans. by Eric Christiansen, (London: Viking Society, Text Series 9, 1992), p. 35 (on the alleged connection with Cnut see pp. 32-3). *Scriptores Minores Historiæ Danicæ Medii Ævi*, ed. by M. Cl. Gertz, I (Copenhagen: Selskab for Udgivelse af Kilder til dansk Historie, 1917-18), p. 74, 'et pro arbitrio cuiuslibet ossibus eum iactandum'.

⁵⁹ On Cnut as an alleged descendant of Ívarr see Frank, 'Skalds', pp. 110-13; on Cnut's involvement in the translation of *Ælfheah* see Osbern, *Translatio Ælfegi*, ed. by A. R. Rumble and Rosemary Morris, in Rumble, *Cnut*, pp. 283-315; some of the material in this paragraph is dealt with in greater detail in Frankis (n. 5 above).