

8 Why Did a Viking King Meet a Pope?

Cnut's Imperial Politics, Scandinavian Commercial Networks, and the Journey to Rome in 1027

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Introduction

According to John of Worcester, a young Dane named Cnut was elected king of England by the magnates present at Southampton in spring 1016.¹ As a son of the Danish King Swein and a Polish mother Gunnhild, he became a Viking warlord who plundered the British Isles with his father and Scandinavian magnates, probably beginning in 991.² In 1016, Cnut defeated his rival Edmund Ironside and the English and Scandinavian magnates arrayed against him. At the meeting at Alney in Gloucestershire, these two powerful rulers agreed to divide the country: Edmund took Essex while Cnut received Mercia and the northern part of England.³ But, soon afterwards, the English king died. Cnut was quickly established as the ruler of the entire kingdom of England by the witan consisting of the English elites, even though he might have been recognised as one of the most infamous Scandinavian plunderers of Christendom.⁴

As is well known, Cnut became one of the most influential rulers in early eleventh-century northern Europe.⁵ After assuming the crown of England, he took over as ruler of Denmark in 1018, succeeding his brother Harald. In 1028, he expelled the then-Norwegian king Olaf Haraldson from the country and took over the throne of Norway. At the time, Cnut was recognised as a powerful monarch reigning over three kingdoms surrounding the North Sea.⁶ According to some historical sources, his power exerted a profound influence not only on the core of the three kingdoms but also on the surrounding polities: the kingdoms of the Scots, the Welsh, and the Swedes.⁷ The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, an eleventh-century Flemish narrative, described Cnut as follows: 'When, however, King Knutr first obtained the absolute rule of the Danes, he was emperor of five kingdoms, for he had established claim to the rule of Denmark, England, Wales, Scotland and Norway'.⁸ On the other hand, Cnut, in a letter to the English in 1027, called himself 'king of all England, and of Denmark, and of the Norwegians, and of part of the Swedes'.⁹ These expressions might not have reflected the full reality, but, as some historians have shown, they could have been partially true.¹⁰ Here it can be supposed that Cnut's *imperium* was created as a real polity.

Having established his rule around the North Sea, Cnut proceeded to the next stage of his reign. His interests turned to the higher authorities: the emperor and the pope. Cnut met Emperor Conrad II when he, together with King Rudolf of Burgundy, attended his imperial coronation by Pope John XIX in Rome at Easter in 1027.¹¹ We can assume that it would have been of political importance for the ruler of the northern *imperium* to meet the neighbouring powerful ruler under the authority (in theory) of the Roman *imperium*.¹² Conrad's son Henry and Cnut's daughter Gunhild would be married in 1036, after Cnut's death. But why did Cnut meet a pope? This is the starting point of this chapter.

Cnut's Pilgrimage to Rome

The C version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which was compiled as a kind of public record of the Anglo-Saxon royal court from the reign of Alfred onwards, relates that Cnut went to Rome in 1027.¹³ This is a very simple entry, but it does indicate that the event was, in fact, regarded as important for the chronicler. The *Chronicle* does not contain long entries made during Cnut's reign, whereas much longer and more detailed entries are allocated to other Anglo-Saxon kings before and after him, such as Aethelred II, Edmund Ironside, and Edward the Confessor.

More detailed information on the visit to Rome is provided by Cnut's 1027 letter to Archbishop Æthelnoth of Canterbury, Archbishop Ælfric of York, and all the people of England, which can be found in the *Chronicle* of John of Worcester.¹⁴ Cnut provided a glimpse into his motivations when he stated:

I inform you that I have recently gone to Rome, and have prayed for the redemption of my sins, and for the safety of the kingdoms whose people are subject to my rule.¹⁵

Another source, the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, indicates that Cnut visited all the churches in Rome and explains how he travelled to Rome. This panegyric was written in Flanders in 1042, in dedication to Cnut's widow, Emma, and offered a relatively detailed account of the king's path to Rome:

Consequently what church does not still rejoice in his gifts? But to say nothing of what he did for those in his own kingdom, Italy blesses his soul every day, Gaul begs that it may enjoy benefits, and Flanders, above all, prays that it may rejoice in heaven with Christ. For he went to Rome by way of these countries, and as appears from many things, he displayed on this journey such great charitable activities, that if anyone should wish to describe them all, although he might make innumerable volumes out of these matters, at length he will admit in failure that he has not covered even the least ones.¹⁶

This passage states that on the way to Rome, Cnut performed great charitable activities in Flanders, France, and Italy. Moreover, the following section describes in detail Cnut's act of charity for St Omer and St Bertin in Flanders,¹⁷ where the *Encomium* panegyrist wrote to Emma. However, these sources do not reveal the entirety of Cnut's acts of generosity to churches and monasteries. Historians have pointed to further examples of Cnut's gifts to holy institutions, not only in Flanders, France, and Italy but also in the British Isles and Germany.¹⁸

In any case, these testimonies suggest that Cnut's journey was a pilgrimage undertaken to atone for the misdeeds in which he engaged until 1027, when he was enthroned and gained power over certain kingdoms and their surroundings. For what misdeeds did Cnut atone? There was a large amount of slaughter, including of prelates, in the process of the creation of his *imperium*. As Elaine Treharne has rightly noted, he offered pious donations to holy institutions on the way to Rome in an effort to persuade his contemporaries to remember him as a pious Christian ruler.¹⁹ The important point here is not whether he became genuinely pious but that his actions would have made him appear to be so to his contemporaries. To that end, his pilgrimage to Rome and his meeting with Pope John XIX seem to have been effective.

The Political Background

As the contemporary sources above show, Cnut acted piously on his pilgrimage to Rome. We can justly understand that Cnut was a pious Christian king. However, we must remember that there was another side to Cnut's display of religiosity on his pilgrimage to Rome: a political message to the English, the people of his *imperium*, and other political actors within Christendom.

First, Cnut's maintenance and furtherance of his relationship with the papacy would have had a political meaning for his people, especially for the clergy of England. They owed two special burdens to the pope: the payment of Peter's Pence and the receipt of the *pallium*. As Francesca Tinti and Rory Naismith demonstrate, Peter's Pence functioned well in later Anglo-Saxon society.²⁰ We do not know exactly how much was paid to the papacy, but article 9 in I Cnut's law stipulated its payment.²¹ Cnut's letter of 1027 states the problem with the custom of new archbishops visiting Rome to receive the *pallium*:

Again I complained in the lord pope's presence and expressed my grave displeasure that my archbishops were so greatly straitened by the vast sum of money which was required of them when they travelled to the apostolic see according to custom to receive the *pallium*; and it was decreed that this should not henceforth occur.²²

Cnut had to give great care to the clergy because his rule over England was supported by them. As a Viking warrior, Cnut himself would not have

known how to govern the England that was administered with Latin and vernacular written documents as previous kings had done. However, he succeeded in governing the kingdom effectively after his English coronation because he was supported by the clerical staff who were responsible for providing advice and producing administrative documents.²³ It was Archbishop Wulfstan of York who decided the general policy during the first phase of Cnut's reign, for example.²⁴ It might be thought that Cnut's 1018 law was his political manifesto based on the archbishop's idea that expected the Viking king to have the pride and practice of a monarch of Christendom rather than a raider of England.²⁵

We should turn now to consider the wider European political context. The political policy of the Danish Jelling dynasty had changed from the reign of Harald Bluetooth (c. 960–87) to that of Swein (987–1013). Harald's newly Christianised kingdom was still a local one whose politics focused chiefly on its relations with Scandinavia and, at most, the neighbouring polities facing the Baltic Sea.²⁶ Then Denmark became one of the most powerful kingdoms in northern Europe when Swein expanded westwards.²⁷ However, when his son Cnut's *imperium* was formed, the political phase in which Denmark was involved also changed dramatically: Cnut became a participant in the international politics of Christendom as a Christian king as well as a Viking leader. Because Cnut was still regarded as the leader of the Vikings by other Christian kings and magnates in the first phase of his reign, it required him to demonstrate that he was a Christian king in order to recover from the infamous reputation his father left to him and to participate in the international politics of Christendom. In this regard, his most important task was to make the pope, the apex of Christendom, acknowledge his position.

The Making of a Scandinavian Network

Recent scholarship has pushed back the date of the beginning of the Scandinavian expansion to around 750 or even before that. As scholars such as Thomas Noonan, Roman Kovalev, and Marek Jankowiak have shown, one of the reasons for this was the development of silver mines in Transoxania, the revitalisation of dirham production in the Sāmānid dynasty, and its distribution in western Eurasia.²⁸ As a result, Scandinavians also expanded eastward in search of this dirham, while merchants from elsewhere approached Scandinavia in search of slaves and furs to be exchanged. The economic system of western Eurasia, including Scandinavia, began to undergo major changes in conjunction with the rise and restructuring of the Carolingian, Byzantine, and Abbasid empires, which reached a turning point in the eighth century.²⁹

As a result of the changes in the economic structure, trading centres for the exchange of goods emerged throughout Scandinavia. As was recently shown by a team of archaeologists from Aarhus, Ribe was established as a northern *emporium* on the west coast of the Jutland Peninsula in the early

eighth century, facing the North Sea.³⁰ Other centres were also established at the nodes of maritime routes, such as Hedeby in Denmark, Skiringsal in Norway, and Birka in Sweden. They were networked in a way that was closely linked to the growth of local polities and the overseas expansion of the Scandinavians. They functioned as nodes of accumulation and distribution of commodities that attracted merchants from within and outside Scandinavia. In addition, especially as the Scandinavians expanded after the tenth century, urban settlements grew rapidly in the areas where Scandinavian and local cultures merged. Various nodes for the Scandinavians, such as Novgorod in Russia, Kiev in Ukraine, Wolin in Poland, York and Five Boroughs (Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, and Stafford) in England, Dublin and Waterford in Ireland, and Caen and Rouen in Normandy, were newly created or were revitalised. It is worth noting that all these were located along rivers and waters away from the centres of great powers such as the Anglo-Saxon kings, the Carolingians, and the Byzantines.

In addition, old centres such as London, Winchester, Paris, and Verdun, were also reactivated. Michael McCormick did not take into account the situation in peripheral North Sea Europe in his influential book,³¹ but, as many historians and archaeologists such as Peter Sawyer, Søren M. Sindbæk, Fedir Androschuk, and others have shown, new factors such as the influx of dirhams, the expansion of the Scandinavians, and the trades in slaves and furs were creating a new economic situation based on emerging trade networks in northern Europe in addition to the ones in western Europe and the Mediterranean.³² Like Wallerstein's 'Modern World System' or Abu-Lughod's 'Thirteenth-Century World System', but in a different way, it could connect some sub-systemed economic units to reorganise the trade networks in western Eurasia.³³ As recent scholarship has shown, the Scandinavians were in the most advantageous position to use the network of seas, islands, and rivers from the North Atlantic to the Black Sea and Caspian Sea when various centres were connected via networks.³⁴ As a result, the networking structure of exchange between their own trading centres in the 'Viking world' ensured the uniqueness of Scandinavian activities and their openness to the outside world.³⁵ Through these networks, the Scandinavian chieftains accumulated their own power resources; one of the most powerful was the Jelling kingship in Denmark. Here it is important to recall that the maritime *imperium* of Cnut took place in the final stage of the reorganisation process of Scandinavian networking.

This raises an important question: how did the Scandinavian trade with the merchants of different cultural backgrounds? Traditional scholarship has not taken this question into enough consideration. In general, it has been assumed that the savage and illiterate Scandinavians used violence to force trade on their partners. But this conclusion seems to be inaccurate. The Scandinavians in the Viking Age were not such a simple people, though comparatively violent, but had their own way of communication and tactics of trading. In order to make their trade safer and more active,

they would have had to communicate effectively with others and make legal arrangements based on contemporary customs of each region. To understand the development of commercial treaties by the Scandinavians, we will examine the process of communication in trading since the ninth century.

Scandinavian Commercial Treaties with Other Polities

The entry in the *Fulda Annals* for 873 informs us about a council held at Bürstadt where:

The envoys of Sigifrid, the king of the Danes, also came there, seeking to make peace over the border disputes between themselves and the Saxons and so that merchants of each kingdom might come and go in peace to the other, bringing merchandise to buy and sell; the king promised that for his part these terms would be kept.³⁶

This refers to the occasion on which Louis the German transacted with the envoys of Sigifrid, king of the Danes, in order to maintain peace for the sake of trade between the two peoples. At nearly the same time, we find a treaty between the Scandinavians and another polity – the treaty between King Alfred of England and Guthrum, a Danish chieftain, which is famous for establishing the so-called Danelaw in England:

And we all agreed on the day when the oaths were sworn, that no slaves nor freemen might go without permission into the army of the Danes, any more than any of theirs to us. But if it happens that from necessity any one of them wishes to have traffic with us, or we with them, for cattle or goods, it is to be permitted on condition that hostages shall be given as a pledge of peace and as evidence so that one may know no fraud is intended.³⁷

Here the relevant expression is ‘to have traffic with us [the English], or we with them [the Danes], for cattle or goods’, which suggests that regular trading and commercial communication should exist between the English and the Danes.

If we turn to examine the situation in the East we find three treaties between Rus’ and Byzantine emperors in the tenth century. The Rus’ (an ethnic identity of Scandinavian origin) immediately became interested in trade with the Byzantine Empire when they settled around Kiev in the middle of the ninth century. At the beginning of the settlement, however, the chieftains of the Rus’ had ravaged Constantinople beyond the Black Sea.³⁸ As has been shown, the Scandinavians were already preoccupied with the East around 750 in search of the dirhams circulating in western Eurasia. The influx of these silver coins beyond the Baltic Sea succeeded in connecting Byzantium and, beyond that, the western part of the Islamicate region

with Scandinavia.³⁹ According to the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, Rus' transacted treaties with the Byzantine Empire three times. The first treaty was contracted between Oleg, Emperor Leon VI, and the co-emperor Alexander III in 907. The treaty was short and simple. Their proposition was as follows:

The Rus who come hither shall receive as much grain as they require. Whosoever comes as merchants shall receive supplies for six months, including bread, wine, meat, fish and fruit. Baths shall be prepared for them in any volume they require. When the Rus return homeward, they shall receive from your emperor food, anchors, cordage, and sails and whatever else is needed for the journey.⁴⁰

Here, the Rus' required the empire to supply Rus' merchants with provisions and baths for six months and, before they returned home to Russia, whatever they needed for their journey by land and water. This treaty indicates that the Rus' merchants could pursue trading activities in Constantinople for half a year and acquire what they needed. Moreover, the situation would have given the Rus' more opportunities to trade with the Byzantines than they had before. The second treaty, sealed in 911, was also contracted between 15 delegates of Oleg and the two emperors.⁴¹ The third and final treaty was contracted between the Rus' prince Igor, Emperor Romanos I, Princes Constantine VII and Stephanos in 945. It consists of 16 articles and suggests that the relationship between the Rus' and the empire had entered a new stage. Article 15 states that if the Byzantine Empire required military assistance against its adversaries, they would send a request to the Rus' prince and he would despatch as many soldiers as were required.⁴² This demonstrates that the relationship between the Rus' and the empire had changed from one based on trade treaties to one based on a military treaty. In any case, the succession of treaties demonstrates that the Eastern Scandinavians were interested in commerce with the Byzantine Empire rather than simply seeking to loot it.

According to the *Deeds of the Norman Dukes*, written by William of Jumièges in the twelfth century, a treaty was contracted by Swein, king of Denmark, and Duke Richard of Normandy around the year 1000:

A treaty of continuous peace was then concluded between them, according to which the kings of the Danes and the dukes of the Normans, as well as their heirs in the future, would maintain permanent peace; the Danes would sell their booty in Normandy. If a Dane were ill or wounded and in need of his friends' help he would be securely looked after by the Normans as if he were at home. To ensure that the treaty was firm and lasting both princes sanctioned it on each side by means of oaths.⁴³

This treaty is recorded not in an original diplomatic document but only in William of Jumièges' narrative, which has inclined some historians to doubt

its authenticity.⁴⁴ It is, however, undeniable that the Scandinavians, the majority of whom would be the Danes, had ceaselessly communicated with Normandy through its traders since the Scandinavians first settled there in the tenth century.⁴⁵ Rouen was the trading centre where merchants from the British Isles, the Continent and Scandinavia all gathered.⁴⁶ Normandy under the reign of Richard enjoyed peace during the turmoil caused by the Scandinavians in England, Ireland, and on the Continent;⁴⁷ it is no wonder, then, that the Scandinavians needed Normandy in order to sell their plunder and to give security to those wounded in their campaigns.

The above examples suggest that the Scandinavians from the ninth to eleventh centuries were intelligent traders with their own commercial strategies. They had the measures to establish treaties with princes, kings, and emperors according to their ways of communication, sometimes making use of written documents. We have only examined a handful of examples here, but we can assume that the Scandinavians also may have established treaties with other polities that went unrecorded in contemporary sources.

Here, Cnut's second letter from 1027, is particularly relevant. A Latin translation of the letter was transmitted by the twelfth-century historians John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury. The identification of Abbot Lyfing of Tavistock as one of the messengers who delivered the letter dates it to 1027, soon after Cnut attended the imperial coronation of Conrad II. The content of the letter is much like that of 1018: it focuses on good lordship in return for justice being mercifully and impartially applied. Article 6 of the letter reads as follows:

I therefore spoke with the emperor [Conrad II] and the lord pope [John XIX] and the princes who were present, concerning the needs of all the people of my whole kingdom, whether English or Danes, that they might be granted more equitable law and greater security on their way to Rome, and that they should not be hindered by so many barriers on the way and so oppressed by unjust tolls; and the emperor consented to my demands; and King Rudolf, who chiefly had dominion over those barriers, and all the princes confirmed by edicts that my men, whether merchants or others travelling for the sake of prayer, should go to and return from Rome in safety with firm peace and just law, free from hindrances by barriers and toll-gatherers.⁴⁸

The letter indicates that Cnut petitioned Conrad II, Pope John XIX, and the princes for two requirements that would serve 'the needs of all the people of his whole kingdom'. The first was that the people should be treated more equitably under the law and granted greater security on their way to Rome; the second was that they should not be hindered by so many barriers and unjust tolls along the way. Moreover, Cnut told Rudolf of Burgundy and all the princes to confirm by edicts that 'his men, whether merchants or others travelling for the sake of prayer, should go to and return from Rome

in safety with firm peace and just law, free from hindrances by barriers and toll-gatherers'. Here we should emphasise the expression 'whether merchants or others travelling for the sake of prayer'. Cnut demanded that the princes not hinder his subjects, especially his merchants and pilgrims, from travelling to and from Rome. For him, merchants and pilgrims were worth protecting through communication and negotiation with the emperor and even the pope.

Here we should remember the wider context supplied by the commercial treaties from the ninth to the eleventh century, examined above. As the Scandinavians expanded their commercial network, they communicated with the polities they met and concluded commercial treaties with them for the safe and sustainable trade in Saxony, England, Byzantium, and Normandy, which we can confirm in the written sources. It is probable that there were other treaties that we cannot find in the surviving sources. The Scandinavian network of commerce based on these treaties would function as one of the factors which supported the *imperium* of Cnut. Thus, Cnut needed to meet Pope John XIX in order to expand and confirm the network.

Conclusion

It can be tentatively concluded that Cnut's visit to Rome in 1027 had three functions. First, as the contemporary narrative sources relate, it was a pilgrimage based on the piety of a Christian king. It may be thought that he made the most valuable pilgrimage possible as the ruler of his *imperium*, because he donated to the churches and monasteries on the way to his destination, visited many sacred institutions dedicated to various martyrs and saints of Rome and met the Roman pontiff. However, as I have also shown, it is possible to discern other functions in Cnut's visit to Rome, one of which might be an internal and international political function. Cnut, who was a Viking leader in origin, became a monarch who ruled both England and Denmark at the same time. However, it is doubtful whether Cnut was recognised as a Christian monarch throughout Christendom. Rather, he might have been regarded as a monarch of barbarians who looted the northern part of Christendom. However, Cnut, who had consolidated his position as a northern imperial leader, needed to be approved as a legitimate monarch by other rulers and churches in order to advance further negotiations. To that end, it was hoped that he would be approved by the emperor and the pope in Rome. Moreover, it can be assumed that cultivating the north-south trade route had a commercial function. As we have already seen, the Scandinavians had established commercial treaties throughout the European peninsula and had been building their own commercial networks. As the letter of 1027 suggests, Cnut was seeking to establish safety on the route from the North Sea to Italy. This was for the purpose of his expansion of the Scandinavian commercial network from which he stood to gain.

Notes

- 1 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. by R. R. Darlington, P. McGurk and Jennifer Bray, vol. I (Oxford, 1995), p. 493.
- 2 Concerning the historiography of the Jelling dynasty, see Thorkild Ramskou, *Normannertiden 600–1060* (Copenhagen, 1962); Aksel E. Christensen, *Vikingetidens Danmark paa oldhistorisk baggrund* (Copenhagen, 1969), pp. 223–41; Peter H. Sawyer, *Da Danmark blev Danmark. 700–1050* (Copenhagen, 1988); Inge Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The Making of the Danish Kingdom', in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia, I: Prehistory to 1520*, ed. by Kunt Helle (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 168–83. For a perspective on the rich archaeological data, see Else Roesdahl, 'Denmark – A Thousand Years Ago', in *Europe around the Year 1000*, ed. by Przemyslaw Urbanczyk (Warsaw, 2001), pp. 351–66; idem, 'The Emergence of Denmark and the Reign of Harald Bluetooth', in *The Viking World*, ed. by Stefan Brink (London, 2008), pp. 652–64. For an example in a European perspective, see Niels Hybel, *Danmark in Europe 750–1300* (Copenhagen, 2003). Cf. Birgit Sawyer and Peter H. Sawyer, 'A Gormless History? The Jelling Dynasty Revisited', in *Runica – Germanica – Medievalia*, ed. by Wilhelm Heizmann and Astrid van Nahl (Berlin, 2003), pp. 689–706.
- 3 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 503.
- 4 See Minoru Ozawa, 'Cnut for Danelaw, Cnut against Swein: Two Aspects on the Process of Cnut's Conquest of England', *The Round Table*, 22 (2008), 60–71.
- 5 M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London, 1993); *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander Rumble (London, 1994); Niels Lund, *De hærger og de brænder: Danmark og England i vikingetiden*, 2nd edn (Copenhagen, 1997); idem, 'Cnut the Great and His Empire', in *The Viking World*, ed. by Brink, pp. 665–67; Timothy Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in Northern Europe in the Early Eleventh Century* (Leiden, 2009); idem, *Cnut the Great* (New Haven, CT, 2017).
- 6 Recently, some new books have shed fresh light on the politics and government of Cnut: *Conquests in Eleventh-Century England: 1016, 1066*, ed. by Laura Ashe and Emily Joan Ward (Woodbridge, 2020); *Anglo-Danish Empire: A Companion to the Reign of King Cnut the Great*, ed. by Richard North, Erin Goeres, and Alison Finley (Berlin, 2022).
- 7 Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, chapter 5.
- 8 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. by Alistair Campbell (Cambridge, 1998), p. 19: 'Cum autem rex Cnuto solum in primis Danorum optineret regimen, quinque regnorum, scilicet Danomarchiae, Angliae, Britanniae, Scythiae, Norduegae vendicato dominio, imperator extitit'.
- 9 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 513: 'Canutus, rex totius Angliae et Dene-marchiae et Norreganorum et partis Suanorum'.
- 10 Laurence M. Larson, *Canute the Great, 995–1035, and the Rise of Danish Imperialism during the Viking Age* (London 1912).
- 11 Wipo of Burgundy, 'Gesta Chuonradi II, Imperatoris', in *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, ed. by Werner Trillmich (Darmstadt, 1978), p. 570: 'His ita peractis in duorum regum praesentia, Ruodolfi regis Burgundiae et Chnutonis regis Anglorum, divino officio finite imperator duorum regum medius ad cubiculum suum honorifice ductus est'. See Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, chapter 10.
- 12 See R. Deshman, 'Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 10 (1976), 367–405.
- 13 Pauline Stafford, *After Alfred: Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and Chroniclers, 900–1150* (Oxford, 2020); Simon Keynes, 'Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon

Chronicle', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, I: c. 400–1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 537–52; Alice Jorgensen, *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History* (Turnhout, 2010).

- 14 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 503: 'Aethelnotho metropolitano et Africo Eboracensi archiepiscopo omnibusque episcopis et primatibus et toti genti Anglorum tam nobilibus quam plebeiis, salutem'.
- 15 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, pp. 512–13: 'Notifico vobis me noviter isse Romam, oratum pro redemptione peccaminum meorum et pro salute regnorum quique meo subiacent regimini populorum'.
- 16 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, p. 20:

Quae enim ecclesia adhuc eius non letatur donis? Sed ut sileam quae in suo regno positis egerit, huius animam cotidie benedicit Italia, bonis perfrui deposcit Gallia, et magis omnibus hanc in caelo cum Christo gaudere orat Flandria. Has enim provincias transiens Romam petiit et, ut multis liquet, tanta hoc in itinere misericordiarum opera exhibuit, ut, si quis haec describere omnia veluerit, licet innumerabilia ex his fecerit volumina, tandem deficiens fatebitur, se vix etiam cucurrisse per minima.

- 17 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, p. 21:

Ingressus monasteria et susceptus cum magna honorificencia humaniter incedebat, et mira cum reuerentia in terram defixus lumina et ubertim fundens lacrimarum ut ita dicam flumina tota intentione sanctorum expetiit suffragia. At ubi ad hoc peruentum est, ut oblationibus regiis sacra uellet cumulare altaria, o quotiens primum patimento lacrimosa infixit oscula, quotiens precabatur ut sibi non indignaretur superna clementia! Tandem a suis ei innuenti sua porrigebatur oblatio, non mediocris, nec quae aliquo clauderetur in marsupio, sed ingens allata est palleati extento in gremio, quam ipse rex suis manibus altari imposuit, largitor hilaris monitu apostolico. "Altari" autem cur dico, cum uidisse me meminerim, eum omnes angulos monasteriorum circuisse, nullumque altare licet exiguum preterisse, cui non munera daret et dulcia oscula infigeret? Deinde adsunt pauperes, numeratur etiam ipsi protinus singulatim omnes. Haec et alia his mirificentiora a domno Cnutone gesta uidi ego, uester uernula, Sancte Audomare, Sancte Bertine, cum fierent uestris in caenobiis; pro quibus bonis tantum regem impetrare uiuere in caelestibus habitaculis, ut uestri famuli canonici et monachi sunt orantes orationibus cotidianis.

- 18 Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 150–60; T. A. Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 151–95.
- 19 Elaine Treharne, 'The Performance of Piety: Cnut, Rome, and England', in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. by Francesca Tinti (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 343–64.
- 20 Rory Naismith and Francesca Tinti, 'The Origins of Peter's Pence', *English Historical Review*, 134 (2019), 521–52.
- 21 *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925), p. 164: 'And Romefeoh be Petres mæssan'.
- 22 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 514:

Conquestus sum iterum coram domno papa, et mihi ualde displicere causabar, quod mei archiepiscopi in tantum angariabantur immensitate pecuniarum, quae ab eis expetebatur, dum pro pallio accipiendi secundum morem apostolicam sedem expeterent; decretumque est ne id deinceps fiat.

- 23 For a recent assessment of Cnut's ecclesiastical policy, see Caitlin Ellis, 'Cnut's Ecclesiastical Policy in the Context of His English and Danish Predecessors', in *Anglo-Danish Empire*, ed. by North, Goeres, and Finley, pp. 355–78.
- 24 Concerning the political attitude of Wulfstan of York, see Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-BUILDER', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 9–27.
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- 30 Morten Søvsø, *Ribe 700–1050: From Emporium to Civitas in Southern Scandinavia* (Højbjerg, 2020).
- 31 Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge, 2002).
- 32 Peter Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edn (London, 1975); Fedir Androshchuk, 'When and How Were Byzantine *Miliaresia* Brought to Scandinavia? Constantinople and the Dissemination of Silver Coinage Outside the Empire', in *Constantinople as Center and Crossroad*, ed. by Olof Heilo and Ingela Nilsson (Istanbul, 2019), pp. 55–88.
- 33 See *The Global North: Spaces, Connections, and Networks before 1600*, ed. by Carol Symes (Leeds, 2021).
- 34 For example, *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. by James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibson (Leeds, 2015); Lucie Malbos, *Les ports des mers nordiques à l'époque viking (VIIe–Xe siècle)* (Turnhout, 2017); Christian Cooijmans, *Monarchs and Hydrarchs: The Conceptual Development of Viking Activity across the Frankish Realm (c. 750–940)* (London, 2020).
- 35 See the recent general survey of the Vikings: Neil Price, *Children of Ash and Elm: A History of the Vikings* (London, 2020); Søbjoerg Walaker Nordeide and Kevin J. Edwards, *The Vikings* (Leeds, 2019); Pierre Bauduin, *Histoire des Vikings* (Paris, 2019); Judith Jesch, *The Viking Diaspora* (London, 2015).
- 36 *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, ed. by R. Rau, vol. III (Berlin, 1960), p. 88: 'Venerunt quoque illuc Sigifridi Danorum regis legati pacis faciendae gratia in terminis inter illos et Saxones positis et ut negotiatores utriusque regni invicem transeuntes et mericionia deferentes emerent et venderent pacifice';

English translation from *The Annals of Fulda: Ninth-Century Histories*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Manchester, 1992), p. 69.

- 37 *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Lieberman, vol. I (Halle, 1903), p. 128:

ealle we cwædon on ða dæge ðe mon ða aðas swor, þæt ne ðeowe ne freo ne moton in ðone here faran butan leafe, ne heora nan ðe ma to us. Gif ðonne gebyrige, þæt for neode heora hwylc wið ure bige habban wille oððe we wið heora mid yrfe 7 mid æhtum, ðæt is to ðafianne on ða wisan, þæt man gislas sylle friðe to wedde 7 to swutulunge, þæt man wite, ðæt man eigene bæc hæbbe.

English translation from *English Historical Documents, c. 500–1042*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1979), p. 418.

- 38 For a general history of Rus', see Jonathan Shepard, 'The Origins of Rus', in *The Cambridge History of Russia, Volume 1: From Early Rus' to 1689*, ed. by Maureen Perrie (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 47–72.
- 39 Roland Scheel, *Skandinavien und Byzanz: Bedingungen und Konsequenzen mittelalterlicher Kulturbeziehungen*, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 2015).
- 40 *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, ed. and trans. by S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, MA, 1953), p. 64.
- 41 *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 65–69.
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 73–77.
- 43 *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford, 1992–95), I: 16–18:

Quem cum dux aliquanta mora regaliter tractaret, dum et ipse et milites, tantum post nauigii laborem, recrearentur, pacem inter se firmaverunt continuam, ea uidelicet lege ut per succedentia Danorum regum Normannorumque ducum ac eorum heredum tempora firma perpetualiter inter eos maneret, et que Dani abstulissent inimicis, emenda conferrent Normannis. Si quis uero Danorum inualidus aut uulneratus amicorum indigeret iuuamine, apud Normannos quasi in domo propria sub securitate sanaretur. Que lex ut rata maneret, ab utraque parte sacramentorum tenore illam sanxerunt eorum principes. Quibus rex ad uotum expletis, muneratus cum dignis a duce muneribus, quamtotius ad suos letus regreditur.

- 44 Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'The Political Relations between Normandy and England before 1066 According to the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*', in *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des 11^e–12^e siècles: Actes du 4^e colloque internationale Anselmien*, ed. by R. Foreville (Paris, 1984), pp. 85–97; Pierre Bauduin, 'Quasi in domo propria sub securitate sanaretur: A Peace Agreement between King Swein Forkbeard and Duke Richard II of Normandy', *Early Medieval Europe*, 29 (2021), 394–416.
- 45 L. W. Breese, 'The Persistence of Scandinavian Connections in Normandy in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Viator*, 7 (1977), 47–61; Lesley Abrams, 'England, Normandy and Scandinavia', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman world*, ed. by C. Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 41–62.
- 46 Lucien Musset, 'Rouen et l'Angleterre vers l'an mil: Du nouveau sur le satiriste Garnier et l'école littéraire de Rouen au temps de Richard II', *Annales de Normandie*, 24 (1974), 287–90; idem, 'Rouen au temps des Francs et sous les ducs', in *Histoire de Rouen*, ed. by Michel Mollat (Toulouse, 1979), pp. 31–74.
- 47 For a general introduction to the history of the dukes of Normandy, see Johannes Steenstrup, *Normandiets historie under de syv første hertuger, 911–1066* (Copenhagen, 1925); David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982); François Neveux, *La Normandie des ducs aux rois X^e–XII^e siècle* (Rennes, 1998).

48 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 514:

Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore et domno papa et principibus, qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi uniuersi regni mei, tam Anglorum quam Danorum, ut eis concederetur lex equior et pax securior in uia Romam adeundi, et ne tot clausuris per uiam artentur, et propter thelon iniustum fatigentur; annuitque postulatis imperator, et Rodbertus rex qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictisque firmauerunt, ut homines mei, tam mercatores quam alii orandi causa uiatores, absque omni angaria clausurarum et theloneariorum, firmaque pace et iusta lege securi, Romam eant et redeant.

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