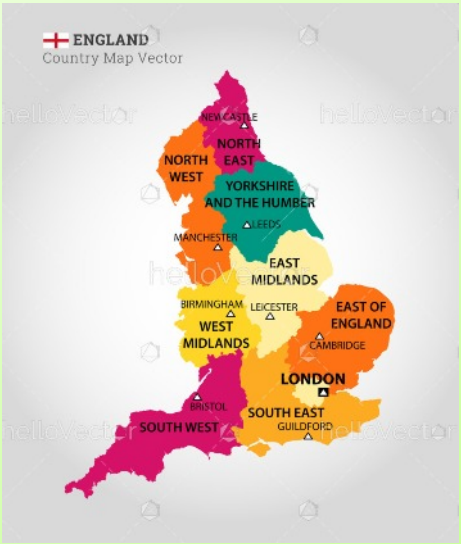
How England Got Its Name (1014 - 1030)



By
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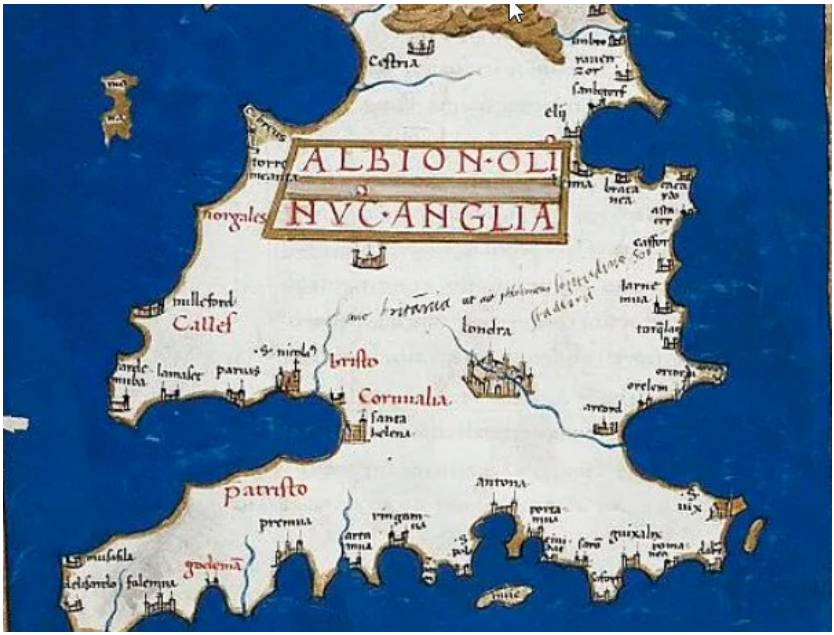

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Chapter 1
General introduction

The creation of a new ethnic identity of the English people was one of the most important developments of the later Anglo-Saxon period from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. Five centuries earlier, there had been no political or linguistic unity among the different peoples of German / Danish origin who had settled in the country and who spoke different dialects and were ruled by a handful of small tribal kingdoms. Then, from the reign of King Alfred onwards, Scandinavian invasions and the rise of dynasty of Wessex gradually led to the emergence of a single kingdom controlling most of the land and population, and to the belief that the English constituted a single community bound together by common descent, cultural tradition, language, church and loyalty to the king.

In the later stages of this development, around 1000 AD, a new name, *Engla land*, came to be attached to the kingdom of the English and it has lasted until the present day as one of the most famous and long-lived country names in European history.

Several historians from the later tenth to twelfth centuries called attention to this in their writings, so there has never been any question about the approximate date when it took place. The earliest of these was the late tenth century Latin chronicler Aethelweard of Wessex. After looking into the continental origins of the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes, he notes that the land earlier called Britannia had taken its present name Anglia from one of the victorious invaders, the Angli: (Britannia is now called Anglia, taking the name of the victors).

William of Poitiers, a Norman historian writing in the 1070's, also pointed out that (the more ancient name of England was Britannia). An

early twelfth century monk, Eadmer of Christ Church Canterbury, said much the same thing at the beginning of his life of St Wilfrid of York: (Britain, which the English, who had conquered and settled it, call England)[1].

Another historian who also commented on the introduction of the name was Henry of Huntingdon in his mid-twelfth century history of the English people. But none of these writers said anything about the precise time when *Engla land* was brought into use, nor about who was responsible for introducing it, nor for what reasons. Nor have any later historians down to our own day[2]. As strange as it may seem, the story of how England was named has never been told. A number of recent historians of Anglo-Saxon England have commented in passing on the first appearances of Engla land around 1000 but only E. A. FREEMAN, the renowned nineteenth century historian and author of The Norman Conquest of England (18702, p. 584-86, 597-605), delves into the subject in any depth.

In some fifteen pages, he looks into the nature of the name, its origin, what it meant, the date of its introduction and reasons why[3]. I believe he was mistaken on several points, but at the same time, I am impressed by the scope of his inquiry and struck by the fact that scholars have not carried this further since his day.

It was in the course of inquiries into the formation of the new ethnic identity of the English people in the tenth and eleventh centuries that several scholars recently commented on the introduction of *Engla land* late in the Anglo-Saxon period. Nicholas BANTON (1982, p. 85) noted that « the word *Engla land* has appeared by the turn of the century [i.e. the tenth century]. Patrick WORMALD (1994, p. 10) wrote: “The words *Engla-Lond* and *Englisc* were being used in the eleventh century very much as England and English are used today”; Kathy Lavezzo (1999, p. 75) noted that “most historians do concur that the concept of *Englalonde* as a single kingdom was firmly established by the end of the tenth century”. In a 2003 book, Hugh THOMAS wrote [p. 261]: “The concept of England was established well before the conquest. In the Anglo-Saxon period, an ethnic construct, the English, has led eventually to a geograph-

ic one, England". Pauline STAFFORD (2003, p. 12) called England «a potentially misleading term when applied to these centuries [i.e. ninth to eleventh]." Most recently, Sarah FOOT (2005, p. 129) wrote: "Similarly in the eleventh century the new term *Engla lond* was coined to articulate the newly conceived territorial space all England."

All of these historians are in agreement that England was introduced sometime around the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, and as I show below, I believe they are correct. But none of them looks into who might have brought this about, and, with the exception of FREEMAN, their comments on the subject are summary, a sentence or two at the most. Given the importance as well as the potential interest of the name England, this lack of attention to it in the past is surprising.

One explanation for this may be that since it has long been evident that the name derived from the land of the Angles and replaced Britannia at sometime near the end of the first millennium, some may have assumed that, the essentials being known, there was nothing further to be discovered about it.

A more basic reason may be that several of the scholars who have looked into the formation of English ethnic identity in the ninth to eleventh centuries in recent years, believe that Engla land was not a country or political name at the time of its first appearance around 1000 but a geographical term describing a territory just as Britannia had been in earlier centuries. Eric JOHN advanced this view in his 1966 book [p. 1]: "If it [England] had become so [i.e. had become a 'meaningful geographical expression'] by the end of the period, it was still left to the Anglo-Norman rulers to make England a coherent political entity".

BANTON, LAVEZZO, THOMAS, STAFFORD and FOOT share this view and do not call *Engla land* in its first appearances a country name but a word, or a term, or a geographical construct. Their reasoning would seem to be that if it was not a name at this time, then its use does not justify a close study. A discussion of the meaning of *Engla land* in Cnut's day will be a central part of my argument.

In the following essay, I look into the introduction of Engla land, and I begin with the question of the date. Several scholars starting with FREEMAN have pointed to the earliest appearances of the name in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Cnut's laws and Aelfric's homilies, but a comprehensive study of all available citations will be necessary in order to determine just when it began to be used. In addition to the matter of the date, there remain other questions. Who were the people involved in its introduction ? What may have been their reasons for rejecting the name(s) in use in their day ? What were their sources for the creation of a new one ? And what meaning(s) did they attach to it ? Finally, what can be known about its acceptance among the English people at large?

Notes Chapter 1

1 ideoque Britannia nunc Anglia apppellatur, assume ns nomen victorum (CAMPBELL 1962, p. 8-9); nam Angliae nomen antiquius est Britaniae (Davis/Chibnall 1998, p. 168-169) ; Britannia quam Anglii, victis, a se proturbatisque Britannis, Angliam vocabit et incolunt (Raine 19652, I, p. 161).

2 The OED lists a few early citations of the name ; place name specialists do not appear to treat the subject, but two German historical linguists date the introduction of *Engla land*; see Luick 1921, I, p. 16; H. Kuhn, in: RGA I, p. 303-306.

3 Freeman also looks at the *Engla land* question in his article under that heading in the 9th edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica (1891): "England, for instance, is not heard of by that name until late in the tenth century [...] England then is the name which certain historical events caused to be applied to a part of the isle of Britain". Articles in later editions of the EB do not treat that name question as Freeman did.

Chapter 2
Presentation of The Evidence

SURVIVING SOURCES, RELATIVELY ABUNDANT for the later tenth and early eleventh centuries, are sufficient to permit the dating of the introduction of this name to the decade beginning in 1014 and to associate it with three famous figures of the day: King Cnut (1016-1035), Archbishop Wulfstan of York (t 1023) and Abbot Aelfric of Eynsham (ca 1010).

In making my analysis, I have relied primarily on vernacular sources. They provide more abundant information than the Latin but, more important, they are closer to, and a more accurate mirror of the spoken language of the day. Archaic expressions sometimes make Latin texts less representative of the common parlance, and in the case of royal titles, they are seriously misleading with regard to country names current at the time. 1 have nonetheless traced the introduction of Anglia, the Latin equivalent of Engla land, from the later tenth to the eleventh centuries.

The various versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle occupy centre stage among the vernacular sources, since their yearly annals have the inestimable advantage of offering a view of changes in naming over time - the abandonment of older names, the introduction of new ones. The accuracy of the chronicle is sometimes compromised by the fact that annals for many long segments of time in the later Anglo-Saxon period were not entered contemporaneously each year but at intervals often long after the events portrayed. But the annals for the critical period of the second decade of the eleventh century (version C) were written by a contemporary hence are considered highly reliable.

A second vernacular source with essential information about the use of Engla land is the laws of Aethelred and Cnut, and next come the Old English charters of both those kings as well as others issued privately. Additional evidence also comes from some Skaldic poems in Old Norse. Two final categories, literary and ecclesiastical texts, have less to offer but I have not neglected them. The existence of the online Dictionary of

Old English (DOE) has made it possible for me to locate citations of Engla land which I might never have found if left to search for them on my own[]4.

One last comment on the above mentioned written sources takes the form of a question : how accurately did tenth and eleventh century authors portray the language spoken by common people in everyday affairs? Conceivably, there was a divergence between the two, and people may have called the country Engla land before - perhaps long before - the name worked its way into written texts. I am fully aware of that possibility but have no other choice than to try and see what the written sources reveal.

The significance of the English change to Engla lond early in the eleventh century can only be appreciated by looking at the ways they named themselves and their land prior to that time. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle provides the best evidence about this with annals reaching back into the period of Roman Britain ; though in the form in which they survive today, these were not entered contemporaneously at the end of each year in question. The most authoritative of the versions available today, version A, was written down at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, hence the earliest entries have to be interpreted with caution. Some generalizations can be made for the five centuries from the sixth through the tenth. In the course of recording events for the year in question, the authors of the annals sometimes reveal their geographical perspective, the territorial context within which they view what is happening.

For instance, the annals for 838 (ms. A) tells that:

> “In this year a great naval force arrived among the West Welsh and the latter combined with them and proceeded to fight against Egbert king of the West Saxons. When he heard that, he then went thither with his army and fought against them at Hingston Down, and put both the Welsh and the Danes to flight[5]”.

Situating this campaign and battle in one part of the country, the lands of the Welsh and the West Saxons, is typical of what the authors do in the great majority of their entries in the chronicle until late in the tenth century. They regularly name the peoples of the regions in question - the West Saxons, Mercians, East Anglians, etc. - and their lands (e.g. Eastengleland - the land of the East Angles, 894) and sometimes their kingdoms (e.g. the kingdom of the Northumbrians, 547), but rarely Britene, the entire island. And when they do name the island, it is almost exclusively to inform their readers of the journeys of others coming to Britene (449, 495, 501, 514, 595, 596, 601, 662, 937, 975).

On just one occasion does the chronicler tell of an event in Britene [685 (ms. F)]: In this year, there occurred in Brytene bloody rain, and milk and butter were turned to blood[6]. He must mean that the epidemic affected people throughout the entire island and not just in one or two regions.

The authors of the chronicle seldom name foreign peoples, countries and towns, presumably because the latter were not often involved in insular politics. Exceptions to this are the references to contacts with Rome, principally the papacy, in the form of people journeying to and from that city (596, 668, 709, 721, 726, 735, 737, 780, 786, 796, 797, 798, 855, 874, 962).

There can scarcely be any doubt that the reason for the chroniclers' invariable focus on local and regional events among the Anglo-Saxons, and their silence with regard to the entire island of Britain, was that the latter, a collection of small kingdoms and peoples, was not a meaningful political or cultural unit to them. Indeed Britene was not a political or country name, but a geographical or territorial one carried over from Roman times. Most notably no single kingdom ruled the entire island or even a significant part of it. The conflicts, wars, etc., of the early Anglo-Saxon period concerned only the individual parts, not the whole.

Starting in the later eighth and continuing in the ninth and tenth centuries, the geographical orientation of the chronicle entries begins to lose its regionally limited focus and take a broader, more comprehensive view of peoples and events. This change is visible first in the introduction of a

new noun, Angelcynn — the English race or people - and secondly in the use of words other than names to refer to country, land, and fatherland. Angelcynn - a composite of Angle “Angle” and cynn “race”, “kin” or “ethnic group” - is the critical term in what has been one of the most important topics of discussion among historians of medieval England in the past two to three decades, namely the creation of a single English identity in the period between the later ninth and eleventh centuries[7].

These authors have traced the emergence of the English people, united by a common cultural tradition based on laws, language, literature and religion, and ruled by a monarchy controlling most of the territory of modem England.

Angelcynn first appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 597[8], but it did not become a standard word in the author’s vocabulary until the later ninth century when he uses it repeatedly (A : 816, 836, 866, 874, 885, 886, 896, 900). Since the annalist of A called the Angles Engle, both before and after introducing Angelcynn (449, 595, 596, 942, 973, 975); to him, this latter word obviously meant something other than this one ethnic group among the Anglo-Saxons.

Patrick WORMALD (1983, p. 128) saw it as a name promoted above all by King Alfred in the 880’s to convey the common sense of identity, the “Englishness”, of all the Anglo-Saxon peoples under his rule. In the view of Sarah FOOT (1996, p. 28), Alfred was maintaining that “all the Germanic subjects of the West Saxon king were essentially one ‘English kind’ [...], one people with a common heritage, one faith, and a shared history». For Mary CLAYTON (2002, p. 10), it denotes «a single people and kingdom”. That Alfred construed Angelcynn in this sense is beyond question. In his preface to his translation of Pope Gregory the Great’s Pastoral Care, he uses Angelcynn seven times to mean the whole of the English people: “It very often comes to my mind what wise men there formerly were [...] giond Angelcynn [among the English people]” (Davis 1998, p. 619).

The author of the A Chronicle used Angelcynn in varying ways to designate the English people in the ninth century. Sometimes, they are the

recipients of the actions of others, and once they are themselves the actors. For instance in 597 (”In this year Ceolwulf began to reign in Wessex and he [...] continually fought with Angelcynnes » [against the English]), in 896 (« By the grace of God the army had not on the whole afflicted the Angelcynn greatly »), in 900 (« In this year Alfred [...] died [...]. He was king ofer eall Ongelcyn » [over all the English people]). Then in 886: “That same year King Alfred occupied London, and all Angelcyn [all the English people] that were not under subjection to the Danes submitted to him.”

On several occasions, the annalist refers to the Angelcynnes lond, the land of the English[9]. Three annals of A prior to the reign of King Alfred, 787, 836 and 866, report movements to and from the land of the English: 787 (”In this year [...] those were the first ships of Danes which came to the Engelcynnes lond”), 836 (”Offa [...] and Brihtric [...] had driven him from Angelcynnes lande on Froncland [from the land of the English to the land of the Francs])”, 866 “ the same year a great heathen army came on Angelcynnes lond and took up quarters in Eastangum [East Anglia]”).

If any proof were needed that by Angelcynnes lond, the author meant the entire country of the English, this last entry provides it by distinguishing between it and East Anglia, a part of the whole. These passages featuring Angelcynn demonstrate that in the last decades of the ninth century, the annalist’s accounts of events taking place were no longer limited to a single people of a single region or kingdom in the country as they had in the fifth through eighth centuries. Although the author continues to speak on occasion of the Angles, West Saxons, etc., for the most part he now focuses on a broader segment of the population. One might venture to say that he has now begun to present a history of the English people. Furthermore it cannot be accidental that once he began writing of Angelcynnes lond, Britene began to disappear from his vocabulary.

Curiously enough, Angelcynn does not appear in any of the annals for the first three quarters of the tenth century, but this does not mean that the authors ceased to view events from the perspective of all the English people and their land. Three examples bring this out. A line from the

poem on the battle of Brunanburh (937, A, B, C, D), asserts: “Never yet on this eiglande [in this island] before this was a greater slaughter [...] made by the edge of the sword”. The death notice for King Eadwig in 958 (D) comments disparagingly about his having « brought heathen manners innan thysan lande [into this land]”, and for having “enticed harmful people to thysan eared [to this country]”.

A similar poetic notice on the death of King Edgar, 975 (A, B, C) reads: “The sons of nations, men on the earth, everywhere in *disse edeltyrf* [in this country].” In each of these phrases, the author wants his readers to understand that these assertions apply to the country as a whole, not just to a part or a single region.

In the forty year period from 975 to 1015, Angelcynn and several related terms gain a new prominence for which there is no parallel in earlier years in the chronicle, not even for Alfred’s time[10]. After its absence from the chronicle since 900, the authors of D and E have recourse to it three times in their entry for 975: “Nor was there fleet so proud nor host so strong that it got itself prey on Angelcynn”, “and in the next year there came a very great famine and very manifold disturbances geond Angelcynn”, “and at this time the famous earl Oslac was exiled of Angelcynne”.

This may well be the famine that C refers to for 976: “In this year the great famine occurred on Angelcynne”. No annals appear in D for the years 976 and 977, but then for 978, the scribe tells of an accident in which all the Angelcynnes witan [councillors] fell to their death. In his annals for 979, when describing the murder of King Edward the Martyr, he adds in an aside that « no worse deed than this for the Angelcynne was committed since they first came to Britenlond”, thus showing that he was aware that the island was called Britenlond when the Anglo-Saxons first invaded and settled there. He then concluded this annals with the report that “in this year Ethelred succeeded to the kingdom [...] and was consecrated king with much rejoicing by the Angelcynnes witan”.

The chronicle entries for the last two decades of the tenth century, the early years of the reign of King Aethelred II, are characteristically very

brief - one or two sentences at the most. Exceptions are 982 (C) , 992 (C, D, E) and 999 (?), and only two contain citations of Angelcynn, in 986 (in this year the great murrain first occurred on Angelcynn, C, D, E) and in 994 (”and then Olaf promised [...] that he would never come back to Angelcyn”, C, D, E).

In contrast to this, the annals for the first twenty years of the eleventh century are much longer (exceptions are 1007-1008), contain more detailed narratives, and other than a single entry in A for 1001, all come from the author of C who wrote this section of the chronicle between 1016 and 1023 and was thus a contemporary of the events he describes (Keynes 1978, p. 231-232; Stafford 1989, p. 15; Lawson 1993, p. 49; Williams 2003, p. 50). The A annals for 1001 is notable for the author’s telling, as his chronicle had also done in entries for 787, 836 and 866 where the action took place: “in this year there much fighting on Angelcynnes lond”

.

The series of Angelcynns in the C chronicle begins in 1002 (”and in that year the king ordered to be slain all the Danish men who were on Angelcynne”) and continues in 1004 (”as they themselves [the Danes] said [...], they never met worse fighting on Angelcynne”) and in 1005 with a reference to “the great famine geond Angelcynn”, followed in 1006 by a description of the distribution of food to meet that need: “and they were supplied with food geond Angelcyn”. The author limited himself to very brief annals in 1007 and 1008, but in the latter, he reports that « the king ordered that ships should be built *ofer eall Angelcyn”*.

Twice he speaks of Angelcynn in his lengthy and detailed annals for 1009, first to emphasize the large number of ships which had been built the previous year (« there were more of them than ever before, from what books tell us, had been on Angelcynn in any king’s time »), and secondly to convey disappointment at the failure of the naval campaign (”and no better than this was the victory which eall Angelcynn had expected”.

He found no occasion for the term in his entry for 1010, but in 1011, after narrating the Danish capture of Archbishop Aelfheah of Canterbury, he comments:

“He was then a captive who had been head, heafod_Angelcynnes and of Christendom». In his annals for 1012, which follows directly after his account of Archbishop Aelfheah, he begins”: In this year Ealderman Eadric and all the chief councillors Angelcynnes”. Angelcynn is absent from the substantial narratives of the turbulent years 1013-1015, the time of the invasions of the Danish kings, Swein and Cnut, and the brief exile of King Aethelred in Normandy. It then reappears in the annals of the following three years when Cnut successfully asserted his rule.

First in 1016, when Ealderman Eadric of Mercia betrayed his liege lord and ealre Angelcynnes theode and eal Angelcynnes theode, and eal Angelcynnes nobility were there destroyed. Immediately after this, in the annals for 1017, comes: In this year King Cnut succeeded to eallon Angelcynnes rice. Finally, the annals for 1018 reads: “In this year the tribute was paid of er eal Angelcyn”.

Sheer numbers alone cannot convey the full significance of the new prominence of Angelcynn in these four decades from 976-1015, but it would be a mistake to pass over the statistics without comment. The chronicles’ authors had recourse to it twenty throughout that period, fourteen during the years 1001-1018, compared to eight appearances in the five centuries prior to 975, four of those during the reign of Alfred. Whereas Angelcynn had barely existed for the authors of the earlier annals, it had now come to loom very large in the eyes of the early eleventh century writer c.

The Angelcynn were the scene or setting for events and happenings of many different kinds: passive victims of famine, 975 (D, E), 976 (C), (1005, C, D, E), witnesses of a murrain (986, C, D, E), recipients of food to avert it (1006, C, D, E), the people from which enemies or traitors were exiled or fled (975, Earl Oslac and 994 Earl Olaf) or to whom came foreign invaders (1001, A; 1004, C, D, E). Whereas King Edgar protected them successfully from the enemy in 975 (D, E), their hope for victory against the Danes was disappointed in 1009 (C, D, E) ; Ealderman Eadric betrayed them and all the nobility were killed by Cnut in 1016 (C, D, E). Several times, the chroniclers identify those who held authority over them: the witan or councillors (978, D, E; 979, D, E; 1012, C, D, E),

Archbishop Aelfheah of Canterbury (1011, C, D, E) and above all Cnut who succeeded to their rice [kingdom] (1017, C, D, E).

Not always does the chronicler explicitly name the Angelcynn but that is obviously what he has in mind in two lengthy narratives for 1006 and 1009 where references to that people stand out. In his account of the Viking invasion of 1006, he tells how « the king ordered that [...] ealne theodscipe [the whole nation] from Wessex and Mercia [...] be called out », and how this « caused the landleode [people of the country] every sort of harm ». In describing how English ships failed to protect adequately against invasion in 1009, he notes how this "let the toil of ealles theodscypes [all the nation] thus lightly come to naught"; and later how ealfolc, "the whole people", was ready to attack but was hindered by Ealderman Eadric. Theodscipe occurs five times in 1006, 1009 and 1013; *leode* (nation) four times (1013, 1014, 1016), *folc* (people) twice (1009, 1016) and theode alone, once 1016.

In addition to its more prominent place in Chronicle C's narrative, Angelcynn begins to take on a new additional meaning for that author early in the eleventh century. Illustrations of this are in his annals for 1006 ("[...] and they were supplied with food geond eall Angelcynne"), 1008 (in this year the king ordered that ships should be built ofer eall Angelcynn), 1009 (and there were more of them [i.e. ships] than ever before [...] had been on Angelcynn in any king's time).

In each of these cases, the context suggests that by Angelcynn, the author means not just the people but their land as well: thus geond eall Angelcynne in 1006 could well be translated as were supplied with food throughout all the land of the Angelcynn, etc. Indeed Dorothy WHITELOCK translated the word in these passages as England in her 1962 edition of the Chronicle. The majority of the uses of Angelcynn by C, D and E from 975 to 1018, sixteen of twenty two, fall into this category, though some of these examples could be translated either way. Thus the entry for 1005 (the great famine geond Angelcynn ») could be read as « among the English people as well as « throughout the land of the English. No such doubts attach to the six instances where Anglecynn unmistakably means the English people: 978 and 979 (D, E all the chief councillors

Angelcynnes [of the English people], 979 (D, E, « no worse deed than this for the Angelcynne [English people] »), 1009 (C) the victory eal Angelcyn [of all the English people], 1011 (C, D, E « who had been heafod Angelcynnes [head of the English people] and 1016 (C, D, E «betrayed [...] ealre Angelcynnes theode [all the English people].

The conclusion is unavoidable that the word had a double connotation for the writer of the chronicle from 975-1016 and that the context determined how he intended it to be understood. This does not appear to have been true for the annalist (A) of the earlier period from the sixth to the tenth centuries. The annals in A use Angelcynn on eleven different occasions (597, 787, 816, 836, 866, 874, 885, 886, 890, 900 and 1001), and in four of those instances (787, 836, 866 and 1001), the scribe adds *londland* to the word to make explicit that he is referring to the land of the English. For example in 866, the passage reads: in the same year a great heathen army came on Angelcynnes lond.

But the other seven citations refer unmistakably not to the land but to the English people, as in 816 and 874: «and his body is buried in the church of St Mary [in Rome] on Angelcynnes *scole* [in the English school, i.e. in the English quarter of the city]. His having made this distinction suggests that to this ninth century author, Angelcynn had no other meaning than English people[11]. As indicated earlier, the annalist of C from the early eleventh century does not make the same distinction by adding lond to Angelcynn when he uses the word to mean the land of the English.

So unless this is simply a quirk on the part of chronicler C, it seems reasonable to conclude that Angelcynn had become more comprehensive in its meaning by the beginning of the eleventh century. All uncertainty about the name of the land for the author of C comes to an end, however, with his entries for the years 1014, 1020 and thereafter. In the first of these, he reports the death of the Danish king Swein on Feb. 3: and then all the fleet elected Cnut king. Then all the councillors who were on *Engla londe*, ecclesiastical and lay, determined to send for King Aethelred and they said that no lord was dearer to them than their natural lord if he would govern them more justly than he did before. This is the first appearance of **Engla lond** in the chronicle[12]. The qualification that

the decision to send for the king was made by all the councillors who were in England is unique to C. D and E read all the councillors ecclesiastic and lay, determined to send for King Aethelred, thus omitting the phrase who were in England. The author of C follows this by recounting King Aethelred's response to this invitation:

> Then the king sent his son Edward hither with his messengers, and bade them greet all his people and said that he would be a gracious lord to them, and reform all the things which they all hated, all the things that had been said and done against him should be forgiven, on condition that they all unanimously turned to him without treachery. And complete friendship was then established with oath and pledge on both sides, and they pronounced every Danish king an outlaw of Engla lande forever. Then during the spring King Aethelred came home to his own people and was gladly received by them all.

For this passage, D and E agree with C in the use of Engla land. In a relatively brief annals for 1015, C (D, E) had no occasion to speak of the English or the country but then in the very long one for 1016, he does so repeatedly in portraying Cnut battling for the control of the English country with Edmund, king after the death of his father, King Aethelred, on April 23 of that year. First, he tells of how « a great number of *englisces folces* [English people] drowned [...] through their own carelessness at the time of a battle near the Thames at Brentford west of London.

Later, Edmund for the fifth time collected ealla Engla theoda [all the English people] in order to pursue Cnut in Essex, but there Ealdorman Eodric betrayed his liege lord and ealre Angelcynnes theode [all the English people]. As a result, there Cnut had the victory and won for himself *ealle Engla theode* [all the English people]. Then he lists the casualties of that battle: and *eal Angelcynnes dugut* [all the English nobility] was there destroyed. C's short entry for 1017 begins: In this year King Cnut succeeded to *eallon Angelcynnes ryce* [to the kingdom of all the English people]. Here however, the author of D differs from C and

writes to *eall Englalandes* rice, the third appearance of that name in the chronicle. Like 1017, the year 1018 receives only a very brief annal and this begins:

In this year the tribute was paid ofer eal Angelcyn [over all the land of the English] and ends: “and the Danes and the Engle [the English] reached an agreement at Oxford”. 1019 has only a single sentence reporting King Cnut’s return to Denmark, after which the entry for 1020 begins: In this year Archbishop Lifting died and King Cnut came back to Engla lande.

From 1020 till the end of Cnut’s reign (1035), the entries are short and succinct and contain just five references to the land of the English: 1023 (C only: In this year King Cnut com est to Engla lande), 1028 (C, D, E: In this year King Cnut went of Engla lande »), 1031 (A: In this year King Cnut came back to Engla lande),1035 (E: In this year King Cnut died) [...] and he was king ofer *eall Englaland* for nearly twenty years [...]. Earl Leofric [...] the thegns [...] and the shipmen in London chose Harold to heraldes ealles Englelandes [to the regency of all England] [...] and yet he [i.e. Harold] was full king ofer eal Englaland [over all of England].

Later years in the eleventh century brought no reversal of this introduction of Engla land. King Edward the Confessor’s scribe calls him ic Edward Englalandes kingum in a charter of 1061 (KCD 1341, p. 201-202). One of William the Conqueror’s most celebrated charters (1066-1087), a rare example of one in Old English, refers to him as cyng [...] over eall Englaland (BATES 1998, n° 130, p. 445-448, here p. 447). So also was Henry I entitled in a vernacular charter from 1101 (PELTERET 1990, No 44, p. 72). Chronicle annalists relied on it exclusively, as did the writers of the Middle English Peterborough chronicle 1070-1154. After reigning supreme in the first two decades of the eleventh century, Angelcynn disappeared abruptly from the chronicle after 1017, occurring only a single time - 1096, geond eall Angelcynn - in the Peterborough chronicle (Clarke 1970).

There can be no doubts about the results of this survey concerning names used by the chronicle authors, especially C, to designate their country during the second and third decades of the eleventh century. Within a six

year period, 1014-1020, they made a fundamental change in their way of naming it. By 1020 they had completely abandoned Angelcynn, the English people and the land of the English, which had itself taken over from the venerable name Britene around 980. And they replaced it with *Engla land*, a name never previously used, and which has reigned unchallenged from that time to the present day. The annals of 1016, 1017 and 1018 make it evident that those years were a brief period of uncertainty, at least for the author of C. After first introducing the new name Engla land in 1014, he then wavered and went back to Angelcynn in 1016, 1017 and 1018, before returning definitively to the former in 1020.

From the chronicle entries for those years the chronology of the change which took place stands out with absolute clarity. At the same time it raises a host of questions for which the chronicler has no answers, questions fundamental to the observer wishing to better understand its origins and meaning. First, who was the source of the change - presumably not the chronicler himself - and when, and how, and for what reasons was it introduced?

Has the chronicler C, himself a contemporary to what was taking place, accurately represented what amounted to a basic change in country terminology in his day? Did it occur between 1014-1020 as is to be inferred from his account? Finally, was the change of chronicler C representative of the population at large? Was his a single isolated voice, or were other people also using the new name? Then what can be known about how quickly this took place?

The most effective way of testing the accuracy of C's account is to see if other contemporaries corroborate both the fact that such a change took place, and its dates. This means looking in other written sources, there being no way of learning about usages in the spoken language. Since few people would have had more occasions to refer to the country than the English kings, especially in times of invasion, war and defence, their written records naturally attract attention. An abundant documentation of charters, writs and laws has survived for the long reign of King Aethelred (978-1016), all of it edited and studied in detail (WILLIAMS 1980). Almost all of Aethelred's many diplomas (nearly 100) are in Latin and

present the king taking, or being given, a variety of titles and some of these include country names. Here is a sampling of this king's titles (KEYNES 1980, Appendix 1): 997 ego A. rex anglorum (S 891; KCD 698), 998 gentis anglorum basileus (S 893; KCD 700); 998 totius Albionis basileus {S 895 ; KCD 701), 999 totius Brittanniae basileus (S 896; KCD 703), 1001 rex totius insule (S 904; KCD 707).

The use of extravagant, antiquated titles {basileus), along with reference to older country names {Albion, Brittannia), was not uncommon among tenth century English kings, but in any case, there is no Latin equivalent to *Engla land* in Aethelred's diplomas. Gentis anglorum, is either a borrowing from Bede, or a latinization of Angelcynn[13].

Nonetheless the tentative conclusion that this king did not know or use Engla lond is brought into question by a passage in Aethelred's treaty with the Vikings in 994, a treaty intended to end the latter's success in ravaging parts of the country in the early 990's[14]. In the course of spelling out the conditions of the agreement, the author speaks of Engla land three different times: and that if any fleet harry on Englaland, we are to have the help of them all (1.1), those who harry Aenglelande for this truce (1.2), twenty two thousand pounds [...] were paid of Aenglelande for this truce (7.2) . In his 1943 article [p. 63], Max FORSTER believed this to be the earliest known use of the Old English Englaland meaning the entire country (and not just the land of the Angles as in the late ninth century translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History).

The lack of any other occurrences of this name in the abundant royal documentation of Aethelred's reign, not to mention in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, means that this isolated usage is at odds with the practices of his writing office.

Therefore it would not justify the conclusion that Engla land had become the preferred country name for this monarch. Since this treaty survives only in an early twelfth century copy (Cambridge Ms., Corpus Christi Coll., 383, 88-93), it is conceivable that the later scribe has "updated" the country name to the form current in his own day and that his Engla land is not authentic.

No such doubts cloud the history of Engla land in royal documentation for the reign of Cnut 1016-1035. The total number of extant royal charters and writs is much smaller than for Aethelred (36 as opposed to nearly 100) and even though almost all are in Latin, and many do not name the country, seven Old English texts - letters, laws and charters - starting at the very beginning of his reign, provide abundant evidence about his attitude, or that of his writing office, toward *Engla land.* For this king **Engla land** was the standard name for his kingdom.

The earliest usage for his reign would appear to be the law code of 1018, the Oxford Code written by Archbishop Wulfstan of York, which contains the clause: and the councillors have decided that the festival of St Edward shall be celebrated ofer eall Englaland on 18 March (14.6) (LlEBERMANN I960 2, I, p. 298; KENNEDY 1985 ; STAFFORD 1982, p. 174; WHITELOCK 1948, p. 433-444; LAWSON 1993, p. 56-63; WORMALD 1999, p. 345-347). A second legal text, the Winchester code, thought to date from 1020, begins with a prologue: This is the ordinance which King Cnut, ealles Englalandes cininge [...] and his councillors decreed [...] (LlEBERMANN I960 2, I, p. 278; EHD I, No 50, p. 419 ; STAFFORD 1982, p. 176-178; WORMALD 1999, 349).

This would seem to be the earliest known example of a king taking, or being accorded, the title king of Englaland. The prologue of a third legal text, the secular code dating from ca 1023, presents the king announcing, in the first person: This is now the secular ordinance which I, with the advice of my councillors, wish to be observed ofer eall Englaland (EHD I, No 50, p. 419; STAFFORD 1982, p. 17; WORMALD 1999, p. 349).

A famous document from Cnut's reign is his letter of 1020 to the English prelates and nobility promising that I will be a gracious lord and a faithful observer of God's rights and just secular law » and informing them that he expects obedience to his rule. He opens this letter with: King Cnut greets in friendship; his archbishops [...] and all his people [...] on Englalande (EHD I, No 48, p. 414-416; LAWSON 1993, p. 63-64; WORMALD 1999, p. 347-348). Another memorable letter of Cnut to the English people, presumably dating to 1027, and surviving only in a twelfth century Latin copy, opens with the statement: Cnut rex totius

Anglie (EHD I, No 49, p. 416; LAWSON 1993, p. 64; WORMALD 1999, p. 348). As will be noted later, Anglia was the conventional Latin rendering of Englaland from the time of its first appearances in contemporary sources. Cnut also speaks of *Engla land* in charters he issued for the abbey of Christ Church in Canterbury in 1023 and for Old Minster in Winchester in 1035. In the first of these, he prefaces his donation of rights at Sandwich with : « therefore, 1, Cnut, by the grace of God Aenglelandes kining [...] and of all the adjacent islands. There are doubts about the authenticity of this act[15]. The king's introduction to the Old Minster charter, a renewal of privileges, closely resembles this one: I, Cnut king by the grace of God ealles Englelandes. Contrary to earlier editors who had doubts about it (cf. S 976 ; KSD 753 ; Harmer 1957, p. 109, 381), FrNBERG (1964, No 615, p. 175) believed it to be authentic.

Britene, Albion and Angelcynn never appear in Cnut's vernacular texts, his scribes using no other name than Engla land when referring to the country. But their usages change sharply in their Latin documents for their monarch. In these, he receives a variety of titles sometimes combined with Britan*nia and Albion. For instance 1023 (Ego Cnut tocius gentis Angligenae*, and at the end of this charter *Ego Cnut basileus totius Albionis*: S 958; KSD 734).

Another charter begins Ego Cnut basileon Angelsaxonum and ends Cnut totius Brittannie monarchus (S 977; KSD 736). The next four charters edited by KEMBLE contain the following readings: 1023 Cnut rex Anglorum (S 960; KSD 739). 1021-1024 Knut rex Angligenae nationis (S 984; KSD 740), 1031 Cnut rex Anglorum (S 961; KSD 741), 1026 ego Cnut rex Angligenum, ending with Ego Cnut rex Brittannie totius Anglorum monarchus (S 962 ; KSD 743), 1031 Cnut rex totius Albionis, ending with Cnut Brittanniae totius Anglorum monarchus (S 963 ; KSD 744). In calling Cnut rex Nouvelle Revue d'Onomastique No 51 - 2009.

Anglorum and Angelsaxonum, the scribes are following the practices of kings such Athelstan, Edgar and Aethelred. Rex angligenae nationis (gentis) and angligenum are the Latin equivalents of kyning Anglecynn of Aethelbert's reign (LAWSON 1993, p. 243). Three charters (1032, S 965; KSD 748.- 1035, 5 976 ; KSD 753.- undated S 989; KSD 756), two

from the end of his reign, give Cnut the title Rex Anglie, the Latin translation of *Engla land*, and each time with the adjective totius (all England), but two of these are spurious and the third may be as well.

The divergence between the Latin and the Old English terminology might seem to point to the lack of any standard form of royal entitlement in Cnut's administration and also of any standard name for the country. But I would propose that the language of the document in question was the decisive factor in the scribe's choice of titles and country names, and that different criteria applied for Latin than for Old English.

Latin was a learned language which the English had inherited from their past, the language of the Bible and Bede, and in calling Cnut monarchus, basileus, etc., his scribes were linking him with his predecessors such as Alfred et al. In contrast to this, English was their native tongue, the language of everyday speech, the means for reaching the great mass of people who had no comprehension of Latin.

When communicating with prelates and others of the learned elite, it was appropriate to write in Latin and celebrate the glories of the past with lofty, venerable titles of grandeur, but when the king wanted to convey his present day intentions and overall aims to the population at large, such as in his letter of 1020, English was called for. Thus I conclude that Engla land was Cnut's, or his scribes', name for their country in everyday parlance, not Britannia or Albion. I see no other way of explaining the complete absence of those ancient, literary names in his vernacular documents[16].

The preceding survey of the use of *Engla land* in English royal documents for the period 980-1035 brought out not only that a radical change took place - the replacement of Britene and Angelcynn by Engla land- between the reigns of Aethelred and Cnut, but also that the chronology of this change corresponded almost exactly with what is portrayed in version C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, namely that it occurred around 1014-1020. The correspondence of the two is so close that I am tempted to conclude that Cnut's court (his officials) was the source of annalist C's introduction of Engla land into his narrative.

Precisely where the author of C wrote his annals is unknown but Simon KEYNES (1978, p. 231-232) has proposed London as his base. That would be consistent with his having had personal contact with the king's entourage.

Now the inquiry must be widened to see whether Engla land found acceptance at this time in circles other than the royal administration and the scriptoria of the Anglo- Saxon chroniclers. The body of original sources surviving in the Old English vernacular for these decades is small, thus reducing the chances of encountering any specific name, yet Engla land is indeed attested in several different kinds of texts from the beginning of the eleventh century. For the most part, these are isolated examples, but one author, Aelfric of Eynsham, used the term repeatedly in his homilies and saints lives.

A single Old English poem, the Seasons for Fasting, an exhortation to fasting, displays the name, geond Eng/a land, but the lack of any indication of its date rules out its use in the present discussion[17].

No other narrative historical sources than the Anglo-Saxon chronicle exist for these years, but there is a considerable quantity of vernacular charters and writs coming from royalty and from ecclesiastical (episcopal and monastic) institutions. With one exception, however, these do not contain any English country names and could thus leave the impression that Engla land did not yet exist in the minds of monks and clerics at this time. But I believe this would be an erroneous conclusion, and would suggest that these documents do not cite the country name simply because their contexts and the dealings, disputes, donations, they are recounting do not call for a reference to the country as a whole.

They are concerned with local or regional affairs and name only those towns, cathedral sees, and monasteries directly involved. This holds true even for the Old English writs of kings Aethelred (five in number) and Cnut (six), who might in principle, have had more occasion to speak of the country than anyone else, but in fact they do not in these documents[18]. The single vernacular charter which does name Engla land merits attention. It is the top half of a chirograph of the eleventh

century and records the settlement of a land dispute between the bishop of Hereford and a certain Wulfstan and his son Wulfric over an estate in Worcester (5 1460).

A. J. ROBERTSON (1956(2), p. 162-165, commentary p. 411-413) who edited it dates it to around 1023. In his opening sentence, the charter scribe recounts that the original land purchase which led to the dispute now being settled, was made with the leave of King Aethelred and the cognizance of all the councillors [...] who were alive at the time on Engla lande.

To insure the disputants and witnesses of the validity of the original purchase, he has stressed that all of the councillors alive in the country at that time knew of it. Here is thus an exceptional instance where a scribe wanting to give a broader setting to an otherwise local transaction, reveals that Engla land was the name by which he knew his country when he was recording this settlement.

Three biblical and liturgical texts of the early eleventh century also contain Old English citations of Engla land. The first of these is a Latin text of the Gospels (Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. D.2.16) dating from around 1030 with Old English additions entered one or two decades earlier. One of these is an inventory of relics given to St Peter's Minster in Exeter in 937 by King Athelstan, and in its introduction one reads that he was « by the grace of God, king ealles Engla landes (FÖRSTER 1943, n. 25, 62 ; commentary of ibid., p. 24).

Another ecclesiastical text of interest to this study is the Liber Vitae of New Minster and Hyde Abbey in Winchester. Among its many different writings relating to the abbey, this ms. (BM, The Hyde Register, Stowe ms. n° 944) contains two short vernacular lists of saints and their burial places in England. In a 1889 article, Felix LIEBERMANN printed both of these and showed that they had been written separately then brought together between 1015—1030[19]. The first part, composed anonymously shortly before 1000, was a fragment surviving from a collection of Legends of the Royal Family of Kent, the second, author also unknown, came from Wessex early in the eleventh century.

Both begin by identifying the saints who repose in England. In the first one, of slightly earlier date, the author has used the name on Angelcynn, in the second on Engla lande. The change from Angelcynn to Engla land would appear to correspond precisely to the same change in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the years before and after 1014.

The third occurrence of Engla land in a liturgical text comes from another early eleventh century manuscript from Winchester, the celebrated Lambeth Psalter (Lambeth, No 427). A single folio (211 a-b) contains two Old English hagiographical fragments from lives of St Mildrith of Thanet and St Seaxburg's monastery in Sheppey, composed, according to Max FÖRSTER, between the end of the tenth century and 1011. The fragment ends with the account of St Seaxburg having bought from her son « his share of the district of Sheppey to be free for the uses of the monastery as long as Christianity should be maintained on Engla land[20].

The last category of Old English sources to provide examples of Engla land in this period is that of sermons and saints lives by Wulfstan of York and Aelfric of Eynsham. For two reasons a special place has to be reserved for Aelfric in this discussion : first because he used the name Engla land repeatedly, and secondly because he antedates by ten to twenty years all the other citations noted so far.

In the large body of his surviving writings, homilies, saints lives, and *varia, Engla land* occurs twelve times and shows that for him this was the standard country name[21]. Modem studies have established that these writings date from the last decade of the tenth century, from which it follows that Aelfric may have been the first person to use Engla land, the first author, that is, to judge from written evidence available today, and well before the appearances of the name in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Moreover, as at least two passages in his works demonstrate, he clearly distinguished between *Engla lond* and *Angelcynn*, the name which, as seen above, often meant the land of the English at this time. In the conclusion to his Life of St Edmund the Martyr, he wrote: The Angelcynn [the English people] is not deprived of the Lord's saints, since on Engla-lande [in England] lie such saints as this saintly king [....].

There are also many saints on Angelcynne [among the English][22]. Aelfric's distinction between the two names shows that in his mind Engla lond was the appropriate name for the country.

Engla land also appears in one of the sermons of Archbishop Wulfstan of York (+1023), a contemporary and acquaintance of Aelfric, and one of the most influential members of the entourage of King Cnut. In a homily delivered, in all probability, to the royal court ca 1018, Wulfstan urges « that our Lord have all the evil ones who will not cease their evil actions, examined throughout Englaland and - willingly or unwillingly - let them be converted to truth or be driven from the country (OSTHEEREN 1967, p. 271).

Finally an undated letter of an unnamed archbishop of Canterbury to King Aethelred (979-1016) provides the last citation of Anglaland listed in the Dictionary of Old English. In the course of advising the king about the disposition of disputed lands in the diocese of Crediton in Cornwall, the archbishop talks about conditions there in an earlier time: Then there came another time after that when the teachers fell away and departed of Anglaland on account of the unbelief that had then assailed it.

On the basis of internal evidence, the editors attribute this letter to Dunstan of Canterbury and date it to 980-988. The copy in which it survives comes, in their view, from the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. It could thus be one of the earliest known uses of the name but the uncertainties surrounding it caution against attributing too much importance to it[23].

This survey comes to a close with an examination of a quite different category of contemporary vernacular sources, Old Norse poetry or skaldic verse.

Research in the past two decades has confirmed that Cnut's royal court attracted a number of Old Norse poets who celebrated his conquest and rule of England with poems some of which have survived and been published in modem editions (POOLE 1987; FRANK 1994; TOWNEND 2001, 2002). These poems are known only through their incorporation

into thirteenth century sagas, the first manuscripts not having been preserved, but their very distinctive metrical structure has persuaded modem scholars that these later copies are authentic versions of the originals. Indeed close analysis has made it possible to date several of the poems to specific years in Cnut's reign. As might have been anticipated some of these poets had occasion to mention the country name, and indeed the word they used was Englandi in Old Norse.

The earliest of these, the Lidsmannaflokrd, and thought to date from 1016-1017, celebrates Cnut's conquest of London, and in the fourth stanza the anonymous poet speaks of the warrior does not carry a shield into Englandi at this early hour, enraged, in quest of gold (POOLE 1987, p. 281).

A second poem in praise of Cnut, the Knutsdrapa by Hallvardr hareksblesi, has been dated to ca 1029. Its fourth stanza begins: The prince, the battle-bold reddener of the bark (byrnie) of the ship of prayers (breast) alone rules England and Denmark» (FRANK 1994, p. 120). Another Nouvelle Revue d'Onomastique No 51 - 2009. poem of ca 1029 is the Vestrfarar Visor, or Western Travel Verses of the skaldic poet Sigvatr which describes Cnut, « the king of Englandz is calling out a levy » (VlGFUSSON 1965, II, p. 135).

The appearance of the name in these poems (Old Norse equivalents of Britene and Angelcynn are not found here) demonstrates that these poets' use of England corresponds closely with the use of Engla land by Cnut's scribes in his laws, letters and charters.

In the proceeding pages, my concern has been to present the evidence concerning the earliest appearances of Engla land in Old English written sources. Essential as they are, these texts do not necessarily tell the whole story. A number of Englishmen from both royal and ecclesiastical milieux wrote in Latin at this time and their surviving works must be scrutinized for evidence about the change from Britene and Angelcynn to Engla land such as attested by the vernacular texts. From the beginnings of the Anglo-Saxon period to the tenth century, insular Latinists called the country Britannia (and, occasionally, Albion), the Latin equivalent of

the Britene of their Old English counterparts. The list of authors begins with the Briton Gildas in the sixth century and continues with Bede in his Ecclesiastical History, Alcuin in the later eighth century, and Asser in his life of King Alfred at the end of the ninth century, to name only the most distinguished of this group. Similarly the Latin charters of the same period speak of Britannia in the rare instances when they name the country[25].

Evidence from Latin sources of English origin does indeed confirm the findings of my examination of Old English texts, namely that the transition from Britannia and Albion to Anglia took place between the end of the tenth century and the second decade of the eleventh. This is not to say that the two Latin names fell completely out of usage but that, as the following examples will show, they came to be reserved for special contexts. To Eadmer of Canterbury, writing in the early twelfth century, Britannia meant the entire island as opposed to Anglia, the part under English rule:

> Régnante in Anglia glorisissimo rege Eadgaro et totum regnum sanctis legibus strenue gubernante, Dunstanus Cantuorum antistes, vir totus ex virtutibus factus, christianae legis moderamine totam Britanniam disponebat (RULE 1881, p. 3).

King Edgar's rule was limited to Anglia whereas Archbishop Dunstan's authority extended to peoples outside that kingdom, i.e. the Welsh and the Scots. Already by the time of Anselm of Canterbury, later eleventh century, the standard phrase for the archiépiscopal authority had become totius Britanniae episcoporum primatem (FOREVILLE 1952, p. 252-253, n. 2 ; Davis/Chibnall 1998, p. 174-175). Although it is unquestionable that Anglia became the commonly accepted Latin country name for the English from the eleventh century on, these examples show that far from disappearing from the vocabulary, Britannia continued to be used in certain contexts as it is still today in its modem forms.

Precisely who introduced Anglia, when and under what circumstances is not yet known with any certainty but the evidence now available strongly

favours the possibility that it was the West Saxon nobleman, Aethelweard, who first used the name in his Latin chronicle of the kings of England of the later tenth century.

In the course of his brief summary of the early history of Britain from Roman times, he looks into the origins of the three Germanic peoples who invaded and settled on the island, the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. With regard to the Angles, he identifies their country of origin as Anglia Vetus, old Anglia, located between the lands of the two other peoples in what is today Denmark with their capital at Svesirv/c/Schleswig (the Saxon name, Haipabu/Hedeby in Danish, cf. LMW, p. 1865-1867, VII, p. 1484-1488). Then he comments: And so Britania is now called Anglia, taking the name of the victors[26].

What is exceptional about this passage is that in it, the author both tells of the change of names and explains the circumstances under which he believes it took place. The victors in the conquest of Britannia gave it to the land where they settled and ruled[27].

No comparable text exists in the Old English records at the time of the introduction of *Engla lond*. No contemporary Old English author writes explicitly of the change from *Britene* to *Engla land.* The Anglo-Saxon chronicler C must have been aware of the change but he does not openly acknowledge or comment on it as Aethelweard does here, and the modern reader realizes that it occurred only by observing that Engla land replaced Britene between certain dates.

Aethelweard is silent about when this change came about, though his remark *nunc Anglia appellatur* (it is now called Anglia) might imply a recent date. The absence of Anglia from the Latin writings of English origin prior to his day supports this likelihood; no English author from Bede to the end of the tenth century is known to have used it.

The Latin annals which accompany those in Old English in ms. F of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle do indeed speak repeatedly of Anglia from the seventh century on, but this version was produced at Christ Church Canterbury after the Conquest by a scribe who doubtless inserted the

Latin country name in use in his own day (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ms. F, p. LXXVI). A number of eighth and ninth century charters similarly call the country Anglia but Nicholas BROOKS (2003, p. 44) has pointed out that these are twelfth and thirteenth century forgeries.

The same is to be said about a Christmas day charter of King Edgar for 964 (S 731; KCD 514). In his *Gesta Pontificum* from the 1130's, William of Malmesbury preserves otherwise unknown letters to English prelates from Popes Gregory III (731-734), Leo III (Jan. 18, 802), Formosus (891-896) and John XII (960- 961), and these refer to Anglia but they too could have been "reworked" according toprevailing standards in the twelfth century (Hamilton 19642, p. 55, 57, 59, 62).

Even if authentic in this regard, papal charters would presumably have reflected naming customs prevalent in Rome at the time, not necessarily those in England.

If Anglia was a novelty in Aethelweard's own day, how then did he become aware of its introduction into the vocabulary, who might have been his source of information about it? As has already been indicated above, Engla lond, the vernacular name which it translates, did not become widespread according to surviving Old English records until the years after 1014, and only Aelfric of Eynsham is known to have used it at an earlier time, in the 990's. It is not impossible that Aethelweard took his idea of a country name change from this distinguished monk.

The two men knew and worked closely together, reading each other's translations, and Aelfric is known to have instructed his scribes to send Aethelweard a personal copy of the first section of his Catholic Homilies (Campbell 1962, p. XIV-XV). Through these sermons, if through no other source, Aethelweard must have been aware that Aelfric was giving their country the new name of Engla land, and this could have persuaded him to use a Latin counterpart in his chronicle[28].

After its initial appearance in Aethelweard's chronicle at the end of the tenth century, Anglia gradually became the standard translation of Engla lond in the Latin writings of English authors for the rest of the Middle

Ages (allowance being made for the continued use of Brittannia and Albion in special contexts as mentioned above). No chronicles of English origin exist for the first half of the eleventh century[29], but charter scribes use the name on the rare occasions when they speak of the country.

One of the earliest is a ca 1022 land grant of Abbot Eadric of St Peter's Gloucester (S 1424; KCD 1317) with the phrase per *totam Anglie*. Another is a charter of King Cnut, 1027-1035, *omnibus fidelius totius Anglie* (S 990 ; KCD 1326). Though he continues to use Britannia, the anonymous author of the Life of King Edward the Confessor, written between 1066-1070, more often employs Anglia[30]. William the Conqueror frequently calls the country Anglia in the charters issued during his reign, and William Rufus did likewise as king from 1087-1100 (BATES 1998, No. 4, 6, etc. ; DAVIS 1913, I, p. 291, 293). And Anglia is the customary name for England in the Domesday Book[31].

The same reliance on Anglia is to be found in the Canterbury monk Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England written early in the twelfth century[32]. A much greater quantity of Latin narrative sources survives for the twelfth century than for the eleventh, particularly for the first half, and these (William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Florence of Worcester, Hugh the Chantor, etc.) provide such abundant evidence for the acceptance of Anglia that further citation seems unnecessary.

This survey has shown that over the course of the eleventh century, Anglia won the acceptance of all English writers. This did not hold true, however, for a small group of historians from northern France during most of the eleventh century, and a brief look at their alternative translation in their writings provides additional and illuminating evidence about the date of the adoption of *Engla land* in England. From about 1010 to ca 1080, these historians called it *Anglica terra*, which is obviously nothing less than a literal latinization of the Engla lond they must have heard in the course of their personal contacts with the English during those years[33]. This practice began with Dudo of St Quentin, the historian of the Dukes of Normandy, writing at the beginning of the eleventh century.

It continued with the anonymous author of the Encomium Emmae Reginae in the 1040's and William of Poitiers in his 1070's Gesta Guillelmi about Duke William of Normandy and the Conquest of England. And on the single occasion when he named England in the Bayeux Tapestry (1070's?), the designer called it Anglica terra. Moreover these same authors did not use Anglia, though references in the Encomium and the Gesta Guillelmi indicated that their authors knew the name.

But then within a few decades of the Norman Conquest, Anglica terra disappeared from the writings of historians in Normandy as the latter, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigny for instance, adopted the Anglia of their English counterparts. The Latin form of the name may have been abandoned but not the French vernacular, Engleterre.

The earliest surviving manuscripts of epics such as the Song of Roland show that Engleterre had already become the standard country name for England in the French language by the beginning of the twelfth century[34]. The preference of Dudo of St Quentin, William of Poitiers, and others, for Anglica terra instead of Anglia raises the question as to why they made that choice. Since Anglica terra is a literal translation of Engla lond, it might be more appropriate to ask why the English, specifically Aethelweard of Wessex, the first author known to use it, preferred Anglia, which differs from the vernacular in omitting the terra element. Whatever may be the correct explanation is not of importance, since in the final analysis Engla land prevailed and Anglia fell into disuse.

Notes Chapter 2

4 Few modem editions of Old English texts contain indices listing all occurrences of Engla land as docs Felix Liebermann's Gesetze der Angelsachsen, and in fact some, e.g. the recent edition of the homilies of Aelfric, specifically exclude it. Without the online OEDy the only way to find individual citations of *Engla land* would have been to peruse each text, page by page, line by line.

5 Bately 1983. For English translations, I have used Whitelock 1961.

6 Cf Baker 2000. On the date of composition of F see below.

7 The following list (in chronological order) of authors who have contributed to the subject is far from comprehensive: Foot 2005; Harris 2003; Thomas 2003; Brooks 2003; Stafford 2003; Clayton 2002; Campbell 2000; Lavezzo 1999; Smyth 1998; Davis 1998; Pohl 1997 Foot 1996; Wormald 1994, 1995; Stafford 1989; Wormald 1983; Banton 1982.

8 The Angelcynn in the 497 annals (A, cf. Bately 1986) was entered by a different hand, thus is probably not authentic but a later addition.

9 On this, see Magoun 1935, p. 103.

10 Alice Sheppard (2004) has studied closely these uses of Angelcynn in the Chronicle.

11 King Alfred's comment "what wise men there formerly were geond Angelcynn" in his late ninth century preface to Pope Gregory's Pastoral Care has been rendered by modem translators as throughout England, but it can also be read as among the English people.

12 Two supposedly earlier occurrences (675 and 785, cf. Irvine 2004, p. XCIII; CUBBIN 1996, p. XIX) are later additions and not authentic for those dates.

13 Cf. Foot 1996, p. 41. On tenth century royal titles, cf. Kleinschmidt 1988, p. 107-112.

14 Liebermann I960[2], p. 222-224; Keynes 1991, p. 103-107. Keynes gives his reasons for dating this to 994 instead of Liebermann's 991.

15 S 959. A. J. Robertson, who published, translated and commented on it in her Anglo-Saxon Charters (1956, No 82, p. 158-161 ; commentary p. 406-411), considered it authentic. Brooks (1984, p. 292-294: likely to be a forgery of the 1070's and 80's based upon a more restricted original diploma of 1023), Lawson (1993, p. 66, n. 29) and Keynes (1994, p. 52, n. 51) viewed it as suspect and probably spurious.

16 A study of the titles given to Cnut in his coins yields a similar conclusion. He is always called rex Anglorum, never rex Angliae. See Blackburn/Lyon 1986.

17 Dobbie 1942, 98-104 at p. 101. Dobbie (introduction, p. XCIV) suggests a date of the mid or late tenth century.

18 I do not include two of Cnut's Latin writs (5 989-990 ; Harmer 1952, No 36-37), which do in fact name Anglia, because F. E. Harmer (ibid., p. 197-198 and commentary p. 190-191) dismisses them as spurious.

19 Liebermann 1889, p. 9-19, dating, p. XIV. Walter de Gray Birch also published the second of these two lists. For the most recent discussion of this list see Rollason 1978, 61 sq.

20 This is edited and commented upon by Förster 1914. Also published by Cockayne 1866, p. 429-32, and translated and discussed by Rollason 1982, p. 29, 86-87. Comments also by Liebermann 1889, p. Iv.

21 Homilies: 10 on Pope Gregory the Great: hi of engla lande waeron (Godden 1979, p. 74). Saints Lives: 20 The Passion of St Edmund: thonne on Englalande" (Needham 1976); 30 The Passion of St Thomas the Apostle : to wyrcenne on Englalande (Skeat 1881, p. 404); 40 The Passion of St Alban the Martyr: heo to Engla lande eac swylce (ibid, p. 414) ; 50 to Engla lande fram (ibid, p. 41) 60 geond Engla land (ibid., p. 4) 70 St Swithun: Sum thegn on Engla lande (ibid., p. 454); 80 Passio Maccaberorum: on Engla lande II, p. 104); 90 St Oswald: after than the Augustiners's to Engla lande (ibid., II, p. 124). Other works re Aelfric cited Engla land were his: 100 De Temporibus Anni: On Engla lande (Henel 1970, p. 48); 1 Io Aelfric's Version of Alcuini Interrogationes Sigenulfi in Genesis (Fortsetzung): on engla lande (Mac + N 1884, p. 2); 120 Aelfric's Epilogue to Judges in the Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Aelfric's Tremase on the Old and New Testament and his preface to Genesis: on Engla land (CRAWFORD 1969, p. 416).

22 Needham 1976, p. 58, english translation Swanton 1975, p. 102. Aelfric makes a similar distinction in his life of St Swithun (Skeat I, p. 440).

23 Edited by Napier 1895, No 7, p. 18-19, notes and commentary P-102-110. translation p. 106-107. This letter (5 1296) is not included in the index of charters in Ramsey/Sparks/Tatton-Brown 1992, p. 329. Nor does it appear to be discussed in any of the articles in this collection.

24 Wright 1984; Colgrave 1968, I, p. 1: Britannia oceani insula cui quondam Albion nomen fuit; Levison I9792, p. 81; Stevenson 1904.

25 Impression based on a cursory scanning of the editions of KCD, Birch 1892, Thorpe 1865 and Pierquin 1912. All except Pierquin have indices but none includes Anglia or Brittannia in them. A systematic search page by page, line by line, would have been no small task.

26 Porro Anglia vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos, Habens oppidum capitale quod sermone Saxonicio Slesuuic nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos. Haithaby. Ideoque Britannia nunc Anglia appellatur, assumens nomen victorum (CAMPBELL 1962, p. 8-9).

27 In his recent book, Stephen Harris (2003, p. 140) maintains that Anglia comes from the language spoken by the Angli but Aethelweard is categorical on this point: it came from the name of the people. The creation of country from ethnic names was a common one at this time: from Brittonnes came Brittannia, from Franci, Francia, etc.

28 Although Aethelweard's chronicle ends with the death of King Edgar in 975, the author, who died around 1000, could have written, or modified, his history during the later part of his life, after he had become acquainted with Aelfric (Campbell 1962, p. XI, XV).

29 Manuscript F of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is eliminated from consideration for reasons stated above.

30 Barlow 1962, p. 6, 52, 53, 69, 70, 71 Anglia, p. 11, 20, 21, 26, 71 Britannia.

31 A search for the name in the electronic facsimile of Greater and Lesser Domesday Book published by Alecto yielded twenty-five uses of Anglia. I am grateful to Jonathan Herold, a doctoral student at the University of

Toronto, for having looked this up for me when I lacked Internet access to Alecto. Keats-Rohan/Thornton 1997 do not include Anglia.

32 Rule 1884. When he has occasion to refer to the territorial jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury (e.g. p. 3, 12, 15, 42, 83, 93, etc.), Eadmer speaks of Britannia, i.e. those parts of England beyond the rule of the king. Otherwise it is Anglia.

33 On the close relations between Normandy and England around 1000 (Queen Emma was Norman) see Bates 1999.

34 For a more detailed discussion of Anglica terra see Beech 2008a. It was research for that paper which led me to this one. My article *Les noms de personne, noms de lieux et noms de peuples dans la tapisserie de Bayeux : une perspective française* (BEECH 2008b) discusses the Anglica terra inscription in the Bayeux Tapestry.

Chapter 3
Interpretation of the evidence

THE FIRST PART OF THIS ESSAY WAS MY PRESENTATION OF EVIDENCE about how the English referred to and named the land they inhabited in the later Anglo-Saxon period, particularly in the early eleventh century when Engla land began to appear in contemporary records.

I now turn to the interpretation of that evidence, beginning with earlier naming practices up to the time of the introduction of the new name. An examination of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle brought out that when identifying the territorial setting of the events they are describing, the authors almost always named the land of the people in the region in question; e.g. Eastenglejond “the land of the East Angles”. They rarely referred to Britannia (or Albion), the geographical or territorial names of the entire

island since Roman times, and after 979 they ceased using these names altogether. Then from the reign of Alfred, 871-899, until the early eleventh century it became increasingly common for them to locate what was happening in Angelcynnes lond, the land of the English people. After 1001, Angelcynn (the English people) alone took on the further meaning of Angelcynnes lond and the annalists no longer spelled out the lond. In addition to this, they often spoke of the *eard*, the land (985, 1002, 1005, 1006, 1009 1010, 1014) or country of the English.

What is striking about these frequent references to the country of the English is the absence of a country name at this time. Although it came by association to mean the land of the English after 1001, angelcynn was an ethnic (a people's) name, not a country name[35]. The C Chronicle's account of Earl Olafs 994 promise never to come back to England is expressed as on Angelcyn, to (the land of) the English, whereas Cnut's return to the country in 1023 is to Engla lande, to England.

The way in which English kings before Cnut entitled themselves in their charters is a further demonstration of the lack of a country name in their day; even the most powerful called themselves *cyning angelcynnes, rex anglorum,* king of the English, not king of England, as Cnut would do starting in 1018. The new ethnic identity of the English ca 1000 as a single people with a common culture and language, and ruled by a single king, had not yet led to the creation of a country name.

The study of the earliest known uses of Engla lond in Old English sources ranging from the Anglo-Saxon chronicle to royal documents, and various ecclesiastical records, left no doubts that the name gained currency in King Cnut's entourage around 1018. And the use of England in Old Norse by poets connected to Cnut's court at that time further strengthened that belief. At the same time, it established that Abbot Aelfric of Eynsham was the first Englishman to make regular use of the name some two decades earlier in the 990's.

Why Aelfric began to do so in his sermons and saints lives shortly before the end of the millennium, and whether he created Engla lond on his own or borrowed it from someone else, are matters of conjecture. Chronicle

annals from the eighth to the tenth century show that people commonly formed names for their own tribal areas by coupling their ethnic names with land (POLENZ 1961, p. 110-116). For instance, different entries in version A refer to Cumbra lond (945), Eastengla lond (894), Miercna land, Mercia (887, 904, 910, 917), Northaphymbra lond, Northumbria (876, 894, 944, 946, etc.). Somewhat less often the chronicler writes about the Engle, the Angles (910, 937, 942, 974, 975), but never about Engla land.

The only place (known today) where Aelfric could have encountered that name in a written text would have been in the ninth century Old English version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History in a passage which reads: [...] in the monastery of Abercom which lies in Engla londe, but is, however, near the sea which separates Engla lond (*regione Anglorum* and *Anglorum terras* in the original Latin), the territory of the English and the Picts (Miller 1997, book IV, 26, p. 359-360).

From the geographical context of this description and from the Latin original, Aelfric would have realized that Bede was referring here to the land of the Angles, not to the country as a whole. Nonetheless he would also have perceived that in Bede, Angle came to stand for Englishman in the broader sense of « member of the gens Anglorum, Angelcynn ». This perception could have prompted him to introduce Engla land into 1 it own writings as the name of the land of all the English people (WORMALD 1992, 20-21, 24).

Like other Englishmen of his day, Aelfric knew and used Angelcynn, but the passage quoted earlier from his Life of St Edmund the Martyr, « Angelcynn (the English people or nation) is not deprived of the Lord's saints since on Engla lande lie such saints as this saintly king », shows clearly that for him, this was the ethnic name and Engla land was the country name. His having made this distinction may also indicate that he was conscious of differing from accepted practices in other circles in his day. Anglo-Saxonists of the present day -most recently Lavezzo (2006, p. 32-33) - consider Aelfric to have been one of the leading promoters of the new English ethnic identity late in the tenth century when that people was increasingly threatened by Scandinavian invasions.

Could it not be that his use of *Engla lond*, a new country name at the time, and possibly his own creation, was one of his ways of pointing to and stressing what he thought to be that new identity? Yet even though Aelfric's homilies and saints lives were widely known in England, none of his contemporaries other than Archbishop Dunstan is known to have used Engla lond, and above all no one at the court of King Aethelred II, and this suggests that his adoption of the name was a personal choice and had no consequences in his own lifetime. A possible exception is the Latin chronicler Aethelweard who may have been borrowing from Aelfric when he named the country Anglia.

Then shortly after Aelfric's death ca 1010, Engla land began to appear in a number of different writings, most them datable to the early part of the eleventh century, and in most cases, these were single citations in ecclesiastical texts and documents, once in a poem. But the most important evidence on the new use of the name comes from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and from laws and letters of Cnut.

These are precisely dated and their multiple entries show that once their respective authors had adopted Engla lond into their vocabularies between 1014 and 1020, it became the invariable term for the future. At the same time, occurrences of the new name in literary and religious texts, as few as these are, show that Engla land was now being used by clerics in different parts of the country - Winchester, Worcester, Exeter — as well as by the chronicler and officials of the king, and by Scandinavian poets writing in Old Norse at the court of King Cnut.

It was no longer the novelty of a single individual as it had been with Aelfric in the 990's. Subsequent documentation makes clear - and the use of the new name Anglia in place of Britannia by English Latinists confirms this - that within a short period of time, perhaps by the late 1020's, the transition to a new country name had been carried out in several parts of England, if not in the entire country.

To try and find out what might have started this new vogue in naming one naturally has to turn to the 1014 entry of the Chronicle, the first datable use of Engla land after Aelfric' day. As described earlier, the scribe

reports that once they learned of Cnut's election (after the death of his father Swein Feb. 1014), all the members of the witan who were in Engla lande (C alone ; this is missing in D and E) determined to send for King Aethelred from Normandy, and later in the same entry (year), the same group pronounced every Danish king an outlaw from Englalande forever (C, D, E). But the next three times when he named the country (1016, 1017, 1018), the annalist C reverted to his earlier traditional name, Angelcynn.

Then he returned to Engla lond when recording King Cnut's return from Denmark in 1020. The authors of D and E followed him in this except for D who noted that in 1017, Cnut succeeded to eall Englalandes rice, not Angelcynnes ryce. For the remainder of Cnut's reign, as well as that of his son Harold, Engla land is used exclusively (1023, C; 1028, D, E, F; 1029, D, E, F; 1031, A; 1035, E; 1039, E; 1041, E).

A close reading leaves one wondering about several curious or unusual features of these annals. The first question: why did C change from Angelcynn to Engla land in his narrative for 1014 and, related to this, why did D and E, who otherwise follow him word for word, omit the first reference to Engla land but then use it in the later part of that annal? If the chroniclers used names casually, i.e. different ones interchangeably for the same person, place, etc., it would be a mistake to attribute any importance to any such variation. But the pattern evident for the years 980-1020 suggests the opposite: they seem to have been consistent in writing Angelcynn until 1018, and then replacing it with Engla land.

Could the actions, events, being described in 1014 have influenced C's decision to use Engla lond? The substance of the entire annal is the reconciliation of the English aristocracy with King Aethelred in exile, his return to England at their request, and their agreement to resist Cnut's efforts to rule as king.

This might be interpreted as an English movement of resistance against the Danish king, thus the new name Engla land might be seen as the expression of a new kind of English determination against a foreign intruder. Did the chronicler, presumably an educated cleric, introduce this

new name on his own initiative as an interested observer, or could he have been instructed to do so by one of the members of the witan, or by King Aethelred? I see no way of answering that question but I will mention one other quite different possibility: that C's first use of Engla lond was directly related to his having just told his readers of Cnut's election as king by his fleet. By 1018 or 1020, the annalist would have known that Engla land had become the "official" country name of Cnut's administration.

His use of Engla land at that juncture in the 1014 annal could then have been C's recognition of a formal change in country naming. I acknowledge, however, that this pure speculation, as is also the interpretation 1 proposed previously, and I see no way of resolving the problem. Still I remain convinced that C's introduction of *Engla lond* at this point in his chronicle was not accidental.

With regard to another problem in the 1014 annal, D and E's deletion of the first of Engla lond in C's entry, and then their restoring it on the second occasion in the same annal, I have nothing further to offer other than that I find it perplexing. It may be the result of pure chance, a copyist's error or his skipping over the phrase and thus omitting it, or it may reflect some reasoned choice which escapes me. The same concerning D's use of *Engla londes rice* instead of C and E's *Angelcynnes rice* in the 1017 annal. Another curious feature in C's annals is his reversion to Angelcynn for the next five years after 1014, prior to his settling on Engla lond starting in 1020.

No other explanation for this seems acceptable than that after presenting the new name in 1014, the author of C had second thoughts and went back to the earlier one. If so, why and what could have caused him to change his mind, and then, what persuaded him to return, definitively, to *Engla land* in 1020?

This pattern of innovation, then hesitation prior to the definitive adoption of the new name, raises questions about C's source of information and his reasons for making such a change. On the assumption that he did not simply invent Engla lond, who or what could have prompted him to begin

using it? It is evident that he brought the name into use at a moment of grave crisis for the English people. In 1013, as the culmination of a series of earlier invasions and conquest, the Danish king Swein sailed over from Denmark, ravaged and occupied a good part of the country and was recognized as king. His death in Feb. 1014 cut short Swein's reign, but his son, Cnut, elected king to replace him, continued his plan to subdue the entire country.

The reigning English monarch, Aethelred II, had enough support to return from Normandy where he had fled after Swein's initial victories in 1013, to lead the English resistance for the next two years until spring 1016. Then Aethelred's death in April 1016 introduced further uncertainty into the English cause until the king's son, Edmund, replaced him and effectively held off the attacks of Cnut and the Danish army for another year and a half. But Edmund's sudden death in Nov. 1017, the second in eighteen months, left his backers helpless and Cnut became the uncontested king for the next nineteen years.

The author of version C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle thus introduced Engla land into his vocabulary at a time of war, turmoil and extraordinary instability when the native royal line of Wessex collapsed and was replaced by a new foreign dynasty from Denmark. In view of the close correspondence between changes in dynasties and country names, the suspicion is irresistible that the two were somehow related. Specifically, that the scribe of C changed from Angelcynn to Engla land in order to bring his history into line with the practices of the new ruler, King Cnut.

The likelihood that the adoption of Engla land as a country name and as a new element in the royal title, originated in the court of King Cnut in the first years of his reign seems to me very great. My analysis of the vernacular laws, letters, and charters from Cnut's writing office brought out unequivocally that from the beginning of his reign this monarch, or his advisors and scribes, used Engla land exclusively when naming the country.

A review of the first years of Cnut's reign shows what his prime objectives were after becoming king. He began his rule in conditions of

instability created by three years of warfare and destruction, and the deaths of two previous monarchs. His own qualifications must have cast doubt on his ability to rule a divided population successfully. He was young, inexperienced and a foreigner who had imposed himself by force and despite his recent conversion, his pagan upbringing may have led to suspicions about his ability to rule a Christian population.

His first acts as monarch indicate that Cnut, grasping how precarious his situation was, moved quickly to persuade the English of his desire to overcome the divisions which had torn the country apart and reunite the people by respecting English traditions and by ruling as a law-abiding king. He stresses these points in two celebrated letters of 1020 and 1027 addressed to the English prelates, nobles, and "all his people [...] ecclesiastic and lay on Englalande" (1020 letter).

The first opens with his promise « that I will be a gracious lord and faithful observer of God's rights and just secular law » (EHD I, 415). No where, however, are his intentions better expressed than in the two law codes drawn up at his orders, the Oxford Code ca 1018 and the Winchester Code of 1020. The preface to the first of these reads: This is the ordinance which the councillors determined and devised [...] and this took place as soon as King Cnut with the advice of his councillors completely established peace and friendship between the Danes and the English and put an end to all their former strife » (ibid., 414).

A more comprehensive view of this monarch's objectives and accomplishment comes from an anonymous Englishman who translated Cnut's laws into Latin a century later, a document called the *Consiliatio Cnuti.* He begins his preface:-

Since in the times of the ancients [...], England was given over to the rule of many kings [...]. There was a diversity of legal custom [...]. But when it happened that the most just king Cnut acquired the whole of England, he decreed with reasoned deliberation that the whole kingdom of England would be ruled by one law just as it was by one king. He, with common assent attempted, so far as human reason was able, to fix firmly what was just, to amend what was partly askew, and to abolish and entirely remove what altogether departed from the path of justice[36].

The reference here to Cnut as king of the whole of the kingdom of England is paralleled by the beginning of the prologue to his Winchester Code of 1018: "*This is the ordonnance which King Cnut ealles Englalandis cininge and his councillors decreed*", and by the prologue to his secular code of 1023: This is the secular ordinance which I (i.e. Cnut), with the advice of my councillors wish to be observed ofer eall Englaland.

The emphasis here on all of England is surely an expression of Cnut's intention to rule over all the population of the land, both Danish and English. But instead of asserting his authority over those peoples, he does so over Englaland, England. In adopting this new name in his title he and his advisors were explicitly rejecting the one traditionally used by English monarchs prior to his day: *cining Angelcynnes* "king of the English people". To Cnut's royal circle that older form was obviously inadequate, and addressing the monarch as king of England corresponded more closely to their conception of royal authority than did the earlier one.

One suspects that ideas about the nature of royal authority had been changing since the reign of Aethelred (f 1015) and this leads to the question : what was the difference to Cnut and his court between being king of the English people, and king of England, the land of the English? And to answer that, one would have to know what Englaland meant to Cnut and his advisors at that time. England for us today is a country name, and a country - to cite the OED - is the territory of a land or a nation; usually an independent state, or a region once independent, and still distinct in race, language, institutions or historical memories ». The key elements in this definition are a clearly marked territory occupied by a distinct people with a common culture, and usually having its own, independent government.

A country name differs from a geographical name in that the latter describes territories, continents, etc., but not political entities. According to this definition, Africa and Europe today are geographical, not country names; - there is no country (nation) of Africa. In like fashion Britene (and Albion) were geographical names when used by the Anglo-Saxons until the early eleventh century. They named a geographical territory, the

British Isles, not a country under a single government. It is true that after Alfred's day, the unification of the former Anglo-Saxon tribal kingdoms into a single English monarchy brought most of the English peoples under a single monarch, but these rulers called themselves kings of the Angelcynn, the English people, not kings of Englaland, as Cnut began to do, and Angelcynnes lond, the land of the English, was their name for the land where they lived.

The lack of any country name for the English through the tenth century would suggest that our modem concept of country such as expressed above was unknown at this time, even though people like Aelfric were increasingly conscious of their ethnic identity[37].

To return to the questions raised above about the meaning of Englaland to Cnut and his court, and their reasons for introducing it after he took power. Is it possible that the emphasis on Cnut's authority over the land instead of over the people resulted from the specific circumstances under which he took power in 1016? As a foreigner who conquered the people and the land rather than inheriting the throne as an heir, his legitimacy as ruler of the English people could have been in question. Could his use of Englaland have been part of his response? Could he be in effect saying : you may question my right to rule the people but no one can doubt that I conquered the land and now control it?

Whatever may be the correct explanation for their bringing in this new name, I think Patrick WORMALD (1994, p. 10) was correct in arguing that "the words Engla lond and Englisc were being used in the eleventh century very much as England and English are used today".

The contexts in which they used it leave, it seems to me, no choice but to conclude that for them it was not a geographical name, a description of a territory, but a name with a political dimension, something approaching a country name in the modem sense. Cyning Englalandes designated the head of the government, the ruler of the people and the land or the country. One striking use of the name by the Norman historian William of Poitiers in his history of the Norman conquest written in the 1070's supports this interpretation better than any other contemporary example

that I have found. After a passage where he sings the praises of Duke William for the blessings the latter had conferred on his native Duchy of Normandy, he turns to the English and reproaches them for having failed to appreciate the benefits the Conqueror had brought to them after subjecting them to his rule : « And you too, Anglica terra, would love him and hold him in the highest respect, you would gladly prostrate yourself entirely at his feet, if putting aside your folly and wicknedness you could judge more soundly the kind of man into whose power you had come (Davis/Chibnall 1998, p. 156-157).

In addressing it as Anglica terra, William is obviously personalizing England as people still do today: “And you, England, would love him”. For him, Anglica terra means the English people, their country and their government: thus I believe R. H. DAVIS and M. CHIBNALL are mistaken in translating this as” And you, English land.

How did the royal entourage become acquainted with this new name, and what or who persuaded them to adopt it for their political purposes? As noted earlier, Aelfric of Eynsham was the first English writer known to have used the name regularly in his sermons and writings from the 990’s; yet although these were widely circulated among the English church and clergy, Engla land had no currency in the official circles of King Aethelred or in the general population during his reign.

It is difficult to imagine that Cnut himself was responsible for uncovering and then selecting the name. As a young foreigner who had been only a short time in the country, he was presumably still learning the language and initially would have had little or no contact with the circles in which Aelfric’s sermons circulated. But there is precise evidence pointing to Wulfstan, archbishop of York, as the person who brought Engla lond to Cnut’s attention.

A towering figure in the English church in his day (T 1023), Wulfstan had personal contact with Aelfric between 1002 and 1006, but more significant is the degree to which he borrowed from the latter’s homilies and other writings. In his recent study of the relations between the two men, Malcolm Godden (2004, p. 362-364) found that Wulfstan had incorporat-

ed passages from no less than eighteen different texts of Aelfric into his own sermons and treatises.

Thus I am inclined to trace Wulfstan's own use of Engla land in his sermon Larspell to the writings of Aelfric. Starting in the later part of the reign of Aethelred II (979-1016) and continuing during the first seven years of Cnut's reign, Wulfstan acquired extraordinary influence in royal affairs as an advisor and legislator and is credited with having been the author of I and II Cnut, (1018, 1020). Because of his importance in shaping policy and laws in Cnut's reign, Patrick WORMALD (2004) calls him an « eleventh-century state builder.

Though the text itself does not tell explicitly when and where it was delivered, Larspell, the homily in which Wulfstan uses the name Engla land, is now thought to have been an address to an aristocratic audience assembled to deal with matters of legislation, and to have included King Cnut. This could have been the council of Oxford of 1018 (LlONARONS 2004, p. 416, 419).

The earliest uses of Engla land in royal documents of Cnut's reign occur in the Oxford Code of 1018, the Winchester Code of 1020, and the Secular Code of ca 1023. Cnut's first personal letter to the English people, and containing Engla land, is dated to 1020. It would not seem reckless to conclude that Wulfstan introduced Engla lond to Cnut, perhaps for the first time in Larspell. Not only introduced the name to him, but he also may have persuaded him to incorporate it into the official language of the crown and of the land.

Notes Chapter 3

35 If Angelcynn had been the country name when Aethelweard of Wessex wrote his chronicle of the 990's, he certainly would have noted that when he described how Anglia came to be adopted. By commenting, without a reference to Angelcynn, that Anglia had replaced Britannia, he shows that for him, it was not a country name. For this reason, I think it as a mistake, though an understandable one, to translate Angelcynn as England, as Dorothy Whitelock (1961) did in her edition of the Anglo-

Saxon Chronicle and as other translators of Old English texts have also done.

36 Liebermann 1893,1, p. 618-619, translation of preface by Wormald 1999, p. 406.

37 A comment of Davies (1999, p. 211) is relevant here: “Names reflect consciousness. They are only applied when people became aware of phenomena which they previously did not recognize. One can be reasonably sure that if the sources show no regular trace of a particular name [he is talking about country names here] that the phenomenon did not yet exist”.

38 To my knowledge, the only scholar to have addressed the question as to the nature of the name Engla land is E. A. Freeman (1875-1897,1, p. 584-586). He classifies Anglia as a political name designating a state, or a kingdom, named after its inhabitants, but for him Engla lond was a geographical name, what he calls “the territorial style”, and translates the royal title in the I Cnut prologue, cyning ealles Englalandes, as “king over the whole land of the English”, not as “king of all England”. I think he is correct in identifying Anglia as a political name but mistaken in making this distinction between Anglia and Engla lond. I have argued above that Anglia is simply the Latin translation of Engla lond, not a name used independently.

Chapter 4
Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn from this inquiry into the origins and early history of the country name Engla lond ? The survival of a small number of varied and, in some cases, richly detailed documents from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries makes it possible to date the introduction of this name with remarkable exactitude to a fifteen year period between 1014 and 1030. The precision of this dating is quite exceptional. In his search for the origin of the French country name, France, the German historian Bernd SCHNEIDMÜLLER (1987) could not approach such exactitude, and the explanation for the greater certainty in the English case is the existence of vernacular texts (only Latin are available for France) and above all the chronological sequence in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

The setting for the first uses of the name was the royal court of the Danish King Cnut (1016-1035) at the beginning of a period of recovery after three years of war and anarchy had ended in the imposition of a new foreign monarchy. When it was brought into use at this time, Engla land did not replace an earlier country name: the English had not had one, the concept of country in our newer sense having never existed there. Who took the initiative in adopting Engla land is not known with certainty but there seems little reason to doubt that given the authority of his office, the young King Cnut was involved in the decision to use it.

Yet the credit for proposing the name to the king and his court quite likely belongs to Archbishop Wulfstan of York who was one of Cnut's most prominent and influential advisors and formulators of policy. Engla lond did not originate with Wulfstan but came to him from the distinguished English abbot Aelfric of Eynsham who first brought it into use to designate all of the land of the English in his homilies and saint's lives in the last decade of the tenth century, a good two decades prior to its passage into the royal vocabulary. Aelfric may well have encountered Engle land in the late ninth century Old English translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History where it stood not for the entire country of England but for the

restricted tribal kingdom of the Angles in Northumbria. If so, credit for creating the name belongs to the anonymous (Mercian?) translator of Bede who may have been commissioned by King Alfred. In any case that translator could never have had the slightest inkling that a new name which he created to translate anglorum terras and regione anglorum would one day become one of the most famous and long-lived country names in European history. Nor could Aelfric, if he was the creator of Engla lond.

In Aelfric's writings, Engla land served to describe the land of the English without explicit political connotations but Cnut and Wulfstan brought it into the royal vocabulary, most notably into the royal title, to stand for the kingdom of the English. It seems likely that this new name was a key element in Cnut's campaign to persuade a divided population that he was making a new attempt to unite them under a rule of law, order, and the established church.

There is no reason to believe that the name was adopted in any kind of formal ceremony, or that contemporary observers saw it as an epoch making change. It is obvious that no one at the time could have foreseen that Engla land would become a famous name with a future life of a thousand years. Could people have missed the irony in the fact that it was foreign conqueror, not an heroic native defender, who presided over the imposition of a name which eventually became a symbol for English national unity? Still, even though no writer from the time says anything to that effect in surviving texts, people around the king and possibly in the general public could well have suspected that calling the country by a new name might have a certain symbolic importance to them as the English people.

There may be uncertainty surrounding the precise motivations of Cnut's regime in promoting the new country name, Engla lond, but not about the success of their policy. Within a very short period of time the name begins to appear in texts from Wessex, and the towns of Exeter, Worcester, and Winchester, as well as in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which may have been written in London. And in Old Norse poems written by poets at Cnut's court. In all probability it was the direct influence of the king

which led the author of the Chronicle to begin to use the name, and the same thing may have happened at Winchester. A full page portrait of King Cnut and Queen Emma in the New Minster Liber Vitae manuscript of the early eleventh century shows that they had a close relationship with

that abbey in Winchester. Engla land appears in a list of burial places of saints in that manuscript, as well as in another famous Winchester manuscript of the same date, the Lambeth Psalter (Heslop 1990; Temple 1976, No. 78, p. 95-96). But nothing in the ca 1023 charter of the bishop of Hereford suggests that it came out of the entourage of Cnut or that he had anything to do with it. Thus that bishop's use of Engla lond may indicate that by this date it had become accepted usage among the general population and was not strictly limited to royal circles. But all doubts are removed with the passage of time, and Engla lond was firmly established throughout the country by the end of the century.

Was the introduction of this new name Engla lond of any importance to the English people in the eleventh and later centuries ? What reactions, if any, did they have to it? Neither Cnut nor anyone in his entourage made any comments on it in the written records surviving today, yet it must have meant something to them or they would not have taken the trouble to adopt it.

The same comment applies to the author of C chronicle; he was certainly aware of the new name when he brought it into his annals but he has nothing to say about it. The silence of these people makes all the more valuable the very brief statements on the subject by several roughly contemporary authors, all historians. I have already mentioned the earliest one, Aethelred of Wessex of the late tenth century, who informs his readers: "And so Britannia is now called Anglia, taking the name of the victors" (cf supra). Two later historians differed very little from Aethelred. William of Poitiers, a Norman historian writing in the 1070's, pointed out that « the more ancient name of England was Britannia ».

An early twelfth century monk, Eadmer of Christ Church Canterbury, said much the same thing at the beginning of his life of St Wilfrid of York: Britain, which the English, who had conquered and settled it, call

England[39]. As these citations make evident these authors content themselves with telling of the name change, and two add that the new name came from the people who conquered and settled England, the Angles. Beyond that none has anything further to offer. However, just their mentioning it shows that the change from Britannia to Anglia was to them significant even if they don't explain how or why.

Sarah FOOT'S (2005, p. 129) belief that the creation of Engla lond pointed to changes in the ways in which the English were thinking about and perceiving themselves as a people in relation to the land where they lived may be appropriate here:

> "As Alfred's court 'promoted' a new word to define that imagined community : Angelcynn, similarly in the eleventh century the new term Engle lond was coined to articulate the newly discovered territorial space of all England [...] they were capable both of naming a new territorial realm and of describing the unification of a formerly disunited people".

In other words, even if it was only a geographical term in the early eleventh century, and not a country name as I maintain, the new use of Engla land was still an indication that their land had become their homeland, and now their sense of being English had taken on a territorial as well as an ethnic dimension. It would not seem unreasonable then to propose that the introduction of Englaland marked a new step in the development of the identity of the English people.

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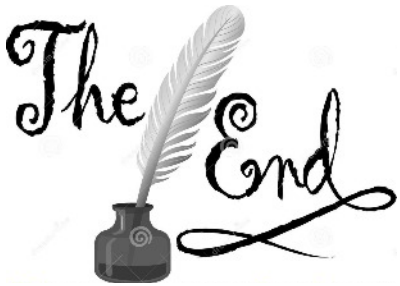

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