ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

A bibliographical handbook for students of Anglo-Saxon history

A. GENERAL READING AND REFERENCE MATERIAL

[A0] 'Anglo-Saxon Index' (a website providing links to many other websites relevant to Anglo-Saxon studies in general): <www.trin.cam.ac.uk/sdk13/asindex.html>; now includes 'Materials for the study of Anglo-Saxon England' (texts, manuscripts, charters, coins, sites, objects, maps), in the form of links and images.

For guidance on many different aspects of Anglo-Saxon England, including archaeology, history, language and literature, and material culture, see the separate entries (each with its own mini bibliography) in the *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (A100). For other alphabetical guides, see A99, A103, and A105. A *Cambridge Companion to Anglo-Saxon England*, dealing at greater length with some larger themes, is in preparation. For classified annual bibliographies of modern work in the field, see A73a and A73b; for annotated bibliographies, see A74, etc. For brief accounts of particular persons, see A100, A99, A150, A340, and A345. For the essential prosopographical tools, see A295, A300, etc.

WORKS COVERING ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND
Books, etc., with emphasis on political history

Stenton (A1) and Hunter Blair (A2) retain great value, because they provide accessible and balanced narratives, a framework for understanding the subject as a whole, and a point of departure from which it is possible to judge how far the subject has developed in the past fifty years.

[A1] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943), 3rd ed. (1971; OUP paperback) - the classic account of the subject. For reflections on Stenton's work, fifty years on, see S95.

[A2] P. Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (1956), 2nd ed. (1977), re-issued with updated bibliography (1995); reset and re-issued by the Folio Society, with additional illustrations (1997); 3rd ed. (2003), with S. Keynes, 'Changing Perceptions of Anglo-Saxon History', pp. xvii–xxxv, and revised and updated bibliography, pp. 364–74

[A3] C. Brooke, *The Saxon and Norman Kings* (1963), 3rd ed. (2001), with a new prologue (pp. 1–12) and a new chapter on queens (pp. 62–72); D.P. Kirby, *The Making of Early England* (1967); D.J.V. Fisher, *The Anglo-Saxon Age c. 400–1042* (1973); H.R. Loyn, *The Making of the English Nation: from the Anglo-Saxons to Edward I* (1991); B.Yorke, *The Anglo-Saxons*, Sutton Pocket Histories (1999)

[A4] P.H. Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England* (1978), 2nd ed. (1998), revised and updated, incl. 'Postscript to the Second Edition', pp. 262–77

[A5] J. Campbell, P. Wormald and E. John, *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J. Campbell (1982) - combines excellent text with lavish illustrations; available in paperback; chapters registered separately below (C41, D1, E27, F5, G6, L17)

[A6] J. Blair, 'The Anglo-Saxon Period (*c.*440–1066)', *The Oxford History of Britain* [1984], ed. K.O. Morgan, rev. ed. (1999), pp. 60–119, reptd as *The Anglo-Saxon Age: a Very Short Introduction* (2000, pb)

[A7] Short Oxford History of the British Isles: *After Rome*, ed. T. Charles-Edwards (2003); *From the Vikings to the Normans*, ed. W. Davies (2003) - comprising thematic chapters by the top pundits (cited separately below); see also McKitterick (A60.2)

[A8] P. Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: a Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (1989)

[A9] B.A.E. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (1990) -*c.* 600–900

[A9.5] B.A.E. Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, c.600–800* (2006)

[A10] D.P. Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings* (1991; rev. ed., 2000) – also covering the period to *c.* 900

[A11] N.J. Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England* (1997; pb, 2000), covering the period from 975 to 1066

[A12] E. James, *Britain in the First Millennium* (2001) - England, Wales, and Scotland, for a change

[A17] N.J. Higham, *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century* (1994); N.J. Higham, *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* (1995); N. J. Higham, *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (1997) - trilogy on the origins of England

[A18] J.L. Nelson, 'Anglo-Saxon England c.500–1066', *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval England,* ed. N. Saul (1997), pp. 25–60

[A19] A. Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England c. 500–1066* (1999), though don't be alarmed by the picture on the front cover, which is back-to-front

Ecclesiastical history

[A20] J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (2005) - a major survey of the church in Anglo-Saxon England from the late sixth to the late eleventh century, distinguished for its effective integration of surviving literary, documentary, archaeological and architectural forms of evidence, but also informed by a strong sense of landscape, and by an awareness of what can be gained from looking at such evidence from different directions

[A21] S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900* (2006) - a different kind of approach, focusing on the nature of religious communities in the earlier part of the period

[A22] H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (1972), 3rd ed. (1991)

[A23] F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066* (1963), 2nd ed. (1979)

[A24] H.R. Loyn, *The English Church 940–1154* (2000)

[A24.5] C. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (1962)

[A24.6] M. Deanesly, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England* (1961), 2nd ed. (1963), and *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church* (1962)

For the conversion period, see also Yorke (A9.5).

Social, economic and administrative history

[A29] C. Wickham, *Framing the Middle Ages: Europe and the Meditterranean 400–800* (2005), covering states, aristocratic power-structures, peasantries, and networks (including cities), with significant remarks throughout on Anglo-Saxon England, esp. pp. 48–50 (state formation), 150 (taxation), 306–26 (settlements, state formation, land tenure [bookland, folkland, and charters]), 339–51 (creation of aristocratic landed power; Bede; Mercian supremacy; land tenure), 428–34 (an imaginary peasant society at 'Malling', *c.* 700), 502–4 (settlements), 805–14 (systems of exchange), and 813–14 (Mercia and London).

[A29.5] C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: the People of Britain 850–1520* (2002), pp. 11–99, comprising chapters entitled 'Living on the land, c.850–c.1050' (on farming, expansion, estates and lords, and peasants), 'Crisis and new directions, c.850–c.1050' (on viking invasions, growth of the state, and origins of towns), and 'Conquest, c.1050–c.1100' (on the old and new aristocracies)

[A30] H.R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (1962), 2nd ed. (1991) - a more old-fashioned yet still wide-ranging survey of social and economic history

[A31] H.R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500–1087* (1984)

[A32] D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (1952; a Pelican)

[A33] H.P.R. Finberg, 'Anglo-Saxon England to 1042', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* I.ii, ed. Finberg (1972), 385–525; H.E. Hallam, 'England before the Norman Conquest', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* II, ed. Hallam (1988), pp. 1–44

[A34] R. Hodges, *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement: Archaeology and the Beginnings of English Society* (1989)

[A35] D.A. Hinton, *Archaeology, Economy and Society: England from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century* (1990)

[A36] M. Welch, *English Heritage Book of Anglo-Saxon England* (1992)

[A37] A. Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life and Landscape* (1999) - covers aspects of social, economic and administrative history (incl. estates, towns) from the seventh century to the eleventh

Regional history (and archaeology)

[A38] *English County Histories: a Guide*, ed. C.R.J. Currie and C.P. Lewis (1994) - survey of county histories, written from the seventeenth-century onwards, arranged county by county

[A39] The Victoria History of the Counties of England (VCH) is a massive enterprise, started in 1899 and still in progress; recognisable in libraries as several shelves of large red volumes. For further details, go to the website of the Institute of Historical Research <http://ihr.sas.ac.uk/>, and follow links to the VCH. The volumes for each county contain information on the history and archaeology of the county, and include (for example) translation and analysis of the Domesday survey, accounts of religious houses

(always valuable for the Anglo-Saxon period, if in some important cases inevitably showing signs of age), and systematic historical accounts of each village or town (ditto).

[A40] N. Higham, *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (1986); D. Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000* (1986); M.B. Rowlands, *The West Midlands from AD 1000* (1987); J.V. Beckett, *The East Midlands from AD 1000* (1987); M. Todd, *The South West to AD 1000* (1987); J.H. Bettey, *Wessex from AD 1000* (1986); P. Drewett, *et al.*, *The South East to AD 1000* (1988); P. Brandon, *The South East from AD 1000* (1990); and other volumes in the same series.

[A41] P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (1985)

[A42] M. Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (1992)

[A43] J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (1994); J. Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement before 1300* (1991)

[A44] T. Williamson, *The Origins of Hertfordshire* (2000), and others in the same series, on Cheshire (Higham), Lancashire (Kenyon), Norfolk (Williamson), and Suffolk (Warner)

[A45] N.J. Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350–1100* (1993); C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: a Study in British Provincial Origins AD 400–1120* (1996)

[A46] B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (1995)

[A47] P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (1998)

[A48] *An Atlas of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire History*, ed. T. Kirby and S. Oosthuizen (2000), including several which bear on the Anglo-Saxon period

[A49] D. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (2003)

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The distinction is naturally made between Latin and the vernacular; but of course it is an artificial or merely convenient distinction in the sense that many authors operated in both languages, and many manuscripts contain texts in both languages. Appropriately, therefore, guides ostensibly to Old English or Anglo-Saxon literature generally contain information about Latin texts as well.

[A50.1] 'Fontes Anglo-Saxonici', available in the form of an online database at <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>. Identifies the sources used by authors active in ASE. Also published in the form of CD-ROM; and still in progress. For a description of the project, see R. Jayatilaka, 'Fontes Anglo-Saxonici', *Medieval English Studies Newsletter* 41 (1999), 11–39. There is a link to its website from 'AS Index' (A0).

[A50.2] 'Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture' (SASLC), a project reconstructing the range of books known to authors active in ASE. *Abbo of Fleury, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Pres, and Acta Sanctorum*, ed. F.M. Biggs, *et al.*, SASLC 1 (2001); still in progress. See also *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: a Trial Version*, ed. F.M. Biggs, *et al.*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 74 (1990). Online version of vol. 1: <www.wmich.edu/medieval/research/saslc/volone/index.html>.

[A50.3] J.D.A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English, 597–1066* (1967), with *Addenda et Corrigenda* in *Mediaevalia* 7 (1984 for 1981), 281–325; always useful, but to be used now with caution and in association with A50.1 and A50.2

For an authoritative listing of Latin works cited by English authors before the Conquest, see Lapidge (B815).

Old English Language and Literature

For classified and annotated bibliographies of modern work in the field, see A73a, A73b, A74, etc. For OE dictionaries, see A86, etc. For the Thesaurus of OE, see A90. For more specific guidance on Old English language and literature (poetry, prose, glossaries, etc.), see B520, etc. For the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, see B42, etc. For a thematic index to the corpus of OE homilies, see DiNapoli (B560.5).

[A51.1] S.B. Greenfield and D.G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (1986)

[A51.2] *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Godden (1991) - essential essays on particular themes (e.g. OE language, OE verse, OE prose, biblical literature, the saintly life, learning)

[A51.3] *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. P. Pulsiano and E. Treharne (2001) - wide range of essays on literary themes, by the usual pundits

[A52] *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. K.O'B. O'Keeffe (1997) - with chapters on 'The Comparative Approach' (M. Lapidge), 'Source Study' (D. Scragg), 'Historicist Approaches' (N. Howe), 'Oral Tradition' (A. Orchard), 'Old English and Computing: a Guided Tour' (P.S. Baker), and much else besides

Anglo-Latin Language and Literature

For classified and annotated bibliographies of modern work in the field, see A74, etc. For dictionaries, see A85. For more specific guidance on Latin texts (e.g. Bede, royal biography, hagiography, etc.), see B20, B80, B130, etc.

[A54] P. Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, 5 vols. (1996–2004), on medieval Latin in general, including Anglo-Latin; with bibliography and index in vol. 5

[A55] M. Lapidge, 'Anglo-Latin Literature', in A51.1, reptd in T19 (1996); numerous articles by M. Lapidge, bearing directly or indirectly on Anglo-Saxon history, are assembled and reprinted, with additional notes, in T19 (1993) and T19 (1996)

[A56] A.G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (1992) - entries on writers in Latin, arranged in a chronological series from 1066

[A56a] J.P. McGovern, 'An Introduction to the Corpus of Anglo-Latin Literature', in A51.3 (2001), pp. 11–49

[A57] R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1 (1997), reptd with additions and corrections (2002) - invaluable bibliographical entries on all persons who wrote anything in Latin, in a single alphabetical sequence; *Additions and Corrections (1997–2001)* also published separately (2002), and available on Professor Sharpe's website <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/staff/sharpe.htm>

[A58] *C.A.L.M.A. Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi (500–1500),* ed. M. Lapidge, G.C. Garfagnini and C. Leonardi, Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino (S.I.S.M.E.L.) "Medioevo Latino" (2000–): fasc. 1 (2000) includes Acca, Ædiluulfus, Ælfric Bata, Ælfric of Eynsham, Ealdorman Æthelweard, Bishop Æthelwold, and others; fasc. 2 (2000) includes Alcuin, Aldhelm, and others; fasc. 4 (2001) includes Asser, and others. For source-studies, see 'SASLC' (A50.2) and 'Fontes Anglo-Saxonici' (A50.1).

THE WIDER WORLD

This section is self-evidently inadequate for any serious purpose. It is simply intended to list some of the basic reading in other areas, and thereby to provide starting-points for purposes of comparison and further investigation. The volumes of the **New Cambridge Medieval History** (1995–2004) are indispensible: see A69–72.

[A60] *The Medieval World*, ed. P. Linehan and J.L. Nelson (2001) - thematic essays (identities; beliefs, social values, and symbolic order; power and power structures; elites, organisations and groups), ranging widely across the whole of Europe

[A60.1] *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. G. Althoff, *et al.* (2002), including papers on Henry II of Germany by Weinfurter and Bernhardt (J140) See also the New Cambridge Medieval History (A69), etc.

[A60.1.5] *The Early Middle Ages: Europe 400–1000*, ed. R. McKitterick (2001); J.H. Smith, *Europe After Rome: a New Cultural History 500–1000* (2005); M. Innes, *An Introduction to Early Medieval Western Europe, 400–900: the Plough, the Sword and the Book* (forthcoming [2007])

Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian history
For the Garland encyclopedias, see A106, etc.

[A60.2] P. Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel* (2000); I. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450–751* (1993); R. Collins, *Early Medieval Europe 300–1000* (1991); E. James, *The Franks* (1988); E. James, *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians 500–1000* (1982); P.J. Geary, *Before France and Germany: the Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (1988); E. James, 'The Northern World in the Dark Ages, 400–900', *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe*, ed. G. Holmes (1988), pp. 63–114.

[A60.5] R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751–987* (1983)

[A60.6] J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843–1180* (1985)

[A60.7] E.M. Hallam, *Capetian France 987–1328* (1980), 2nd ed. (2001)

[A60.8] C.B. Bouchard, 'The Kingdom of the Franks to 1108', in Luscombe and Riley-Smith (A72), pp. 120–53, covering different areas of France (including Normandy, Brittany, Flanders, etc.) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, plus kingship, church, Peace of God, monastic reform, economy, etc., with useful map For the Garland encyclopedia on medieval France, see (A106). For Germany, see (A60.30), etc.

[A60.10] R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (2004), covering the origins, forms, functions, and effects of historical writing in the Frankish kingdoms of the 8th and 9th centuries, including annals, *libri memoriales*, cartularies, etc.; see also McKitterick (M200), etc.

For Charlemagne, see also Morrissey (S140), and the spectacular series of exhibition catalogues (A230), etc. Other studies, and modern biographies of, e.g., Charlemagne and Charles the Bald, are mentioned where appropriate below. For further guidance on Carolingian history, refer to the WWW bibliography compiled by T.F.X. Noble and J.M.H. Smith, via link on 'Anglo-Saxon Index' website (A0).

Italy, Spain, Germany, Flanders, etc.

For the Garland encyclopedias, see A106, etc. For spectacular exhibition catalogues covering Germany in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see A240 (Otto the Great), A245 (Henry II), and A246 (the Salian kings). See also Leyser (G1), Wolf (G36), Leyser (G68), etc.

[A60.20] C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400–1000* (1981)

[A60.25] R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (1983), 2nd ed. (1995)

[A60.30] *Deutsche Geschichte*, I: *Vom Frankenreich zum Deutschen Reich 500–1024*, ed. H. Pleticha (1981); H. Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages c.1050–1200* (1986)

[A60.35] T. Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages 800–1056* (1991) - an excellent survey; see also Reuter (G4)

[A60.36] D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (1992); see also Vanderputten (B315.5)

[A60.37] K. Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (2005), esp. pp. 17–94 (on the abbey of St-Bertin), providing an historical context for the work of several monks of St Bertin active in England, notably Grimbald (F140), the author of the *Encomium Emmae* (B85), the author of the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (B90), Goscelin (Q255), and Folcard (Q256); and for connections in the 930s, see Folcuin (G59), and in the mid-940s, see Keynes (G65), p. 161. See also van Houts (B91).

Russia, Byzantium, etc.

[A60.40] S. Franklin and J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200* (1996); S. Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c.950–1300* (2002)

[A60.45] M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium 600–1025* (1996)

[A60.46] *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, ed. C. Mango (2002)

See also Ciggaar (L100), and a spectacular exhibition catalogue (A249).

The Vikings

The big issue is whether they should be capitalized or not. For an invaluable analytical bibliography, see Syrett (A77). For illustrated catalogues of the major Viking exhibitions held in 1980, 1992, and 2000, see A215, A220, and A221. For the Garland encyclopedia on medieval Scandinavia, see Pulsiano (A104). For atlases, see Haywood (A276) and Konstam (A276a).

[A61.1] P.H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (1962), 2nd ed. (1971) - the revisionist classic

[A61.2] G. Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (1969), 2nd ed. (1984) - a very different approach, and always a delight (cf. index under Snorri Thorfinn Karlsefni's son)

[A61.3] P. Foote and D.M. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement* (1970) - excellent on the 'vikings' at home, but with relatively little coverage of vikings outside Scandinavia

[A61.4] P.H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700–1100* (1982); P. Sawyer, *The Making of Sweden* (1988); B. Sawyer and P. Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia* (1993); see also P. Sawyer, 'Scandinavia in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in Luscombe and Riley-Smith (A72), pp. 290–303

[A61.5] E. Roesdahl, *The Vikings* (1991), 2nd ed. (1998) - the archaeologist's viewpoint

[A61.6] *Cultural Atlas of the Viking World*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell (1994)

[A61.7] *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. P. Sawyer (1997), comprising a series of essays by various people on different aspects of viking activity

[A61.8] J. Haywood, *The Vikings*, Sutton Pocket Histories (1999); J. Haywood, *Encyclopedia of the Viking Age* (2000)

[A61.9] E. Christiansen, *The Norsemen in the Viking Age* (2002), 2nd ed., pb (2006) - unconventional

[A61.10] *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, I: *Prehistory to 1520*, ed. K. Helle (2003) - including P. Sawyer, 'The Viking Expansion', pp. 105–20; I. Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The Making of the Danish Kingdom', pp. 168–83; C. Krag, 'The Early Unification of Norway', pp. 184–201 (for Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldsson)

[A61.11] A. Forte, R. Oram and F. Pedersen, *Viking Empires* (2005) - focusing on viking activity outside Scandinavia

[A61.20] J. Richards, *Blood of the Vikings* (2001) - on viking activity in the British Isles, accompanying a 3-part TV series screened on BBC TV in 2001; P. Cavill, *Vikings: Fear and Faith* (2001) - on the vikings in England, covering Alfred, Æthelred, Scandinavian settlements, etc.; with a curious blurb on the back cover

[A61.21] *Scandinavia and Europe 800–1350: Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence*, ed. J. Adams and K. Holman (2004)

Scotland, Ireland, and Wales

[A62] M.O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (1973), 2nd ed. (1980); A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom* (1975); G.W.S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000–1306* (1981); A.P. Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80–1000*

(1984); B.E. Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland* (1987); B.T. Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland* (1994); A.D.M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (2000)

[A62a] A.O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers A.D. 500 to 1286* (1908), reptd with corrections (1990) - material, arranged chronologically, from English sources

[A62b] A.O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History A.D. 500 to 1286*, 2 vols. (1922), reptd with corrections (1990) - material, arranged chronologically, from non-English sources

[A63] G. Mac Niocaill, *Ireland before the Vikings* (1972); D. Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (1972); D. Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200* (1995); T. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (2000); M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'The Outward Look: Britain and Beyond in Medieval Irish Literature', in (A60), pp. 381–97

[A63a] J.F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical. An Introduction and Guide* (1929); reprinted (1966; 1979)

[A64] J.E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (1939); W. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (1982); D. Walker, *Medieval Wales* (1990); J. Davies, *A History of Wales* (1993); K. Maund, *The Welsh Kings* (2000)

[A64a] W. Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (1990), incl. chapters on 'The Vikings', pp. 48–60, and 'The Welsh and the English', pp. 61–79

For the 'Book of Llandaff', and other work based on it, see (B360).

For atlases of Scottish, Irish and Welsh history, see A277, A278, A279. For Scotland and Wales in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see also (G280), etc.

The New Cambridge Medieval History

[A69] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, I: *c.500 – c.700*, ed. P. Fouracre (2005) - chapters by various authors covering all parts of the medieval world (Frankish kingdoms, British Isles, Scandinavia, Italy, etc.), and themes such as kingship and royal government, the aristocracy, the church and society, etc. For England, see Hamerow (C134), on the 6th century, and Thacker (D1.5), on the 7th century.

[A70] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II: *c.700 – c.900*, ed. R. McKitterick (1995) - chapters by various authors, as above. For England, see Keynes (E31), on the 8th century.

[A71] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, III: *c.900 – c.1024*, ed. T. Reuter (1999) - chapters by various authors, as above. Includes: J. Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', pp. 95–129; R. McKitterick, 'The Church', pp. 130–62; surveys of 'Post-Carolingian Europe' (incl. England) and 'Non-Carolingian Europe'. For England, see Keynes (G5), on the 10th century.

[A72] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, IV: *c.1024 – c.1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, 2 pts (2004) - including (in pt II) C.B. Bouchard on the Kingdom of the Franks, M. Chibnall on England and Normandy (R1), P. Sawyer on Scandinavia in the 11th and 12th centuries (A61.4), N. Berend on Hungary, etc.

Several more volumes in the series, covering later periods (in the ASNC Common Room).

WORKS OF REFERENCE

Bibliographies

Classified bibliographies of a year's publications in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies as a whole are to be found in two places:

[A73a] *OEN* (=*Old English Newsletter*) was first published in April 1967, and since 1990 has appeared seasonally in the Fall, Winter, Spring, and Summer. Visit its website at <www.oenewsletter.org>. The annual bibliographies, compiled or edited by F.C. Robinson (1969–70), A.K. Brown (1971–5), C.T. Berkhout (1976–2000), and T. Hall (2001–), appear in the Summer issue of the year following. See also 'YWOES' (A74). The *OEN Bibliography Database* , ed. R.M. Liuzza, based on the *OEN* bibliographies, will shortly become available on the OEN website <www.oenewsletter.org/OENDB/bib.html>, and is very highly recommended for all purposes.

[A73b] *ASE* (=*Anglo-Saxon England*) was first published in 1972, and appears annually (December/January). Visit its website at <www.trin.cam.ac.uk/asewww>. The annual bibliographies, compiled by a team of specialists, appear at the end of the year following.

Both of these bibliographies aim to be comprehensive, and must be perused carefully by anyone wishing to keep up with publications across the field. A consolidated bibliography in searchable electronic form, based on the *ASE* bibliographies, ed. A. Orchard, is in preparation. Special attention should be drawn to the following:

[A74] 'The **Year's Work in Old English Studies** [YWOES]', published in *OEN*, containing extended reviews and summaries of the year's publications in the field as a whole (*c.* 150 pp.), with sections on language, literature, Anglo-Latin and ecclesiastical works, manuscripts and illumination, history and culture, names, and archaeology and numismatics. Edited by R.L. Collins 1968–84; by M.McC. Gatch and P.E. Szarmach, 1985; by

J.B. Traherne, 1986–97; by P.S. Baker, 1998–2001; and by P.S. Baker and R.D. Fulk (2002–). It used to appear in the first issue of the year following, but since 1991 has appeared in the second issue of the year following. The 'History' section has been running late, but is now catching up: 'YWOES - 1994', ed. J.B. Trahern, *OEN* 29.2 (1996), 3–165, at 145–65 [**History 1993**]; 'YWOES - 1995', ed. J.B. Trahern, *OEN* 30.2 (1997), 3–148, at 131–48 [**History 1994**]; 'YWOES - 1996', ed. P.S. Baker, *OEN* 31.2 (1998), 3–182, at 112–31 [**History 1996, pt 1**] and 153–82 [**History 1995**]; 'YWOES - 1997', ed. P.S. Baker, *OEN* 32.2 (2001 for 1999), 3–120, at 82–116 [**History 1997**]; 'YWOES - 1998', ed. P.S. Baker and R.D. Fulk, *OEN* 33.2 (2002 for 2000), 3–117, at 101–12 [**History 1998**]; 'YWOES - 1999', ed. P.S. Baker and R.D. Fulk, *OEN* 34.2 (2001), 5–128, at 89–110 [**History 1999**]; 'YWOES - 2000', ed. D. Donoghue, R.D. Fulk and R.M. Liuzza, *OEN* 35.2 (2002), 6–166, at 134–62 [**History 2000**]. <To be updated.>

Several of the standard textbooks listed above have good bibliographies. See also the following:

[A75] W. Bonser, *An Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Bibliography*, 2 vols. (1957)

[A76] E.B. Graves, *A Bibliography of English History to 1485* (1975), esp. pp. 283–385 (on the Anglo-Saxon period) and 386–454 (for post-Conquest chronicles, etc.) - full of useful information, and always worth consulting for general guidance

[A76a] J.T. Rosenthal, *Anglo-Saxon History: an Annotated Bibliography 450–1066* (1985)

[A77] M.J. Syrett, *Scandinavian History in the Viking Age: a Select Bibliography*, ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies 2 (2001), revised ed. (2004); a fully revised edition, by J. Grove, is in preparation

[A78] S.B. Greenfield and F.C. Robinson, *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972* (1980). They do not cover Latin-Old English glossaries. For Alfredian literature, see also Waite (A78a) and Discenza (F55), and for Ælfric see also Kleist (B573).

[A78a] **Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature** (ABOMEL), with useful summaries of books and articles cited: S. Hollis and M. Wright, *Old English Prose of Secular Learning*, ABOMEL 4 (1992); R. Poole, *Old English Wisdom Poetry*, ABOMEL 5 (1998); G. Waite, *Old English Prose Translations of King Alfred's Reign*, ABOMEL 6 (2000); S. Hollis and M. Wright, *Old English Legal and Administrative Prose* (forthcoming)

[A79] M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* (1985) - essential information on Celtic historical texts

[A80] **Royal Historical Society**, *Annual Bibliography of British and Irish History: Publications of 1975* [–1999 and onwards], ed. G.R. Elton (1976–), ed. D. Palliser (1986–), ed. B. English *et al.* (1989–), ed. A. Gee (1996–); from 2004 available only online. Contains sections on 'England 450–1066' compiled by N. Brooks (1975–), D.W. Rollason (1985), A. Williams (1986–99), and D. Pratt (2000–). Provides classified lists of publications arranged under headings 'General', 'Politics and Institutions', 'Religion', 'Economic Affairs and Numismatics', 'Intellectual and Cultural', and 'Society and Archaeology'; but note that from 2001 the organisation changes, in such a way that social, economic, cultural and religious matters are given precedence over politics, administration, law, etc. For further details, see the Royal Historical Society website at <www.rhs.ac.uk/welcome.html>.

[A80.5] *The Royal Historical Society Bibliography on CD-ROM: The History of Britain, Ireland, and the British Overseas* (1998), for publications up to *c.* 1992; freely available online <www.rhs.ac.uk/bibwel.html> (2002), updated to include publications to 2000. Covers the period from 55BC to the present day, and thus inclusive of Anglo-Saxon England. The CD-ROM edition is searchable by author, subject, place, period, date of publication, etc., in ways which enable the user to generate, sort and print out his or her own bibliographical report: rather cunning, and well worth trying out. The online edition is also fully searchable by author, keyword, subject, etc., and is very impressive in its coverage.

[A81] **British History Online**, based at the Institute of Historical Research, established in 2002 (Mellon Foundation). It will provide a digital library for the medieval and early modern history of the British Isles. <www.british-history.ac.uk>

[A82] **International Medieval Bibliography** (IMB), founded in 1967, covering the European Middle Ages (*c.* 400–1500), now available online for subscribers (which include the Cambridge University Library); also available in printed form <CUL, R532.18>.

[A83] *Economic History Review*, annual review of periodical literature. The period 400–1100 was covered by Richard Britnell; and from vol. 57 (2004) by David Pratt.

Dictionaries (Latin)

[A85] R.E. Latham and D.R. Howlett, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (1975–): seven fascicules have appeared so far, covering the letters A–B (1975), C (1981), D–E (1986), F–G–H (1989), I–J–K–L (1997), M (2002), N (2002). <To be updated.> See also R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (1965).

Stotz (A54), I, pp. 193–242, provides a record of all dictionaries of medieval Latin, including A85 (pp. 213–17).

Dictionaries (Old English)

DOE and DOEC, being two complementary products of one of the major projects in the field now in progress, emanate from the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto.

[A86] DOE = A. Cameron, *et al.*, *Dictionary of Old English* (1986–), which will eventually supersede 'Bosworth-Toller' (A88), and other dictionaries: six fascicules have appeared so far (in microfiche), covering the letters A (1994), Æ (1992), B (+ *beon*) (1991), C (1988), D (1986), E (1996); F (2003). <To be updated.>

[A86.1] *The Dictionary of Old English, Fascicle F, and Fascicles A–E (with revisions)* (2003) - a CD-ROM version of the dictionary so far, creating all manner of new possibilities for work on the Old English corpus (A–F), not least because it is searchable in all manner of ways

[A86.5] DOEC = *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, available in various electronic formats (e.g nine disks); but best consulted in its form as an online (searchable) database, ed. A.diP. Healey (1999), accessible by annual subscription on the world wide web (e.g. available at Trinity College, Cambridge). For further details, see *Medieval English Studies Newsletter* 40 (1998), 2–10.

For 'SASLC' and 'Fontes Anglo-Saxonici', see A50.2 and A50.1.

[A87] *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, ed. R. Frank and A. Cameron (1973), listing and classifying the texts in the corpus, with bibliography; A.diP. Healey and R.L. Venezky, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English: the List of Texts and Index of Editions* (1980), accompanied by a set of fiche

[A88] J. Bosworth, *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (1838); J. Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. T.N. Toller (1898), and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement* (1921), with A. Campbell, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement: Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda* (1972); see also J.R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1894), 4th ed., with a Supplement by H. D. Meritt (1960)

[A89] *The Dictionary of Old English: Retrospects and Prospects*, ed. M.J. Toswell, Old English Newsletter Subsidia 26 (1998) - incl. M.P. Richards, 'The *Dictionary of Old English* and Old English Legal Terminology', pp. 57–61, and S. Foot, 'Language and Method: the *Dictionary of Old English* and the Historian', pp. 73–87

The Thesaurus of Old English

[A90] J. Roberts and C. Kay with L. Grundy, *A Thesaurus of Old English*, I: *Introduction and Thesaurus*, and II: *Index*, King's College London Medieval Studies 11 (1995) - a very useful research tool, for establishing range of vernacular vocabulary on particular subjects, such as 'social interaction' (pp. 538–94), 'Peace and War' (pp. 595–612), 'Law and Order' (pp. 613–35), and 'Property' (pp. 636–47)

Surveys of historiography

[A91] A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550–1307* (1974) - a very useful survey, with chapters on Gildas and 'Nennius', Bede, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, royal biography, hagiography and local history, Anglo-Norman historians, etc.

[A92] A. Galloway, 'Writing History in England', *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. D. Wallace (1999), pp. 255–83

[A93] E.M.C. van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 74 (1995)

Handbooks of dates

[A95] *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed., ed. E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 2 (1986) - first published in 1941; provides lists of kings (M1), bishops (Q10), church councils (B395), and much else besides

[A96] *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, ed. C.R. Cheney, rev. M. Jones Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 4 (2000) - first published in 1945; essential for understanding all aspects of chronology, converting dates in Roman calendar, calculating date of Easter, working out the day of the week for any date in any year, etc.

Guides, companions, encyclopedias, etc.

[A98] *Medieval Studies: an Introduction*, ed. J.M. Powell, 2nd ed. (1992) - incl. chapters on diplomatic, numismatics, archaeology, music, art, computers for medieval studies, etc.

[A99] *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. J. Cannon (1997) - incl. short entries on kings, kingdoms, etc., by (e.g.) J. Campbell, H. Loyn, A. Williams, and B. Yorke

[A100] *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes and D. Scragg (1999), paperback edition (2001) - comprises entries on persons, places, subjects, themes, works of literature, etc., arranged alphabetically; each entry followed by a list of further references

[A103] *Reader's Guide to British History*, ed. D.M. Loades, 2 vols. (2003) - series of mini historiographical surveys (up to 1000 words each), including A. Todd on Offa; D. Pratt on Asser, Treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, the School of Alfred, and the Battle of Edington; E. Treharne on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; R. Lavelle on Æthelred; and many others. <Seemingly not yet catalogued in CUL [if indeed held there], but readily accessible in the Reference room of the Seeley Historical Library.>

Garland / Routledge Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages
Massive volumes, full of useful material. <Readily accessible in the CUL Reading Room, or in the Reference room of the Seeley Historical Library.>
[A104] *Medieval **Scandinavia**: an Encyclopedia*, ed. P. Pulsiano (1993)
[A105] *Medieval **England**: an Encyclopedia*, ed. P.E. Szarmach, M.T. Tavormina and J.T. Rosenthal (1998)
[A106] *Medieval **France**: an Encyclopedia*, ed. W.W. Kibler and G.A. Zinn (1995) <CUL R560.F38>; *Medieval **Germany**: an Encyclopedia*, ed. J.M. Jeep (2001) <CUL R560.G148>; *Medieval **Italy**: an Encyclopedia*, ed. C. Kleinhenz and R. Lansing (2004)
[A107] *Medieval **Iberia**: an Encyclopedia*, ed. E.M. Gerli (2003)
[A108] *Medieval **Ireland**: an Encyclopedia*, ed. S. Duffy (2004)
[A109] *Medieval Archaeology: an Encyclopedia*, ed. P. Crabtree (2000); *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages: an Encyclopedia*, ed. J.B. Friedman and K.M. Figg (2000)

[A110] *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. L. Lutz, *et al.* (Munich, 1977–98). Entries include Bullough on 'Angelsachsen'; Wormald on 'Angelsächsisches Recht'; Brooks on 'Canterbury', 'Kent', 'Northumbria'; etc. <CUL: R532.7>
[A115] [J. Hoops], *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. H. Jankuhn, *et al.*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1968– [in progress]), superseding first edition by Hoops (1911–19). Includes many useful (substantial and well-documented) entries and joint-entries (in English) by authorities such as Cramp, Insley, Loyn, Welch, and Wilson, including: folkland, gesith, Gewisse, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Greensted, Grimston-hybrids (vol. 13 [1999], pp. 49–56), Jarrow, Kent, Lyminge, Mercia (vol. 19 [2001], pp. 548–64); Offa's Dyke (vol. 22 [2002], pp. 24–8); Pre-Conquest Personal Names (vol. 23 [2003], pp. 367–96). <CUL: R466.17>
[A120] *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Vauchez with B. Dobson and M. Lapidge, 2 vols. (2000) - an essential work of reference, with bibliographies
[A130] *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. R. Aubert (Louvain, in progress)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
[A150] The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, or *ODNB* for short, published in 60 vols. (2004). Work on the *ODNB* began in 1992; new entries were commissioned and written (for the most part) in 1995–8; one of the last entries (J22) was written in 2001–2. A major work of reference. The *ODNB* includes 1290 persons active between 400 and 1100, of whom 1196 are men and 94 are women. Substantial entries include: M. Lapidge on Aldhelm and on Theodore; J. Campbell on Bede; S. Kelly on King Offa; J. Nelson on King Æthelwulf; P. Wormald on Alfred the Great; S. Foot on King Æthelstan; M. Lapidge on Dunstan; A. Williams on King Edgar; M. Lapidge on Byrhtferth; S. Keynes on Æthelred the Unready; K. Lawson on Cnut; F. Barlow on Edward the Confessor; D. Bates on William the Conqueror. Many other entries, on saints, scholars, etc. Each entry is followed by an extensive bibliography. <Accessible online (from the Cam domain) at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>, with impressive search and browse facilities. The *ODNB* is also accessible in book form in the CUL, in the Reference room of the Seeley Historical Library, and in certain college libraries.>
[A150.5] A.N. Other, *et al.*, 'Anglo-Saxon and Related Entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)', *ASE* 36 (2007), pp. 00–00 (forthcoming). The separate entries were not included in the ASE bibliography for 2004, but are here listed (a) under author, and (b) under classified headings (Anglo-Saxon England; Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; Scandinavians in Britain; Historical Writing 1070–1500; and Scholars 1500–2000).
[A150a] The original *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB), ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, was published in numerous volumes between 1884 and 1901, followed by several *Supplements* (1912 onwards), and by a volume of *Missing Persons*, ed. C.S. Nicholls (1993); re-published on CD-ROM in 1996.
[A151] H. Summerson, 'Problems of Medieval Biography: Revising DNB', *Medieval Prosopography* 20 (1999), 197–222

Exhibition catalogues

Exhibition catalogues are invaluable for showing a wide range of primary source material (regalia, weaponry, manuscripts, charters, coins, buildings, church treasures, sculpture, other artefacts, etc.), in a readily digestible form, and always well illustrated.

The four exhibitions covering England c. 600–1400, *held between 1984 and 1991*

[A200] *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900*, ed. L. Webster and J. Backhouse (1991) - exhibition at the British Museum. See also N. Brooks, in T59, pp. 21–31 (reprint of his introduction).

[A205] *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066*, ed. J. Backhouse, D.H. Turner and L. Webster (1984) - exhibition at the British Museum

[A210] *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200*, ed. G. Zarnecki, J. Holt and T. Holland (1984) - exhibition at the Hayward Gallery, London

[A213] *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400*, ed. J. Alexander and B. Binski (1987) - exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts

The Viking makeover, *in England, on the continent, and in America (1980–2000)*

[A215] J. Graham-Campbell and D. Kidd, *The Vikings* (1980) - exhibition at the British Museum; see also Graham-Campbell (B703)

[A220] *From Viking to Crusader: the Scandinavians and Europe 800–1200*, ed. E. Roesdahl and D.M. Wilson (1992) - exhibition in Paris, Berlin, and Copenhagen

[A221] W.W. Fitzhugh and E.I. Ward, *Vikings: the North Atlantic Saga* (2000) - exhibition at the National Museum of Natural History, Washington DC, and elsewhere

Other cultures

[A225] *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400–900*, ed. L. Webster and M. Brown (1997), incl. 'Heirs of Rome: the Shaping of Britain AD 400–900', pp. 208–48

[A230] *Charlemagne: Oeuvre, Rayonnement et Survivances*, ed. W. Braunfels (also published in German) - catalogue of the great Charlemagne exhibition held at Aachen (Aix-La-Chapelle) in 1965

[A231] *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. W. Braunfels, *et al.*, 4 vols. (1965) - massive volumes published in connection with the exhibition

[A232] Charlemagne: the Making of Europe - a series of five exhibitions held in different parts of Europe between 1999 and 2001, accompanied by more or less spectacular catalogues

[A232.1] *799 – Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, ed. C. Stiegemann, *et al.*, 3 vols. (1999) - commemorating the meeting between Charlemagne and Pope Leo III at Paderborn in 799, held at Paderborn (1999). Vols. 1 and 2 (paginated as one volume, with table of contents in vol. 1) form the sumptuous catalogue of the exhibition itself, with detailed descriptions and illustrations of many objects. Vol. 3 is a supplementary volume of essays, covering many different aspects of the Carolingian world. All three volumes are profusely illustrated with images of manuscripts, metalwork, coins, pottery, sculpture, glass, weapons, charters, gravestones, plans, reconstructions of buildings, etc., etc.

[A232.2] Carolingian Catalonia, at Barcelona (1999–2000)

[A232.3] *Il futuro dei Longobardi: L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno*, ed. C. Bertelli, *et al.* (2000) - on the Lombards in the eighth and ninth centuries, held at Brescia (north Italy) (2000); for the Anglo-Saxon connection, see Keynes (F14)

[A232.4] Croats and Carolingians, at Split (2000–1)

[A232.5] M. Garrison, J.L. Nelson and D. Tweddle, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: the Golden Age of York* (2001) - small exhibition at York (2001)

[A233.3] *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche. Klosterwelt Werden 799–1803*, ed. J. Gerchow (1999) - catalogue of an exhibition held at Essen in 1999, on the abbey of Werden, founded in the 790s by the Frisian St Liudger (E4c), who had studied at York with Alcuin; for Werden in the tenth century, see Bernhardt (G4b), pp. 181–90.

[A233.5] *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* (2005) - catalogue of an exhibition held at Essen and Bonn in 2005, on 'Crown and Veil', covering manuscripts, metalwork, etc., associated with women's religious houses in the middle ages, comprising essays, pp. 21–154, and catalogue [for the period 500–1200], pp. 155–339, with some striking objects of kinds which might once have existed in England [e.g. crown, *c.* 1000, from Essen, no. 1; Golden Madonna, *c.* 980s, from Essen, no. 147]; plus writing implements from Whitby and Barking (nos. 110–11), and a brooch made from a penny of King Æthelstan, found at Barking (no. 126)

[A240] *Otto der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. M. Puhle, 2 vols. (2001) - catalogue (+ volume of essays) of exhibition about Otto I (936–73), held at Magdeburg in 2001

[A242] *La France romane au temps des premiers Capétiens (987–1152)*, ed. D. Gaborit-Chopin (2005) - catalogue of an exhibition at the Louvre, Paris, in 2005

[A245] *Kaiser Heinrich II. 1002–1024*, ed. J. Kirmeier, *et al.* (2002) - catalogue of exhibition about Henry II (1002–24), held at Bamberg in 2002

[A246] *Das Reich der Salier 1024–1125* (1992) - catalogue of an exhibition on the Salian kings/emperors of Germany, held at Mainz in 1992, covering Conrad II (1024–39), Henry III (1039–56), Henry IV (1056–1106), and Henry V (1106–25)

[A249] *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, ed. H.C. Evans and W.D. Wixom (1997) - catalogue of an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Travelogues, atlases and maps

It is always instructive to visit the sites themselves:

[A250] N. and M. Kerr, *A Guide to Anglo-Saxon Sites* (1982)

[A255] L. and J. Laing, *A Guide to the Dark Age Remains in Britain* (1979)

Atlases and maps

[A258] The earliest maps of the Heptarchy: see R.W. Shirley, *Early Printed Maps of the British Isles 1477–1650*, rev. ed. (1991), pp. 41 (Lambarde 1568), 48 (Lyne 1574), 95 (Camden/Rogers 1600), 113 (Camden/Hole 1607), 120–3 (Speed/Hondius 1611), 188–9 (Blaeu 1645); see also p. xi (Nowell, *c.* 1564). For further discussion, see Goffart, in T31, pp. 53–60.

For more recent attempts to render the history of **Anglo-Saxon England** in map-form, see:

[A259] B. Jones and D. Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (1990), pp. 316–20 ('The Saxon Inheritors')

[A260] D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (1981), 2nd ed. (said to be forthcoming, but not yet seen) - full of interesting information, displayed in maps and charts

[A265] M. Falkus and J. Gillingham, *Historical Atlas of Britain* (1981) - chapter 2 covers 'The Making of England 400–1066'

[A266] *Medieval World*, ed. R. McKitterick (2003); *Atlas of Medieval Europe*, ed. A. Mackay and D. Ditchburn (1997); D. Matthew, *Atlas of Medieval Europe* (1983);

[A270] N. Hooper and M. Bennett, *Cambridge Illustrated Atlas. Warfare: The Middle Ages 768–1487* (1996), pp. 18–39, for maps of warfare against the Vikings, 9th–11th cent.

[A275] *The Penguin Atlas of British & Irish History*, ed. S. Hall and J. Haywood (2001), incl. 'The Migration Period' (pp. 54–7), 'Saxons & Celts' (pp. 58–61), 'The Viking Age' (pp. 62–5), 'Viking York' (pp. 66–7), 'The Age of Unification' (pp. 68–71), and 'The Normans' (pp. 72–5)

For a regional atlas, see A48 (Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire).

[A276] J. Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings* (1995) - includes maps showing earliest viking raids on England, Great Army in England, defence of Wessex, conquest of the Danelaw, kingdom of York, vikings in Ireland and Scotland, raids on Æthelred's kingdom, Danish conquest of England, Cnut's empire, etc.

[A276a] A. Konstam, *Historical Atlas of the Viking World* (2002)

For maps devised by SDK and drawn by Reginald Piggott, see website 'AS Index' (A0).

[A277] Scotland. D.P. Kirby, 'The Evolution of the Frontier, c. 400–1018', *An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400–c.1600*, ed. P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (1975), pp. 24–6 with Map 19; *An Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, ed. P.G.B. McNeill and H.L. MacQueen, new ed. (1996)

[A278] Ireland. *Atlas of Irish History*, ed. S. Duffy, 2nd ed. (2000); F.J. Byrne, in *A New History of Ireland*, IX: *Maps, Genealogies, Lists / A Companion to Irish History Part II*, ed. T.W. Moody, et al. (1984), for political divisions c. 800 (Map 18), Viking raids (Maps 19–22), churches and monasteries (Map 23)

[A279] Wales. W. Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales from Early to Modern Times* (1954), 2nd ed. (1959); map of Medieval Wales at the back of Lloyd (A64), vol. II

The following two items are large **maps**, suitable for hanging on a wall:

[A280] Ordnance Survey, *Britain in the Dark Ages* (1966) - covers the period of the Anglo-Saxon settlements, plotting cemeteries, dykes, Roman roads, etc., and comes with introduction explaining the various features

[A285] Ordnance Survey, *Britain before the Norman Conquest* (1973) - covers the period from Alfred's accession to 1066, chiefly useful for depicting Scandinavian influence in the Danelaw; supplied with an introduction

ANGLO-SAXON PROSOPOGRAPHY

A prosopography is essentially a biographical register of all persons in a particular historical context who have left some trace of their existence, e.g. *The Prosopography of the*

Later Roman Empire, ed. A.H.M. Jones, *et al.* (1971–), or 'The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire' (available in the form of an online database).

[A295] The 'Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England' (**PASE**): <www.pase.ac.uk>, launched in 2005. This is an online database covering all those who lived, moved, and had their being in Anglo-Saxon England. The project was set up in 2000, and was funded by the AHRB; PASE II is funded by the AHRC. The data in PASE I (covering the period 597–1042) was gathered and processed by D. Pelteret (King's College, London), F. Tinti (Dept of ASNC, University of Cambridge), and A. Burghart (KCL). PASE II is covering the period 1042–1100. For the PASE logo (Ælfwine), see Junius 11 (B547). PASE merchandise (mousemat, poster, etc.) is available via the PASE website.

[A300] W.G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (1897) - alphabetical list of Anglo-Saxon personal names, culled from primary sources of all kinds; useful for tracking references to individuals, but to be handled with care (and in sore need of replacement)

[A301] O. von Feilitzen, 'Planning a New Old English Onomasticon', *The Study of the Personal Names of the British Isles*, ed. H. Voitl (1976), pp. 16–42

[A302] J. Insley, 'The Study of Old English Personal Names and Anthroponymic Lexika', *Person und Name: Methodische Probleme bei der Erstellung eines Personennamenbuches des Frühmittelalters*, ed. D. Geuenich, *et al.*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 32 (2002), pp. 148–76

[A305] W.G. Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles* (1899) - supplies chronological lists of the bishops of the various sees, genealogical tables of the kings of the various kingdoms, and genealogical tables of various noble families; also in need of replacement

[A310] W. de G. Birch, *Fasti Monastici Aevi Saxonici* (1873) - alphabetical list of the heads of religious houses (but necessarily based on Kemble's edition of the charters); for lists of Anglo-Saxon abbots and abbesses, from *c.* 940, see Knowles, *et al.* (Q11)

[A315] W. de G. Birch, *Index Saxonicus* (1899) - an index to the personal names in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (B341)

For lists of Anglo-Saxon kings, see M1 and M2; for lists of Anglo-Saxon bishops, see Q10; and note that the modern editions of vernacular charters (B355–6), wills (B357) and writs (B350) have comprehensive indexes of personal names. For names recorded in witness-lists in Anglo-Saxon charters, see B331. For the names of moneyers, see Smart (M540).

For the *Oxford DNB*, see A150. For a useful biographical register, see Hart, *ECNE* (B325), pp. 253–380.

[A340] R. Fletcher, *Who's Who in Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England* (1989) - major figures, arranged chronologically (e.g. Alfred the Great (pp. 125–35), Guthrum, Asser, Plegmund, Werferth, Grimbald, John the Old Saxon, Æthelred, Ingimund, Æthelflæd, Edward the Elder (pp. 148–53), Æthelstan, Edmund, Eadred, Eric Bloodaxe, Oda, Æthelstan Half-King, Eadwig, Edgar (pp. 165–70), Dunstan, Æthelwold, Oswald, Edward the Martyr, Æthelred the Unready (pp. 183–9), Byrhtnoth, Æthelweard, Wulfric [Spot], Ælfheah, Emma, Eadric Streona, Thorkell, Uhtred, Edmund Ironside, Swein Forkbeard, Cnut, etc.)

[A345] A. Williams, A.P. Smyth and D.P. Kirby, *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* (1991) - the usual suspects [as above], and many others, arranged alphabetically

[A346] *The History Today Who's Who in British History*, ed. J. Gardiner (2000), with entries (by D. Bates) on numerous persons of interest, esp. Alfred the Great, Athelstan, Bede, Boniface, Cnut, Edward the Confessor, Ethelred the Unready, St Ethelwold, Offa, William the Conqueror

For Anglo-Saxon **personal names**, see B876, etc.

LECTURE-SERIES

There are currently five lecture-series associated with particular churches or ecclesiastical sites.

[A370] The **Jarrow** Lectures (inaugurated in 1958), delivered at St Paul's Church, Jarrow, Tyne & Wear, in the presence of the spirit of the Venerable Bede. See Hill (D22), Wood (D111), M. Brown (D114), Parkes (D115), Bruce-Mitford (D116), J. Brown (D125), Wallace-Hadrill (D148), Meyvaert (D149), Mayr-Harting (D150), Brooks (D153a), Markus (D154), Kirby (D167), Campbell (D179), Wormald (D310), Rollason (E23), Hill (G213), Ó Carragáin (Q73); collected in T30 (to 1993).

[A375] The **Brixworth** Lectures (inaugurated in 1984), delivered at All Saints' Church, Brixworth, Northants., in one of the most magnificent of surviving Anglo-Saxon churches, which originated in the late seventh century. See McKitterick (E17), Brooks (P14), Keynes (Q28), Wormald (E101), Rankin (X00).

[A380] The **Deerhurst** Lectures (inaugurated in 1984), delivered at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucs., which stands on the site of an eighth-century monastery, though

much of the fabric probably dates from the tenth century (also near Odda's Chapel, founded by Earl Odda in the mid-eleventh century, and only 'discovered' in 1885). See Higgitt (B720), Bailey (B852); Keynes (J200), Williams (L75), Wormald (Q92), Hare (Q141).

[A385] The **Whithorn** Lectures (inaugurated in 1992), delivered on or near St Ninian's Day (16 Sept.) at Whithorn, Wigtownshire (D134c), in Scotland, site of the church at *Candida Casa*, founded by St Ninian in the sixth century, which became the site of a Northumbrian bishopric in the eighth century. See Thomas, *et al.* (D400).

[A386] The **Kirkdale** Lectures (inaugurated in 1997), delivered in St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale, NR Yorks, which contains the famous inscribed sun-dial (Okasha (B710), no. 64) commissioned by Orm Gamal's son for his church, rebuilt during the period 1055–65. See Bradley (L81).

The *Clofesho* Lectures will be inaugurated as soon as someone can work out where they should be held; cf. Q29.

There are in addition certain lecture-series associated with the names of distinguished scholars, which often deal with matters falling within the scope of this bibliography:

[A400] The **Stenton** Lectures, commemorating Sir Frank Stenton (1880–1967), hosted by the University of Reading: F261, R226

[A404] The **Dorothea Coke** Memorial Lectures, commemorating Dorothea Coke (d. 1951), hosted by University College, London: B670.5, B671, J43, J84.2, K23, M980, H36

[A405] The **Chadwick** Memorial Lectures, commemorating H.M. Chadwick (1870–1947), hosted by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, University of Cambridge: G86

[A410] The **Toller** Memorial Lectures, commemorating T. Northcote Toller (1844–1910), compiler of the Anglo-Saxon dictionary (A88), hosted by the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies: B426, G75, G206a, M209, P215, Q65. Some are reprinted, with postscripts, in Scragg (T108).

JOURNALS AND SERIES

[A450] *Old English Newsletter*. For the annual bibliography, see A73b. For the invaluable 'Year's Work in Old English Studies', see A74.

[A455] *Anglo-Saxon England*. For the annual bibliography, see A73a. There is a link to its website from the 'Anglo-Saxon Index' website (A0).

[A460] Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England (CSASE). Volumes cited below include: Sims-Williams (D26); Orchard (D196); Bischoff and Lapidge (D192); Lapidge (D190); Milfull (B434); Jones (B571); Gretsch (G208); Neville (P118); Scragg and Weinberg (S103); Karkov (B549); Scarfe Beckett (P210).

[A465] Münchener Universitätsschriften / Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie. Volumes cited below include: Gretsch (G207); Lutz (B51); Kornexl (B436); Lenker (B433); Kalbhen (B589); Langefeld (Q101); Schreiber (F157); Kornexl and Lenker (T106).

[A470] ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies. Volumes cited below include: Syrett (A77); Rushforth (B432); Keynes (B331); Padel (C155b); Syrett (J84.5). See also B245, B272, B285, E84, E94a, Q83.

ELECTRONIC RESOURCES

[A500] There is an ever-increasing number of resources available in electronic form, whether on CD-ROM or online (or both). Several important sites, or academic projects, or tourist attractions, or museums, or libraries, have websites; there are links to some from the website 'Anglo-Saxon Index' (A0).

Search engines: One of the most effective of modern methods for conducting serious academic research is Google <http://www.google.co.uk>. For the British Library's electronic Table of Contents, covering journals and conference proceedings (1993–), simply google 'zetoc', or go to <http://zetoc.mimas.ac.uk>.

Major publications: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (A150); Royal Historical Society bibliography (A80.5); 'British History Online' (A81); Monumenta Germaniae Historica (B600); 'The Literary Encyclopedia' <www.litency.com/index.php>. 'Wikipedia' is often more useful than one might be prepared to admit, but has to be approached with care.

OE dictionary: Toronto Old English dictionary (A86.1), with the *DOE Corpus* (A86.5).

Major research projects: *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, aka PASE (A295); *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* (A50.1); Manchester database of script and spellings in the 11th century (B529).

Artefacts: British Museum's 'Compass' website (B840.5), and set it to search for (numerous) objects from England, between 400 and 1100; Bayeux Tapestry (R105.5).

Manuscripts: British Library's 'Digital Catalogue of Illuminated MSS' (B764.5); *Beowulf* (B535); 'Exeter Book' (B541); Junius Manuscript (B547); Lindisfarne Gospels (D120); *Domesday Book* (R244); *Domesday Book* (R244.5). 'Wanley', a website dedicated to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, is under development (B761).
Charters: 'Kemble', a website dedicated to Anglo-Saxon charters (B330); and for boundary-clauses, see 'LangScape' (B345).
Coinage: website of the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (M400).
Place-names: website of the Institute of Name Studies, University of Nottingham (B869).

[A510] The website of the Centre for Computing in the Humanities, King's College, London, at <www.kcl.ac.uk/humanities/cch/>, responsible for PASE (A295) and also associated with 'Kemble' (B330), gives a good idea of the extent to which the chip has been harnessed in the service of medieval studies in general.

B. PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL

It is not obvious how best to classify the variety of source material available for the study of Anglo-Saxon history. The categories adopted below (summarised in the 'Scheme of Classification' on p. 1) are not mutually exclusive, and the labels used may not always seem to be entirely appropriate; so the classification has to be taken in the spirit in which it is intended.

I. STANDARD SERIES

The foundations for the modern understanding of the Anglo-Saxon past were laid in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the first publication of many of the major 'narrative' or 'literary' sources. Most of these early editions have now been superseded; but for some of the most important among them, see Savile (S59.5), Camden (S59.6), Whelock (S59.7), Dugdale (S59.8), Twysden (S59.9), Gale (S59.10), and Gibson (S59.11). These editions were heavily used in the eighteenth century, and must have seemed fit for purpose; so it was not until the nineteenth century that the process began again.

[B1] *Monumenta Historica Britannica, or Materials for the History of Britain from the Earliest Period*, I *(Extending to the Norman Conquest)*, ed. H. Petrie, with J. Sharpe (1848). Graves (A76), no. 1084. For Petrie (1772–1842), see entry in the *ODNB* (A150). *MHB* comprises texts of Gildas, Bede, the *Historia Brittonum*, the *Chronicle*, Asser, the *Annales Cambriae*, Æthelweard, etc., etc. For the background to this remarkable enterprise, conceived in the 1820s, see pp. 37–47. It was evidently intended to be regarded as a cornerstone for the promotion of 'Britain' as an historical entity, at the centre of the British Empire; for it was, in effect, a vast compendium of 'narrative' sources for British history, to 1066, aspiring to the highest standards of scholarship. It was published officially, by an arm of the British government, but did not progress beyond vol. I. It was superseded by the Rolls Series (B2).

The Rolls Series

[B2] Editions of many of the most important primary sources are included in the Rolls Series (RS), originally published under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls in 1858–96, and reprinted by Kraus in the 1960s. See Graves (A76), no. 1087, and D. Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises* (1963), pp. 101–34. For a list of the constituent volumes in the series, see E.L.C. Mullins, *Texts and Calendars: an Analytical Guide to Serial Publications*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 7 (1958), pp. 42–60; the volume numbers in the Kraus reprint derive from this list. *Texts and Calendars*, with its *Supplement* (1983), also lists the publications of national and local antiquarian, historical, and archaeological societies.

The two volumes which follow provide an invaluable guide to writings which bear in one way or another on English history throughout this period, organised chronologically by subject matter. Always worth consulting, if inevitably somewhat outdated.

[B2.5] T.D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, vol. I: *From the Roman Period to the Norman Invasion*, pt 1 [to A.D. 750], RS 26.i, pt 1 (1862)
[B2.6] T.D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, vol. I: *From the Roman Period to the Norman Invasion*, pt 2 [A.D. 750 to A.D. 1066], RS 26.i, pt 2 (1862)

Oxford Medieval Texts (formerly Nelson's Medieval Texts)

[B3] This most important series of editions of primary texts (with accompanying translations) originated in the 1940s as [Nelson's] Medieval Texts, and was transferred to the Clarendon Press (an imprint of the Oxford University Press) in 1965; now known as

Oxford Medieval Texts (OMT), and famous for its yellow livery. Graves (A76), no. 1113. **Major 'historical' texts**: B21 (Bede), B56 (Æthelweard), B90 (*Vita Ædwardi regis*). **Hagiography**: B120 (Columba), B172 (St Æthelwold); forthcoming B166 (St Dunstan), B176 (St Oswald). **Liturgy**: B435 (*RC*). **'Continental' sources for the Norman Conquest**: R100 (*Carmen*), R45 (WJ), R50 (WP), R55 (Orderic). **Anglo-Norman historians**: B620 (WM, *GR*), B630 (JW), B635 (HH); forthcoming B625 (WM, *GP*). **A-N hagiography**: Q241 (St Kenelm, *et al.*); B167 (St Wulfstan, St Dunstan), Q242 (Ely). **Literature**: B191 (Hereward). **House history**: B210 (York), B227 (Durham), B233 (Evesham), B299 (Waltham); forthcoming B200 (Monkwearmouth & Jarrow), B280 (Abingdon). **Miscellaneous**: S14 (WW); forthcoming S18 (Leland). <Further references need to be added.>

Anglo-Saxon Texts
[B4] Anglo-Saxon Texts (AST) is a new series of editions of Latin and Old English texts, with accompanying introduction, translation, and commentary. See B415, B220, B568.5.

English Historical Documents
[B5] *English Historical Documents* c. *500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd ed. (1979, reptd 1996 [£160]) - a massive, and indispensable, collection of the most important primary sources, in translation, with excellent introduction and commentaries on individual texts; cited below as EHD. Cf. review by Leyser, in G68, pp. 105–10. There is a re-arranged order of contents on the website at A0, intended to make it easier to see what is available in EHD for a given period.
[B6] *English Historical Documents 1042–1189*, ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway, 2nd ed. (1981) - complements B1; cited below as EHD II

Penguin Classics
[B8] A modern manifestation of King Alfred's programme for making available in English translation those books 'which are the most necessary for all men to know'; relatively inexpensive, and with stylish black livery. Abbreviated below as PC. Volumes include historical works of Bede (B22, B145), *Lives* of SS Columba, Cuthbert, and Wilfrid (B120, B145), *Beowulf* and other OE poetry (B580, B585), Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (F50), and an ever-increasing number of Icelandic sagas (e.g. B676, B680).

II. LITERARY SOURCES

A 'literary' source, as opposed to a documentary source (below, section IV), is a term here applied to a work which is the product of an attempt by its author or compiler to gather, organise and transmit information about the past to a contemporary audience, or to posterity, for a particular reason, which is likely, however, to have involved something other than the intended instruction of modern historians. It is generally necessary to understand the literary conventions of the genre before attempting to make any use of any information contained in the source in question; and it is certainly necessary to understand the circumstances of its composition.

'British' views of the English
[B10] Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae* (Graves (A76), no. 2162), used by Bede, in HE bk i; see also Lapidge and Sharpe (A79), pp. 12–13. Text and translation: *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and other Works*, ed. M. Winterbottom (1978; Phillimore paperback).
[B11] *Historia Brittonum*, formerly attributed to 'Nennius' (Graves (A76), no. 2167); see also Lapidge and Sharpe (A79), pp. 42–5. Text: *The 'Historia Brittonum', 3: The 'Vatican Recension'*, ed. D.N. Dumville (1985). Text and translation: *Nennius, British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. J. Morris (1980; Phillimore paperback); extracts in EHD no. 2.
[B12] *The Poems of Taliesin*, ed. I. Williams (trans. J.E.C. Williams) (1968), and I. Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (1954), pp. 49–65; see also M. Pennar, *Taliesin Poems* (1988)
[B13] A.O.H. Jarman, *Aneirin: Y Gododdin. Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem* (1988) - text and translation of Welsh poem lamenting those killed in the battle of Catraeth (Catterick), *c.* 600; see also K. Jackson, *The Gododdin: the Oldest Scottish Poem* (1969); D.N. Dumville, 'Early Welsh Poetry: Problems of Historicity', *Early Welsh Poetry: Studies in the Book of Aneirin*, ed. B.F. Roberts (1988), pp. 1–16; and *The Gododdin of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark-Age North Britain*, ed. J.T. Koch (1997)
[B14] *The Triumph Tree: Scotland's Earliest Poetry, 550–1350*, ed. T.O. Clancy (1998) - includes translations of The Gododdin (pp. 46–77), poetry of Taliesin (pp. 79–90), and much else besides

Entries in Easter Tables

It was a widespread practice to use blank spaces in the margins of Easter Tables for recording various kinds of information (natural phenomena, obits of the great and the good, beginnings of reigns, etc.); information recorded in this way became one of the sources available to the compilers of annals from the eighth century onwards.

[B18] J. Story, 'The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent', *ASE* 34 (2005), 59–109, esp. 80–100 - related sets of 'continental' Easter Tables, including 13 entries which relate to 'Anglo-Saxon' matters (obits of Kentish kings; obits and other events in Northumbria), reflecting transmission from England to the continent in the 7th/8th century.

For the same practice in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see B460, etc.

Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History'

Bede completed his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* in 731 (B21); wrote his important letter to Bishop Egbert in 734 (B303); and died on 25 May 735 (B304). The text of the HE (Graves (A76), no. 2148) is transmitted in two forms, both of the highest authority. The basic distinction is between manuscripts of the 'C-type' and the 'M-type'. The **C-type** is the 'earlier' version of the text; the 'final' annal for 731, in HE v.24, is followed by annals for 733 and 734, at about which point a manuscript would appear to have been sent from Bede's monastery at Wearmouth-Jarrow southwards to Canterbury (perhaps to Abbot Albinus at St Augustine's), where certain adjustments were made. The C-type is represented by BL Cotton Tiberius C. ii, written at Canterbury in the early ninth century. The **M-type** text is regarded as a (marginally) 'later' version of the text, also from Wearmouth-Jarrow, with certain modifications, including the addition of an extra miracle of St Oswald in HE iv.14 (unless the miracle fell or was omitted accidentally from the C-type). The M-type is represented by the 'Moore Bede' [Cambridge University Library] (s. viii med.); the 'Leningrad Bede' [now the 'St Petersburg Bede'] (s. viii.2); and BL Cotton Tiberius A. xiv (s. viii/ix); known respectively as MSS M, L and B, of which M and L are available in facsimile [B813]). Sooner or later, the distinction is blurred by contamination. The two versions of the text are discussed by Plummer (B20, vol. 1, pp. lxxxiv–cxxviii); Mynors (B21, pp. xxxix–xlvi); and most recently by Lapidge (B25, vol. 1, pp. 50–65).

A version of the M-type text was soon exported to the continent, and became the ancestor of many later manuscripts. A manuscript (?M-type) which remained in Northumbria was augmented with a very important set of annals 732–66, and passed thereafter to the continent (B31). A C-type manuscript was used in the late ninth century by the compilers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* is available in various forms, suitable for enthusiasts (B20), for daily use (B21, B25), and for bed-time reading (B22, B24).

[B20] *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (1896), based on the 'Moore Bede' - vol. I, introduction and text; vol. II, commentary, of great value

[B20.5] P.F. Jones, *A Concordance to the 'Historia Ecclesiastica' of Bede* (1929) - a classic work, which facilitates close analysis of Bede's terminology [CUL R144.37]

[B21] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, OMT (1969; rev. ed. 1991), representing the M-type - text and translation, with introduction; for commentary, see B23

[B22] L. Sherley-Price, rev. by R.E. Latham and D.H. Farmer, *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, PC (1990) - translation; also includes Bede's letter to Ecgberht

[B23] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People': a Historical Commentary*, OMT (1988) - companion volume to B21

[B24] J. McClure and R. Collins, *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (1994; an OUP World's Classics paperback) - translation; also includes Bede's *Chronica Maiora* (D184.2, D184.3), written in 725 (pp. 307–40), and his letter to Ecgberht, written in 734 (pp. 343–57)

[B25] A. Crépin, M. Lapidge, P. Monat and P. Robin, *Bède le Vénérable: Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais*, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes 489–91 (2005), representing the 'M-type', with a French translation. The first volume covers *HE*, bks I–II; vol. 2 covers bks III–IV; vol. 3 covers bk 5, with indexes. Further work on the text of the *HE*, by M. Lapidge, is forthcoming.

See also EHD no. 151.

Sets of northern annals

Bede concluded his *Ecclesiastical History* with a chronological summary, extending to 731 (HE v. 24); most of the annals are derived from the text of HE, but a few seem to have been taken from other sources. It is important to recognize that historical writing continued in northern England after the death of Bede:

[B30] Annals 731–4, a Northumbrian regnal list, and some historical memoranda, which follow the text of Bede's *HE* in the (M-type) 'Moore' manuscript (above). The annals for 733–4 are also found in C-type manuscripts. The Northumbrian regnal list extends from Ida to Ceolwulf. The nine events in the memoranda are each dated by the number of years *before* the point of composition, and suggest that the text was written in 737. Text and translation: Colgrave and Mynors (B21), pp. 572–3. Discussion: P. Hunter Blair, 'The *Moore Memoranda* on Northumbrian History', *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*, ed. C. Fox and B. Dickins (1950), pp. 245–57 (reptd in T8, no. VI).

[B31] Annals 732–66 found in a group of manuscripts of Bede's *HE*, known (rather misleadingly) as a 'continuation' of Bede. The entry for 757 [death of Cynewulf, 786] reflects awareness of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *s.a.* 755 for 757, or the use of a common source. Graves (A76) nos. 2156. Text and translation: Colgrave and Mynors (B21), pp. lxvii–lxix and 572–7. Translation: EHD no. 5. Discussion: Rollason (P85), S.27; Story (B18), pp. 103–4; Keynes (E180), pp. 52–4 (record of King Æthelbald's death in 757).

[B33] The 'York Annals', or the 'First Set of Northern Annals' (annals 732–802), also incorporating information on Frankish events. These annals (which are related to B31) are known by virtue of their incorporation (doubtless with considerable re-working) in an historical miscellany compiled *c.* 1000 by Byrhtferth of Ramsey, itself incorporated (with further re-working) in the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham (B640); they were also used by the compiler of the 'northern recension' of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Graves (A76) no. 2168. For the Latin text, see Arnold (B640), vol. II, pp. 30–66. For extracts in translation, see EHD no. 3(a). Discussion: Rollason (P85), S.37; Story (E86), pp. 93–133, esp. 95–6; Story (B18), pp. 101–2.

[B34] The 'Second Set of Northern Annals' (annals 888–957). These annals are known by virtue of their incorporation in the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham; they were also used by the compiler of the 'northern recension' of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. They constitute an important source for the Viking kingdom of York. Graves (A76) no. 2168. For the Latin text, see Arnold (B640), vol. II, pp. 91–5. For extracts in translation, see EHD no. 3(c). For Symeon in general, see Rollason (B644); and for his *Historia Regum* (B640), see Lapidge (G222).

See also Rollason on Northern annals in A100. For other northern annals incorporated in later works, see EHD no. 3(b) and (d), from Symeon of Durham (B640), and no. 4, from Roger of Wendover (B650).

The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle'

The original 'common stock' of the *Chronicle* was compiled in Wessex in the early 890s drawing on a variety of sources. Various continuations were added thereafter, covering (for example) the reigns of Edward the Elder, Æthelred the Unready, and Edward the Confessor. Each of the surviving manuscripts represents a slightly different stage in the development of the text: see diagram at the end of this *Handbook*.

The various manuscripts were first designated by their familiar modern letters in Petrie (B37); and the concept of the 'common stock' was propounded by Plummer (B40), pp. xxiii, cii–cxiv, and cxvii. For brief accounts of the *ASC*, see Keynes (A100), Bately (A105), and Keynes (F230). It is best approached in Whitelock's translation (B65).

Further bibliographical guidance: Hardy (B7), pp. 647–60; Graves (A76), no. 2142; Rollason (P85), S.38; Greenfield and Robinson (A78), pp. 346–53; Bately (F227).

[B35] E.D. Kennedy, *Chronicles and Other Historical Writing*, Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500, ed. A.E. Hartung, vol. 8, (1989), pp. 2744–81

The Old English text of the 'Chronicle'

The earliest printed editions of the *Chronicle* were by Abraham Whelock (S59.7) and Edmund Gibson (S59.11), published in 1644 and 1692 respectively. Little seems to have been done to advance chronicle studies in the eighteenth century, but the challenge was taken up again in the nineteenth:

[B36] J. Ingram, *The Saxon Chronicle, with an English Translation, and Notes, Critical and Explanatory* (1823). The manuscripts are designated by numbers (I–IX), as set out on p. xviii; and the text is based on all of them, creating the impression of a single continuous source. Significant for first inclusion of material from MSS. CD. See Plummer (B40), I, pp. cxxxii–cxxxiii.

[B37] 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle [to 1066]', ed. R. Price, in Petrie (B1) [1848], pp. 74–7 (introduction) and 291–466 (text and translation). It was Price/Petrie, p. 75, who were the first to designate the principal manuscripts by the letters A–G. Printed from MS. A, to 975, and thereafter from MSS. A and C–G. With a set of facsimiles, from MSS. A–D and G. See Plummer (B40), I, pp. cxxxiii–cxxxiv.

[B38] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. J. Earle (1865). This edition was set up in the late 1850s, on (as the title suggests) a rather different editorial principle. The text of the oldest manuscript (A) is given on the left-hand page, and text of the latest manuscript (E) is given on the right-hand page; variant readings and more substantial material from other MSS are given in the apparatus. The edition is complemented by an introduction (pp. i–lxxiv), incorporating discussion of each manuscript (pp. vii–liv), a separate edition of the 'Mercian Register' (pp. 269–71), and annal-by-annal notes (pp. 279–372), etc. The introduction is worth reading. See also Plummer (B40), I, p. cxxxvi.

[B39] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols., RS 23 (1861). The texts of all manuscripts are printed in parallel columns, which is often instructive, but which ducks the important editorial issues; with translation in vol. 2. See Plummer (B40), I, pp. cxxxv–cxxxvi.

[B40] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (1892–9), reptd (1952), with an additional note on the beginning of the year, by D. Whitelock. The text in vol. I is based on Earle's edition (B38), and the layout is accordingly difficult to follow. The second volume comprises a very important introduction, a detailed annal-by-annal commentary (inevitably outdated, but often useful), and a glossary.

Plummer's edition of the *Chronicle* served as the basis for the modern translations, by Whitelock (B65), Garmonsway (B66), and Swanton (B67), but for the texts in each manuscript reference should now be made to:

[B42] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Dumville, *et al.* (1983–). Conceived in the early 1980s as a multi-volume collaborative edition, beginning with a series of 'semi-diplomatic' editions of the separate manuscripts, complemented by critical editions of particular sections (e.g. the Common Stock, or the annals for the reign of Æthelred the Unready) and by editions of some of the derivative Latin texts (e.g. the 'Annals of St Neots'). Several volumes have appeared (registered separately below); but the edition is not likely to be taken to its intended conclusion.

The manuscripts of the 'Chronicle'

[B45] *ASC* MS. A (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 173). MS: Ker (B800), no. 39. Facsimile: *The Parker Chronicle and Laws*, ed. R. Flower and H. Smith, EETS (1941). Text: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 3: *MS. A,* ed. J.M. Bately (1986). See also Parkes (F225), Bately (F227), and Dumville (F235).

[B46] *ASC* MS. B (BL Cotton Tiberius A. vi). MS: Ker (B800), no. 188. Text: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 4: *MS. B*, ed. S. Taylor (1983).

[B47] *ASC* MS. C (BL Cotton Tiberius B. i). MS: Ker (B800), no. 191. Text: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 5: *MS. C*, ed. K.O'B. O'Keeffe (2001); *The C-Text of the Old English Chronicles*, ed. H.A. Rositzke (1940). Preceded, significantly, by the OE *Menologium* (B595), on saints' days. Facsimile: ASMMF (B814), vol. 10. See also *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 10: *The Abingdon Chronicle, A.D. 956–1066 (MS. C, with reference to BDE)*, ed. P.W. Conner (1996).

[B48] *ASC* MS. D (BL Cotton Tiberius B. iv). MS: Ker (B800), no. 192. Text: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 6: *MS D*, ed. G.P. Cubbin (1996). See also *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from British Museum, Cotton MS., Tiberius B. IV*, ed. E. Classen and F.E. Harmer (1926); rev. ed., ed. M. Swanton (1990). For a possible connection between MS. D and Ealdred, archbishop of York, see Stenton (A1), p. 690; Whitelock (B65), p. xv; Wormald (Q92); Cubbin, pp. lxxviii–lxxix; Bates (R8.5), pp. 130–1.

[B49] *ASC* MS. E (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 636). MS: Ker (B800), no. 346. Facsimile: *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock, EEMF 4 (1954); ASMMF (B814), vol. 10. Text: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 7: *MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (2004). See also Plummer (B40), *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070–1154*, ed. C. Clark, 2nd ed. (1970), and B241.

[B50] *ASC* MS. F (BL Cotton Domitian viii). MS: Ker (B800), no. 148. Facsimile: ed. D.N. Dumville (1995). Text: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 8: *MS. F*, ed. P.S. Baker (2000).

[B51] *ASC* MS. G (BL Cotton Otho B. xi). MS: Ker (B800), no. 180. Text: *Die Version G der angelsächsischen Chronik*, ed. A. Lutz (1981).

[B52] ASC MS. H (BL Cotton Domitian ix, fol. 9), a fragment, giving parts of annals 1113–14 (different from the material in MS. E for these years). MS: Ker (B800), no. 150.

[B54.1] T.V. Guimon, 'The Writing of Annals in Eleventh-Century England: Palaeography and Textual History', in Rumble (T112). pp. 137–45, on MSS. C and D

Works based on the 'Chronicle'

[B55] A version of the *Chronicle* was used by **Asser** in the early 890s, when writing his *Life of King Alfred* (B80). See Schütt (F240), etc.

[B56] A version of the *Chronicle* was used by **Æthelweard**, ealdorman of the western provinces (d. *c.* 998), as the basis for his Latin *Chronicon*, a work of considerable historical importance in its own right. Written 978 x 988, probably *c.* 985 (Campbell, p. xiii, n. 2); so

before renewal of viking raids on a large scale. Hardy (B7), pp. 571–4; Graves (A76), no. 2140, and B225–6. MS (BL Cotton Otho A. x): Ker (B300), no. 170. Text and translation: *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A Campbell, Nelson's Medieval Texts (1962). Discussion: Page (J43); Winterbottom (G225); van Houts (G226); Keynes (J34.6); Lutz (G227); Jezierski (G228); etc.

[B57] It is apparent that **Byrhtferth of Ramsey** (G220) was involved in the production of an historical miscellany, in Latin, drawing on earlier Northumbrian annals (B33, B640); it has also been suggested that he was involved in the transmission of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the tenth century. See C.R. Hart, *Byrhtferth's Northumbrian Chronicle: an Edition and Translation of the Old English and Latin Annals*, Early Chronicles of England 2 (2006).

For the suggestion that Byrhtferth was responsible for the account of the reign of Æthelred the Unready, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, see Hart (J42).

Manuscripts of the *Chronicle* were used by several writers active in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. See, e.g., William of Malmesbury (B620), Florence and John of Worcester (B630), Henry of Huntingdon (B635), and Simeon of Durham (B640).

[B61] Geffrei **Gaimar** used the Chronicle for his extended poem in Norman French on the history of the English, commissioned by a Lincolnshire patroness in the mid-twelfth century. Graves (A76), no. 2875; R.J. Dean, *Anglo-Norman Literature: a Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, AN Text Soc., Occ. Pub. 3 (1999), no. 1. Text: *L'Estoire des Engleis, by Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. A. Bell, Anglo-Norman Text Society 14–16 (1960). Text and translation: ed. T.D. Hardy and C.T. Martin, 2 vols., RS 91 (1888–9). See also J. Gillingham, 'Gaimar, the Prose *Brut* and the Making of English History', *L'Histoire et les nouveaux publics dans l'Europe (XIII–XV siècles)*, ed. J-P. Genet (1997), reptd in T69, pp. 113–22; and Damian-Grint (R124), pp. 49–53 (Gaimar).

[B62] The 'Annals of St Neots' (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R. 7. 28), compiled at Bury St Edmunds in the 1120s or 1130s. Covers period from 60 BC to 914 AD. Graves (A76), no. 2152. Text: *Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. D. Dumville and M. Lapidge (1985). For the manuscript, see also Keynes (B801), no. 25. Text and translation: C. Hart, *Byrhtferth's East Anglian Chronicle: a Comparative Edition and Translation of the Latin Annals*, Early Chronicles of England 3 (2006).

Modern translations of the 'Chronicle'

[B64] 'A Lady in the Country' [known to be Anna Gurney], *A Literal Translation of the Saxon Chronicle* (1819); Ingram (B36), Petrie (B37), Thorpe (B39), etc.; E.E.C. Gomme, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1909) - on which see the amusing preface by Bruce Dickins in B66

[B65] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock, *et al.* (1961); or use translation in EHD I (with excellent introduction) and EHD II

[B66] G.N. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1954); new ed. (1972) (an Everyman pb, still in print in the mid-1990s) - designed as a crib for Plummer's edition (B40), which it follows page for page

[B67] M.J. Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (2000), superseding edition of 1996, available in pb - a new translation, with an introduction (pp. xi–xxxv), annotation, and index of names; note, however, that the complex and rather confusing layout is sill that of Plummer's edition (B40)

[B68] A new translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is in preparation.

Modern interpretations of the 'Chronicle'

[B69.1] T.A. Bredehoft, *Textual Histories: Readings in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (2001) - on manuscript context and layout, OE verse, Latin texts, Asser and Æthelweard, etc., arguing that the ASC is 'a powerful and consciously driven tool to forge, through linking literature and history, a patriotic Anglo-Saxon national identity'

[B69.2] A. Sheppard, *Families of the King: Writing Identity in the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle'* (2004) - on the 'discourse of Anglo-Saxon identity' in the *Chronicle*, with treatment of the reigns of Alfred, Æthelred, Cnut, and William

[B69.5] M. Townend, 'Pre-Cnut Praise-Poetry in Viking Age England', *Review of English Studies* 51 (2000), 349–70 - on the 'Battle of Brunanburh' (937), the 'Redemption of the Five Boroughs' (942), the 'Coronation of Edgar' (973), and the 'Death of Edgar' (975)

Welsh, Irish and Scottish annals

[B70] *Annales Cambriae*. Sets of Latin annals compiled in Wales (hence *Annales Cambriae*), preserved in three versions (A, B, C). Text: *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682–954: Texts A–C in Parallel*, ed. D.N. Dumville, Basic Texts for Brittonic History 1 ([ASNC] 2002), with translation; E. Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriæ* and Old Welsh Genealogies, from Harleian MS. 3859', *Y Cymmrodor* 9 (1888), 141–83 [annals 445–954, in A]; *Annales Cambriæ*, ed. J. Williams (ab Ithel), RS 20 (1860) [A, B, C]. The frontispiece in the RS

edition shows annals 784–844 (pp. 10–13), in the A-text (BL Harley 3859). Text and translation [annals 447–954]: *Nennius, British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. J. Morris (1980, pb). Graves (A76), no. 2144. See also K. Hughes, *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources* (1980), pp. 67–100; W. Davies (A64), pp. 200–1; Higham (C124b), pp. 170–217.

[B71] Sets of Welsh annals, known as *Brut y Tywysogyon*, based on a late-thirteenth-century Latin chronicle (now lost), itself related to the B-text of the *Annales Cambriae* (B70). Extant in three main versions. Text and translation (1): T. Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20* (1941), and *Brut y Tywysogyon / The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (1952). Text and translation (2): T. Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon / The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version* (1955). Text and translation (3): T. Jones, *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons* (1971). Graves (A76), no. 2805.

[B72] 'The Chronicle of Ireland', described by TMC-E as 'a chronicle which does not itself exist but survives in large part in a range of daughter-chronicles', covering a period from 432 to 911. Translation: T.M. Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, 2 vols. (2006).

[B72.5] *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131), Part I: Text and Translation*, ed. S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (1983). Graves (A76), no. 2786. See also K. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (1972), pp. 99–159.

[B73] 'Three Fragments' (Graves (A76) nos. 2146). J.N. Radner, *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (1978) - for the early 10th-cent. settlements in north-western England
See also Graves (A76) nos. 2780 (Annals of Innisfallen) and 2170 (Annals of Tigernach).

[B74] 'The Chronicle of the Kings of Alba' (ninth- and tenth-century Scottish annals). Text and translation: B.T. Hudson, 'The "Scottish Chronicle"', *Scottish Historical Review* 77 (1998), 129–61. Text: Anderson (A62), pp. 249–53. Translation: Anderson (B15), vol. I, pp. 288, 291, 352–3, 357, 363–4, 395–6, 444–6, 452–3, 468, 472–3, 475, 512. See D.N. Dumville, 'The Chronicle of the Kings of Alba', *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297*, ed. S. Taylor (2000), pp. 73–86.

Royal biography

[B80] Alfred the Great. Asser, *Vita Ælfredi regis Angul-Saxonum*, written in 893. Text: *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W.H. Stevenson (1904; reptd 1959, with additional note by D. Whitelock; reptd 1998), with excellent introduction and notes. Translation: Keynes and Lapidge (F50), pp. 67–110; extracts in EHD no. 7. Hardy (B7), pp. 549–53; Graves (A76), no. 2147; Lapidge and Sharpe (A79), p. 14; Rollason (P85), S.39. Discussion: F240, etc. See also Smyth (F266) for a translation undertaken in the belief that the *Life* is a forgery.

[B85] Queen Emma. [? monk of Saint-Bertin], *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, written *c.* 1041 for Queen Emma (wife of Æthelred the Unready 1002–16 and wife of Cnut 1017–35); valuable for Danish conquest of England, and esp. for politics in the period following the death of Cnut (1035–40). Text and translation: *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell, Camden 3rd ser. 72 (1949), reptd with supplementary introduction by S. Keynes, Camden Classic Reprints 4 (1998). Extracts in EHD no. 28. Hardy (B7), pp. 626–30; Graves (A76), no. 2159. Van Houts (B91).

[B90] Edward the Confessor. [?Folcard], *Vita Ædwardi regis*, written *c.* 1066 for Queen Edith, daughter of Earl Godwine. Text and translation: *The Life of King Edward the Confessor who rests at Westminster*, ed. F. Barlow (1962), 2nd ed., OMT (1992). Hardy (B7), pp. 634–43; Graves (A76), no. 2171; Rigg (A56), pp. 12–14. For Folcard, see Q256.

[B91] E. Van Houts, 'The Flemish Contribution to Biographical Writing in England in the Eleventh Century', in T113, pp. 111–27, on the authors of the *Encomium Emmae*, and the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, plus Folcard and Goscelin

[B92] Later *Lives* of St Edward, by William of Malmesbury, Osbert de Clare, Aelred of Rievaulx, and others: see Barlow (B90), pp. xxxiii–xliv, and (for Aelred) B647. A facsimile edition of the mid-thirteenth century 'Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei' (Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ee.3.59: A213, no. 39), with copious illustrations, is available at <www.lib.cam.ac.uk./MSS/Ee.3.59/>.

'Lives' of royal saints, and 'Lives' of other kings
For 'Lives' of royal saints, see section Q: St Æthelberht, king of the East Angles (Q330); St Edmund, king of the East Angles (Q335); St Edward King and Martyr (Q400); *et al.* For a 'Life' of King Harold II, see B190. For a 'Life' of King Offa, see B656.

Important not least for purposes of comparison:
[B100] Einhard's *Vita Karoli magni*, and other *Lives* of Charlemagne (768–814). For Einhard, see P.E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier: the Complete Einhard* (1998), and Dutton (B601.7), pp. 24–43. See also L. Thorpe, *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer: Two Lives of Charlemagne*, PC (1969).

[B100a] D. Ganz, 'The Preface to Einhard's "Vita Karoli"', *Einhard: Studien zu Leben und Werk*, ed. H. Schefers (1997), pp. 299–310; J.L. Nelson, 'Tracking Einhard's "Life of Charlemagne"', *JEH* 57 (2006), 301–7 [review article]

[B105] Thegan's *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, and the Astronomer's *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, on the emperor Louis the Pious (814–40). Text: ed. E. Tremp (1995). Translation (Thegan): Dutton (B601.7), pp. 159–76. Translation (Astronomer): A. Cabaniss, *Son of Charlemagne: a Contemporary Life of Louis the Pious* (1961), pp. 30–125; King (B601.6), pp. 167–80; Dutton (B601.7), pp. 256–65 (extract).

[B108] Odo of Cluny, *Life of St Gerald of Aurillac*, being a mid-tenth-century biography of a late-ninth-century layman (contemporary of Alfred the Great). Translation: Sitwell (G101.3), pp. 90–180, reptd in Noble and Head (B164a), pp. 293–362; see also Airlie (G101.3).

[B110] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II. Imperatoris* ['Deeds of Conrad II'], on the Emperor Conrad II (1024–39), crowned at Rome in 1027. Text and German translation: Trillmich and Buckner (B616), pp. 522–613. Translation: Mommsen and Morrison (B614a), pp. 52–100. Many other items could be added in the same spirit, e.g. the *Life* of Robert the Pious (B613).

[B111] Hartvic, *Life* of King Stephen of Hungary (997–1038), trans. N. Berend in Head (Q227), pp. 375–98

Lives of Saints

For general guidance on the cults of saints, and hagiography, see below, section Q. The 'Lives' listed here include those which are especially important as primary sources for historical purposes.

[B115] C. White, *Early Christian Lives*, PC (1998) - containing early (and influential) *Lives* of St Antony, St Martin, and St Benedict, among others; see also Noble and Head (B164a), for *Lives* of SS Martin, Augustine, Germanus (C8), Benedict of Aniane (G100), and others

Celtic missionaries

[B116] St Ninian: see Bede, HE iii. 4, and the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* (a poem written in the late eighth century, based on a lost *Life*), trans. W.W. MacQueen, 'Miracula Nynie Episcopi', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser. 38 (1959–60), 21–57; see also Graves (A76), no. 2323

[B120] St Columba of Iona: *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. A.O. and M.O. Anderson (1961), rev. M.O. Anderson, OMT (1991); R. Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St Columba*, PC (1995); extracts in EHD no. 153; see also Bede, HE iii.4, and Graves (A76), no. 2319, and Lapidge and Sharpe (A79, pp. 85–6)

[B125] St Fursey: see Bede, HE iii.19, and M.P. Ciccarese, 'Le visioni di S. Fursa', *Romanobarbarica* 8 (1984–5), 231–303 (Latin text, with Italian commentary)

The age of the Conversion

[B130] The Anonymous (Lindisfarne) *Life of St Cuthbert* (written 698 x 705). Graves (A76), no. 2302. Text and translation: *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (1940; paperback reprint, 1985), pp. 60–139. For an early manuscript of the *Life*, not used by Colgrave, see D. Bullough, in *ASE* 28 (1998), 105–37. For most historical purposes, the Lindisfarne *Life* takes precedence over Bede's re-working of the material in his metrical and prose *Lives* of Cuthbert.

[B133] The Whitby *Life of Pope Gregory the Great* (written 704 x 713, if not a bit earlier). Graves (A76), no. 2308; Rollason (P85), S.22. Text and translation: *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great, by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby*, ed. B. Colgrave (1968; paperback reprint, 1985). Translation: D90, pp. 97–111. Extracts in EHD no. 152.

[B136] Bede's metrical *Life of St Cuthbert* (written after the Anonymous *Life*, but before 705), and Bede's prose *Life of St Cuthbert* (written *c.* 720). Both based on the Anonymous *Life of St Cuthbert* (B130), but with some important alterations and additions. Graves (A76), no. 2302. Text of the metrical *Life*: *Bedas Metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti*, ed. W. Jaager, Palaestra 198 (1935); see also M. Lapidge, 'Prolegomena to an Edition of Bede's Metrical *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*', *Filologia Mediolatina* 2 (1995), 127–63. Text and translation of the prose *Life*: Colgrave (B130), pp. 142–307. Translation of the prose *Life*: Webb and Farmer (B145), pp. 41–102.

[B140] Stephen of Ripon's *Life of St Wilfrid* (written 709 x ?720). Graves (A76), no. 2313; Rollason (P85), S.23. Text and translation: *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave (1927; paperback reprint, 1985). Extracts in EHD no. 154. The author of this *Life* is named in extant manuscripts as 'Stephen the priest', who has been identified since the 17th cent. as Eddius Stephanus, the singing master brought by Wilfrid from Kent

to Northumbria in 669 (HE iv.2; *Vita S. Wilfridi*, ch. 14); but the identification is by no means certain, as stressed by Kirby (D106).

[B142] The Anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith* (abbot of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow), written *c.* 716. Text and commentary: Plummer (B20), vol. I, pp. 388–404, and vol. II, pp. 371–7. Translation: EHD no. 155; Webb and Farmer (B145, rev. ed.), pp. 211–30. Text and translation: Grocock and Wood (B205), forthcoming. Discussion: art. in *Peritia* 3 (1984), 71–84, by Bede?

[B145] J.F. Webb and D.H. Farmer, *The Age of Bede*, PC (1983, rev. 1998) - includes the Anonymous *Life of Abbot Ceolfrith*, Bede's *Lives of the Abbots*, Bede's prose *Life of Cuthbert*, and Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid*

[B150] a [lost] book of signs and miracles, incorporating material on the life of St Æthelburh, abbess of Barking (d. 675): excerpts in Bede, HE iv.6–11

The age of the Mercian Supremacy

[B155] Felix's *Life of St Guthlac* (written probably in the 730s). Graves (A76), no. 2310. Text and translation: *Felix's Life of St Guthlac*, ed. B. Colgrave (1956; paperback reprint, 1985). Translation: D90, pp. 125–60. Extracts in EHD no. 156. See Roberts on Guthlac in A100.

English missionaries active on the continent in the eighth century

For the activities of these missionaries, see E1, etc.

[B160] *Life* of St Willibrord (d. 739) by Alcuin, written *c.* 790, but based on a lost *Life* by an Irishman. Graves (A76), no. 2314. Translation: Talbot (B164), pp. 1–22; with preface, in Noble and Head (B164a), pp. 189–211; extracts in EHD no. 157

[B161] *Life* of St Boniface (d. 754) by Willibald of Mainz, written in the 760s. Graves (A76), no. 2299. Text: *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii Archiepiscopi Moguntini*, ed. W. Levison, MGH, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum (1905), pp. 1–57. Translation: Talbot (B164), pp. 25–62; Noble and Head (B164a), pp. 107–64; extracts in EHD no. 158.

[B161a] *Life* of St Lebuin (d. *c.* 775). Translation: Talbot (B164), pp. 229–34.

[B162] *Life* of St Leofgyth (Leoba) (d. 779) by Rudolf of Fulda, written in the 830s. Translation: Talbot (B164), pp. 205–26; Noble and Head (B164a), pp. 255–77; extracts in EHD no. 159.

[B163] *Life* [and travel-diary] of St Willibald (d. *c.*787) by Hygeburh of Heidenheim, written c. 770. Translation: Talbot (B164), pp. 153–77; Noble and Head (B164a), pp. 141–64.

[B163a] *Life* of St Willehad (d. 789), written *c.* 850. Translation: Noble and Head (B164a), pp. 279–91.

[B164] C.H. Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (1954), pb reprint (1981), containing *Lives* of Willibrord (B160), Boniface (B161), Sturm, Leoba (B162), and Lebuin (B161a), as well as the *Hodoeporicon* of Willibald (B163) and letters of Boniface (B305), most of which are reptd (with new introductions, etc.) in Noble and Head (B164a)

[B164a] *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. T.F.X. Noble and T. Head (1995), which reprints material translated in Talbot (B164), and also includes translations *Lives* of SS Martin, Augustine, Germanus (C8), Benedict of Aniane (G100), Willehad (B163a), and Gerald of Aurillac (G101.3)

For the anonymous *Life* of Alcuin, written in the 820s, see below (E84).

The monastic reform movement of the tenth century

***St Dunstan**, abbot of Glastonbury (940–), bishop of Worcester (957–9), bishop of London (959), and archbishop of Canterbury (959–88); d. 19 May 988*

Hardy (B7), pp. 594–609; Graves (A76), no. 2303; Sharpe (A57), p. 81 (B[yrhthelm]). The earliest *Life* of St Dunstan is that written by the priest known as 'B' (B165). A revised version of B's *Life* was produced a year or two afterwards, and sent to Abbo of Fleury: see Stubbs (B165.5), pp. 409 and 458–72. Further work followed; and the sequence of *Lives* thus presents an interesting case-study in historiographical and hagiographical development.

[B165] B, *Vita S. Dunstani*, written *c.* 1000 by a priest (? an Englishman, from the south-west) identified only by his initial, B; dedicated to Archbishop Ælfric (Q87). Important not only for Dunstan, but also for mid-tenth-century politics. Text: Stubbs (B165.5), pp. 3–52. Text and translation: Lapidge and Winterbottom (B166), forthcoming. Extracts: EHD no. 234, for chs. 5 (D at Glastonbury), 12 (harp-playing), 13 (D and King Edmund), 15 (abbot of G), 19–20 (D and King Eadred), 21 + 24 (King Eadwig), 25 (D as bishop [957–9], and Edgar as king), and 37 (D's virtues). Discussion: Lapidge (G152), suggesting identification of 'B' as Byrhthelm); Winterbottom (G153).

[B165.1] Adalard of Ghent's letter to Archbishop Ælfheah (d. 1012), *de Vita Sancti Dunstani*, representing the next important stage in the development of the cult (including awareness of the fulfillment of his prophecies). Text: Stubbs (B165.5), pp. 53–68.

[B165.2] Osbern of Canterbury, *Vita S. Dunstani*, written *c.* 1090. Text: Stubbs (B165.5), pp. 69–161. Translation: none.

[B165.3] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Vita S. Dunstani*, written *c.* 1100. Text and translation: Muir and Turner (B166.5), pp. 69–161.

[B165.4] William of Malmesbury, *Vita S. Dunstani*, written *c.* 1120. Text and translation: Winterbottom and Thomson (B167), pp. 166–303, with introduction (pp. xvii–xxiv, xxix–xxx, 159–63).

[B165.5] *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 63 (1874) - includes texts of *Lives* by 'B' (B165), Adalhard of Ghent, Osbern of Canterbury, Eadmer of Canterbury, and William of Malmesbury, as well as the Canterbury letter-collection (B315), and the OE coronation oath (B473)

[B166] *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, OMT (forthcoming) - text and translation of *Lives* by B[?yrhthelm] and Adalhard, both written during the reign of Æthelred the Unready

[B166.5] *Eadmer of Canterbury, Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald*, ed. A.J. Turner and B.J. Muir, OMT (2006), representing the re-invention of the tenth-century monastic reform movement, from a post-Conquest Canterbury perspective (*c.* 1100)

[B167] *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives / Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, OMT (2002)

[B168] N. Ramsay and M. Sparks, *The Image of Saint Dunstan* (1988) – excellent booklet on the cult of St Dunstan, with illustrations

St Æthelwold, *monk of Glastonbury, abbot of Abingdon (954–63), and bishop of Winchester (963–84); d. 1 August 984*

Hardy (B7), pp. 585–91; Graves (A76), no. 2293; Sharpe (A57), pp. 824–5 (Wulfstan). There are two early *Lives* of St Æthelwold: by Wulfstan (B170) and by Ælfric (B170a). Ælfric's *Life of Æthelwold* (B170a) was once thought by some to be earlier than Wulfstan's *Life* (B170), but is now generally regarded as an abridgement of it.

[B170] Wulfstan *Cantor* (of Winchester), *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, written *c.* 1000, soon after the translation of St Æthelwold on 10 Sept. 996 (chs. 42–3). Text and translation: Lapidge and Winterbottom (B172), with indispensable introduction and commentary. Text: Winterbottom (B171), pp. 33–63. Translation: in *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 52 (1982), 377–407.

[B170a] Ælfric of Winchester/Cerne/Eynsham, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, written *c.* 1005 (dedicated to Cenwulf, bishop of Winchester (1006)). Text: Winterbottom (B171), pp. 17–29. Translation: EHD no. 235.

[B171] *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. M. Winterbottom (1972)

[B172] *Wulfstan of Winchester: the Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, OMT (1991), reptd with Addenda (1996); see also A. G. Rigg, 'The Long or the Short of it? Amplification or Abbreviation?', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000), 46–73, at 65–7

St Oswald, *bishop of Worcester (961–) and archbishop of York (971–92); d. 29 February 992*

[B175] Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, written *c.* 1000 (ref. in IV.21 to AB Ælfric, but no ref. to the translation of Oswald in 1002). Organised in five books: I, on Archbishop Oda; II, on Oswald at Fleury; III, on the monastic reform movement; IV, on the events of the 970s; and V, on events in Æthelred's reign. Graves (A76), no. 2311; Sharpe (A57), p. 81. Text: Raine (B175.5) I, pp. 399–475. Text and translation: Lapidge (B176), forthcoming. Extracts: EHD no. 236, on the 'anti-monastic' reaction (IV.11–13), on the murder of Edward the Martyr (IV.17–20), and on the renewal of viking attacks (V.4–5); V.4–5 also trans. Lapidge, in Scragg (J50), pp. 51–8.

[B175.5] *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. J. Raine, 3 vols., RS 71 (1879–94)

[B176] *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of Oswald and Ecgwine*, ed. M. Lapidge, OMT (forthcoming)

[B177] Eadmer, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, based on Byrhtferth's Life (B175). Text and translation: Turner and Muir (B166.5), pp. 216–89. Text: Raine (B175.5) II, pp. 1–40.

[B178] Eadmer, *Miracula S. Oswaldi*, which includes (ch. 4, pp. 298–307) an account of the translation of Oswald's remains at Worcester, in 1002. Text and translation: Turner and Muir (B166.5), pp. 290–323. Text: Raine (B175.5) II, pp. 41–59.

For some of the many *Lives* of saints or prominent ecclesiastics active in the closing years of the Anglo-Saxon period, see Gransden (A91), pp. 87–91, and, in particular:

Wulfstan II, *bishop of Worcester (1062–95)*
[B185] William of Malmesbury, *Life* of St Wulfstan, based on a vernacular *Life* by Coleman (Graves (A76), no. 2316). Text and translation: Winterbottom and Thomson (B167). For an earlier text, see *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R.R. Darlington (1928); and for earlier translations, see J.F.H. Peile, *William of Malmesbury's Life of St Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester* (1934) and Swanton (B195), pp. 91–148. See also Mason (Q99).

For many other *Lives* written in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, of saints who flourished at times ranging from the seventh century to the eleventh, see section Q.

Other secular biography or hagiography

[B190] 'Life' of King Harold II, written in the early thirteenth century. Hardy (B7), pp. 668–71; Graves (A76), no. 2172. Text and translation: *Vita Haroldi: the Romance of the Life of Harold, King of England*, ed. W. de G. Birch (1885). Translation: Swanton (B195), pp. 3–40. Discussion: Watkiss and Chibnall (B299), pp. xlvi–xlviii.
[B191] 'Life' of Hereward the Wake. Richard of Ely, *Gesta Herwardi incliti militis* (Graves (A76), no. 2878), allegedly based in part on a vernacular 'Life' of Hereward by Leofric of Bourne. Text and translation: *Gesta Herewardi: Hereward the Wake*, ed. P.G. Schmidt and J. Mann, OMT (forthcoming). Translation: by M. Swanton, in *Medieval Outlaws: Ten Tales in Modern English*, ed. T.H. Ohlgren (1998), pp. 12–60; see also Swanton (B195), pp. 45–88. Discussion: R142.
[B192] 'Life' of Earl Waltheof (*Vita et Passio Waldevi Comitis*), which would appear to have originated at Crowland abbey. Discussion: Scott (R148), pp. 151–2.
[B195] M. Swanton, *Three Lives of the Last Englishmen* (1984) - comprises (i) trans. of a *Life* of Harold II (B190), pp. 3–40; (ii) translation of a 'Life' of Hereward the Wake (B191), pp. 45–88; and (iii) translation of William of Malmesbury's 'Life' of Wulfstan of Worcester (B185), pp. 91–148.

III. HISTORIES AND RECORDS OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES

For many purposes, and in order to make various kinds of allowances, it is important to think of the sources of our knowledge in terms of the various centres in which they were produced, or through which they were transmitted, or from which they were preserved. Some of our sources appear to have emanated from the royal household or court, and have a special interest and value for precisely that reason; this would apply, for example, to some of the 'literary' material generated during the reign of King Alfred, to particular manuscripts, and to particular law-codes, and it might also apply to a significant proportion of the surviving corpus of royal charters and writs. In the great majority of cases, however, the centre of production, transmission or preservation would be one of the large number of religious houses scattered unevenly throughout the land. It must be stressed that while material pertinent to the historian's purposes would once have existed at many houses, conditions would only in exceptional cases combine and be conducive to the survival of this material to the present day. In every case, we should think of the house first and foremost in human terms, and then, but only then, as an owner of lands, a guardian of traditions, a repository of books, treasures, and records, and as an agency by which knowledge of the past was preserved and transmitted to the next generation, with or without a particular spin. The historian's task is to understand the whole process of accumulation, transmission, preservation, and loss, to modify judgement where necessary and appropriate, to bring all forms of available evidence to bear on the purpose in hand, and then to relate one thing to another in the service of a larger end.

House-histories take many forms, and cannot easily be separated from charters and other records. Bede set a magnificent example, but alas had no imitators. South of the Humber, many houses would have accumulated a variety of written records (charters, writs, wills, etc.) during the course of their existence, generally in connection with the process of endowment; but some houses were not as careful as others about preserving these records for the benefit of posterity. At the time of their production, all charters were, in a sense, equal; but while some, by the time we encounter them, will be found to have been treated with respect, others will be found to have been mangled almost beyond recognition. Sooner or later the records began to be used for 'historical' as well as for more practical purposes, supplemented by oral traditions and articulated by fertile imaginations. Charters might be gathered together and copied more or less accurately into cartularies, or cartulary-chronicles; but these compilations vary enormously in their date, accuracy, and character, ranging from collections of title-deeds transcribed in good faith, via collections assembled with purpose and attitude, to elaborate projections of a church's view of its own historical identity (at the time of composition). Charters might also form the basis of a

house-chronicle, without being copied in their own right. Whatever the case, it should be noted that charters cease in this process to be separate 'documentary' sources, and instead become component parts of a more extended (and perhaps self-consciously 'literary') whole. Charters represent, however, only one aspect of the story at each house, and are often complemented by other forms of evidence. Indeed, one is struck above all by the rich *variety* of information available for reconstructing the separate histories of the different houses. For comparable material on the continent, see van Houts (A93).

The entries below are intended to convey a general sense of the nature and distribution of surviving records; the material is abstracted and compressed from B333 (which forms part of the 'Kemble' website). The Domesday survey (R230) is always of especial value, because it provides a register of the estates belonging to a religious house in 1066 and 1086, and thus affords an indication of the wealth of religious houses in relation to each other. For a list of the values of the respective holdings of religious houses in 1086, see Knowles (G117), pp. 702–3; the point for these purposes being that there is not a simple relationship between the accumulated wealth of a house and the extent or quality of its surviving archives. For a list of the religious houses known to have existed in England during the Anglo-Saxon period, see Q5; the point for these purposes being that histories and records are preserved for only a small proportion of them. William of Malmesbury assembled information on religious houses in England, arranged diocese by diocese (B625). For some separate modern studies of particular houses, see Foot (Q23), and Q130, etc.

Terminology. There were fundamental as well as more subtle differences between the various religious houses throughout Anglo-Saxon England: e.g. in the circumstances of their foundation, in the form of their buildings, in the composition of the communities established within them, in the forms of religious life practised by them, and in their relationship with secular powers and local society; moreover, anything which obtained in one house, at one period, could change with the passage of time. See also section Q. In the Anglo-Saxon period itself, words such as *ecclesia*, *monasterium* and *mynster* were used indiscriminately, and no nuanced set of terms was available to reflect the variety of religious life from one house to another. Accordingly, it has been forcefully argued by Foot (Q53) that we should use 'minster' for all pre-reform houses, of whatever kind; and since the variety persists during and after the reform movement in the tenth century, it is arguable that our terminology should remain loose and imprecise. The term 'religious house' is used below for any form of communal establishment (whether of monks, or of nuns, or of monks and nuns, or of strictly 'regular' Benedictine monks, or of strictly 'regular' Benedictine nuns, or of secular clergy, whether regular or otherwise); but other terms, such as church, monastery, nunnery, convent, abbey, minster, etc., are used where they seem appropriate or indeed unavoidable in the particular context.

Northumbrian religious houses

The story begins, as it were, at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, on the river Tyne. But while there is no doubt that written documents had their place in the early Northumbrian church (cf. Stephen's 'Life' of Wilfred, ch. 17, for Ripon; Bede's Letter to Egberht (B303), in EHD no. 170, p. 806; and Bede's *Historia abbatum*, ch. 15, for papal privileges), nothing of this nature has survived. Our perception of, e.g., Monkwearmouth/Jarrow, York, Whitby, Hexham, Ripon, and Beverley, is thus not what it might be. Different practices of record-keeping may have obtained further north.

Monkwearmouth and Jarrow   *County Durham*

The monastery at Monkwearmouth was founded by Benedict Biscop in 674, and the monastery at Jarrow was founded by Ceolfrith *c.* 681 (dedicated 23 Apr. 685); but from the outset the two houses were regarded as one (*Historia abbatum*, ch. 7; HE v.24). Bede entered into the monastic life at Monkwearmouth, in 680, and was among those who, soon afterwards, moved to Jarrow; he died at Jarrow on 25 May 735. Pickles (Q745).

[B200] Bede's *Historia abbatum* is a wonderfully restrained account of the foundation and early history of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. Text and translation: *Bede, History of the Abbots, with the Letter to Ecgbert, the Anonymous Life of Ceolfrith and Bede's Homily on Benedict Biscop*, ed. C.W. Grocock and I. Wood, OMT (forthcoming). Text with commentary: Plummer (B20), vol. I, pp. 364–87, and vol. II, pp. 355–70. Text and translation: *Bedae Opera Historica* II, ed. J.E. King (Loeb Classical Library, 1930), pp. 392–445. Translation: Webb and Farmer (B145), pp. 185–208.

[B205] The anonymous 'Life' of Ceolfrith (B142), abbot of Jarrow. Text and translation: Grocock and Wood (B200). Translation: Webb and Farmer, rev ed. (B145).

York *Yorkshire*

The church of St Peter at York was founded in 627 by Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, to serve as the episcopal see for Paulinus (HE ii.9 and 14), and was restored and richly endowed *c.*670 by Bishop Wilfrid ('Life' of Wilfrid, ch. 16). The 'ornaments, charters, and privileges' of the church are said to have been destroyed when the Normans ravaged the north in 1069–70 (*Hugh the Chanter*, ed. Johnson, p. 2); but it seems that not everything was lost. Pickles (Q745).

[B210] Alcuin's poem on York (Rollason (P85), S.29). Text and translation: *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, ed. P. Godman, OMT (1982).

[B211] The mid-fourteenth-century register known as the 'Magnum Registrum Album', in the Minster Library at York, contains the texts of an important group of tenth- and eleventh-century charters pertaining to the endowment of York Minster.

[B212] The York Gospels (York Minster Library, MS. Add. 1): a gospel-book (s. x/xi and xi.1), with a series of important eleventh-century additions. Description: Ker (B800) no. 402. Facsimile with essays: *The York Gospels*, ed. N. Barker, Roxburghe Club (1986).

[B213] *Hugh the Chanter: The History of the Church of York 1066–1127*, ed. C. Johnson, rev. M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke and M. Winterbottom, OMT (1990)

[B214] History of the Archbishops of York, from *c.* 600 to the time of Archbishop Thurstan (1114–40), preserved in Oxford, Bodl. Digby 140, written in the first half of the twelfth century, with later continuations. Cf. Graves (A76), no. 1130. Text: *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. J. Raine, 3 vols., RS 71 (1879–94) II, pp. 312–87. Based on Hugh the Chanter for the period from 1070; but valuable not least for its account of Archbishop Ealdred (1060–9), pp. 344–54.

An unknown house *? Yorkshire*

A certain layman called Eanmund founded a house somewhere in Northumbria during the reign of Osred, king of the Northumbrians (705–16), with help from Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne (698 x ? – ? x 731). A certain Æthelwulf (Aediluulf) wrote a poem about the abbots of this house in the eighth century, dedicated to Ecgberht, bishop of Lindisfarne (803–21). The house in question was probably at Crayke, a few miles north of York.

[B215] Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus*. Text and translation: *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus*, ed. A. Campbell (1967). Discussion: M. Lapidge, 'Aediluulf and the School of York' (1990), reptd in T19 (1996), pp. 381–98.

Beverley *Yorkshire, East Riding*

The minster at Beverley was founded by John, bishop of Hexham (687–706) and bishop of York (706–?714), who died there in 721 (HE v.2–6). The house is said to have been destroyed by the Danes in the late ninth century, but was refounded by King Æthelstan as a secular college for seven canons. See also Palliser (Q57), Horrox (Q141), Wilson (G74), Pickles (Q745).

[B218] A magnificent volume produced at Beverley in the late fourteenth century, now BL Add. 61901, contains a text of Folcard's 'Life' of St John of Beverley (Q256), followed by an account of the minster's privileges said to have been translated from English into Latin by Master Alfred, the sacrist of Beverley minster (on whom see Sharpe (A57), p. 54), and copies of S 451, 1067 (a writ of Edward authorising Archbishop Ealdred to draw up a *privilegium* 'for the lands that belong to St John's minster at Beverley'), and 1160.

Lindisfarne/ Chester-le-Street/ Durham. *Northumberland / County Durham*

The church of St Cuthbert at Lindisfarne, founded by Bishop Aidan *c.* 635, is symbolised by the site at Holy Island (described by Bede, HE iii.3), by the wooden coffin of St Cuthbert (D101), by the 'Lindisfarne Gospels' (D120), by the anonymous 'Life' of St Cuthbert (B130), and by the community's 'Liber Vitae' (B445). The community left Lindisfarne *c.* 875, and after some years wandering re-established themselves at Chester-le-Street in 883 (where they remained, for example, during the reign of King Æthelstan); they moved on to the greater security of Durham in 995. The 'Lindisfarne Gospels', the 'Liber Vitae', and other precious things went with them; so too did a gospel-book, now lost, in which the community seems to have kept records of donations. There are many useful papers in Bonner (D102).

[B220] *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, an account of the history of the church of St Cuthbert to the middle of the tenth century, with an extension to the mid-eleventh century; probably composed in the second half of the eleventh century. Graves (A76), no. 2157 (c); Rollason (P85), S.47. Text: Arnold (B33), vol. I, pp. 196–214. Text and translation: by T. Johnson-South, AST 3 (2002); extracts in EHD no. 6. Discussion: T. Johnson-South, 'The Norman Conquest of Durham: Norman Historians and the Anglo-Saxon Community of St Cuthbert', *HSJ* 4 (1993), 85–95, at 88–90.

[B225] *De obsessione Dunelmi*, a brief account of some lands belonging to the see of Durham, which affords an insight into the domestic politics of eleventh-century Northumbria. Graves (A76), no. 2157 (f); Rollason (P85), S.53). Text: Arnold (B33), vol. I, pp. 215–20. Translation: Stevenson (B665) iii.2 (1855), pp. 765–8; C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (1975), pp. 146–50. Discussion: C.J. Morris, *Marriage and Murder in Eleventh-Century Northumbria: a Study of 'De obsessione Dunelmi'*, Borthwick Paper 82 (1992); Fletcher (N28).

[B226] 'Annales Lindisfarnensis' (in Glasgow, UL, Hunterian 85), compiled at Durham in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Graves (A76), no. 2145. See also Rollason/Story, in B644, pp. 10, 17–18, and 202–13, with Plates 39–41.

[B227] Simeon of Durham, *Historia Dunelmensis ecclesiae*, written in the early twelfth century. Graves (A76), no. 2157 (a); Rollason (P85), S.55. Text and translation: *Symeon of Durham: Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie / Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, ed. D. Rollason, OMT (2000). Text: Arnold (B33), vol. I, pp. 3–135. Translation: Stevenson (B665), iii.2 (1855), pp. 621–711. Important collection of essays in Rollason (B644).

For Symeon's *Historia Regum*, see B640. On the cult of St Cuthbert, see Battiscombe (D101), etc. For the history of the community of St Cuthbert, at Lindisfarne, Chester-le-Street, and Durham, see Aird (R349), pp. 9–99. For manuscript production at Durham in the 11th and 12th centuries, see Lawrence-Mathers (R349.5).

Mercian religious houses

Religious houses in several of the principal centres of the extended 'Mercian' world (e.g. at Tamworth, Lichfield, Repton, Breedon, Berkeley, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Bardney, Louth, Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxford) are barely represented in surviving records; and other self-evidently important houses (e.g. at Hereford, Gloucester, and Winchcombe, and at *Medeshamstede* and Crowland in the fens) are not represented nearly as well as we should like. It may be that this impairs our perception of the Mercian regime; or perhaps it suggests something about it. In addition to the houses mentioned below, there is material from, e.g., Chester, Cirencester (cf. Q95), Coventry, Stow St Mary (cf. B239), Tewkesbury, and Much Wenlock (cf. Q344). A reference to the existence in the early eighteenth century of a book containing charters of Coenwulf, king of the Mercians, in the possession of Sir Robert Davers, of Torksey, Lincolnshire, is a tantalising reminder of what we have lost (Keynes (Q28), p. 26 n. 111).

Lichfield   *Staffordshire*

In 669 St Chad established his episcopal seat at Lichfield, and so it became the ecclesiastical centre of the kingdom of the Mercians. The bishops of Lichfield are known to have kept charters (cf. EHD, no. 81); unfortunately, nothing survives from what would presumably have been the main 'Mercian' archive, perhaps on a par with Canterbury and Winchester.

[B230] W. Rodwell, 'The Forgotten Cathedral', *Popular Archaeology* 205 (Sept./Oct. 2006), 8–17. On the remarkable stone sculpture of an angel, known as the 'Lichfield Angel', and believed to have been part of the shrine of St Chad, found in 2003 in the middle of what is presumed to be the church of St Peter, underneath the nave of the present cathedral. Its discovery was announced in March 2006; and opinions on its date range from the early eighth century to the late ninth century.

[B230.1] The stone sculptures of Anglo-Saxon and later kings, on the west front of Lichfield Cathedral, were made in 1820–1, replacing an earlier defaced and decayed series of statues (kings of Israel and Judah, or kings of the English). The Mercians are Peada, Wulfhere, Æthelred, and Offa, followed by the West Saxons Ecgberht, Æthelwulf, Æthelberht, Æthelred I, and Alfred; the remaining three are Edward the Elder, Cnut, and Edward the Confessor. See *A Supplement to the Short Account of Lichfield Cathedral, Containing a Description of the Statues Lately Restored on the Western Front* (Lichfield, 1821), pp. 3–12.

Worcester   *Worcestershire*

The church of Worcester, in the heartland of the rulers of the Hwicce, was founded in the 670s, and profited in the eighth century from the patronage of Mercian kings. It was probably from Worcester that Alfred recruited his helpers in the early 880s; and Coenwald, bishop of Worcester 928–57, may also have played a significant part at court. Significant developments occurred in the 960s, when Bishop Oswald (who had established a small community of monks at Westbury-on-Trym, Gloucs.) appears to have established a community of monks at St Mary's, Worcester, alongside the community serving the cathedral church of St Peter; see Barrow (G183). We owe much, thereafter, to the efficient book-keeping of Archbishop Wulfstan, in the early eleventh century, and to the

extraordinary enterprise of Bishop Wulfstan II in the late eleventh century. For Florence and John of Worcester, see B630.

[B231] Two eleventh-century cartularies in BL Cotton Tiberius A. xiii. Text: *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne, 2 vols. (1723). N.R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', in T8.5, pp. 31–59. A new edition of the charters is in preparation (B342).

[B231.5] 'Tiberius I' (ed. Hearne, pp. 1–247) was compiled in the early eleventh century, under the auspices of Archbishop Wulfstan, with some later additions; contains some Worcester charters, and the famous series of Oswald's leases.

[B231.6] 'Tiberius II' (ed. Hearne, pp. 248–425) was compiled in the late eleventh century, under the auspices of Bishop Wulfstan II, with some later additions. This is 'Hemming's Cartulary' proper. For the monk Hemming, and the component parts of his cartulary, see S. Keynes, 'Hemming' (A100), pp. 231–2. See also Tinti (M234). The key element is the 'Codicellus', ed. Hearne, pp. 248–81.

Evesham   *Worcestershire*

The church of Evesham was founded *c.* 700 by St Ecgwine, bishop of Worcester (Q430). It is represented by a rather disreputable series of charters (B232), and by an house chronicle compiled by Thomas of Marlborough, abbot of Evesham, in the early thirteenth century, important not least because it makes use of earlier material (B233).

[B232] Two Evesham cartularies (BL Cotton Vespasian B. xxiv and BL Harley 3763), of rather different character, and with remarkably little overlap between their respective contents. The cartularies are object-lessons in the importance of approaching transmitted texts in their manuscript context.

[B233] 'Liber de gestis abbatum', compiled in the 1220s by Thomas of Marlborough. Text and translation: *Thomas of Marlborough: History of the Abbey of Evesham*, ed. J. Sayers and L. Watkiss, OMT (2003). Text: *Chronicon Abbatiæ de Evesham*, ed. W.D. Macray, RS 29 (1863). Partial translation: D.C. Cox, *The Chronicle of Evesham Abbey* (1964). Bks I and II (Sayers and Watkiss, pp. 2–124) are based on Dominic of Evesham's *Life of St Ecgwine*, written s. xii.1, including interesting material on the abbey's history in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The first part of bk III (Sayers and Watkiss, pp. 126–200), based on a history of Evesham abbey written s. xi/xii, is full of interesting material on the tenth and eleventh centuries, and itself incorporates a 'Life' of Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham (1058–77). Cf. Evesham material in B234.

Pershore   *Worcestershire*

A religious house is said to have been founded *c.* 689 at Pershore by Oswald, nephew of Æthelred, king of the Mercians (675–704), and brother of Osric, founder of St Peter's, Gloucester (cf. S 70). There is also a tradition to the effect that Coenwulf, king of the Mercians (796–821), granted privileges to Pershore at the instigation of Ealdorman Beornnoth (cf. S 786). The house was reformed or re-founded during the reign of King Edgar, under Abbot Foldbriht, but was then sorely oppressed by Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia (d. 983). The abbey boasted an 'Orthodoxorum' charter (Q127), dated 972, which passed to Worcester (S 786). For relics of St Eadburh at Pershore, see Q375. Earl Odda (builder of 'Odda's Chapel' at Deerhurst, Gloucs.), died at Deerhurst in 1056 and was buried at Pershore (ASC, MS. D; JW, in B630, p. 580). For Odda, see Williams (L75).

[B234] A set of annals displaying special interest in Evesham and Pershore, apparently compiled in the late fourteenth century, was seen by Leland in the sixteenth century, but is now lost; for Leland's excerpts, see his *Collectanea* (S19), i.240–53. The annals are cited here as an example of a text which contains information of great potential interest, yet of somewhat uncertain authority.

Hereford   *Herefordshire*

The church at Hereford is said to have been founded *c.* 680 by Milfrith, son of Merewealh, ruler of the Magonsætan. Sooner or later it became the episcopal see for those who dwelt west of the river Severn, under the overlordship of the kings of the Mercians. Cuthberht, bishop of Hereford (736–40), distinguished himself as archbishop of Canterbury (740–60); Æthelberht, the king of the East Angles murdered on King Offa's orders in 794, was buried at Hereford and came to be regarded as a saint (Q330). The 'glorious minster' built at Hereford by Bishop Æthelstan, *c.* 1020, was burnt down in 1055 (ASC).

[B235] The 'Hereford Gospels', written in the late eighth century, contains two eleventh-century records of singular interest (S 1462 and 1469). See also Keynes (Q135). It is generally assumed that the accumulated muniments of the church of Hereford were destroyed in 1055.

There was another religious house at Hereford, with what may have been a significant dedication to St Guthlac (Q349). This house was flourishing in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries; it may have been founded in the eighth century, if not before, and

should perhaps be counted among the 'Mercian' houses which contributed to the Alfredian revival.

Leominster
Herefordshire

The church at Leominster would appear to have been a nunnery of some special importance in the tenth and eleventh centuries, though rather little evidence survives.

[B235a] The 'Leominster Prayerbook' (B479): see Keynes (Q135), p. 15 n. 52, with further references, and Hillaby (Q135)

See also Stafford (Q147), pp. 9–10; Foot (Q23), II, pp. 103–7.

Gloucester, St Peter's
Gloucestershire

The monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester, was founded *c.* 680 by Osric, a *subregulus* of the Hwicce during the reign of Æthelred, king of the Mercians. The monastery later received a confirmation of its privileges from Burgred, king of the Mercians (S 209). The 'golden minster' was rebuilt by Æthelred and Æthelflæd in the late ninth century (A20, p. 343). It was refounded as a Benedictine monastery *c.* 1022, by Wulfstan, archbishop of York, and was consecrated by Ealdred, bishop of Worcester, in 1058 (ASC, MS. D).

[B236a] Our knowledge seems to depend on the activities of Abbot Walter Froucester (1381–1412). The so-called 'Historia monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ' describes the history and endowment of (old) St Peter's from *c.* 680 to *c.* 1400, and is associated with an alphabetical register of donations which itself deserves further attention. Text: *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ*, ed. W.H. Hart, 3 vols, RS 33 (1863–7) I, pp. 3–58 and 58–125. Translation (of the *Historia*): D. Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (1991), pp. 597–639. See also Hare (Q141). The 'Historia' incorporates a Latin version of a vernacular lease issued by Abbot Eadric, early in the reign of Cnut, made in respect of a payment of 15 pounds 'quibus redemi omnia alia prædia monasterii ab illa magna heregeldi exactione, quæ per totam Angliam fuit' (S 1424). Abbot Walter was also responsible for the compilation of a cartulary (Gloucester, D. & C., Reg. A), which begins with a composite account of the early history of St Peter's (ed. Hart, i, pp. lxxi–lxxiv), whence S 70, S 1782, and S 209.

Gloucester, St Oswald's (The New Minster)
Gloucestershire

The 'New Minster' was founded towards the end of the ninth century by Ealdorman Æthelred and his wife Æthelflæd, in the place which was evidently intended to become the centre of their political power within the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons. The minster, located outside the Roman walls, was dedicated initially to St Peter, and additionally to St Oswald following the translation of the saint's relics from Bardney in 909 (cf. section Q). The church was later given by King Cnut to his priest Duduc, who bequeathed it to the bishopric of Wells; it was acquired after Duduc's death (in 1061) by Archbishop Stigand.

[B236b] There are no surviving records of the church from the tenth century; but an account of a plea heard before Edward I, in 1304, refers to a grant of privileges by King Æthelstan to the 'New Minster' at Gloucester, issued in the first year of his reign, apparently in fulfilment of an agreement previously made between Edward the Elder and Ealdorman Æthelred. *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I*, III, ed. G.O. Sayles, Selden Society 58 (1939), 138–44 (no. 76); Hare, in Heighway and Bryant (Q141), pp. 36–7.

Westbury (-on-Trym)
Gloucestershire

Soon after St Oswald became bishop of Worcester (in 961), he entrusted a group of his young followers to Germanus (Q88b), who had been a monk at Fleury, and established them at Westbury, where they remained for about four years. The community was then re-established at Ramsey (*c.* 965). There are no separate or surviving records of the house at Westbury, which was later a priory of Worcester.

[B236c] Byrhtferth's *Life of St Oswald* (B175), iii.7–8; Eadmer's *Life of St Oswald* (B177), ch. 16.

Wolverhampton
Staffordshire

A monastery at Wolverhampton was founded towards the end of the tenth century by Wulfrun, mother of Wulfric Spott and of Ælfhelm, ealdorman of Northumbria. The church belonged to Worcester in the early twelfth century, to Lichfield in the 1140s, and to Worcester again thereafter; it was later granted by Edward IV to the Chapel Royal at Windsor.

[B237] Copies of the charter by which Archbishop Sigeric is alleged to have confirmed Wulfrun's endowment of the monastery in '996' (S 1380) occur in different but appropriate contexts. One, said to have been 'written on parchment in Saxon letters', was found *c.* 1560 in the ruins of a wall at Lichfield, enclosed in a leaden case (see Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* i. 445); another was printed by Dugdale, 'ex ipso autographo penes decanum et capitulum Regiæ Capellæ de Windsore an. 1640'. See also Hooke and Slater (Q142).

Burton   *Staffordshire*

Burton abbey (Staffordshire) was founded *c.* 1000 by Wulfric Spott (son of Wulfrun, and brother of Ealdorman Ælfhelm), a prominent thegn at the court of King Æthelred the Unready (J23, pp. 188–9).

[B238] *Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. P.H. Sawyer, AS Charters 2 (1979). The charters of Burton abbey afford a rare opportunity to observe in some detail the process by which a layman accumulated land, and then used it to endow a monastery, established under the king's protection. For the place-names of Staffordshire, see Horovitz (B867.5).

[B238.5] Will of Wulfric Spott (1002x1004), and charter of King Æthelred confirming the foundation of Burton Abbey, dated 1004. Catalogue: Sawyer (B320), nos. 1536 and 906. Text: Sawyer (B238), nos. 28 and 28. Translation (of Wulfric's will): EHD no. 125.

[B238a] *Geoffrey of Burton: Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, ed. R. Bartlett, OMT (2002) - with reference (ch. 43) to the cult of St Modwenna at Burton in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries

Eynsham   *Oxfordshire*

Land at Eynsham was acquired by Æthelmær 'the Fat', son of Ealdorman Æthelweard, from his son-in-law Æthelweard. Æthelmær founded the abbey *c.* 1005, and took early retirement there, before returning to public life. The first abbot of Eynsham was Ælfric, formerly of Cerne (B268). He produced a customary for the community (B571), and wrote more homilies (B566.2). By the time of the Domesday survey, Eynsham was held by Remigius of Fécamp, bishop of Lincoln; soon afterwards Remigius united Eynsham with Stow St Mary, in Lincolnshire, though monastic life was reestablished at Eynsham in the early twelfth century. For excavations at Eynsham, see Hardy (B239a), Blair (A43), pp. 114–16, and the entry in A100. See also Yorke (G144) and Gordon (Q145).

[B239] Charter of King Æthelred, confirming the foundation of Eynsham Abbey, in 1005. Catalogue: Sawyer (B320), no. 911. Text: H.E. Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary*, 2 vols. (1907), I, pp. 19–28 (no. 1). Illustration of the charter in the cartulary: Hardy (B239a), front and back covers (in colour). Discussion: Keynes (J162.5); a charter which should have been an Eynsham title-deed (S 847, by which King Æthelred granted land at Thames Ditton in Surrey to Æthelmær, in 983) was for some doubtless interesting reason preserved at Thorney. The Eynsham cartulary also contains two documents relating to Stow St Mary in Lincolnshire (S 1233, 1478).

[B239a] A. Hardy, *et al.*, *Ælfric's Abbey: Excavations at Eynsham Abbey, Oxfordshire 1989–92*, Thames Valley Landscapes 16 (2003) - the major study, incl. J. Blair, on the Anglo-Saxon abbey, pp. 3–10, and A. Hardy, on the late Saxon abbey, pp. 69–80 and 479–92

[B239b] A. Hardy, *Eynsham: a Village and its Abbey* (2003) - colourful pamphlet, with some effective reconstruction drawings of Ælfric's abbey

Oxford, St Frideswide's   *Oxfordshire*

For St Frithuswith herself, said to have been a king's daughter, active in the vicinity of Oxford in the early eighth century (d. '735'), see Stenton/Blair/Yarrow (Q432). The (secular) minster at Oxford, 'where the body of the blessed Frideswide rests', was burnt down at the time of the St Brice's Day Massacre in 1002.

[B239.5] Charter of King Æthelred, confirming the privileges of St Frideswide's, in 1004. Catalogue: Sawyer (B320), no. 909. Text: S.R. Wigram, *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford*, 2 vols. (1895–6), pp. 2–9 (no. 2). Translation: EHD no. 127. Discussion: Blair (A20), p. 356, and refs.; Keynes (J160).

Breedon-on-the-Hill   *Leicestershire*

For the significance of the church at Breedon, see Keynes (Q28), pp. 37–40; see also D200 (Tatwine) and E106 (sculpture). The hill in question is an Iron Age hill fort, now badly affected by quarrying.

[B239.8] Charter of Berhtwulf, king of Mercia, to Abbot Eanmund and his community at Breedon, dated 844 for 848 (S 197), from the Peterborough archive. Cf. charter of King Edgar for Bishop Æthelwold (S 749), from the Burton archive.

Religious houses in the fens

With the exception of some later foundations (Ramsey, Eynesbury, Chatteris), the houses listed below formed part of the extended 'Mercian' (or Middle Anglian) world in the eighth century, and are presumed to have fallen victim to Danish invasions in the late ninth century. It should not be imagined that they were necessarily derelict in the tenth century, though from the Benedictine point of view they were refounded in the 970s. The fenland houses of the late tenth and eleventh centuries constitute a particularly interesting group, whether for the different circumstances of their refoundation or foundation, for the relationships which arose between them, for their respective places in

the distinctive Anglo-Danish society and economy of the fenland region, for their fortunes in the wake of the Norman Conquest, or in relation to the forms of documentary and other record by which the history of each house is known.

Medeshamstede / Peterborough *Northamptonshire*

Medeshamstede (=Peterborough, in Northamptonshire) was founded in the late seventh century, by Seaxwulf (HE iv.6), and became a place of particular importance in the eighth and ninth centuries. The abbey was refounded *c.* 970 by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester. For its medieval library-catalogue, see B820.

[B239.10] 'Relatio Hædde abbatis', a document supposedly found by Bishop Æthelwold in the ruins of the old monastery, and entered in the 'Black Book' of Peterborough (B240): see Mellows (B241), pp. 159–61; Keynes (Q28), p. 41, n. 177; Sharpe (A57), Addenda, no. 30; Paxton (R375).

[B240] The early-twelfth-century 'Black Book' of Peterborough abbey (London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 60) contains an extraordinarily interesting range of material, and stands at the head of a complex archival history; see J.D. Martin, *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey* (1978), pp. 1–4. Text: *Charters of Peterborough Abbey*, ed. S.E. Kelly (forthcoming).

[B241] Additional Peterborough material in ASC, MS. E (B49), and the *Chronicle* of Hugh Candidus, compiled in the mid-twelfth century (Graves (A76), no. 6270). Text (of HC): *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough*, ed. W.T. Mellows (1949). Translation: C. Mellows and W.T. Mellows, *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus* (1966).

[B241a] S.R. Jensen, *The Peterborough Chronicle and the Chronicle of Hugh Candidus: a Study in Sources* (forthcoming [?]) <advertised in 1998, but not yet seen>

Crowland *Lincolnshire*

Crowland [or Croyland] abbey (in the Lincolnshire fens) is said to have been founded by Æthelbald, king of the Mercians (716–57); though it is not obvious that there was a community there when Felix wrote his 'Life' of St Guthlac in the 730s (B155). It was refounded apparently in the early 970s by Thurketel, abbot of Bedford (Orderic (R55), ii. 340–2); and for its 'royal' connections in the mid eleventh century, see Keynes (L56). There is also useful information in the thirteenth-century 'Guthlac Roll' (B242a). The muniments of Crowland abbey would appear to have been destroyed by fire during the abbacy of Ingulf (*c.*1085–1109), perhaps in 1091; but this misfortune created a golden opportunity for the later exercise of the abbey's corporate imagination.

[B242] The 'Historia Croylandensis' purports to have been written by none other than Abbot Ingulf. It incorporates texts of several pre-Conquest charters, said to have been taken from duplicates which had been kept elsewhere for purposes of teaching palaeography. The 'Historia Croylandensis' is, however, the product of a flight of fancy in the fourteenth or fifteenth century; and is, of course, especially interesting for precisely that reason. Graves (A76), no. 2163. Translation: H.T. Riley, *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland* (1854), esp. p. 201. Discussion: D. Roffe, 'The *Historia Croylandensis*: a Plea for Reassessment', *EHR* 110 (1995), 93–108; A. Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England* (2004), pp. 36–69.

[B242a] The 'Guthlac Roll' (BL Harley Roll Y. 6). Facsimile: G.F. Warner, *The Guthlac Roll: Scenes from the Life of St. Guthlac of Crowland by a Twelfth-Century Artist*, Roxburghe Club (1928). Also reproduced in *Memorials of Saint Guthlac of Crowland*, ed. W. de G. Birch (1881). Exhibition catalogue: A213, no. 37.

Thorney *Cambridgeshire*

An early minster at *Ancarig* (= Thorney) may have been a colony of *Medeshamstede*. Thorney abbey was refounded in the early 970s by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, whose chaplain, Godeman (? scribe of the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold'), went there and later took over as abbot after Æthelwold's death. The abbey's connections are well attested by its 'Liber Vitae' (B455). The abbey was the resting-place of Tancred, Torhtred, and Tova (Q438); see also Q256.

[B243] The cartulary of Thorney abbey, known as the 'Red Book of Thorney' (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3020–1), compiled in the fourteenth century, contains an interesting series of royal diplomas. See Hart (B325), *ECEE*, pp. 146–209.

[B243a] C. Hart, *The Thorney Annals 963–1412 A.D.: an Edition and Translation* (1997) - for the annals in Oxford, St John's College 17 (B599)

Eynesbury / St Neots *Huntingdonshire*

A religious house was founded at Eynesbury in the 970s, though it is not clear whether the credit is due to a certain Æthelflæd (?wife of Ealdorman Æthelwine), or to a certain Leofric and his wife Leofflæd, or to Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester. Monks were drawn from Ely and Thorney; and the house soon afterwards acquired the relics of St Neot (a

hermit who had flourished in the south-west in the 870s). Religious life at Eynesbury would appear to have ceased in the early eleventh century; and the monks of Crowland claimed that the relics of St Neot were presently transferred to their own house (Orderic Vitalis, in Chibnall (R55), vol. 2, p. 342). A new priory was founded at Eynesbury, or St Neots, in 1079.

[B244] *Liber Eliensis* (B247), bk II, ch. 29, with reference to a tripartite chirograph, one copy of which was preserved in the archives of Ely abbey. See Hart, *ECNE* (B325), pp. 27–9 (no. 19); see also M. Chibnall, 'The History of the Priory of St Neot', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 59 (1966), 67–74, and Cownie (R342.3).

Ely *Cambridgeshire*

Ely abbey was founded by St Æthelthryth in 672. The abbey was refounded *c.* 970 by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, as the first of his ventures into the fens; see Wulfstan's 'Life' of St Æthelwold (B172), ch. 23. For the cult of Æthelthryth, see section Q. Although little is known of the early foundation, no other house can compete with Ely for the richness and variety of its documentation in the later Anglo-Saxon period. The material in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* (B245) and in the *Liber Eliensis* (B247) is complemented by other forms of evidence, including charters (B246), records in gospel-books, farming memoranda, obits in a calendar (B467), registers of treasures (Q83), and so on. For a general survey of the history of Ely abbey, see Keynes (Q148); also entry on Ely in A100. For maps, see A48, nos. 13 [fenlands in Roman period], 32 [lodes], 38 [fens], 47 [draining], 79 (Ely), etc. For a study of the East Anglian landed aristocracy in the 10th and 11th centuries, based to a great extent on evidence from Ely, see Wareham (N31).

[B245] The *Libellus quorundam insignium operum beati Æthelwoldi episcopi*. The *Libellus Æthelwoldi* is a Latin account of the endowment of Ely Abbey in the 970s, compiled in the early twelfth century though based on late-tenth-century vernacular records. Especially important for understanding impact of reform movement in King Edgar's reign on local society. Incorporates poems on St Æthelwold attributed to Gregory of Ely; see Lapidge and Winterbottom (B172), pp. 81–6, and Sharpe (A57), p. 155. Text: no modern edition of the work as preserved in its own right, but for the text as later incorporated in the *Liber Eliensis*, see Blake (B247), pp. 395–9 and 72–117. Text, translation and commentary: S. Keynes and A. Kennedy, *The Book of Bishop Æthelwold (Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi), on the Refoundation and Endowment of Ely Abbey in the 970s*, ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies (forthcoming [2006]); see also Kennedy (M171).

[B246] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. O. 2. 41 (Keynes (B801), no. 27), written at Ely in the second quarter of the twelfth century, gathers together three items of central importance to the abbey's history and well-being: a copy of the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* (B245), an Ely cartulary containing good texts of charters which appear in abbreviated form in the *Liber Eliensis* (B247), and the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (R245) (material on Ely's landholdings in the eleventh century, drawn from records produced in connection with the Domesday suvey).

[B247] The *Liber Eliensis* is an elaborate history of Ely abbey, compiled at Ely probably in the third quarter of the twelfth century. It incorporates the greater part of the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* (B245), some charters from the cartulary (B246), other material derived from lost vernacular documents (e.g. pp. 130–40), and various Ely traditions of considerable interest (e.g. on Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, King Cnut, and Hereward). Text: *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E.O. Blake (1962). Translation: J. Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis: a History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century* (2005); extracts from bk III in J. Paxton, 'The Book of Ely', in Head (Q227), pp. 459–94. Graves (A76), no. 2164; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 51–3. For the purpose of the *Liber Eliensis*, see Paxton (R375). For one of the manuscripts of the *Liber Eliensis*, see Keynes (B801), no. 28; and for a microfiche facsimile of this manuscript, with detailed description, see Wright and Hollis (B814), no. 87, pp. 45–55.

Ramsey *Huntingdonshire*

The abbey was founded *c.* 965 by Oswald, bishop of Worcester, in association with Ealdorman Æthelwine. For the extended process of foundation, see G194. Abbo of Fleury (Q335) was at Ramsey in 985–7; see also B599. The community made a point of acquiring some good relics, including those of SS Æthelred and Æthelberht, and those of St Ivo. The abbey was also the home of the renowned Byrhtferth (B175, B640, B590, Q270, Q430, etc.), lover of adverbs in *-iter*, author of the *Vita S. Oswaldi* (B175), and supposed by some to be the forger of Asser's 'Life' of King Alfred (F51). See also entry on Ramsey in A100. For map of estates of Ramsey abbey, see A48, no. 42. For Ramsey annals, see Hart (B599).

[B248] The *Liber benefactorum* of Ramsey abbey, compiled in the mid-twelfth century, incorporates much valuable information on the early history of Ramsey, complementing material from other fenland houses. Pt I provides a twelfth-century view of the historical background; Part II covers the period from the foundation of Ramsey to the deaths of

Ealdorman Æthelwine and Bishop Oswald in 992; Part III covers the period from 992 to 1066; and Part IV covers the period after the Conquest. Some of the material in Parts II and III is derived from tenth- and eleventh-century vernacular documents then preserved in the abbey's archives. Text: *Chronicon Abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, ed. W.D. Macray, RS 83 (1886). Translation: S.B. Edgington, *et al.*, *Ramsey Abbey's Book of Benefactors, Part One: The Abbey's Foundation* (1998), for Macray, pp. 3–45; S.B. Edgington, *et al.*, *Ramsey Abbey's Book of Benefactors, Part Two: The Early Years* (2001), for Macray, pp. 46–108. Hardy (B7), pp. 632–4; Graves (A76), no. 2151.

[B249] The *Vita et miracula S. Yvonis* [BHL 4621–3], written *c.* 1090 by Goscelin of Canterbury, has a direct bearing on events at Ramsey abbey in the eleventh century. It was based on an earlier work by 'the venerable abbot Andrew', who (so it seems) had heard tell of the life and miracles of St Ivo when in Greece en route to or from Jerusalem. 'Abbot Andrew' can be identified as Wythman, a man of German origin who had become abbot of Ramsey in 1016, quarelled with his monks, and went to Jerusalem in 1020; he returned a year or so later, and passed the remainder of his life at Northey, near Ramsey. Wythman appears to have changed his name to Andrew, reflecting his passage through Greece; interestingly, a person named 'Andreas Grecus' is registered in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (1031). Text: Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 155, cols. 81–90 (*Vita*), with Macray (B248), pp. lix–lxxv (*Miracula*). See also S.B. Edgington, *The Life and Miracles of St Ivo* (1985); Macray, pp. xxxi–xxxiv; Thacker (Q163), pp. 257–9; Hayward (Q172), pp. 84–5.

Slepe / St Ives   *Huntingdonshire*

Land at *Slepe* [later St Ives] was bequeathed by Æthelstan Mannesson to his daughter Ælfwynn, with reversion to Ramsey abbey, in the late tenth century (S 1503a). Relics of St Ivo (supposedly a Persian bishop) were 'invented' at *Slepe*, on 24 April 1001 [or 1002], taken first to the church at *Slepe*, and translated thence to Ramsey on 10 June 1001 [or 1002] (see B249). It is possible that Eadnoth, abbot of Ramsey (993–*c.*1008), and bishop of Dorchester (*c.*1008–16), had established a small community at *Slepe*, and that the fortuitous discovery of relics there, and their prompt removal to Ramsey, was part of the process by which he built up his abbey's identity in competition with other fenland houses. For map, see A48, no. 81. For the date of Ivo's 'Invention', see Baker and Lapidge (B590), pp. lvi (1001) and 399 (24 April).

Chatteris   *Cambridgeshire*

Land at Chatteris, on an island in the fens, was bequeathed by Æthelstan Mannesson to Ramsey abbey in the late tenth century (S 1503a). A nunnery at Chatteris was founded by Eadnoth, bishop of Dorchester, for his sister Ælfwynn (see above); see *Liber Eliensis* (B247), bk II, ch. 71. For the suggestion that Eadnoth and Ælfwynn were children of Æthelstan Mannesson, see C. Hart, 'Eadnoth I of Ramsey and Dorchester', in T17, pp. 613–23, at 622. The nunnery was still functioning at the time of the Domesday survey, and indeed maintained its existence until the sixteenth century. See *The Cartulary of Chatteris Abbey*, ed. C. Breay (1999), and Foot (Q23), II, pp. 55–8.

East Anglian religious houses

The vikings are usually held responsible for the rather pitiful state of our knowledge of the history of the kingdom of the East Angles. Certainly we lack records from the episcopal sees at Elmham and Dunwich; but, perhaps for this reason, it is not otherwise clear what we are missing. See also Campbell (Q132). For the later period, there is excellent material from Bury St Edmunds; and scraps from St Benet of Holme. The case of Stoke-by-Nayland provides an instructive instance of what has been lost.

Bedericesworth / Bury St Edmunds   *Suffolk*

The church at *Bedericesworth* was founded in the early tenth century as a resting-place for the body of St Edmund. It was reformed *c.* 1020, with monks introduced from St Benet of Holme. Entry on Bury in A100. See also Gransden (Q143), and Dumville (G256), pp. 35–43. The so-called 'Annals of St Neots' (B62) were compiled at Bury in the 1120s or 1130s.

[B250] The Bury archive is most notable for its inclusion of a relatively large number of vernacular wills (B357), and a relatively large number of royal writs (B350). A new edition of the charters, ed. K. Lowe and S. Foot, is in preparation (B342).

[B250.5] Documents relating to Bury St Edmunds, added on four leaves (fols. 106–9, s. xi med–xi.2/xii) at the end of a bilingual Rule of St Benedict (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 197). MS: Ker (B800), no. 353. Text: Robertson (B355), no. 104 (pp. 192–201), with pp. 440–7; see also Lord F. Hervey, *The History of King Eadmund the Martyr and of the Early Years of his Abbey* (1929).

[B251] Abbo of Fleury, *Passio S. Edmundi*, written in the mid-980s. Text: Arnold (B255) I, pp. 3–25; but for further details, see Q335. For a decorated manuscript, see B253.

[B252] *Liber de miraculis S. Eadmundi* [BHL 2395–6], written in the late eleventh century, attributed to 'Hermann the Archdeacon' (perhaps in error for a certain 'Bertrann the Archdeacon'); of particular interest for its information on events which took place in the tenth and eleventh centuries, e.g. during the reign of King Æthelred the Unready. Lapidge and Love (Q225), pp. 244–5; Sharpe (A57), pp. 79 (no. 163) and 178. Text: Arnold (B255) I, pp. 26–92. Translation: none. Discussion: A. Gransden, 'The Composition and Authorship of the *De miraculis Sancti Eadmundi* Attributed to "Hermann the Archdeacon"', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 5 (1995), 1–52, esp. 33–9 (historical value) and 43–4 (author); Yarrow (Q188), pp. 24–62.

[B253] 'Life and Miracles of St Edmund, King and Martyr' (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 176), written and decorated at Bury, *c.* 1130, with stunning illustrations. See Kauffmann (R365), no. 34; A210, no. 20; and Richards (A61.20), pp. 130 (arrival of Great Army), 138 (Ivarr the Boneless), 159, 173, 189 (martyrdom of Edmund) and 232 (Vikings leaving); see also website at (Q335.5)

[B255] *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, 3 vols., RS 96 (1890–6)

Stoke-by-Nayland (*a lost archive*)   *Suffolk*

The monastery at Stoke was founded by the forebears of Ælfgar, who was ealdorman of Essex in the mid-tenth century. Ælfgar's daughter Æfflæd made careful arrangements for the protection of Stoke after her death: she asked King Æthelred to protect 'the holy foundation at Stoke in which my ancestors lie buried'; she asked that Æthelmær [son of Ealdorman Æthelweard, and patron of Ælfric at Cerne and Eynsham] be a 'true friend and advocate' of Stoke and its property; and she asked that (the same) Æthelmær would help after her death 'to secure that my will and my ancestors' wills may stand'. Yet the endowment of Stoke appears to have been dispersed during the reign of Cnut, and there is no trace of the existence of a religious house at Stoke in the Domesday survey.

[B256] The key documentation comprises three wills, preserved at Bury (above): the will of Ælfgar (Whitelock (B357), no. 2); the will of Ælfgar's daughter Æthelflæd, second wife of King Edmund (*ibid.*, no. 14); and the will of Ælfgar's daughter Ælfflæd, wife of Ealdorman Byrhtnoth (*ibid.*, no. 15).

For Ælfgar and his family, see Hart (G92); Hart, in T17, pp. 467–85; and Wareham (N31). For Stoke, and its fate, see Keynes (F84), p. 207, n. 43, and Keynes (J162.5), on Æthelmær.

West Saxon religious houses

Our view of Wessex is dominated by excellent material from two houses (Winchester OM, Abingdon), complemented suggestively by good material from some other houses (Bath, Crediton/Exeter, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Shaftesbury, Sherborne, Wells, Wilton, Winchester NM), and, especially for the later period, by rather less good (but still very important) material from several more houses (e.g. Abbotsbury, Amesbury, Athelney, Bedwyn, Buckfast, Cerne, Cranborne, Horton, Milton, Muchelney, Plympton, Romsey, Tavistock, Twynham, Wherwell, Winchester Nunnaminster). Some houses of interest and importance, e.g. at Wareham, Wimborne, and Cholsey, are not represented; nor, for that matter, is the bishopric of Wiltshire at Ramsbury.

Winchester, The Old Minster   *Hampshire*

The see of the bishops of Winchester, established in the late seventh century, came to be known as the 'Old' Minster in the tenth century, in order to distinguish itself from the New Minster. For 'Winchester Studies', see G170 and P66. The secular clergy were driven from the Old Minster on 19 February 964, and replaced with monks from Abingdon and elsewhere. For the composition of the community in the next fifty years, see the list in the New Minster's 'Liber Vitae' (Keynes (B450), pp. 88–9). The charters of the Old Minster are superb, and of course there is a wealth of other material (archaeological, hagiographical, liturgical, palaeographical) to set beside them; yet there is surprisingly little by way of local historical traditions of any quality.

[B260] The 'Codex Wintoniensis' (BL Add. 15350) is without question the finest cartulary, for Anglo-Saxon charters, to survive from any religious house. It was probably compiled within the first decade of the episcopacy of Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester (1129–71) and brother of King Stephen; and it has to be seen, first and foremost, as a product of the bishop's concern to establish the property rights of his church at a time when King Stephen was soliciting ecclesiastical support. A new edition of the charters, ed. A. Rumble, is in preparation (B342).

[B261] 'Annales monasterii de Wintonia' [annals beginning in 519 and extending beyond 1066], compiled *c.* 1200, with continuations; attributed to Richard of Devizes. Graves

(A76), no. 2767; Sharpe (A57), p. 466. Text: *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols., RS 36 (1864–9) II, pp. 1–27 (and onwards), from CCCC MS. 339, whence copied in Cotton Domitian A. xiii. The annals are of some interest in so far as they represent a view from Winchester, in the twelfth century, of earlier English history: e.g. treatment of Ecgberht, Æthelwulf, Alfred, Edgar, Earl Godwine, and the trial of Queen Emma.

Winchester, The New Minster   *Hampshire*

The New Minster was founded by King Edward the Elder in 901, in fulfillment of plans which King Alfred may have had in mind on behalf of his priest, Grimbald (Q445); and it remained at the heart of the royal establishment in the tenth century. The house was reformed by King Edgar in 964. For the so-called 'New Minster Foundation Charter', dated 966, see Q125. The community moved in 1110 to a new site at Hyde, Winchester. The archive includes the will of King Alfred the Great, the will of King Eadred, and King Æthelred's charter for his mother, describing the crimes of Wulfbald (EHD no. 120).

[B263] The 'Liber Vitae' of the New Minster, Winchester, produced under the auspices of Abbot Ælfwine (1031–57), in 1031, incorporates an interesting account of the history of the New Minster in the tenth century, probably written in the late 980s. Text: Birch (B450), pp. 3–11. Facsimile and summary: Keynes (B450), with pp. 81–2.

[B264] The cartulary-chronicle of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, probably compiled in the early fifteenth century, contains some excellent charters, in the context of some rather fanciful traditions and imaginings. Graves (A76), no. 2165. Text: *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards, RS 45 (1866). Translation: Stevenson (B665), ii.2 <not seen>.

[B265] *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. S. Miller (2001) - including the wills of King Alfred (F64) and King Eadred (G98), the New Minster Foundation Charter (Q125), and the charter of King Æthelred describing the crimes of Wulfbald (J10).

Winchester, The Nunnaminster   *Hampshire*

The Nunnaminster at Winchester was founded by Ealhswith, wife of King Alfred, some time before her death on 5 December 902. The tower was dedicated by Archbishop Plegmund in 908. On Ealhswith, see Keynes (F90), p. 10. For St Eadburh, d. of King Edward the Elder, see Q375. The house was reformed or revived, probably in the mid-960s, by Bishop Æthelwold (Wulfstan's 'Life' of Æthelwold (B172), ch. 22). See Foot (Q23), II, pp. 243–52.

[B266] A text describing the 'boundaries of the plot (*haga*) which Ealhswith has at Winchester' was added in the late ninth century in a blank space in a private prayer book (written *c.* 800) known as the 'Book of Nunnaminster' (B477); but no other records survive.

Wherwell   *Hampshire*

The nunnery at Wherwell is said to have been founded by Queen Ælfthryth (wife of King Edgar), either in expiation of her (alleged) involvement in the murder of her first husband, Ealdorman Æthelwold, at Wherwell, *c.* 962, or in expiation of her (alleged) involvement in the murder of her step-son, Edward the Martyr, at Corfe, in 978 (e.g. McGurk (B630) III, 302). There is also a tradition to the effect that the abbey was founded in 962 by Alfred, s. of Ealdorman 'Osgar', who, if Osgar = Ordgar, would have been Ælfthryth's brother. Queen Ælfthryth is said to have ended her days at Wherwell. Queen Edith was entrusted to King Edward's sister, at Wherwell, in 1051. See Coldicott (Q144), pp. 15–19, and Foot (Q23), II, pp. 215–19. For an important calendar produced at Wherwell in the 12th century (National Library of Russia, Lat. Q.v.I no. 62), see *Ex Insula Lux*, ed. M. Kilpiö and L. Kahlas-Tarkka (2001), pp. 70–1 and pl. 23.

[B267] Charter of King Æthelred, dated 1002, confirming the foundation and endowment of Wherwell Abbey (the only surviving pre-Conquest documentation for the abbey). Catalogue: Sawyer (B320), no. 904. Discussion: Keynes (J23), pp. 104–7 and 258; Wogan-Browne (Q186), pp. 201–3, on the Wherwell cartulary.

Romsey   *Hampshire*

The nunnery at Romsey was founded by Edward the Elder and reformed by King Edgar, who established Mærwynn as abbess in 967 (John of Worcester). Edgar's son Edmund was buried at Romsey in 971. For St Mærwynn, see Q391. See also Liveing (Q144a); Coldicott (Q144); Collier (Q144a); Foot (Q23), II, pp. 149–55; Smith (Q182), pp. 313–14. For a collection of saints' *Lives* from Romsey, see Q230.

[B267a] The abbey received Edington, Wilts., from King Edgar (S 765, dated 968); see also S 812 (Q127). An impressive list of abbesses and nuns of Romsey occurs in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester; see Keynes (B450), pp. 94-5 and 96.

Cerne   *Dorset*

The monastery at Cerne was founded in the early or mid-980s by Æthelmær, son of Æthelweard (the chronicler, and ealdorman of the western provinces). Father and son are best known as the patrons of the homilist Ælfric, who was a mass-priest at Cerne in

the 990s (when he wrote his first and second series of homilies: B565), until his appointment *c*. 1005 as abbot of Eynsham, Oxfordshire (on which see B239). For St Eadwold of Cerne, see Blair (Q149), p. 530; Keen/Licence (Q338). According to the hagiography, Eadwold was brother of Edmund, king of the East Angles (d. 869), and had lived four miles west of Cerne, as a hermit. His relics were translated to the abbey in the late tenth or first half of the eleventh century, in a ceremony (12 Aug.) involving (impossibly) St Dunstan, Ealdorman Æthelmær, and Ælfmær, bishop of Sherborne.

[B268] *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures*, ed. K. Barker (1988), esp. Yorke (G144)

[B268.5] The only surviving documentation is S 1217, which purports to be a declaration by Æthelmær to the king, dated 987, to the effect that he had founded and has now endowed a monastery at Cerne, for the soul of his father (d. *c*.998), and will act as its secular patron.

Abbotsbury   *Dorset*
The monastery at Abbotsbury was founded by a Scandinavian housecarl called Orc, who had come to England with King Cnut, and who exemplifies the particular attachment that Cnut and his men appear to have formed with Dorset.

[B269] A medieval cartulary of Abbotsbury abbey was used extensively by antiquaries in the seventeenth century, but is now lost; see S. Keynes, 'The Lost Cartulary of Abbotsbury', *ASE* 18 (1989), 207–43

Milton   *Dorset*
According to William of Malmesbury (B625), the monastery at Milton Abbas was one of two houses founded by King Æthelstan for the soul of his (half-) brother Eadwine, who was driven from England in 933; the other was Muchelney (Sorerset). Milton became the repository for a substantial part of Æthelstan's collection of relics. In 964 the secular canons were driven from Milton by King Edgar, and replaced with monks.

[B269a] The charters of Milton abbey are said to have been destroyed by fire in 1309; a 14th-cent. cartulary existed in the first half of the seventeenth century, but is now lost. Parts of its contents were transcribed by antiquaries, and reflect an interesting 'local' attitude towards King Æthelstan.

Sherborne   *Dorset*
A church was established at Sherborne in the mid-seventh century, and *c*. 705 became the see for the western part of the kingdom of the West Saxons, under Aldhelm. Sherborne is not as well represented as the Old Minster at Winchester; and, consequently, it is sometimes difficult to judge the place of the one in relation to the other (cf. Keynes (F10)). King Æthelbald was buried at Sherborne in 860, and King Æthelberht was buried there in 865. The see was at its greatest extent under Bishop Asser; but was sub-divided after his death *c*. 909. In 998 Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne (993–1002), obtained the king's permission to convert his community from secular canons to Benedictine monks; see Keynes (Q89). For Goscelin's 'Life' of St Wulfsige, see Love (Q455).

[B270] *Charters of Sherborne*, ed. M.A. O'Donovan, AS Charters 3 (1988). The Sherborne cartulary (BL Add. 46487) was compiled in the 1140s, in order to protect the community from the bishop of Salisbury.

[B270.5] *St Wulfsige and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey 998–1998*, ed. K. Barker, D. Hinton and A. Hunt (2005) - includes text and translation of the 998 charter (Q128), a discussion of Bishop Wulfsige (Q89), and a translation of Goscelin's 'Life of St Wulfsige' (Q455)

Shaftesbury   *Dorset*
The nunnery at Shaftesbury was founded by King Alfred the Great, *c*. 890, and remained closely connected with the royal family thereafter. For Alfred and Shaftesbury, see Keynes (F91). St Ælfgifu (Q380) was buried there, and the abbey became the centre of the cult of St Edward (Q400). For its connection with Bradford-on-Avon, see further below. See Foot (Q23), II, pp. 165–77.

[B271] *Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. S.E. Kelly, AS Charters 5 (1996). The cartulary of Shaftesbury abbey (BL Harley 61) was written in the fifteenth century, but the scribe seems to have derived the texts from an earlier compilation. It contains an excellent series of thirty royal diplomas for the abbey's estates; but the less formal variety of vernacular documents (wills, etc.) are conspicuous only by their absence.

[B271a] *Studies in the Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. L. Keen (1999) - essays in commemoration of the foundation of the abbey in '888'

Bradford-on-Avon   *Wiltshire*
In 1001 King Æthelred granted the *coenobium* at Bradford to the nuns of Shaftesbury, for use as a place of refuge in times of viking attack. A small church at Bradford, dedicated to St Laurence and said to have been founded by Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne (in the early

eighth century), stood there in the early twelfth century; see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (B625), ch. 198 [Preest, p. 236]. It was realised in the 1850s that a building adjacent to the parish church at Bradford, by then used as a dwelling and school room, was likely to be the church in question. Restored in the 1870s, the small church at Bradford, thought to have originated in the early eighth century, and to have been rebuilt in the late tenth century, is now recognised as one of the most evocative buildings to survive from the Anglo-Saxon period.

[B271.5] There is an excellent, authoritative and well-illustrated website devoted to the investigation of the chapel of St Laurence at Bradford: <www.arch.soton.ac.uk/ research/bradford>. See also Brown (B830), vol. II, pp. 296–305; Taylor and Taylor (Q705), vil. I, pp. 86–9; etc.

St Germans   *Cornwall*

The bishopric of Cornwall originated in the ninth century. The see itself was at St Germans, in south-east Cornwall, but there was another religious centre further west, and inland, at St Petroc's minster, Bodmin, where some business was conducted. In 994 King Æthelred confirmed privileges to Ealdred, bishop of Cornwall, including control of St Petroc's (S 880). The see was later amalgamated with Crediton, and transferred to Exeter (below). Discussion: E.H. Pedler, *The Anglo-Saxon Episcopate of Cornwall* (1860); Insley (G74.6).

[B272] The Bodmin Manumissions (N5), entered in a gospel-book at St Petroc's, Bodmin (BL Add. 9381: Ker (B800), no. 126). Text and translation: *The Bodmin Manumissions*, ed. O.J. Padel, ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies (forthcoming); see also W.M.M. Picken, 'Bishop Wulfsige Comoere: an Unrecognised 10th-Century Gloss in the Bodmin Gospels' (1986), reptd in his *A Medieval Cornish Miscellany*, ed. O.J. Padel (2000), pp. 28–33. Discussion: Insley (G74.6), pp. 24–6.

Crediton/Exeter   *Devon*

A monastery was founded at Crediton in the first half of the eighth century; and it became the episcopal see for Devon *c*. 910. The bishopric of Devon was united with that of Cornwall (St Germans) in the first half of the eleventh century, and in 1050 the see itself was moved from Crediton to Exeter (where a monastery had prospered throughout the tenth century). For the monastery at Exeter in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Conner (Q136.5).

[B273] The archives of St Peter's, Exeter, contain an archivally interesting mixture of charters, from Crediton, St Germans, and Exeter. Most are preserved in their single-sheet form, and are thus of particular palaeographical as well as historical and diplomatic interest; few of them were entered in any of the Exeter cartularies. See P. Chaplais, 'The Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diplomas of Exeter' (1966), reptd in his *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (1981), pp. XV 1–34 and Addendum. A new edition of the charters is in preparation (B342).

Tavistock   *Devon*

Tavistock abbey, on the western edge of Dartmoor, was founded by Ordwulf, uncle of King Æthelred the Unready, probably in the 970s or 980s. According to William of Malmesbury, Eadwig, son of King Æthelred the Unready, was buried at Tavistock in 1017.

[B275] H.P.R. Finberg, 'The House of Ordgar and the Foundation of Tavistock Abbey', *EHR* 58 (1943), 190–210, and *Tavistock Abbey* (1951)

[B275a] King Æthelred's (supposed) foundation charter is S 838, dated 981. Translation and discussion: C. Holdsworth, 'Tavistock Abbey in its Late Tenth Century Context', *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science* 135 (2003), 31–58

Buckfast   *Devon*

Buckfast abbey, on the eastern edge of Dartmoor, was founded by Ealdorman Æthelweard, probably in 1018; see Keynes (K31), pp. 67–70. It is included here as an example of an eleventh-century foundation which may have been of some local importance in its day, but which is barely documented.

[B276] J. Stéphan, *A History of Buckfast Abbey* (1970); R. Clutterbuck, *Buckfast Abbey: a History* (1994)

Wilton   *Wiltshire*

A community of nuns is said to have been established at Wilton in the early ninth century; it is clear that there was a community at Wilton in the first half of the tenth; and the house may have been 'reformed' in the 960s or 970s. The tales of SS Wulfhild (Q395), Wulfthryth (Q385), and Edith (Q390) suggest that the house vied with Shaftesbury in the tenth century as a home for the well connected women of Wessex. See Smith (Q182), and Foot (Q23), II, pp. 221–31. For St Edith of Wilton, see Yorke (G330), Hollis (G331). For the

sack of Wilton in 1003, see M940. For the 'Salisbury Psalter', which may have belonged to St Edith, see Keynes (F91), pp. 47–8. The tenth-century seal of Edith (M304), styled 'royal sister', was used as a conventual seal at Wilton abbey until its dissolution in 1539; see Keynes (F91), p. 67 n. 95.

[B276.5] *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and 'Liber confortatorius'*, ed. S. Hollis, *et al.*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts 9 (2004) - includes translation of Goscelin's 'Life of Edith' (Q390) and of the 'Translation of Edith' (Q390)

[B277] *Charters of Wilton*, ed. R. Rushforth, AS Charters 00 (forthcoming [?2007]). The cartulary of Wilton abbey (BL Harley 436), written in the late thirteenth century, contains an excellent series of over thirty royal diplomas for the abbey's estates; but, as in the case of Shaftesbury, the less formal variety of vernacular documents (wills, etc.) are conspicuous only by their absence.

See also J. Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', in T110, vol. II, pp. 86–107, at 94–5.

Malmesbury *Wiltshire*

Malmesbury abbey was founded towards the middle of the seventh century by Mailduib, who was succeeded as abbot in the early 670s by Aldhelm. The abbey prospered thereafter under the patronage of both Mercian and West Saxon kings; and King Æthelstan was buried and well remembered there. The house may have been 'reformed' in the 960s or 970s. There is reason to believe that Abbot Brihtric took pains to consolidate the evidence for the abbey's endowment in the early 1060s. For 'local' traditions, see the account of the house in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* (B625).

[B278] *Charters of Malmesbury Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 11 (2005). A cartulary containing 'improved' texts of the title-deeds of Malmesbury abbey's estates would appear to have been compiled in the late eleventh or early twelfth century; the extant cartularies (e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood empt. 5, written in the mid-thirteenth century) represent later copies or recensions of much the same material.

Abingdon *Berkshire*

The origins of Abingdon abbey are presumed to lie in the seventh century; but in fact surprisingly little is known for certain of its early history, when its own interests would have been at times conflicting and at times coinciding with those of the rulers of the Mercians and of the rulers of the West Saxons. The site of the abbey was a royal estate in the early 950s, and was given by King Eadred to Æthelwold *c.* 954 (Wulfstan's 'Life' of St Æthelwold (B172), chs. 11–13). Æthelwold received some support from King Eadwig; but matters improved markedly and rapidly following the accession of King Edgar in 959. For liturgical commemoration at Abingdon, see Graham (Q30). Pickles (Q745).

[B280] The cartulary-chronicle of Abingdon abbey (Graves (A76), no. 2153) as compiled in the twelfth century (BL Cotton Claudius C. ix), and revised and expanded thereafter (BL Cotton Claudius B. vi). Catalogue: S1.65 (Claudius C. ix). Text: *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, 2 vols., RS 2 (1858). Text and translation: *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis / The History of the Abbey of Abingdon*, vol. II, ed. J. Hudson, OMT (2002), covering period *c.*1071–*c.*1164; vol. 1 forthcoming. Discussion: Keynes (J23), pp. 10–13; Thacker (G168); Conner (B47), pp. xxxi–xxxiii; J. Hudson, 'The Abbey of Abingdon, its *Chronicle* and the Norman Conquest', *ANS* 19 (1997), 181–202; Kelly (B281), I, pp. liii–lxiii and cxciv–ccx.

[B281] *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. S.E. Kelly, 2 vols., AS Charters 7–8 (2000–1). The first of the major archives of charters to appear in the series sponsored by the British Academy (B342), comprising an edition of *c.* 150 charters, with an important introduction (180 pp.) reviewing the history of the abbey (I, pp. xxxv–xlv), discussing aspects of the production of charters in the tenth and eleventh centuries (I, pp. lxvii–cxxxi), and examining the history of the abbey's endowment (I, pp. cxxxi–cxciii). For the 'Orthodoxorum' charters, see Q127.

[B282] Eleventh-century manuscripts from Abingdon abbey: see Ker (B800), nos. 2+3+8, 24, 34, 320. Added texts in the Abingdon Glossary (B587) include a letter to the priest Ælf-, described as a councillor of King Cnut, asking him to intercede with the queen on behalf of the monks (in respect of fishing rights at Nuneham, Oxon), as well as 11th-cent. verses concerning saints (incl. Ælfgifu, Edith, Edward), AB Ælfric (d. 1005), Abbot Wulfgar (d. 1016), and 'Æthelwold's Bowl' (from which monks received their ration of beer); ptd by Förster, in *Anglia* 41 (1917), at pp. 153–4, by Duemmler, in *Neues Archiv* 10 (1884), at pp. 351–3 (Wulfgar), and by Porter (G169). For the Abingdon Martyrology, see B466.

[B283] The tract *De abbatibus Abbendoniae*, written *c.* 1200, and preserved in BL Cotton Vitellius A. xiii, affording a later view of the abbey's conception of its Anglo-Saxon past, including further details of Æthelwold's arrangements and activities. Text: Stevenson

(B280), II, pp. 267–95.   Discussion: Knowles (G117), App. XIX, pp. 716–17; and for 'Æthelwold's Bowl', see also Porter (G169).

Cholsey *Berkshire*

In the late ninth century Cholsey, south of Wallingford on the river Thames, was an important royal estate.   The estate belonged in the late tenth century to Queen Ælfthryth, who gave it to her son, King Æthelred, in 996 (S 877).   Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury (990–4), is said to have encouraged the king to establish a monastery at Cholsey in honour of his late brother, Edward the Martyr.   Germanus of Winchcombe (Q88b), who in 993 had been based at Ramsey, duly became abbot of Cholsey, *c.* 994, and seems to have remained there until *c.* 1013; in 1001/2, he was involved in the translation of the relics of St Ivo from *Slepe* to Ramsey.   It was perhaps through Germanus that information on the cult of Edward filtered back to Ramsey, for inclusion in the *Vita S. Oswaldi* (B175).   Cholsey was a royal estate in 1066, and passed into the hands of King William.   See Keynes (F91), pp. 50 and 68, n. 114; Stafford (Q147), pp. 7–8; Kelly (B281), p. 521 (will of Archbishop Ælfric).   For Germanus, see Knowles (Q11), p. 245.

[B284] There are no records pertaining to the abbey's history in the late tenth century; a rampaging Danish army spent a night at Cholsey in 1006.

Glastonbury *Somerset*

The origins of religious life at Glastonbury lie hidden in the swirling mists of British antiquity, and the origins of the West Saxon abbey are scarcely more visible.   It seems, however, that better evidence of the seventh-century phase in its history survived into the later Anglo-Saxon period than was the case at Abingdon; and that the abbey was involved thereafter with the Mercian as well as the West Saxon regimes.   The abbey was formally refounded in the reign of King Edmund (939–46), *c.* 940, under Abbot Dunstan, and became the richest of the religious houses in the kingdom.   Pickles (Q745).

[B285] The 'Liber Terrarum' of Glastonbury abbey (B820) contained the texts of over 130 pre-Conquest charters, and may still have existed in the sixteenth century; sadly, it is now lost, presumed destroyed.   S. Keynes, *The 'Liber Terrarum' of Glastonbury Abbey: a Reconstruction of a Lost Eleventh-Century Cartulary*, ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies (forthcoming).   For further discussion, see Abrams (G155), pp. 14–19, and Keynes (B801), no. 29.   A much smaller selection of the abbey's charters was entered in the 'Great Cartulary of Glastonbury' (preserved at Longleat House), compiled in the 1340s.   A new edition of the charters, ed. L. Abrams, is in preparation (B342).

[B286] William of Malmesbury, *De antiquitate Glastonie*, being an account of the history of Glastonbury abbey written in the early twelfth century, based in part on the 'Liber Terrarum'.   Graves (A76), no. 6316.   Text and translation: J. Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury: an edition, translation and study of William of Malmesbury's 'De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie'* (1981); see also Abrams (G155).

For the library at Glastonbury in the mid-thirteenth century, see B820.

Wells *Somerset*

The church of St Andrew at Wells was founded in the early eighth century, during the reign of Ine, and served as the episcopal see for Somserset from *c.* 910 until the see was transferred to Bath *c.*1090.

[B287] *Charters of Bath and Wells*, ed. S.E. Kelly (forthcoming)

[B287.5] The (so-called) *Historiola de primordiis episcopatus Somersetensis*, written in the late twelfth century, incorporates the so-called 'autobiography' of Giso, bishop of Wells (1061–88).   Text and translation: J. Hunter, *Ecclesiastical Documents* (1840), pp. 9–28, esp. 15–20.   For Bishop Giso's 'autobiography', and for other material from the Wells archive, see Keynes (Q96).

Bath *Somerset*

Founded reputedly by Osric, king of the Hwicce, in 675; and, since it was located on the river Avon, a place which long attracted attention from both Mercian and West Saxon rulers.   The abbey also had an interesting history in the tenth century, well before it was reformed probably in the early 960s.   The abbey was given by William Rufus to John de Villula, bishop of Wells, in 1088, whereafter Bath replaced Wells as the episcopal see for Somerset.

[B288] Cartulary of Bath abbey (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 111), which provides a small but excellent series of royal diplomas, though perhaps 'improved', in certain respects, at an earlier stage in their transmission.   For an edition of the Bath charters, see Kelly (B287).

[B288.5] West Saxon translation of the Gospels (CCCC 140 + two leaves in CCCC 111), which includes a series of manumissions, and an important post-Conquest confraternity

agreement (R364.8). For the manuscript context, with an edition of the OE texts, see Liuzza (B578) I, pp. xxv–xxxiii.

Athelney *Somerset*
A monastery at Athelney was founded by King Alfred the Great probably in the 880s, and certainly by 893 (Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 92). See also Aston (F105), pp. 183–5.

[B289] Abbreviated texts of several charters in the fifteenth-century cartulary of Athelney abbey have long been known from extracts made by the antiquary George Harbin in 1735; and the cartulary itself was rediscovered at Petworth House, Sussex, in 2001. See S. Keynes, 'George Harbin's Transcript of the Lost Cartulary of Athelney Abbey', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 136 (1992), 149–59, and O.J. Padel, 'The Charter of Lanlawren (Cornwall)', in T110, vol. II, pp. 74–85; see also Bates (B289a).

Muchelney *Somerset*
A monastery appears to have been founded at Muchelney during the reign of Ine, king of Wessex (688-726), under Abbot Froda. According to William of Malmesbury (B625), Muchelney was one of two houses founded by King Æthelstan for the soul of his (half-) brother Eadwine, who was driven from England in 933; the other was Milton (Dorset). Its later development may have been impeded by Glastonbury. See also Aston (F105), p. 187, for map showing the location of Muchelney in relation to other sites,

[B289a] *Two Cartularies of the Benedictine Abbeys of Muchelney and Athelney in the County of Somerset*, ed. E.H. Bates, Somerset Record Society 14 (1899)

Religious houses in Kent and Sussex
The picture is dominated, for east Kent, by Christ Church, Canterbury, and St Augustine's, Canterbury; and, for west Kent, by Rochester. It should be noted, however, that early material from other houses found its way sooner or later to St Augustine's (from Minster-in-Thanet) and to Christ Church (from Lyminge and Reculver).

Canterbury, Christ Church *Kent*
A church dedicated to the Holy Saviour (and later known as Christ Church) was founded by St Augustine, with the help of Æthelberht, king of Kent, *c.* 597, on the site of an older Roman church (HE i.33). It was established as the church of the episcopal see of Canterbury, and maintained a continuous existence thereafter. See Brooks (Q16), Pickles (Q745).

[B290] The Christ Church archive is distinguished above all for the number of charters which have been preserved in single-sheet form, i.e. written on single sheets of parchment: about 120, representing about 40% of the total number of charters preserved in this way. Of the royal diplomas, there are significantly more 'originals' from the ninth century than from the tenth and eleventh centuries; and there are more 'later copies', or forgeries, from the tenth and eleventh centuries than from the earlier period. There is also much to be learnt from comparison of the relatively large number of single sheets with the relatively small number of texts entered in cartularies. The cartularies range from an Anglo-Norman cartulary (on which see Fleming (R348)) to later compilations such as Lambeth 1212. Surprisingly (but as in several other cases) there is no good 'local' history, though the charters are complemented by records entered in service books, information derived from obituaries, and so on.

[B290a] *Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. N.P. Brooks and S.E. Kelly, AS Charters (forthcoming [?2008])

[B290.5] S. Kelly, 'Lyminge Minster and its Early Charters', in Keynes & Smyth (T111), pp. 98–113, and 'Reculver Minster and its Early Charters', in Barrow & Wareham (T117), forthcoming.

For Lyminge, see also Insley (A115).

Canterbury, St Augustine's *Kent*
A church in Canterbury dedicated to SS Peter and Paul, known initially as St Peter's and from the ninth century generally as St Augustine's, was founded by St Augustine in the early years of the seventh century; it was endowed by King Æthelberht with various gifts, 'so that the bodies of Augustine himself and all the bishops of Canterbury and the kings of Kent might be placed in it' (HE i.33). Ælfstan, abbot of St Augustine's (*c.* 1025–45), took possession of the lands of another early Kentish foundation at Minster-in-Thanet; and the Minster charters constitute a significant component part of the archive as a whole. Pickles (Q745).

[B291] *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury and Minster-in-Thanet*, ed. S.E. Kelly AS Charters 4 (1995), with a comprehensive discussion of the archive; see also Q140. The developing conception of the abbey's history culminated with the cartulary-chronicle of St Augustine's, written by Thomas of Elmham in the early fifteenth century (Cambridge,

Trinity Hall, MS. 1). Graves (A76), no. 2158. Text: *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham*, ed. C. Hardwick, RS 8 (1858).

Rochester *Kent*

The church of St Andrew at Rochester was founded in the early seventh century, by Æthelberht, king of Kent (HE ii.3 and iii.14). It is the principal archive representing the western part of the bipartite kingdom of Kent in the eighth century; but it seems to have suffered in the ninth century from exposure to viking attack. King Æthelred 'laid waste the diocese of Rochester' in 986. See also Brett (Q134).

[B292] The 'Textus Roffensis', compiled in the early twelfth century, consists of two originally separate parts, both of the utmost importance: one (fols. 1–118) contains a collection of legal texts, and the second (fols. 119–235) contains a collection of charters. See Ker (B800), no. 373. Facsimiles and descriptions of both parts of the manuscript by Sawyer (B813). Text (of charters): *Charters of Rochester*, ed. A. Campbell, AS Charters 1 (1973).

[B292.5] N. Brooks, 'Rochester, A.D. 400–1066', *Rochester: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. T. Ayers and T. Tatton-Brown, Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Transactions 28 (2006), pp. 6–21

On the cult of St Ithamar, bishop of Rochester in the mid-7th century, see Q422.

Selsey *Sussex*

A monastery at Selsey was founded in the 680s by Bishop Wilfrid , on land given to him for the purpose by King Æthelwealh; its endowment was soon afterwards increased by Cædwalla, king of the West Saxons ('Life' of St Wilfrid, chs. 41–2; HE iv.13). In the early eighth century a diocese was established for the kingdom of the South Saxons, and Eadberht, abbot of Selsey, became the first bishop (HE v.18). The charters of Selsey are of particular importance for the light they throw on the fortunes of the South Saxons under Mercian overlordship in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.

[B293] *Charters of Selsey*, ed. S.E. Kelly, AS Charters 6 (1998), including extended discussion of the historical significance of the South Saxon charters. See also Kelly (Q131b).

Religious houses in the vicinity of London

London was in the eye if not always itself at the centre of the process which in retrospect is recognised as the transformation of the kingdom of the West Saxons via the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons into the kingdom of the English. The fortunes of the religious houses established in the vicinity of London may, however, have been compromised, during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, by the anomalous position of London in this unfolding process of political and economic development. Latterly, one of the houses came into its own.

London, St Paul's *Middlesex*

The church of St Paul in the city of London was founded by Æthelberht, king of Kent, to serve as the episcopal see for Mellitus, whom St Augustine had consecrated bishop of the East Saxons in 604 (HE ii.3). In the eighth and early ninth centuries the bishop of London owed suit, as it were, to the king of the Mercians; and London remained a 'Mercian' town for some time thereafter. It is striking, however, that the bishops were more conspicuous by their absence from than by their presence at the Mercian court, and that they were turning towards the West Saxons in the 860s. For the history of St Paul's, see Taylor (Q137), and Thacker (Q199); see also D. Whitelock, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London', in T6, no. II.

[B294] *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 10 (2005), drawing on seventeenth-century transcripts of a medieval charter-roll of St Paul's, now lost, which contained copies of an important series of Anglo-Saxon charters dating from the late seventh century onwards. For further details of the archive, see Keynes (G35a).

Chertsey *Surrey*

Chertsey abbey was founded by Eorcenwold before he became bishop of London (*c*.675), for himself (HE iv.6). The house evidently remained a place of some importance in the eighth century, and perhaps also in the ninth. It was among the houses 'reformed' so conspicuously in 964 (ASC), and was noted then or soon afterwards as the resting-place of St Beocca and others, apparently killed by the vikings in the ninth century.

[B295] The pre-Conquest material in the cartulary-chronicle of Chertsey abbey (BL Cotton Vitellius A. xiii) is of variable quality, but represents a most interesting assemblage of material. See *Chertsey Abbey Cartularies* II.1, Surrey Record Society 12 [cont'd] (1958), pp. xiv–xvii; see also Blair (Q150).

Barking   *Essex*

Barking abbey was founded by Eorcenwold before he became bishop of London (*c.*675), for his sister Æthelburh (HE iv.6), on whom see B150. The abbey evidently remained a place of some importance in the eighth century, though it is not so clear what became of it in the ninth. The abbey re-emerges into view in the first half of the tenth century, and flourished as a nunnery in the later tenth and eleventh centuries. Foot (Q23), II, pp. 27–33.

[B296] Understanding of the history of Barking abbey was transformed in the 1980s by the identification of some previously unknown charters, derived from a lost cartulary of Barking abbey, in a cartulary of Ilford Hospital preserved at Hatfield House. An edition of the Barking charters, ed. C.R. Hart, is in preparation (B342).

St Albans   *Hertfordshire*

The abbey of St Albans, on the main road leading from the heart of Mercia into London, was founded in the late eighth century by Offa, king of the Mercians, reinforcing a well-established cult (cf. Bede, HE i.7) which was, perhaps, pointedly 'better' than that of St Augustine at Canterbury. The house enjoyed a further revival of its fortunes during the reign of Æthelred the Unready. See also Williamson (A44); Taylor, the Biddles, and Crick (Q147a); Crick (R376).

[B297] *Charters of St Albans*, ed. J. Crick, AS Charters 12 (forthcoming [2006]). For the (lost) twelfth-century cartulary of St Albans, possibly compiled under the auspices of Adam the Cellarer, see Keynes (B358).

[B297a] A house-chronicle (*Gesta abbatum*), compiled by Matthew Paris in the mid-thirteenth century, is preserved with other material in BL Cotton Nero D. i. Text (of a later recension): *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H.T. Riley, 3 vols., RS 28 (1867–9). Translation (excerpts): R. Vaughan, *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century* (1984). See also B650, etc.; R. Reader, 'Matthew Paris and the Norman Conquest', *The Cloister and the World*, ed. J. Blair and B. Golding (1996), pp. 118–47, at 121–2 and 137–40.

Westminster   *Middlesex*

The foundation of Westminster abbey, on Thorney Island in the Thames, is credited, variously, to Sæberht, king of the East Saxons, and to Offa, king of the Mercians. Whatever may be the truth behind these claims, the abbey was refounded probably in the 960s under the auspices of Archbishop Dunstan, and became a place of perhaps greater consequence in the late tenth century than surviving records might suggest. For Dunstan and Abbot Wulfsige, see Keynes (Q89), pp. 56–9. This phase in its history was, however, all but eclipsed by the abbey's subsequent refoundation and endowment by Edward the Confessor; and Edward's own activities were in turn obscured behind the fuss generated in the twelfth century in connection with his canonization.

[B298] The archive comprises a substantial number of charters still extant in single-sheet form, complemented by two cartularies which put the material in interesting associations and groups. The writs (with physical evidence of extensive recourse to forgery) put the emphasis on Edward the Confessor, as if operating in a vacuum; but there is also good evidence of the endowment in the late tenth century, and evidence for the fabrication of some spectacular documentation in the first half of the twelfth century.

[B298a] Traditions about the abbey's history developed apace from the late eleventh century onwards. Sulcard (*c.* 1080) represents an early stage in the process: B.W. Scholz, 'Sulcard of Westminster: "Prologus de Construccione Westmonasterii"', *Traditio* 20 (1964), 59–91; and see Barlow (B90), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii. Thereafter, traditions are inseparable from the developing cult of Edward the Confessor (B92). For one of the later stages in the process, see *The History of Westminster Abbey by John Flete*, ed. J.A. Robinson (1909).

Waltham   *Essex*

Waltham abbey was founded in the mid eleventh century, in circumstances which involved Tovi the Proud (during the reign of Cnut), Earl Harold, and Edward the Confessor.

[B299] Edward the Confessor's charter confirming the foundation of Waltham abbey, dated 1062 (S 1036), is of fundamental importance.   The chronicle of Waltham abbey was written in the late twelfth century, and contains some interesting circumstantial information. Text and translation: *The Waltham Chronicle: An Account of the Discovery of Our Holy Cross at Montacute and its Conveyance to Waltham*, ed. L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall, OMT (1994).

Religious houses overseas

A few Anglo-Saxon charters happen to be preserved in the archives of religious houses on the continent. The houses in question are as follows: Fécamp (Normandy); St Peter's,

Ghent (Flanders); Mont-Saint-Michel (Brittany); Saint-Denis, Paris; Saint-Remi, Rheims; La Trinité-du-Mont, Rouen (Normandy); St Mary's, Rouen (Normandy); and Saint-Ouen, Rouen (Normandy). It is interesting to establish under what variety of circumstances the houses came to acquire their interests in England.

[B299.55] S. McK. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151*, Yale Studies in the History of Art 37 (1987)

[B299.60] *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (2006), e.g. for charter of Edward the ætheling (*c.* 1033), pp. 88–9 (no. 10), discussed in Keynes (R83)

For St-Bertin, in Flanders, see Ugé (A60.37).

IV. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

For the sake of classification, a 'documentary' source is a text which originated for a fundamentally utilitarian purpose (e.g. a letter, a charter, an act of secular or ecclesiastical legislation, a record, a form of words in a service-book, or an administrative document), not normally involving the presentation or manipulation of information about the past for some ulterior purpose. The term is here inclusive of 'normative' sources (e.g. law-codes, customaries, liturgical texts), which seek to impose a norm. Historians use such sources for purposes of their own. Needless to say, the sources have to be treated with the same degree of circumspection as the 'literary' material (see above, section II); and it is no less important to understand the conventions of each genre.

Correspondence

See EHD nos. 161–209 and 214–33. See also Garrison on 'Letter Collections' in A100.

The **letters of Pope Gregory the Great**, in *Registrum epistularum Gregorii I*, bks I–XIV, are essential for understanding the progress of the Gregorian mission to England in 596–601, led by St Augustine. For the letters in question, see (D36.1) and (D36.2). For Gregory, see Markus (D37.6).

[B300] Text: *S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg, 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 140–140A (1982–3). Translation: J.R.C. Martyn, *The Letters of Pope Gregory the Great*, 3 vols. (2004). For text and translation of a selection of the letters, see *The Mission of St Augustine to England According to the Original Documents*, ed. A.J. Mason (1897). A few are in Bede; selection in EHD nos. 161–3.

[B303] Bede's letter to Egberht, bishop of York (written in 734, but essential for understanding the didactic component in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in 731). Text: Plummer (B20), vol. I, pp. 405–23, with notes, vol. II, pp. 378–88. Translation: EHD no. 170; also in B22, pp. 337–51, and B24, pp. 343–57. Text and translation: B200 (forthcoming).

[B304] Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede (including 'Bede's Death-Song'). The deacon Cuthbert, who gives this deeply moving account of Bede's last days in a letter to a certain Cuthwine, was abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow in the 760s. The fuller account of Bede, which he had intended to write, has not survived. For Cuthbert's letters to Lull, and further veneration of Bede, see EHD, no. 185. Text and translation: Colgrave and Mynors (B21), pp. 579–87. Translation: B22, pp. 357–60; B24, pp. 300–3.

[B305] Letters of St Boniface, Lull, and others (for English missionaries on the continent in the mid- and later eighth century, and their sustained contact with England). Text: *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. M. Tangl (1916); also ed. R. Rau (1968). Selections in translation: E. Kylie, *The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface* (1911); E. Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (1940), with new introduction and bibliography by T.F.X. Noble (2000); Talbot (B164), pp. 65–149; EHD nos. 166–9, 171–83 and 185–90. For the transmission of Boniface's letters, see also Keynes (E37.5).

[B310] Letters of Alcuin (for an expatriate Englishman's view of his Northumbrian homeland, and his changing view of the Mercian regime, in the late eighth century), esp. his letters to recipients in England (E41). Text: *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* II, ed. E. Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epist. 4 (1895); *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, ed. C. Chase (1975). Translation: S. Allott, *Alcuin of York: his Life and Letters* (1974); EHD nos. 192–203 and 206–8. Discussion: Bullough (E141), pp. 35–102; Garrison (E89); Keynes (E28).

[B311] *Clavis des Auteurs Latins du Moyen Age: Territoire Français 735–987*, II: *Alcuin*, ed. M-H. Jullien and F. Perelman, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis (1999) - register of Alcuin's writings, including his correspondence

[B315] The **'Canterbury Letter-Book'** - a very interesting and important collection of letters made at Canterbury in the late tenth century, preserved in BL Cotton Tiberius A. xv, fols. 144v–173r. Includes letters of Alcuin, and correspondence concerning the church

of Canterbury. List of main contents on website at B330. Text: Stubbs (B165.5), pp. 354–412. Translation: selection in EHD nos. 230–1. A related early-eleventh-century collection of correspondence (Alcuin, etc.), in Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, is regarded as a development of Tiberius A. xv; see Mann (B573.7), esp. pp. 265–7.

[B315.5] S. Vanderputten, 'Canterbury and Flanders in the Late Tenth Century', *ASE* 35 (2006), 219–44

See also Brett (G70); Bullough (E141), pp. 95–7.

Anglo-Saxon charters

There is a basic distinction between royal diplomas (in Latin), royal writs (in the vernacular), wills (in the vernacular), and other, miscellaneous, records (in Latin or the vernacular). Entry on charters in A100. Further reading: Stevenson (M219.3); Stenton and Whitelock (M220); Brooks (M222); and other references in M220s. For various distinctive groups of charters, see M232.41, etc. For 'continental' charters, see B604.5 (Merovingian), B610 (Carolingian), B610.5 (Capetian), B611 and B612 (Ottonian and Salian).

All such documents are catalogued in an indispensable guide:

[B320] P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (1968) - refers to texts, translations, discussions of authenticity, etc. For post-Conquest vernacular charters, see Pelteret (R156). A revised version of the list and bibliography is in preparation (see B321), and will be published in book-form in the not-too-distant future.

[B321] The **'Electronic Sawyer'**, being a revised, updated, updatable, searchable and readily accessible version of B320, available (in experimental form) via a link from the 'Kemble' website (B330). Entries for the main series of charters (S 1–1602) were initially revised and updated by S.E. Kelly (1994–8), and this work has been continued by R. Rushforth (2003–). Entries for 'Lost and Incomplete' charters (S 1602–1875) are still in process of revision. The eSawyer is being developed as part of the same process, by Dr Rushforth. Like *Regesta Regum Anglorum* (B324), it incorporates working texts of all charters (including those which have come to light since 1968); and in time it will have links to facsimiles, translations, prosopographical and onomastic resources, maps, aerial and ground photographs, and discussions of boundary clauses. It takes the form of a searchable database, and (when fully developed) will give access to the surviving corpus of charters in whichever way might best suit the user's purpose. It will be possible to *browse* the charters, whether chronologically (e.g. by Sawyer number, or by king's reign), topographically (e.g. by county, and perhaps chronologically within each county), archivally (e.g. all charters preserved in the archives of Glastonbury abbey, or all charters preserved in a particular cartulary). It will also be possible to *search* the material, e.g. for occurrences of particular names, places, words, or bibliographical references, and thereby to generate a browsable list of charters which meet the designated requirement (e.g. all charters relating to land at Withiel Florey, or in favour of Shaftesbury abbey, or in favour of anyone called Ælfheah). Further refinements will include the ability to analyse aspects of formulation (invocations, proems, royal styles, immunity and reservation clauses, sanctions, boundary clauses, dating clauses, and formulas of attestation), and the ability to generate a map from the results of a search involving places.

[B324] **'Anglo-Saxons.net' website** <www.anglo-saxons.net/hwaet/>, a website devised in the late 1990s by Dr Sean Miller (formerly of the Department of ASNC), and full of useful information on Anglo-Saxon history. Follow the link to 'Charters', for the 'Regesta Regum Anglorum', devised by Dr Miller in association with the BA/RHS project (B330), providing online texts of the entire corpus of royal diplomas, incorporating revised Sawyer entries (B321).

For other forms of general guidance, see:

[B325] The 'Leicester' series, providing a basic guide to the charters of different regions: H.P.R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Devon and Cornwall* (1953), 2nd ed. (1963); C. Hart, *The Early Charters of Essex*, 2 pts (1957), 2nd ed. (1971); H.P.R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (1961), 2nd ed. (1972); H.P.R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (1964); C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (1966); C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (1975); M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (1979). There is no coverage in this series of Kent and Sussex.

[B330] **'Kemble',** aka the **Anglo-Saxon Charters Website** <www.trin.cam.ac.uk/kemble>. The charters website was originally set up in March 1997, and is maintained under the auspices of the British Academy - Royal Historical Society Joint Committee on Anglo-Saxon Charters (B342). It was re-launched in 2005, in new livery and with new content. It is to be developed henceforth in close association with 'Wanley' (B761). The files currently mounted on or accessible from 'Kemble' represent work in progress, and

include (or will soon include): the 'Electronic Sawyer' (B321); published translations of charters; profiles of each of the archives in which charters were preserved (B333); a classified list of charters on single sheets, with facsimiles (B339); recurrent formulas; lists of archbishops and bishops (revised version of Q10); list of church councils (revised version of B395); episcopal professions (cf. B410); lists of abbots (cf. Q11); Stevenson's lectures on 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery' (1898); Parsons (M219.5); Drögereit (M224.7); information on liturgical commemoration; papers of J.M. Kemble; bibliography; links; etc.

[B331] S. Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c.670–1066*, I: *Tables*, ASNC Guides, Texts and Studies 5 (2002). The *Atlas* comprises *c.* 200 pp. of tables (generated by Microsoft Excel), showing attestations of bishops, abbots, ealdormen, and thegns, etc., throughout the period. The *Atlas* was first produced in 1993. There are copies in the ASNC and Seeley libraries in Cambridge, and elsewhere; otherwise available from the Dept of ASNC. A list of constituent tables, and other information, is on the website at B330.

[B331.5] S. Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c.670–1066*, II: *Introduction and Commentary*, ASNC Guides, Texts and Studies (forthcoming)

[B332] S. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (in preparation), on the form, function and preservation of charters in the Anglo-Saxon period, on the uses which they served in the middle ages, and on the dispersal, collection and study of charters from the sixteenth century to the present day. Some of the material generated by survey of archives, of single sheets, and of activities of antiquaries, is made available herein, and at B330.

[B332.5] S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Charters: Lost and Found', in T117, forthcoming

[B333] 'Archives containing Anglo-Saxon charters', being a series of short profiles of each of the 70+ archives in which the charters were formerly preserved (i.e. archives of religious houses, before their dispersal in the 16th or 17th century, not modern repositories). To be made available on the 'Kemble' website (B330), from October 2005 onwards; for an abbreviated version, see section B III above.

[B334] English Monastic Archives Databases <www.ucl.ac.uk/history/englishmonastic archives/>, which serves as a guide to surviving archives of monasteries of all orders; so, for the Anglo-Saxon period, go to 'Archives', select 'Pre1066', and you will find about 75 entries; note, however, that this is work still in progress

Anglo-Saxon charters on single sheets

Most Anglo-Saxon charters survive as copies entered in cartularies (e.g. B260) or cartulary-chronicles (e.g. B280), or in early modern transcripts of manuscripts now lost; but about 280 charters (roughly 20% of the total corpus) exist in single-sheet form (i.e. written on a single sheet of parchment), providing material of fundamental importance for a variety of palaeographical, diplomatic, linguistic, and historical purposes. All charters extant in single-sheet form have now been published in facsimile:

[B335] *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. E.A. Bond, 4 vols. (1873–8), representing the charters which formed part of the Cottonian, Harleian and other 'antiquarian' collections, now in the British Library

[B336] *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. W.B. Sanders, 3 vols. (Ordnance Survey, 1878–84), showing face and dorse of each charter, with translations. Vol. I contains the charters in the 'Red Book of Canterbury', still at Canterbury; vol. II contains material at Westminster, Exeter, and other archives; vol. III contains the Dering/Astle/Stowe collection of charters, mainly from Christ Church Canterbury, now in the British Library.

[B337] *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. S. Keynes, Anglo-Saxon Charters, Supplementary ser. 1 (1991) - about 40 charters (being those not included in B335 or B336), including the 'Crawford Collection', now in the Bodleian Library, and charters of Burton abbey

[B338.1] *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, 49 vols, comprising facsimiles of all Latin charters prior to the year 800, of whatever country in western Europe. Eighth-century charters from St Gall (M195) are in vols. I–II (1954–6). Charters preserved in the British Library, and elsewhere in the UK, are in vols III–IV (1963–7), ed. A. Brückner and R. Marichal; among them are all of the extant original Anglo-Saxon charters, of the seventh and eighth centuries, with facsimiles, texts, and detailed commentaries.

[B338.2] *Chartae Latini Antiquiores*, vols. 50–, covering charters of the ninth century, in progress. The 9th-century charters of St Gall will occupy 13 volumes. In time, the series will presumably include Anglo-Saxon charters of this period.

[B339] 'A Classified List of Anglo-Saxon Charters on Single Sheets', with links to digital images of face and dorse of many of the charters themselves, is available on the 'Kemble' website (B330), launched in 2006.

[B339.2] S. Keynes, 'Angelsächsische Urkunden (7.–9. Jahrhundert) / Anglo-Saxon chaters (7th–9th century)', in Erhart & Hollenstein (M199.5), pp. 97–108, with colour

illustrations of S 163 (King Coenwulf, 808) and S 293 (King Æthelwulf, 843); and for the tenth century, see Keynes (M224.6)

[B339.5] S.D. Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas: a Palaeography* (2006) – analysis of charters preserved in their original (single-sheet) form, beginning with a review of the production of charters in the tenth century (pp. 3–18), followed by discussion of their physical features (pp. 19–26), aspects of layout [including pictorial invocation, boundary-clause, witness-list, endorsement] (pp. 20–54), and script and punctuation (pp. 55–112), and by discussion of 'representative' charters (pp. 121–130) and 'problem' charters (pp. 131–45)

For 'French' charters on single sheets, see Tock, *et al.* (B610.6).

Royal diplomas (on which see M220–2)

The standard editions of the corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters are Kemble (KCD) and Birch (BCS). John Mitchell Kemble (1807–57) was the great pioneer (S75, etc.), working with no official support. Walter de Gray Birch (1842–1924), based in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum, was attempting, in effect, to supersede Kemble's work; but the publishers went bust, and his edition (which represents a significant advance on Kemble's) never proceeded beyond the third volume (charters of the period 948–75). As a result, Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* has long remained the only 'comprehensive' edition.

[B340] *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. J.M. Kemble, 6 vols. (1839–48), covering the whole period; but note that matters were complicated by the discovery of the 'Codex Wintoniensis' (B260), in the early 1840s, which meant that having first reached 1066 in vol. 4 (1846), he then had to start the series again, in vols. 5–6 (1847–8)

[B341] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de G. Birch, 3 vols. (1885–93), covering the period to 975; and for the separate index of personal names to the *Cartularium Saxonicum*, see A315

A new edition of the entire corpus of charters (diplomas, writs, wills, etc.), arranged archive by archive, is in course of publication:

[B342] 'Anglo-Saxon Charters', a series prepared under the auspices of the British Academy - Royal Historical Society Joint Committee on Anglo-Saxon Charters, and published by the British Academy. Volumes already published: Rochester (B292); Burton (B238); Sherborne (B270); St Augustine's, Canterbury (B291); Shaftesbury (B271); Selsey (B293); Abingdon (B281); New Minster, Winchester (B265), London, St Paul's (B294); Malmesbury (B278). Volumes forthcoming: *Charters of St Albans*, ed. J. Crick (B297); *Charters of Bath and Wells*, ed. S.E. Kelly (B287). Volumes in preparation include: *Charters of the Old Minster, Winchester*, ed. A. Rumble; *Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. N.P. Brooks and S. Kelly (B290a); *Charters of Worcester*, ed. S. Baxter and F. Tinti (B231); *Charters of Westminster*, ed. R. Mortimer; *Charters of Wilton Abbey*, ed. R. Rushforth (B277). Other volumes, covering charters of Barking, Bury St Edmunds, Exeter, Glastonbury, Peterborough, etc., are in more or less advanced stages of preparation. For further details, see 'Kemble' (B330).

[B345] 'LangScape', formerly 'The Language of Landscape A.D. 1000' - a project, masterminded by Dr Joy Jenkyns and funded by the AHRC (2004–), which will provide an online corpus of Anglo-Saxon boundary clauses, with various indexing and mapping facilities <www.kcl.ac.uk/humanities/cch/langscape/>

For boundary clauses, see also Lowe (M232.6), Reed (P115), and Kitson (P116).

Royal writs

[B350] F.E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (1952; reptd 1989) - texts and translations of the entire corpus; for the post-Conquest writs, see Bates (R155)

[B351] *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100*, ed. T.A.M. Bishop and P. Chaplais (1957) - includes facsimiles of all Anglo-Saxon writs which survive in their original form

Vernacular charters and wills

[B354] *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, ed. B. Thorpe (1866) - includes (in addition to a selection of royal diplomas) texts and translations of some vernacular wills, guild regulations, and manumissions; important in its day, but to be used now with some caution

The standard collections, all giving text, translation and commentary, are:

[B355] *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A.J. Robertson, 2nd ed. (1956)

[B356] *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. F.E. Harmer (1914) - includes wills of King Alfred and King Eadred

[B357] *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock (1930); supplemented by *The Will of Æthelgifu: a Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript*, ed. and trans. D. Whitelock (1968) - with facsimile and commentary

For some additions to the corpus, see:

[B358] S. Keynes, 'A Lost Cartulary of St Albans Abbey', *ASE* 22 (1993), 253–79; but will be superseded by Crick (B297)

Guild regulations and manumissions

[B359] These texts were first collected by Thorpe (B354). For manumissions from Bath, see B288.5. For the Bodmin manumissions, see Padel (B272). See also N4 (guild regulations) and N5 (manumissions). See EHD nos. 136–9 (guild regulations) and 140–50 (manumissions); details at B330.

A charter would originate as a 'documentary' source; but in the process of its transmission and preservation it often becomes part of a 'literary' source. See above, B231 onwards. There is a list of all archives at B330.

'Celtic' charters

[B360] The 'Book of Llandaff', being a history and cartulary of the bishops of Llandaff, in what purports to be a chronological order, compiled in the twelfth century. Text: J.G. Evans with J. Rhys, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (1893, reptd 1979). Abstract/translation: W. de G. Birch, *Memorials of the See and Cathedral of Llandaff* (1912). An edition of the *Liber Landavensis*, ed. J.R. Davies, with translation (OMT), is forthcoming.

[B360a] W. Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (1978); W. Davies, *The Llandaff Charters* (1979); rev. by P.P. Sims-Williams, *JEH* 33 (1983), 124–9; J.R. Davies, '*Liber Landavensis*: its Date and the Identity of its Editor', *CMCS* 35 (1998), 1–11; D. Huws, 'The Making of the *Liber Landavensis*', in his *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (2000), pp. 123–57; Davies (R410).

[B360b] W. Davies, 'The Latin Charter-Tradition in Western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the Early Mediaeval Period', *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville (1982), pp. 258–80

[B361] D. Broun, *The Charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the Early and Central Middle Ages*, Quiggin Pamphlets 2 (1995); see also B. Webster, *Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603* (1975), pp. 61–92

Papal letters and charters

A useful starting-point is the website (*sic*) of the Archivum Secretum Apostolicum Vaticanum <http://asv.vatican.va/home_en.htm>, which has a section on the diplomatic of papal documents, and various images, including the *Privilegium Ottonianum* (Otto I, 962, written in gold letters on purple parchment) <http://asv.vatican.va/en/visit/p_nob/doc_privilegium_ottoniano.htm>. For discussion of papal privileges, see Levison (E7), pp. 22–33 and 255–9, and Knowles (G117), pp. 575–80. See also Q68, etc. The beginnings of a list of papal privileges for religious houses in Anglo-Saxon England are on the website at B330.

[B362] *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, 2nd ed., ed. G. Wattenbach, *et al.*, 2 vols. (1885–8) - basic list of papal letters, charters, etc., covering the period to 1198

[B363] *Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, 3 vols. (1930–52) - texts of papal charters relating to England, covering the period to 1200

[B364] *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, ed. H. Zimmermann, 3 vols., rev. ed. (1988–9) - texts of papal letters and charters arranged under successive popes, for a more restricted period; see, e.g., nos. 142–3, 174, 211, 212, 282, 307, 342, 409, 410, 550

See also Graves (A76), nos. 1131, 1132 and 5550. For Pope Gregory's correspondence, see B300. For the *Liber Pontificalis*, see B601.

Law-codes

The indispensable guide to this material in all its aspects is Wormald (M160). For guidance on the texts, see Greenfield and Robinson (A78), pp. 364–8. For general comments on Anglo-Saxon legislation, see Whitelock (M141), Richardson and Sayles (M143), and Keynes (M212).

The first collected edition, with facing translation in modern English, was Thorpe (B375). The standard 'modern' edition of the laws remains:

[B365] *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols. (1903–16): vol. I (1903), comprising text and German translation; vol. II (1906), comprising glossary (pp. 1–252) and detailed index of subjects (pp. 263–756); and vol. III (1916), comprising introduction for each law-code or text in the edition

For an appraisal of Liebermann's work, see Wormald (M160), pp. 20–4.

Several choice law-codes are translated in EHD, nos. 29–53; see also B401. It is particularly important, however, to study the entire corpus; so, for texts of the 'royal' law-codes, with English translations (and valuable indexes to their contents), see:

[B366] *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. F.L. Attenborough (1922; pb reprint 2000) - includes seventh-century Kentish codes, laws of Alfred (and Ine), and laws of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan; also includes the tracts known as *Blaseras* and *Ordal* (pp. 170–3: both on the ordeal)

[B367] *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. A.J. Robertson (1925; pb reprint, 2 vols., 2000) - includes laws of Edmund, Edgar, Æthelred the Unready, and Cnut; see also Kennedy (K37)

[B368] B. Griffiths, *An Introduction to Early English Law* (1995) - includes translation of Alfred's code, pp. 43–79

For the seventh-century Kentish lawcodes, see Oliver (D53).

Several of the texts (e.g. Æthelstan's *Ordinance on Charities*, *III* and *IV Æthelstan*, *III Edmund* and *IV Æthelred*) survive only in Latin translation, in a compilation of English laws made *c.* 1114, during the reign of Henry I:

[B370] *Quadripartitus* (of which bk i comprises Latin translations of numerous Anglo-Saxon law-codes; bks ii, iii and iv were never written as originally planned by the compiler, but were amalgamated by him in the work known as the *Leges Henrici Primi*, which itself makes use of Anglo-Saxon laws). For the text of bk i, see Liebermann (B365, vol. I, pp. 529–42, for the preamble, etc., and *passim* for the Latin versions of the Anglo-Saxon codes); for the rest, see *Leges Henrici Primi*, ed. and trans. L.J. Downer (1972), with a valuable introduction. See also Graves (A76) nos. 2186 and 2189; J.A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (1986), pp. 96–9; and P. Wormald, with R. Sharpe, 'Quadripartitus', in T29, pp. 111–72, reptd in T65, pp. 81–114

[B373] B.R. O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor* (1999) - on the (twelfth-century) *Leges Edwardi*, with text and translation; see also B. O'Brien, 'The *Instituta Cnuti* and the Translation of English Law', *ANS* 25 (2003), 177–97

Other legal texts (i.e. those which appear to be 'private' compilations) should not be overlooked. They are best approached through Liebermann (B365), but most are also available in:

[B375] B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 2 vols. (1840) - text and facing translation. In addition to the royal law-codes, vol. 1 includes *Swerian* (pp. 178–83: forms of oaths of various kinds), *Wer* (pp. 174–7: on rates of wergild, and procedure for payment), and *Dunsæte* (pp. 352–7: on Anglo-Welsh relations). Vol. II includes Archbishop Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* (B577).

Germanic legislation on the continent

[B380] T.J. Rivers, *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians* (1977), and *Laws of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks* (1986); K.F. Drew, *The Burgundian Code* (1972), and *The Lombard Laws* (1973) - instructive for comparison with early Anglo-Saxon law-codes

For Carolingian capitularies, see Loyn and Percival (B601.5), pp. 46–105; King (B601.6), pp. 202–68; and Denton (B601.7).

Ecclesiastical legislation, etc.

Entry in A100 on canon law. For church councils, see Vollrath (Q25) and Cubitt (Q27).

[B390] Penitential of Archbishop Theodore. Text: Haddan and Stubbs (B400), III, pp. 173–204. Translation: J.T. McNeill and H.M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (1938), pp. 182–215; other texts of the same nature are translated in the same volume.

[B393] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I: *Nicaea I to Lateran V*, ed. N.P. Tanner (London, 1990) - text and translation of canons issued at the great church councils, from the fourth century onwards, including Nicaea I (325), Constantinople I (381), Chalcedon (451), Nicaea II (787), etc., forming part of the background for conciliar activity in the English church

[B394] L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): a Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, History of Medieval Canon Law (1999), e.g. pp. 92–100 (collection by Ansegisus)

[B395] [S. Keynes], 'Anglo-Saxon Church Councils', *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed., ed. E.B. Fryde, *et al.* (1986), pp. 583–9 - lists evidence for meetings of church councils, *c.* 600 – *c.* 850 (with introductory remarks, pp. 583–6); updated at B330

[B396] R.H. Helmholz, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, I: The Canon Law and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction from 597 to the 1640s* (2004), pp. 1–65, on the Anglo-Saxon church, canon law, wills, etc.

[B400] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (1869–78), of which vol. III covers the Anglo-Saxon Church from the mission of St Augustine to the accession of King Alfred (871)

[B401] *Councils & Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church* I: *A.D. 871–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke, 2 pts (1981) - pt 1 [ed. DW] covers the period 871–1066; pt 2 [ed. MB & CNLB] covers the period 1066–1204
[B405] J. Johnson, *A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England*, new ed., 2 vols. (1850–1)

[B406] The canons of the Council of *Clofesho* (747). MS: BL Cotton Otho A. i, for which see Keynes (E37.5). Text: B400, iii.362–76. Translation: B405, i.240–63.
[B407] The canons enacted in the presence of the papal legates in 786. MS: Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelferbyt. Helmstad. 454, fols. 113–27, for which see Story (E86), pp. 70–4 (facsimile). Text: B400, iii.447–62; Dümmler (B310), no. 3. Translation: B405, i.266–85; EHD no. 191.
[B408] The canons of the Council of Chelsea (816). MS: BL Cotton Vespasian A. xiv (annotated by AB Wulfstan), fols. 149–53. Facsimile (149r, 153r): Cross and Tunberg (B813), pls. II–III. Text: B400, iii.579–84. Translation: B405, i.300–9.

[B410] *Canterbury Professions*, ed. M. Richter (1973), pp. 1–26 - professions of faith made by newly-appointed bishops to the incumbent archbishop of Canterbury, especially in the late eighth and early ninth centuries; separately listed on the website at B330

[B415] A collection of canon law (formerly known as *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberhti*) made probably at Worcester in the early eleventh century. Text and translation: *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. J.E. Cross and A. Hamer, AST 1 (1999). See also D. Bethurum, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', *PMLA* 57 (1942), 916–29; H. Sauer, 'The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"' [1980], in T45 (2000), pp. 339–93; P. Wormald, abstract in *OEN* 29.3 (1996), A-16; C.A. Jones, 'A Liturgical Miscellany in Cambridge, CCC 190', *Traditio* 54 (1999), 103–40; C.A. Jones, 'Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests', in Townend (G216), pp. 325–52. For facsimiles of two of the 'Wulfstan' manuscripts here in question, see B813.

Liturgical sources
The importance of liturgical evidence to the historian of Anglo-Saxon England extends from the changing conception of kingship represented by the development of the coronation *ordo* (B470, B471, B472), and aspects of continental influence on English church practices (B435, B436), to the activities of bishops (G109), the composition and connections of particular religious houses (B445, B450, B455), the activities of the dean of a monastic community (B478), the cults of saints (B430, B431), and commemoration of the great and the good of the land (B440, B445, B450, B465, B466). See also Dumville (G255).
[B420] R.W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: a Select Bibliography* (1982)
[B421] J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: a Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (1991, pb); E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (1998)
[B423] The publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society (HBS) include editions of several of the most important liturgical books surviving from Anglo-Saxon England. Listed by A. Ward, *The Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society: an Annotated Bibliography with Indexes*, Bibliothecae Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia 67 (1992); see also Mullins (B5), pp. 198–207, with Supplement, pp. 71–3 (to 1977). In addition to volumes cited below (B430, B431, B471, B478, B479), see, e.g., vols. 8 (Winchester Troper), 11 (Missal of Robert of Jumièges), 24 (Benedictional of Archbishop Robert), 45 and 56 (Leofric Collectar), 89 and 90 (Portiforium of St Wulfstan), and 93 (Missal of the New Minster, Winchester).
[B425] H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', in T23, pp. 91–141, reptd in T55, no. V, with addenda - incorporates a preliminary inventory of surviving liturgical manuscripts, not including fragments (now covered in B760); see also Dumville (G255–6)
[B426] *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R.W. Pfaff, OEN Subsidia 23 (1995) - includes sections on massbooks, graduals, tropers, collectars and breviaries, psalters, pontificals and benedictionals, and manuals; see also R.W. Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop and his Book', Toller Lecture 1998, *BJRL* 81.1 (1999), 3–24
[B428] 'Metrical Calendar of York' (s. viii/ix), 'Metrical Calendar of Hampson' (G15) (s. x in.), and 'Metrical Calendar of Ramsey' (s. x ex.): see M. Lapidge, 'Metrical Calendar, Latin', in A100.
[B430] *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, ed. F. Wormald, HBS 72 (1934) - for the cults of saints; see also Gneuss (B425, pp. 139–40)

[B431] *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, ed. M. Lapidge, HBS 106 (1991); see also M. Lapidge, 'Litanies of the Saints in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a Preliminary List', *Scriptorium* 40 (1986), 264–77

[B432] R. Rushforth, *An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Calendars*, ASNC Guides, Texts and Studies 6 (2002) - comprising a set of twelve spreadsheet tables (one table for each month of the year), based on information in B430 (and other pre-1100 calendars not printed therein), showing which saints appear in which calendars on which days, making it possible to compare the evidence of all calendars at a glance (with direct bearing on the relationships between the calendars themselves, on their respective dates and places of origin or use, and on the development cults of the saints in question)

[B433] U. Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England* (1997), with inventory of pericopes for over 300 days and feasts

[B434] I.B. Milfull, *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, CSASE 17 (1996), with text and translation, based on Durham Cathedral Library, MS. B.III.32 (Canterbury, s. xi)

[B435] *Regularis Concordia* - the crucial document of the tenth-century monastic reform movement. MSS: BL Cotton Faustina B. iii and BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii, described by Ker (B800), nos. 155 and 186. Text and translation: *The Regularis Concordia*, ed. and trans. T. Symons (1953), rev. ed. by M. Lapidge, OMT (forthcoming). Text: *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII monumenta non-Cluniacensia*, ed. K. Hallinger, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum 7.3 (1984), 61–147.

[B436] L. Kornexl, 'The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss', *ASE* 24 (1995), 95–130; see also *Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, ed. L. Kornexl (1993)

[B438] M.B. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (2002) - on the performative nature of liturgy

[B439] *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. H. Gittos and M.B. Bedingfield (2005) - essays on various aspects of the subject <not yet seen>

[B440] J. Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen. Mit einem Katalog der 'libri vitae' und Necrologien* (1988), including edition, discussion and analysis of much of the pre-Conquest material; see also Rushforth (B469), which will range more widely among post- as well as pre-Conquest obituaries and necrologies

Pontificals and other books

See Gneuss (B425) and Pfaff (B426; and for a useful survey of surviving English pontificals of the 10th and 11th centuries, see Orchard (B442), pp. xcviii–ciii. Pontificals are of special interest for historical purposes, not least for the successive versions of the order for the coronation of a king (B470, B471, B472).

[B441] The 'Leofric Missal' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579). Facsimile: see the Bodleian Library website. Text and commentary: *The Leofric Missal*, I: *Introduction, Collation Table and Index*, and II: *Text*, ed. N. Orchard, HBS 113–14 (2002); superseding *The Leofric Missal*, ed. F.E. Warren (1883).

[B442] *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12052)*, ed. N. Orchard, HBS 116 (2005) - edition, with detailed introduction and commentary, of a book written at Corbie, France, *c.* 980, under the direction of Abbot Ratoldus (972–86); important for ASE because it makes heavy use of an earlier tenth-century pontifical from Canterbury. Review: S. Hamilton, in *JEH* 57 (2006), 568–70.

[B443] *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. H.A. Wilson, HBS 24 (1903)

[B444] *The Claudius Pontificals*, ed. D.H. Turner, HBS 97 (1971)

Confraternity Books

For discussion of the continental background, see McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 156–73, and Gerchow (B440); see also M197 and M198, for books from St Gall, Reichenau, and elsewhere. For the practices of liturgical commemoration in Anglo-Saxon England, see Q30, etc. See also Gneuss (B425), pp. 140–1; Moore, in T39, pp. 165–88.

[B444.5] A. von Euw, *Liber Viventium Fabariensis: Das karolingische Memorialbuch von Pfäfers in seiner liturgie- und kinstgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (1989), on the ninth-century 'Liber Vitae' of Pfäfers (Switzerland), with account of other books of this kind, pp. 207–214

[B445] The 'Liber Vitae' of Lindisfarne/Chester-le-Street/Durham (BL Cotton Domitian vii), for the community of St Cuthbert from the seventh century onwards. Facsimile: A.H. Thompson, *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, Surtees Society 136 (1923). Discussion: Thompson and Warner (B796), pp. 81–4; Ker (B800), no. 147; Gerchow (B440), pp. 109–54 and 304–20; and the essays in Rollason (B445.5).

[B445.5] *The Durham 'Liber Vitae' and its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, *et al.* (2004) - proceedings of a symposium held at Durham in December 2001, containing important essays on all aspects of the 'Durham' *Liber Vitae*, in its various contexts

[B450] The 'Liber Vitae' of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester (BL Stowe 944), written in 1031 and continued thereafter until *c.* 1530, for the history of a religious house in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Text: *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. W. de G. Birch (1892). Facsimile with introduction: *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. S. Keynes, EEMF 26 (1996). Discussion: Gerchow (B440), pp. 155–85 and 320–6; Gerchow (K50).

[B450.5] S. Keynes, 'The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester', in Rollason (B445.5), pp. 149–63

[B455] The 'Liber Vitae' of Thorney Abbey (BL Add. 40,000), with a fair copy of lists of names dating from s. xi.1 (especially important for Cnut's reign). Discussion: Whitelock (T6, no. XVII); Gerchow (B440), pp. 186–97 and 326–8; Clark, in T51, pp. 301–47.

Annals and obits in Easter Tables

On the nature of Easter Tables, see Garmonsway (B66), pp. xviii–xxv. See also McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 97–100. For obits of seventh-century kings of Kent, recorded in a group of continental manuscripts, see Story (B18).

[B460] Annals from Christ Church, Canterbury, in BL Cotton Caligula A. xv, fols. 132–8 (Easter Tables 988–1193): Ker (B800), no. 139, art. *r.* Vernacular annals, begun c. 1075 (though the advent of Duke William in 1066 is a later addition). Facsimiles: Garmonsway (B66), pp. xxii–xxiii (annals 925 + 988–1021); Swanton (B67), pp. xii–xiii (annals 1056–81). Text: Baker (B50), pp. 129–34.

[B461] Obits from the New Minster, Winchester, in BL Cotton Titus D. xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook) (B478): Ker (B800), no. 202. Facsimile: Keynes (B450), pls. xvi–xviii, with pp. 122–3. Text: Birch (B450), p. 276.

[B462] Obits from ?Glastonbury, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 579 (the Leofric Missal), fol. 53r: Ker (B800), no. 315. Facsimile: available online from the Bodleian Library. Text: Orchard (B441), ii.86–7; *The Leofric Missal*, ed. F.E. Warren (1883), pp. li and 50.

Obits in calendars, etc.

The collection of obits promised by Wormald (B430), p. viii, was never published; so the material is still not properly processed. For a basic list, see Keynes (Q10), pp. 211–12, and list on the website at B330; see also Gerchow (B440), and Keynes (B450), pp. 60–1.

[B465] The Canterbury obits, in various manuscripts. See R. Fleming, 'Christchurch's Sisters and Brothers: an Edition and Discussion of Canterbury Obituary Lists', *The Culture of Christendom*, ed. M.A. Meyer (1993), pp. 115–53; R. Fleming, 'History and Liturgy at Pre-Conquest Christ Church', *HSJ* 6 (1995), 67–83; and Keynes (B450), p. 60, n. 91.

[B466] Obits in the 'Abingdon Martyrology' (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 57). See Gerchow (B440), pp. 245–52 and 335–8; see also T. Graham, 'CCCC 57 and its Anglo-Saxon Users', in T33, pp. 21–69, and Gretsch (G104.8), p. 113.

[B467] The Ely obits, in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. O. 2. 1, fols K1–K13: B. Dickins, 'The Day of Byrhtnoth's Death and other Obits from a Twelfth-Century Ely Kalendar', *Leeds Studies in English* 6 (1937), 14–24; Gerchow (B440), pp. 280–9 and 343–50; Keynes (B801), no. 28; Keynes (Q148)

[B468] Obits in the 'Leofric Missal' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 579). See Orchard (B441), ii.57–68; see also Gerchow (B440), pp. 253–7 and 338.

Cf. annals and obits in B478, from the New Minster, Winchester.

[B469] *Anglo-Saxon Obits*, ed. R. Rushforth and B. Schorn, ASNC Guides, Texts and Studies (in preparation) - systematic survey of all manuscripts containing obits of pre-Conquest persons, with discussion and bibliography for each manuscript, and with editions of selected sets of obits; the corpus of obits will be published in the form of an electronic database. See also Gerchow (B440).

Anglo-Saxon coronation 'ordines'

'No man can make himself king, but the people has the choice to choose as king whom they please; but after he is consecrated as king, he then has dominion over the people, and they cannot shake his yoke from their necks.' Ælfric, Homily for Palm Sunday (EHD no. 239*b*).

[B470] First Anglo-Saxon coronation *ordo* (? s. ix.1). For commentary on and text of version in the Leofric Missal, see Orchard (B441), I, pp. 99–105, and II, pp. 429–32. Text and trans. of version in Lanalet Pontifical, in Wickham Legg (B475, pp. 3–13). See also Nelson (M66).

[B471] Second Anglo-Saxon coronation *ordo* (? s ix/x, and s. x–xi.1). For the crucial early version, embedded in 'Ratoldus', see Orchard (B442), pp. cxxix–cxxxvi (discussion), 47–58 (text), 452–3 (collation table). For the version in 'Claudius I', see Turner (B444), pp. 89–97.

Text and trans. of version of *ordo* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146, in Wickham Legg (B475, pp. 15–29). See also Nelson (M67); Jackson (B476).

[B472] Third Anglo-Saxon coronation *ordo* (? s. xi.med). See Turner (B444), pp. 115–22, for text of one version; text and trans. of version in BL Cotton Tiberius B. viii, in Wickham Legg (B475, pp. 30–42). See also Nelson (M68).

[B473] Old English version of the coronation oath (from a version of the Second *ordo*), as laid by Archbishop Dunstan before the king (Edward or Æthelred) at Kingston, with associated reflections on kingship. MSS: BL Cotton Vitellius A. vii, in Ker (B800), no. 213, art. a (burnt in 1731), from Ramsey; BL Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, in Ker (B800), art 7, from ?Exeter. Text and translation: Stubbs (B165.5), pp. 355–7.

[B475] J. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (1901)

[B476] *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.A. Jackson, 2 vols. (1995–2000) - vol. 1, pp. 29 and 168–200 presents an edition of the Ratold Ordo, also known as the continental version of the Second English ordo

For the historical significance of coronation *ordines*, see Nelson (M65), etc.

Prayerbooks (see Gneuss (B425, pp. 137–8))

[B477] The 'Book of Nunnaminster' (BL Harley 2965), written s. viii/ix, which appears to have belonged to Ealhswith (d. 902), wife of King Alfred, and which was subsequently preserved at the Nunnaminster, Winchester. Text: *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century*, ed. W. de G. Birch (1889). For this prayerbook, and others, see Brown (E205); see also J. Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', in T110, vol. II, pp. 86–107, at 90–3.

[B477.5] The 'Book of Cerne' (Cambridge, University Library, Ll.1.10), written s. ix.1, probably in Mercia; and only much later at Cerne Abbey, in Dorset. Text: A.B. Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop* (1902). Discussion: Brown (E205).

[B478] 'Ælfwine's Prayerbook' (BL Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), written 1023 x 1031 (with later additions), by/for Ælfwine, dean and later abbot of the New Minster, Winchester. Text: *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, ed. B. Günzel, HBS 108 (1993). A translation and study, by P. Evan, is in preparation. See also Keynes (B450), pp. 111–23; Marsden (B516), pp. 11–16.

[B479] The 'Leominster Prayerbook' (BL Cotton Nero A. ii, fols. 3–13 [calendar], and Cotton Galba A. xiv, written *c.* 1030, probably at Leominster in Herefordshire, with poem *Carta dirige gressus*, on King Æthelstan (Muir, no. 5), and prayer for King Æthelred's soul (Muir, no. 60). Text: *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book*, ed. B.J. Muir, HBS 103 (1988); see also Stevenson, in T110, vol. II, pp. 86–107, at 93–4. For Leominster, see B235a.

Royal genealogies, regnal lists, and episcopal lists

On the nature and significance of these texts, see the entries on each in A100. For their use in later histories, see B630 (FW/JW) and B645 (SD). For modern lists of Anglo-Saxon kings, see Dumville (M1) and Keynes (M2). For lists of bishops, see Q10, updated at B330.

[B480] D.N. Dumville, 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *ASE* 5 (1976), 23–50 (reptd in T11, no. V) - prints lists in BL Cotton Vespasian B. vi, etc.; for East Saxon genealogies, see Dumville (B485, pp. 31–2); see also Sisam (E50), Dumville (M32), John (D18), and Gneuss (T56), no. VII

[B485] D.N. Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List: Manuscripts and Texts', *Anglia* 104 (1986), 1–32; for a Northumbrian regnal list, see Hunter Blair (B30); for a Mercian regnal list, see Hearne (B231, p. 242); see also Dumville (C175, M32)

[B490] R.I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, Parts I & II', and 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, Part III', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 9 (1965), 71–95, and 10 (1966), 2–24

For the collection of material in BL Cotton Vespasian B. vi, fols. 104–9, including episcopal lists and royal genealogies, see Keynes (E180).

The Tribal, Burghal and County Hidages

On the nature and significance of these texts, see the entries on each in A100.

[B500] *Tribal Hidage*: see D. Dumville, 'The Tribal Hidage: an Introduction to its Texts and their History', *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. S. Bassett (1989), pp. 225–30 (with facsimile of BL Harley 3271, fol. 6v), and Rumble, in F283, pp. 18–23 (text and translation) and 182–8 (annotated bibliography); see also Hill's *Atlas* (A260, pp. 76–7), for maps and diagrams, and E95–7, etc., for further discussion. The question is whether the Tribal Hidage belongs with regnal and episcopal lists, or with the Burghal Hidage.

[B505] *Burghal Hidage*: edited and translated by Rumble in F283, pp. 24–35, or by D. Hill, 'The Burghal Hidage: the Establishment of a Text', *Medieval Archaeology* 13 (1969), 84–92; also in Robertson (B355), pp. 246–9 and 494–6, and Keynes and Lapidge (F50), pp. 193–4 and 339–41; see also Hill's *Atlas* (A260, pp. 85–6), and F283, for maps and diagrams.

[B510] *County Hidage* (of somewhat uncertain authority): see F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897), pp. 455–60, and Chadwick (M35, pp. 204–18); C. Hart, *The Hidation of Northamptonshire* (1970), pp. 15–16 and 45–6, and *The Hidation of Cambridgeshire* (1974), pp. 30–8; see also Hill's *Atlas* (A260, pp. 96–7), for maps and diagrams.

V. OLD ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

For general guidance, see A51.1, A51.2 (esp. Gneuss on language), and A52. For bibliographical guidance, see A74, A78, and A78a. For Old English dictionaries, see A86, etc. For the indispensible research powertools which enable one to trace all occurrences of a particular Old English word, see A86 and A87.

[B515] P.S. Baker, *Introduction to Old English* (2003); also available on the Internet at <http://www.engl.virginia.edu/OE/>

[B516] R. Marsden, *The Cambridge Old English Reader* (2004) - large collection of texts, in verse and prose, with superb apparatus (introductions, notes, glossary, and a reference grammar)

[B520] B. Mitchell and F.C. Robinson, *A Guide to Old English*, 6th ed. (2001) - a splendid book for learning Old English, with grammar, texts and glossary; see also B. Mitchell, *An Invitation to Old English & Anglo-Saxon England* (1995)

[B521] *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, I: *The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. R.M. Hogg (1992), including chapters on semantics and vocabulary, OE dialects, onomastics, and literary language; for the Scandinavian influence, see also Townend (H39), etc.

[B522] R. Hogg, *An Introduction to Old English* (2002); A.C. Baugh, *A History of the English Language*, 4th ed., rev. T. Cable (1993); G. Bourcier, trans. C. Clark, *An Introduction to the History of the English Language* (1981); O. Robinson, *Old English and its Closest Relatives* (1992); H.F. Nielsen, *The Continental Backgrounds of English and its Insular Development until 1154* (1999)

[B523] S. Lerer, 'Old English and its Afterlife', *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. D. Wallace (1999), pp. 7–34

[B524] K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (1953) - revised versions of previously published papers, interspersed with new material, and including some classics in the fields of OE poetry, prose, and manuscript-studies. According to Dorothy Whitelock, Sir Frank Stenton's expression for scholarship of the highest order was 'positively Sisamic'.

[B525] The Early English Text Society (EETS) was founded in 1864, for the publication of texts in Old and Middle English. Over 460 volumes have been published, of which over 40 contain OE texts. Further details at: www.boydell.co.uk/EETS.HTM

[B526] B. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (1985), comprising vol. I (Concord, The Parts of Speech, and The Sentence) and vol. II (Subordination, Independent Elements, and Element Order)

[B527] *Old and Middle English: an Anthology*, ed. E. Treharne (2000), 2nd ed. (2004) - comprises selection of OE and ME prose and poetry, with brief introductions plus text and parallel translation of OE; includes Alfred's Preface to the OE *Pastoral Care* (pp. 10–13), *Brunanburh* (pp. 28–33), *Maldon* (pp. 141–55), and Wulfstan's *Sermo ad Anglos* (pp. 226–33), as well as the *Proverbs of Alfred* (pp. 358–68) and *Athelston* (pp. 551–68)

[B528] A. Lutz, 'When Did English Begin?', *Sounds, Words, Texts and Change*, ed. T. Fanego, *et al.*, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 224 (2002), pp. 145–71

[B529] The MANCASS C11 Database Project: an Inventory of Script and Spellings in Eleventh-Century English: <www.art.man.ac.uk/english/mancass/data/index.htm>

For Scandinavian influence on the English language, see H40, etc. For guidance on Old English personal names, see B877, etc.

Old English poetry

[B530] The standard corpus of OE poetry is Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (ASPR), ed. G.P. Krapp and E.van K. Dobbie, 6 vols. (1931–42), comprising: *The Junius Manuscript* (1931); *The Vercelli Book* (1932); *The Exeter Book* (1936); *Beowulf and Judith* (1953); *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius* (1932); *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (1942). Translation: S.A.J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1982; Everyman pb) - a large selection, including *Beowulf*, *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, riddles, gnomic poetry, translated into prose; EHD nos. 211–13 (*The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *The Endowments of Men*); M. Alexander, *The Earliest English Poems*, PC, 2nd ed. (1977).

[B530a] *A Concordance to the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ed. J.B. Bessinger (1978); remains convenient to use, although effectively superseded by DOEC (A86)

[B531] D.G. Calder and M.J.B. Allen, *Sources & Analogues of Old English Poetry* (1976) - for a different approach to the material

Cædmon's Hymn

For the story of Cædmon, see Bede, HE iv.24. The short poem known as 'Cædmon's Hymn' is found in manuscripts of Bede: see, e.g., Ker (B800), nos. 25 (Moore Bede) and 122 (St Petersburg Bede). See also entry in A100. Facsimiles of all extant copies are in EEMF 23 (B813). For Whitby, see D95, etc.

[B533] *Cædmon's Hymn: a Multi-media Study, Edition and Archive*, ed. D.P. O'Donnell (2005)

Beowulf (and Judith)

[B535] *Beowulf*, a poem of great length, uncertain origin, and disputed date. MS: BL Cotton Vitellius A. xv, fols. 132–201, described by Ker (B800), no. 216. Facsimile and text: *Beowulf*, ed. J. Zupitza, EETS o.s. 77 (1882), 2nd ed. (1959); see also B813. *The Electronic Beowulf*, ed. K. Kiernan (2000), on 2 CD-ROMs; guide available online on the website of the British Library (link from A0). Text: B. Mitchell and F.C. Robinson, *Beowulf: an Edition with Relevant Shorter Texts* (1998); *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. F. Klaeber, 3rd ed. (1950). Text, with accompanying glossary: *Beowulf: a Student Edition*, ed. G. Jack (1994); see also *Beowulf*, PC, ed. M. Alexander (1995). Text and translation: *Beowulf*, ed. M. Swanton (1978). Translations: Talbot Donaldson (B537b), pp. 3–52; Bradley (B530), pp. 407–94; M. Alexander, *Beowulf*, PC (1973); S. Heaney (B537c); etc.

[B536.1] D. Whitelock, *The Audience of Beowulf* (1951), reptd in T5, no. I, arguing on various grounds that the poem was written for an audience that was Christian (pp. 3–19), yet perhaps later than the age of Bede (pp. 19–24), that *Beowulf* 'is surely pre-Viking Age' (pp. 24–6), and might have originated in the second half of the eighth century (pp. 26–30), during the period of Mercian supremacy (pp. 30–3), conceivably at the court of Offa (pp. 57–64).

[B536.2] *The Dating of Beowulf*, ed. C. Chase (1981), containing several contributions which push towards a 'later' date, in the tenth or early eleventh century

For the suggestion that the poem was written during the reign of Cnut, see Kiernan (K33); and for the discussion generated by his views, see K34.

[B536.4] M. Lapidge, '"Beowulf", Aldhelm, the "Liber Monstrorum" and Wessex', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser. 23 (1982), 151–92, reptd in T19 (1996), for earlier origins; and M. Lapidge, 'The Archetype of *Beowulf*', ASE 29 (2000), 5–41, for the suggestion that the extant manuscript was copied from an exemplar in set minuscule of the early eighth century

[B536.5] R.D. Fulk, 'On Argumentation in Old English Philology, with Particular Reference to the Editing and Dating of *Beowulf*', ASE 32 (2003), 1–26

[B536.6] T. Shippey, 'The Merov(ich)ingian Again', in T110, I, pp. 389–406, responding to Goffart in Chase (B536.2)

[B537] *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. R.E. Bjork and J.D. Niles (1997) - essential guidance on all aspects of the poem

[B537a] *The Beowulf Reader*, ed. P.S. Baker, Basic Readings in ASE 1 (2000) - includes E. John, '*Beowulf* and the Margins of Literacy' (1974), pp. 51–77, and R.M. Liuzza, 'On the Dating of *Beowulf*' (2000), pp. 281–302; M. Drout, *Beowulf and the Critics* (2002), for Tolkien

[B537b] E. Talbot Donaldson, *Beowulf: a Prose Translation*, ed. N. Howe (2002), with reprinted versions of essays by Robinson, Frank, Niles, Lapidge, Hill, Bennett, and Howe

[B537c] S. Heaney, *Beowulf: a Verse Translation*, ed. D. Donoghue (2002), with reprinted versions of essays, incl. Tolkien ('*Beowulf*: the Monsters and the Critics'), Frank ('The *Beowulf* Poet's Sense of History'), and Webster ('Archaeology and *Beowulf*')

[B538] A. Orchard, *A Critical Companion to 'Beowulf'* (2003) - more essential guidance on all aspects of the poem; see also A. Orchard, 'Reading Beowulf Now and Then', SELIM [*Journal of the Spanish Society for Med. Eng. Lang. and Lit.*] 12 (2003–4), 49–81

[B538a] A. Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (1995), esp. pp. 1–12, on *Beowulf* and *Judith*

[B539] P.B. Taylor and P.H. Salus, 'The Compilation of Cotton Vitellius A XV', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 69 (1968), 199–204; P.J. Lucas, 'The Place of *Judith* in the *Beowulf*-Manuscript', *Review of English Studies* 41 (1990), 463–78, arguing that it used to be first; R.M. Trask, 'Why Beowulf and Judith Need Each Other', *In Geardagum* 20 (1999), 75–88

[B539a] R.J. Hasenfratz, *Beowulf Scholarship: an Annotated Bibliography, 1979–1990* (1993), with summaries; for earlier scholarship, see Greenfield and Robinson (A78), pp. 125–97

See also Robinson (A51.2), pp. 142–59, and entries in A100 and A105.

The Exeter Book

[B540] The 'Exeter Book' of Old English poetry. MS: Exeter Cathedral MS. 3501, described by Ker (B800), no. 116. Facsimile: R.W. Chambers, *et al.*, *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* (1933). Text: *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: an Edition of Exeter Dean*

and Chapter MS 3501, ed. B.J. Muir, 2 vols. (Exeter, 1994), comprising text (vol. I) and commentary with bibliography (vol. II). Translation: Bradley (B530), pp. 201–404. For the riddles, see also C. Williamson, *The Old English Riddles of the 'Exeter Book'* (1977), and *A Feast of Creatures: Anglo-Saxon Riddle Songs* (1982). See also entry in A100, and Conner (Q136.5).

[B541] *The Electronic Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, ed. B.J. Muir, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (2001), comprising 2 CDs

[B545] T.A. Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English* (1976). For further guidance on OE poetry of this kind, see Poole (A78a).

The Junius Manuscript (also known as the 'Cædmon Manuscript')

[B547] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, containing *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan*; and note the representation of an unidentified 'Ælfwine' in the lower margin of the manuscript, p. 2 (which serves as the logo for the 'Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England' (A295). Descriptions of the manuscript and its contents (texts and illustrations): Ker (B800), no. 334; Temple (B807), no. 58; Ohlgren (B813a), pp. 88–99 and 526–76. See also entry in A100. Digital facsimile: *MS Junius 11*, ed. B.J. Muir, Bodleian Digital Texts 1 (2004). Digital images also available on the website of the Bodleian Library, at <image.ox.ac.uk>, or via link from the website at A0. Other facsimiles: in *Archaeologia* 24 (1832), 329–40, followed by 52 engraved plates (of high quality); I. Gollancz, *The 'Cædmon Manuscript' of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry* (1927).

[B548] L. Lockett, 'An Integrated Re-Examination of the Dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', *ASE* 31 (2002), 141–73, dating it earlier (*c*. 960–*c*. 990) than is usual (*c*. 1000); B.C. Raw, 'The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', *ASE* 13 (1984), 187–205, reptd in Richards (B784), pp. 251–75; B.C. Raw, 'The Probable Derivation of Most of the Illustrations in Junius 11 from an Illustrated Old Saxon *Genesis*', *ASE* 5 (1976), 133–48

[B549] C.E. Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript*, CSASE 31 (2001)

Cynewulf

Cynewulf signs himself (in runes) in four OE poems: the *Fates of the Apostles* and *Elene* in the Vercelli Book (B562), and *Christ II* and *Juliana* in the Exeter Book (B540). He has been variously identified with several of his namesakes; see the entry on him in A100.

[B550] *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, ed. R. Bjork (1996)

Other poems

[B552] Poems in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: 'The Battle of *Brunanburh*' 937); 'The Redemption of the Five Boroughs' (942); 'The Coronation of King Edgar' (973); and 'The Death of King Edgar' (975). Discussion: Townend (B69.5).

[B553] 'The Battle of *Brunanburh*'. Text and commentary: *The Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. A. Campbell (1938). A new edition and study §is forthcoming. Translation: EHD no. 1 (*ASC*, s.a. 937); Bradley (B530), pp. 515–18; Treharne (B527); Marsden (B516), pp. 86–91; etc. Discussion: G76, etc.

[B554] Poems on King Edgar (973, 975). See G310, etc.

[B555] Poem on the battle of Maldon (991). Text: *The Battle of Maldon*, ed. D.G. Scragg (1981). Translation: EHD no. 10; Bradley (B530), pp. 518–28; Treharne (B527); etc. See also Scragg (J50), etc., and entry in A100.

For facsimiles of these and other poems, see Robinson and Stanley (B813).

Old English prose

For OE prose in general, see T45. For the writings of King Alfred, see F66, and F150, etc.

[B560] M. Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose* (1975; rev. ed., 1993; an Everyman pb)

[B560.5] R. DiNapoli, *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, comprising the Homilies of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the Blickling and Vercelli Codices* (1995)

[B561] The **Old English Martyrology**, on which see F50, p. 34 (for its ninth-century context), and the entry in A100. Manuscripts: Ker (B800), nos. 127 (s. ix ex), 132 (s. ix/x), 161 (s. x/xi), and 47 (s. xi ex). Text and translation: *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. G. Herzfeld, EETS o.s. 116 (1900). Text: G. Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium* (Munich, 1981). Extracts in translation: Swanton (B560), pp. 70–87. 'English' saints include Pega, sister of St Guthlac (Herzfeld, p. 16); Benedict Biscop (p. 18 ['se wæs Angelcynnes man']); Chad (p. 32); Eosterwine (p. 36); Cuthbert (pp. 40–2); Guthlac (p. 56); Æthelwald (pp. 58–60); Wilfrid (pp. 60–2); Eadberht (pp. 76–8); John of Beverley (p. 78); Æthelthryth (p. 102); Oswald (p. 138); Aidan (p. 158); Ceolfrith (pp. 178–80); Æthelburh (p. 186); Cedd (p. 194); Hild (pp. 206–8); Hygebald (p. 220).

[B562] Homilies in the **'Vercelli Book'** (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII), written in the second half of the tenth century. Manuscript: Ker (B800), no. 394. Facsimile: see B813. Text: *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. D.G. Scragg, EETS 300 (1992).

[B563] The **'Blickling Homilies'** (formerly at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, but now Princeton, Scheide Library, MS. 71), written in the late tenth or early eleventh century. Manuscript: Ker (B800), no. 382. Facsimile: see B813. Text and translation: *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, ed. R. Morris, EETS o.s. 58, 63, 73 (1874–80), reptd (1967). Extracts in translation: Swanton (B560), pp. 122–35. One of the homilies (ed. Morris, pp. 115–31) was composed in the year 971 (ed. Morris, p. 119, with frontispiece), and displays nervousness about the impending end of the world; see Lees (G214), pp. 81–2.

[B563a] The tract on **King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries (*EEM*)**, and the OE version of the **Rule of St Benedict (*RSB*)**. For the Rule of St Benedict in earlier AS period, see Farmer (B813) and Mayr-Harting (D150). *EEM* was written apparently by Bishop Æthelwold, as a preface to the OE version of the *RSB*; so it is an authoritative if naturally partisan manifesto of the reform movement, setting it in its wider (Insular) context. It was written after 975 (Whitelock), or perhaps in the mid-960s (Gretsch). Manuscript (*EEM*): Ker (B800), no. 154, art. 4. Text and translation (*EEM*): B401, no. 33, pp. 142–54. Translation (*EEM*): EHD no. 238. Discussion: Gretsch (G207); Gretsch (G208), pp. 226–33 (authorship of the translation of the Rule, and of *EEM*) and 233–60 (date of the translation of the Rule, and of *EEM*); Jayatilaka (G209).

Ælfric of Winchester, Cerne, and Eynsham

Ælfric the Homilist was a monk and mass-priest at Cerne abbey, Dorset, from *c.* 987 to *c.* 1005, and abbot of Eynsham, Oxfordshire, from *c.* 1005 presumably until his death some time thereafter (*c.* 1010); he was also much more than a homilist. Accounts of Ælfric's life and works: Godden, in *ODNB* (A150); entry in A100; White (G211); Skeat (B569.31) II, pp. xli–xliv and liii; Hurt (G211); Wilcox (B564), pp. 2–15; Jones (B571), pp. 5–17 and 46–51. For Cerne, see B268; for Eynsham, see B239. For his writings, see Clemoes (G210), and the editions cited below; see also Skeat (B569.31) II, pp. xxv–xli. On the **chronology** of Ælfric's works, see Clemoes (G210), and below (J3.1). Special interest attaches to the circumstances in which Ælfric made translations for Ealdorman Æthelweard in the 990s, viz. (B569.3) and (B569.5); see Lees (G214), pp. 87–8. There are further references elsewhere to Ælfric's writings in the context of Æthelred's reign: Sisam (J150), etc.; Clayton (J164), etc.

[B563.5] Bibliographical guidance: Greenfield and Robinson (A78), pp. 295–308; see also Godden (G211); L.M. Reinsma, *Ælfric: an Annotated Bibliography*, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 617 (1987), with A. Kleist, 'An Annotated Bibliography of Ælfrician Studies: 1983–1996', in T45 (2000), pp. 503–52

[B564] *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. J. Wilcox, Durham Medieval Texts 9 (1994) - contains texts of his prefaces to the First and Second series of homilies (B565), the Grammar (B589), the *Lives of Saints* (B569.3), the Old Testament translations (B569.5), etc., with an excellent introduction (pp. 1–85), and translations of the Latin prefaces (pp. 127–34)

[Excursus] It emerges from Ælfric's Latin and OE prefaces to the *Lives of the Saints* (B569.3) that he conceived all or part of his work of translation as constituting four 'books'. The 1st and 2nd books contained the passions and lives of those saints who were venerated by the English people. In 'this little book [*codicellus*]', apparently although not necessarily the 3rd of the four, were also to be found the passions and lives of those saints who were venerated by monks, in special services. And he would now draw such work to a close, after completing the 4th book. These remarks must have had a particular meaning for Ælfric, but they can be interpreted in different ways. **(a) Skeat** (B569.31), I, p. vi, and II, p. xxvii: the 1st and 2nd books were the First and Second series of *Catholic Homilies*, followed by the *Grammar* (cf. Ælfric's OE preface to the *Grammar*, in which he states that he wrote it after the two books of homilies); the *Lives of the Saints* form a third series of homilies, but would have been counted by Ælfric as his '4th' book. **(b) Prins** (G210.5), pp. 116–20: after Ælfric's two books of *Catholic Homilies*, and his *Lives of the Saints*, the '4th' book was the projected *Translations from the Old Testament*. **(c) Henel** (B568.9), pp. xlix–li: the 1st and 2nd books were the *Catholic Homilies* (with *De Temporibus Anni* as an appendix); the 3rd comprised the biblical translations; and the 4th was the *Lives of the Saints* (leaving minor works out of the count). **(d) Sisam** (B524), pp. 298–301, and Wilcox (B564), p. 157: the 1st and 2nd books were the *Catholic Homilies*; the 3rd book is tacitly understood to have been the *Grammar*; and the 4th was the *Lives of the Saints*. **(e) Clemoes** (G210), p. 224: prefers (understandably) to avoid the issue, but remarks that '4th' book might have been a scribal error for '3rd', implying that the *Lives of the Saints* was the 3rd book, and that this part of Ælfric's work stopped at that point. **(f) Lapidge** (Q212), pp. 576–7: the *Lives of the Saints* constitute the third of Ælfric's three series of reading pieces, after the *Catholic Homilies*, and a fourth was envisaged. See also Godden (B565.2), pp. lxxxvi–xciv; Godden (B565.3), pp. xxix–xxxvi; and Gretsch (Q175), pp. 2–4.

The preface to Ælfric's *Grammar* indicates that he saw that work as following the two books of *Catholic Homilies*. The reference to the 1st and 2nd 'books', in the preface to the *Lives of the Saints*, is thus most likely to relate, in the same way, to the two books of the *Catholic Homilies*, which incorporate homilies on the 'universal' saints who would have been venerated by the English people in general (B595, etc.). Note, however, that Cuthbert is the only *native* 'English' saint who is included in this category, and that more were added by Ælfric in the *Lives of the Saints* (Alban, Æthelthryth, Swithun, Oswald, and Edmund), as well as some seemingly more obscure figures from a legendary (B569.3). Yet the notion that the *Grammar* was itself the '3rd' book in a larger scheme, as supposed in (a) and (d) above, is not entirely convincing, and perhaps we should consider other interpretations. If the *Lives of the Saints* are themselves to be regarded as the '3rd' book, as supposed in (b) and (f) above, we are left with the projected '4th' book, of unspecified nature. It might have been abandoned, or overtaken by events and superseded by another plan; but it is uncertain whether it might have involved translations from the Old Testament (B569.5), or a series of Temporale homilies (cf. B566), or whatever.

[B565] Ælfric's 'Catholic Homilies', produced in two series ('First' and 'Second'), and intended for delivery on a two-year cycle. Each series (of about 40 homilies) comprised a number of **Temporale** homilies (for the moveable feasts which occur through the liturgical year, varying in relation to the date of Easter in a given year), and a number of **Sanctorale** homilies (for the fixed feasts, on saints' days, etc.). Both series of homilies were dedicated or inscribed by Ælfric to Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury (990–4), placing their composition in the early 990s. For the principal manuscripts, see Sisam (J150). The essential introduction is Godden (B565.3).

[B565.1] 'First Series' (completed *c.* 990, or a bit later). In the OE preface Ælfric, styling himself 'monk and mass-priest', states that he was sent from Bishop Ælfheah [who had succeeded Æthelwold as bishop of Winchester in 984] 'to a minster which is called Cernel, at the request of the thegn Æthelmær, whose birth and goodness are known everywhere'. MS: BL Royal 7.C.XII, lacking the preface. Description: Ker (B800), no. 257. Facsimile: Eliason and Clemoes (B813). Also, Cambridge, UL Gg.3.28, containing the First and Second series, each with the prefaces. Text and commentary: *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series / Text*, ed. P. Clemoes [and M. Godden], EETS ss 17 (1997), incorporating Clemoes's introduction, written in 1965. Text and translation: Thorpe (B565.5), vol. I. Prefaces: Wilcox (B564), pp. 107–10 and 127–8.

[B565.2] 'Second Series' (completed *c.* 992, or a bit later). MS: Cambridge, UL Gg.3.28, containing the First and Second series, each with the prefaces. Description: Ker (B800), no. 15. Text and commentary: *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series / Text*, ed. M. Godden, EETS ss 5 (1979). Text and translation: Thorpe (B565.5), vol. II. Prefaces, etc.: Wilcox (B564), pp. 111–14 and 128–30.

[B565.3] M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS ss 18 (2000), with discussion of Ælfric (p. xxi), the nature of the Catholic Homilies (pp. xxi–xxix), and the date and origin of the Catholic Homilies (pp. xxix–xxxvi), and detailed commentary on the homilies themselves.

[B565.5] *The Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. and trans. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (1843–6). Extracts in EHD no. 239.

[B566] Ælfric's 'Temporale Homilies', produced by Ælfric in two stages: TH I (Christmas to the Sunday after Pentecost [Trinity Sunday]), perhaps compiled while he was still at Cerne; and TH II (expanded version), probably completed at Eynsham. Discussion: Clemoes (G210), pp. 227–33; Godden (B565.2), pp. lxxxvi–xciv.

[B566.2] Text and commentary: *Homilies of Ælfric: a Supplementary Collection*, ed. J.C. Pope, 2 vols., EETS (1967–8). This is the standard edition of Ælfric's later homilies, including those intended for the Temporale series, among which are some written after Ælfric became abbot of Eynsham (1005); for discussion of date, see Pope, I, pp. 146–50. Translation (Pope, nos. I–XVII): Butcher (B566.4).

[B566.3] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.15.34. Description: Ker (B800), no. 86; see also A205, no. 63. Version of TH II (B566), being the second volume (Easter onwards, but incomplete at the end) of a two-volume set (of which the first, which might have contained prefaces, is lost). The homilies in the manuscript include Pope (B566.2), nos. XIII and XIV, which reflect the pressure of viking attack in the first decade of the eleventh century: see Keynes (B801), no. 22, with plates XXIIa–b (showing the operative passages from Pope, no. XIV); Godden (J47), pp. 138–9; Butcher (B566.4), pp. 119–24 (no. XIII) and 125–30 (no. XIV); and Keynes (J162.5).

[B566.4] C.A. Butcher, *God of Mercy: Ælfric's Sermons and Theology* (2006) - translation of homilies in Pope (B566.2), nos. I–XVII

[B566.5] *Wyrdwriteras* ['Historians …'], in which the author reflects on aspects of military policy. Text: Pope (B566.2), vol. 2, pp. 728–32. Translation: Cavill (A61.21), pp. 289–91. Discussion: Keynes (J23), pp. 206–8; Jones (B571), p. 49.

[B567] Ælfric's **Colloquy** (?990s). Text: *Ælfric's Colloquy*, ed. G.N. Garmonsway, rev. ed. (1978); trans. Swanton (B560, pp. 169–77) - important for social history, etc. Cf. B597.

[B568] Ælfric's **Grammar** (990s), and **Glossary** (990s). Text: *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. J. Zupitza (1880), reptd with preface by H. Gneuss (1966), and again, with a new introduction (2001). Discussion of Grammar: V. Law, 'Ælfric's *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*', reptd in Q63a, pp. 200–23. For the glossary, see B589.

[B568.5] *Excerptiones de Prisciano: the Source for Ælfric's Latin-Old English Grammar*, ed. D.W. Porter, AS Texts 4 (2002), with description of the 'Antwerp-London Manuscript', pp. 3–4

[B568.9] Ælfric's ***De Temporibus Anni***, conceived as an appendix to the *Catholic Homilies*. Text, with Latin sources and parallels: H. Henel, *Aelfric's De Temporibus Anni*, EETS os 213 (1942), reptd 1970.

[B569.3] Ælfric's **Lives of the Saints** (mid-990s). Text and translation: Skeat (B569.31), based on BL Cotton Julius E. vii (s. xi in.), described by Ker (B800), no. 162; but although this is the principal surviving manuscript, and 'early', it is evidently some way removed from Ælfric's own desk. The prefaces to the *Lives of the Saints* were added to Julius E. vii after the completion of the manuscript, suggesting complications. A major source was a Latin legendary (Q229). Ælfric added material on a number of English' saints: St Æthelthryth (Skeat, i.432–40); St Swithun (i.440–70), incl. remarks on King Edgar (i.468–70); St Oswald (ii.124–42); St Edmund (ii.314–34), incl. remarks on saints among the English (ii.332–4). Ælfric's **Latin preface** (acknowledging Æthelweard and Æthelmær): Skeat (B569.31), i.2–5; Wilcox (B564), pp. 45–51 (introduction), 119–20 (text), 131–2 (translation), and 155–7 (notes). Ælfric's **OE preface** to Ealdorman Æthelweard (with reference to Æthelmær): Skeat (B569.31), i.4–7; Wilcox (B564), pp. 50 (introduction), 120–1 (text) and 157 (notes). For modern scholarly editions of particular *Lives*, see Lapidge (B569.34) [Swithun], and Corona (B569.35) [Basil]. Note especially the 'Prayer of Moses' (i.282–304), reflecting response to viking invasions of 990s. Discussion: Lapidge (Q212), pp. 575–86; Gretsch (Q175), *passim*, but esp. pp. 7–20, for its possible connection with the 'Beneditctional of St Æthelwold'; Godden (J47.3, and esp. J47.4); Lapidge (Q180); Keynes (Q89), p. 66 (Prayer of Moses).

[B569.31] *Ælfric's Lives of Saints, being a set of sermons on Saints' Days formerly observed by the English Church*, ed. W.W. Skeat, 4 vols., EETS o.s. 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881–1900), reptd 2 vols. (1966)

[B569.32] J. Hill, 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: a Preliminary Survey', in Szarmach (T37), pp. 235–59

[B569.34] Ælfric's *Life of St Swithun*: edited in Lapidge (Q212), pp. 575–609, with translation and commentary.

[B569.35] *Ælfric's Life of Saint Basil the Great: Background and Context*, ed. G. Corona, Anglo-Saxon Texts 5 (2006)

[B569.4] Ælfric's homily ***De Falsis deis*** (?990s). Text: Pope (B566.2), II, pp. 667–724 (no. XXI), with Pope's remarks, pp. 668–9, on Ælfric's attitude to the paganism of the Danes, and p. 673, for the passage (lines 141–9) added in a reissued version (?post-1005). The reissued homily was also reworked by Archbishop Wulfstan: text, Bethurum (B575), pp. 221–4 (no. XII); translation, Swanton (B560), pp. 184–7.

[B569.5] Ælfric's **OE paraphrase** of the first six books of the **Old Testament** (990s). MSS: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509, described by Ker (B800), no. 344; BL Cotton Claudius B. iv, with illustrations, described by Ker (B800), no. 142. Facsimile (of Claudius B. iv): Dodwell and Clemoes (B813). First printed: E. Thwaites, *Heptateuchus, Liber Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi: Anglo-Saxonice* (1698). Text: *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch / Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, ed. S.J. Crawford, EETS, o.s. 160 (1922), reptd (1969), pp. 76–376 (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy) and 377–400 (Joshua). (For Judges, see B569.7.) For Ælfric's preface to Genesis, addressed to Ealdorman Æthelweard (Crawford, pp. 76–80), see also Wilcox (B568), pp. 116–19, with pp. 37–40. Hurt (G211), pp. 100–3; Griffith (M216).

[B569.7] Ælfric's OE paraphrase of the **Book of Judges** (*c.* 1000), and his sermon on the same, including his reflection on kings who were victorious through God (Alfred, Æthelstan, and Edgar). Text: Crawford (B569.5), pp. 401–14 and 414–17. Translation (extract): EHD no. 239 (i).

[B570] Ælfric's **Pastoral Letter for Wulfsige**, bishop of Sherborne (*c.* 995). Text: Fehr (B572), pp. 1–34. Text and translation: Whitelock (B401), pp. 191–226. Wilcox (B564), pp. 123 and 133, with p. 54. The letter is of interest not least for the evidence it provides of Ælfric's response to the viking invasions; for further discussion, see Keynes (Q89), pp. 63 + 66–7.

[B571] Ælfric's **Letter to the Monks of Eynsham** (*c.* 1005). Text and translation, with commentary: C.A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, CSASE 24 (1998). Wilcox (B564), pp. 123–4 and 133–4. For the foundation of Eynsham Abbey, see Keynes (J162.5).

[B572] Ælfric's **other writings**. Text: *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. B. Assmann (1889), reptd with Supplementary Introduction by P. Clemoes (1964), and *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. B. Fehr (1914), reptd with supplementary to the introduction by P. Clemoes (1966).

[B572.1] Ælfric's paraphrase of the Book of **Esther** (*c.* 1000). Text: Assmann VIII, pp. 92–101, with p. xxvii. MS (lost): Ker (B800), no. 410. See also Clayton (J164.6).

[B572.2] Ælfric's paraphrase of the Book of **Judith** (*c.* 1000). Text: Assmann IX, pp. 102–16, with pp. xxvii–xxix. MSS: Ker (B800), nos. 57, art. 73, and 178, art. 1. Mentioned by Ælfric in his Letter to Sigeweard (B572.3), as an example of how to defend a country against hostile army (Crawford, p. 48). See also Clayton (J164.5).

[B572.3] Ælfric's **Letter to Sigeweard** *æt Eastheolon* (1005 x ?), also known as his treatise '**On the Old and New Testaments**'. First printed: W. L'Isle, *A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament* (1623). Text: Assmann (B572), pp. 81–91, with pp. xxvi–xxvii. MSS: Ker (B800), nos. 344, art. 4, and nos. 220, 239, 310. Text (with L'Isle's translation): Crawford, pp. 15–75 (at pp. 32, 48). Translation: EHD no. 239 (h), extract (on bribery). The letter was addressed by Ælfric, as abbot, to Sigeweard, evidently a keen drinker. It refers to the translation of Joshua, made for Ealdorman Æthelweard (cf. B569.5), and to the usefulness of the example of Judith in times of invasion (cf. B572.2). See also Wilcox (B564), pp. 124–5, with pp. 40–4; and Hurt (G211), pp. 90–3.

[B572.6] Ælfric's **Letter to Wulfgeat** *æt Ylmandune* (1005 x ?). Text: Assmann I, pp. 1–12, with pp. xi–xvi. MSS: Ker (B800), no. 344, art. 3, and nos. 332, 338.

[B572.7] Ælfric's **Letter to Sigeferth** (1005 x ?). Text: Assmann II, pp. 12–23, with pp. xvi–xix. MS: Ker (B800), no. 209, art. 2.

[B572.8] Ælfric's **Pastoral Letters for Archbishop Wulfstan** (1002 x ?1006), comprising three in Latin and two in the vernacular. Text: Fehr (B572), pp. 35–227. The first of the letters in Latin was written 1002 x 1005 (pp. 222–7), followed by the two others (pp. 35–57 and 58–67), which were written *c.* 1005 (Clemoes, p. 243). The two letters in the vernacular (pp. 68–145, 146–221) were written soon after Ælfric became abbot of Eynsham, apparently within a year of the Latin letters (*c.* 1005–6). Discussion: Godden (J47.5), pp. 354–62.

Wulfstan of London, York and Worcester

Wulfstan was bishop of London 996–1002, archbishop of York 1002–23, and bishop of Worcester 1002–16. Entry in A100. For the proceedings of the 2002 York conference of Wulfstan, see Townend (G216), much of which is essential reading. For general bibliographical guidance, see Greenfield and Robinson (A78). For commentary on his homilies, see Godden (J47.4), etc. For his 'Commonplace Book', see B415. For his role as legislator during the reigns of Æthelred and Cnut, see Whitelock (K35), etc., and Wormald (J66, M160).

For manuscripts annotated by Archbishop Wulfstan, see Wilcox (B814) and:

[B573] N.R. Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in T21 (1971), pp. 315–31, reptd in T8.5, pp. 9–26 — the essential study, which identified Wulfstan's hand in several manuscripts (each significant in its own way), including all of the following:

[B573.5] BL Cotton Nero A. i (tracts, homilies, law-codes, etc.). Description: Ker (B800), no. 164. Facsimile: Loyn (B813).

[B573.6] Copenhagen, Kongelike Bibliothek, Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595 4to (collection of excerpts, sermons, etc.). Description: Ker (B800), no. 99. Facsimile: Cross and Tunberg (B813).

[B573.7] BL Cotton Vespasian A. xiv (Alcuin's letters and other texts). Description: Ker (B800), no. 204. Includes Latin verses on Archbishop Wulfstan, in Wulfstan's hand (fol. 148v): text in Ker (B573), pp. 326–7; facsimile in Cross and Tunberg (B813), pl. I; translation in Cross and Tunberg (B813), p. 45. Also includes text of the Council of Chelsea 816 (B408). Analysis: G. Mann, 'The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', in Townend (G216), pp. 235–78.

[B573.8] The York Gospels (gospel-book, with estate surveys, homilies, and other texts added at end). Description: Ker (B800), no. 402. Facsimile: Barker (B212). Discussion of the additions in OE: Keynes (K38).

[B573.9] BL Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (Tiberius I) (cartulary, including copies of Worcester leases). Description: Ker (B800), no. 190. Analysis: S. Baxter, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God's Property', in Townend (G216), pp. 161–205.

[B575] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. D. Bethurum (1957) - the standard edition of the homilies, with excellent introduction and notes

[B576] Wulfstan's **Sermo ad Anglos** (? x 1014), being his famous diatribe on the state of the nation at (or towards) the end of the reign of King Æthelred the Unready; to be used for historical purposes with all due care and attention. Text: *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. D. Whitelock, 3rd ed. (1963); Marsden (B516), pp. 209–20; also in Bethurum (B575), no. XX, pp. 22–4 (manuscripts), 255–75 (texts of three variant versions) and 355–64 (notes). Translation: EHD no. 240; also in Swanton (B560), pp. 178–84. For discussion, see Bethurum (G215); Godden (J47.4); etc.

[B577] Wulfstan's **Institutes of Polity** (*c.* 1020) — important tract on political thought, with reflections on roles of kings, bishops, reeves, *et al.* Development of the text: *I Polity* in CCCC 201 (Ker (B800), no. 49B, art. 42), and Nero A. i (ibid. no. 164, art. 1); extra bits for *II Polity* in CCCC 201 and Nero A. i (see Ker); expanded version of *II Polity* in Junius 121 (Ker (B800), no. 338). Text (all versions, in parallel cols.): *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical'*, ed. K. Jost (1959). Text and translation (expanded version of *II Polity*): Thorpe (B375) vol. II, pp. 304–41. Translation (expanded version of *II Polity*): Swanton (B560), pp. 187–201.

A prose translation of the **Gospels** was made apparently in the late tenth century, and is preserved in several eleventh-century copies:

[B578] *The Old English Version of the Gospels* I: *Text and Introduction*, ed. R.M. Liuzza, EETS os 304 (1994); II: *Notes and Glossary*, ed. R.M. Liuzza, EETS os 314 (2000). Manuscripts include: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 140, written by a certain Ælfric at Bath abbey; see Ker (B800), no. 35, and Budny (B802), no. 38, pp. 577–92, with pls. 486–533. Other manuscripts: Ker (B800), nos. 1, 20 (Exeter), 181 (?Malmesbury), 245, 312, 322, and 325. First printed in 1571 (S26.3).

Historians need to know more about the routines of monastic life. Some of the details are enshrined in the *Regularis Concordia* (B435); see also Ælfric's 'Letter to the Monks of Eynsham' (B571). For the duties of the dean of a monastic community, see 'Ælfwine's Prayerbook' (B478). For the liturgy, see Bedingfield (B438), and Gittos and Bedingfield (B439).

[B579] Miscellany of various 'monastic' texts in **BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii** (Ker (B800), no. 186), perhaps a handbook for an archbishop.

[B579.5] H. Gneuss, 'Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: the Case of Cotton Tiberius A. III', *Of the Making of Books*, ed. P. R. Robinson and R. Zim (1997), pp. 13–48

[B579.6] T.-A. Cooper, 'The Homilies of a Pragmatic Archbishop's Handbook in Context: Cotton Tiberius A. iii', *ANS* 28 (2006), 47–64; T.-A. Cooper, 'Lay Piety, Confessional Directives and the Compiler's Method in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *HSJ* 16 (2006), 47–61

[B579.7] Tiberius A. iii also includes a short tract on **monastic sign-language**. Text and translation: *Monasteriales Indicia: the Anglo-Saxon Monastic Sign Language*, ed. D. Banham (Pinner, 1991; rev. ed. Hockwold-cum-Wilton, 1996). See also D. Sherlock, 'Anglo-Saxon Monastic Sign Language at Christ Church, Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 107 (1989), 1–27.

For the 'Vision of (Earl) Leofric', see Napier (L90).

Miscellaneous sources
Glossaries and glosses

Glossaries, and glosses, are an invaluable source for the history of learning and education in ASE, and can be useful for the understanding of certain aspects of vernacular terminology; but the material is extremely difficult to handle. Some glossaries are collections of glosses compiled in relation to the study of specific literary works; others have been arranged alphabetically; and some were conceived as class-glossaries, comprising groups of words on particular subjects. All have complex textual histories. From the historian's point of view, particularly interesting groups of words occur especially in B587 and B589. On the study of glossaries, see Lendinara (T63). See also entries in A100.

[B580] T. Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2nd ed., ed. R.P. Wülcker, 2 vols. (1884) - texts in vol. 1, indices in vol. 2; notoriously unreliable in detail, but still useful. Wright-Wülcker (B580) nos. I–XII (cols. 1–535) are pre-Conquest; nos. XIII–XX are later.

[B581] H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, EETS os 83 (1885), pp. 1–123 - provides some account of the 'early' glossaries

[B582] A.S. Napier, *Old English Glosses, chiefly unpublished* (1900); H. D. Meritt, *Old English Glosses (A Collection)* (1945)

For collections of glosses compiled in the early Anglo-Saxon period, see:

[B583] The 'Leiden Glossary' (Ker (B800) no. App. 18), and related collections. For discussion of their significance, and references, see M. Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *ASE* 15 (1986), 45–72, at 54–62 and 67–72, reptd in T19 (1996)

[B584] The 'Corpus Glossary', and related collections (Ker (B800) nos. 36 (CCCC 144), 114 (Épinal), App. 10 (Erfurt) and App. 39 (Werden)); facsimiles in B813. Discussion: J.D. Pheifer, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossaries* (1974, reptd 1998); J. D. Pheifer, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury', *ASE* 16 (1987), 17–44; Lapidge (B583), pp. 57–8. CCCC 144 ptd J. H. Hessels, *An Eighth-Century Latin - Anglo-Saxon Glossary* (1890); see also B580, no. I (cols. 1–54). For CCCC 144, see also A200, no. 63.

For collections of glosses compiled in the later Anglo-Saxon period, see:

[B585] BL Cotton Cleopatra A. iii (Ker no. 143), s. x med., from St Augustine's, Canterbury. Ker's art. 1 (also in BL Cotton Otho E. i (Ker no. 184)), compiled from various sources, incl. Aldhelm and a collection related to the 'Corpus Glossary'; ptd B580, no. XI (cols. 338–473). Ker's art. 2, arranged mainly by subjects; ptd B580, no. VIII (cols. 258–83) and no. XII (col. 474 – col. 485/19). Ker's art. 3, from Aldhelm; ptd B580, no. XII (col. 485/21 - col. 535). Text: *The Cleopatra Glossaries*, ed. P. Rusche (forthcoming). P. Lendinara, 'The Glossaries in London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii', *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, ed. R. Bergmann, *et al.* (2001), pp. 189–215.

[B586] BL Harley 3376 (Ker no. 240), s. x/xi, from the west of England. Alphabetical glossary of rare words (A–F). Text: R.T. Oliphant, *The Harley Latin - Old English Glossary* (1966) [cf. H. Schabram in *Anglia* 86 (1968), 450–500]; B580, no. VI (cols. 192–247). See also M.W. Herren, in T27, pp. 371–9; and J. Cooke, in *Anglia* 115 (1997), 441–68.

[B587] The Abingdon Glossary (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum M.16.2 (47) + BL Add. 32246), written in the first half of the 11th century. Description: Ker (B800), no. 2, and Porter (B568.5), pp. 3–4; see also B282. Discussion: D.W. Porter, 'On the Antwerp-London Glossaries', *JEGP* 98 (1999), 170–92, and 'The Earliest Texts with English and French', *ASE* 28 (1999), 87–110. Ker, art. d (= Porter, Article 6, pp. 181–6), is a large Latin-English class-glossary drawn from Ælfric's *Glossary*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, etc. Text: L. Kindschi, 'The Latin - Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS 32 and British Museum MS Additional 32,246' (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Stanford Univ., 1955; copy *penes* SDK); see also Wright-Wülcker (B580), nos. IV (cols. 104–67) and V (cols. 168–91), mistakenly attributed to ('Archbishop') Ælfric, and based on a s. xvi transcript (Bodl. Junius 71) which conflates Ker, arts. c and d. Cf. Keynes (J23), pp. 145–7.

[B588] Brussels, Bib. roy. 1828–30 (Ker no. 9), s. xi.1. Includes short glossaries arranged by subject (birds, seafaring terms, parts of the body, fishes, plants), related to Cleopatra A. iii (B585), art. 2; ptd B580, no. IX (cols. 284–303).

[B589] Ælfric's *Glossary*, appended to his *Grammar*. Oxford, St John's College, MS. 154 (Ker no. 362), and other MSS. Text: Zupitza (B568), pp. 297–322; see also B580, no. X (cols. 304–37), from BL Cotton Julius A. ii (Ker no. 158), and B580, no. XIII (cols. 536–53), from Worcester Cathedral F.174 (Ker no. 398). Preface: Wilcox (B564), pp. 114–16 and 130.

The two other pre-Conquest 'glossaries' in B580 are derived from interlinear glosses in specific literary texts. BL Cotton Vespasian D. vi (Ker no. 207), s. x med. (Kentish): ptd in U. Kalbhen, *Kentische Glossen und kentischer Dialekt im Altenglischen* (2003); also ptd B580, no. II (cols. 55–88). BL Cotton Tiberius A. vii (Ker no. 189), s. xi.1; ptd B580, no. VII (cols. 248–57), and K. Toth, in *Anglia* 102 (1984), 1–36.

Computus (on the ecclesiastical calendar)

For guidance on the computus, see Bede (D184.2, D184.3), Günzel (B478), and entries in A100 on computus, Easter controversy, etc.; see also Hollis and Wright (A78a), pp. 185–95. On Bede and chronology, see also McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 86–97.

[B590] *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. P.S. Baker and M. Lapidge, EETS ss 15 (1995), superseding earlier edition by S.J. Crawford (1929); see also G221, and further bibliography in Hollis and Wright (A78a), pp. 149–84. Written in 1011. The wealth of material in Oxford, St John's College, MS. 17 (B599), is essential for understanding of Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*.

For Byrhtferth and his other writings, see G220, etc.

Manuscripts containing 'medical' recipes, prognostics, etc.

See entries in A100 on Herbals, Medical literature, etc.; Hollis and Wright (A78a), pp. 199–383, esp. 211–18 (Leechbook), 219–29 (Lacnunga), 311–24 (Herbarium); and Meaney (N38), etc.

[B591] 'Bald's Leechbook' (BL Royal 12 D. xvii), written s. x med. Manuscript: Ker (B800), no. 264. Facsimile: B813. Text and translation: *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, ed. T.O. Cockayne, 3 vols., RS 35 (1864–6), reptd with a new introduction by C. Singer (1961), vol. II. Includes a recipe devised by the Patriarch Helias for King Alfred

(ed. Cockayne, pp. 288–90). See also Swanton (B560), pp. 257–62; R.S. Nokes, 'The Several Compilers of Bald's *Leechbook*', *ASE* 33 (2004), 51–76.

[B592] 'Lacnunga' (BL Harley 585, fols. 130–93), being a collection of herb-recipes, charms, etc., written s. x/xi. Manuscript: Ker (B800), no. 231. Text and translation: Cockayne (B591), vol. III, pp. 2–80; H.G. Grattan and C. Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (1952), pp. 96–204.

[B593] The Old English Illustrated Herbal (e.g. in BL Cotton Vitellius C. iii), and the Old English *Medicina de Quadrupedibus* (ditto), written s. xi.1. Manuscript: Ker (B800), no. 219. Facsimile: B813. Text: *The Old English Herbarium* and *Medicina de Quadrupedibus*, ed. H.J. de Vriend, EETS (1984), pp. 1–233 and 234–73. Text & translation: Cockayne (B591), vol. I.

[B594] M.L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (1993); G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (1948); Grattan and Singer (B592), pp. 3–94; Singer, in Cockayne (B591, reprinted 1961) I, pp. xi–xlvii.

[B594a] S. Hollis, 'Scientific and Medical Writings', in A51.3 (2001), pp. 188–208
See also Meaney (N38), etc.

Saints, relics of saints, and saints' resting-places

The cycle of feast-days, as set down in the ecclesiastical calendar, was an important part of the daily life of a properly Christian society, and not least for this reason was the subject of royal legislation: see *Alfred*, ch. 43; *II Edgar*, chs. 3–5; *V Æthelred*, chs. 11–20, and *VI Æthelred*, chs. 22–4 [St Edward's Day, if not here an interpolation]; *Cnut 1020*, ch. 19; I Cnut, chs. 16–17 [adding St Edward and St Dunstan]; and the ending of the OE *Menologium* (B595). For calendars, see Rushforth (B432), and thereabouts. For texts gathering together what was known of the saints themselves, see (e.g.) the OE Martyrology (B561), and Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* (B565) and *Lives of the Saints* (B569.3); see also Section Q, *passim*. For the contrast between the universal saints, covered by Ælfric in his *Catholic Homilies* I and II, and an additional range of saints (some more obscure saints, and several English saints), covered in his *Lives of the Saints*, see Whatley (Q224.5), pp. 441–4 and 460–72. For relics, and relic-cults, see entry in A100. The indispensable survey of relics is Thomas (Q190); see also Rollason (Q150), Rollason (Q165), etc. On the resting-places of saints, see Rollason (Q150); map in Hill's *Atlas* (A260), p. 152; Barlow (B90), p. 148, n. 102; Keynes (B450), pp. 99–101; Love (Q205), p. xlviii; etc.

[B595] The OE *Menologium*, which serves as a reminder of the saints' days throughout the year. Text, found at the beginning of *ASC*, MS. C: O'Keeffe (B47), pp. 3–10. Translation: K. Malone, 'The OE Calendar Poem', in *Studies in Language ...*, ed. E. Bagby Atwood and A.A. Hill (1969), pp. 193–9.
For various metrical calendars, see B428, and references.

[B596] Tract on 'The Saints of England', comprising (a) an account of the Kentish and East Anglian royal saints, and (b) an account of the resting-places of (other) saints; compiled probably at Winchester in the late tenth or early eleventh century, and preserved in CCCC 201 and in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester. Text: *Die Heiligen Englands*, ed. F. Liebermann (1889), pp. 1–9 (Kentish and East Anglian saints) and 9–19 (resting-places of saints); and Birch (B263), pp. 87–94. Versions or elements of the vernacular tract on 'The Saints of England' lie behind a number of later texts of a similar nature, some of which contain additional or variant information. For an example of such material from Peterborough, see Mellows (B241), pp. 56–64, trans. Mellows and Mellows (B241), pp. 30–3. See also Butler (Q150) and Blair (Q150).

[B596.5] Tract listing relics given by King Æthelstan to Exeter, in the 'Leofric Gospels' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D.2.16 (Ker (B800), no. 291)). Text: M. Förster, *Zur Geschichte des Reliquienkultus in Altengland* (1943), pp. 63–114. Translation: Swanton (B560), pp. 19–24. Text, translation, and discussion: Conner (Q136.5), pp. 171–209, at 176–87.

Colloquies

[B597] Ælfric Bata's *Colloquies*, written, perhaps at Canterbury, in the early eleventh century, giving a remarkable view of the world from inside a monastery, with imagined conversations between a teacher and students, on a variety of subjects such as drinking (pp. 94–106), writing (pp. 110–116, 130–6), the use of money (pp. 134–6), terms of abuse (pp. 136–58, at 138), the equipment of a monastery (pp. 160–4), theft (pp. 164–70), etc. Text and translation: *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: the Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. S. Gwara and tr. D.W. Porter (1997). Text: *Early Scholastic Colloquies*, ed. W.H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1929), pp. 27–66. Discussion: Lapidge (G200), pp. 98–9; Lendinara (T63).

Knowledge of the world (Latin & Old English)

For knowledge of computus, see Bede (D184.3), Byrhtferth (B590), and the 'secular learning' covered by Hollis and Wright (A78a); and Hollis (B594a). See also Howe (P215).

[B598.1] The Latin text known as 'The Wonders of the East', describing marvels seen in foreign parts, was read, translated and illustrated in ASE: see Orchard (B538a), pp. 18–27 (discussion), 175–81 (Latin text), and 183–203 (OE text and translation); see also M.R. James, *Marvels of the East: a Full Reproduction of the Three Known Copies*, Roxburghe Club (1929), with facsimiles of BL Cotton Vitellius A. xv, 98v–106v, and BL Cotton Tiberius B. v, fols. 78v–87v. There are modern facsimile-editions in the series EEMF (B813). The Latin 'Letter of Alexander [the Great] to Aristotle', giving an account of wonders seen in India, was also read and translated in ASE: see Orchard (B538a), pp. 116–39 (discussion), 204–23 (Latin text), and 224–53 (OE text and translation). Both texts (the 'Wonders of the East' and the 'Letter of Alexander') were among the sources used by the author of the *Liber monstrorum* (regarded as an Anglo-Latin text, probably compiled in the period 650–750), which itself provides a catalogue of over 100 monsters: see Orchard (B538a), pp. 86–115 (discussion) and 254–317 (text and translation). And both texts (in OE) are preserved in association with *Beowulf*. For the three monsters in *Beowulf* (Grendel, Grendel's mother, and the dragon), see Orchard (B538a), pp. 28–57.

[B598.2] BL Cotton Vespasian B. vi, fols. 104–9: a compendium of useful knowledge defining the world-order, including a list of the kings of Israel, a list of popes, biblical lore, Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists (for provinces of Canterbury and York), and Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies (for 'Anglian' kingdoms), brought together in the early ninth century by a 'Mercian' scholar, or perhaps in fact by a 'Kentish' scholar, using material reaching back to Archbishop Theodore's Canterbury and beyond. For the manuscript, see Thompson (B796), pp. 79–80. For the royal genealogies, see Dumville (B480); for the episcopal lists, see Page (B490); see also Howe (P215), pp. 12–15. For the collection as a whole, see Keynes (E180), and for the historical context, see Keynes (E28).

[B598.3] The account of northern Europe in the **OE Orosius**. Text: Bately (F170), pp. 12–18, comprising [i] an account of *Germania* (p. 12 line 17 – p. 13 line 28), [ii] Ohthere's account of his voyage in the far north (p. 13 line 29 – p. 16 line 20), and [iii] Wulfstan's account of his voyage in the Baltic (p. 16 line 21 – p. 18 line 2). See also Lund (P3), pp. 16–25 (text and translation), with maps; Swanton (B560), pp. 62–7; J. Bately, 'The Language of Ohthere's Report to King Alfred: Some Problems and Some Puzzles for Historians and Linguists', in T111, pp. 39–53

[B598.4] Collection of useful knowledge put together at Canterbury in the second quarter of the eleventh century, now **BL Cotton Tiberius B. v**. Description and bibliography: Temple (B807), no. 87. Facsimile (with full description and discussion): McGurk, *et al.* (B813). The book contains the earliest surviving **map** showing the British Isles in a recognisable form (Tiberius B. v, fol. 65v); the sources on which the map is based are not known. See A205, no. 164, with fig. on p. 161, and Hill (A260), pp. 1–3. Discussion: 'The Mappa Mundi', in McGurk, *et al.* (B813), pp. 79–87; Howe (P215). For the 'Labours of the Months', in this book, see N7. A digital edition of the map, ed. M. Foys and S. Westrem, is forthcoming.

[B599] Oxford, St John's College, MS. 17 + BL Cotton Nero C. vii, fols. 80–4. Produced at Thorney, *c.* 1110, but based in large part on material assembled by Abbo at Ramsey, *c.* 985, and by Byrhtferth at Ramsey, *c.* 1000; also incorporating some Ramsey and Thorney annals. Description: R. Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St John's College, Oxford* (2002), pp. <00–00>; F. Wallis, 'MS Oxford Saint John's College 17', unpubl. doctoral dissertation, Toronto (1985); C. Hart, 'The Ramsey Computus', *EHR* 85 (1970), 29–44; Baker and Lapidge (B590), pp. liii–lv. For the annals, see Hart (B243a). 'Diagram of the Physical and Physiological Fours' (fol. 7v): Baker and Lapidge (B590), pp. 373–4 (transcription), with pp. 10–17 (Byrhtferth's adaptation); *Medieval Panorama*, ed. R. Bartlett (2001), p. 204 (superb colour reproduction). The manuscript was the subject of a special conference at St John's College, Oxford, on 2 October 2004, held in connection with the publication by McGill University (Canada) and the Oxford Digital Library of a digital facsimile of the whole book, with introduction and commentary, ed. F. Wallis, *et al.* [not yet seen]. See also Semper (G224).

VI. EXTRANEOUS (CONTINENTAL) SOURCES

Papal, Frankish, and German sources

There is of course a vast range of primary source material for the continent, so what follows is necessarily highly selective. The essential point is that while the historian of Anglo-Saxon England has a certain amount to learn from continental sources which bear *directly* or indirectly on dealings with Anglo-Saxon England, he or she has even more to learn from perusal of annals, chronicles, saints' *Lives*, royal biographies, charters, law-codes, etc., which bear only *by analogy* on Anglo-Saxon England.

For **royal biography** and **hagiography**, see (B100), etc., and (B160), etc. The *Lives* of Charlemagne (B100), Louis the Pious (B105), Gerald of Aurillac (B108), and others, as well as continental Germanic **law-codes** (B380) and Carolingian **capitularies** (B601.5, B601.6), are all of the utmost importance for purposes of comparison. For **papal letters** and **charters**, see (B362), etc. For an instructive conspectus of the sources for the reign of Charles the Bald (840–77), see Nelson (F2), pp. 269–78. For some of the key sources which bear directly on Anglo-Saxon England, see EHD nos. 20–7.

For facsimiles of Carolingian, Ottonian and Salian **charters**, in their original form, see the exhibition catalogues (A232), (A240), (A245) and (A246); and for editions of Merovingian, Carolingian, Ottonian and Salian charters, see the MGH website (B600), and B610, B611, etc.

[B600] Monumenta Germaniae Historica. The MGH website <www.mgh.de> provides a link to MGH Digital <www.dmgh.de/index.html>, from which one is able to access pdf versions of seemingly all MGH publications, in various series: Scriptores; Leges; Diplomata; Epistolae; Antiquitates (including Poetae Latini Medii Aevi, Necrologia Germaniae, Libri memoriales, etc.). A most impressive and valuable site, if one is looking for texts of Carolingian chronicles, charters, letters, or whatever, or for Ottonian and Salian records.

[B601] *Liber Pontificalis*, comprising potted biographies of popes from St Peter onwards. Text: *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols. (1886–92), with 3rd vol. by C. Vogel (1955–7). Translation: R. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs* (1989), covering popes from St Peter to Constantine (708–15); R. Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes* (1992), covering popes from Gregory II (715–31) to Stephen IV (816–17); and R. Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes* (1995), covering popes from Paschal (817–24) to Stephen V (885–91), and including Leo IV (847–55). Discussion: McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 32–3.

Some collections of primary sources in translation
[B601.5] H.R. Loyn and J. Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration* (1975)
[B601.6] P.D. King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (1987) - includes annals, the Astronomer's *Life of Louis the Pious* (B105), capitularies, etc.
[B601.7] P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: a Reader* (1993), 2nd ed. [enlarged] (2004) - includes variety of sources for the whole period from *c.* 750 to *c.* 900

Merovingian chronicles and charters
For discussion of Merovingian historical writing, see McKitterick (A60.10)
[B602] Gregory of Tours (*c.* 538–94), **History of the Franks** - on the mess that is Merovingian history in the sixth century. Translation: L. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours: The History of the Franks*, PC (1974). Discussion: M. Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century* (2001); see also Goffart (D155).
[B603] The *Chronicle* **of Fredegar** - conceived as a continuation of Gregory's work, covering the first half of the seventh century, with continuations covering the later seventh and eighth centuries (drawn in part from the *Liber Historiae Francorum*). Text and translation: *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, ed. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (1960). Discussion: McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 36–9.
[B604] *Liber Historiae Francorum* - a Neustrian chronicle, focussing on the period s. vii/viii, probably composed in or near Paris, *c.* 730 (at about the time Bede was writing the *HE*). Translation: *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. B.S. Bachrach (1973). Discussion: R.A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (1987).
[B604a] *Vita Domnae Balthidis* (*Life* of **Balthild**), a 'Saxon' slave who became queen of the Franks in the mid-seventh century; see entry on her by J. Nelson, in the *ODNB* (A150). Translation: P. Fouracre and R.A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (1996), pp. 97–118 (commentary) and 118–32 (translation); and Q226, pp. 264–78. See also J.-P. Laporte, *Le trésor des saints de Chelles* (1988); J.-P. Laporte, 'La reine Balthilde ou l'ascension sociale d'une esclave', *La Femme au Moyen Age*, ed. M. Rouche and J. Heuclin (1990), pp. 147–69; and catalogue entries (A233.5), nos. 117 and 169 (for Balthild's chasuble, and other remarkable items).

[B604.5] *Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, ed. T. Kölzer with M. Hartmann and A. Stieldorf, 2 vols., MGH Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica (2001), for Merovingian charters, *c.* 600–730

Carolingian chronicles and charters
For Carolingian royal biography, see B100, etc.

[B605] The **Royal Frankish Annals**. Translation: B.W. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles: 'Royal Frankish Annals' and Nithard's 'Histories'* (1970). Discussion: McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 97–100 and 101–19.

[B605.5] Paul the Deacon, *Histora langobardorum*, written probably to promote Carolingian interests in Italy in the late eighth century, after Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774. Translation: W.D. Foulke, rev. E. Peters, *Paul the Deacon, History of the Lombards* (1907), rev. (1974), rev. (2003), with bibliographical note, pp. 331–2. Discussion: McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 60–83, esp. 70; see also Goffart (D155).

[B606] The **Annals of Saint-Bertin**, including coverage of the reign of Charles the Bald (840–77). Translation: J.L. Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, Ninth-Century Histories 1 (1991); superseding the selection in EHD no. 23. Text and German translation: *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, II: *Jahrbücher von St. Bertin / Jahrbücher von St. Vaast / Xantener Jahrbücher*, ed. R. Rau, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 6 (1958), 12–287.

[B607] The **Annals of Fulda**, covering events in the eastern part of the Frankish empire from the 830s to 901. Translation: T. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, Ninth-Century Histories 2 (1992). Text and German translation: *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, III: *Jahrbücher von Fulda / Regino Chronik / Notker Taten Karls*, ed. R. Rau, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 7 (1960), 20–177. Discussion: McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 33–6.

[B608] The **Annals of Saint-Vaast**, for the movements of the viking armies in the 880s and early 890s. Text and German translation: Rau (B606), pp. 290–337. English translation: annals 882–6, in Dutton (B601.7), pp. 477–81; a translation by S. Coupland is forthcoming.

[B609] *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter den Karolingern 751–918*, ed. J.F. Böhmer, rev. E. Mühlbacher and J. Lechner, Regesta Imperii 1 (1908). <*Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter … 919–1024*, ed. J. F. Böhmer, rev., Regesta Imperii 2 (1950–71).> *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Konrad II., 1024–1039*, ed. J.F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii 3.I.i (1951).

[B609a] G. Tessier, *Diplomatique Royale Française* (1962)

[B610] Charters of Charlemagne (768–814): *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Großen (Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata)*, ed. E. Mühlbacher, MGH Diplomata Karolinorum / Die Urkunden der Karolinger 1 (1906). Text: online MGH (B600). Selection translated in B601.5, pp. 136–50. Charters of Louis the Pious (814–40): *Diplomata Ludovici Pii Imperatoris*, ed. M. Bouquet, Receuil des historiens des Gaules 6 (1749), 455–632; *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, ed. P. Johanek, MGH Diplomata Karolinorum / Die Urkunden der Karolinger 2 (forthcoming). Charters of Charles the Bald (840–77): *Receuil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. G. Tessier, 3 vols. (1943–55). Etc.

[B610a] R.-H. Bautier, 'La chancellerie et les actes royaux dans les royaumes carolingiens', *BEC* 142 (1984), 5–80; see also M. Mersiowsky, 'Towards a Reappraisal of Carolingian Sovereign Charters', in Heidecker (M204), pp. 15–25

The tenth and eleventh centuries

[B610.2] Flodoard, priest and canon of Rheims (894–966), *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, written in the mid-10th century. Text: *Flodoard von Reims, Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. M. Stratmann, MGH Scriptores 36 (1998). Discussion: M. Sot, *Un historien et son église au X siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (1993).

[B610.3] Flodoard, *Annales*. Catalogue entry: Puhle (A240), ii.5 (I.2). Text: P. Lauer, *Les Annales de Flodoard* (1905). Translation: S. Fanning and B.S. Bachrach, *The 'Annals' of Flodoard of Reims 919–966* (2004). Translation (extracts): EHD, no. 24 (on King Æthelstan, *et al.*); van Houts (R26), pp. 42–51 (no. 10).

[B610.4] Richer of Saint-Remi (fl. 990s), *Historiae*. Catalogue entry: Puhle (A240), ii.450–1 (VI.36). Text: *Richer von Saint-Remi, Historiae*, ed. H. Hoffmann, MGH Scriptores 38 (2000), with facsimile. Text and French translation: *Richer: Histoire de France (888–995)*, ed. R. Latouche, Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age, 2 vols. (1930–7).

[B610.5] French (Capetian) charters, issued in the names of Hugh Capet (987–96), Robert the Pious (996–1031), Henry I (1031–60), and Philip I (1060–1108). F. Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hughes Capet* (1903); W.M. Newman, *Catalogue des actes de Robert II, roi de France* (1937); F. Soehnée, *Catalogue des actes d'Henri I* (1907); M. Prou, *Recueil des actes de Philippe I* (1908). For the study of Capetian charters, see Lemarignier (J130).

[B610.6] B.-M. Tock, M. Courtois and M.-J. Gasse-Grandjean, *La diplomatique française du Haut Moyen Age: Inventaire des chartes originales anterieures à 1121 conservées en France*, 2 vols., ARTEM 4 (2001) - introduction to the different kinds of charter, with a comprehensive list of 'originals', arranged year-by-year [CUL MSS Room, A145.50]

[B610.7] M. Parisse, P. Pégeot and B.-M. Tock, *Pancartes monastiques des XIe et XIIe siècles*, ARTEM 3 (1998)

[B611] German (Ottonian and Salian) charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Charters of Henry I (919–36) and Otto I (936–73): *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I (Conradi I., Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata)*, ed. T. Sickel, MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae / Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser 1 (1879–84). Charters of Otto II (973–83), Otto III (983–1002), Henry II (1002–24), Conrad II (1024–39), Henry III (1039–56), and Henry IV (1056–1106) in same series. Selection translated in Hill (B612).

[B612] B.H. Hill, *Medieval Monarchy in Action: the German Empire from Henry I to Henry IV* (1972) - translations of extracts from literary sources, and of numerous charters, covering Ottonian and Salian kings from Henry I (919–36) to Henry IV (1056–1106), with introduction and commentary

[B612a] Widukind (Wittekind) of Corvey (*c.*925–*c.*1004), *Res gestae Saxonicæ*, covering the history of the 'Saxons' in the tenth century, in three books: bk I, on the *gens Saxonum*, up to death of Henry I in 936 (and including the marriage of his son Otto to Edith, sister of King Æthelstan, in 929 (i.37); bk II, on first part of the reign of Otto I, ending (significantly) with the death of his (English) wife Edith in 946, and her burial at Magdeburg (ii.41); bk III, on the rest of Otto's reign, to his death in 973. Dedicated to Mathilda, abbess of Quedlinburg (d. of Otto I by his second wife Adelheid). Catalogue entry: Puhle (A240), ii.3–5 (I.1). Latin text: *Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, ed. G. Waitz and K.A. Kehr, MGH SRG, 4th ed. (1904), ed. H.-E. Lohmann and P. Hirsh, MGH SRG (1935). Translation: none (that I am aware of, though there is said to be one, by Henry Mayr-Harting, in the History Faculty Library, University of Oxford); extracts in Hill (B612), pp. 113–15 (coronation of Otto I at Aachen in 936) and 115–17 (warfare against Slavs).

[B612b] Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, *Gesta Ottonis*. Catalogue entry: Puhle (A240), ii.357–60 (V.32). Translation: none, but see Head (Q227), pp. 240–2; extracts in Hill (B612), pp. 118–37.

[B612c] Liudprand of Cremona, *Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis*. Catalogue entry: Puhle (A240), ii.459–61 (VI.42). Translation: F.A. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (1930); extracts in Hill (B612), pp. 137–49.

[B612d] Adalbold of Utrecht (*c.*972–1026), *Life* of the **Emperor Henry II** (1002–24). Catalogue entry: Kirmeier (A245), pp. 184–5 (no. 57).

[B613] Helgaud of Fleury, *Life* of King **Robert the Pious** (996–1031), son of Hugh Capet. Text and French translation: *Helgaud de Fleury: Vie de Robert le Pieux*, ed. R-H. Bautier and G. Labory (1965).

[B614] Rodulfus Glaber (first half of the eleventh century), *Histories*. Text and translation: *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. J. France, OMT (1989).

[B614a] T.E. Mommsen and K.F. Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century* (1962), including translations of Wipo's '**Deeds of Conrad II**' (B110), and the anonymous '**Life of the Emperor Henry IV**'

[B615] Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, covering events in the late tenth and early eleventh century. Catalogue entries: Puhle (A240), ii.136–8 (III.20); Kirmeier (A245), pp. 183–4 (no. 56). Online edition and facsimile of the Dresden manuscript, ed. A. Mentzel-Reuters and G. Schmitz (2002), on the MGH website at <http://141.84.81.24/thietmar/>. Text and German translation: *Thietmar von Merseburg: Chronik*, ed. W. Trillmich, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 9 (1957). Translation: *Ottonian Germany: the Chronicon of Thietmar or Merseburg*, ed. D.A. Warner, Manchester Medieval Sources (2001, pb). For a translation of passages concerning the Danes in England (1012–16), see EHD I, no. 27.

[B615.5] Annals of Quedlinburg, covering events in the tenth and eleventh centuries, from the viewpoint of the female religious community at Quedlinburg, founded by Otto I and his mother Mathilda. Text: *Die Annales quedlinburgenses*, ed. M. Giese, MGH, SRG in usum scholarum 72 (2004).

[B616] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* (Graves (A76), no. 2149), written *c.* 1080. In four books: bk I on activities of missionaries (Anskar, *et al.*) in the north; bk II on 10th- and early 11th-century archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, incl. material on reigns of Swein Forkbeard and Cnut (e.g. Tschan, pp. 90–3); bk III on Archbishop Adalbert (1043–72), incl. material on reign of Edward the Confessor etc. (e.g. pp. 124–5, 158–9); bk IV on the islands of the north. Cataogue entry: Puhle (A240), ii.7–9 (I.4). Text: *Adam von Bremen, Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, ed. B. Schmeidler, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum (1917). Text and German translation: *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, ed. W. Trillmich and R. Buchner, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 11

(1978), 160–502. Translation: F.J. Tschan, *Adam of Bremen: History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* (1959), reptd with introduction by T. Reuter (2002).

VII. ANGLO-NORMAN AND LATER SOURCES
The Norman Conquest
The principal sources bearing on the Norman Conquest are registered elsewhere. For Normandy in the eleventh century, see Dudo of Saint-Quentin (R30), and the corpus of Norman charters (R40). The events of the Conquest itself can be seen through many different pairs of eyes. The 'English' view: the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (B65); the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (B90). The 'Norman' view: William of Jumièges (R45); William of Poitiers (R50); Orderic Vitalis (R55); the Bayeux Tapestry (R105). Other views: the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio* (R100). For the reign of William I, see section R. Domesday Book (1086) is essential for our understanding of the kingdom of the English during the reign of Edward the Confessor, and for our understanding of the impact of the Norman settlement in 1066–86; see below, R230, etc.

Charters and house-histories
For histories and records of religious houses, see above, section B (III); and for the cultivation of the Anglo-Saxon past, from the late eleventh century onwards, see below, section R (VIII). See also Goetz (R374), Paxton (R375), Crick (R376), etc.

Anglo-Norman historians
The works of the principal Anglo-Norman historians (WM, FW/JW, HH, SD) are of the utmost importance, for three reasons: (i) because they contain useful infomation not recorded elsewhere; (ii) because they show how important was the Anglo-Saxon past to the Anglo-Normans themselves (see above); and (iii) because these works were so influential in the formation of the mainstream of English historical tradition, and thus in determining how the subject has been approached to this day. See Rigg (A56), pp. 34–40; Gransden (A91), pp. 136–85; Campbell (C125); separate entries on FW, HH, JW, and WM in A100. On the 'renaissance in historical writing' after the Conquest, see Williams (R22), pp. 165–86.

Eadmer of Canterbury (Sharpe (A57), pp. 104–5) (Q258)
For a modern edition of Eadmer's *Lives* of Oda, Oswald, and Dunstan (reinventing the monastic reform movement), see Turner and Muir (B166.5), including an account of Eadmer's life and writings (pp. xiii–xxxv); and for Wilfrid, see Q258. For an 'early' view of the period leading up to the Norman Conquest, Eadmer's *Historia novorum* is especially important:
[B619] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Historia Novorum in Anglia* [beginning in the reign of King Edgar] (Graves (A76), no. 2863). Bks I–IV were completed soon after the death of Archbishop Anselm in 1109; bks V and VI were added by Eadmer about ten years later. Text: *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, RS 81 (1884). Translation [bks I–IV]: G. Bosanquet, *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England* (1964), esp. pp. 3–9.
[B619a] R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (1963), pp. 298–313; S.N. Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*: a Reinterpretation', *ANS* 10 (1988), 259–89; Williams (R22), pp. 165–8.

William of Malmesbury (Sharpe (A57), pp. 784–6) (Q259)
[B620] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* (Graves (A76), no. 2921). Text and translation: *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum / The History of the English Kings* I, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, OMT (1998). Introduction and commentary: R.M. Thomson with M. Winterbottom, *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum / The History of the English Kings* II: *General Introduction and Commentary*, OMT (1999). Text: ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS 90 (1887–9). Translation: J.A. Giles, Bohn's Antiquarian Library (1847). Extracts (concerning the reign of Æthelstan) in EHD no. 8.
[B625] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (Graves (A76), no. 1143), on the bishops among the English, with accounts of each diocese and brief remarks on the religious houses within each diocese; a work of great historiographical interest and importance. Text: ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, RS 52 (1870). Translation: D. Preest, *William of Malmesbury: The Deeds of the Bishops of England* (2002). Text and translation: *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, OMT (forthcoming).
[B628] R. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (1987), rev. ed. (2003). See also Williams (R22), pp. 171–4.
[B629] B. Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on Kingship', *History* 90 (2005), 3–22, including remarks on his treatment of Anglo-Saxon kings

Florence of Worcester (Sharpe (A57), p. 116) and ***John of Worcester*** (Sharpe (A57), p. 347)

For Florence and John of Worcester, see their separate entries in A100. John acknowledges Florence's contribution, in recording Florence's death, *s.a.* 1118. Graves (A76), no. 2981.

[B630] John of Worcester, *Chronicon ex chronicis*. Manuscript (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 157), in John's hand: complete facsimile in colour available online at the Bodleian Library's website; see also A210, no. 33, and Darlington and McGurk, vol. I, pp. xxi–xxxv. Text and translation: introductory material, in *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, I: *General Introduction, Episcopal Lists, Royal Genealogies, the Additional Material presented by John in his Chronicula etc.*, ed. P. McGurk, OMT (forthcoming); annals to 1066, in *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, II, ed. R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk, OMT (1995); annals 1067–1140, in *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, III, ed. P. McGurk, OMT (1998). Previously cited from Petrie (S80), pp. 522–644, and *Florentii Wigorniensis monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (1848–9), based on Petrie for the material to 1066 (vol. I), and on various manuscripts for the rest (vol. II); trans., T. Forester, Bohn's Antiquarian Library (1854). Extracts (concerning the Danish kings of England) in EHD no. 9; also EHD II, no. 2.

[B630.5] Royal genealogies and accounts of royal dynasties, forming part the material which precedes the annals in CCC Oxford, MS. 157. Facsimile: online (B630). Text: Thorpe (B630), vol. II, pp. 247–76. Text and translation: McGurk (B630), vol. I (forthcoming).

[B631] V. Flint, 'The Date of the Chronicle of "Florence" of Worcester', *Revue bénédictine* 86 (1976), 115–19; M. Brett, 'John of Worcester and his Contemporaries', *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.H.C. Davis, *et al.* (1981), pp. 101–26; R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 'The *Chronicon ex Chronicis* of "Florence" of Worcester and its Use of Sources for English History before 1066', *ANS* 5 (1983), 185–96; Williams (R22), pp. 168–70.

Henry of Huntingdon (Sharpe (A57), pp. 171–2)

[B635] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (Graves (A76), no. 2904). Text and translation: *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum / The History of the English People*, ed. D. Greenway, OMT (1996). Translation (covering the period 1000–1154): D. Greenway, *Henry of Huntingdon: The History of the English People 1000–1154* (pb, 2002). Translation also in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, by T. Forester (1853).

[B636] D.E. Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Manuscripts of his *Historia Anglorum*', *ANS* 9 (1987), 103–26; J. Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Twelfth-Century Revival of the English Nation', *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Forde, *et al.* (1995), pp. 75–101, reptd in T69, pp. 123–44; Williams (R22), pp. 176–80.

Geffrei Gaimar (B61). See Williams (R22), pp. 181–2.

Simeon of Durham (Sharpe (A57), pp. 607–8)

[B640] Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum* (Graves (A76), no. 2157 (b)). The earlier sections of this work, including a chronicle for the years 732–802 (derived from the 'First Set of Northern Annals' (B33)) and a chronicle for the years 849–87 (derived from Asser's *Life of King Alfred*), are based on an historical miscellany compiled *c.* 1000 by Byrhtferth of Ramsey; among the later sections is a chronicle for the years 888–957, derived from the 'Second Set of Northern Annals' (B34). Text: *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., RS 75 (1882–5), vol. II, pp. 3–283. Translation: Stevenson (B665) iii.2 (1855), pp. 425–617. See also Rollason (B644); Lapidge (G222); Hart (B57). For his 'History of the Church of Durham', see Rollason (B227).

[B644] *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D. Rollason (1998) - incl. D. Rollason, 'Symeon's Contribution to Historical Writing in Northern England', pp. 1–13; J.E. Story, 'Symeon as Annalist', pp. 202–13

[B645] *Libellus de primo Saxonum vel Normannorum adventu, sive de eorundem regibus* (Graves (A76), no. 2157 (d)), also known as *De primo Saxonum adventu* or *Libellus de regibus Saxonicis*. Compiled apparently at Durham in 1120s. Comprises accounts of royal genealogy and succession in the various kingdoms; episcopal lists for Canterbury, York and Durham; list of shires in 'Danelaw', 'Mercia' and 'Wessex'; tract on earls of Northumbria. Earliest version in BL Cotton Domitian viii, fols. 2r–11r. Later version in BL Cotton Caligula A. viii, on which see A210, no. 80, with B644, Plate 23 (Woden and his sons), and Harrison (S1.65). Text, ed. Arnold (B33), vol. II, pp. 365–84. Used by 'John of Wallingford' (B651). Rollason (P85), S.57; Rollason, in B644, p. 11.

Some later twelfth-century historians

Geoffrey of Monmouth (Lapidge and Sharpe (A79), pp. 17–19; Sharpe (A57), p. 127)

[B646] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae:*, written in the 1130s; for those who like tales of King Arthur, yet ending with a telling remark about King Æthelstan. Entry on him in A105. Text: ed. A. Griscom or E. Faral (1929). Translation: L. Thorpe, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, PC (1966). See also J.D. Niles, 'The Wasteland of Loegria: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Reinvention of the Anglo-Saxon Past', *Reinventing the Middle Ages & the Renaissance*, ed. W.F. Gentrup (1998), pp. 1–18, suggesting that GM's *History* all but eclipsed that of the English themselves.

Aelred of Rievaulx (Sharpe (A57), pp. 28–30)

Aelred (a contracted form of the name Æthelred), born in 1110 of good English [Northumbrian] stock, was brought up in the household of David I, king of Scots (1124–53). He became a monk in the Cistercian abbey at Rievaulx (Yorks.), soon after its foundation in 1132, abbot of Revesby (Lincs.) (1143–7), and abbot of Rievaulx (1147–67). The interest of his work stems in part from the fact that he promoted the idea that David was the chief representative of the line of the West Saxon and English kings, and that Henry II was directly descended from King Alfred. For a survey of Aelred's work, in its historical context, see Lawrence-Mathers (R349.5), pp. 236–51; see also Powicke (B647), p. xli–xliii; Gransden (A91), pp. 214–16; Keynes (L56), pp. 367 n. 15; Williams (R22), pp. 182–8. For David's mother St Margaret, see R420.

[B647] M. Powicke, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel*, OMT (1950), for Aelred's life and works; see also A. Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana: a Survey of the Manuscripts, Old Catalogues, Editions, and Studies Concerning St Aelred of Rievaulx*, Instrumenta Patristica 2 (1962). Two (of many) works are of interest for present purposes:

[B647.1] *De genealogia regum Anglorum* [written 1153–4], ed. R. Twysden, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores X* (1652) i, cols. 347–70; also Hoste, pp. 111–13 - on the maternal ancestors of Henry II, with coverage of King Æthelwulf, King Alfred, and their successors in the tenth and eleventh centuries; extract translated in Bertram (B647.2), pp. 123–4. See also Harrison (S1.65).

[B647.2] *Vita S. Eduardi Confessoris* [written 1162–3]: ed. Twysden, i.370–414; trans. J. Bertram, *The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor, by Blessed Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx* (1990), rev. (1997); also Hoste, pp. 123–6; for manuscript in CUL, see B92

[B647.5] E. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150–1220* (2002), incl. discussion of *De Genealogia regum Anglorum*

Ralph de Diceto (Sharpe (A57), p.446), dean of St Paul's, London

[B648] Ralph de Diceto, *Abbreviationes chronicorum*, covering period from the creation to 1148, taking a particular interest in coronations. Text: *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS (1876) I, 3–263. Discussion: Gransden (A91), pp. 230–5; D.E. Greenway, 'Historical Writing at St Paul's', *St Paul's*, ed. D. Keene, *et al.* (2004), pp. 151–6. Plates showing his system of signa: Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 8 (Gransden, pl. VII); BL Cotton Claudius E.iii (Greenway, p. 152).

Walter Map (Sharpe (A57), p. 737)

[B649] *Walter Map: De Nugis Curialium / Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M.R. James, rev. C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors, OMT (1983) - written in the 1180s, by a person closely connected with Hereford. Contains curious material on King Offa (pp. 166–74), Earl Godwine (pp. 410–20), King Cnut (pp. 420–36), etc.; also happens to provide first attested instance of King Æthelred's soubriquet 'the Unready' (p. 412)

The thirteenth-century St Albans school of historiography

The chronicles of Roger of Wendover, 'John of Wallingford' and Matthew Paris contain information which is not recorded elsewhere. Not all of the information is necessarily 'authentic'; but Roger and 'John' do appear to have used a lost set of northern annals. The writings of the St Albans monks are of special interest for their presentation of thirteenth-century views of King Offa of Mercia, the reputed founder of St Albans abbey. For 'local' history, see Matthew's *Gesta abbatum* (B297a) and Keynes (B358).

[B650] Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, written in the 1230s (Graves (A76), no. 2979). Text, ed. H.O. Coxe (1841–4). Translation: J.A. Giles, Bohn's Antiquarian Library (1849); northern annals in EHD no. 4.

[B651] A chronicle written apparently at St Albans in the 1230s and preserved only in BL Cotton Julius D. vii (which belonged in the 1240s to John of Wallingford, monk of St Albans) (Graves (A76), no. 2173). Text and discussion in 'The Chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford', ed. R. Vaughan, *Camden Miscellany XXI*, Camden 3rd ser. 90 (1958). Hardy (B7), pp. 625–6. Translation: Stevenson (B665) ii.2, pp. 523–64, from Gale (S59.10), so incomplete.

[B655] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, written mainly in the 1240s and 1250s (Graves (A76), no. 2941). Text (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS. 26 and 16, with BL Royal 14. C. VII), ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols., RS 57 (1872–83). Translation: J.A. Giles, Bohn's Antiquarian Library (1852–4). See also Graves (A76), no. 2871. Digitised facsimiles of CCCC MSS 26 and 16 are available on the web: <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/>.

[B656] Matthew Paris, *Vitae Duorum Offarum*, written *c*. 1250. Text (BL Cotton Nero D. i, fols. 2–25), ed. W. Wats (1639); see also R.W. Chambers, *Beowulf*, 3rd ed. (1959), pp. 217–43; no translation, but some extracts in G.N. Garmonsway and J. Simpson, *Beowulf and its Analogues* (1968), pp. 233–7. Combines legendary account of Offa (ruler of continental Angeln) with (scarcely less legendary, but rather interesting) 'Life' of King Offa of Mercia; see R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (1958), esp. pp. 41–8, 189–94 and 230–1. Edition and translation, ed. M.Swanton, forthcoming (?).

[B657] Matthew Paris, tract on the Invention and Translation of the relics of St Alban, and the foundation of St Albans by King Offa (Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 177 (E. i. 40), fols. 53–63): facsimile, with depictions of King Offa, in W.R.L. Lowe and E.F. Jacob, *Illustrations to the Life of St Alban in Trin. Coll. Dublin MS. E. i. 40* (1924); see also Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 195–8.

[B658] N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190–1250* (1982), nos. 85 (TCD 177), 87 (Cotton Nero D. i), 88 (CCCC 26, 16), 92 (Royal 14. C. VII), and 93 (Cotton Claudius D. vi); see also S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (1987), esp. pp. 166–74 (diagrams of the Heptarchy, and depictions of Alfred and Cnut). A213, nos. 346, 437.

Collections of sources in translation

[B665] J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, 5 vols. in 8 (1853–8). For contents, see Graves (A76), no. 1123, including *De obsessione Dunelmi* (B225), Simeon (B227, B640), the Hyde chronicle (B264), and 'John of Wallingford' (B651).

[B666] S. Tyas, *A Bibliographical Guide to Bohn's Antiquarian Library* (1996) - annotated list of 45 volumes in Bohn's series, published between 1847 and 1913, including translations of numerous relevant works, e.g. those by Henry of Huntingdon (B635), Orderic Vitalis (R55), Florence of Worcester (B630), Bede (B21), Roger of Wendover (B650), William of Malmesbury (B620), ps-Ingulf of Crowland (B242), Roger of Hoveden, and Matthew of Westminster.

VIII. SCANDINAVIAN SOURCES

For bibliographical guidance on the Vikings, see Syrett (A77). See also entries on separate sources, etc., in Pulsiano (A104).

Old Norse language and literature

[B669] M. Barnes, *A New Introduction to Old Norse*, I: *Grammar* (1999); *A New Introduction to Old Norse*, II: *Reader*, ed. A. Faulkes (2001); A. Faulkes, *A New Introduction to Old Norse*, III: *Glossary and Index of Names* (2001)

Skaldic verse

The activities of the Vikings in England are occasionally illuminated by skaldic verse embedded in Icelandic sagas: see EHD nos. 11–19, and basic list at J6. Wealth of modern exegesis: Fell (J81); Poole (J80); Frank (J82); Townend (J83); Townend (J83.5); Jesch (B670.6); Jesch (J103).

[B670.1] *Norse-Icelandic Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, ed. M. Clunies Ross, *et al.*, 8 vols. (forthcoming [2006–]) - a new edition of the corpus of skaldic verse, to be published in paper and electronic forms, superseding Finnur Jónsson's *Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning* (1912–15); see also B670.2

[B670.2] Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages <http://skaldic.arts.usyd.edu.au/>, for an online corpus of skaldic verse, which will become the basis of *Norse-Icelandic Skaldic Poetry* (B670.1)

[B670.5] A. Campbell, *Scaldic Verse and Anglo-Saxon History*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture 1970 (1971) - for battle of *Brunanburh*, and Viking wars during reign of Æthelred the Unready

[B670.6] J. Jesch, 'Skaldic Verse in Scandinavian England', in H5 (2001), pp. 313–25 - defining a corpus of skaldic verse which may be presumed to have been produced in England

[B671] G. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry* (1976), esp. pp. lxvi–lxxiv, and *Haraldr the Hard Ruler and his Poets*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture 1966 (1967) - the latter for events of 1066

[B671a] D. Whaley, *The Poetry of Arnórr jarlaskáld: an Edition and Study* (1998) - includes *Haraldsdrápa* (pp. 128–32 and 268–301), for King Harald's invasion of England in 1066,

leading to battles at Gate Fulford and Stamford Bridge, with discussion (pp. 331–6) of Magnús Óláfsson (k. of Norway), Haraldr Sigurdarson (k. of Norway), *et al.*

[B672] R. Frank, *Old Norse Court Poetry: the Dróttkvætt Stanza*, Islandica 42 (1978) - for the nature of skaldic verse; also, R. Frank, 'Skaldic Poetry', *Old Norse - Icelandic Literature: a Critical Guide*, ed. C.J. Clover and J. Lindow, Islandica 45 (1985), pp. 157–96

'West Norse' tradition, and the Icelandic sagas

For fuller information, see Syrett (A77). For accounts of the development of the 'West Norse' tradition, see:

[B673] E.O.G. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (1953), pp. 166–212; T.M. Andersson, 'Kings' Sagas (*Konungasögur*)', in Clover and Lindow (B672), pp. 197–238; and J. Kristjánsson, *Eddas and Sagas: Iceland's Medieval Literature*, trans. P. Foote (1988), pp. 147–78. For a summary, see Keynes (K31), pp. 47–8.

[B673.5] M. Fjalldal, *Anglo-Saxon England in Icelandic Medieval Texts* (2005), arguing that those responsible, in the 13th century, for providing skaldic verse with historical context in 10th- and 11th-century England, knew little more about England than that it was a good place to obtain luxury goods

The twelfth-century **synoptic histories** are in Latin and, latterly, in the vernacular.

[B674] Sæmundr Sigfússon, 'History of the Kings of Norway' (lost)

[B674a] Theodoric, *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* (in Latin, *c.* 1180). Text: *Monumenta Historica Norvegiæ*, ed. G. Storm (1880), pp. 3–68. Translation: D. and I. McDougall, *Theodoricus Monachus: Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium / An Account of the Ancient History of the Norwegian Kings* (1998).

[B674b] The anonymous *Historia Norwegiæ* (in Latin, ? 1150 x 1220). Text: *Monumenta Historica Norvegiæ*, ed. Storm (1880), pp. 71–124. Translation: D.L. Kunin, *A History of Norway, and the Passion and Miracles of Blessed Óláfr*, ed. C.L. Phelpstead (2001), pp. 1–25; also (2003).

[B674c] *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum* (in Old Norse, *c.* 1190). Text and translation: *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum: a Twelfth-Century Synoptic History of the Kings of Norway*, ed. M. J. Driscoll (1995), with commentary

They were followed sooner or later by the great **compendia**, in the vernacular:

[B674d] Morkinskinna (Syrett (A77), B320). Translation: T.M. Andersson and K.E. Gade, *Morkinskinna: the Earliest Icelandic Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030–1157)*, Islandica 51 (2000)

[B674e] Fagrskinna (Syrett (A77), B321). Manuscript written in the 1220s. Translation: A. Finlay, *Fagrskinna: a Catalogue of the Kings of Norway*, Northern World 7 (2004).

[B674f] Flateyjarbók (Syrett (A77), B323). Manuscript written c. 1390. Sagas of the kings of Norway; includes the so-called 'Supplement' to Jómsvíkinga saga, on which see Campbell (B85), pp. 92–3; Keynes (K31), pp. 48 and 58–9; Keynes (K61), p. lxvi, n. 3. E. Ashman Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók, Iceland and the Norwegian Dynastic Crisis of 1389* (2005).

The earliest accounts of **Óláfr Tryggvason** (d. 1000) and **Óláfr Haraldsson** [St Olaf] (d. 1030), kings of Norway, originated towards the end of the twelfth century, in the form of Latin biography/hagiography.

[B674.7] *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*, for Óláfr Haraldsson. Translation: Kunin (B674b), pp. 26–74.

[B675] The 'Oldest Saga' or 'First Saga' of St Óláfr Haraldsson (*c.* 1180), extant only in fragmentary form; substance also found in the 'Legendary Saga of St Óláfr' (s. xiii med.)

[B675a] T.M. Andersson, *The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, by Oddr Snorrason*, Islandica 52 (2003) - written in Latin in the late twelfth century, but extant only in a vernacular translation *c.* 1200; see also Halldórsson (B678a).

For further explanation of the complex history of these texts, see Turville-Petre (B673); Kunin (B674b), pp. xxv–xlv.

Among others which bear in one way or another on Anglo-Saxon history, to be read more for enjoyment than for historical instruction, are:

[B676] C. Fell, *Egil's Saga* (1975; an Everyman paperback); also trans. H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, PC (1976) - for Egil Skallagrimsson at the court of Eric Bloodaxe

[B677] *Gunnlaugs saga Ormstungu*, ed. P.G. Foote and trans. R. Quirk (1957) - for Gunnlaug at the court of Æthelred the Unready

[B678] *Jómsvíkinga Saga: the Saga of the Jomsvikings*, ed. and trans. N.F. Blake (1962) - for the dreaded Jomsvikings, all over the place

[B678a] O. Halldórsson, *Danish Kings and the Jomsvikings in the Greatest Saga of Óláfr Tryggvason* (2000) - edition of the 'Greatest Saga of OT', chs. 60–70, 72, 84–6, 88 and 90, with notes and commentary

[B679] *Knytlinga saga*, in *Danakonunga Sögur*, ed. B. Gudnason, Islenzk Fornrit 35 (1982), pp. 93–321; trans. H. Pálsson and P. Taylor, *Knytlinga Saga: the History of the Kings of Denmark* (1986)

[B680] *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, trans. L.M. Hollander (1964) - the great synoptic history by Snorri Sturluson; for the literary context, see B674. See also M. Magnusson and H. Pálsson, *King Harald's Saga*, PC (1966), from *Heimskringla*; D. Whaley, *Heimskringla: an Introduction* (1991).

[B681] *The Sagas of Icelanders: a Selection*, with an introduction by R. Kellog (2000), including Egil's saga, Gunnlaug's saga, and the Vinland sagas.

Danish historiography

[B685] Sven Aggeson, *Brevis Historia Regum Dacie*, or *Compendiosa Regum Daniae Historia*. Text: *Scriptores Minores Historiæ Danicæ Medii Ævi*, ed. M.C. Gertz, 2 vols. (1917–20) I, pp. 94–141. Translation: E. Christiansen, *The Works of Sven Aggesen, Twelfth-Century Danish Historian* (1992).

[B690] Saxo Grammaticus, *History of the Danish Kings*, giving a legendary account of Danish kings. Text and translation: E. Christiansen, *Saxo Grammaticus: Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia, Books X–XVI*, 3 vols., BAR, International series 84 and 118 (1980–1).

Artifacts, including runic inscriptions

[B700] L. Musset, *Introduction à la runologie* (1965) - with useful appendix of texts; see also Elliott (B713); E. Moltke, *Runes and their Origin: Denmark and Elsewhere* (1985)

[B701] S.B.F. Jansson, *Runes in Sweden* (1987)

[B702] *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. H. Shetelig, 6 vols. (1940–54), esp. Part IV: *Viking Antiquities in England* (1940) - valuable, but inevitably showing its age

[B703] J. Graham-Campbell, *Viking Artefacts: a Select Catalogue* (1980)

For editions of the relevant inscriptions in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, see:

[B705] *Danmarks runeindskrifter*, ed. L. Jacobsen and E. Moltke, 3 vols. (1941–2), including Atlas (photographs and maps). English summary (1947). For the Jelling Stone, see J110.

[B706] 'Sveriges runinskrifter', a series (arranged by provinces) of which the first vol. appeared in 1900 and which is still in progress. For inscriptions relating to England, see, e.g., E. Wessén and S.B.F. Jansson, *Upplands runinskrifter* I–IV, Sveriges runinskrifter 6–9 (1940–57), nos. 194, 241, 344, 539, 616, 668, 812, 978, 1181.

[B707] *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer* III, ed. M. Olsen (1954), no. 184

[B707.5] T. Spurkland, *Norwegian Runes and Runic Inscriptions* (2005)

[B708] B. Sawyer, *The Viking Age Rune Stones: Custom and Commemoration in Early Medieval Scandinavia* (2000); reviewed by M. Barnes, *SBVS* 26 (2002), 114–20

For Scandinavian runic inscriptions as evidence of Viking activity in England, see Syrett (J84.5).

Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the British Isles

[B709] M.P. Barnes and R.I. Page, *The Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions of Britain*, Runrön 19 (2006)

[B709.5] K. Holman, *Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions in the British Isles: their Historical Context*, Senter for middelalderstudier, Skrifter 4 (1996) - covers 'Scandinavian' runic inscriptions in south-east England, Lincoln, north-west England, Isle of Man, Scotland, Orkney and Shetland

IX. OTHER FORMS OF EVIDENCE

The attraction of Anglo-Saxon history lies not least in the need at every turn to make proper and effective use of information derived from other forms of evidence; the problem for historians is that we are not always competent to judge the material. Some of these disciplines are dealt with below: inscriptions; manuscripts; archaeological evidence; metalwork, ivories, and sculpture; place-names; and personal names.

Material on Anglo-Saxon **coinage**, which used to be in this section, has been moved to Section M (M400, etc.). Material on Anglo-Saxon **art and architecture**, which also used to be here, has been moved to Section Q (Q600, etc.).

Inscriptions (runic and non-runic)

[B710] E. Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (1971); supplements in *ASE* 11 (1983), 83–118, *ASE* 21 (1992), 37–85, *ASE* 33 (2004), 225–82

[B710.1] E. Okasha, 'What Language is This? Language Mixing in Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions', *ASSAH* 13 (2006), 118–21; E. Okasha, 'Script-Mixing in Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions', in Rumble (T112), pp. 62–70; see also Okasha (N66)

[B710.5] D. Tweddle, 'The Inscriptions of Viking-Age York', in Hall (P85.6), pp. 350–6

[B711] R.I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes* (1973), aka the 'little red rune book', now revised (1999), and still red, but no longer so little; see also R.I. Page, *Runes and Runic Inscriptions*, ed. D. Parsons (1995), and R.I. Page, *Runes* (1987) - British Museum pamphlet
[B712] J. Hines, 'The Runic Inscriptions of Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, ed. A. Bammesberger and A. Wollmann (1990), pp. 437–55
[B713] R.W.V. Elliott, *Runes: an Introduction* (1959), 2nd ed. (1989)
[B714] *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, ed. A. Bammesberger (1991) - contains many valuable essays
[B715] D.N. Parsons, *Recasting the Runes? The Reform of the Anglo-Saxon 'Futhorc'*, Runrön / Runologiska bidrag utgivna av Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet 14 (1999); see also Parsons (C68)
[B720] J. Higgitt, *Odda, Orm and Others: Patrons and Inscriptions in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, Deerhurst Lecture 1999 (2004)
For 'Scandinavian' runic inscriptions in England, see Barnes and Page (B709).
[B725] R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta* (1954) - for runes in manuscripts

Manuscripts

For a useful review of the study of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, see Rumble (S4.6).
[B760] H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 241 (2001), with H. Gneuss, 'Addenda and Corrigenda to the *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*', *ASE* 32 (2003), 293–305; further addenda in preparation. Superseding H. Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100', *ASE* 9 (1981), 1–60. This hugely important work of reference lists all known manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England, with details of origin, date, provenance and contents; invaluable for many different purposes.
[B761] 'Wanley', aka the **Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts Website** <URL to be provided>: a website which will serve as a research tool for the study of all manuscripts written or owned in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England, in the form of a searchable and updatable database, with systematic bibliography for each manuscript, links to images, and other related material; to be established (circumstances permitting) in 2007, and to be developed thenceforth in close association with 'Kemble' (B330).
[B762] English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220, a major project funded for 5 years from May 2005, focusing on all manuscripts containing English written between 1060 and 1220, and thus on the continued use of English (in relation to Latin and French) after the Conquest. Directed by Dr Mary Swann and Prof. Elaine Treharne. Newsletter, from July 2005. For further details, visit its website: <www.le.ac.uk/em1060to1220>.

[B764.5] The British Library's 'Digital Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts', available online at <www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm>, which includes accounts and images of several Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (e.g. Add. 40618 [Irish gospel-book supposedly connected with King Æthelstan]; Arundel 155 [Eadui or Arundel Psalter]; Cotton Nero D. iv [Lindisfarne Gospels]; Harley 2904 (Harley Psalter]; Harley 2965 [Book of Nunnaminster]; Royal I. E. VI [Royal Bible]; Royal 2. A. XX [Royal Praybook])
[B764.6] The British Library's 'Collect Britain' website, which contains numeros images of manuscripts from its own collections: <www.collectbritain.co.uk/collections/illuminated/> (NB select 'view whole collection', or organize by date.)

Two works of reference by Neil Ker (1908–82), affectionately known as *MMBL* and *MLGB*:
[B765] N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, I: *London* (1969); II: *Abbotsford–Keele* (1976); III: *Lampeter–Oxford* (1983); IV: *Paisley–York* (1992); V: *Indexes and Addenda* (2002) — a survey of manuscripts in British libraries, excluding those described in earlier published catalogues <TCC VII.B.109–12>
[B766] *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, ed. N.R. Ker, 2nd ed. (1964); *Medieval Libraries … Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. A.G. Watson (1987) - in which surviving manuscripts are listed by the religious houses (e.g. Ely, Glastonbury, Ramsey) in whose libraries they were formerly preserved

[B770] *A History of the Book in Britain*, I: *From the Romans to the Normans*, ed. R. Gameson (forthcoming), covering the production of the early Insular book (codicology, script, decoration, binding), the ownership of books, the reconstruction of libraries, and the functions of books. Conceived in 1992 as the first volume in a projected series of seven, together covering the period from *c.* 600 to the present day.

[B773] *Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, I: *To 1640*, ed. E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (2006); *Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, II: *1640–1850*, ed. G. Mandelbrote and K.A. Manley (2006); *Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, III: *1850–2000*, ed. A. Black and P. Hoare (2006)

[B775] *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, ed. P. Binski and S. Panayotova (2005) - catalogue of exhibition held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in 2005, with excellent accounts of several manuscripts important for Anglo-Saxon purposes, by R. McKitterick, T. Webber, *et al.*: see esp. nos. 1 (St Augustine Gospels), 2–18 (mainly Anglo-Saxon manuscripts), 25 (Eadwine Psalter), 43–4 (liturgica), 107, 111 (CCCC 183), 112–13, and 115 (Thomas of Elmham).

[B776] *In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000*, ed. M.P. Brown (2006) - catalogue of an exhibition held in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC (2006–7), including the Ceolfrith Bibles (cat. 41), the Stockholm Codex Aureus (cat. 44), the Douce Primasius (cat. 55), Bede's *Commentary on the Proverbs* (cat. 56), Gregory's *Commentary on the Gospels* (cat. 57), the 'Cambridge-London Gospels' (cat. 58), and the 'Cædmon Manuscript' (cat. 61)

[B780] L.E. Boyle, *Medieval Latin Palaeography: a Bibliographical Introduction* (1984)

[B780.5] C. Sirat, *Writing as Handwork: a History of Handwriting in Mediterranean and Western Culture* (2006) <not yet seen>

[B781] B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (1990); B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne* (1994)

[B782] P.O. Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: a List of the Printed Catalogues and Unpublished Inventories of Extant Collections*, 4th ed., rev. by S. Krämer (1993)

[B783] *A Palaeographer's View: the Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. J. Bately, M.P. Brown and J. Roberts (1993)

[B783a] M.P. Brown, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (1991) - a brief but valuable introduction

[B783b] M.P. Brown, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Production: Issues of Making and Using', in A51.3 (2001), pp. 102–17

[B784] *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. M.P. Richards, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England (1994) — collection of essays, incl. A.R. Rumble, 'Using Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', pp. 3–24, and K.S. Kiernan, 'Old Manuscripts/New Technologies', pp. 37–54, as well as Lapidge (B815) and Dumville (B816) on libraries, and Raw (B548) on Junius 11

[B784a] D.N. Dumville, 'Specimina Codicum Palaeoanglicorum', *Kansai University: Collection of Essays in Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies* (2001), pp. 1–24

See also P. Stokes, 'Codicology', in the 'Literary Encylopedia' (A500).

The development of Anglo-Saxon scripts

Entries on codicology and on script in A100.

[B785.1] M.P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (1990)

[B785.2] M.P. Brown and P. Lovett, *The Historical Source Book for Scribes* (1999)

[B785.3] J. Roberts, *Guide to Scripts Used in English Writings up to 1500* (2005), including coverage of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, pp. 13–37 ('Insular Background', nos. 1–5), 38–84 ('Anglo-Saxon Minuscule', nos. 6–18), and 85–103 ('English Caroline minuscule', nos. 19–22), followed by Protogothic and then by the Gothic System of Scripts

The so-called 'Insular System of Scripts' (600–850)

[B786] E.A. Lowe, *English Uncial* (1960)

[B787.1] T.J. Brown, 'The Irish Element in the Insular System of Scripts to circa A.D. 850', *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. H. Löwe (1982), vol. I, pp. 101–19, reptd in B783, pp. 201–20 and 284–7;

[B787.4] D. N. Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review: the Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages* I, Kansai University, Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Sources and Materials Series 20.1 (1999)

[B787.5] R. McKitterick, 'Insulare Schrift / Insular Script', in Erhart & Hollenstein (M199.5), pp. 89–96

Later Anglo-Saxon scripts

[B788.5] D.N. Dumville, 'English Script in the Second Half of the Ninth Century', in T110, vol. I, pp. 305–25

[B788.6] D.N. Dumville, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Origins of English Square Minuscule Script', in T15, pp. 55–139; 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Background and Earliest Phases', *ASE* 16 (1987), 147–79; 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Mid-Century Phases', *ASE* 23 (1994), 133–64; further installment forthcoming in *ASE*

[B789] T.A.M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (1971)

For Anglo-Caroline minuscule, see also Dumville (G256).

Scribes and scriptoria

A few Anglo-Saxon scribes are known to us by name. For **Ælfwine**, King Æthelred's *scriptor*, see Sawyer (B320), no. 853. For **Goding**, at Worcester, see S 1369 (983 x 985), and Hemming's *Codicellus*, in Hearne (B231), p. 265. For **Eadwig Basan** (Christ Church,

Canterbury, s. xi), see K59. For **Ælfsige** (New Minster, Winchester, s. xi), see B450, Q90c, and Gameson in the *ODNB* (A150) [under 'Aelsinus'].   For **Ælfwine** (New Minster, Winchester, s. xi), see B478 and Q90c.

[B793] R. Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, H.M. Chadwick Lecture 12 (2002); see also R. Gameson, 'The Colophon of the Eadwig Gospels', *ASE* 31 (2002), 201–22, and Farr (Q695.5)

For Wearmouth-Jarrow, Lindisfarne, etc., in the early eighth century, see Parkes (D115), Brown (D121), Brown (D125), etc.   For book-production in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Bishop (B789), Dumville (G255), and Dumville (G256). For studies of book-production in particular scriptoria at particular times, see (e.g.):

[B794.1] Brooks (E70), pp. 266–78, for book-production at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the late tenth and eleventh centuries

[B794.7] R. Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the Library of Worcester and the Spirituality of the Medieval Book', in Barrow and Brooks (Q99.2), pp. 59–104, for the period *c.* 1040–1130

[B794.8] C. Karkov, 'Writing and Having Written: Word and Image in the Eadwig Gospels', in Rumble (T112), pp. 44–61

Catalogues of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts

Pride of place belongs to Gneuss (B760), which has the great distinction of listing all known manuscripts written or owned in England before *c.* 1100, whether written in Latin or in Old English.

[B796] E.M. Thompson (with G.F. Warner), *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part II: Latin* (1884) - contains useful descriptions of the contents of several important Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in various BL collections, e.g. the 'Æthelstan Psalter' (pp. 12–13), the 'Tiberius Bede' (pp. 78–9), the 'Anglian Collection' of episcopal lists and royal genealogies (pp. 79–80), and the 'Liber Vitae of the Community of St Cuthbert' (pp. 81–4)

[B800] N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (1957); supplement, in *ASE* 5 (1976), 121–31; reptd, incl. supplement (1990) - a classic and highly regarded book, which describes all known manuscripts containing anything in Old English (from a single word in a manuscript otherwise in Latin to a whole manuscript in OE). See Pfaff in B784; Blockley in B784; Rumble (S4.6), p. 3.   Addenda forthcoming in a Festschift for P. Szarmach.

[B801] S. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and other items of related interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, OEN Subsidia 18 (1992) - short accounts of each manuscript, and plates

[B802] M. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols. (1997) - detailed accounts of numerous important Anglo-Saxon manuscripts at Corpus Christi College (vol. I), with a spectacular volume of plates (vol. II)

[B805] *Codices Latini Antiquiores: a Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, ed. E.A. Lowe, 12 parts (1934–72): pt II, 2nd ed. (1972), covers manuscripts preserved in libraries in Great Britain and Ireland; other parts cover manuscripts preserved elsewhere - essential for all manuscripts pre-800

[B805.5] B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, I (Aachen–Lambach), ed. B. Epersperger (1998), and II (Laon–Paderborn), ed. B. Epersberger (2004) - for 9th-century manuscripts imported into Anglo-Saxon England

[B806] J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century* (1978) - for decorated manuscripts, with plates and art-historical comments; see also A200 and D115–25

[B807] E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (1976) - for decorated manuscripts, with plates and art-historical comments; review in *ASE* 7 (1978), 239–66; see also A205 and Q680, etc.

[B809] A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700–1600 in The Department of Manuscripts, The British Library*, 2 vols. (1977); A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435–1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (1984); P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols. (1988); P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.888–1600 in London Libraries*, 2 vols. (2003).

Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts

One should first pay homage to Westwood (S87). For facsimiles of charters (on which so much depends, as Wanley realised in the 1690s), see B335, B336, and B337. Many of the most important Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have been published in facsimile: e.g., the Lindisfarne Gospels (D120); the Benedictional of St Æthelwold (G109); the *Beowulf*

manuscript (B535); the Exeter Book (B540); the 'Cædmon Manuscript' (B547); the York Gospels (B212); and manuscripts of the *ASC* (B45 and B49).

[B812] *The Palaeographical Society: Facsimiles of Miniatures and Inscriptions*, ed. E.A. Bond and E.M. Thompson (1873–83), with 2nd ser., ed. E.A. Bond, E.M. Thompson and G.F. Warner (1884–94); *The New Palaeographical Society: Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, &c.*, ed. E.M. Thompson, *et al.* (1903–12), with 2nd ser., ed. E.M. Thompson, *et al.* (1913–30) - huge heavy volumes, containing high-quality facsimiles of selected manuscripts, with transcriptions and descriptions, including many Anglo-Saxon manuscripts

[B813] Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (EEMF), for details of which see *OEN* 29.3 (1996), 26–9. This series (which ran for fifty years, from 1951 to 2002) provides complete facsimiles of several important manuscripts, with editorial introductions. **OE poetry and prose:** *The Thorkelin Transcripts of Beowulf*, ed. K. Malone, EEMF 1 (1951); *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Willard, EEMF 10 (1960); *The Nowell Codex* [incl. *Beowulf*], ed. K. Malone, EEMF 12 (1963); *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies*, ed. N. Eliason and P. Clemoes, EEMF 13 (1965); *The Vercelli Book*, ed. C. Sisam, EEMF 19 (1977); *Old English Verse Texts from Many Sources*, ed. F.C. Robinson and E.G. Stanley, EEMF 23 (1991). **Religion and learning:** *The Rule of St Benedict*, ed. D.H. Farmer, EEMF 15 (1968); *The Durham Ritual*, ed. T.J. Brown, EEMF 16 (1969); *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries*, ed. B. Bischoff, *et al.*, EEMF 22 (1988). **Alfredian texts:** *The Tollemache Orosius*, ed. A. Campbell, EEMF 3 (1953); *Bald's Leechbook*, ed. C.E. Wright, EEMF 5 (1955); *The Pastoral Care*, ed. N.R. Ker, EEMF 6 (1956); *The Paris Psalter*, ed. J. Bromwich, *et al.*, EEMF 8 (1958); *The Tanner Bede*, ed. J. Bately, EEMF 24 (1992). **Archbishop Wulfstan:** *A Wulfstan Manuscript* [Cotton Nero A. i], ed. H.R. Loyn, EEMF 17 (1971); *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, ed. J. Cross and J.M. Tunberg, EEMF 25 (1993). **Texts of historical interest:** *The Leningrad Bede*, ed. O. Arngart, EEMF 2 (1952); *The Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock, EEMF 4 (1954); *Textus Roffensis*, ed. P. Sawyer, EEMF 7 & 11 (1957–62); *The Moore Bede*, ed. P. Hunter Blair, EEMF 9 (1959); *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. S. Keynes, EEMF 26 (1996). **Illuminated manuscripts:** *The Vespasian Psalter*, ed. D.H. Wright, EEMF 14 (1967); *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch* [Cotton Claudius B. iv], ed. C.R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, EEMF 18 (1974), on which see also Q695; *The Durham Gospels*, ed. T.J. Brown, *et al.*, EEMF 20 (1980); *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany* [Cotton Tiberius B. v], ed. P. McGurk, *et al.*, EEMF 21 (1983); *The Old English Illustrated Pharmacopoeia* [Cotton Vitellius C. iii], ed. M.A. D'Aronco and M.L. Cameron, EEMF 27 (1998); *The Codex Aureus: an Eighth-Century Gospel Book*, Part I, ed. R. Gameson, EEMF 28 (2001), and Part II, ed. R. Gameson, EEMF 29 (2002).

[B813a] T.H. Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index* (1992) - includes the 'Æthelstan Psalter' (G16), many of the finest eleventh-century psalters and gospel-books, and the 'Junius Manuscript' (B547)

[B814] Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile (ASMMF), ed. P. Pulsiano and A.N. Doane. This series comprises sets of microfiches of related groups of manuscripts, with an accompanying booklet of descriptions. Issues which have appeared so far: *Books of Prayers and Healing*, ed. A.N. Doane, ASMMF 1 (1994); *Psalters 1*, ed. P. Pulsiano, ASMMF 2 (1994); *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, ed. R.M. Liuzza and A.N. Doane, ASMMF 3 (1995); *Glossed Texts, Aldhelmiana, Psalms*, ed. P. Pulsiano, ASMMF 4 (1996); *Latin Manuscripts with Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, ed. P.J. Lucas, A.N. Doane and I.C. Cunningham, ASMMF 5 (1997); *Worcester Manuscripts*, ed. C. Franzen, ASMMF 6 (1998); *Anglo-Saxon Bibles and "The Book of Cerne"*, ed. A.N. Doane, ASMMF 7 (1998); *Wulfstan Texts and Other Homiletic Materials*, ed. J. Wilcox, ASMMF 8 (2000); *Deluxe and Illuminated Manuscripts containing Technical and Literary Texts*, ed. A.N. Doane and T.J. Grade, ASMMF 9 (2002); *Manuscripts containing works by Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and other texts*, ed. K.O'B. O'Keeffe, ASMMF 10 (2002); *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* I: *MSS 41, 57, 191, 302, 303, 367, 383, 422*, ed. T. Graham, et al., ASMMF 11 (2002); *Manuscripts of Trinity College, Cambridge*, ed. M. Wright and S. Hollis, ASMMF 12 (2004). ASMMF website: <http://mendota.english.wisc.edu/~ASMMF/index.htm>

Booklists, libraries, etc.

On the history of libraries in Anglo-Saxon England, see Gneuss (F25); see also the entry on Libraries in A100. The vital research projects are 'SASLC' (A50.2) and 'Fontes' (A50.1).

[B815] M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (2006), being an expanded text of the Lowe Lectures delivered in Oxford in 2002, on ways of reconstructing Anglo-Saxon libraries (from the evidence of inventories, surviving manuscripts, and citations), with appendices including a comprehensive list of Latin books cited by the principal Anglo-Saxon authors (cf. A50.1–3); M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in T23, pp. 33–89, also reptd in B784, pp. 87–67

[B816] D.N. Dumville, 'English Libraries Before 1066: Use and Abuse of the Manuscript Evidence', reptd in B784, pp. 169–219

[B817] *The English Library before 1700: Studies in its History*, ed. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright (1958)

[B818] D. Ganz, 'Anglo-Saxon England', in Leedham-Green and Webber (B773), pp. 91–108, on Anglo-Saxon libraries

[B820] Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. Edition of the medieval catalogues of medieval libraries, identifying (as far as possible) the works which they contained, and identifying those books among them which have chanced to survive. Some books are described as 'very old', or 'Saxon'; so quite apart from anything else, perusal of the lists is a salutary reminder of what has been lost. *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues*, ed. R. Sharpe, *et al.*, CBMLC 4 (1996), covers e.g. the monastic libraries of Bury St Edmunds, Ely, and Glastonbury; among the books at Glastonbury in 1247, note the *Liber Terrarum* (B285), p. 192, and the *bella Etheltani regis* (G44b), p. 199. *Peterborough Abbey*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen and J.M.W. Willoughby, CBMLC 8 (2001). Forthcoming volumes include the catalogues of the libraries of St Augustine's, Canterbury (ed. B.C. Barker-Benfield), Christ Church, Canterbury (ed. J.M.W. Willoughby), and Durham (ed. A.J. Piper). Ker (B766) lists surviving manuscripts according to the medieval libraries of which once they formed part.

Archaeology / material evidence

It is difficult to keep abreast of a subject which of its nature changes so rapidly. The best approach, short of interrogating a practising archaeologist, is to work through the annual bibliographies published in *ASE* (A73b), and to peruse recent volumes of *Medieval Archaeology* or *Current Archaeology*. See also entry by Hinton in A105, pp. 54–6. There is an encyclopedia of medieval archaeology, ed. Crabtree (A109).

[B830] B. Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, 6 vols. in 7 (1903–37): I, The Life of Saxon England in its Relation to the Arts; II, Anglo-Saxon Architecture; III–IV, Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period; V, The Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses, the Gospels of Lindisfarne, and other Christian Monuments of Northumbria; VI.1, Completion of the Study of the Monuments of the Great Period of the Art of Anglian Northumbria; VI.2, Anglo-Saxon Sculpture - a classic work, which retains great value as a point of departure

[B831] D. Wilson, *The Anglo-Saxons*, 3rd. ed. (1981; a Pelican) - more succinct

[B832] S. Johnson, *Later Roman Britain* (1980; available in paperback) - includes coverage of Anglo-Saxon settlements

[B833] L. and J. Laing, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1979; available in paperback)

[B834] *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1976; paperback edition, 1981) - a wide-ranging survey, covering, e.g., rural settlements, towns, monasteries, coins, Vikings in England, pottery, crafts

[B835] *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic Readings*, ed. C.E. Karkov, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England (1999), incl. M.O.H. Carver, 'Exploring, Explaining, Imagining: Anglo-Saxon Archaeology 1998', pp. 25–52, surveying the subject as a whole

[B836] K. Leahy, *Anglo-Saxon Crafts* (2003)

[B837] D.A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (2005): excellent analysis of artifacts of different kinds, from the sub-Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods (pp. 7-38), the late 6th and 7th centuries (pp. 39-74), the late 7th, 8th and early 9th centuries (pp. 75-107), the mid-9th to mid-10th century (pp. 108-40), the late 10th to late 11th century (pp. 141-70), and onwards to the early 16th century

See also Hodges (A34). The spectacular sites, esp. Sutton Hoo and Yeavering, are dealt with below (e.g. D55 and D60). Towns and churches are covered elsewhere (e.g. sections P and Q); for churches, see also Taylor and Taylor (Q705). For Anglo-Saxon art (and artefacts), see Q600, etc.

Metalwork, ivories and sculpture

For early metalwork, see B831–3. For Anglo-Saxon art (and artefacts), see Q600, etc.

[B840] D.M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700–1100 in the British Museum* (1964) - includes the Fuller Brooch (no. 153), and 'royal' rings (nos. 1 and 31)

[B840.5] British Museum 'Compass' website <www.british-museum.ac.uk/compass/>, and look at Index entries under A for 'Anglo-Saxon', or search by place and date

[B841] D.A. Hinton, *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork in the Department of Antiquities Ashmolean Museum* (1974) - includes the Alfred Jewel (no. 23) and the Abingdon Sword (no. 1)

[B842] D. Tweddle, *The Anglian Helmet from Coppergate*, Archaeology of York 17 (Small Finds), Fascicule 8 (1992) - exemplary account of the remarkable helmet (dated *c.* 750–75) found in the excavations at York in 1982

[B843] R. Jessup, *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery* (1950)

[B844] J. Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England* (1972)

Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture
Visit the project's website at www.durham.ac.uk/corpus

[B845.1] R. Cramp, *County Durham and Northumberland*, 2 vols., CASSS 1.i–ii (1984)

[B845.2] R.N. Bailey and R. Cramp, *Cumberland and Westmorland*, CASSS 2 (1988)

[B845.3] J.T. Lang, *York and Eastern Yorkshire*, CASSS 3 (1991); see also Lang (B845.6)

[B845.4] D. Tweddle, M. Biddle, and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, *South-East England*, CASSS 4 (1995), including material from Winchester

[B845.5] P. Everson and D. Stocker, *Lincolnshire*, CASSS 5 (1999)

[B845.6] J. Lang, *Northern Yorkshire*, CASSS 6 (2002) - includes pre-Viking Age inscribed stones from Whitby, but also covers Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from Brompton and elsewhere; see also Lang (B845.3)

[B845.7] R. Cramp, *South-West England*, CASSS 7 (2006) - mainly tenth- and eleventh-century sculpture, from Devon, Dorset (Winterbourne Steepleton, pp. 125–6), Somerset (Congresbury, pp. 149–51) and Wiltshire (Bradford-on-Avon, pp. 202–4; Codford St Peter, pp. 209–11); and for the official publication of Winkle's headstone (B854), see pp. 189–90

[B850] R.N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (1980)

[B851] R.N. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 5 (1996)

[B852] R.N. Bailey, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture at Deerhurst*, Deerhurst Lecture 2002 (2005) - an impressive assemblage for a single place, including two beast-heads, the Virgin, the 'Deerhurst Angel', or archangel, and the font, all believed to date from the early ninth century

[B854] A stone sculpture bearing an image of St Peter, found several years ago in a quarry by a stonemason called Jonny Beeston, of Dowlish Wake, in Somerset, was used by him and his wife Ruth to mark the grave of their tabby cat, Winkle. Mr Beeston died in 2003, aged 79. The stone was brought to the attention of experts, who pronounced it to date from the ninth or tenth century. It was sold at Sotheby's in December 2004, and fetched £200,000. For images, google 'Beeston' and 'Winkle'. One cannot but feel sorry for Winkle, now presumably in an unmarked grave. Published: Cramp (B845.7), pp. 189–90.

For the 'Lichfield Angel', or archangel, discovered in 2003, see B230.

Place-names
Place-names are of especial importance in connection with the study of the Anglo-Saxon settlements, in the fifth and sixth centuries, and in connection with the study of the Scandinavian settlements in the late ninth century (and further developments during the course of the tenth century). See C60, etc., and H25, etc.

[B865] E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (1960)

[B865.4] A.D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1991), rev. (1998), rev. (2003)

[B865.5] V. Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (2004); but note the highly critical review in *Nomina* 27 (2004), 133–42

[B866] E. Ekwall, *English River Names* (1928)

[B867] The indispensable series of county surveys, published by the English Place-Name Society [EPNS] (1924– [in progress]). Surveys of the place-names of the majority of the counties of England have already been published, or are in course of publication; exceptions are Somerset, Hampshire, Kent, Suffolk, Herefordshire, Co. Durham, and Northumberland, for which it is necessary to turn elsewhere. The series includes A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols. (1956), and O. Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (1985).

[B867.5] D. Horovitz, *The Place-Names of Staffordshire* (2005) - an example of a recent county survey, published outside the EPNS series; with an extract from King Æthelred's charter for Burton Abbey (S 906), and the will of Wulfric Spot (S 1536), reproduced on the cover

[B867a] *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names*, ed. D. Parsons, *et al.* (1997–), which will become a large dictionary of the words used in the formation of place-names in England, superseding Smith's *Elements* (B867). Published by the Centre for English Name Studies, Nottingham. Three volumes have appeared to date (1997–2004), covering A–C.

[B868] *A Reader's Guide to the Place-Names of the United Kingdom: a Bibliography of Publications (1920–89) on the Place-Names of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands*, ed. J. Spittal and J. Field (1990)

[B869] Website of the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham, including 'Key to English Place-Names' (in progress): www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/ins/
Annual bibliographies on place-names studies are published in *ASE* (A73b) and *OEN* (A73a), and in the journal *Nomina*.

Standard works of interpretation
See Clark, in B521, esp. pp. 471–87, and:
[B870] K. Cameron, *English Place-Names* (1961), 2nd ed. (1963), 3rd ed. (1977), 4th ed. (1988) - the classic introduction to the subject
[B871] M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (1978)
[B872] M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (1984), and (with A. Cole) *The Landscape of Place-Names* (2000)
[B873] K. Cameron, 'The Significance of English Place-Names', *PBA* 62 (1976), 135–55
See also entries in A100 on habitation names, place-names (Celtic, OE, and Scandinavian), -ingas names, etc.

[B874] A. Hall, 'Are there any Elves in Anglo-Saxon Place-Names?', *Nomina 29* (2006), 61–80 - it seems not, but the reader has a good ride (e.g. personal names in Ælf-)

Personal names
There is much to be learnt from the study of personal names: e.g. currency or popularity of particular names, or types of name, at particular periods, in particular kingdoms, or among particular social groups; customs of name-giving within royal dynasties and other families (use of alliterating names, choice of elements, etc.); perceived significance of the literal meaning of names (e.g. 'noble counsel', 'wolf stone'); incidence of Scandinavian names in the tenth century, and at the court of the Anglo-Danish kings. The subject is not, however, as well served as it might be with general works of reference.

[B875] For an introduction to Anglo-Saxon personal names, see Clark, in B521, pp. 456–71; see also Insley, in A115. Entry on personal names by R. I. Page, in A100; S. Keynes, 'A Note on Anglo-Saxon Personal Names', in B270.5, pp. 20–3. For Searle's *Onomasticon*, see A300.

[B876] Turner, in S72 [*c.* 1800], vol. 3, pp. 7–11; J.M. Kemble, 'The Names, Surnames, and Nicnames of the Anglosaxons', *Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (Winchester, 1846), pp. 81–102; Freeman, in R10, vol. 5 [1876], pp. 556–75; F.M. Stenton, 'Personal Names in Place-Names' [1924], in T1, pp. 84-105, and 'The Danes in England' [1927] (H10), pp. 152–6

[B877] O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, Nomina Germanica 3 (1937); T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times* (1916); M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (1919); H. Ström, *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History: an Etymological-Phonological Investigation* (1939)
[B878] G. Tengvik, *Old English Bynames*, Nomina Germanica 4 (1938)
[B879] F.C. Robinson, 'The Significance of Names in Old English Literature', *Anglia* 86 (1968), 14–58, reptd in his *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English Literature* (1993), pp. 185–218
[B880] P.R. Kitson, 'How Anglo-Saxon Personal Names Work', *Nomina* 25 (2002), 91–131

For an example of applied onomastics, see Jones (C155a). For Alcuin's use of names, see Garrison (E144). For names in the witness-lists of charters (dated and localised), see B331. For moneyers' names, see von Feilitzen and Blunt (M778), Smart (M540) and Smart (M830). For Scandinavian personal names, see Fellows Jensen (H26). For English names as recorded in Domesday Book, see Lewis (L77).

C. FROM SETTLEMENTS TO KINGDOMS

'Britain, once called Albion, is an island of the ocean and lies to the north-west, being opposite Germany, Gaul, and Spain, which form the greater part of Europe, though at a considerable distance from them.' Bede, HE i.1.

Roman Britain and sub-Roman Britain
[C1] P. Salway, *Roman Britain* (1981), pp. 374–501
[C2] B. Jones and D. Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (1990)
[C5] T. Potter, 'A Roman Province: Britain AD 43–410', *Archaeology in Britain Since 1945*, ed. I. Longworth and J. Cherry (1986; British Museum Publications), pp. 73–118
[C6] P. Bartholomew, 'Fifth-Century Facts', *Britannia* 13 (1982), 260–70

[C7] E.A. Thompson, *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain* (1984)
[C8] Constantius's *Life of St Germanus*. Translation: F.H. Hoare, *The Western Fathers* (1954), pp. 284–320; Noble and Head (B164a), pp. 75–106.
[C9] *The End of Roman Britain*, ed. P.J. Casey, BAR Brit. ser. 71 (1979) - esp. papers by Haselgrove, Kent, Casey, Gillam
[C10] N. Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (1992)
[C11] K. Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (2001) - radical reinterpretation of the events of 400–600
[C12] A. Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain* (2002) - on the so-called 'Forts of the Saxon Shore'
[C15] I. Wood, 'The End of Roman Britain: Continental Evidence and Parallels', *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. M. Lapidge and D. Dumville (1984), pp. 1–25
[C16] M.E. Jones, *The End of Roman Britain* (1996); M.E. Jones, 'The Historicity of the Alleluja Victory', *Albion* 18 (1986), 363–73; M.E. Jones, 'St Germanus and the *Adventus Saxonum*', *HSJ* 2 (1990), 1–11
[C17] R.W. Burgess, 'The Dark Ages Return to Fifth-century Britain: the "Restored" Gallic Chronicle Exploded', *Britannia* 21 (1990), 185–95
[C18] A.S.E. Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (1989)
[C19] C.A. Snyder, *An Age of Tyrants: Britain and the Britons A.D. 400–600* (1998)
See also Higham (A17); James (A12), pp. 91–4.

The Anglo-Saxon settlements in the fifth century

'In the year of our Lord 449 Marcian ... became emperor with Valentinian and ruled for seven years. At that time the race of the Angles or Saxons, invited by the aforesaid king [Vortigern], came to Britain in three long ships, and by command of the said king received a place of settlement in the eastern part of the island, ostensibly to fight on behalf of the country, though their real intention was to conquer it.' Bede, HE i.15. Cf. ASC, s.a. 449.

The principal written sources
The principal 'Insular' sources are Gildas (B10), Bede (B21), and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (B65); and there is also much interesting material in the *Historia Brittonum* (B11). For discussion of these sources, see Gransden (A91), and:
[C20] D.N. Dumville, 'Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend', *History* 62 (1977), 173–92; reptd in T11, no. I
[C25] M. Miller, 'Bede's Use of Gildas', *EHR* 90 (1975), 241–61
[C26] D. Dumville, 'Gildas and Maelgwn: problems of Dating', and 'The Chronology of *De Excidio Britanniae*, Book I', *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. M. Lapidge and D. Dumville (1984), pp. 51–9 and 61–84, reptd in T18, pp. I 51–9 and II 61–84
[C27] E.A. Thompson, 'Gildas and the History of Britain', *Britannia* 10 (1979), 203–26, and 11 (1980), 344
[C28] P. Sims-Williams, 'Gildas and the Anglo-Saxons', *CMCS* 6 (1983), 1–30, and 'The Settlement of England in Bede and the *Chronicle*', *ASE* 12 (1983), 1–41, both reptd in T60
[C29] D. Howlett, 'The Prophecy of Saxon Occupation in Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*', *Peritia* 16 (2002), 156–60, and A. Woolf, 'An Interpolation in the Text of Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae*', *Peritia* 16 (2002), 161–7 - on the prophecy that the Germanic invaders would ravage Britain for 150 years [connected by Howlett with King Æthelberht's production of law-code in 602], and occupy it for 300 years [the whole regarded by Wolfe as an interpolation]
[C29.5] I. McKee, 'Gildas: Lessons from History', *CMCS* 51 (2006), 1–36
[C30] D.N. Dumville, 'The Historical Value of the *Historia Brittonum*', *Arthurian Literature* 6 (1986), 1–26, reptd in T11, no. VII. For the *Historia Brittonum* in a different context, see Dumville (F8).
[C32] P.J.C. Field, 'Nennius and his History', *Studia Celtica* 30 (1996), 159–65
[C35] R.W. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain* (1966) - includes chapters on Gildas, Bede and the *Historia Brittonum*
See also Howe (C88), pp. 35–49 (on Gildas) and 49–71 (on Bede).

General discussion of the settlements, and related issues
Entries on Adventus Saxonum, and Settlement, in A100. See also Higham (A17); Higham (C10); James (A12), pp. 94–9 (on Gildas) and 107–15 (on Angles, Saxons, and Jutes).
[C40] H.M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation* (1907)
[C41] J. Campbell, in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J. Campbell (1982), pp. 8–44; J. Campbell, 'Britain AD 500', *History Today* (Feb. 2000), 29–35

[C42] C. Hills, *Origins of the English* (2003); see also C. Hills, 'The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of England', *The Northern World*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1980), pp. 71–94, and C. Hills, 'Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England', *History Today* 40 (Oct. 1990), 46–52

[C43] S. Johnson, *Later Roman Britain* (1980), esp. pp. 70–176

[C44] J.N.L. Myres, *The English Settlements* (1986)

[C45] J.N.L. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England* (1969), pp. 62–141; J.N.L. Myres, 'The Adventus Saxonum', *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond*, ed. W.S.F. Grimes (1951), pp. 221–41

[C50] L. Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons* (1987), pt IV (on 'Contact and Conflict between Britons and Anglo-Saxons')

[C51] P. Dixon, *Barbarian Europe* (1976), pp. 43–63

[C52] C. Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (1981), pp. 241–74 (on fifth-century Britain and the British Church) and 347–55 - especially important for British survival

[C55] H. Kleinschmidt, 'Beyond Conventionality. Recent Work on the Germanic Migration to the British Isles', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser. 36 (1995), 975–1010

[C56] I. Wood, 'Before and After the Migration to Britain', in T35, pp. 41–54

[C57] J. Hines, 'The Anglian Migration in British Historical Research', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 11 (1998), 155–65

Linguistic and place-name evidence

See Cameron (B870), Gelling (B871), Clark (in B521), and:

[C60] M. Gelling, 'The Evidence of Place-Names', *Medieval Settlement*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (1976), pp. 200–11, and 'Towards a Chronology for English Place-Names', in P109, pp. 59–79

[C61] *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements*, ed. K. Cameron, English Place-Name Society (1975) - esp. Dodgson on *-ingas* names

[C62] G. Copley, *Archaeology and Place-Names in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, BAR Brit. ser. 147 (1986)

[C63] K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953) - the classic work on this aspect of the evidence, esp. 'Britons and Saxons in the Fifth to Eighth Centuries', pp. 194–261 (incl. maps of 'The Anglo-Saxon Occupation of England', pp. 208–9, and 'British River Names', p. 220), and 'The Name Bernicia', pp. 701–5

[C64] R. Derolez, 'Cross-Channel Language Ties', *ASE* 3 (1974), 1–14

[C65] J. Hines, 'Philology, Archaeology and the *adventus Saxonum vel Anglorum*', *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, ed. A. Bammesberger and A. Wollmann (1990), pp. 17–36; J. Hines, 'The Becoming of the English: Identity, Material Culture and Language in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *ASSAH* 7 (1994), 49–59

[C66] R.H. Bremmer, 'The Nature of the Evidence for a Frisian Participation in the *Adventus Saxonum*', *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, ed. A. Bammesberger and A. Wollmann (1990), pp. 353–71

[C67] M.L. Faull, 'The Semantic Development of Old English *wealh*', *Leeds Studies in English* new ser. 8 (1975), 20–44; L.M. Alexander, 'The Legal Status of the Native Britons in Late Seventh-Century Wessex as Reflected by the Law Code of Ine', *HSJ* 7 (1995), 31–8

[C68] D. Parsons, 'The Language of the Anglo-Saxon Settlers', NOWELE Supplement 17 (1996), 146–51; see also Parsons (B715)

[C69] P. V. Stiles, 'Remarks on the "Anglo-Frisian" Thesis', NOWELE Supplement 12 (1995), 177–220

[C70] R. Coates and A. Breeze, *Celtic Voices English Places: Studies of the Celtic Impact on Place-Names in England* (2000)

[C71] S. Oppenheimer, *The Origins of the British: a Genetic Detective Story* (2006) - suggesting that a form of 'English' was spoken by the inhabitants of Britain *before* the arrival of the Romans

Archaeological evidence

For general guidance, see B830, etc., and for early use of archaeological material, see S84, etc. See also Lucy (N120), Johnson (B832), Laing (B833), Wilson (B834), Higham (C10). For the most recent work, it is necessary to consult the annual bibliography published in *ASE*. There are several relevant entries in A100, e.g. cemeteries, grave goods, Mucking, pottery, settlement.

Roman and sub-Roman Britain

[C75] S.C. Hawkes, 'Soldiers and Settlers in Roman Britain', *Medieval Archaeology* 5 (1961), 1–70 - the classic statement of the case for the mercenaries

[C76] S. Frere, 'The End of Towns in Roman Britain', *The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain*, ed. J.S. Wacher (1966), pp. 87–100

[C77] B. Jones and D. Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (1990), pp. 306–20

[C78] S.C. Hawkes, 'The South-East after the Romans', *The Saxon Shore: a Handbook*, ed. V.A. Maxfield (1989), pp. 78–95

Continental origins of the Angles, Saxons, etc.

[C80] J.N.L. Myres, 'The Angles, Saxons and Jutes', *PBA* 56 (1971), 145–74

[C81] H. Parker, 'Feddersen Wierde and Vallhagar: a Contrast in Settlements', *Medieval Archaeology* 9 (1965), 1–10; Anon., 'Feddersen Wierde', *Current Archaeology* 13 (1969), 56–61 - excavation of a continental site

[C82] W.A. Van Es, *Wijster: a Native Village beyond the Imperial Frontier* (1967)

[C83] J. Hines, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period*, BAR British Series 124 (1984) - on origins in western Norway

[C83a] J. Hines, 'The Military Context of the *adventus Saxonum*: Some Continental Evidence', *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. S.C. Hawkes (1989), pp. 25–48

[C84] C. Hills, 'Frisia and England: the Archaeological Evidence for Connections', *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 45 (1996), 35–46; A. Heidinga, 'The Frisian Achievement in the First Millennium A.D.', in C133, pp. 11–16

[C85] T. Capelle, *Die Sachsen des frühen Mittelalters* (1998)

Articles on continental Germanic sites in *Studien zur Sachsenforschung*

For an exposition of the consciousness among the Anglo-Saxon peoples of their continental origins, and of the ways in which this consciousness contributed to their sense of identity, and manifested itself in their literature, at various times, see:

[C88] N. Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (1989), esp. 'The Persistence of the Migration Myth' (Alcuin, Wulfstan, *et al.*), pp. 8–32

Surveys of the archaeological evidence

See Lucy (N120), and the essays collected in Lucy and Reynolds (N130).

[C90] C. Hills, 'The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England in the Pagan Period: a Review', *ASE* 8 (1979), 297–329

[C91] M. Biddle, 'Archaeology and the Beginnings of English Society', in T21, pp. 391–408

[C92] L. Webster, 'Anglo-Saxon England AD 400–1100', *Archaeology in Britain Since 1945* (1986; British Museum Publications), pp. 119–59

[C93] J. Hines, 'The Sixth-Century Transition in Anglian England', *The Pace of Change: Studies in Early Medieval Chronology*, ed. J. Hines, *et al.* (1998)

[C94] S. West, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk*, East Anglian Archaeology 84 (1998), esp. 264–5 ('Historical Summary of Anglo-Saxon Studies in Suffolk'), 266–75 ('The Early Anglo-Saxon Phase', on settlements and cemeteries) - excellent regional study

Categories of archaeological evidence

For attractive colour plates of early Anglo-Saxon artefacts, published in the 1850s, see *Saxon Obsequies* (S84), Akerman (S85), and *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (S86).

[C95] J.N.L. Myres, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Pottery of the Pagan Period*, 2 vols. (1977), esp. vol. 1, pp. 59–65 (workshops) and 114–27 (historical summary); see also Myres (C45), and D.H. Kennett, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery* (1978; Shire Archaeology paperback)

[C96] J. Hines, *A New Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches* (1997) - over 200 brooches classified in a sequence covering the period 500–570 AD; but note that it omits the Kentish series (p. 4), which are especially important for connections between southern Scandinavia and Kent in the sixth century; cf. Hawkes (C107a)

[C97] M. Guido, *The Glass Beads of Anglo-Saxon England c. AD 400–700*, ed. M. Welch (1999)

See also entry on pottery in A100.

[C98] S. Suzuki, *The Quoit Brooch Style and Anglo-Saxon Settlement: a Casting and Recasting of Cultural Identity Symbols* (2000)

Cemeteries

[C100] A. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (1964) - very useful and informative, but inevitably out of date; 'new' inhumation and cremation cemeteries are excavated all the time

[C101] E.T. Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (1913; reprinted 1970, with introduction by J.N.L. Myres); E.T. Leeds, 'The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically Considered', *Archaeologia* 91 (1945), 1–106 - for the classic approach

[C102] P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson and L. Watts, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*, BAR, Brit. ser. 82 (1980)

[C103] *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: a Reappraisal*, ed. E. Southworth (1990); and for the work of Brian Faussett (1720–76), see Hawkes (S70k) and Rhodes (S70k).

[C106] J. Caruth and S. Anderson, 'RAF Lakenheath Saxon Cemetery', *Current Archaeology* 163 (June 1999), 244–50, with glorious photographs - burial of a man with a

horse, among the graves in a sixth-century inhumation cemetery excavated on the American airforce base at Lakenheath, Suffolk, in October 1997; further information is available on the www

[C107] K. Parfitt and B. Brugmann, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery on Mill Hill, Deal, Kent* (1997) - a sixth-century pagan cemetery in east Kent

[C107a] S.C. Hawkes, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery of Bifrons, in the Parish of Patrixbourne, East Kent', *ASSAH* 11 (2000), 1–94; and for the square-headed brooch from Grave 41, see pp. 32–4 with fig. 19 on p. 36

[C107b] K. Leahy and D. Williams, 'Sheffield's Hill: Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries', *Current Archaeology* 15.7 [no. 175] (2001), 310–11 – pair of cemeteries in Lincs. (6th c.; 7th c.)

Spong Hill

[C108] C. Hills, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part I: Catalogue of Cremations, Nos. 20–64 and 1000–1690*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 6 (1977); *Spong Hill, Part II*, EAAR 11 (1981); *Spong Hill, Part III*, EAAR 21 (1984); *Spong Hill, Part IV*, EAAR 34 (1987); *Spong Hill, Part V*, EAAR 67 (1994); *Spong Hill, Part VIII*, EAAR 69 (1994); *Spong Hill, Part VII*, EAAR 73 (1995) - reports on a major cremation cemetery in Norfolk

[C108a] C. Hills, 'Spong Hill and the Adventus Saxonum', *Spaces of the Living and the Dead: an Archaeological Dialogue*, ed. C.E. Karkov, *et al.* (1999), pp. 15–26; C. Hills, 'Did the People of Spong Hill come from Schleswig-Holstein?', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 11 (1998), 145–54

See also S84 (Little Wilbraham, Cambs.) and S86 (Kingston, Kent).   For the study of seventh-century cemeteries, see Geake (D73).

Settlements

[C109] E.T. Leeds, 'A Saxon Village Near Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire', *Archaeologia* 72 (1923), 147–92; [2nd report], *Archaeologia* 76 (1927), 59–79; [3rd report], *Archaeologia* 92 (1947), 79–93

[C110] P.V. Addyman, 'The Anglo-Saxon House: a New Review', *ASE* 1 (1972), 273–307, with many essential references

[C111] P.J. Fowler, 'Agriculture and Rural Settlement', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1976), pp. 23–48

[C112] P. Rahtz, 'Buildings and Rural Settlement', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1976), pp. 49–98

[C113] S. West, *West Stow: the Anglo-Saxon Village*, 2 vols., East Anglian Archaeology Report 24 (1985) - full report on the excavation of this important settlement and cemetery in Suffolk; alternatively, visit the West Stow Country Park; see also West (C94)

[C114] H. Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: the Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe 400–900* (2002); H. Hamerow, 'Settlement Mobility and the "Middle Saxon Shift": Rural Settlements and Settlement Patterns in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 20 (1991), 1–17; H. Hamerow, 'Mucking: the Anglo-Saxon Settlement', *Current Archaeology* 10.4 (Sept. 1988), 129–31; entry on Mucking in A100

Continuity or cataclysm?

[C120] C.J. Arnold, *Roman Britain to Saxon England* (1984)

[C121] H.P.R. Finberg, *Lucerna* (1964), esp. 'Continuity or Cataclysm?', pp. 1–20, and 'Roman and Saxon Withington', pp. 21–65

[C122] R. Lennard, 'The Character of the Anglo-Saxon Conquests: a Disputed Point', *History* 18 (1933), 204–13, and 'From Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England', *Wirtschaft und Kultur: Festschrift … A. Dopsch* (1938), pp. 34–73

[C123] *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (1976; paperback reprint, 1979), esp. Introduction (by P.H. Sawyer, pp. 1–7), ch. 3 (G.R.J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 15–40) and ch. 7 (D. Bonney, 'Early Boundaries and Estates in Southern England', pp. 72–82)

See also Taylor (P106, pp. 109–24, on 'The Coming of the Saxons'), and Higham (C10).

King Arthur

British resistance to the 'Anglo-Saxon' invaders in the second half of the fifth century culminated with their victory at the battle of Mount Badon, and came to be personified by King Arthur.

[C124] O.J. Padel, 'The Nature of Arthur', *CMCS* 27 (1994), 1–31, and *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature* (2000); see also his entry on Arthur in A100, and note that the cover of his book shows a charter of King Arthur, dated London 7 April 531, confirming privileges to the University of Cambridge [copied in 1587]

[C124a] A. Moffat, *Arthur and the Lost Kingdoms* (1999), relocating Arthur in Scotland - a book which according to its blurb 'will restore what our Anglo-Saxon history has hidden from us, a lost sense of our Celtic selves'

[C124b] N.J. Higham, *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History* (2002), reviewing the development of the Arthurian myth, and in this process setting the *Historia Brittonum* (B11) and the *Annales Cambriae* (B70) in their respectively ninth- and tenth-century contexts
See also James (A12), pp. 99–101.

The emergence of the kingdoms of the 'Heptarchy' in the sixth century

The 'Heptarchy' denotes the seven component kingdoms of early Anglo-Saxon England, comprising Kent, the three 'Saxon' kingdoms of Wessex, Essex and Sussex, and the three 'Anglian' kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia and East Anglia. The concept was not known to William of Malmesbury (see B620, Prol.), and appears to have originated in the mind of Henry of Huntingdon (B635, bk I, ch. 4, p. 16, and bk II, ch. 40, p. 130; see also Greenway, pp. lx–lxii, and entry in A100). For later (variant) manifestations, see, e.g., Roger of Wendover (B650, *s.a.* 886), and Matthew Paris (B655 and B658). The term itself has been used since the sixteenth century to convey the notion that the kingdoms formed the component parts of a greater whole, and from time to time recognised a common overlord. Needless to say, the truth is more complex, not least because there were more 'kingdoms' than seven; but it remains useful as an organising principle.

[C125] J. Campbell, 'Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', in T9, pp. 209–28

For some basic information on each kingdom, see Keynes (M2), and separate entries in A100 on the kingdoms and peoples themselves. Understanding of the origins of the various kingdoms depends on the combination of historical, archaeological and place-name evidence. For some regional studies, see A40, and for some general remarks, see Yorke (A9), pp. 1–24 and 157–78, and Kirby (A10), pp. 1–29; also James (A12), pp. 116–21.

[C130] *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. S. Bassett (1989) - studies, by various authors, of the origins of various kingdoms; incl. S. Bassett, 'In Search of the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', pp. 3–27, and T. Charles-Edwards, 'Early Medieval Kingships in the British Isles', pp. 28–39

[C130.5] The 'FA Cup model' of political development in Anglo-Saxon England (650–850) was propounded by Bassett (C130), pp. 26–7, representing the process in terms of the successive rounds of 'a fiercely contested knock-out competition', leading to a final between Wessex and Mercia; but perhaps the reality was more complex than that. Discussion: Wickham (A29), pp. 313–14, 325, 345; Hamerow (C134), p. 282.

[C131] *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. S.T. Driscoll and M.R. Nieke (1988) - incl. C.J. Arnold, 'Territories and Leadership: Frameworks for the Study of Emergent Polities in Early Anglo-Saxon Southern England', pp. 111–27, and G. Fisher, 'Style and Sociopolitical Organisation: a Preliminary Study from Early Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 128–44

[C132] C.J. Arnold, *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (1988)

[C133] *The Making of Kingdoms*, ed. T. Dickinson and D. Griffiths, *ASSAH* 10 (1999) - incl. B. Yorke, 'The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: the Contribution of Written Sources', pp. 25–9, and Geake (D73)

[C134] H. Hamerow, 'The Earliest Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms' [2005], in Fouracre (A69), pp. 263–88 – on the emergence of kingdoms in the 6th century, and the formation of identities, told from an archaeological point of view (with ref. to *Tribal Hidage*, etc.)

The Kingdom of Kent
Yorke (A9), pp. 25–44; Kirby (A10), pp. 30–47; Kelly on Kent in A100.

[C135] S.C. Hawkes, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent *c.* 425–725', *Archaeology in Kent to AD 1500*, ed. P.E. Leach (1982), pp. 64–78; N. Brooks, 'The Creation and Early Structure of the Kingdom of Kent', in C130, pp. 55–74, reptd in T59, pp. 33–60, and 'The English Origin Myth', in T59, pp. 79–89, on Hengist and Horsa; Hawkes (C107a), on the cemetery at Bifrons

[C136] K.P. Witney, *The Kingdom of Kent: a History from c. 450 to 825* (1982); A. Everitt, *Continuity and Colonization: the Evolution of Kentish Settlement* (1986);

[C137] B. Yorke, 'Joint Kingship in Kent *c.* 560 to 785', *Archæologia Cantiana* 99 (1983), 1–19; Kelly (B291), pp. 195–203

[C138] C. Behr, 'The Origins of Kingship in Early Medieval Kent', *EME* 9 (2000), 25–52 - on the evidence of bracteates
See also Lendinara (M178), on the Kentish laws.

The Kingdom of Essex
Yorke (A9), pp. 45–57; Yorke on Essex in A100.

[C140] B. Yorke, 'The Kingdom of the East Saxons', *ASE* 14 (1985), 1–36; see also Pearson, *et al.* (D68)

[C141] K. Bascombe, 'Two Charters of King Suebred of Essex', *An Essex Tribute*, ed. K. Neale (1987), pp. 85–96

See also Dumville (C159).

The Kingdom of Sussex

Kelly (B293), pp. lxxiii–lxxxiv; Kelly on Sussex in A100.

[C145] *The South Saxons*, ed. P. Brandon (1978); M.G. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 2 vols., BAR Brit. ser. 112 (1983); M. Welch, 'The Kingdom of the South Saxons: the Origins', in C130, pp. 75–83

The Kingdom of Northumbria

Yorke (A9), pp. 72–99; Kirby (A10), pp. 61–76; Holdsworth on Northumbria in A100; James (A12), pp. 129–41; Higham (A45).

[C150] P. Hunter Blair, 'The Origins of Northumbria', in T8, no. III; R. Cramp, 'Northumbria: the Archaeological Evidence', in C131, pp. 69–78; D. Dumville, 'The Origins of Northumbria: Some Aspects of the British Background', in T18, pp. III 1–14

[C152] *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD*, ed. H. Geake and J. Kenny (2000)

[C153] R.G. Gruffyd, 'In Search of Elmet', *Studia Celtica* 28 (1994), 63–79 - British kingdom in West Yorkshire which survived into the seventh century; see also entry on Elmet in A100

[C154] N. Higham, 'Northumbria's Southern Frontier: a Review', *EME* 14 (2006), 391–417

For the name Bernicia, see Jackson (C63).

The Kingdom of Mercia

Yorke (A9), pp. 100–27; Gelling (A42); Keynes on Mercia in A100; James (A12), pp. 144–6.

[C155] B. Yorke, 'The Origins of Mercia', in E34, pp. 13–22; N. Brooks, 'The Formation of the Mercian Kingdom', in C130, pp. 159–70, reptd in T59, pp. 61–77; W. Davies, 'Annals and the Origin of Mercia', in E26a, pp. 17–29; D.P. Kirby, 'Welsh Bards and the Border', *ibid.*, pp. 31–42; M. Gelling, 'The Early History of Western Mercia', in C130, pp. 184–201

[C155a] G. Jones, 'Penda's Footprint? Place-Names Containing Personal Names Associated with those of Early Mercian Kings', *Nomina* 21 (1998), 29–62

[C155b] J. Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: a Study and Edition of the Englynion* (1990); and for further guidance on Old Welsh poetry, e.g. on Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn (s. vii), see O. Padel, *A Bibliography of Medieval Welsh Literature*, ASNC GTS 3 (2000), Section F

On Mercians and Welsh, see also Finberg (E52).

The Hwicce and the Magonsætan

[C156] the Hwicce (Gloucs./Worcs.): see Finberg, *Charters of the West Midlands* (B325), pp. 167–80 ('The Princes of the Hwicce'); Sims-Williams (D26), pp. 29–39

[C157] the Magonsætan (Herefordshire): see Finberg, *Charters of the West Midlands* (B325), pp. 197–216 (Testament of St Mildburg) and 217–24 ('The Princes of the Magonsæte'); K. Pretty, 'Defining the Magonsæte', in C130, pp. 171–83; Gelling (C130), pp. 184–201, and (A42), pp. 80–5; Sims-Williams (D26), pp. 39–53

[C157a] S. Bassett, 'How the West was Won: the Anglo-Saxon Takeover of the West Midlands', *ASSAH* 11 (2000), 107–18

Yorke on the Hwicce in A100.

Lindsey

[C158] A. Vince, *et al.*, *Pre-Viking Lindsey* (1993), incl. S. Foot, 'The Kingdom of Lindsey', and B. Yorke, 'Lindsey: the Lost Kingdom Found?'; B. Eagles, 'Lindsey', in C130, pp. 202–12; K. Leahy, 'The Formation of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey', in C133, pp. 127–33

Keynes on Lindsey in A100.

Middle Angles and the fenland

[C158a] P. Courtney, 'The Early Saxon Fenland: a Reconsideration', *ASSAH* 2 (1981), 91–102

[C159] D. Dumville, 'Essex, Middle Anglia, and the Expansion of Mercia in the South-East Midlands', in T18, pp. IX 1–30

[C159a] J. Hines, 'The Anglo-Saxon Archaeology of the Cambridgeshire Region and the Middle Anglian Kingdom', in C133, pp. 135–49

Keynes on the Middle Angles in A100.

Surrey and Middlesex

[C160] K. Rutherford Davis, *Britons and Saxons: the Chiltern Region 400–700* (1982); J. Blair, 'Frithuwold's Kingdom and the Origins of Surrey', in C130, pp. 97–107, and A43; K. Bailey, 'The Middle Saxons', in C130, pp. 108–22

Yorke on the Middle Saxons in A100.

The Kingdom of Wessex

Yorke (A9), pp. 128–56; Kirby (A10), pp. 48–60; Yorke (A46); Yorke on Wessex in A100.

The rulers were known initially as kings 'of the Gewisse' [cf. Bede, HE iii.7, and Insley (A115)], then 'of the Saxons' (after Cædwalla's conquests in the late seventh century), and then 'of the West Saxons' (during the reign of Ine, and by the time of Bede). See also Kleinschmidt (D182).

[C165] S.C. Hawkes, 'The Early Saxon Period', *The Archaeology of the Oxford Region*, ed. G. Briggs, J. Cook and T. Rowley (1986), pp. 64–108

[C166] M. Biddle, 'Hampshire and the Origins of Wessex', *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*, ed. G. de G. Sieveking, *et al.* (1976), pp. 323–41

[C167] J.N.L. Myres, 'Wansdyke and the Origin of Wessex', *Essays in British History Presented to Sir K. Feiling*, ed. H.R. Trevor-Roper (1964), pp. 1–27

[C168] E.T. Leeds, 'The West Saxon Invasion and the Icknield Way', *History* 10 (1925), 97–109

[C169] D.P. Kirby, 'Problems of Early West Saxon History', *EHR* 80 (1965), 10–29

[C170] H.E. Walker, 'Bede and the *Gewisse*: the Political Evolution of the Heptarchy', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 12 (1956), 174–86

[C171] F.M. Stenton, 'The Foundations of English History', in T1, pp. 116–26

[C172] W.G. Hoskins, *The Westward Expansion of Wessex* (1970)

[C173] H.P.R. Finberg, 'Sherborne, Glastonbury and the Expansion of Wessex', *Lucerna* (1964), pp. 95–115

[C174] B. Yorke, 'The Jutes of Hampshire and Wight and the Origins of Wessex', in C130, pp. 84–96

[C175] D. Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 21–66

[C176] D.J. Tyler, 'Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and Early West Saxon Kingship', *Southern History* 19 (1997), 1–23

[C177] N. Stoodley, 'Burial Rites, Gender and the Creation of Kingdoms: the Evidence from Seventh-century Wessex', in C133, pp. 99–107

The Kingdom of East Anglia

Yorke (A9), pp. 58–71; Higham on East Anglia in A100.

[C185] F.M. Stenton, 'The East Anglian Kings of the Seventh Century', in T1, pp. 394–402

[C186] S. Newton, *The Origins of Beowulf and the Pre-Viking Kingdom of East Anglia* (1993)

D. FROM PAGANISM TO CHRISTIANITY

The conversion of the English from paganism to Christianity is traditionally regarded as a process which began with the arrival of St Augustine in 597 (HE i.25), which involved various other missionaries, and which ended in the 680s with the conversion of the Isle of Wight (HE iv.16). Of course this is Bede's conception of the subject; but it is not only for this reason that this section extends into the first half of the eighth century.

[D1] J. Campbell, 'The First Christian Kings', and P. Wormald, 'The Age of Bede and Æthelbald', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J. Campbell (1982), pp. 45–69 and 70–100

[D1.5] A. Thacker, 'England in the Seventh Century' [2005], in Fouracre (A69), pp. 462–95

[D2] P. Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede* (1970), reptd with foreword and bibliographical addenda by M. Lapidge (1990)

[D3] H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (1972), 3rd ed. (1991)

[D4] P. Hunter Blair, *Northumbria in the Days of Bede* (1976)

[D5] M.L.W. Laistner, *The Intellectual Heritage of Western Europe* (1957)

[D6] N. Brooks, 'Historical Introduction', in A200, pp. 9–14, reptd in T59, pp. 21–31

The proceedings of the commemorative conference on St Augustine, held in 1997:

[D7] *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. R. Gameson (1999), incl. R. Gameson, 'Augustine of Canterbury: Context and Achievement', pp. 1–40, and C. Stancliffe, 'The British Church and the Mission of Augustine', pp. 107–51

The most recent survey: Yorke (A9.5). See also James (A12), pp. 147–79, esp. 151–60 (Augustine) and 160–4 (Aidan, *et al.*).

Pagan practices in Anglo-Saxon England

For Bede on pagan practices, in *De temporum ratione*, ch. 15, see Wallis (D184.3), pp. 53–4 and 285–7. See also Mayr-Harting (D3), pp. 22–30; Hunter Blair (A2), pp. 120–4; Whitelock

(A32), pp. 19–28; Gelling (B871), pp. 154–61; Page (B711), pp. 105–16; Gelling (A42), pp. 92–4; and entry on paganism in A100.

[D10] D. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (1992)

[D10a] G. Owen, *Rites and Religion of the Anglo-Saxons* (1981)

[D11] J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Pagan Shrines and their Prototypes', *ASSAH* 8 (1995), 1–28

[D12] F.M. Stenton, 'Anglo-Saxon Heathenism', in T1, pp. 281–97

[D13] B. Dickins, 'English Names and Old English Heathenism', *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* 19 (1934), 148–60

[D14] M. Gelling, 'Place-Names and Anglo-Saxon Paganism', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 8.1 (1961), 7–25, and M. Gelling, 'Further Thoughts on Pagan Place-Names', reptd in C61, pp. 99–114

[D15] D. Wilson, 'A Note on OE *hearg* and *weoh* as Place-Name Elements representing different types of Pagan Saxon Worship Sites', *ASSAH* 4 (1985), 179–83

[D16] W. Bonser, *The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England* (1963), pp. 117–57 - on survivals of paganism

[D17] J.D. Niles, 'Pagan Survivals and Popular Beliefs', in A51.2, pp. 126–41

[D18] E. John, 'The Point of Woden', *ASSAH* 5 (1992), 127–34

[D19] R.I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon Paganism: the Evidence of Bede', *Pagans and Christians*, ed. T. Hofstra, *et al.*, Mediaevalia Groningana 16 (1995), 99–129; see also R.I. Page, *Life in Anglo-Saxon England* (1970), pp. 27–44

[D19a] R. North, *Heathen Gods in Old English Literature* (1997)

On the names of the days of the week, see Green (E21), pp. 236–53.

The conversion to Christianity

The principal sources for the 'Roman' mission include the letters of Pope Gregory the Great (B300), the *Liber Pontificalis* (B601), the Whitby *Life* of Gregory (B133), and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (B21). For the 'Celtic' mission, see Adomnán's *Life of Columba* (B120), the *Lives* of St Cuthbert (B130), Bede's *Ecclesistical History* (B21), and the *Historia Brittonum* (B11). See also the *Life* of St Wilfrid (B140).

For the deconstruction of Bede's view of the conversion, see Brooks (D169.5).

General studies, and missionary methods

[D20] J. Campbell, 'The First Century of Christianity in England', in T9, pp. 49–67 (orig. ptd in *Ampleforth Journal* 76 (1971), 12–29) - of great importance

[D21] J. Campbell, 'Observations on the Conversion of England', in T9, pp. 69–84 (orig. ptd in *Ampleforth Journal* 78 (1973), 12–26)

[D22] R. Hill, *The Labourers in the Field*, Jarrow Lecture 1974 (1975)

[D23] P. Wormald, 'Bede, *Beowulf*, and the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy', *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R.T. Farrell, BAR, Brit. ser. 46 (1978), 32–95, reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 30–105

[D24] A. Angenendt, 'The Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons Considered against the Background of the Early Medieval Mission', *SettSpol* 32 (1986), 747–92

[D25] M. Richter, 'Practical Aspects of the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons', *Irland und die Christenheit*, ed. P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (1987), pp. 362–76

[D26] P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600–800*, CSASE 3 (1990) - major study of developments in the west midlands

[D27] I. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1500* (2001), and I. Wood, 'The Conversion of the Barbarian Peoples', *The Christian World*, ed. G. Barraclough (1981), pp. 85–98 - for general principles of conversion

[D27.5] I. Wood, 'Christianisation and the Dissemination of Christian Learning', in Fouracre (A69), pp. 710–34, esp. 714–16 (England), 719 (Bede), 730–1 (letters of Gregory)

[D28] J.T. Addison, *The Medieval Missionary* (1936)

[D29] R.E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan', *Speculum* 28 (1953), 705-40, and 'The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages', *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955) - useful for purposes of comparison; both reptd with others in his *Christian Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages* (1994)

[D30] S. Hollis, 'Queen Converters and the Conversion of the Queen: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the Royal Marriage', in Q21, pp. 208–42; M.A. Meyer, 'Queens, Convents, and Conversion in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999), 90–116

[D31] R. Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity 371–1386 AD* (1997)

[D32] A. Scharer, 'La conversion des rois anglo-saxons', *Clovis: Histoire et Mémoire* 1, Actes de Colloque international d'histoire de Reims 1996, ed. M. Rouche (1997), pp. 881–98; A. Scharer, 'The Gregorian Tradition in Early England', in D7, pp. 187–201

[D33] Yorke (A9.5); see also B. Yorke, 'The Reception of Christianity at the Anglo-Saxon Royal Courts', in D7, pp. 152–73; B. Yorke, The Adaptation of the Anglo-Saxon Royal Courts to Christianity', in T103, pp. 243–58

[D34] T. Charles-Edwards, 'Conversion to Christianity', in Charles-Edwards (A7), pp. 103–39, esp. 124–39, with Maps 7–10

Other papers on the contexts of the Gregorian mission in D7. See also relevant sections in A200, pp. 15–37 ('Pagan into Christian') and pp. 38–70 ('The Developing State').

Frankish 'hegemony' over England

In his history of the Emperor Justinian's wars against the Goths, Procopius of Caesarea remarks that the king of the Franks [Theudebert] sent an embassy to Justinian (527–65), with some of the Angles, 'thus seeking to establish his claim that this island was ruled by him' (*History of the Wars*, VIII.xx.10). The notion that the Franks exercised or enjoyed some kind of authority over Kent, and other parts of southern England, in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, proceeds from this statement; and it is important, not least because it seems to provide a context for the mission of St Augustine. The idea was floated by Stenton (A1), pp. 59–60, gently torpedoed by Wallace-Hadrill (D80), pp. 119–21, and by Markus (D37.6), pp. 26–8, and has now come back to the surface:

[D35] I.N. Wood, *The Merovingian North Sea* (1983); I.N. Wood, 'Frankish Hegemony in England', in D67, pp. 235–41; I. Wood, 'The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English', *Speculum* 69 (1994), 1–17; McKitterick, in A70, pp. 64–5; Fouracre and Gerberding, in B604a, pp. 102–3; Wood (C56); Wood (D7); Fouracre, on the 'Franks', in A100; I. Wood, 'Augustine and Gaul', in D7, pp. 68–82

But it is questionable how far the evidence can be pushed.

[D35a] E.A. Thompson, 'Procopius on Brittia and Britannia', *Classical Quarterly*, ns 30 (1980), 498–507; Sims-Williams, on the settlements (C28), p. 24 n. 100

[D35.5] P. Bartholomew, 'Continental Connections: Angles, Saxons and Others in Bede and Procopius', *ASSAH* 13 (2006), 19–30

The Gregorian mission

The story of the Gregorian mission to England can be reconstructed in some detail from the letters of Pope Gregory to various persons, now available in an authoritative modern translation, with commentary: see Martyn (B300), vol. I, pp. 47–72 (context and aspects of the Gregorian mission to England), and the letters themselves in vols. II and II.

[D36.1] The origins, organisation, and early stages of the mission can be reconstructed from letters written during the period 595–9: **(i)** letters to various parties written in Sept. 595, concerning Candidus, with incidental allusion to the purchase of English slave-boys in Gaul: see bk 6.10 (II, pp. 408–9); **(ii)** letters to various parties written in July 596, commending the missionaries on their outward journey (after a false start): see bk 6.51–60 (II, pp. 438–44); **(iii)** letter to Queen Brunhild, written in Sept. 597: see bk 8.4 (II, pp. 501–4); **(iv)** letter to Bishop Eulogius of Alexandria, written in July 598, remarking on initial success: see bk 8.29 (II, pp. 523–5); **(v)** letter to Bishop Syagrius of Autun, written in July 599: see bk 9.223 (II, pp. 691–2).

[D36.2] There was need for more letters of the same kind in 601; but it is also from letters written in this year that we gain an impression of the motives, methods and concerns of the missionaries, and of the role of King Æthelberht and Queen Bertha: **(vi)** letter to Augustine about miracles, written ?1 June 601: see bk 11.36 (III, pp. 779–82) [extract in HE i.31]; **(vii)** letters to various parties written *c.* 22 June 601, commending the second wave of missionaries: see bk 11.38, 40, 42, 45, 47, 48, 50 (III, pp. 785–95); **(viii)** letter to Augustine written 22 June 601, with instructions [HE i.29]: see bk 11.39 (III, p. 786); **(ix)** letters to King Æthelberht [HE i.32] and Queen Bertha, written 22 June 601, with instructions: see bk 11.35 and 37 (III, pp. 778–9 and 782–4); **(x)** Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum*, written in July 601, in response to Augustine's questions [HE i.27]; for the *Libellus Responsionum*, see also Meyvaert (D38); Chadwick (D37.5); Martyn (B300), I, pp. 61–6; **(xi)** letter to Mellitus written 18 July 601, of special importance, since it conveys revised instructions for the missionaries [HE i.30]: see bk 11.56 (III, pp. 802–3, with I, p. 71).

[D37.5] W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (1972), pp. 51–70 - on the motives of Pope Gregory in initiating his mission to England; H. Chadwick, 'Gregory the Great and the Mission to the Anglo-Saxons', *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo*, Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum" 33 (1991), 199–212; see also Wood (D35)

[D37.6] R.A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (1997); R.A. Markus, 'Gregory the Great's Europe', *TRHS* 5th ser. 31 (1981), 21–36; R.A. Markus, 'Gregory the Great and a Papal Missionary Strategy', *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, ed. G.J. Cuming (1970), pp. 29–38; R.A. Markus, 'Augustine and Gregory the Great', in D7, pp. 41–9

[D38] P. Meyvaert, 'Le libellus responsionum à Augustin de Cantorbéry: une oeuvre authentique de saint Grégoire le Grand', *Grégoire le Grand*, ed. J. Fontaine, *et al.* (1986), pp. 543–50; see also Meyvaert in T4, no. X

[D39] E. Demougeot, 'Grégoire le Grand et la conversion du roi germain au VIe siècle', *Grégoire le Grand*, ed. J. Fontaine, *et al.* (1986), pp. 191–203

[D40] R. Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 23 (1994), 5–17

[D41] P. Hunter Blair, 'The Letters of Pope Boniface V and the Mission of Paulinus to Northumbria', in T21, pp. 5–13 (also in T8, no. XI)

[D42] P. Chaplais, 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Augustine' (1969), *Prisca Munimenta*, ed. F. Ranger (1973), pp. 88–107

[D43] D. Farmer, 'St Augustine's Life and Legacy', *English Heritage Book of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, ed. R. Gem (1997), pp. 15–32; S. Kelly, 'The Anglo-Saxon Abbey', ibid., pp. 33–49, and see also B342; R. Gameson, *Saint Augustine of Canterbury* (1997), with pictures; R. Emms, 'The Early History of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', in D7, pp. 410–27

[D43a] E. Cambridge, 'The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission', in D7, pp. 202–36
For England and Rome, see also Q68, etc.

The cults of Pope Gregory the Great and St Augustine

[D43.5] A. Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great: the Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *EME* 7.1 (1998), 59–84

[D43.6] Thacker (G67), pp. 17–24, on Gregory in Anglo-Saxon England, esp. during reigns of Alfred the Great and Æthelstan; A. Thacker, 'In Gregory's Shadow? The Pre-Conquest Cult of Augustine', in D7, pp. 374–90

[D43.65] R. Gameson and F. Gameson, 'From Augustine to Parker: the Changing Face of the First Archbishop of Canterbury', in T111, pp. 13–38

[D43.7] M. Gretsch, 'Ælfric and Gregory the Great', in Scragg (Q228), pp. 11–54; superseded by Gretsch (Q175)

Activities of the Gaelic missionaries in Northumbria and elsewhere
See Bede (B21), bk III, *passim*.

[D44] K. Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (1966) - background to 'Celtic' mission in Northumbria

[D45] *Cummian's Letter 'De controversia paschali'*, ed. and trans. M. Walsh and D. O'Croinin (1988) - first blast on the Easter controversy, written in the 630s (Kenney (B14) no. 57); see also Bede, HE iii. 25–6 and v. 21

The process of Christianization

The kingdoms of Kent and Wessex
For the Christianization of Kentish society in the seventh century, see the law-code of Æthelberht (EHD no. 29; HE ii.5), Bede on Eorconberht (HE iii.8), and the law-codes of Hlothhere and Eadric (EHD no. 30) and Wihtred (EHD no. 31); see also Theodore's Penitential (B390, D191).

[D50] Seventh-century inhumation cemeteries at (e.g.) Finglesham, Kent, and Kingston Down, Kent. See Meaney (C100), pp. 108–42 (Kent), and Hawkes (D72). For the spectacular '**Kingston Brooch**', found in 1771 at Kingston Down, and now in Liverpool, see Campbell (A5), p. 47, and Jessup (B843), pp. 114–16; for a moving account of its discovery by Bryan Faussett in 1771, see Faussett (S86), pp. 77–9 with Pl. I, and Jessup (B843), p. 99 with Pl. V.

[D51] The obits of the seventh-century kings of Kent were recorded in Francia, or in a set of annals which found its way to Francia. Text and discussion: Story (B18). Discussion: e.g. Stenton (A1), p. 61, on the obit of Eadbald, k. of Kent (cf. Bede, *HE* iii.8).

[D53] L. Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (2002), text, translation and commentary, with some valuable comparative discussion, focussed on the Kentish law-codes of the seventh century; see also L. Oliver, '*Cyninges fedesl*: the King's Feeding in Æthelberht, ch. 12', *ASE* 27 (1998), 31–40, and Hough (N60)

[D54] M.P. Richards, 'The Body as Text in Early Anglo-Saxon Law', *Naked before God:Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. B.C. Withers and J. Wilcox (2003), pp. 97–114

For the kingdom of Wessex, see the laws of Ine (EHD no. 32).

'At that time, because there were not yet many monasteries founded in England (*in regione Anglorum*), numbers of people from Britain (*de Brittania*) used to enter the monasteries of the Franks or Gauls to practise the monastic life; they also sent their daughters to be

taught in them and to be wedded to the heavenly bridegroom' (Bede, *HE* iii.8, naming Brie, Chelles, and Andelys-sue-Seine). For Balthild, at Chelles, see B604a.

Yeavering, and the conversion of Northumbria

[D55] B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: an Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (1977), esp. chs. 1 (the site) and 6 (historical significance);

[D56] N.J. Higham, 'Politics and the Conversion', in A45, pp. 105–39

[D57] R. Cramp, 'The Making of Oswald's Northumbria', *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (1995), pp. 17–32

[D58] D. Hinton, 'Great Sites: Yeavering', *British Archaeology* (April 2001), pp. 20–3 (with reconstruction)

Sutton Hoo, and the conversion of East Anglia

Monday 8 May 1939. 'Arrived at Sutton Hoo ... and ... interviewed Mrs Pretty who accompanied me to the mounds. I asked which one she would like opened and she pointed to I, the largest barrow of the group, and said "What about this?" and I replied that it would be quite all right for me.' (Diary of Basil Brown (D61), pp. 141–69, at 156.)

[D60] A. Care Evans, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (1986) - 'official' British Museum guide, superseding R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial: a Handbook*, 3rd ed. (1978)

[D61] R. Bruce Mitford, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology: Sutton Hoo and other Discoveries* (1974) - including his papers on Rendlesham, the Snape boat-grave, the Benty Grange helmet, St Cuthbert's cross, and the Fuller Brooch; also including the diary of Basil Brown

[D61a] R. Markham, *Sutton Hoo through the Rear-View Mirror 1937–1942*, Sutton Hoo Society (2002) - photographs of the original excavations

[D62] R. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial: Some Foreign Connections', *SettSpol* 32 (1986), 143–210

[D63] R. Bruce-Mitford, *et al.*, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial*, 3 vols. (1975–83) - the original 'official' publication, covering the ship itself and general questions of interpretation (vol. I), the arms, armour and regalia (vol. II), and the other bits and pieces (vol. III); see review arts. in *ASE* 6 (1977), 249–65, and *ASSAH* 5 (1992), 1–24; but see Carver (D64)

[D64] M. Carver, *Sutton Hoo: a Seventh-Century Princely Burial Ground and its Context*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 69 (2005) - the major publication arising from the more recent programme of excavations, incorporating re-interpretation and new drawings of Mound One (e.g. pp. 178, 195–6, 491, 502–3), and reconstruction of its appearance on the day of the burial (p. 199)

[D64.5] M. Carver, 'Sutton Hoo in Context', *SettSpol* 32 (1986), 77–117; *Sutton Hoo Research Committee Bulletins 1983–1993*, ed. M.O.H. Carver (1993)

[D65] V.I. Evison, 'The Body in the Ship at Sutton Hoo', *ASSAH* 1, BAR, Brit. ser. 72 (1979), 121–38; see also K. East, 'The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: a Case against the Coffin', *ASSAH* 3 (1984), 79– 84

[D66] *Voyage to the Other World: the Legacy of Sutton Hoo*, ed. C.B. Kendall and P.S. Wells, Medieval Studies at Minnesota 5 (1992) - e.g. A.M. Stahl, 'The Nature of the Sutton Hoo Coin Parcel', pp. 3–14; R. Frank, '*Beowulf* and Sutton Hoo: the Odd Couple', pp. 47–64 (reptd in B835); and J. Campbell, 'The Impact of the Sutton Hoo Discovery on the Study of Anglo-Saxon History', pp. 79–101, reptd in T66, pp. 55–83; see also Keynes (D181)

[D67] *The Age of Sutton Hoo: the Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*, ed. M.O.H. Carver (1992) - e.g. J. Stevenson, 'Christianity in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Southumbria', pp. 175–83; M.O.H. Carver, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sutton Hoo: an Interim Report', pp. 343–71

[D68] *Sutton Hoo: Fifty Years After*, ed. R. Farrell and C. Neuman de Vegvar, American Early Medieval Studies 2 (1992)

[D68a] M.P. Pearson, R. van de Noort and A. Woolf, 'Three Men and a Boat: Sutton Hoo and the East Saxon Kingdom', *ASE* 22 (1993), 27–50; W. Filmer-Sankey, 'The "Roman Emperor" in the Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 148 (1996), 1–9

[D69] M. Carver, *Sutton Hoo: Burial Ground of Kings?* (1998) - incorporating results of the excavations in the 1980s and 1990s

[D69a] J. Newman, 'Sutton Hoo before Raedwald', *Current Archaeology* 15.12 (2002), 498–505

See also Newton (C186), and Hines (C83), pp. 286–300.

Other seventh-century cemeteries and burials

See entry on princely burials in A100, and Carver (B835), pp. 34–40.

[D70] A.L. Meaney and S.C. Hawkes, *Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Winnall* (1970)

[D71] T.M. Dickinson, *Cuddesdon and Dorchester-on-Thames: Two Early 'Princely' Sites in Wessex*, BAR British ser. 1 (1974)

[D72] S.C. Hawkes, 'The Archaeology of Conversion: Cemeteries', in A5, pp. 48–9; see also Morris (Q15), pp. 49–62

[D73] H. Geake, *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c.600–c.850*, BAR British ser. 261 (1997); H. Geake, 'Invisible Kingdoms: the Use of Grave-Goods in Seventh-Century England', in C133, pp. 203–15 - on the uniformity of material culture; H. Geake, 'The Control of Burial Practice in Middle Anglo-Saxon England', in T103, pp. 259–69

[D75] Taplow, Buckinghamshire. The burial of Tæppa, in his mound at Taplow, overlooking the Thames, was excavated in 1883: K. East and L.E. Webster, *The Anglo-Saxon Princely Burials from Taplow, Broomfield and Caenby* (forthcoming), and entry on Taplow in A100. See also Jessup (B843), pp. 98–9 with Pl. IV (glorious photo); and refs. in Meaney (C100), p. 59, esp. VCH Bucks., i.199–204; also *Current Archaeol.* 15.7 (2001), 286–9.

[D76] Benty Grange, Derbyshire, whence the famous boar-headed helmet: Bruce-Mitford (D61), pp. 223–52.

[D77] Wollaston, Northamptonshire. I. Meadows, 'Wollaston: the "Pioneer" Burial', *Current Archaeology* 13.10 [no. 154] (Sept. 1997), 391–5; I. Meadows, 'The Pioneer Helmet: a Dark-Age Princely Burial from Northamptonshire', *Medieval Life* 8 (1997/8), 2–4 and cover photograph - first accounts of an inhumation burial, with a hanging-bowl, a sword, and a boar-headed helmet. See also Story (E86), pp. 268–72, for animal-crested helmets.

[D78] Prittlewell, near Southend-on-Sea, Essex: a well-furnished chamber-grave, discovered in the autumn of 2003, and widely regarded as the burial of an early seventh-century king of Essex (though in fact there is no good reason to regard this as a king's burial, as opposed to that of a local toff). Not yet published in detail; so the main source of information is <www.museumoflondon.org.uk>, which has a full account of the site, and images of all the material. See also 'Prittlewell: Treasures of a King of Essex', *Current Archaeology* 190 (Feb. 2004). pp. 430–6; *The Prittlewell Prince: the Discovery of a Rich Anglo-Saxon Burial in Essex*, Museum of London Archaeology Service (2004).

The Council of Whitby (664)

The issues at stake included the correct date for the keeping of Easter (cf. D45, D184.2), the correct form of tonsure, and other significant matters of ecclesiastical discipline. The primary accounts are Stephen's *Life of St Wilfrid* (B140), ch. 10, and, at greater length, Bede, HE iii.25–6. The protagonists were (on the 'Irish' side) Colman (bishop of Lindisfarne), Abbess Hild, and Cedd (bishop of London), and (on the 'Roman' side) Agilbert (bishop of the West Saxons), Agatho (a priest), Wilfrid (abbot of Ripon), James the Deacon, and Romanus, plus King Oswiu (Chairman) and his son King Alhfrith. There is an impressive aerial photograph of Whitby abbey in *Current Archaeology* 14.7 [163] (June 1999), p. 276.

[D79] R. Abels, 'The Council of Whitby: a Study in Early Anglo-Saxon Politics', *Journal of British Studies* 23.1 (1983), 1–25

[D79a] E. James, 'Bede and the Tonsure Question', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 85–98

See also Stenton (A1), pp. 123–8 + 129; Hunter Blair (D2), p. 118; Harrison (D162), pp. 56, 92–3, 137–8; Mayr-Harting (A22), pp. 103–13; etc. For the strength of Bede's feelings about Easter and tonsure, see also HE iii.3 and iii.17 (Aidan), HE v.21 (Abbot Ceolfrith), and HE v.9 and 22 (the priest Egbert). See also entry in A100 on Easter controversy.

THE AGE OF BEDE (673–735)

It is not inappropriate that the late seventh and early eighth centuries should be regarded, *par excellence*, as the 'age of Bede', since his view of the period is necessarily ours. It should be noted at the same time that the period from *c.* 675 to *c.* 725 was one of general political equilibrium, in between two phases of 'Mercian' supremacy. This provided a context for the activities of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury (669–90), esp. at councils of Hertford (HE iv.5) and Hatfield (HE iv.17), and at the battle of the river Trent (HE iv.21); and it is reflected also in the law-codes of Wihtred, king of Kent (690–725), and of Ine, king of Wessex (688–726), in EHD nos. 31–2, in which connection cf. *ASC* s.a. 694. The 'Wealdhere Letter' (M209.5) was produced during this most interesting period: the bishop alludes to disputes between the king of the West Saxons and the 'rulers of our country', i.e. of the East Saxons; and it emerges that he was having to deal also with Coenred, king of the Mercians. Hence Stenton (A1), p. 143, on 'confused relations' at a time when they had no common overlord.

Some important general works on the "Northumbrian renaissance"

[D80] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Rome and the Early English Church: some Questions of Transmission', in T2, pp. 115–37 (orig. ptd in *SettSpol* 7 (1960), 519–48)

[D81] K. Hughes, 'Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age', in T21, pp. 49–67; see also R. Sharpe in *Peritia* 3 (1984)

[D82] J. Campbell, 'The Debt of the Early English Church to Ireland', *Irland und die Christenheit*, ed. P. Ní Cháthain and M. Richter (1987), pp. 332–46

[D83] E. John, 'Social and Political Problems of the Early English Church', *Land, Church and People*, ed. J. Thirsk (1970), pp. 39–63, reptd in T43, pp. 21–53

[D84] C.L. Neuman de Vegvar, *The Northumbrian Renaissance: a Study in the Transmission of Style* (1987)

[D85] J. Hawkes, *The Golden Age of Northumbria* (1996) - pamphlet devised to accompany an exhibition, with excellent range of illustrations

[D86] *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. J. Hawkes and S. Mills (1999) - over thirty short essays on many different aspects of the Northumbrian Church in the seventh and eighth centuries, e.g. Karkov (D99), Parsons (E14), Leahy (D134b), Webster (D351), Lang (D352)

[D87] D. Rollason, 'Monasteries and Society in Early Medieval Northumbria', in Q17a, pp. 59–74

[D88] D. Mac Lean, 'The Northumbrian Perspective', *The St Andrews Sarcophagus: a Pictish Masterpiece and its International Connections*, ed. S.M. Foster (1998), pp. 179–201

See also sections on 'The New Learning' in A200, pp. 71–107, and on 'The Church in Northumbria', in A200, pp. 108–56. For church building in the seventh century, see Morris (Q15), esp. pp. 34–48.

See also James (A12), pp. 180–4, focussing on the Codex Amiatinus (D116), the Lindisfarne Gospels (D120), the Franks Casket (D351), and the Ruthwell Cross (D380).

The varieties of monasticism

It is important to appreciate the differences between the Northumbrian religious houses themselves (e.g. in terms of the circumstances of their foundation, persons associated with them, forms of life practised within them, works or manuscripts produced at them, and the physical appearance of them), lest one should otherwise imagine that Bede's particular view of the Church was the only one available. For double houses, see D135.

History and hagiography

One avenue of approach towards such an understanding of Northumbrian monasticism is through consideration of the persons principally associated with each house, and through study of the interests displayed in any literary works known to have been produced there.

For the Celtic background to the Northumbrian hagiography of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, see Adomnán's *Life of St Columba*, written 679 x 704 (B120). See also, in general, Lapidge (A55), Gransden (A91), and:

[D90] C.W. Jones, *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England* (1947)

[D91] W.F. Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, I: 597–740* (1967)

[D92] B. Colgrave, 'The Earliest Saints' Lives Written in England', *PBA* 44 (1958), 35–60

Whitby

For **Hild** (b. 614), abbess of Hartlepool (from *c.* 647), founder and abbess of Whitby (from 657), and founder of Hackness (680), see Bede, HE iv.23; she died on 17 November 680. King Oswiu was buried at Whitby in 670; bones of King Edwin were brought there in the 680s (*Life of St Gregory*, chs. 18–19). For the story of **Cædmon**, see Bede, HE iv.24, and 'Cædmon's Hymn' (B533). For the cult of Pope **Gregory**, see Thacker (D43.5) and Gretsch (D43.7).

[D95] Anonymous Whitby *Life of Gregory*, written ?704 x 713 (B133)

[D96] B. Colgrave, 'The Earliest *Life* of Gregory the Great, written by a Whitby Monk', in K. Jackson, *et al.*, *Celt and Saxon* (1963), pp. 119–37

[D97] P. Hunter Blair, 'Whitby as a Centre of Learning in the Seventh Century', in T23, pp. 3–32; T. Styles, 'Whitby Revisited: Bede's Explanation of Streanaeshalch', *Nomina* 21 (1998), 133–48

[D98] C.P. Wormald, 'St Hilda, Saint and Scholar (614–80)', *The St Hilda's College Centenary Symposium*, ed. J. Mellanby (1993), pp. 93–103, reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 267–76

[D99] C.E. Karkov, 'Whitby, Jarrow and the Commemoration of Death in Northumbria', in D86, pp. 126–35

For inscribed stones from Whitby, see Lang (B845.6).

Lindisfarne

Aidan, monk and missionary from Iona, was established by King Oswald, in 635, as bishop of Lindisfarne; he died in 651. See Bede, HE iii.3, 5–6, 14–17, 26. **Cuthbert** (b. *c.* 634), monk at Melrose from 651 (Bede, *Life of St Cuthbert*, ch. 6), for a short while guestmaster at Ripon (ch. 7), then back at Melrose as prior (chs. 8–15), then to Lindisfarne from *c.* 664 (ch. 16), and thence into contemplative solitude on Inner Farne from 676 (chs. 17–23), until appointed bishop in 684 (chs. 24–5), leading to his short but exemplary episcopal career (chs. 26–37). Cuthbert died on 20 March 687 (chs. 37–40, based on an account by Abbot Herefrith); and his incorrupt body was translated in 698 (ch. 42); etc.

[D100] Anonymous Lindisfarne *Life of St Cuthbert*, written 698 x 705 (B130).
[D101] *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (1956) - the standard work on the extraordinary assemblage of relics still preserved at Durham Cathedral, including the coffin (pp. 202–307), Cuthbert's pectoral cross (pp. 308–25)), the portable altar (pp. 326–35), the comb (pp. 336–55), the gospel of St John (pp. 356–74), and the tenth-century stole and maniple (pp. 375–432)
[D101a] J.M. Cronyn and C.V. Horie, with R.J. Cramp, *St. Cuthbert's Coffin* (1985)
[D102] *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, *et al.* (1989) - proceedings of a conference at Durham in 1987, marking the 1300th anniversary of Cuthbert's death; comprising sections on St Cuthbert and his cult, Lindisfarne and its scriptorium, the coffin of St Cuthbert and its treasures, and the history of the community at Chester-le-Street (*c.* 875–995) and Durham (995–), on which see also B220, etc.
[D102a] J. Campbell, 'Elements in the Background to the Life of St Cuthbert and his Early Cult', in (D102), pp. 3–19, reptd in T66, pp. 85–106
[D103] D.P. Kirby, 'The Genesis of a Cult: Cuthbert of Farne and Ecclesiastical Politics in Northumbria in the Late Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *JEH* 46 (1995), 383–97
[D104] D. Marner, *St Cuthbert: his Life and Cult in Medieval Durham* (2000) - focussing on the cult in the late twelfth century, and images in BL Yates Thomson MS. 26.

Ripon and Hexham

Ripon was founded from Melrose by Abbot Eata (Bede, *Life of St Cuthbert*, ch. 7; HE iii.25, v.19). **Wilfrid** (b. *c.* 633) passed his early life at Lindisfarne, Canterbury, Rome, and Lyons; he became abbot of Ripon *c.* 660, and acted as a spokesman for the 'Roman' party at the council of Whitby in 664. He was appointed bishop of York in 664, and after some local difficulties took up his office in 669. He promoted the interests of Ripon and York, founded Hexham abbey, and became a great power in the Northumbrian church. He was exiled three times: (i) deposed by Archbishop Theodore in 678, whereupon he undertook missionary work in Frisia, appealed (successfully) to Rome, and was reinstated in 680; (ii) expelled again in 680, whereupon he founded a monastery at Selsey, in Sussex, where he remained until the death of King Ecgfrith in 685 and his reconciliation with King Aldfrith in 686; (iii) fell out with King Aldfrith (*c.* 690), whereafter he acted as bishop of the Middle Angles at Leicester, appealed (unsuccessfully) to Rome, and was reinstated (after the death of King Aldfrith) in 706. He died on 12 October 709.

[D105] Stephen of Ripon's *Life of St Wilfrid*, written 709 x ?720 (B140); cf. Bede HE v.19
[D106] *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham*, ed. D.P. Kirby (1974), and D.P. Kirby, 'Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the "Life of Wilfrid"', *EHR* 98 (1983), 101–14
[D107] G.R.J. Jones, 'Some Donations to Bishop Wilfrid in Northern England', *Northern History* 31 (1995)
[D108] R.N. Bailey, 'St Wilfrid, Ripon and Hexham', *American Early Medieval Studies* 1 (1990), 3–25; W.T. Foley, *Images of Sanctity in Eddius Stephanus' "Life of Bishop Wilfrid", an Early English Saint's Life* (1992); D. Pelteret, 'Saint Wilfrid: Tribal Bishop, Civic Bishop or Germanic Lord?', *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Hill and M. Swan (1998), pp. 159–80; R. Gardner, 'Kentigern, Columba and Oswald: the Ripon Connection', *Northern History* 35 (1999), 1–26

Monkwearmouth and Jarrow

The career of **Biscop Baducing** (b. 628) can be resolved into three periods. First, as a Northumbrian noble, in the service of King Oswiu (642–70) and Oswiu's son Alhfrith, sub-king in Deira (*c.* 655–64); during this period he went once to Rome, in 653, accompanied by Wilfrid as far as Lyons. Secondly, his most formative years (*c.* 665–72), beginning with a more extended stay in Rome, followed by two years at Lérins (where he became a monk and took the name Benedict), another visit to Rome (668), a period with Theodore at Canterbury (669–71), a further trip to Rome, and a stay at Vienne. Thirdly, as a power in the Northumbrian church (672–88): he founded the monastery at Monkwearmouth in 674, and proceeded to equip it by means of further trips to Francia and Rome; he founded the monastery at Jarrow *c.* 681, and went yet again to Rome in 685; he retired in 688, and died in 689. **Ceolfrith** (b. *c.* 640) became a monk at Gilling *c.* 657, moving thereafter to Ripon,

to Monkwearmouth *c.* 675, and thence to Jarrow *c.* 681. He succeeded Benedict Biscop as abbot of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in 688, but resigned in 716, in order to end his days in Rome. He took with him one of the three copies of the Bible produced at Monkwearmouth/Jarrow (*Life of Ceolfrith* [EHD no. 155], ch. 20), for presentation to the pope, but died on the way south; some of his party took the Bible, bearing Ceolfrith's inscription, onwards to Rome (*ibid.*, ch. 37). For the 'Codex Amiatinus', now in Florence, see D116, and A200, no. 88. **Bede** (b. 673) provides an account of his life at Monkwearmouth and at Jarrow in HE v.24, with a bibliography of his own writings; see also his *Historia abbatum* (B200); and for a very moving account of his death (25 May 735), by the deacon Cuthbert, see B304.

[D110] Anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith*, written 716 x 731 (B205); Bede's *Historia Abbatum*, written 716 x 731 (B200); Bede's metrical *Life of St Cuthbert*, written before 705 (B136), and his prose *Life of St Cuthbert*, written *c.* 720 (B136)

[D111] I. Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrid*, Jarrow Lecture 1995 (1996)

[D112] S. Coates, 'Ceolfrid: History, Hagiography and Memory in Seventh- and Eighth-Century Wearmouth-Jarrow', *Journal of Medieval History* 25.2 (1999), 69–86

For Benedict Biscop, see also Wormald (D147). For Abbot Ceolfrith's letter to King Nechtan, see Bede, HE v.21. For Bede's exegetical and other writings, see D184.

Production of manuscripts

A second avenue of approach is through comparison of the manuscripts known or supposed to have been written and decorated at one place or another. See, e.g., A200, and Lowe (B786, B805), Brown (B787.1), Alexander (B806), Henderson (Q678) and Brown (B785.1). For facsimiles of the earliest manuscripts of Bede, see B813.

[D114] M. Brown, *'In the beginning was the Word': Books and Faith in the Age of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture 2000 (2001) -on the role of the book in a nascent Christian culture

Scriptorium of **Monkwearmouth-Jarrow**, represented by the 'Codex Amiatinus', the 'Stonyhurst Gospel of St John', and the 'St Petersburg [formerly Leningrad] Bede'.

[D115] The 'Stonyhurst Gospel', made *c.* 698: see A200, no. 86. T.J. Brown, *The Stonyhurst Gospel of Saint John* (1969); and M. Parkes, *The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow*, Jarrow Lecture 1982 (1983), reptd in T57. Remarkable not least for its contemporary binding.

[D116] The 'Codex Amiatinus' (in Florence), being one of three bibles commissioned by Abbot Ceolfrith, of which two were for Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, and of which the third was taken by him to Rome in 716, as told in the *Vita S. Ceolfrithi* (B142), chs. 20 and 37: see A200, nos. 87–8. R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Art of the Codex Amiatinus', *Journal of the Archaeological Association* 32 (1969), 1–25 (Jarrow Lecture 1967); R. Gameson, 'The Cost of the Codex Amiatinus', *Notes & Queries* (1992), March, pp. 2–9; P. Meyvaert. 'Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 827–83.

Scriptorium of **Lindisfarne**, represented by the 'Lindisfarne Gospels', the 'Durham Gospels' (Durham, Cathedral Library, A. II. 17), the 'Echternach Gospels' (Paris, BN lat. 9389), and the 'Otho-Corpus Gospels'. See also A200, nos. 80–3.

[D120] The 'Lindisfarne Gospels' (BL Cotton Nero D. iv), always on show in the British Library. A stunning full-colour facsimile was published in May 2003 (by Faksimile Verlag Luzern), at five-figure expense; see Brown (D121), p. 143. See also T.D. Kendrick, *et al.*, *Evangelium Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*, 2 vols. (1956–60), for an older facsimile, with a detailed account of the manuscript. J. Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (1981), is more popular, and briefer. An inexpensive CD-ROM of the Lindisfarne Gospels (2000) is available at the British Library. A proper digitised facsimile of the manuscript, on CD-ROM, is said to be forthcoming.

[D120a] For text and translation of the 10th-cent. colophon (describing the circumstances of the book's production, and naming those responsible for its text, binding, and gloss), see Brown (D121), pp. 41 and 90–110, with text and translation at 102–4. See also Harmer (B356), no. 22, and Ker (B800), no. 165. Discussion: D122.

[D121] M.P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (2003); and for her view of the book as 'the visual equivalent of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in terms of presenting a fully integrated, inclusive image for an emergent state formed of disparate cultural groups', see pp. 395–409, at 407. See also M.P. Brown, *Painted Labyrinth: the World of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (2003), M.P. Brown, 'The Lindisfarne Scriptorium from the Late Seventh to the Early Ninth Century', in Bonner (D102), pp. 151–63, and Brown (D114).

[D122] W. O'Sullivan, in *Peritia* 8 (1994), 80–94; D.N. Dumville, 'Demolishing the Lindisfarne Myth', in *The Times*, 21 July 1997, p. 21; Dumville (B787.4), esp. pp. 76–9; L. Nees, 'Reading Aldred's Colophon for the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Speculum* 78 (2003), 333–77;

J. Roberts, 'Aldred Signs Off from Glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels', in Rumble (T112), pp. 28–43. Cf. Brown (D114), pp. 20–2, and Brown (D121), pp. 90–102.

[D123] R. Gameson, 'Why did Eadfrith write the Lindisfarne Gospels?, in T47, pp. 45–58

[D124] M.P. Brown, 'House Style in the Scriptorium, Scribal Reality, and Scholarly Myth', in T105, pp. 131–50 ('Cambridge/London Gospels', pp. 135–9)

Scriptorium of **-?-**, represented by the 'Book of Durrow' and perhaps also by the 'Book of Kells': in Ireland, Iona, Northumbria, or elsewhere.

[D125] T.J. Brown, 'Northumbria and the Book of Kells', *ASE* 1 (1972), 219–46 (Jarrow Lecture 1971), reptd in B783, pp. 97–122 and 270–6; N. Netzer, 'The Book of Durrow: the Northumbrian Connection', in D86, pp. 315–26

For a facsimile of the Durham Gospels, see Brown, *et al.* (B813).

Archaeology of monastic sites, etc.

A third avenue of approach is through consideration of more physical and material aspects of each house, whether on the basis of written descriptions or on the basis of archaeological evidence.

[D130] D.M. Wilson, 'The Art and Archaeology of Bedan Northumbria', *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R.T. Farrell, BAR, Brit. ser. 46 (1978), 1–22

[D131] R.J. Cramp, 'Monastic Sites', in B834, pp. 201–52

Monkwearmouth and Jarrow

[D132] The starting-point remains Bede (B200), and ?Bede (B205); see also entries above, and Cramp (D132.1), pp. 2–3 (Table 1.2), and 31–8 (documentary history)

[D132.1] R. Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, I (2005) - definitive publication of excavations which took place between 1959 and 1988;

[D132.2] R. Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, II (finds) [forthcoming]

[D132.5] R. Cramp, 'Monkwearmouth and Jarrow: the Archaeological Evidence', in D147, pp. 5–18; R. Cramp, 'Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in their Continental Context' [1994], reptd in B835, pp. 137–53

Whitby

[D133] R. Cramp, 'A Reconsideration of the Monastic Site of Whitby', *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, ed. R.M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (1993), pp. 64–73; J. Higgitt, 'Monasteries and Inscriptions in Early Northumbria: the Evidence of Whitby', *From the Isles of the North*, ed. C. Bourke (1995), pp. 229–36; P. Rahtz, 'Anglo-Saxon and Later Whitby', *Yorkshire Monasticism*, ed. L.R. Hoey (1995), pp. 1–11; J. Stopford, 'The Case for Archaeological Research at Whitby', in C152, pp. 99–107; P.S. Barnwell, *et al.*, 'The Confusion of Conversion: Streanæshalch, Strenshall and Whitby and the Northumbrian Church', in T103, pp. 311–26; see also article on Whitby in T48

Lindisfarne (Bede, HE iii.25 and 26)

[D134] J. Blair, 'The Early Churches at Lindisfarne', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th ser. 19 (1991), 47–53; see also Q133, and article on Lindisfarne in T48

Flixborough

[D134a] B. Whitwell, 'Flixborough', *Current Archaeology* 126 (Sept./Oct. 1991), 244–7, and A200, no. 69 - Middle Saxon high-status (?monastic) site on the south bank of the Humber estuary

[D134b] C.P. Loveluck, 'A High-Status Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire', *Antiquity* 72 (1998), 146–61; see also K. Leahy, 'The Middle Saxon Site at Flixborough, North Lincolnshire', in D86, pp. 87–94, and article on Flixborough in T48

For **Whithorn**, see Bede, *HE* iii.4, entry in A100, and D400, etc.

[D134c] P. Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian: the Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91* (1997)

For sculpture at Lindisfarne, see Cramp (B845.1), pp. 194–208; for sculpture at Monkwearmouth, see Cramp (B845.1), pp. 122–34; for sculpture at Jarrow, see Cramp (B845.1), pp. 106–22. For the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, see also below, D380, etc.

Double houses

There were numerous 'double houses' (monks and nuns, ruled by an abbess) throughout the country, e.g. Minster-in-Thanet, Barking, Ely, Repton, Wenlock, Whitby, and Wimborne. Bede himself did not approve: for the goings-on at Coldingham (Northumbria), see HE iv.25. For women in the church, see Hollis (Q21). See also entry on nunneries in A100, and Foot (Q23), vol. I, pp. 49–56.

[D135] J. Godfrey, 'The Place of the Double Monastery in the Anglo-Saxon Minster System', in D147, pp. 344–50; B. Mitchell, 'Anglo-Saxon Double Monasteries', *History Today* 45.10 (1995), 33–9

'Spurious' monasteries

The classic account is found in Bede's letter to Egbert, written in 734 (D141):

[D138] 'There are innumerable places, as we all know, allowed the name of monasteries by a most foolish manner of speaking, but having nothing at all of a monastic way of life …'; and the question is to what extent such houses are identifiable in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in 731

[D138.5] Charter of King Æthelbald, dated 736, granting land at Ismere, Worcestershire, to Cyneberht, for the foundation of a monastery. Catalogue entry, with bibliography: Sawyer (B320–1), no. 89. Facsimile of original single sheet: see 'Kemble' (B330). Text: Birch (B341), no. 154; also on B321. Translation: EHD no. 67. Place-names: M. Gelling, 'Stour in Ismere', in T117, forthcoming.

See also Blair (A20), pp. 100–8; and Wormald's Brixworth Lecture (E101). On the 'decline' of monasticism, see also James (A12), pp. 184–8.

Three witnesses to the abuse of church privileges in the early eighth century

In the last quarter of the seventh century, the developing interests of churchmen and religious houses came increasingly into conflict with the vested interests of the secular powers; and sooner or later the respective interests of all parties were bound to collide. See also the 'Wealdhere Letter' (M209.5), which was produced during this period.

[D140] Letter of Abbess Eangyth and her daughter Heaburg (Bugga) to Boniface, written *c.* 720. Text: Tangl (B305), no. 14. Translation: Kylie (B305), no. 8, pp. 61–7; Emerton (B305), no. 6, pp. 36–40. They complain of ruinous exactions of the king, and of the 'service' owed to king and queen, bishop and *prefectus*, and other powerful men; and they remark that the king has a great hatred towards his people. If Eangyth and Bugga were West Saxon, the king was presumably Ine, king of the West Saxons (688–726); if they were Kentish (cf. Abbess Bugga, of Emerton, no. 85), the king was presumably Wihtred, king of Kent (690–725).

[D141] Bede's letter to Egberht, bishop of York (archbishop from 735), written in 734, fastening on the death of Aldfrith, the scholarly king of the Northumbrians (686–705), as the point at which abuses began. For references, see B303.

[D142] Boniface's letter to Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, written *c.* 746, tracing the malaise back to the reigns of Ceolred, king of the Mercians (709–16), and of Osred, king of the Northumbrians (706–16). EHD no. 177. For the context of this letter in Boniface's correspondence, see B305 and E2; and for the significant context in which the letter would appear to have been preserved, in England, see E37.

For Berhtwald, archbishop of Canterbury (692–731), see Bede, HE v.8 ('not to be compared with his predecessor [Theodore]'); see also entry in A100. A response to the abuses in Southumbria, in the late 740s, was the programme of reform orchestrated by Archbishop Cuthberht and King Æthelbald, marked by the Council of *Clofesho* in 747 (B406), by a charter of King Æthelbald issued in 749, and by the circulation of these texts, with others, in a special collection (E37). Another response, in Northumbria but intended for a wide audience, took a different and rather more familiar form.

[D144] Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* (written in the 320s). Translation: G.A. Williamson and A. Louth, *Eusebius: The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (PC, 1989). In 1984 a bifolium from an Insular manuscript of Eusebius (in the Latin translation by Rufinus), conceivably the earliest surviving English manuscript (?Northumbria, ? s.vii med.), was found in a sixteenth-century binding, and passed from the Folger Shakespeare Library via the British Rail Pension Fund into the collection of Sir Paul Getty; see *The Wormsley Library: a Personal Selection by Sir Paul Getty, K.B.E.*, ed. H.G. Fletcher (1999), pp. 2–3 (no. 1), with colour illustration.

Bede and the 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People'

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (B21–5), inspired by Eusebius (D144), was completed in 731. For Bede's exegetical and other writings, see D184; see also B136 (*Lives* of St Cuthbert) and B200 (*Historia abbatum*). For some understanding of the background against which the HE was written, see D140–2. It is important to bear in mind that not all commentators in the late seventh and early eighth centuries would have shared Bede's view of events; see further below.

For general guidance on Bede, see Campbell and Wormald (D1), Hunter Blair (D2), Mayr-Harting (D3), Lapidge (A55), Jones (D90), Bolton (D91). For a concordance to the *HE*, see Jones (B20.5). The Jarrow Lectures (1958–93) are reprinted in T30.

[D145] *Bede: his Life, Times and Writings*, ed. A.H. Thompson (1935), esp. pp. 111–51 (Levison: 'Bede as Historian'), 201–29 (Colgrave: 'Bede's Miracle Stories'), 237–66 (Laistner: 'The Library of the Venerable Bede')

[D146] G.H. Brown, *Bede the Venerable* (1987)

[D147] *Famulus Christi*, ed. G. Bonner (1976): D. Whitelock, 'Bede and his Teachers and Friends', pp. 19–39; P. Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', pp. 141–69, reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 3–29; and others

[D148] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Bede's Europe' (Jarrow Lecture 1962), in T2, pp. 60–75

[D149] P. Meyvaert, 'Bede and Gregory the Great' (Jarrow Lecture 1964), in T4, no. VIII

[D150] H. Mayr Harting, *The Venerable Bede, the Rule of St Benedict, and Social Class*, Jarrow Lecture 1976 (1977)

[D151] G. Bonner, 'Bede and Medieval Civilization', *ASE* 2 (1973), 71–90

[D152] B. Ward, *The Venerable Bede* (1990)

[D153] W.D. McCready, *Miracles and the Venerable Bede*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 118 (1994)

[D153a] N. Brooks, *Bede and the English*, Jarrow Lecture 1999 (2000)

Bede as historian

'So I humbly beg the reader, if he finds anything other than the truth set down in what I have written, not to impute it to me. For, in accordance with the true law of history [*uera lex historiae*], I have simply sought to commit to writing what I have collected from common report, for the instruction of posterity' (Bede, *HE*, Preface).

And bear in mind the Welsh adage: 'Nyt wy dyweit geu llyfreu Bede' ('The books of Bede tell no lies'), from the Book of Taliesin.

There is an excellent account of Bede, by Campbell, in the *ODNB* (A150); and for the context in which Bede was writing, see Blair (A20), pp. 100–17. See also Gransden (A91), Hanning (C35), Jones (D90), and:

[D154] R.A. Markus, *Bede and the Tradition of Ecclesiastical History*, Jarrow Lecture 1975 (1976)

[D154a] A. Gransden, 'Bede's Reputation as an Historian in Medieval England' (1981), reptd in T17a, pp. 1–29

[D155] W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (1988), pp. 235–328; W. Goffart, 'The *Historia Ecclesiastica*: Bede's Agenda and Ours', *HSJ* 2 (1990), 29–45; W. Goffart, 'Bede's *uera lex historiae* Explained', *ASE* 34 (2005), 111–16, with references to earlier discussion

[D156] J. Campbell, 'Bede I', in T9, pp. 1–27 (orig. ptd in *Latin Historians*, ed. T.A. Dorey (1966), pp. 159–90) - of fundamental importance; see also 'Bede II', in T9, pp. 29–48

[D156.5] N.J. Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede: the 'Ecclesiastical History' in Context* (London, 2006)

[D157] A. Thacker, 'Bede's Ideal of Reform', in T22, pp. 130–53

[D158] P. Hunter Blair, 'The Historical Writings of Bede', *SettSpol* 17 (1970), 197–221, reptd in T8, no. X - defends Bede against his detractors

[D159] C.W. Jones, 'Bede as Early Medieval Historian', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 4 (1946), 26–36

[D160] D.P. Kirby, 'Bede's Native Sources for the *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *BJRL* 48 (1966), 341–71, reptd in T43, pp. 55–81 - important study of Bede's network of informants

[D161] J.N. Stephens, 'Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*', *History* 62 (1977), 1–14

[D162] K. Harrison, *The Framework of Anglo-Saxon History to A.D. 900* (1976), esp. pp. 76–98, showing how a style of dating 'virtually restricted, outside the cloister, to the conveyancing of land became the framework for the history of a nation' (p. 75)

[D163] H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Bede and the "English People"', *Journal of Religious History* 11 (1981), 501–23

[D164] M. Richter, 'Bede's *Angli*: Angles or English', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 99–114

[D165] G. Tugène, *L'idée de nation chez Béde le Vénérable*, Collection des études augustiniennes, série Moyen Âge et temps modernes 37 (2001); cf. G. Tugène, *L'image de la nation anglaise dans l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Bède le Vénérable* (c. 2001) <not yet seen>

[D165a] G. Tugène, 'L'Histoire "ecclésiastique" du peuple anglais: réflexions sur le particularisme et l'universalisme chez Bède', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 17 (1982), 129–72

[D166] P. Wormald, 'The Venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"', *The English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism*, ed. G. Rowell (1992), pp. 13–32, reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 207–28

[D167] D.P. Kirby, *Bede's 'Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum': its Contemporary Setting*, Jarrow Lecture 1992 (1993)

[D168] H. Mayr-Harting, 'Bede's Patristic Thinking as an Historian', *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (1994), pp. 367–74

[D169] J. Davidse, 'On Bede as Christian Historian', and A.T. Thacker, 'Bede and the Irish', *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk & Northumbrian*, ed. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (1996), pp. 1–15 and 31–59

[D169.15] M. Wood, 'Jarrow and English History', in T68, pp. 270–91

[D169.16] D. Rollason, 'Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People', *The Historian* 73 (Spring 2002), 6–10

[D169.5] N. Brooks, 'From British to English Christianity: Deconstructing Bede's Interpretation of the Conversion', *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. C.E. Karkov and N. Howe, ACMRS (2006), 3–30

Bede's conception of kingship

[D170] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Gregory of Tours and Bede: their Views on the Personal Qualities of Kings', in T2, pp. 96–114, and *Early Germanic Kingship* (1971), pp. 72–97

[D170a] H.R. Loyn, 'Bede's Kings: a Comment on the Attitude of Bede to the Nature of Secular Kingship', *Trivium* 26 (1991), 54–64

[D171] J. McClure, 'Bede's Old Testament Kings', in T22, pp. 76–98

[D172] C. Stancliffe, 'Kings who Opted Out', in T22, pp. 154–76; see also S.J. Ridyard, 'Monk-Kings and the Anglo-Saxon Hagiographic Tradition', *HSJ* 6 (1995), 13–27

[D173] C. Stancliffe, 'Oswald, "Most Holy and Most Victorious King of the Northumbrians"', *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (1995), pp. 33–83

Overlordship, Bede's 'imperium', and the 'Bretwaldas'

For Bede's list of the Magnificent Seven, who held *imperium*, see HE ii.5; cf. *ASC* s.a. 829. See also entries on 'Bretwalda' in A100, and on 'Bretwald' in A105. For Henry of Huntingdon's extension of the list of 'Bretwaldas', to include Alfred and Edgar, see Greenway (B635), pp. 104–6. The document known as the 'Tribal Hidage' (B500) is often adduced in this connection; for further references, see Hart (E95), etc.

[D175] E. John, '"Orbis Britanniae" and the Anglo-Saxon Kings', *Orbis Britanniae* (1966), pp. 1–63, at 6–17

[D176] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship* (1971), pp. 21–46 (on King Æthelberht), 47–71 (on the seventh century), and 72–97 (on Bede)

[D177] H. Vollrath-Reichelt, *Königsgedanke und Königtum bei den Angelsachsen bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Kölner historische Abhandlungen 19 (1971)

[D178] T. Charles-Edwards, 'Bede, the Irish and the Britons', *Celtica* 15 (1983), 42–52

[D179] J. Campbell, 'Bede's *Reges* and *Principes*' (Jarrow Lecture 1979), in T9, pp. 85–98

[D180] P. Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origin of the *Gens Anglorum*', in T22, pp. 99–129, reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 106–34; see also Wormald (E27)

[D180.1] N. Brooks, 'English Identity from Bede to the Millennium', *HSJ* 14 (2005), 33–51, covering Bede, Boniface, Alcuin, 8th- and 9th-century charters, Alfred, and Æthelweard

[D181] S. Keynes, 'Rædwald the Bretwalda', in D66, pp. 103–23; see also Keynes (E28)

[D182] S. Fanning, 'Bede, *Imperium*, and the Bretwaldas', *Speculum* 66 (1991), 1–26

[D183] N.J. Higham, 'King Cearl, the Battle of Chester and the Origins of the Mercian "Overkingship"', *Midland History* 17 (1992), 1–15

[D183a] D. Dumville, 'The Terminology of Overkingship in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in T35, pp. 345–65; D. N. Dumville, 'Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Overkingships: a Discussion of Some Shared Historical Problems', *Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental & Occidental Studies, Kansai University* 31 (1998), 81–100

[D183b] N. Higham, '*Imperium* in Early Britain: Rhetoric and Reality in the Writings of Gildas and Bede', in C133, pp. 31–6; N.J. Higham, 'King Edwin of the Deiri: Rhetoric and the Reality of Power in Early England', in C152, pp. 41–9

[D183c] T.M. Charles-Edwards, '"The Continuation of Bede", High-Kings, Kings of Tara and "Bretwaldas"', *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne*, ed. A.P. Smyth (1999), pp. 137–45

See also Stenton (E25–6); Wood, in *The Merovingian North Sea* (D35), esp. pp. 13–17; Yorke (E46, A9); Loyn (E48); Brooks (E70); Kirby (A10), pp. 14–20); Mayr-Harting (D168); Stancliffe (D173), pp. 46–61; Thacker (D1.5), pp. 464, 480, 481. The second and third volumes of Higham's trilogy on the origins of England (A17) bear directly on kingship and conversion in the seventh century. For ethnicity and political identity, see (D325) etc.

Bede's exegetical and other writings

[D184.1] Many of Bede's exegetical works are published in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. Translations are now flowing like wine: D. Hurst, *The Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles of Bede the Venerable* (1985); L.T. Martin, *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (1989); L.T. Martin and D. Hurst, *Bede the Venerable: Homilies on*

the Gospels, I: *Advent to Lent* (1991); A. G. Holder, *Bede: On the Tabernacle* (1994); S. Connolly and J. O'Reilly, *Bede: On the Temple* (1996); S. Connolly, *Bede: On Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk* (1997); W.T. Foley and A.G. Holder, *Bede: a Biblical Miscellany* (1999), comprising six shorter writings (On Tobias, On the Resting Places, Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings, On Eight Questions, On the Holy Places, On what Isaiah Says).

[D184.2] *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, I: *Opera Didascalica* [incl. *De Orthographia*, *De arte metrica*, *De schematibus et tropis*, *De natura rerum*], Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 123A (1975); *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, VI.2: *Opera Didascalica*, 2 [incl. *De Temporum Ratione Liber*], ed. C.W. Jones, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 123B (1977); *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, VI.3: *Opera Didascalica*, 3 [incl. *De Temporibus Liber*, *epistolae*, etc.], Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 123C (1980). Texts reprinted in *Beda Venerabilis Opera Didascalica*, ed. C.W. Jones, *et al.*, CC Scholars Version (2003), comprising CCSL 123A, 123B, 123C.

[D184.3] *De temporum ratione*, incorporating the *Chronica maiora* (written in 725). Text (omitting *Chronica maiora*): *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, ed. C.W. Jones (1943), pp. 175–291. Text (including *Chronica maiora*): CCSL 123B (D184.2), pp. 263–460. Translation: F. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (1999). Bede's *DTR* includes his important account of the names for the months (ch. 15), replete with information about 'paganism'.

[D184.4] *Chronica maiora* (on its own). Translation of the 'Sixth Age' [covering our own age]: McClure and Collins (B24), pp. 307–40, with passages which represent Bede's view of events *before* he wrote the 'Ecclesiastical History', e.g.: Roman walls (pp. 324–5); appeal to Aetius (pp. 325–6); the 'Adventus Saxonum' (p. 326); Ambrosius (p. 328); the Gregorian mission (p. 331); Edwin and Paulinus (p. 332); Theodore (p. 334); St Æthelthryth (pp. 335–6); Willibrord (p. 336); St Cuthbert (p. 337); Egbert (p. 339); Rome, and Abbot Ceolfrith (p. 339). Also translated in Wallis (D184.3), pp. 195–237, with more detailed commentary.

[D184.5] Bede's *Martyrology*: trans. F. Lifshitz, in Head (Q227), pp. 169–97

[D184.6] *Bede's Latin Poetry*, ed. M. Lapidge, OMT (forthcoming); see also Lapidge (F145)

Other scholars active in the age of Bede

It is not always needless to say that Bede was not the only scholar, and Northumbria not the only area of activity, in the ecclesiastical world of early Anglo-Saxon England. The point is well made, by Stenton (A1), p. 172, that the correspondence of Boniface and Lull (B305) displays 'the high quality of the education which could be obtained in Kentish or West Saxon monasteries in the age of Bede'. How different might have been our view of the early Anglo-Saxon period if we had other works to set beside Bede's *History*, representing the view from (say) Lichfield, or *Medeshamstede* [Peterborough], or Malmesbury, or Canterbury. The material in BL Cotton Otho A. I (E37) is suggestive.

[D185] P. Riché, 'The Flowering of Monastic and Episcopal Schools in England', *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West* (1976), pp. 314–23 and 369–99; see also Q61

[D186] *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria*, ed. and trans. C.A. Ireland, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (1999) - Aldfrith, k. of Northumbria (686–705), on whom see entry in A100

The School of Canterbury (on which see Bede, HE iv.2), and entry on Theodore in A100
[D190] M. Lapidge, 'The Career of Archbishop Theodore', *Archbishop Theodore*, CSASE 11, ed. M. Lapidge (1995), pp. 1–29, and M. Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *ASE* 15 (1986), 45–72, both reptd in T19 (1996); see also Brooks (Q16)

[D191] Theodore's Penitential (B390): see A.J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (1983); see also *ASE* 11 (1983), 23–56

[D192] B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, CSASE 11 (1994); see *OEN* 29.2 (1996), 72–7

For Theodore, see also Lapidge (L110), pp. 366–71.

Aldhelm of Malmesbury (on whom see Bede, HE v.18), and entry on Aldhelm in A100
[D195] M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: the Prose Works* (1979), and M. Lapidge and J. Rosier, *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works* (1985) - translations; see also D200

[D196] A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, CSASE 8 (1994); see *OEN* 29.2 (1996), 77–85

[D197] G.T. Dempsey, 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury and the Irish', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C 99.1 (1999), 1–22

[D198] *Aldhelmi Malmesbiriensis Prosa de Virginitate cum Glosa Latina atque Anglosaxonica*, ed. R. Ehwald, rev. S. Gwara, 2 vols., CCSL 124–124A (2001) - new edition of the Latin and Old English glosses

Tatwine of Breedon-on-the-Hill (on whom see Bede, HE v.23–4), and entry on Tatwine in A100

[D200] V. Law, 'The Study of Latin Grammar in Eighth-Century Southumbria', *ASE* 12 (1983), 43–71, at 61–2, reptd in Law (Q63a), pp. 91–123; see also Law (Q63b), pp. 64–7
See also Sims-Williams (D26), for activity in the west midlands; and peruse section Q.

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Episcopal organization
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Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (B20) is replete with information on the establishment of episcopal sees in the seventh century. For sets of episcopal lists (representing episcopal organization as seen from Canterbury in the early ninth century), see B490, and for details of episcopal succession, see Q10. For Archbishop Theodore, see D190. For a list of church councils, see B395. For the councils themselves, see Cubitt (Q27).

[D220] R. Abels, 'The Council of Whitby: a Study in Early Anglo-Saxon Politics', *Journal of British Studies* 23 (1983), 1–25

[D225] G. Lanoë, 'Les évêques en Angleterre (597–669)', *Moyen Age* 89 (1983), 333–55 - on the origins of bishops appointed before the arrival of Theodore

[D229] M. Gibbs, 'The Decrees of Agatho and the Gregorian Plan for York', *Speculum* 48 (1973), 213–46

[D230] C. Cubitt, 'Wilfrid's "Usurping Bishops": Episcopal Succession in Anglo-Saxon England, *c.* 600 – *c.* 800', *Northern History* 25 (1989), 18–38

[D231] S. Coates, 'The Role of Bishops in the Early Anglo-Saxon Church: a Reassessment', *History* 81 (1996), 177–96

[D232] S. Coates, 'The Bishop as Pastor and Solitary: Bede and the Spiritual Authority of the Monk-Bishop', *JEH* 47 (1996), 601–19

[D233] S. Coates, 'The Bishop as Benefactor and Civic Patron: Alcuin, York, and Episcopal Authority in Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 529–58

[D234] S. Coates, 'The Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in Early Anglo-Saxon England: the Impact of Venantius Fortunatus', *Historical Research* 71 (1998), 1–13

[D245] I. Wood, 'Northumbrians and Franks in the Age of Wilfrid', *Northern History* 31 (1995), 10–21

[D250] C. Cubitt, 'Unity and Diversity in the Early Anglo-Saxon Liturgy', *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (1996), pp. 45–57

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Kings and kingdoms in the seventh century
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For the separate histories of the component kingdoms of the 'Heptarchy', in the sixth and seventh centuries, see above, C130 onwards. See also Yorke (A9), Kirby (A10), and Williams (A19). For matters concerning the 'Bretwaldas' of the seventh century, and overkingship in general, see D175 onwards.

[D300] J.R. Maddicott, 'Two Frontier States: Northumbria and Wessex, *c.* 650–750', in T41, pp. 25–45; see also Maddicott (E109)

[D310] P. Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion of England: the Charter Evidence*, Jarrow Lecture 1984 (1985), reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 135–66
For charters, etc., reflecting on the history of the Church in the closing years of the seventh century, see Sawyer (B320), nos. 7–8, 10–11, 14–15, 17–19, 45, 235, 1164–5, 1167, 1171; see also EHD nos. 54–60.

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Ethnicity, political identity, kingship, etc.
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For developing notions of ethnic and political identity, and their relationship with kingship and overlordship, see above, on Bede as a historian (D154), etc., and most notably Wormald (D180), Wormald (G8), Foot (F89), Smyth (G9), etc., etc.

[D325] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), rev. ed. (1991)

[D329] H. Kleinschmidt, 'The Geuissae, the West Saxons, the Angles and the English: the Widening Horizon of Bede's Gentile Terminology', *NOWELE* 30 (1997), 51–91, esp. 65–78; H. Kleinschmidt, 'The Geuissae and Bede: On the Innovativeness of Bede's Concept of the *Gens*', *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Hill and M. Swann (1998), pp. 77–102

[D330] B.A.E. Yorke, 'Political and Ethnic Identity: a Case Study of Anglo-Saxon Practice', in T42, pp. 69–89, incl. discussion of the 'Tribal Hidage', pp. 82–5

[D331] A. Woolf, 'Community, Identity and Kingship in Early England', in T42, pp. 91–109

[D332] N. Brooks, 'Canterbury, Rome and the Construction of English Identity', in T44, pp. 221–46

[D333] B. Ward-Perkins, 'Why did the Anglo-Saxons not become more British?', *EHR* 115 (2000), 513–33, because the British opted to become more Anglo-Saxon

The Franks Casket

For this famous object, made probably in the first half of the eighth century, see A200, pp. 101–3; see also entry on the Franks Casket in A100.
[D350] I.N. Wood, 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the Early Middle Ages', *Northern History* 26 (1990), 1–19; see also Wood (D245)
[D351] L. Webster, 'The Iconographic Programme of the Franks Casket', in D86, pp. 227–46
[D352] J. Lang, 'The Imagery of the Franks Casket: Another Approach', in D86, pp. 247–55

The Witham Bowl

A very strange object, found in 1816 in the river Witham, Lincolnshire, not seen since the later nineteenth century, and thus known only from engravings and drawings; with a curious long-necked quadruped poking his head up from the centre of the bowl
[D360] J. Graham-Campbell, 'On the Witham Bowl', *Antiquaries Jnl* 84 (2004), 358–71

The Bewcastle Cross and the Ruthwell Cross

For eighth-century sculpture in Northumbria, see Tweddle, in A200, pp. 147–50. For basic information on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses (probably dating from the second quarter of the eighth century), see also entries (by R. Bailey and É. Ó Carragáin) in A100. Both carry runic inscriptions, and elaborate programmes of decoration. Both are illustrated in Campbell (A5), pp. 89 and 91. For Bewcastle, see Bailey and Cramp (B845.2), pp. 19–22 and 61–72, with pls. 90–117.
[D379] *The Ruthwell Cross*, ed. B. Cassidy (1992)
[D379.5] É. Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (2005)
[D380] J. Hawkes, 'Anglo-Saxon Sculpture: Questions of Context', in D86, pp. 204–15, and F. Orton, 'Northumbrian Sculpture the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments: Questions of Difference', in D86, pp. 216–26
On the study of the Bewcastle Cross from the seventeenth century onwards, see Cook (S86a).

Whithorn (Candida Casa)

Site of a Northumbrian bishopric in the eighth century: see Bede, HE iii.4, entry in A100, and Hill (D134c). For the Whithorn Lectures, see A385.
[D400] C. Thomas, *Whithorn's Christian Beginnings*, Whithorn Lecture 1992 (1992); R. Cramp, *Whithorn and the Northumbrian Expansion Westwards*, Whithorn Lecture 1994 (1995); W. Davies, *Whithorn and the Wider World*, Whithorn Lecture 1997 (1998); J. Graham-Campbell, *Whithorn and the Viking World*, Whithorn Lecture 1999 (2001)
[D410] J. Story, '"Concerning the Bishops of Whithorn and their Subjection to the Archbishops of York": Some Observations on the Manuscript Evidence and its Links with Durham', *Durham Archaeological Journal* 14–15 (1999), 77–83

E. THE SUPREMACY OF THE MERCIAN KINGS

It is a basic truth of Anglo-Saxon history that the polities which are most familiar to us as the constituent kingdoms of the 'Heptarchy' were formed and held together in different ways; so it should not be assumed that the social, religious, economic, or political conditions which prevailed in one kingdom would necessarily have obtained in another. Each polity or kingdom was distinctive; and this directly affects our understanding of developments in the eighth and ninth centuries. It should be emphasised, therefore, that the 'Mercian' polity in the eighth century was not a vast and uniform kingdom encompassing all the land between the rivers Thames and Humber, but a relatively compact territory centred on Tamworth and Lichfield (Staffordshire), whose rulers first imposed their authority over the other peoples around them, including the Middle Angles (Leics., etc.), the Hwicce (Worcs.), and the Magonsætan (Heref.), and then managed to extend their authority further afield, into Kent, Sussex, and East Anglia. Many questions remain: whether the Mercian overlords ever enjoyed supremacy over Wessex and Northumbria; whether they were spurred on by a vision of a united England (or whether the more telling analogy might be with Saddam Hussein and the annexation of Kuwait, or with Slobodan Milosevic and the treatment of Kosovo); whether a political legacy of any kind passed from the Mercian rulers to their West Saxon 'successors', or whether the West Saxon polity had quite different and deeper origins; and what on earth was going on elsewhere. The first two in the series of five Mercian overlords were Penda (d. 655) and

Wulfhere (658–74); the others were Æthelbald (d. 757), Offa (d. 796), and Coenwulf (d. 821).

It is as well to bear in mind that English (perhaps especially West Saxon) missionaries were active on the continent throughout the eighth century.

English missionaries on the continent

On the beginnings of missionary activity on the continent, see Bede, HE v.9–11, with reference to Egbert (who remained in Ireland), Wihtberht (who failed to make an impression in Frisia), Willibrord (who had the distinct advantage of royal support), the two Hewalds (one with black hair, the other with white hair), and others.

There are modern accounts of the English missionaries, with further references, in the *ODNB* (A150): by Costambeys (Willibrord, Lebuin, Lull, Willehad), Wood (Boniface), Yorke (Leofgyth), and Larrington (Willibald).

Willibrord (aka Clement) *Utrecht, Echternach*

Willibrord (658–739) was born in Northumbria, and was educated initially in the monastery at Ripon, under Wilfrid, and thereafter in Ireland, under Egbert. He was active in Frisia from *c.* 690, was consecrated a bishop by Pope Sergius (who gave him the name Clement) in 695, and founded a monastery at Echternach (Luxembourg) in 698. He was still alive when Bede was writing (HE v.11), and died, aged 81, in 739. For Alcuin's *Life of St Willibrord*, see B160. See also A200, no. 123, and entry on Willibrord in A100.

[E1] The 'Calendar of St Willibrord' [Paris, BN lat. 10837]. Facsimile, etc.: *The Calendar of St Willibrord*, ed. H.A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society (1918), reptd (1998). Discussion: Story (B18), pp. 90–1.

[E1a] *Utrecht: Britain and the Continent: Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, ed. E. De Bièvre, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 18 (1996)

[E1b] R. McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium d'Echternach aux huitième et neuvième siècles', *L'évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (Ve–IXe siècle)*, ed. M. Polfer (?2000), pp. 501-22

[E1c] K. Rambridge, 'Alcuin's Narratives of Evangelism: the Life of St Willibrord and the Northumbrian Hagiographical Tradition', in Carver (T103), pp. 371–81

Wynfrith (aka Boniface) *Mainz, Fulda*

Wynfrith/Boniface (*c.* 675–754) was born in Wessex, and was educated in monasteries at Exeter (Devon) and at Nursling (Hampshire). He first went to Frisia in 716, and soon afterwards returned to England; but in 718 he went to Rome, where he recieved the name Boniface, and resumed his missionary work. He was made bishop in 722, archbishop in 732, and was deeply involved in the reform of the Frankish church. He founded a monastery at Fulda in 744, and became archbishop of Mainz in 746. He returned to Frisia in 753, and met his death near Dokkum on 5 June 754. He was buried at Fulda.

[E2] Willibald's *Life of St Boniface* (B161), with entry on Willibald of Mainz in A100; see also A200, no. 125. For his martyrdom, see Willibald, in Talbot (B164), pp. 56–8, and Radbod's *Life of St Boniface*, ch. 16 (written in the early tenth century). For his writings, see entry on Boniface in A100. For Boniface's *Grammar*, see Law (Q63a). Correspondence of Boniface (B305); see also Brooks (D180.1), on his ethnic terminology.

For the Boniface manuscripts at Fulda, see *Codices Latini Antiquiores* VIII, ed. E.A. Lowe (1959), nos. 1196–8, of which no. 1197 (*Codex Bonifatianus* II) is traditionally supposed to be the one with which Boniface tried to protect himself ('two violent incisions in the upper and lower margins').

The **1250th anniversary** of the martyrdom of Boniface was commemorated in June 2004 with exhibitions, conferences, parties, and publications:

[E2.5] *Bonifatius: vom angelsächsischen Missionar zum Apostel der Deutschen*, ed. M. Imhof and G.K. Stasch (2004) - stunning commemorative volume, with several well-illustrated articles, e.g. M-A. Aris, on books associated with Boniface, with an account, pp. 104–10, of the 'Codex Ragyndrudis' (*Codex Bonifatianus* II), with several colour plates

[E2.6] *Bonifatius: vom angelsächsischen Missionar zum Apostel der Deutschen*, ed. G.K. Stasch (2004) - shorter and smaller exhibition catalogue, wide-ranging and well-illustrated

Lebuin (Leofwine) *Deventer*

Lebuin (d. *c.* 775?) was an Englishman who appears to have joined the missionaries on the continent in the 750s. See entry in A100, under Leofwine.

[E2.10] *Life* of Lebuin in Talbot (B164), pp. 229–34.

Leofgyth (aka Leoba) *Tauberbischofsheim*

Leofgyth (d. 779), daughter of Dynna and Æbba, was educated at Minster-in-Thanet, under Abbess Eadburh, and at Wimborne, Dorset, under Abbess Tette, sister of King Ine. She was summoned to the continent by her kinsman Boniface, and became abbess of Tauberbischofsheim. She was buried at Fulda. For Wimborne, see Q370.

[E3] Letter of Leofgyth to Boniface: Emerton (B305), no. 21; Talbot (B164), no. 17; EHD no. 169. For Rudolf's 'Life' of Leofgyth, see B162. See also Stenton (A1), p. 173, and the entry on Leofgyth in A100.

Lull *Mainz, Hersfeld*

Lull (*c.* 710–86), presumably of West Saxon origin, entered into the religious life at Malmesbury (Wiltshire), under Abbot Eafa [see EHD no. 189], and then joined Boniface on the continent. He succeeded Boniface as bishop of Mainz in 754, became archbishop in 781, and died in 786.

[E4] The correspondence of Lull. Text: Tangl (B305). For selections in translation, see Emerton (B305); Talbot (B164); EHD nos. 176, 183, 185, 188–90. See also Stenton (A1), pp. 173–4, and the entry on Lull in A100.

Willibald *Eichstätt, Heidenheim*

Willibald (*c.* 700–87), presumably of West Saxon origin, entered into the religious life at Bishop's Waltham (Hampshire), under Abbot Ecgwald, and with his brother Wynbald set off *c.* 720 (from Hamblemouth, near the port of Hamwic) on his travels. He returned *c.* 729, and became a monk at Monte Cassino; ten years later he joined Boniface in Germany, was appointed bishop of Eichstätt, and established religious houses there and at Heidenheim (placed under his brother Wynbald and their sister Waldburh). He told the tale of his remarkable travels to Hygeburh, nun of Heidenheim.

[E4a] For Hygeburh's 'Life' [and travel-diary] of St Willibald, see B163. For a map showing his travels, see McKitterick (E19), pp. 80–1. See also Stenton (A1), pp. 174–5, and entries in A100 on Willibald of Eichstätt and on Hygeburh.

Willehad *Echternach, Bremen*

Willehad (d. 789), of Northumbrian origin, was a friend and colleague of Alcuin's; he was active in Frisia in the 770s, and later in Saxony. See entry on Willehad in A100.

[E4b] 'Life' of St Willehad, see B163a.

Liudger *Utrecht, Dokkum, Werden*

Liudger (d. 809), of Frisian origin, was trained at Utrecht, studied with Alcuin at York, and was later at Monte Cassino. He founded the monastery at Werden, and was bishop of Münster 804–9. For a 'Life' of St Liudger, see entry on Liudger in A100. See also the *Life of St Lebuin* (B161a), in Talbot (B164), p. 233.

[E4c] J. Gerchow, 'Liudger, Werden und die Angelsachsen', in Gerchow (A233), pp. 49–58

Modern studies of the English missionaries on the continent

Stenton (A1), pp. 165–76, with map, p. 164.

[E5] S.J. Crawford, *Anglo-Saxon Influence on Western Christendom 600–800* (1933), pp. 32–71

[E6] T. Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (1954), reptd with addenda (1972)

[E7] W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (1946, reptd 1998) - the classic study of the missionaries on the continent, esp. pp. 45–69 (on Willibrord), 70–93 (on Boniface), and 233–40 (on Lull); see also W. Levison, 'St Willibrord and His Place in History', *Durham University Journal* 32 (1940), 23–41

[E8] G.W. Greenaway, *Saint Boniface* (1955)

[E9] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'A Background to St Boniface's Mission', in T2, pp. 138–54

[E10] C.H. Talbot, 'St Boniface and the German Mission', *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, ed. G.J. Cuming (1970), pp. 45–57

[E11] M. Parkes, 'The Handwriting of St Boniface: a Reassessment of the Problems' (1976), reptd in T57, pp. 121–42

[E12] *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St Boniface and the Church at Crediton*, ed. T. Reuter (1980) - incl. F. Barlow, 'The English Background', pp. 13–29

[E13] J.C. Sladden, *Boniface of Devon: Apostle of Germany* (1980)

[E14] D. Parsons, 'Sites and Monuments of the Anglo-Saxon Mission in Central Germany', *Archaeological Journal* 140 (1983), 280–321; D. Parsons, 'Willibrord's "Frisian" Mission and the Early Churches in Utrecht', in D86, pp. 136–49

[E14a] C. Fell, 'Some Implications of the Boniface Correspondence', *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. H. Damico and A.H. Olsen (1990), pp. 29–43

[E15] R. McKitterick, 'The Diffusion of Insular Culture in Neustria between 650 and 850: the Implications of the Manuscript Evidence', *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de*

650 à 850, 2 vols., ed. H. Atsma, Beihefte der Francia 16.1–2 (1989) II, pp. 395–432, reptd in T50 (1994), no. III

[E16] R. McKitterick, 'Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Reflections on the Manuscript Evidence', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9 (1989), 291–329, reptd in T50 (1994), no. IV

[E17] R. McKitterick, *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Personal Connections and Local Influences*, 8th Brixworth Lecture 1990, Univ. of Leicester Vaughan Paper 36 (1991), reptd in T50 (1995), no. I

[E18] G. Wieland, 'Anglo-Saxon Culture in Bavaria 739–850', *Mediaevalia* 17 (1994 for 1991), 177–200

[E19] R. McKitterick, 'England and the Continent', in A70, pp. 64–84

[E20] Y. Hen, 'The Liturgy of St Willibrord', *ASE* 26 (1997), 41–62; Y. Hen, '*Milites Christi utriusque sexus*: Gender and the Politics of Conversion in the Circle of Boniface', *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999), 17–31

[E21] D.H. Green, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (1998), pp. 341–56

[E22] B. Yorke, 'The Bonifatian Mission and Female Religious in Wessex', *EME* 7.2 (1998), 145–72

[E23] D. Rollason, *Bede and Germany*, Jarrow Lecture 2001 (2002)

See also section on 'England and the Continent', in A200, pp. 157–92; Q222; and entries on the various missionaries in A100.   James (A12), pp. 174–9.   For Boniface and Æthelbald, see Howe (C88), pp. 108–42.

The Mercian supremacy

The equilibrium south of the Humber was broken by the death of Wihtred, king of Kent, in 725, and by the departure of Ine, king of Wessex, to Rome in 726. The way was open for Æthelbald, king of Mercia since 716, to come to the fore; and it was during this period that Bede wrote the *Historia ecclesiastica* (B21).   Our attention is focussed on the great Mercian overlords - Æthelbald (716–57), Offa (757–96), and Coenwulf (796–821); though one should bear in mind that contemporary impressions of the Mercian overlords varied in accordance with the point of view.

[E24] It has been said that 'the reason why Stenton had to discover "The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings" [E25] is a basic fact of Anglo-Saxon history' (Wormald (D180), p. 119); i.e. the available Northumbrian, Kentish and West Saxon sources tell a different story. It has also been said, and is oft repeated, that our view of the Mercians is essentially that of their 'victims', and that this fact makes them appear less cultured, more violent, more aggressive, and more resented, than the Northumbrians before them or the West Saxons afterwards (Wormald (E27), pp. 110–14). For a 'Mercian' view of itself, see the *Tribal Hidage* (B500); alas, we lack a view from within Mercia, or from other major places such as *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough) (B240). The key 'Mercian' charters are mainly from Worcester (B231). For a (?)Kentish view, see Brooks (E70), and charters (B290–2); see also Keynes (E180).   For a South Saxon view, we must rely on charters (B293).   For a Northumbrian view, see Bede (B21); for a West Saxon view, see the Alfredian *Chronicle* (B65). For an (?)East Anglian view, see Felix (B155). The Welsh view of the Mercians is represented by annals (B70). From the continent, we have Boniface's view of Æthelbald (B305); Alcuin's view of Offa and Ecgfrith (B310) and (E41); but less for Coenwulf.

[E25] F.M. Stenton, 'The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings', in T1, pp. 48–66 - the classic statement, first published in 1918; but for the view from St Albans in the 13th century, see Keynes (E28), pp. 1–3.

[E26] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (1971), pp. 202–38 and 295–7

[E26a] *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (1977) - important collection of essays setting a new agenda for Mercian studies in the 1970s

[E27] P. Wormald, 'The Age of Bede and Æthelbald' and 'The Age of Offa and Alcuin', in A5, pp. 70–100 and 101–31

[E28] S. Keynes, 'The Kingdom of the Mercians in the Eighth Century', in E33, pp. 1–28, superseding 'Changing Faces: Offa, King of Mercia', *History Today* 40 (Nov. 1990), 14–19

[E29] R. Hodges and J. Moreland, 'Power and Exchange in Middle Saxon England', *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. S.T. Driscoll and M.R. Nieke (1988), pp. 79–95, esp. 82–8

[E30] S. Keynes, *et al.*, 'The Mercian supremacy', in A200 (exhibition cat.), pp. 193–253

[E31] S. Keynes, 'England, 700–900', in A70, pp. 18–42

[E32] I.W. Walker, *Mercia and the Making of England* (2000); S. Zaluckyj, *Mercia: the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Central England* (2001)

[E33] *Æthelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Mercians Kings*, ed. D. Hill and M. Worthington, BAR Brit. ser. 383 (2005) - a collection of papers given at a conference held at Manchester in April 2000

[E34] *Mercia: an Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. M. Brown and C. Farr (2001), containing a wide range of papers dealing with archaeology, history, material culture, etc.

[E34a] Entries on Penda, Wulfhere, Æthelbald, Offa, Coenwulf, and Mercia, etc., by Keynes, in A100; fuller accounts of the same in the *ODNB* (A150), by Kelly (Penda, Wulfhere, Æthelbald, Offa) and Lawson (Coenwulf)

[E34.5] Middle Saxon or 'Mercian' **LONDON**.   For obvious reasons, London was already well established as a major trading centre in the 730s (as attested by Bede), and it is true to say that control of the political, religious and perhaps above all economic interests in London was what the 'Mercian Supremacy' was all about.   On the history of the church of St Paul's, see Taylor (Q137) and Kelly (B294).   On King Æthelbald and London, see Kelly (P42).   On the significance of Watling Street (the A5), leading from the heart of Mercia past King Offa's monastery at St Albans and into the centre of London, see Keynes (E28); see also P33, etc.   On the archaeology of 'Middle Saxon' London, see Biddle (P70a), Cowie (P71a), Keene (F112), etc.   For the stunning gold coin of King Coenwulf, bearing the inscription '+ de vico Lvndoniae', see M710.1.   And of course it is no surprise that in the later ninth century London was at the centre of the 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons', and emerged in the tenth century as the effective 'capital' of the Kingdom of the English.

See also James (A12), pp. 188–93; John (D175), esp. pp. 17–35, and (T54), pp. 50–65; Vollrath-Reichelt (D177); Hodges (A34), chs. 4 and 5; Yorke (A9), pp. 100–27, on Mercia; Kirby (A10), pp. 129–36, on Æthelbald, and 163–79, on Offa; Gelling (A42), pp. 72–124, on Mercian hegemony; Jones (C155a), on place-names; Insley (A115), xix.548–64, on Mercia. For Mercian charters of this period, see Scharer (M223).   For Mercian political women in the eighth and ninth centuries, including Cynethryth and Cwoenthryth, see Stafford (G18).

The reign of Æthelbald, king of the Mercians (716–57)

The essential primary sources

[E35.1] Bede, HE v.23, on the extent of Æthelbald's power in 731

[E35.2] The Ismere charter (D138.5), trans. EHD no. 67; other charters (EHD nos. 64 and 66).   See also Brooks (E49), and Kelly (P42) on toll-charters.

[E35.3] Felix's *Life of St Guthlac* (B155).   See also A. Meaney, 'Felix's *Life of Guthlac*: History or Hagiography?', in Hill and Worthington (E33), pp. 75–84.

[E35.4] Letter of Boniface to Archbishop Cuthberht, in Emerton (B305); letter of Boniface to King Æthelbald (D142); see also EHD nos. 178–9.

[E35.5] Canons of the Council of *Clofesho*, 747 (B406).   Discussion: Cubitt (Q27); Blair (A20), pp. 108–17.

[E35.6] Notice of the death of Æthelbald, in the so-called 'Continuation of Bede' (B31), *s.a.* 757; and notice of the death of King Æthelbald in Vespasian B. vi (B598.2)

[E36] The Repton Stone.   See M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'The Repton Stone', *ASE* 14 (1985), 233–92, at 289–90, for the suggestion that it might depict King Æthelbald.

[E37] BL Cotton Otho A. i.   Before it was all but destroyed by fire in 1731, the manuscript designated Otho A. I in the Cottonian library contained an abridgement of Pope Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*, letters of Archbishop Boniface to Archbishop Cuthberht and King Æthelbald, the canons of the Council of *Clofesho* (747), and a charter of King Æthelbald (749).   In combination, the texts represent a concerted programme of ecclesiastical and secular reform (747–9), which might be regarded, if not in form then at least in its intended effect, as a Southumbrian equivalent of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.

[E37.5] S. Keynes, 'The Reconstruction of a Burnt Cottonian Manuscript: the Case of Cotton MS. Otho A. I', *British Library Journal* 22.2 (1996), 113–60, esp. 116–19 and 135–41

See also Gretsch (D43.7), pp. 27–32; Blair (A20), pp. 122–3.

For coinage, see Metcalf (M640).

The reign of Offa, king of the Mercians (757–96)

The essential primary sources

In addition to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, see:

[E40] Mercian, Kentish, South Saxon and West Saxon charters: some examples trans. EHD nos. 70–80. For texts of the South Saxon charters, see Kelly (B293).

[E41] The **letters of Alcuin** afford a remarkable view of England in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.   Text, translation, discussion: B310.   Only a few of the letters are included in EHD (nos. 192–203 and 206–8), so it is necessary also to seek them elsewhere,

in Dümmler's edition or in Allott's translation. **Group I (recipients in Northumbria):** King Æthelred, ed. Dümmler no. 16 [Allott no. 12; EHD no. 193]; Higbald, bp of Lindisfarne, in 793, ed. Dümmler no. 20 [Allott no. 26; EHD no. 194]; King Eardwulf, ed. Dümmler no. 108 [Allott no. 16; EHD no. 199]; Osbald, ed. Dümmler no. 109 [Allott no. 17; EHD no. 200]; Archbishop Eanbald, ed. Dümmler, no. 232 [Allott no. 20; EHD no. 207]; Calvinus and Cuculus (801), ed. Dümmler, no. 233 [Allott, no. 21; EHD, no. 208]; and about thirty others, to various recipients. **Group II (recipients in Mercia):** Æthelburh (Offa's daughter), ed. Dümmler nos. 36 [Allott no. 44], 102 [no. 42], 300 [no. 45]; Ecgfrith (Offa's son), ed. Dümmler no. 61 [Allott no. 35]; the nun Hundrud (at Offa's court), ed. Dümmler no. 62 [Allott no. 36]; an abbot, ed. Dümmler no. 63 [Allott no. 37]; King Offa, ed. Dümmler nos. 64 [Allott no. 38; EHD no. 195] and 101 [Allott no. 41; EHD no. 198], and Levison (E8), pp. 245–6; ? abbot Wulfheard, ed. Dümmler no. 70; the priest Beornwine (at Offa's court?), ed. Dümmler no. 82 [Allott no. 39]; an unnamed *patricius*, or ealdorman (identified by William of Malmesbury (B620) as Osbert, but by Thacker (N43) as Brorda), ed. Dümmler no. 122 [Allott no. 46; EHD no. 202] - and cf. *Ezekiel* ch. 18, for sins of fathers *not* punishable on sons; Bishop 'Speratus' (identified in the past as Bishop Higbald of Lindisfarne, but by Bullough (E85) as Bishop Unwona of Leicester), ed. Dümmler nos. 124 [Allott no. 160] and 285; King Cenwulf, ed. Dümmler no. 123 [Allott no. 47]. **Group III (recipients in Kent):** the people of Kent, ed. Dümmler no. 129 [Allott no. 50]; Archbishop Æthelheard, ed. Dümmler, nos. 17, 128 [Allott no. 49; EHD, no. 203], 130, 230, 255, 256, 290, 311; and others, ed. Dümmler, nos. 293 and 302. **Group IV (recipients in Wessex):** Cyneberht, bishop of Winchester, ed. Dümmler, no. 189. **Group V (recipients in East Anglia):** Alhheard, bp of Elmham, and Tidferth, bp of Dunwich, ed. Dümmler, no. 301. **Group VI (recipients in England):** various recipients, ed. Dümmler, nos. 37–8, 53, 288, 291–2. For the anonymous *Vita Alcuini*, see E84.

[E42] Charlemagne and Offa. Letter from Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne: trans. in B601.5, pp. 132–4; and see Nelson (E88), pp. 136–7. Other important sources: EHD nos. 20, 192 (letter of Alcuin to Colcu), 196 (letter of Charlemagne to Archbishop Æthelheard), 197 (letter of Charlemagne to Offa), 198 (letter of Alcuin to Offa), 206 (letter of Alcuin to Charlemagne). See also Peacock (E87).

[E43] Report of the papal legates in 786. See B407, and Story (E86), pp. 55–92. For the suggestion that this may represent Offa's long-lost law-code, see Wormald (E73), and Wormald (M160), pp. 106, 280–1. Discussion: Bullough (E141), pp. 337–40 (Alcuin's involvement) and 346–56 (synodal decrees, as Alcuin's work, following Cubitt (Q27)).

[E44] Documents relating to the archbishopric of Lichfield. See EHD nos. 203–6 and 209–10; see also Canterbury professions (B410).

See also *Annales Cambriae* (B70); royal genealogies (B480); coins (M680, M685, M690).

Other pre-Conquest references to King Offa: King Alfred's law-code; Asser's *Life of King Alfred*; Æthelweard's *Chronicle* (B56, p. 24); and the will of the ætheling Æthelstan (EHD no. 129).

For the apotheosis of King Offa, at St Albans in the thirteenth century, see Roger of Wendover (B650) and Matthew Paris (B655, B656 [*Vitae duorum Offarum*], B657 [illustrations]). See also Keynes (E28), pp. 2–3, with plates; and other papers in E33.

[E44.5] S. Matthews, 'Good King Offa — Legends of a Pious King', *Trans. of the Lancashire and Cheshire Arch. Soc.* 98 (2002), 1–14

For some even more curious material on Offa, see Walter Map (B649).

The nature and extent of Mercian power

Special significance attaches to the ways in which the Mercian overlords extended their authority over other peoples, and maintained it thereafter (or not), in their own interests: most naturally over the Anglian kingdom of the Hwicce, over the Middle Angles, over other midland peoples, and over East Anglia; more notably in Kent, Sussex, and Essex; and, more controversially, over Wessex and Northumbria. There are perhaps some instructive parallels or contrasts to be drawn with Charlemagne's expansion at much the same time, including his conquest of the kingdom of the Lombards in 774 (B605.5).

[E45] P. Wormald, 'Bede, the Bretwaldas and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', in T22, pp. 99–129, reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 106–34

[E46] B. Yorke, 'The Vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon Overlordship', *ASSAH* 2, BAR, Brit. ser. 92 (1981), 171–200

[E47] M. Wood, *In Search of the Dark Ages* (1981), ch. 4 (on Offa)

[E48] H.R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500–1087* (1984), esp. pp. 23–8 (on overlordship) and 33–41 (on military obligations, the *Tribal Hidage*, and coinage)

[E49] N. Brooks, 'The Development of Military Obligations in Eighth- and Ninth-Century England', in T21, pp. 69–84, esp. 76–80, reptd in T58, pp. 32–47, and in T43, pp. 83–105 - important for both Æthelbald and Offa; see also Brooks (M111)

[E50] K. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *PBA* 39 (1953), 287–348, esp. 329–30; reptd in T25, pp. 145–204

[E51] C. Hart, 'The Kingdom of Mercia', in Dornier (E26a), pp. 43–61; P. Rahtz, 'The Archaeology of West Mercian Towns', *ibid.*, pp. 107–29

[E52] H.P.R. Finberg, 'Mercians and Welsh', *Lucerna* (1964), pp. 66–82

[E53] F.M. Stenton, 'Lindsey and its Kings', in T1, pp. 127–35

See also Thacker (N43), on the Mercian nobility (e.g. Brorda). For a lucid exposition of Offa's relations with the former kingdom of the South Saxons, see Kelly (B293), pp. lxxx–lxxxiv. For exiles from Offa, see Story (E86), pp. 135–67; and for reflections on 'Francia and the Mercian Supremacy', see Story (E86), pp. 169–211.

For the analysis and significance of **numismatic evidence**, see esp. Stenton (M410), etc., and esp. Blunt (M680), Chick (M690), etc. For the 'Kufic' coin, see Scarfe Beckett (P210).

Offa and the church of Canterbury

The archbishopric of Lichfield (787–803), and church councils held in the second half of the eighth century. For the councils, see Cubitt (Q27); see also Keynes (Q28), and Story (E133). See also Blair (A20), pp. 121–34.

[E70] N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (1984), esp. pp. 111–27, on Offa's dealings with Canterbury, and the archbishopric of Lichfield - of great importance

[E71] D.J.V. Fisher, 'The Church in England between the Death of Bede and the Danish Invasions', *TRHS* 5th ser. 2 (1952), 1–19

[E72] C. Godfrey, 'The Archbishopric of Lichfield', *Studies in Church History* I, ed. C.W. Dugmore and C. Duggan (1964), pp. 145–53

[E73] P. Wormald, 'In Search of King Offa's "Law-code"', in T26, pp. 25–45, reptd with additional note in T65, pp. 201–23 - discussion of the report of the papal legates

For Offa's promotion of the cult of St Alban, at St Albans, see B297a and B657.

For the Sandbach crosses, in this connection, see Hawkes (E107a).

Offa, Alcuin, and Charlemagne

For Charlemagne in general, see McKitterick (A60.5 and A60.10) and King (B601.6). **Alcuin**, born in Northumbria probably in the 730s, was educated at York. It is generally supposed that he left England for Charlemagne's court in the *early* 780s, re-visiting England at least twice: first in 786, with the papal legates, and again *c.* 790, as a peacemaker, staying until 793. Bullough (E141, p. 337) argues that he did not leave until 786 (or soon after). In 794 Alcuin became abbot of Tours, where he remained until his death on 19 May 804.

For Alcuin, see Bullough (E141), and in Story (E80.6), and entries on him by M. Garrison in A100 and by D. Bullough in the *ODNB* (A150). For detailed discussion of Mercia and Francia, see Story (E86), pp. 169–211, and Story (E86.1). For Alcuin and England, see Bullough (E141), pp. 391–400 (Alcuin and York), 410–18 (sack of Lindisfarne 793), 442–5 (to Ecgfrith), and 463–8 (to Offa, and on death of Æthelred, king of Northumbria, in April 796), at which point the book ends. For Alcuin's significant change of attitude after the 'death of kings' (Æthelred, Offa, Ecgfrith) in 796, see Keynes (E28), pp. 14–18, and Garrison (E89).

[E80] D. Bullough, *The Age of Charlemagne* (1965), 2nd ed. (1973) -a classic view of the Carolingians, with superb illustrations; for Alcuin, see also Bullough (E141)

[E80.5] R. Collins, *Charlemagne* (1998); a new biography, by R. McKitterick, is forthcoming

[E80.55] J.L. Nelson, 'The Voice of Charlemagne', in T47 (2001), pp. 76–88; J.L. Nelson, 'Did Charlemagne have a Private Life?', in T113, pp. 15–28

[E80.6] *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. J. Story (2005) - authoritative and accessible essays on Charlemagne, *et al.*, by a veritable galaxy of stars

[E81] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Charlemagne and England', in T2, pp. 155–80; see also J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (1971), pp. 98–123 (on Charlemagne and Offa)

[E82] D.M. Wilson, 'England and the Continent in the Eighth Century - an Archaeological Viewpoint', *SettSpol* 32 (1986), 219–44

[E83] W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (1946), pp. 94–131

[E84] Anonymous 'Life of Alcuin' (*Vita Alcuini*), written probably at Ferrières in the mid-820s, under the direction of his pupil Sigulf. Text: *Vitae Aliaeque Historiae Minores*, ed. W. Arndt, MGH, Scriptores XV, pt 1 (1887), pp. 182–97. Translation: E. Bohn, *The Anonymous 'Life of Alcuin'*, ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies (forthcoming). Discussion: Godman (B210), p. xxxviii; Bullough (E141), pp. 17–34; and for the influence of this work on Asser's perception of his relationship with Alfred, see Keynes and Lapidge (F50), p. 265, n. 195.

[E85] D.A. Bullough, 'What has Ingeld to do with Lindisfarne?', *ASE* 22 (1993), 93–125 - an important article converting a 'Northumbrian' letter into a 'Mercian' letter, with direct bearing on our understanding of Alcuin's attitude towards the kingdom of the Mercians

[E86] J. Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c.750–870* (2003) - connections with Mercia, Northumbria, and Wessex, including discussion of papal legates 786, exiles in Francia, the anointing of Ecgfrith (pp. 178–80, with pp. 261–72), and much else besides

[E86.1] J. Story, 'Charlemagne and the Anglo-Saxons', in Story (E80.6), pp. 195–210

[E87] D. Peacock, 'Offa's Black Stones', *Antiquity* 71 (1998), 709–15

[E88] J.L. Nelson, 'Carolingian Contacts', in E34 (2001), pp. 126–43 - on coinage, laws, marriage alliances, letters, exiles, etc., exploding the notion of an 'equal' relationship between Charlemagne and Offa

[E89] M. Garrison, 'The Bible and Alcuin's Interpretation of Current Events', *Peritia* 16 (2002), 68–84 - on 796 (death of kings), not 793 (attack on Lindisfarne) as turning point

[E89.5] M. Garrison, 'Quid Hinieldus cum Christo?', in T110, vol. I, pp. 237–59, also on Alcuin's letters in the 790s, and especially on the letter to Bishop Unwona (E85), as 'a castigation of an over-cosy alliance between a Mercian bishop and a king'

For Offa and the papacy, see also Nelson (F4.15), pp. 16–21.

Offa's dyke

For the concept of a linear earthwork, see Bede, *HE* i.5. Hill, *Atlas* (A260), p. 75. The background to the construction of the dyke lies in the relations between the Mercians and the Welsh. For general guidance, see A64, and Finberg (C121), pp. 66–82; see also Higham (C124b), pp. 102–16 and 166–9. Important sources: Felix's 'Life' of St Guthlac (B155), ch. 34, mentioning Welsh attacks on the English during the reign of Coenred (704–9); 'Book of Llandaff' (B330), p. 192, for Æthelbald; *Annales Cambriae* (B70); and 'Eliseg's Pillar' (E94). See also Gelling (A42), pp. 101–24; Hill and Worthington in A115.

[E90] C. Fox, *Offa's Dyke* (1955), esp. pp. xvii–xxi and 277–93

[E90a] L.P. Moore, 'Offa's Dyke: its Origin, Nature and Purpose', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* 41.3 (1975), 301–5

[E91] D. Hill and M. Worthington, *Offa's Dyke: History and Guide* (2003); but see also review in *Medieval Archaeology* 49 (2005), 490–2

[E91a] D. Hill, 'Offa Versus the Welsh', *British Archaeology* (Dec. 2000), pp. 18–22; D. Hill, 'Offa's Dyke: Pattern and Purpose', *Antiquaries Journal* 80 (2000), 195–206; D. Hill, 'The Construction of Offa's Dyke', *Antiquaries Journal* 65 (1985), 140–2; and D. Hill, 'Offa's and Wat's Dykes: Some Aspects of Recent Work 1972–1976', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 79 (1977), 21–33

[E92] F. Noble, *Offa's Dyke Reviewed*, ed. M. Gelling, BAR, Brit. ser. 114 (1983)

[E93] M. Worthington, 'Wat's Dyke: an Archaeological and Historical Enigma', *BJRL* 79.3 (1997), 177–97; entry on Offa's Dyke in A100

[E93a] T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'Wales and Mercia, 613–918', in E34 (2001), pp. 89–105

[E94] 'Eliseg's Pillar', in V.E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (1950), pp. 123–5, with Pls. XXXV–XXXVI. Erected by Concenn [d. 854], s. of Cattell [d. 808], in memory of his gt-grandfather Eliset (fl. *c.* 750). 'It is Eliset who annexed the inheritance of Powys … throughout nine (years?) from the power of the English [*e potestate Anglorum*], which he made into a sword-land by fire.'

[E94a] D.N. Dumville, *The Pillar of Elise* (forthcoming)

The Tribal Hidage (B500)

Much turns on whether this most interesting document is, or is not, a 'tribute-list', and (if it is) precisely when it was compiled. It may be a Mercian revision of a late 6th-century Kentish document (J.C. Russell, 'The Tribal Hidage', *Traditio* 5 (1947), 192–209); a mid/late 7th-century or 8th-century Mercian tribute-list (Gelling (A42), pp. 79–85; Hart (E95), etc.); a Northumbrian tribute-list (Brooks (C155), pp. 159 and 167–8; and Higham in A17 (vol. 2), pp. 83–99, and in A45, pp. 113–19); or a compilation of a rather different kind (cf. Keynes (E180)), not a tribute-list, yet still a text of the greatest importance for our understanding of political structures in the 7th/8th centuries (Keynes (E31), pp. 21–5). Recent views: Hamerow (C134), p. 282, a late 7th-century tribute-list; Thacker (D1.5), pp. 467 and 468–9, ditto.

See also: Yorke (D330); Insley (A115), on Mercia, at pp. 550–1.

[E95] C. Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', *TRHS* 5th ser. 21 (1971), 133–57

[E96] W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The Contexts of Tribal Hidage: Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), 223–93

[E97] M. Wood, *Domesday: a Search for the Roots of England* (1986), pp. 86–90

[E98] Rumble, in F283, pp. 182–8; Campbell (M350), pp. 43–5

[E99] P. Featherstone, 'The Tribal Hidage and the Ealdormen of Mercia', in E34, pp. 23–34

The most familiar **perspectives** for the earlier part of the Anglo-Saxon period are of course provided by Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History* (B20, etc.), and by the anonymous compiler of the 'common stock' of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, based probably at the court of King Alfred the Great (B41, etc.). We are grateful, therefore, for anything that might serve as a corrective to these 'Northumbrian' and 'West Saxon' points of view, however inadequate they might be in comparison with these two major historical works. Hence the importance of all things which lie between Bede and the *Chronicle*: including Otho A. i (E37); the Tribal Hidage (B500); the so-called 'Continuation' of Bede (B31); and the collection of material in Vespasian B. vi (E598.2).

The church in Mercia
[E100] D. Parsons, 'The Mercian Church: Archaeology and Topography', in E34 (2001), pp. 50–68

[E101] P. Wormald, 'Corruption, Decline, and the "Real World" of the Early English Church: Aristocrats as Abbots', Brixworth Lecture 2003, Brixworth 2nd ser. 5 (2005), reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 249–66

See also papers in Dornier (E26a) and in Brown and Farr (E34).

'Mercian' sculpture and metalwork of the eighth and ninth centuries
For the 'Hædda Stone' at Peterborough, see Campbell (A5), p. 110, and Plunkett (E107), pp. 207–10; for the Hædda in question, see Keynes (Q28), p. 37. For the 'Lichfield Angel', found in 2003 underneath the nave of Lichfield Cathedral, see B230.

[E105] R. Cramp, 'Schools of Mercian Sculpture', in Dornier (E26a), pp. 191–233

[E106] Sculptures at Breedon-on-the Hill, Leicestershire (B239.8): R. Jewell, 'The Anglo-Saxon Friezes at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, *Archaeologia* 108 (1986), 95–115; see also Campbell (A5), p. 113, and Plunkett (E107), pp. 215–20

[E107] S.J. Plunkett, 'The Mercian Perspective', *The St Andrews Sarcophagus: a Pictish Masterpiece and its International Connections*, ed. S.M. Foster (1998), pp. 202–26

[E107a] J. Hawkes, *The Sandbach Crosses: Sign and Significance in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (2002), and J. Hawkes, 'Constructing Iconographies: Questions of Identity in Mercian Sculpture', in E34 (2001), pp. 230–45 - noting that Sandbach (Cheshire) lies within diocese of Lichfield, and suggesting that the crosses articulate the continuing (Carolingian) aspirations of the churchmen, after Lichfield lost its archiepiscopal status

[E108] L. Webster, 'Metalwork of the Mercian Supremacy', in E34 (2001), pp. 263–77 - incl. the 9th-cent. Pentney brooches (discovered in 1977), on which see also A200, pp. 229–31

Economic determinism
[E109] J.R. Maddicott, 'Prosperity and Power in the Age of Bede and *Beowulf*', *PBA* 117 (2002), 49–71 - important for the eighth and ninth centuries

[E109.5] J.R. Maddicott, 'London and Droitwich, c. 650–750: Trade, Industry and the Rise of Mercia', *ASE* 34 (2005), 7–58

See also Wickham (A29).

Other kingdoms in the eighth century
There is always a tendency, by focussing attention on Mercia in the eighth century, to marginalise developments in Wessex, Kent, Northumbria, and East Anglia, just as there is a tendency, by focussing attention on Wessex in the ninth century, to marginalise developments in Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia; yet saying that does not make it any easier to penetrate the impenetrable. For general and effective guidance, see Yorke (A9) and Kirby (A10).

WESSEX. The West Saxon polity underwent a distinctive course of development from *c.* 700 onwards, and its rulers appear to have had an agenda of their own. Maddicott (D300) discusses Wessex and Northumbria during this period.

[E110] The reign of King Ine (688–726) was clearly of the utmost importance, and might well have set the pattern for the kingdom of Wessex. For Ine's rule, see Eangyth's letter to Boniface (D140). For Ine's law-code (preserved as an integral part of the law-code of King Alfred the Great), see EHD no. 32; Wormald (M172); Alexander (C67); etc. For his end as a pilgrim in Rome, see Bede, HE v.7. For the minster at Wimborne, under the rule of his sister Tette, see Q370, and EHD no. 159.

The commercial centre at *Hamwic* (Southampton), which was central to the prosperity of Wessex in the eighth century, would appear to have been founded during Ine's reign (cf. E4a); see Morton (P64), etc.

Ine's successors in the eighth century are less well known: Æthelheard (726–40); Cuthred (740–56); Sigeberht (756–7); Cynewulf (757–86); and Brihtric (786–802). Some impression of the kingdom can be gained from their charters:

[E111] H. Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, BAR Brit. ser. 198, (1988) - covers the charters *c.*670–839, archive by archive

The period would also seem to have witnessed a certain amount of internal dynastic strife: **[E115]** The account of the struggle between King Cynewulf and the ætheling Cyneheard in 786 (ASC, *s.a.* 757). For exposition, see White (N21); H. Kleinschmidt, 'The Old English Annal for 757 and West Saxon Dynastic Strife', *Journal of Medieval History* 22.3 (1996), 209–24; D.G. Scragg, 'Wifcy>>e and the Morality of the Cynewulf and Cyneheard Episode in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', in T31, pp. 179–85.

KENT. King Wihtred (690–725) presided over the whole of the formerly bipartite kingdom of Kent. After the death of Wihtred in 725, the kingdom was divided into its two component parts: east Kent (governed from Canterbury), and west Kent (governed from Rochester). The relationship between the two kingdoms, and the consequences of the imposition of Mercian overlordship, are well illustrated by charters: see Kelly (B291), pp. 195–203, and Keynes, *Atlas of Attestations* (B331), Table V.
[E120] King Wihtred's law-code, see EHD no. 31.
[E125] letter of Æthelberht, king of east Kent (725–62), to Boniface, in Emerton (B305), no. 85
[E130] The '**Codex Aureus**' (now in Stockholm). Webster and Backhouse (A200), no. 154. Complete facsimile (in colour): Gameson (B813). Written (and decorated) probably in south-eastern England (?Kent, ?Canterbury), towards the middle of the eighth century. Renowned for the fact that about a hundred years later it was stolen by vikings, from wherever it was kept, and then sold by them to Ealdorman Alfred [of Surrey] and his wife Werburh, who gave it to Christ Church, Canterbury.

NORTHUMBRIA. The sequence of events must be reconstructed from the 'First Set of Northern Annals' (B33). For an interpretation, see Wormald (E27), pp. 114–15; the sequence of rulers is set out in M1, pp. 18–20. Numismatic evidence is summarised by Blackburn (M576), pp. 295–8. One important figure was King Æthelred I (774–80 and 790–6), who married Ælfflæd, daughter of King Offa, in 792. Another was King Eardwulf, who was consecrated king on 26 May 796, expelled in 806, and restored (briefly), with Frankish and papal support, in 808; for his coinage, see Pirie (M655).
[E133] J.E. Story, 'Carolingian Northumbria and the Legatine Mission of 786', *Conversion and Christianity in the North Sea World*, ed. B.E. Crawford, St John's House Papers 8 (1998), 93–107; see also Story (E86)

Alcuin of York
For the Anonymous 'Life' of Alcuin, see E84. For a register of his writings, see B311. For Alcuin's poem on York, see B210. For his correspondence, see B310, and E41. Entry by Garrison on Alcuin in A100; and for Alcuin and Charlemagne, see the catalogue of an exhibition held at York in 2001 (A232.5). See also Bullough (E85). For his use of the migration myth, see Howe (C88).
[E140] E.S. Duckett, *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne* (1951); M. Alberi, 'Alcuin and the "New Athens"', *History Today* 39 (Sept. 1989), 35–41
[E141] D.A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, Education & Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 16 (2004) - the major study of Alcuin's life and works, based on the Ford Lectures given in Oxford in 1980; D.A. Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence', in E142, pp. 1–26; see also Bullough on Alcuin in the 790s, in T100
[E142] *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, ed. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald, Germania Latina 3 (1998)
[E143] M. Garrison, 'The English and the Irish at the Court of Charlemagne', *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken / 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*, ed. P.L. Butzer, *et al.* (1997), pp. 97–123
[E144] M. Garrison, 'The Social World of Alcuin: Nicknames at York and at the Carolingian Court', in E142, pp. 59–79; M. Garrison, 'The Teacher and the King', *BBC History Magazine* 2.7 (2001), pp. 22–5
[E146] J. Lang, 'Monuments from Yorkshire in the Age of Alcuin', in C152, pp. 109–19

EAST ANGLIA. The king of the East Angles in the early eighth century was Aldulf (c. 673–713), on whom see Bede, HE ii.15 and iv.23. His son, King Ælfwald (c. 713–49), directed a letter to Archbishop Boniface in the late 740s; see Emerton (B305), no. 65. Our knowledge of East Anglian kings in the second half of the eighth century, and of their independence from or subjection to the Mercian overlord, depends largely on numismatic evidence. For the radical but rather intriguing suggestion that the 'tyrant' **Beornred** who seized power

in Mercia after Æthelbald's death (757), and who was then ejected by Offa, was none other than **Beonna**, king of the East Angles, see Archibald (M750).

Eighth-century artifacts: see Webster and Backhouse (A200). For the Franks Casket, see Wood (D350), etc.; and for the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses, see Hawkes (D380), etc. For the **Coppergate Helmet** (s. viii.2), see Tweddle (B842), and A200, no. 47. For the **Gandersheim Casket** (s. viii ex.), see A200, no. 138, and A233.5, no. 161. For the **Maaseik embroideries** (*c.* 800), see A200, no. 143, and references; see also A233.5, nos. 118–19.

The reign of Coenwulf, king of the Mercians (796–821)

King Coenwulf himself makes a good impression as a Mercian 'overlord', in the tradition of Æthelbald and Offa; see the entry on him in A100. The extended dispute between Coenwulf and Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury (805–32), arose from Wulfred's determination to assert the freedom of the Kentish minsters from secular control and indeed not to be patronised by the Mercian king. Wulfred set out his position at Chelsea in 816 (E170). He then entered into dispute with King Coenwulf over the lordship of the Kentish monasteries at Reculver and Minster-in-Thanet, in course of which the archbishop was in some sense suspended from his office. Coenwulf and Wulfred reached an agreement at a council at London in 821. The king died in 821, and the dispute continued with Coenwulf's daughter Cwoenthryth, abbess of Minster-in-Thanet, until resolved in the mid 820s.

[E170] The canons of the Council of Chelsea (816). For text and translation, see B408.

[E171] Charter recording the settlement of the dispute between Archbishop Wulfred and Abbess Cwoenthryth, first at a council of *Clofesho* (825) and then at a meeting at *Oslafeshlau* (*c.*827). The charter is S 1436: text in Birch (B341), no. 384; facsimile of Stowe Ch. 15, with translation, in B336. Brooks (Q16), pp. 322–3; Keynes (Q28), p. 12 n. 56. See also S 90 (forged charter of King Æthelbald).

The essential exposition of the dispute is Brooks (Q16), pp. 132–42, 155–60 and esp. 175–97. See also Stenton (A1), pp. 229–30; Wormald (F5), pp. 124–7; Keynes (F6), pp. 117–18; Keynes (Q28), pp. 10–13; Cubitt (Q27), pp. 191–203 and 218–22; and the entry on Wulfred in A100. See also Blair (A20), pp. 121–34.

[E176] K.P. Witney, 'The Period of Mercian Rule in Kent, and a Charter of A.D. 811', *Archæologia Cantiana* 104 (1987), 87–113

[E177] J. Crick, 'Church, Land and Local Nobility in Early Ninth-Century Kent: the Case of Ealdorman Oswulf', *Historical Research* 61 (1988), 251–69; for Oswulf, see also Insley on Lyminge (A115)

[E178] B. Brooks, 'Archbishop Wulfred (805–33) and the Lordship of Minster-in-Thanet in the Early Ninth Century', *Downside Review* 111 (1994), 211–27

[E179] C. Cubitt, 'Finding the Forger: an Alleged Decree of the 679 Council of Hatfield', *EHR* 114 (1999), 1217–48, on a document purporting to establish archbishoprics at Canterbury and York, pointing the finger at Archbishop Wulfred

[E180] S. Keynes, 'Between Bede and the *Chronicle*: London, BL, Cotton Vespasian B. vi, fols. 104–9', in T110, vol. I, pp. 47–67, on the early-ninth-century collection of episcopal lists (for provinces of Canterbury and York), royal genealogies (for 'Anglian' kingdoms), and other texts, in BL Cotton Vespasian B. vi, fols. 104–9 (E598.2)

For the glorious **gold coin** of King Coenwulf ('+de vico Lvndoniae'), see M710.1.

'Mercian' manuscripts of the late eighth and early ninth centuries

[E205] M.P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (1996); see also B477

[E206] M.P. Brown, 'Female Book-Ownership and Production in Anglo-Saxon England: the Evidence of the Ninth-Century Prayerbooks', *Lexis and Texts in Early English*, ed. C.J. Kelly and L.M. Sylvester (2001), pp. 45–67

[E207] M.P. Brown, 'Mercian Manuscripts? The "Tiberius Group" and its Historical Context', in E34 (2001), pp. 279–90

[E220] Mercian regnal list, added in a Worcester cartulary (BL Cotton Tiberius A. xiii), ptd Hearne (B231), p. 242, ending 'Beornwulf iii, Ludeca i, Wiglaf ii, Ecgberht i, Wiglaf v, Berhtwulf xiii, Burgred xxv, Ceolwulf v, Æthelred [no figure given for length of reign]'. Note inclusion of Ecgberht [of Wessex, for one year], Ceolwulf [for 5 years], and Æthelred [ealdorman of the Mercians]. For other regnal lists, see B485.

F. FROM ECGBERHT (802-39) TO ALFRED (871-99)

The first half of the ninth century witnessed momentous political change. The denouement can be seen in terms of a Cup Final between Mercia and Wessex (Bassett, in C130, pp. 26–7), with the implication that the West Saxons took over from where the Mercians left off. It may be, on the other hand, that a more complex model is required to understand the unfolding course of events. Much depends on detailed analysis of Mercian, Kentish and West Saxon charters, on their own terms and in relation to each other. 'Mercian' charters throw valuable light on political fortunes within the kingdom of Mercia; 'Kentish' charters reveal how first the Mercians and then the West Saxons exercised their control of Kent, in significantly different ways (see F6); and 'West Saxon' charters help one to understand how Egbert, king of Wessex (802–39), his son Æthelwulf (839–58), and Æthelwulf's imaginatively-named sons Æthelstan (died *c.* 851), Æthelbald (858–60), Æthelberht (860–5) and Æthelred (865–71) consolidated and extended their power (see F10). It is more difficult, for lack of comparable evidence, to form an impression of developments in Northumbria, or in East Anglia; and it must suffice to emphasise that these kingdoms had histories of their own which are of no less interest for being even more obscure.

Carolingian kingdoms and culture in the ninth century

English history in the ninth century should be approached with an eye on the Frankish kingdoms during the reigns of Louis the Pious (814–40), Charles the Bald (840–77), *et al.* For the *Lives* of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, see B100 and B105. For Frankish annals, see B605–8.

McKitterick (A60.5); Nelson (A70), pp. 110–41; Fried (A70), pp. 142–68; Story (E86).

[F1] *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious*, ed. P. Godman and R. Collins (1990)

[F2] *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. M.T. Gibson and J.L. Nelson, 2nd ed. (1990); J. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (1992); see also Nelson's collected papers, in T53 and T67

[F2.5] *Dhuoda: Handbook for her Warrior Son / Liber Manualis*, ed. M. Thiébaux, Cambridge Medieval Classics 8 (1998) - a mother's guidance for her son, written in the 840s

[F3] Letters of Lupus of Ferrières (including correspondence with Felix in Wessex). Translation: G.W. Regenos, *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières* (1966); EHD nos. 215–18.

[F4] P.E. Dutton and H.L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (1997)

[F4.5] G. Kornbluth, *Engraved Gems of the Carolingian Empire* (1995), pp. 31–48 + figs. 1.1–28 (no. 1), for the 'Lothar [or Susanna] crystal' (in the British Museum), made on the orders of Lothar II (855–69), perhaps symbolising royal *justitia* (p. 47); see also pp. 58–63 (no. 6), for the 'Lothar seal' (at Aachen), pp. 109–13 (no. 20), for the 'Louis seal' (Zurich), and pp. 125–8 (other seals), illustrating the use of seals in the ninth century.

[F4.10] K. Davis, 'National Writing in the Ninth Century: a Reminder for Postcolonial Thinking about the Nation', *Journal of Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies* 28 (1998), 611–37

[F4.15] J.L. Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: I, Ends and Beginnings', *TRHS* 6th ser. 12 (2002), 1–21

[F4.16] J.L. Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: II, Vikings and Others', *TRHS* 6th ser. 13 (2003), 1–27

[F4.17] J.L. Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: III, Rights and Rituals', *TRHS* 6th ser. 14 (2004), 1–24

[F4.20] S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (2003)

See also Nelson (F98) and Scharer (F99).

I. ENGLAND IN THE NINTH CENTURY

For general surveys, see Stenton (A1); Yorke (A9), pp. 95–7 [Northumbria], 117–24 [Mercia], and 148–54 [Wessex]; Kirby (A10), pp. 185–204; and Keynes (E31). For the kingdom of Wessex in particular, see Yorke (A46).

[F5] P. Wormald, 'The Ninth Century', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J. Campbell (1982), pp. 132–59

[F6] S. Keynes, 'The Control of Kent in the Ninth Century', *EME* 2.2 (1993), 111–31

[F7] S. Keynes, 'Mercia and Wessex in the Ninth Century', in E34, pp. 310–28

For excellent discussion of 'Francia and the Rise of Wessex', covering the reigns of Ecgberht and Æthelwulf, see Story (E86), pp. 213–55.

The reign of King Ecgberht (802–39)

Ecgberht had spent three years in exile in Frankia (789–92), and succeeded Beorhtric in 802. For charters in the name of King Ecgberht, see Edwards (E111). In 825 Ecgberht defeated Beornwulf, king of the Mercians, at the battle of *Ellendun* (Wroughton, Wiltshire), precipitating major political upheavals in the east and south-east. For Ecgberht and Kent, see Keynes (F6), pp. 121–4.

In 829 Ecgberht 'conquered the kingdom of the Mercians, and everything south of the Humber; and he was the eighth king who was "Brytenwealda"' (ASC); later on in the same year, Egbert 'led an army to Dore [north Derbyshire], against the Northumbrians, and they offered him submission and peace there' (ASC). On the significance of the term 'Bretwalda', see Wormald (D180), Keynes (D181), Dumville (D183b), etc.

ASC 830: 'And that same year King Ecgberht led an army among the Welsh, and he reduced them all to humble submission to him.' It is not likely to be a coincidence that the *Historia Brittonum* (B11, C30) originated in Wales at precisely this time, in 829/830:
[F8] D.N. Dumville, '*Historia Brittonum*: an Insular History from the Carolingian Age', *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (1994), pp. 406–34
For the *Historia Brittonum* in its historical context, see also Higham (C124b), pp. 116–24.

No less important in the political rearrangements of the period was the formal settlement between the West Saxon king and the archbishop of Canterbury:
[F9] Charter recording settlement between Archbishop Ceolnoth and King Ecgberht with King Æthelwulf, in a council at Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, in 838; with confirmation *æt Æstran* 839. The charter is S 1438: text in Birch (B341), no. 421; facsimiles in B335. Discussion: Stenton (A1), p. 234 n. 2; Brooks (Q16), pp. 197–203; Wormald (F5), p. 140; Keynes (F10), pp. 1112–14; Crick (F13).

The statement in the *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 839 (Nelson (B606), pp. 42–3), to the effect that the king of the English [*rex Anglorum*] sought permission to travel through Francia on his way to Rome, could refer to Ecgberht or Æthelwulf. No less interesting is the fact that the English were terrified by a vision related by an English priest, who had been warned that if Christian people did not mend their errant ways, they would be punished: a great fog would spread over the land, 'and then all of a sudden pagan men will lay waste with fire and sword most of the people and land of the Christians along with all they possess'.

The reign of King Æthelwulf (839–58)

The significance of the role of King Æthelwulf in consolidating the work of his predecessors, and in establishing the credentials of the West Saxon monarchy, should not be underestimated. See, e.g., Nelson, in the *ODNB* (A150); Wormald (F5), pp. 140–2; Kirby (A10), p. 195; Keynes (E31), pp. 40–1; Keynes (F42), p. 62; Smyth (F51), pp. 552–3; John (T54), pp. 71–4; and cf. Stenton (A1), pp. 244–5. Æthelwulf was credited with a great victory over a viking army at the battle of *Aclea* in 851 (ASC). In 853, he brought the Welsh to submission, despatched his son Alfred to Rome (cf. EHD no. 219), and gave his daughter in marriage to Burgred, king of the Mercians (ASC). He instituted a 'decimation' of his land in 854–5. He went to Rome himself, taking Alfred with him, in 855 (ASC; *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, in Nelson (B606), pp. 80–3; *Liber Pontificalis*, in Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes* (B601), pp. 186–7), and married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, on the way back. For the 'first' coronation ordo, see B470. For Æthelwulf's difficulties and dispositions after his return from Rome, see Asser (B80), chs. 12–13 and 16. For relations between Wessex and Mercia, see Keynes (F90). For King Æthelwulf's ring, see Wilson (B840), no. 31, and A200, no. 243. For the suggestion that *Deor* is a satire on King Æthelwulf, see North, in *OEN* 29.2 (1996), 35–6.

[F10] S. Keynes, 'The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and his Sons', *EHR* 109 (1994), 1109–49, esp. 1114–23; for charters of King Æthelwulf, see EHD nos. 88–9; see also Nelson (M100.5)
[F10.5] King Æthelwulf's 'Decimation' charters of 854. Discussion: M232.41. For the 'First' decimation charters, cf. Keynes (J162.5).
[F11] M.J. Enright, 'Charles the Bald and Æthelwulf of Wessex: the Alliance of 856 and Strategies of Royal Succession', *Journal of Medieval History* 5 (1979), 291–302; P. Stafford, 'Charles the Bald, Judith, and England' (1981), reptd in Gibson and Nelson (F2), pp. 139–53, and in T70 (I) - on the politics behind King Æthelwulf's marriage to Judith in 856
[F11.5] R. Abels, 'Royal Succession and the Growth of Political Stability in Ninth-Century Wessex', *HSJ* 12 (2002), 83–97 - covering the period from the reign of Ecgberht onwards

[F12] J. Nelson, 'The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century Reconsidered', in T32, pp. 141–58, at 143–6, reptd in T67, no. VI - on Æthelwulf's strategy in sending Alfred to Rome

[F13] J. Crick, 'The Case for a West Saxon Minuscule', *ASE* 26 (1997), 63–79 - on certain charters and books written in Wessex in the second quarter of the ninth century

English visitors to Italy in the mid-ninth century

[F14] S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Entries in the "Liber Vitae" of Brescia', in T31 [1997], pp. 99–119 - entries in (F14a) relating to members of the West Saxon and Mercian royal families, and others, apparently on their various ways to Rome in 853 (the æthelings Æthelred and Alfred), 855 (King Æthelwulf and Alfred) and 874 (King Burgred and Queen Æthelswith). Further discussion: Story (E86), pp. 224–43.

[F14a] *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore / Santa Giulia in Brescia*, ed. D. Geuenich and U. Ludwig, MGH, Libri Memoriales et Necrologia n.s. 4 (2000), pp. 92–3, 167 and 171, with plates; see also A233.5, no. 15 (pp. 176–7)

For Brescia itself, and so for a sense of the things that Alfred might have seen there (e.g. the cross of Desiderius), see Bertelli (A232.3).

The coinage of southern England in the ninth century

Understanding of the relationship between the kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, Kent, and East Anglia, in the ninth century, depends to a great extent on analysis of numismatic evidence. See Blunt (M723), etc.

The kingdom of the Mercians in the ninth century

It is apparent that the Mercian polity was coming apart at the seams in the 820s. For further discussion, see Wormald (F5), p. 128; see also Keynes (F7), and Keynes (F6), pp. 119–20, with S 1435, in Kelly (B293), no. 15. For St Kenelm of Winchcombe, see Q350. Understanding of the fortunes of the Mercian kings in the central decades of the ninth century depends largely on the evidence of their charters and coins. The question arises whether there was any organising principle behind the succession of Mercian kings: Coenwulf (796–821); Ceolwulf I (821–3); Beornwulf (823–5); Ludeca (825–7); Wiglaf (827–9 and 830–40); Berhtwulf (840–52); Burgred (852–74); and Ceolwulf II (874–9). It is possible that we should resolve the kings (and other players) into three competing dynasties (e.g. Wormald (F5), pp. 128 and 138; Thacker (Q154), pp. 9 and 12–13; see also Keynes (F90), pp. 11 n. 40 and 39 n. 168), whose names began respectively with C, B, and W. Or it may be that the Mercian polity was rather different from the West Saxon polity (cf. Keynes (F90), p. 5 nn. 16–17, and (F7)), and that it reverted during this period to its 'natural' state.

[F21] J. Hillaby, 'King Burgred, the Severn Stoke Coin Hoard and the Demise of the Mercian Kingdom', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd ser. 17 (2000), 125–48

Northumbria in the ninth century

A100, p. 504. See also Wormald (E27), p. 135; Yorke (A8), pp. 95–7; Kirby (A9), pp. 196–8. For the evidence of coinage, see Blackburn (M576), pp. 298–303.

[F23] D.P. Kirby, 'Northumbria in the Ninth Century' [1987], in Metcalf (M660), pp. 11–25

For further numismatic enlightenment, see Metcalf (M660), etc.

East Anglia in the ninth century

A100, p. 509. For the evidence of coinage, see Blackburn (M576), pp. 293–4. For the death of Edmund, king of the East Angles, in 869, see F49 and Q335.

[F24] A. Chapman, 'King Alfred and the Cult of St Edmund', *History Today* 53.7 (July, 2003), 00–00

The conditions of religious life

The crucial text is the letter which King Alfred circulated to his bishops with copies of his translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care* (F50, pp. 124–6 and 294–6):

[F25] H. Gneuss, 'King Alfred and the History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries', *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature,* ed. P.R. Brown, *et al.* (1986), pp. 29–49, and 'Anglo-Saxon Libraries from the Conversion to the Benedictine Reform', *SettSpol* 32 (1986), 643–99, at 672–9; both reptd in T55

[F26] J. Morrish, 'King Alfred's Letter as a Source on Learning in England', in T40 (1986), pp. 87–107; J. Morrish, 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts Copied in England During the Ninth Century: a Preliminary List', *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988), 512–38

[F27] E.G. Stanley, 'King Alfred's Prefaces', *Review of English Studies*, ns 39 (1988), 349–64

[F28] Declining standards of literacy at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the central decades of the ninth century: see Brooks (Q16), pp. 167–74, and Lapidge (F31)

[F29] R. Gameson, 'Alfred the Great and the Destruction and Production of Christian Books', *Scriptorium* 49 (1995), 180–210

[F31] M. Lapidge, 'Latin Learning in Ninth-Century England', in T19 (1996), pp. 409–54, including his examiner's report on the Latinity of single-sheet charters of the period 835–85 (pp. 446–54)

For church architecture in the eighth and ninth centuries, see Gem (Q721). On the significance of the apparent decline in the holding of church councils, after *c.* 840, see Cubitt (Q27), pp. 235–40, and Keynes (Q28), pp. 50–1.

II. THE IMPACT OF THE VIKING RAIDS

The viking raids began in the late eighth century, in England and on the continent, and soon began to affect political and social conditions. For a wide-ranging review of the condition of the church in the ninth century, reflecting the impact of the Scandinavian raids and the operation of other factors, see Blair (A20), pp. 291–341.

[F33] R.I. Page, 'The Audience of *Beowulf* and the Vikings', *The Dating of Beowulf*, ed. C. Chase (1981), pp. 113–22 - an important discussion of English attitudes to the Danes

[F34] A.P. Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles 850–880* (1977)

[F35] P.H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings* (1982), pp. 78–97; P.H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd ed. (1971), pp. 120–47

[F36] J.L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (1992), and J.L. Nelson, 'The Frankish Empire', *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. P. Sawyer (1997), pp. 19–47; see also S. Coupland, 'The Fortified Bridges of Charles the Bald', *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), 1–12, and S. Coupland and J. Nelson, 'The Vikings on the Continent', *History Today* 38 (December 1988), 12–19

[F37] N. Brooks, 'England in the Ninth Century: the Crucible of Defeat', *TRHS* 5th ser. 29 (1979), 1–20, reptd in T58, pp. 48–68 (with Postscript)

[F38] P. Wormald, 'Viking Studies: Whence and Whither?', *The Vikings*, ed. R.T. Farrell (1982), pp. 128–53

[F38.5] D.N. Dumville, 'Vikings in the British Isles: a Question of Sources', in Jesch (T107), pp. 209-50

[F39] F.D. Logan, *The Vikings in History* (1983), pp. 138–72; see also Loyn (H2)

[F40] S. Foot, 'Violence against Christians? The Vikings and the Church in Ninth-century England', *Medieval History* 1.3 (1991), 3–16 - on the perception of the vikings as 'pagans', and their impact on the English; see also Foot (Q23), vol. I, pp. 71–84, on the destruction of religious houses

[F41] S. Coupland, 'The Vikings in Francia and Anglo-Saxon England to 911', in A70, pp.190–201; S. Coupland, 'The Frankish Tribute Payments to the Vikings and their Consequences', *Francia* 26.1 (1999), 57–75; S. Coupland, 'The Vikings on the Continent in Myth and History', *History* 88.2 (2003), 186–203

[F41.5] R.C.G.M. Lauwerier and R. M. Van Heeringen, 'Objects of Bone, Antler and Horn from the Circular Fortress of Oost-Soubourg, The Netherlands (A.D. 900–975)', *Medieval Archaeology* 39 (1995), 71–90 (circular fortress built s. ix ex for protection against vikings)

[F42] S. Keynes, 'The Vikings in England', *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. P. Sawyer (1997), pp. 48–82

[F42.5] B.E. Crawford, 'The Vikings', in Davies (A7), pp. 41–71 and 243–5

[F43] C. Etchingham, *Viking Raids on Irish Church Settlements in the Ninth Century: a Reconsideration of the Annals*, Maynooth Monographs, Series Minor 1 (1996)

[F44] D. Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the Ninth Century', *Peritia* 12 (1998), 296–39

[F45] M. Ní Mhaonaigh, '*Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib* and the Annals: a Comparison', *Ériu* 47 (1996), 101–26; M. Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Friend and Foe: Vikings in Ninth- and Tenth-Century Irish Literature', *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age*, ed. H.B. Clarke, *et al.* (1998), pp. 381–402

[F46] A.P. Smyth, 'The Effect of Scandinavian Raiders on the English and Irish Churches: a Preliminary Reassessment', *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change*, ed. B. Smith (1999), pp. 1–38, mainly on the ninth century

[F47] S. Foot, 'Remembering, Forgetting and Inventing: Attitudes to the Past in England at the End of the First Viking Age', *TRHS* 6th ser. 9 (1999), 185–200

[F48] C. Cubitt, 'Rape, Pillage and Exaggeration', *Not Angels but Anglicans*, ed. H. Chadwick and A. Ward (2000), pp. 33–9

For the remarkable 'Hostage Stone', found at Inchmarnock (Hebrides, off Bute), western Scotland, in 2002, with an image of a viking raider leading a hostage in captivity to his waiting ship, see <www.headlandarchaeology.com>. For 12th-century illustrations of the Great Army in England, see B253. See also James (A12), pp. 214–20; and on the exploits of the Great Army in England, in the 860s, see James (A12), pp. 220–6.

Victims of the vikings

For lurid discussion of the rite of the blood-eagle, inflicted upon Ælle, king of the Northumbrians, in 867, and upon Edmund, king of the East Angles, in 869, see:

[F49] Smyth (F34), pp. 189–94, and index, s.v. 'Ritual Slaying' (*see also* Snake Pits); R. Frank, 'Viking Atrocity and Skaldic Verse: the Rite of the "Blood Eagle"', *EHR* 99 (1984), 332–43; B. Einarsson, 'De Normannorum Atrocitate, or on the Execution of Royalty by the Aquiline Method', *SBVS* 22.1 (1986), 79–82, with further contributions by R. Frank and B. Einarsson in *SBVS* 22.5 (1988), 287–9, and 23.2 (1990), 80–3; G. Halsall, 'Playing by Whose Rules? A Further Look at Viking Atrocity in the Ninth Century', *Medieval History* 2.2 (1992), 2–12; I. McDougall, 'Serious Entertainments: an Examination of a Peculiar Type of Viking Atrocity', *ASE* 22 (1993), 201–25; Smyth (F51), p. 77; Smyth (F46), pp. 17–20; M. Cormack, 'Barbarian Atrocities and Hagiographic Motifs: a Postscript to Some Recent Articles', *SBVS* 25.3 (2000), 316–17

A number of other persons who met their ends at the hands of the vikings in the late ninth century were sooner or later regarded as saints: e.g. Æbbe (Ebba the Younger), abbess of Coldingham; Beocca and 'Edor', of Chertsey; Hædda, abbot of *Medeshamstede* (long believed to be commemorated with his monks by the so-called 'Hædda Stone' in Peterborough Cathedral); Ragener, nephew of King Edmund; and Tancred, Torhtred and Tova, of Thorney. For further details, see Farmer (Q2), etc.

III. THE REIGN OF KING ALFRED THE GREAT (871–99)

For a general introduction, see Stenton (A1), pp. 239–76; Wormald (F5), pp. 132–5, 149–57; Keynes and Lapidge (F50), pp. 9–58; and Kirby (A10, pp. 210–18). For Alfred in exhibitions at the British Museum, see the sections on 'The Age of Alfred' in A200, pp. 254–89, and on 'The Legacy of Alfred', in A205, pp. 18–44. There is extensive bibliographical guidance in Waite (A78a) and Discenza (F55).

[F50] S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and Other Contemporary Sources*, PC (1983), 2nd ed. in preparation - containing a selection of the primary sources in translation, with introduction and commentary

[F50a] P. Wormald, 'King Alfred', in the *ODNB* (A150), with P. Wormald, 'Living with Alfred', *HSJ* 15 (2006 for 2004), 1–39, being his reflections on King Alfred, including a long appendix (pp. 24–39) on the age at which Alfred learnt how to read.

[F50.5] Other 'Alfredian' entries in the *ODNB* (A150): e.g., Nelson on King Æthelwulf; Wormald on Asser; Pfaff on Grimbald; and several others.

[F51] A.P. Smyth, *Alfred the Great* (1995). A controversial book, arguing among other things that Asser's 'Life' of King Alfred was forged at Ramsey, probably by Byrhtferth, in the early eleventh century. For some reviews, see F262–3.

[F52a] D. Sturdy, *Alfred the Great* (1995)

[F53] R. Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (1998), with R. Abels, 'Alfred and his Biographers: Images and Imagination', in T113, pp. 61–75

[F54] *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. T. Reuter (2003) - proceedings of conferences held in 1999, in London and Southampton

[F55] N.G. Discenza, 'Alfred the Great: a Bibliography with Special Reference to Literature', in T45 (2000), pp. 463–502

[F56] J. Campbell, 'Placing King Alfred', in Reuter (F54), pp. 3–23

[F59] J. Peddie, *Alfred: Warrior King* (1999); J. Pollard, *Alfred the Great: the man who made England* (2005)

On the cult of King Alfred, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Keynes (S120), Yorke (S121), etc.

The essential primary sources

[F60] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (B65), annals 871–92 (used by Asser up to 887), annals 893–6 (main continuation), and annals 897–900. For general introduction to the *Chronicle*, see EHD, pp. 109–25; F50, pp. 275–81; and entry in A100. For comparison with a continental set of annals, see, e.g., the *Annals of Saint-Vaast* (B608).

[F61] Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (B80). Translation and commentary: F50, pp. 67–110 and 223–75.

[F62] King Alfred's law-code. Text and translation: B366. Translation: B368. Extracts in translation: EHD no. 33; F50, pp. 163–70 and 303–11.

[F63] Treaty between Alfred and Guthrum (*c.* 880). Text and translation: B366. Translation: EHD no. 34; F50, pp. 171–2 and 311–13.

[F64] Select documents. (i) The will of King Alfred. Text: B265. Text and translation: B356. Translation: EHD no. 96; F50, pp. 173–8 and 313–26. (ii) Charter of King Alfred, issued in 892. Translation: F50, pp. 179–81 and 326–30. (iii) The 'Fonthill Letter'. Facsimile, text, translation, and commentary: Keynes (M170).

[F65] Letter from Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, to King Alfred (*c.* 886), concerning the recruitment of Grimbald and his prospects in Alfred's kingdom. Text: B401, no. 4. Translation: EHD no. 223; F50, pp. 182–6 and 331–3. Further discussion: Nelson (F142); Nelson (F12), pp. 148–50.

[F66] King Alfred's writings. Preface to Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. Extracts from OE *Pastoral Care*, OE *Consolation of Philosophy*, OE *Soliloquies* and OE *Psalter*. Translation: F50, pp. 123–60 and 292–303 (for references to texts and complete translations); see also EHD no. 237. See also F156, etc.

[F67] The *Burghal Hidage* (B505). Translation: F50, pp. 193–4 and 339–41. For plans of the burhs, see F283. For an important diagram, see A260, p. 85.

[F68] Coinage of King Alfred and his contemporaries. The classic study is Dolley (M740); but for more recent work see Blackburn (M576) [1986], pp. 311–15, and Blackburn (M742), etc.

[F69] Metalwork. For rings, swords, brooches, jewels, etc., see the BM catalogues (A200) and (A205); see also Hinton (B837). The Alfred Jewel, the Fuller Brooch, the Abingdon Sword, and other putatively 'Alfredian' objects, are discussed further below (F320, etc.).

[F70] Accounts of King Alfred by Anglo-Norman historians. John of Worcester (B630), pp. 260–354, making extensive use of a manuscript of Asser's 'Life' of Alfred, and ending with a panegyric (p. 352); William of Malmesbury (B620), pp. 180–96, with important remarks on the king's intellectual activities (pp. 190–4), on which see Whitelock, in T5, no. VII; Henry of Huntingdon (B635), pp. 284–96, with a panegyric (p. 298).

'Alfredian' manuscripts in facsimile

[F75] The 'Parker Chronicle' [CCCC 173] (B45); the 'Tollemache Orosius' [BL Add. 47967] (B813); 'Bald's Leechbook' [BL Royal 12.D.xvii] (B813); OE Pastoral Care [Bodl. Hatton 20] (B813); the 'Paris Psalter' [Paris BN lat. 8824] (B813); and the 'Tanner Bede' [Bodl. Tanner 10] (B813). See also P. Wormald, 'Alfredian Manuscripts', in F5, pp. 158–9.

Aspects of the reign of King Alfred the Great

Some of the most important articles on Alfredian subjects are registered further below: e.g. Wallace-Hadrill (F222), Davis (F223); Kirby (F241); Campbell (F243); Whitelock (F261); Scharer (F246); Blackburn (M742); Pratt (F127).

Kingship and politics

For the kingship of David, see *1 Samuel*, *2 Samuel*, and *1 Kings*, chs. 1–2, and the later account in *1 Chronicles* and *2 Chronicles*; for the kingship of David's son Solomon, see *1 Kings*, chs. 1–11, and *1 Chronicles*, ch. 28 – *2 Chronicles*, ch. 9. On Bede as the source of inspiration for Alfredian notions of the *gens Anglorum*, or *Angelcynn*, see Wormald (D180), pp. 120–1, Wormald (G8), and Smyth (G9). For Alfred and the cult of St Gregory, see Thacker (D43.6). For the Alfredian court culture, see also Scharer (F246) and Scharer (F248). For 'Gregorian' kingship in Asser, see Kempshall (F249).

[F80] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship* (1971), pp. 140–51

[F81] J. Nelson, 'Wealth and Wisdom: the Politics of Alfred the Great', *Kings and Kingship*, ed. J. Rosenthal, Acta 11 (1986 for 1984), 31–52, reptd in T67, no. II; see also F82

[F82] J. Nelson, 'The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex', *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. A.J. Duggan (1993), pp. 125–58, reptd in T67, no. IV; J.L. Nelson, 'Power and Authority at the Court of Alfred', in T46 (2000), pp. 311–37

[F83] J. Nelson, '"A King across the Sea": Alfred in Continental Perspective', *TRHS* 5th ser. 36 (1986), 45–68, reptd in T67, no. I; see also Nelson (F12)

[F84] S. Keynes, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready', *TRHS* 5th ser. 36 (1986), 195–217, at 208–10 - on 'biblical' dimensions of Alfredian kingship

[F85] D.P. Kirby, 'Northumbria in the Reign of Alfred the Great', *Trans. of the Architectural & Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* 11 (1965), 335–46

[F86] B.A.E. Yorke, 'The Bishops of Winchester, the Kings of Wessex, and the Development of Winchester in the Ninth and Early Tenth Centuries', reptd in T43, pp. 107–20

[F87] B. Yorke, 'Edward as Ætheling', in G14 (2001), pp. 25–39

[F88] W. Davies, 'Alfred's Contemporaries: Irish, Welsh, Scots and Breton', in Reuter (F54), pp. 323–37

[F89] S. Foot, 'The Making of *Angelcynn*: English Identity before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 6th ser. 6 (1996), 25–49; see also Foot (F47), and Brooks (D180.1), pp. 46–8

[F90] S. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', in M720, pp. 1–45 - on Alfred's relations with Ceolwulf II and Ealdorman Æthelred, and the establishment of the 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons'

[F91] S. Keynes, 'Alfred the Great and Shaftesbury Abbey', in B271a, pp. 17–72, at 27–37

[F91.5] J. Haslam, 'King Alfred and the Vikings: Strategies and Tactics 876–886 AD', *ASSAH* 13 (2006), 122–54 – for the view that, having won the battle of Edington in May 878, Alfred built the burhs (878–9), concluded his treaty with Guthrum from this position of strength (879), forcing Guthrum to return to East Anglia, and then displaced Ceolwulf and issued a celebratory coinage from centres at London, Oxford, and Gloucester, as 'king of the Anglo-Saxons' (esp. pp. 124, 127, 133–5)

[F92] D. Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (forthcoming [2007]), developed from 'The Political Thought of Alfred the Great', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Cambridge (1999); see also Pratt (F127) and Pratt (F334)

[F93] G. R. Wieland, '*Ge mid wige ge mid wisdome*: Alfred's Double-Edged Sword', *From Arabye to England: Medieval Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Manzalaoui*, ed. A.E. Christa Canitz and G.R. Wieland (1999), pp. 217–28

[F94] P. Stafford, 'Succession and Inheritance: a Gendered Perspective on Alfred's Family History', in Reuter (F54), pp. 251–64; reptd in T70 (III)

[F95] P. Wormald, 'On tha wæpnedhealfe: Kingship and Royal Property from Æthelwulf to Edward the Elder', in G14 (2001), pp. 264–79 - dispositions made by Æthelwulf and Alfred

[F96] N. Brooks, 'Alfredian Government: the West Saxon Inheritance', in Reuter (F54), pp. 153–73

[F97] S. Keynes, 'The Power of the Written Word: Alfredian England 871–99', in Reuter (F54), pp. 175–97

[F98] J.L. Nelson, 'Alfred's Carolingian Contemporaries', in Reuter (F54), pp. 293–310

[F99] A. Scharer, 'Alfred the Great and Arnulf of Carinthia: a Comparison', in Reuter (F54), pp. 311–21

[F99.1] J. Shepard, 'The Ruler as Instructor, Pastor and Wise: Leo VI of Byzantium and Symeon of Bulgaria', in Reuter (F54), pp. 339–58

[F99.5] C. Davis, 'An Ethnic Dating of *Beowulf*', *ASE* 35 (2006), 111–29 - written in the 890s

The 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons'

[F100] The 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' was a distinctively Alfredian political order, reflecting the circumstances which came to prevail during the 880s, and expressing in its title the amalgamation of 'English' Mercia with the 'Saxon' territories of Wessex, Sussex, and Kent. Its important centres of power were arguably at London (P70), Gloucester (P83), Exeter (P69.5), and Winchester (P65, etc.). For the numismatic angle, see M700, M710.8.

The 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' endured throughout the reign of Edward the Elder and into the opening years of the reign of Æthelstan. It was then itself overtaken by further developments, and was superseded by the 'kingdom of the English' in 927. Discussion: Keynes (F90), pp. 34–9 (with map); entry in A100; Keynes (G35); F50, pp. 38–41 and 227–8; F10, pp. 1147–9; F42, pp. 62–3; G5; Richards (M187), pp. 47–50; Foot (F47), pp. 197–9; Abels (F11.5), pp. 93–6; Haslam (F91.5); Pratt (F92), esp. ch. 6. The 'Second Coronation ordo' (B471) displays features which suggest that it may have originated in this context; but for a different view, suggesting an association with Æthelstan, see Wormald (M160), pp. 446–9, and Nelson (M67). The 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' is given an additional linguistic dimension by Gretsch (G17), esp. pp. 102–6.

King Alfred and the Vikings

See Brooks (F37), Coupland (F41), Keynes (F42), etc. For viking activities on the continent in the 880s, see Keynes and Lapidge (F50), pp. 250–1, and esp. the *Annals of Saint-Vaast* (B608).

[F101.1] R. Abels, 'King Alfred's Peace-Making Strategies with the Vikings', *HSJ* 3 (1991), 23–34

[F101.2] R. Abels, 'Alfred the Great, the *micel hæthen here* and the Viking Threat', in Reuter (F54), pp. 265–79

[F101.3] M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, '**Repton** and the "Great Heathen Army", 873–4', in H5 (2001), pp. 45–96; see also M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Repton and the Vikings', *Antiquity* 66 (1992), 36–51 - on the 'Great Army' at Repton in 873–4

[F101.4] Possible viking boat burial found in Dec. 2004, somewhere in Yorkshire, with 7 Anglo-Saxon coins (Burgred and Alfred). Reported in *Current Archaeology* 16.11 (2004), 476–7.

[F101.5] J.D. Richards, 'Pagans and Christians at a Frontier: Viking Burial in the Danelaw', in Carver (T103), pp. 383–95; see also Richards (H50a) - also on the burials at Repton

[F101.6] J.D. Richards, 'Excavations at the Viking Barrow Cemetery at Heath Wood, **Ingleby**, Derbyshire', *Antiquaries Journal* 84 (2004), 23–116, esp. 97–108 - Scandinavian cemetery, comprising nearly 60 barrow burials, here associated with Repton (about 4 km to north west) and regarded as burial-place of viking army active in the 870s

[F102] R. Lavelle, 'Towards a Political Contextualization of Peacemaking and Peace Agreements in Anglo-Saxon England' (2000), in (T101), pp. 39–55

[F105] M. Aston, 'The Towns of Somerset', in Haslam (P53), pp. 167–201, esp. pp. 183–4, for the topography at Lyng and Athelney in 878

[F106] E. and J. Gifford, 'Alfred's New Longships', in Reuter (F54), pp. 281–9

See also Swanton (M117), on Alfred's ships; James (A12), pp. 226–30. For hostages, see Lavelle (M130).

King Alfred and London

For London in general, see P70. For the 'discovery' of Alfredian London, in 1984, see Biddle (P70a) and Vince (P70a). For exposition of the documentaty evidence, see Dyson (P72). For exposition of the literary, documentary and numismatic evidence, see Keynes (F90) and Blackburn (M742).

[F110] T. Dyson, 'King Alfred and the Restoration of London', *London Journal* 15.2 (1990), 99–110

[F111] J. Clark, 'King Alfred's London and London's King Alfred', *London Archaeologist* 9 (1999), 35–8

[F112] D. Keene, 'Alfred and London', in Reuter (F54), pp. 235–49

Economic matters

[F120] J.R. Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred', *Past & Present* 123 (1989), 3–51; see also the debate on this paper, by R. Balzaretti, J.L. Nelson and J.R. Maddicott, in *Past & Present* 135 (1992), 142–88; see also Maddicott (E109)

[F121] D.M. Metcalf, 'The Monetary Economy of Ninth-Century England South of the Humber: a Topographical Analysis', in M720, pp. 167–97

Alfred's illnesses

The primary text is Asser (F61), ch. 74. See also F50, pp. 255–6 and 270. Compare Bede's account of the illnesses of Pope Gregory the Great, in HE ii.1, in B21, p. 128. For the story of Alfred's visit to Ireland, in search of a cure, see *Life and Miracles of St Modwenna* (B238a), chs. 18–19.

[F124] M.J. Enright, 'Disease, Royal Unction, and Propaganda: an Interpretation of Alfred's Journeys to Rome, 853 and 855 A.D.', *Continuity* 3 (1982), 1–16   - for the view that Alfred was sent to Rome for a health cure

[F125] G. Craig, 'Alfred the Great: a Diagnosis', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 84 (1991), 303–5   - suggests that he may have suffered from Crohn's Disease <www.nacc.org.uk /about.htm>

[F126] J.L. Nelson, 'Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity, *c.* 900', *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D.M. Hadley (1998), pp. 121–42, at 135–8 (Alfred)

[F127] D. Pratt, 'The Illnesses of King Alfred the Great', *ASE* 30 (2001), 39–90

[F128] P. Kershaw, 'Alfred's Illnesses', *EME* 10 (2002), 201–24

See also Scharer (D32), pp. 195–6, and (F246); Wood (F265); Kempshall (F249), pp. 119–22.

King Alfred and the church

See letters in EHD nos. 222 and 224–5, and:

[F130] R. Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *EHR* 100 (1985), 247–65; see also Brooks, as in F6, pp. 203–6

[F131] D.N. Dumville, 'Ecclesiastical Lands and the Defence of Wessex in the First Viking-Age', in T15, pp. 29–54

[F132] D.N. Dumville, 'King Alfred and the Tenth-Century Reform of the English Church', in T15, pp. 185–205

[F135] K.J. Matthews, 'Saint Plegmund: Cheshire's Archbishop of Canterbury', *Cheshire History* 36 (1996–7), 89–113; see also entry on Plegmund in A100

Grimbald of Saint-Bertin (in Saint-Omer, Flanders)

Entry on Grimbald by R.W. Pfaff in *ODNB* (A150); also one by M. Lapidge in A100. Primary sources: Fulco's letter to Alfred, in F50, pp. 182–6; Asser, ch. 78 in F50, pp. 93 and 260. For a 'Life' of Grimbald, see Q445.

[F140] P. Grierson, 'Grimbald of St Bertin's', *EHR* 55 (1940), 529–61; see also Grierson (P38), pp. 69–70

[F141] J. Bately, 'Grimbald of St Bertin's', *Medium Ævum* 35 (1966), 1–10

[F142] J.L. Nelson, '"… *sicut olim gens Francorum … nunc gens Anglorum*": Fulk's Letter to Alfred Revisited', in T31, pp. 135–44, reptd in T67, no. V - re-affirming the authenticity of the letter

Further discussion: Ugé (A60.37); F50, pp. 26–8 and 214 n. 26; Gretsch (G17), pp. 113–19; Wormald (M160), pp. 425–6.

King Alfred and the revival of religion and learning (F66)

On the possibility of identifying manuscripts imported into England from the continent in the late ninth century, perhaps by Grimbald and John the Old Saxon, see: F50, p. 214 n. 26; Gretsch (G208), pp. 248–9, 276–7.

[F145] M. Lapidge, 'Prolegomena to an Edition of Bede's Metrical "Vita Sancti Cuthberti"', *Filologia Mediolatina* 2 (1995), 127–63, at 155–7

[F149] P.A. Booth, 'King Alfred versus Beowulf: the Re-education of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy', *BJRL* 79.3 (1997), 41–66

The literature on **Alfredian prose** is enormous. For detailed guidance, see the annotated bibliography by Waite (A78a), and Discenza (F55). For a brief introduction to the subject, see Keynes and Lapidge (F50), pp. 28–35; see also entries on Alfredian prose in A100 and A105. The Alfredian corpus is discussed further by Howlett (Q66), pp. 446–92, and by Pratt (F92).

[F150] D. Whitelock, 'The Prose of Alfred's Reign', *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. E.G. Stanley (1966), pp. 67–103; reptd in T5, no. VI

[F152] A.J. Frantzen, *King Alfred* (1986) - valuable survey of the Alfredian corpus, including the law-code

[F153] J. Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', *ASE* 17 (1988), 93–138; J. Bately, 'The Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign: Translation or Transformation?' [1980], reptd in T45 (2000), pp. 3–27

[F153.1] J. Bately, 'The Alfredian Canon Revisited: One Hundred Years On', in Reuter (F54), pp. 107–20

[F154] S. Irvine, 'Religious Context: Pre-Benedictine Reform Period', in A51.3 (2001), pp. 135–50 - covering Alfredian prose, incl. the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (pp. 141–3)

[F155] K. Davis, 'The Performance of Translation Theory in King Alfred's National Literary Program', *Manuscripts, Narrative, Lexicon: Essays on Literary and Cultural Transmission in Honour of Whitney F. Bolton*, ed. R. Boenig and K. Davis (2000), pp. 149–70

[F155.1] N.C. Discenza, 'Wealth and Wisdom: Symbolic Capital and the Ruler in the Translational Program of Alfred the Great', *Exemplaria* 13 (2001), 433–67

[F155.5] W. Schipper, 'Style and Layout of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', in T105, pp. 151–68, at 162–4, on King Alfred's invention of the 'Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Layout Style'

The OE version of Pope Gregory's 'Regula pastoralis'   F50, pp. 124–30 and 293–6

On the central place of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care* in an eighth-century programme of reform, and the possible influence of this programme on Alfred, see Keynes (E37.5), pp. 135–6 and 141. For Gregorian influence on Alfred, see also Smyth (F51), pp. 531–4. For the manuscripts of the OE *Pastoral Care*, see F75.

[F156] Text and translation: *King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, 2 vols., EETS, os 45 and 50 (1871–2)

[F156a] N.G. Discenza, '"Wise wealhstodas": The Prologue to Sirach as a Model for Alfred's Preface to the *Pastoral Care*', *JEGP* 97 (1998), 488–99

[F156b] N.G. Discenza, 'Alfred's Verse Preface to the *Pastoral Care* and the Chain of Authority', *Neophilologus* 85.4 (2001), 625–33

[F157] C. Schreiber, *King Alfred's Old English Translation of Pope Gregory the Great's 'Regula Pastoralis' and its Cultural Context*, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften / Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 25 (2003)

[F157a] C. Schreiber, 'Dialects in Contact in Ninth-Century England', in T106, pp. 1–31 - important linguistic discussion of the manuscripts of the OE *Pastoral Care*, in a larger historical context

The OE version of Boethius's 'De consolatione philosophiae'   F50, pp. 131–7 and 296–8

The OE Boethius is the subject of a major research project, directed by Malcolm Godden and based in the University of Oxford: <www.english.ox.ac.uk/boethius/>. The exact nature of King Alfred's involvement in the enterprise is among the matters now open to question.

[F158] Text: *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. W.J. Sedgefield (1899). Translation: W.J. Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Version of the Consolation of Boethius* (1900).

[F158.5] N.G. Discenza, *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius* (2005) - how the OE Boethius provided guidance for leaders, and helped to establish the West Saxon dialect as the literary language of the English people

The OE version of St Augustine's 'Soliloquia'   F50, pp. 138–52 and 299–301

[F159] Text: *King Alfred's Version of St Augustine's Soliloquies*, ed. T.A. Carnicelli (1969). Translation: H.L. Hargrove, *King Alfred's Old English Version of St Augustine's Soliloquies Turned into Modern English*, Yale Studies in English 22 (1904). There is also an Italian translation, by P. Zanna (2001).

The OE version of the first fifty psalms of the Psalter   F50, pp. 153–60 and 301–3

[F160] J. Bately, 'Lexical Evidence for the Authorship of the Prose Psalms in the Paris Psalter', *ASE* 10 (1981), 69–95 - for reaffirmation of its attribution to King Alfred

[F161] *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. P.P. O'Neill (2001) - edition, with commentary

Other 'Alfredian' works

[F165] Bishop Wærferth's translation of Pope Gregory's *Dialogues*. Text: *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, 2 vols. (1900–7). See also M. Godden, 'Wærferth and King Alfred: the Fate of the Old English *Dialogues*', in T31, pp. 35–51.

[F170] The OE version of Orosius's *Seven Books of Histories against the Pagans*. Text: *The Old English Orosius*, ed. J. Bately, EETS ss 6 (1980). Translation: by B. Thorpe, in R. Pauli, *The Life of Alfred the Great* (1900), pp. 238–528. See also S.J. Harris, 'The Alfredian World History and Anglo-Saxon Identity', *JEGP* 100 (2001), 482–510. For the accounts of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, see B598.3.

[F175] The OE version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Text and translation: *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. T. Miller, 2 vols. in 4, EETS os 95–6 and 110–11 (1890–8).

For the OE Martyrology (B561), see:

[F176] C. Rauer, 'The Sources of the Old English Martyrology', *ASE* 32 (2003), 89–109 For the compiler's sense of Englishness, see Roberts, in T31, pp. 163–5.

For 'Bald's Leechbook', see B591. On 'Alfredian Poetry', see Howlett (Q66), pp. 493–504 (John the Old Saxon) and 504–40 (the Beowulf poet).

[F178] J. Roberts, 'The Old English Prose Translation of Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*', in T40, pp. 363–79; and for the cult of Guthlac, see Q349.

For **King Alfred's 'Handbook'**, mentioned by Asser, chs. 24 and 88, see Keynes and Lapidge (F50), pp. 14 and 268, n. 208, and:

[F179] P.G. Remley, 'Aldhelm as Old English Poet: *Exodus*, Asser, and the *Dicta Ælfredi*', in T110, vol. I, pp. 90–108

Commentary on the principal sources

Charters (F64)

[F180] D. Whitelock, 'Some Charters in the Name of King Alfred', *Saints, Scholars and Heroes*, ed. M.H. King and W.M. Stevens (1979) I, pp. 77–98 For the charters of King Alfred, see also Keynes (F10), pp. 1134–41 and 1147–9; Smyth (F51), pp. 371–400; and Keynes (F262), pp. 548–50.

Coinage (F68)

See Dolley (M740), Blackburn (M744), etc.

The treaty between Alfred and Guthrum (F63)

The treaty was probably drawn up *c.* 880, following Guthrum's settlement in East Anglia. For the view that it was drawn up before then, in 879, see Haslam (F91.5).

[F200] R.H.C. Davis, 'Alfred and Guthrum's Frontier', *EHR* 97 (1982), 803–10, reptd in T14, pp. 47–54

[F201] D.N. Dumville, 'The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum', in T15, pp. 1–27 - for a radically different interpretation of the boundary; discussed by Haslam (F91.5)

[F202] N. Lund, 'Peace and Non-Peace in the Viking Age', *Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress*, ed. J.E. Knirk (Oslo, 1987), pp. 255–69, at 261–3

[F203] T. Charles-Edwards, 'Alliances, Godfathers, Treaties and Boundaries', in M720, pp. 47–62

[F204] P. Kershaw, 'The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty: Scripting Accommodation and Interaction in Viking Age England', in H6 (2000), pp. 43–64

Keynes (F90), pp. 31–4, with map. Wormald (M160), pp. 285–6. For Alfred and London, see Dyson (F110), Keynes (F90), Biddle/Vince (P70a), etc.

King Alfred's law-code (F62)

King Alfred's law-code cannot be dated with any degree of precision, but was probably drawn up in the late 880s or early 890s. See Richardson and Sayles (M143), pp. 15–17; Frantzen (F152), pp. 11–21; Wormald (M160), pp. 265–85; Wormald (M166), (M172); Richards (M187), pp. 47–50.

[F210] M. Treschow, 'The Prologue to Alfred's Law Code: Instruction in the Spirit of Mercy', *Florilegium* 13 (1994), 79–110

On the *Chronicle* and the laws, see Howlett (Q66), pp. 327–64.

The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' (F60)

For the continental background, see McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 84–119 ('The Carolingians on their Past') and 279–80 (on English historical writing). For an early ninth-century compilation that is, in a sense, intermediate between Bede and the *ASC*, see Keynes (E180). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was compiled in the early 890s, and seems to have been 'published' for the first time in 892.

[F220] F. Stenton, 'The South-Western Element in the Old English Chronicle', in T1, pp. 106–15; F. Stenton, 'Æthelweard's Account of the Last Years of King Alfred's Reign', in T1, pp. 8–13

[F222] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century: Some Common Historical Interests', in T2, pp. 201–16 (orig. ptd in *History* 35 (1950), 202–18)

[F223] R.H.C. Davis, 'Alfred the Great: Propaganda and Truth', *History* 56 (1971), 169–82, reptd in T14, pp. 33–46

[F224] C. Clark, 'The Narrative Mode of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* before the Conquest', in T21, pp. 215–35, reptd in T51, pp. 3–19

[F225] M. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the *Chronicle*, Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *ASE* 5 (1976), 149–71, reptd in T57, pp. 143–69

[F226] D. Whitelock, 'The Importance of the Battle of Edington, AD 878', in T5, no. XIII - a response to Wallace-Hadrill (F222) and Davis (F223)

[F227] J. Bately, 'The Compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence', *PBA* 64 (1978), 93–129, reptd in T25, pp. 261–97; J. Bately, 'Manuscript Layout and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *BJRL* 70 (1988), 21–43; J. Bately, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Texts and Textual Relationships*, Reading Medieval Studies Monograph 3 (1991)

[F228] S. Irvine, 'The *Anglo-Saxon Cronicle* and the Idea of Rome in Alfredian Literature', in Reuter (F54), pp. 63–77; S. Irvine, 'Wrestling with Hercules: King Alfred and the Classical Past', in T100, pp. 171–88

[F230] S. Keynes, 'The Manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', in Gameson (B770), forthcoming

[F235] D. Dumville, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Origins of English Square Minuscule Script', in T15, pp. 55–139

See also Irvine (F154).

Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' (B80, F61)

Asser's *Vita Ælfredi regis Angul-Saxonum* was written in 893. If we may set aside the doubts about its authenticity (on which see further below), the burning questions are: for what audience or readership was it intended? what purpose was it intended to serve? to what extent was Asser's account of Alfred influenced by 'literary' models, including the biblical accounts of David and Solomon, the *Lives* of Frankish kings (Charlemagne and Louis the Pious), and other Carolingian tracts on kingship? how did Asser choose to portray the king, and why? what in fact does Asser contribute to our perception of the king? and does his portrayal of King Alfred accord with other evidence?

[F240] M. Schütt, 'The Literary Form of Asser's *Vita Alfredi*', *EHR* 72 (1957), 209–20

[F241] D.P. Kirby, 'Asser and his Life of King Alfred', *Studia Celtica* 6 (1971), 12–35

[F242] R.L. Thomson, 'British Latin and English History: Nennius and Asser', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, Lit. and Hist. Sect. 18, pt 1 (1982), 38–53

[F243] J. Campbell, 'Asser's *Life of Alfred*', *The Inheritance of Historiography 350–900*, ed. C. Holdsworth and T.P. Wiseman, Exeter Studies in History 12 (1986), 115–35; reptd in T66, pp. 129–55

[F243.1] M. Lapidge, 'Asser's Reading', in Reuter (F54), pp. 27–47

[F244] J. Nelson, 'Reconstructing a Royal Family: Reflections on Alfred, from Asser, Chapter 2', in T26, pp. 47–66, reptd in T67, no. III; on the queen, see also Nelson (M100.5)

[F245] D.R. Howlett, 'Asser's Life of King Alfred', in Q66, pp. 365–445; D.R. Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style* (1995), pp. 273–333; D. Howlett, 'Alfredian Arithmetic — Asserian Architectonics', in Reuter (F54), pp. 49–61; see also Q67.5

[F246] A. Scharer, 'The Writing of History at King Alfred's Court', *EME* 5 (1996), 177–206 - on the West Saxon regnal list, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and Asser

[F247] K.D. Youmans, 'Asser's *Life of Alfred* and the Rhetoric of Hagiography', *Mediaevalia* 22 (1999), 291–305

[F248] A. Scharer, *Herrschaft und Repräsentation: Studien zur Hofkultur König Alfreds des Grossen*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 36 (2000)

[F249] M. Kempshall, 'No Bishop, No King: the Ministerial Ideology of Kingship and Asser's *Res Gestae Aelfredi*', in T47 (2001), pp. 106–27 - on Asser's *Life* as an exemplification of Solomonic (pp. 109–11) and Gregorian (pp. 111–22) principles of rulership, intended for Alfred's consumption (pp. 122–3); with discussion of the Alfred Jewel (pp. 125–7)

[F250] T.D. Hill, 'The Crowning of Alfred and the Topos of *Sapientia et Fortitudo* in Asser's *Life of Alfred*', *Neophilologus* 86.3 (2002), 471–6 - on the structure of Asser's *Life*, reflecting a concern for Alfred's fortitude (chs. 1–72) and his wisdom (chs. 73–106)

[F251] A. Sheppard, 'The King's Family: Securing the Kingdom in Asser's *Vita Ælfredi*', *Philological Quarterly* 80 (2001), 409–39; see also Sheppard (B69.2)

See also Karkov (Q696), pp. 42–51.

The significance of St Martin's Day (11 November) 887. According to Asser, chs. 87–9, it was on St Martin's Day, in 887, that Alfred 'first began through divine inspiration to read [Latin] and to translate at the same time, all on one and the same day'. For discussion, see K&L (F50), pp. 28 and 239, n. 46, and Wormald, pp. 24–39.

For relations between **Alfred and the Welsh**, which, as Kirby showed (F241), provide a context for the production of Asser's *Life*, see Charles-Edwards (G281), Dumville (G280), and Davies (F88). For Asser on Alfred as law-maker, see Wormald (M160), pp. 118–25.

For discussion of the **audience of Asser**, see esp. Schütt (F240), Kirby (F241), Campbell (F243), Scharer (F246), and Keynes (F90), pp. 41–4; see also Higham (C124b), pp. 185–8, and Insley (T114), p. 19, citing Kershaw. The supposition that Asser's 'Life' of Alfred was written for an audience or readership in Wales, and perhaps at St David's in particular, may seem to be weakened by the lack of evidence that the work ever reached those parts; so it should be noted, in this connection, that Gerald of Wales (*c.*1145–1223), who was very familiar with the church of St David's (and aspired to be bishop), incorporates a passage drawn from Asser's 'Life' of Alfred (chs. 14–15) in his own 'Life' of St Æthelberht of Hereford (ed. James (Q330), pp. 231–2).

The **authenticity** of Asser's *Life* has often been called into question, most recently by Smyth (F51). For further discussion, see:

[F260] V.H. Galbraith, 'Who Wrote Asser's *Life of Alfred*?', *An Introduction to the Study of History* (1964), pp. 85–128 - argues that it was forged in the mid eleventh century by Leofric, bishop of Exeter

[F261] D. Whitelock, *The Genuine Asser*, Stenton Lecture 1967 (1968); reptd in T5, no. XII - a powerful response to Galbraith (F260)

[F262] S. Keynes, 'On the Authenticity of Asser's *Life of King Alfred*', *JEH* 47.3 (1996), 529–51 - in response to Smyth (F51)

[F263] Reviews of Smyth (F51) by: M. Lapidge, in *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 8 March 1996, p. 20, rev. in Lapidge (F243.1), pp. 44–7; J. Campbell, in *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 July 1996, p. 30; D.N. Dumville, in *CMCS* 31 (1996), 90–3; D. Howlett, in *EHR* 112 (1997), 942–4; J.L. Nelson, 'Waiting for Alfred', *EME* 7.1 (1998), 115–24; D. Pelteret, in *Speculum* 73.1 (1998), 263–5. Cf. John (T54), p. 82. See also James (A12), pp. 228–30.

[F264] A.P. Smyth, 'The Solar Eclipse of Wednesday, 29 October A.D. 878. Ninth-Century Historical Records and the Findings of Modern Astonomy', in T31, pp. 187–210 - adducing further considerations held to indicate that the 'Life' of King Alfred was not the work of someone writing in the 890s

[F265] M. Wood, 'Alfred the Great: the Case of the Fenland Forger', in T68, pp. 125–48

[F266] A.P. Smyth, *The Medieval Life of King Alfred the Great: a Translation and Commentary on the Text Attributed to Asser* (2002) - culminating with the question 'Why was the *Life* of King Alfred written at Ramsey in *c.* A.D. 1000?', pp. 202–10 (why indeed?)

[F275] A. Prescott, 'The Ghost of Asser', in T33, pp. 255–91 - on the sad tale of the burnt manuscript

The Burghal Hidage (B505, F67)

For the view that the burghal system was constructed in 878–9, see Haslam (F91.5).

[F280] M. Biddle and D. Hill, 'Late Saxon Planned Towns', *Antiquaries Journal* 51 (1971), 70–85; see also M. Biddle, 'The Evolution of Towns: Planned Towns before 1066', *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales*, ed. M.W. Barley (1976), pp. 19–32

[F281] M. Biddle, 'Towns', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1976), pp. 99–150, esp. 124–34; see also P55–6

[F282] C.A.R. Radford, 'The Later Pre-Conquest Boroughs and their Defences', *Medieval Archaeology* 14 (1970), 83–103; see also C.A.R. Radford, 'The Pre-Conquest Boroughs of England, 9th–11th centuries', *PBA* 64 (1980 for 1978), 131–53

[F283] *The Defence of Wessex: the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications*, ed. D. Hill and A.R. Rumble (1996): incl. N. Brooks, 'The Administrative Background to the Burghal Hidage', pp. 128–50, reptd (with his classic paper on 'The Unidentified Forts of the Burghal Hidage' [1964], pp. 93–113) in T59, pp. 114–37, and D. Hill, 'Gazetteer of Burghal Hidage Sites', pp. 189–231 (with plans)

[F284] D.M. Wilson, 'Defence in the Viking Age', *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*, ed. G. de G. Sieveking, *et al.* (1976), pp. 439–45

[F285] D. Hill, 'The Origins of the Saxon Towns', *The South Saxons*, ed. P. Brandon (1978), at pp. 180–9; and for excellent survey of all towns in southern England, see Haslam (P53)

[F285.1] D. Hill, 'The Origin of Alfred's Urban Policies', in Reuter (F54), pp. 219–33

[F286] D. Hinton, *Alfred's Kingdom: Wessex and the South 800–1500* (1977)

[F287] M. Wood, *Domesday: a Search for the Roots of England* (1986), pp. 94–102

[F288] E.J. Schoenfeld, 'Anglo-Saxon Burhs and Continental Burgen: Early Medieval Fortifications in Constitutional Perspective', *HSJ* 6 (1995), 49–66

For Mercian burhs, see Rahtz in E51.

[F289] B. Bachrach and R. Aris, 'Military Technology and Garrison Organization: Some Observations on Anglo-Saxon Military Thinking in the Light of the Burghal Hidage', *Technology and Culture* 31 (1990), 1–17

The Alfred Jewel (B841), **the Fuller Brooch** (B840), *and other artifacts*

For some ninth-century Carolingian objects, including the famous 'Lothar crystal' (in the BM), commissioned by Lothar II, see Kornbluth (F4.5).

[F320] The **Alfred Jewel** (found at North Petherton, Somerset), the **Minster Lovell Jewel** (found at Minster Lovell, Oxfordshire) and the **Bowleaze Jewel** (found near Weymouth, Dorset) are brought together in A200, nos. 258–60; a fourth such socketed object, known as the **Warminster Jewel**, was found in 1997 near Warminster, Wiltshire, and is now in the Salisbury Museum. The four objects appear to be different grades of the same thing, and they appear moreover to be distinctively 'Alfredian' (since they form a group, since one was made on Alfred's orders, since they were all found in Wessex, and since objects of the same kind do not seem to occur in other contexts). It is arguably unlikely that four different grades of some kind of reading-aid (*æstel*) would have been found; but if not *æstels*, what were they for, or what did they signify? The matter may be complicated further by the discovery (in 1999) of a gold + niello 'polyhedral socketed terminal', nr Bidford-on-Avon in Warwickshire; see National Art Collections Fund *2001 Review* (2002), p. 123; and there might now be another, from York. Discussion: F50, pp. 203–6; entry in A100, with references; Kempshall (F249), pp. 125–7; Pratt (F334); Webster (F335); Karkov (Q696), pp. 23–52; Hinton (B837), pp. 129–31.

[F322] The **Fuller Brooch** is fully described in B840; for a colour picture, see A5, p. 137. For the relationship between its iconography (aspects of the Creation, surrounding the Five Senses) and some of the ideas floating around in Alfredian court circles, see Pratt (F334), and entry by Pratt in A100. Discussion: Hinton (B837), pp. 110–13.

[F324] The **Abingdon Sword** is described in B841; for a picture, see A5, p. 156. The symbols on the upper guard are believed to represent the four evangelists (man, lion, bull, eagle), or perhaps four aspects of Creation (man, bird, beast, aquatic alien). Discussion: Hinton (B837), p. 110, with illustration, p. 111.

[F330] G.A. Kornbluth, 'The Alfred Jewel: Reuse of Roman *Spolia*', *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989), 32–7

[F334] D. Pratt, 'Persuasion and Invention at the Court of King Alfred the Great', in Cubitt (T100), pp. 189–221

[F335] L. Webster, '*Ædificia nova*: Treasures of Alfred's Reign', in Reuter (F54), pp. 79–103

G. ENGLAND IN THE TENTH CENTURY

There are many themes and issues which animate and enliven the study of the tenth century, and as many different ways of organising the material. The most obvious political development is the process by which the 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' came in the 920s

to be superseded by the 'kingdom of the English', and the process by which the 'king of the English' came by extension to be represented as the 'king of Britain'; and how this was achieved in respect of some people while necessarily imposed at the same time on others. The process of the making of the kingdom of the English was perhaps the unnatural outcome of a sequence of events determined or driven by the combination of many different factors; though we may prefer to suppose that it was the fulfillment of a programme formulated in the seventh century, and carried forward by one ruler after another, until the ideal was turned into a glorious reality. Other themes include the effect of these political developments on institutions of royal government, and the development of arrangements by which kings and their agents sought to enforce social order; the difficulties of maintaining the loyalty of people united in name alone, with regional, local, cultural, religious and personal loyalties of their own; and the place of monastic reform within the wider context of a church which was inseparable in so many respects from the society around it.

It is important, as always, to keep a comparative eye on the **continent**. For Capetian France, see Dunbabin (A60.6) and Hallam (A60.7). For Ottonian Germany, see esp. Reuter (A60.35), and the collected works of the late Professor Leyser (G1, G2, G2a, etc.). For Ottonian charters, see (B611) and Hill (B612). For Ottonian art, see Mayr-Harting (Q635).
[G1] K.J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (1979)
[G2] K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900–1250* (1982) - collected papers
[G2a] K.J. Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe*, ed. T. Reuter (1994) - more collected papers
[G2b] OTTO I (936–73): major exhibition catalogue (A240); J. Laudage, *Otto der Grosse: Eine Biographie* (2001). OTTO II (973–83). OTTO III (983–1002): see Althoff (J135).
[G3] J. Ehlers, 'Sachsen und Angelsachsen im 10. Jahrhundert', in A240, vol. I, pp. 489–502; see also Wolf (G36)
[G4] T. Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in T38, pp. 53–70, reptd in Reuter (T72), pp. 284–99
[G4a] H. Mayr-Harting, 'The Church of Magdeburg: its Trade and its Town in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries', *Church and City, 1000–1500*, ed. D. Abulafia, *et al.* (1992), pp. 129–50
[G4b] J.W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c.936–1075* (1993), esp. pp. 60–8, for the concept of a kingdom divided into heartlands (closely controlled, frequently visited, with concentrations of royal land), transit zones (through which king passed en route from one region to another, with support from royal monasteries and bishoprics), and remote regions (infrequently visited), and for the notion that the king's whereabouts for a high proportion of the time can be ascertained by working out passage of the court from one recorded stopping-point to the next; with an excellent set of maps. See also Weinfurter (J140), etc.
For Germany and Wessex, see Leyser (G68); and Gretsch (G208), pp. 384–7. It remains the case, of course, that '*England and the Continent in the Tenth Century* is one of the unwritten works of early medieval historiography' (Bullough, in G120).

General accounts of England in the tenth century
In addition to Stenton (A1), the basic textbooks covering the tenth century are Kirby (A3), Fisher (A3), Sawyer (A4), Stafford (A8), Williams (A19). See also James (A12), pp. 241–8. There are many valuable accounts of significant tenth-century persons in the *ODNB* (A150), with references updated to *c*. 1999.
[G5] S. Keynes, 'England, 900–1016', in A71, pp. 456–84; see also A276, pp. 68–71
[G6] E. John, 'The Age of Edgar', in A5, pp. 160–89, covering the period from the death of Alfred (899) to the death of Edgar (975); see also E. John, 'The West Saxon Conquest of England', in T54, pp. 83–98
[G7] J. Campbell, 'The United Kingdom of England: the Anglo-Saxon Achievement', *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (1995), pp. 31–47; reptd in T66, pp. 31–53
[G8] P. Wormald, '*Engla Lond*: the Making of an Allegiance', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7 (1994), 1–24, reptd with an additional note in T65, pp. 359–82, and 'The Making of England', *History Today* (Feb. 1995), pp. 26–32 - on 'the myths and realities of unification in Anglo-Saxon England'
[G9] A.P. Smyth, 'The Emergence of English Identity, 700–1000', in T38, pp. 24–52
[G10] J. Thormann, 'The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Poems and the Making of the English Nation', in S100, pp. 60–85
[G11] M. Wood, 'When was England England?', in T68, pp. 91–106

[G12] D. Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with the Northumbrians in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. Clemoes (1959), pp. 70–88, reptd in T6, no. III

[G13] N. Cumberledge, 'Reading Between the Lines: the Place of Mercia within an Expanding Wessex', *Midland History* 27 (2003), 1–15

NB John, in Campbell (A5), p. 164: 'If it was Edward the Elder who converted the kingdom of Wessex into a kingdom of England it was his eldest son, Athelstan, who consolidated it'; or not, as the case may be.

Much of the general reading on the Danelaw (section H), e.g. Stafford (H4), is also relevant. For tenth-century kingship, see Kleinschmidt (M25). For the *gens Anglorum*, and *Angelcynn*, see also Wormald (E45) and Foot (F89). For a comparison of developments in England and Germany, see Reuter (G4). For coinage in the tenth century, see Blunt, *et al.* (M770), etc.

I. THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE ELDER (899–924)

Following the death of King Alfred, on 26 October 899, the distinctively Alfredian polity established in the early 880s, comprising Wessex, its south-eastern extensions, and 'English' Mercia, and symbolised by the royal style 'king of the Anglo-Saxons', passed intact to Edward the Elder, securely based at Winchester. Acting in close co-operation with Æthelred and Æthelflæd, rulers of the Mercians (under Edward's authority), Edward extended his rule over the southern Danelaw; and in 920 he gained the submission of the Scots, the Northumbrians, and the 'Welsh' of Strathclyde.

For general accounts of the reign of Edward the Elder, see Stenton (A1), pp. 319–39, and Stafford (A8), pp. 31–3. For the battle of the Holme (13 Dec. 902), see Hart (T17), pp. 511–15, locating it in Hunts., not Kent.

[G14] *Edward the Elder*, ed. D. Hill and N. Higham (2001), containing papers given at a conference held at Manchester in March 1999, covering numerous aspects of the period

[G14a] J. Campbell, What is Not Known About the Reign of Edward the Elder', in G14 (2001), pp. 12–24

For Edward's charters, see Keynes (F10), pp. 1141–7, and G35a; see also EHD no. 100. For his law-codes, see Attenborough (B366) and Wormald (M160), pp. 286–90. For his coinage, see Blunt *et al.* (M770). For the division of the West Saxon bishoprics (*c.*910), see EHD no. 229. For the integration of Wessex, Mercia, and the southern Danelaw, see Fisher (A3), pp. 245–9.

Accounts of Edward's reign by Anglo-Norman historians: John of Worcester (B630), pp. 354–84; William of Malmesbury (B620), pp. 196–200 and 204, with an important account of his wives and children (pp. 198–200); Henry of Huntingdon (B635), pp. 298–308.

King Edward the Elder at Winchester

For Winchester, see B260, etc., G170, and P65–6. For Edward the Elder and the foundation of the New Minster, Winchester, see Yorke (F86), Keynes (B450), pp. 16–19, and Miller (B265).

[G15] Metrical calendar composed in the early tenth century, conceivably at the royal court at Winchester, incorporating obits of King Alfred and his wife Ealhswith (styled 'dear and true Lady of the English'). Facsimile (of the version in the 'Æthelstan Psalter'): Ohlgren (B813a), pp. 129–41. Text: P. McGurk, 'The Metrical Calendar of Hampson', *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986), 79–125. See also Lapidge (G201), pp. 15–16; Gretsch (G17), pp. 107–20.

[G16] The 'Æthelstan Psalter' (BL Cotton Galba A. xviii), also known as the 'Galba Psalter'. For a striking colour picture, see A5, p. 179, and for more of it, see Ohlgren (B813a), pp. 1, 15–18 and 129–46 (plates); also featured in Westwood (S87), pl. 32 (stunning, in its way). See also Keynes (G65), pp. 193–6; Lapidge (G71), pp. 101–3; Keynes (F14), pp. 117–19; R. Deshman, 'The Galba Psalter: Pictures, Texts and Context in an Early Medieval Prayerbook', *ASE* 26 (1997), 109–38; Gretsch (G208), pp. 275, 310–15; M. Wood, 'The Story of a Book', in T68, pp. 169–85; Gretsch (G17), pp. 110–12.

[G17] The Junius Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 27). M. Gretsch, 'The Junius Psalter Gloss: its Historical and Cultural Context', *ASE* 29 (2000), 85–121 - focussing on the four s. ix/x manuscripts containing 'Early West Saxon' with admixture of Anglian dialect forms; see also M. Gretsch, 'The Junius Psalter Gloss: Tradition and Innovation', in G14 (2001), pp. 280–91

[G17a] A.R. Rumble, 'Edward the Elder and the Churches of Winchester and Wessex', in G14 (2001), pp. 230–47; for the charters, see also Rumble (G170a)

On aspects of Latin learning during Edward's reign, see Lapidge (G201), pp. 12–16.

Æthelred and Æthelflæd at Gloucester

For Æthelred and Æthelflæd, and the foundation of the New Minster, at Gloucester, see B236b, Heighway (P83), and Hare, in Heighway and Bryant (Q141), pp. 33–45.

[G18] P. Stafford, 'Political Women in Mercia, Eighth to Early Tenth Centuries', in E34, pp. 35–49, reptd in T70 (II) - on Cynethryth (pp. 36–41), Cwoenthryth, *et al.*, and Æthelflæd (pp. 45–9)

[G19] C. Heighway, 'Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald', in G14 (2001), pp. 102–11

[G19.5] N. Baker and R. Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (2004), esp. ch. 2 ('Gloucester and the Church before 1100')

On the death of Æthelflæd, see also Thompson (N141).

The Norse settlements in the north-west

[G20] Accounts in Irish annals of Ingimund's invasion (B73), pp. 167–73, and of Æthelflæd (B73), pp. 181–3

[G21] F.T. Wainwright, 'Ingimund's Invasion', in T13, pp. 131–61, reptd in (G23c), pp. 43–59

[G22] F.T. Wainwright, 'The Scandinavians in Lancashire', in T13, pp. 181–227

[G23] *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, ed. J.H. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte (1985)

[G23a] G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Cheshire: a Reassessment of the Onomastic Evidence', in T36, pp. 77–92

[G23b] B.J.N. Edwards, *Vikings in North West England: the Artifacts* (1998), covering burials, weapons, sculpture, the Cuerdale hoard (pp. 53–68), and other coin hoards

[G23c] P. Cavill, S.E. Harding and J. Jesch, *Wirral and its Viking Heritage*, EPNS Popular Series 2 (2000), including J. Jesch, 'Scandinavian Wirral', pp. 1–10

The Cuerdale hoard

[G24] *Viking Treasure from the North West: the Cuerdale Hoard in its Context*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell (1992) - an account of the massive hoard of silver coins, etc., accumulated by a Viking army, deposited *c.* 905 on the bank of the river Ribble, near Cuerdale Hall, Preston, Lancs., and found in 1840; also Graham-Campbell (A215), no. 301, and J. Graham-Campbell, 'The Northern Hoards: from Cuerdale to Bossall/Flaxton', in G14 (2001), pp. 212–29

For hoards, see also M595.

The campaigns of Edward the Elder and Æthelflæd

Described by Stenton as 'one of the best sustained and most decisive campaigns in the whole of the Dark Ages' (A1, p. 335). For Henry of Huntingdon's poem in praise of Æthelflæd, see Greenway (B635), p. 308.

[G25] The 'West Saxon' account in the *Chronicle* (B65), comprising a record of the opening stages of Edward's campaign (annals 903–14, in all MSS.), and a record of the events of 915–20 (only in MS. A), culminating with the submission of the Scots and Northumbrians to Edward in 920. See also Æthelweard (B56).

[G26] The Mercian account in the *Chronicle* (B65), i.e. the 'Mercian Register', consisting of annals for 902–24, entered *en bloc* in MSS. B and C following annal for 914. See also P.E. Szarmach, 'Æthelflæd of Mercia: *Mise en page*', in T34, pp. 105–26, with (most helpfully) facsimiles of MS. B (figs. 1–3), MS. C (figs. 4–6), and MS. D (figs. 7–9).

[G26.5] P. Stafford, '"The Annals of Æthelflæd": Annals, History and Politics in Early Tenth-Century England', in Barrow & Wareham (T117), forthcoming.

[G27] F.T. Wainwright, 'Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians', in T13, pp. 305–24 - the classic account, arguing that Æthelflæd had been kept out of the 'national' chronicle

[G28] F.T. Wainwright, 'The Submission to Edward the Elder', in T13, pp. 325–44

[G29] J. Dyer, 'Earthworks of the Danelaw Frontier', *Archaeology and the Landscape*, ed. P.J. Fowler (1972), pp. 222–36

[G30] A.H.J. Baines, 'The Danish Wars and the Establishment of the Borough and County of Buckingham', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 26 (1984), 11–27

[G31] M.A. Atkin, '"The Land between Ribble and Mersey" in the Early Tenth Century', in T36, pp. 8–18

[G32] D. Stansbury, *The Lady who Fought the Vikings* (1993); see also Dockray-Miller, on 'The Maternal Genealogy of Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians', in N37, pp. 43–76

See also Smyth (G80); Abrams (H9a).

Other aspects of Edward's reign

[G35] S. Keynes, 'Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons', in G14, pp. 40–66

[G35a] S. Keynes, 'A Charter of King Edward the Elder for Islington', *Historical Research* 66 (1993), 303–16

[G35b] M.R. Davidson, 'The (Non) Submission of the Northern Kings in 920', in G14 (2001), pp. 200–11

[G36] G. Wolf, 'Æthelflæd von Mercia und ottonische "dominae". Zum Rechtscharakter frühmittelalterlicher Frauenherrschaft', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 111 [Germanistische Abteilung] (1994), 525–35

See also Dumville (D183b), p. 360. For the Fonthill Letter (EHD no. 102), see M170. For Archbishop Plegmund, see entry in A100, and Matthews (F135).

The wives of Edward the Elder

The genealogical table at the back of this *Handbook* illustrates the significance of the three wives of Edward the Elder, and their distinctive 'identities'. The first of the three was Ecgwynn, mother of Æthelstan. Numbers two and three:

[G37] Queen Ælfflæd, d. of Æthelhelm, ealdorman of Wiltshire, and mother of Ælfweard, and of a large number of daughters. For a 10th-century stole and maniple commissioned by an 'Ælfflæd', for Frithestan, bishop of Winchester, see Battiscombe (D101), pp. 375–432; Keynes (G65), p. 178, n. 172; Coatsworth (Q685); Coatsworth (Q686), pp. 81–5.

[G38] Queen Eadgifu, d. of Sigehelm, ealdorman of Kent, and mother of Edmund and Eadred. For an inscription naming 'Queen Eadgifu', see Keynes (G65), pp. 190–3. She features prominently in the will of her son, King Eadred (EHD no. 107), but was deprived of her property by her grandson, King Eadwig (B's *Vita S. Dunstani* (B165), ch. 24); she told the story of her life in a remarkable document confirming her bequest of land to Canterbury (Sawyer no. 1211: Brooks and Kelly (B290a), no. 124); and she attested the New Minster charter in 966 (Q125). St Eadburh (Q375) was their daughter. Eadgifu was buried at Christ Church, Canterbury. Entry by P. Stafford in *ODNB* (A150). Discussion: Hart (M98); Stafford (M100); Meyer (G129); Meyer (G130); Keynes (G99.8). There was a cult of Eadgifu at Canterbury (S14.6). Cf. Queen Ælfthryth (G99.9).

II. THE REIGN OF KING ÆTHELSTAN (924–39)

The events of 924–5 are capable of different interpretations, of which one follows. After the death of Edward the Elder, 'king of the Anglo-Saxons', on 17 July 924, the kingdom was briefly divided: Ælfweard was chosen (probably by the Edwardian establishment at Winchester) as king of the West Saxons; and Æthelstan was chosen as king of the Mercians. Ælfweard died on 2 August 924; and over a year later, on 4 September 925, Æthelstan was crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames. The delayed coronation reflects the time it took for Æthelstan to prevail over opposition to his rule, centred at Winchester; he was probably crowned 'king of the Anglo-Saxons', and became 'king of the English' following the further political developments in 927 (cf. G43). For further discussion, see Wood (G73), pp. 130–1; Keynes (G65), pp. 186–7; Yorke (G166), pp. 71–3; Keynes (G5); and Keynes (B450), pp. 19–22.

'Literary' sources

[G40] The (exiguous) account of the reign in the *Chronicle* (B65): notable for its inclusion of the poem on the battle of *Brunanburh* (B553). For the poem, see Greenfield and Robinson (A78, pp. 116–19); see also Howlett (Q66), pp. 557–69.

[G41] An account of King Æthelstan (? a poem), written while the king was still alive. William of Malmesbury (G47) states that he found a contemporary text in praise of King Æthelstan in a 'very old book'; unfortunately, we can only speculate about the form and content of this text, which does not itself survive (cf. G42, G44b).

[G42] Poem (acrostic) addressed by 'John' (? the Old Saxon) to 'Æthelstan': reconstructed and examined by Lapidge (G62). See also G65, p. 144, and pl. I; Howlett (Q66), pp. 493–504.

[G43] Poem known as *Carta dirige gressus* (adapted from a Carolingian original addressed to Charlemagne), reflecting the political developments of 927: reconstructed and examined by Lapidge (G62). See also B479; Howlett (Q66), pp. 555–7.

[G44a] A rhyming poem (perhaps with some associated prose) about King Æthelstan, probably composed in the early twelfth century, perhaps by William of Malmesbury himself. Excerpts are given by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Regum* (G47).

[G44b] A text (in verse or prose, or perhaps a mixture of both) described as *bella Ætheltani regis* ('the Wars of King Æthelstan'), noted in 1247 as part of a manuscript at Glastonbury abbey which otherwise contained letters of Alcuin and Stephen's *Life* of St Wilfrid (B820). It is possible that G44b = G44a, seen and used by William of Malmesbury; but

unfortunately the Glastonbury manuscript does not survive, and the text of the *bella Etheltani regis* is lost.

[G45] Sir I. Williams and R. Bromwich, *Armes Prydein* (1972). Text and translation of Welsh poem, composed in the (?)930s, predicting ultimate victory of the British over the English; but for further discussion of its context, see Dumville (G288), Breeze (G287), and Higham (C124b), pp. 188–93.

[G46] Exeter relic-list (B596.5) - important for Æthelstan as collector and donor of relics
For skaldic verse about Æthelstan, see Jesch (B670.6).

Accounts of Æthelstan's reign by Anglo-Norman historians.

[G47] The account given in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* (B620), pp. 206–28 (also in EHD no. 8), is of composite construction. WM's initial remarks, in GR ii.131 (pp. 206–8), are derived from his own knowledge, and from his version of the ASC. In GR ii.132 (p. 210), WM mentions the contemporary poem about the king which he had found in an ancient book (G41), but decides not to quote from it. The most important section, in GR ii.133–5 (pp. 210–22), is based in part on local tradition and in part on what would appear to have been a twelfth-century poem (G44a), of uncertain origin and authority (cf. G44b). The next section, in GR ii.136–7 (pp. 222–4), is based on a Malmesbury charter. The next section, in GR ii.138–9 (pp. 224–6), is based on an oral tradition. The final section, in GR ii.140 (p. 228), is based on local tradition.

[G48] John of Worcester (B630), pp. 384–94; Henry of Huntingdon (B635), pp. 308–14.

Note on the 'literary' sources for the reign of King Æthelstan

There has been much discussion of the relationship between the lost contemporary poem (G41), the Æthelstan acrostic (G42), the rhyming poem about Æthelstan used by WM (G44a), the lost 'Wars of King Æthelstan' (G44b), and the account of Æthelstan's reign given by WM (G47). Stenton, and others, assumed that G44a = G41, and thus gave great credence to WM's account of the king. Lapidge (G62), pp. 62–71, made the fundamental distinction between G41 (lost, unless identified as G42) and G44a, thereby undermining the confidence of historians in G47. Dumville (G66), pp. 146, 150, 168, is accordingly sceptical of the value of WM's account. It is arguable, however, that information given by WM should not be dismissed out of hand. Wood (G64), pp. 265–6, suggested that G44a was a later 'translation' of G41, thereby protecting the notion that the information in G47 was derived from a contemporary source. Keynes (G65), p. 144, n. 15, followed Lapidge in maintaining the distinction between G41 and G44a, placing emphasis, however, on the potential significance of G44b as a source for G47. Wood (G73) has developed his earlier view of the relationship between G41 and G44a (and G47). And Thomson (B620), pp. 116–18, takes issue with Lapidge, reverting to Wood's notion that WM found his material on Æthelstan in an 'ancient book', and that he re-wrote it himself in verse and prose.

The position adopted for the purposes of this bibliography remains: (a) that WM found a contemporary account in an 'ancient book', but chose not to quote from it (G41); (b) that WM had access to a later and fuller account of Æthelstan (G44a), in verse and prose, and made extensive use of it for the purposes of GR ii.133–5 (G47); (c) that a text known as 'the Wars of King Æthelstan' (G44b), preserved at Glastonbury, is a useful reminder of the former existence of an extended text on Æthelstan, which may well have been known to WM (who was familiar with material at Glastonbury); and (d) that WM's account of the reign (G47) is constructed in a way which suggests that it deserves to be taken seriously, based on various written sources, augmented with 'local' (esp. Malmesbury) tradition.

Sources bearing on the operation of royal government

[G50.1] Charters. The surviving corpus is listed by Sawyer (B320), nos. 386–438. There is an important distinction to be made between the earliest charters of Æthelstan (925–6); the extraordinary series of charters produced by the royal scribe known as 'Æthelstan A', in the period 928–35; and the later charters of King Æthelstan (935–9). There are two charters of Æthelstan in EHD, no. 103 (926) and no. 104 (934); the latter is a charter of 'Æthelstan A' (G50.2). Other examples in *Charters of Shaftesbury*, ed. Kelly (B342), nos. 8–9; *Charters of Selsey*, ed. Kelly (B342), no. 17; and *Charters of Abingdon*, ed. Kelly (B281), nos. 21–30, incl. an early one of special interest (no. 21 [EHD no. 103]), one of great difficulty (no. 22), two of 'Æthelstan A' (nos. 23–4), three straight forgeries (nos. 25–7), a most unusual 'private' charter (no. 28), and two standard chancery productions of the latter part of the reign (nos. 29–30).

[G50.2] The charters of **'Æthelstan A'** (928–35), which are of the utmost importance as projections of the grandeur of the new kingship 'of the English'. Discussion: Drögereit (M224.7); Keynes (J23), pp. 43–4; Keynes (Q95), p. 186, n. 4; *BAFacs.* (B337), no. 27; Keynes (M212), pp. 237–8, n. 48; *Atlas of Attestations* (B331), Tables XXVII and XXXVI–XXXIX [and note prominence accorded to Ælle, bishop of Lichfield, in Table XXXVII]; Wormald (M160),

pp. 432–40; Keynes (G5), p. 470; and Keynes (G75), forthcoming. See also Kelly (B271) [*Shaft*], pp. 32–3; Kelly (B293) [*Sel*], pp. 68–70, 74–5; Kelly (B281) [*Abing*], I, pp. 102–3; Kelly (B294) [*LondStP*], pp. 158–9; Kelly (B278) [*Malm*], pp. 60, 221–2.

[G51] Law-codes. Texts and translations in Attenborough (B366)): *I Æthelstan* and the *Ordinance on Charities* are injunctions addressed by the king to his reeves; *II* and *V Æthelstan* (EHD nos. 35–6) are royal decrees promulgated at Grately and Exeter respectively; *III Æthelstan* is a report of the Kentish shire-court to the king; *IV Æthelstan* is a report of royal decrees promulgated at Thundersfield; and *VI Æthelstan* (EHD no. 37) is a composite document associated with the London peace-guild. For further discussion, see Loyn (M165); Keynes (M212), pp. 235–41; John (T54), pp. 110–11; Wormald (M160), pp. 290–308.

[G52] *Dunsæte* (another legal text, important for Anglo-Welsh relations): Thorpe (B375), pp. 352–7; Noble (E92), pp. 103–9 - facsimile, with translation; Gelling (A42), pp. 113–18; Wormald (M160), pp. 381–2

[G53] Coinage. See Blunt (M775), in part superseded by Blunt, *et al.* (M770).

King Æthelstan and the continent

For the marriages of Æthelstan's half-sisters (Eadgifu, Eadhild, Eadgyth, and Ælfgifu), see William of Malmesbury (G47), and the genealogical table at the end of this handbook.

[G55] The visit of Koenwald/Cenwald, bishop of Worcester, to Germany in 929. For texts, translations and facsimiles of the various records, see Keynes (G65), pp. 198–201, and entry in A100.

[G56] Account of Æthelstan's relations with the German court: Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, *Gesta Ottonis* (B612b), translated in (B612), pp. 122–3.

[G57] Flodoard's *Annals* (B610.3), and Richer's *Histories* (B610.4) [both now in new editions], on Æthelstan's various interventions in continental affairs

[G58] Chronicle of Nantes: see EHD no. 25, on Æthelstan's involvement with Bretons and Brittany; see also Brett (G70) and C. Rauer, *Beowulf and the Dragon* (2000), pp. 95–8

[G59] *Gesta abbatum Sithiensium* ('Acts of the Abbots of Saint-Bertin'), by Folcuin the deacon. Discussion: Ugé (A60.37), pp. 61–71. Extracts in translation: EHD no. 26, on the exile and drowning of the ætheling Eadwine in 933, and his burial at Saint-Bertin (in Saint-Omer, Flanders); and on the unreconstructable monks of Saint-Bertin who were accordingly given refuge at Bath by King 'Æthelstan', *recte* Edmund, in 944 (cf. G65, pp. 159–65)

For Widukind's *Res gestae Saxonicae*, see (B612a). For Otto the Great (936–73), see (A240).

Aspects of the reign of King Æthelstan

[G60] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (1971), pp. 339–57

[G61] J.A. Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (1923), pp. 25–80 (on King Æthelstan)

[G62] M. Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Æthelstan', *ASE* 9 (1981), 61–98, reptd in T19 (1993), pp. 49–86. Of fundamental importance: shows that the poem cited *in extenso* by William of Malmesbury (G41) was probably composed in the early twelfth century; examines the acrostic poem addressed to Æthelstan in his youth (G42); and salvages from obscurity another contemporary poem of singular historical interest (G43).

[G63] *Æthelstan, King of the English (924–39)*, ed. S. Keynes and M. Wood (forthcoming) - featuring M. Wood, 'The "Wars of King Æthelstan"' (adumbrated in G73), a review of Æthelstan's coinage by Lyon and Stewart, revised versions of Lapidge (G62) and Nelson (M67), a re-issue of Lapidge (G71), and an expanded version of Keynes (G75)

[G64] M. Wood, 'The Making of King Æthelstan's Empire: an English Charlemagne?', in T22, pp. 250–72

[G65] S. Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', in T23, pp. 143–201 - study of the several manuscripts containing inscriptions relating to King Æthelstan. For Tiberius A. ii, etc., see Ehlers (G3). For CCCC 183, with the famous image of King Æthelstan presenting a book to St Cuthbert, see Budny (B802), pp. 161–85 (no. 12); see also Karkov (Q696), pp. 53–83.

[G66] D.N. Dumville, 'Between Alfred the Great and Edgar the Peaceable: Æthelstan, First King of England', in T15, pp. 141–71

[G66a] S. Foot, 'Æthelstan, King of England', in the *ODNB* (A150)

[G67] A. Thacker, 'Peculiaris Patronus Noster: the Saint as Patron of the State in the Early Middle Ages', in T41, pp. 1–24, esp. 19–24

[G68] K. Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', in (G1b), pp. 73–104 - Anglo-German relations in the tenth century; see also Ehlers (G3)

[G69] Video of Michael Wood's excellent television programme on King Æthelstan, esp. the set pieces of Wood tracing a charter boundary, and identifying the site of *Brunanburh*

with the aid of a helicopter; see also M. Wood, *In Search of the Dark Ages* (1981), pp. 126–50

[G70] C. Brett, 'A Breton in England in the Reign of King Æthelstan: a Letter in British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius A. xv', *France and Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. D. Dumville and G. Jondorf (1991), pp. 43–70. For this collection of letters, see B315.

[G71] M. Lapidge, 'Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England' (1992), reptd in T19 (1993), pp. 87–104 - on a Breton scholar at King Æthelstan's court, who played a board-game called 'Gospel Dice', and who (among his other accomplishments) may have assembled a dossier of Greek texts

[G72] S.M. Sharp, 'England, Europe and the Celtic World: King Athelstan's Foreign Policy', *BJRL* 79.3 (1997), 197–220

[G72a] D. Hill, 'Athelstan's Urban Reforms', *ASSAH* 11 (2000), 173–86

[G73] M. Wood, 'The Lost Life of King Athelstan', in T68, pp. 149–68

[G74] S.E. Wilson, 'King Athelstan and St John of Beverley', *NH* 40.1 (2003); and for Beverley, above B218

[G74.5] P. Hill, *The Age of Athelstan: Britain's Forgotten History* (2004) [first volume in a trilogy; see also J29.6 and S13c] - includes some interesting material on the 'cult' of King Athelstan, e.g. in connection with his coronation at Kingston

[G74.6] C. Insley, 'Athelstan, Charters and the English in Cornwall', in Flanagan and Green (T114), pp. 15–31; for the Cornish charter from Athelney, issued during Æthelstan's reign, discussed by Isley, p. 20, see also Padel (B289)

For the story of Hákon [the Good], son of Harald Fairhair, at King Æthelstan's court, see Page (F33), pp. 113–16; see also WM (G47), in B620, p. 216. For Æthelstan and the Welsh rulers, see Kirby (G285) and Loyn (G286). For Æthelstan and the promotion of the cults of Gregory and Cuthbert, see Thacker (D43.6), pp. 22–4.

On the concept of 'Britain' in Æthelstan's reign, see Davies (M26). On aspects of Latin learning, see Lapidge (G201), pp. 16–24. On Æthelstan and relics, see Keynes (G65), pp. 143–4; Rollason (Q165), pp. 159–63; Thacker, in Stancliffe and Cambridge (Q265), p. 121.

King Æthelstan's court

It is arguable that Winchester was no longer, in Æthelstan's reign, at the centre of the interplay of forces which gave shape and direction to political and cultural developments; but there is much to commend the view that events were driven, nonetheless, from the royal court. The poem *Carta dirige gressus* (G43) was addressed to the court. See also Wood (G64); Keynes (G65), pp. 197–8; Keynes (B450), pp. 19–22; Lapidge (G71); Gretsch (G208), pp. 329–31 and 332–49.

[G75] S. Keynes, 'The Charters of King Æthelstan (924–39), and the Kingdom of the English', Toller Lecture 2001 (forthcoming); expanded version in G63 (in preparation) - focussing on the remarkable series of charters produced by a royal scribe known as 'Æthelstan A', between 928 and 935, in the context of political and cultural developments within the reign as a whole

For Æthelstan's charters, see G50. See also Loyn (G286); Gretsch (G208), pp. 334–5; and Wormald (M160), pp. 167–71 (on Winchester), 306–8 (charters and laws), 432–40 (charters and royal itinerary), and 444–6 (charters and royal styles). Æthelstan's **itinerant kingship** (discernible 928–35) invites comparison with itinerant kingship in Ottonian Germany, for which see Bernhardt (G4b).

On 'Anglian' features of the gloss in the 'Junius Psalter' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27), see Gretsch (G208), pp. 315–31, at 319–24; her book, as a whole, bears directly on culture and learning at the court of King Æthelstan, and on the origins of the monastic reform movement.

The Battle of Brunanburh (B553, G40)

ASC 937: 'In this year King Æthelstan, lord of nobles, dispenser of treasure to men, and his brother also, Edmund ætheling, won by the sword's edge undying glory in battle round Brunanburh ...'

[G76] J.McN. Dodgson, 'The Background of Brunanburh' (1957), reptd in (G23c), pp. 60–9, and in *The Place-Names of Cheshire* V, pt 2, EPNS 74 (1997), pp. 249–61, identifying the site as Bromborough, in Wirral, Cheshire; see also Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire* IV, EPNS 47 (1972), pp. 237–40

[G76a] N. J. Higham, 'The Context of Brunanburh', in T36, pp. 144–56

[G77] M. Wood, 'Brunanburh Revisited', *SBVS* 20.3 (1980), 200–17, identifying the site as Brinsworth, in south Yorkshire; for the helicopter-assisted version of the same, see G69; see also M. Wood, 'Tinsley Wood', in T68, pp. 203–21

[G78] S. Walker, 'A Context for "Brunanburh"?', *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages*, ed. T. Reuter (1992)
[G78a] J. Thormann, 'The *Battle of Brunanburh* and the Matter of History', *Mediaevalia* 17 (1994 for 1991), 5–13
[G78b] P. Lendinara, '*The Battle of Brunanburh* in Later Histories and Romances', *Anglia* 117 (1999), 201–35
[G78c] D. Scragg, 'A Reading of *Brunanburh*' (forthcoming)
[G78.5] S. Foot, 'Where English becomes British: Rethinking Contexts for *Brunanburh*', in Barrow & Wareham (T117), forthcoming
See also Hart (T17), pp. 515–25; Thormann (G10); G280, etc.

III. THE REIGNS OF EDMUND (939–46), EADRED (946–55), AND EADWIG (955–9)
From 939 to 959 a succession of three kings of the English struggled to maintain their control of a kingdom which was still in the making, and found themselves competing in this process with a succession of Scandinavian intruders for the affections of those who counted in the north (representing economic and ecclesiastical as well as political interests).

The redemption of the Five Boroughs
ASC 942: 'In this year King Edmund, lord of the English, protector of men, the beloved performer of mighty deeds, overran Mercia, as bounded by Dore, Whitwell gate, and the broad stream, the river Humber; and five boroughs, Leicester and Lincoln, Nottingham and likewise Stamford, and also Derby ...'
[G79] A. Mawer, 'The Redemption of the Five Boroughs', *EHR* 38 (1923), 551–7
See also Breeze (G287) and Thormann (G10).

The Scandinavian kingdom of York
On the history of York, see Rollason (P85) and Hall (P86). A significant figure was Wulfstan I, archbishop of York (931–56); see entry on him in A100, and Stocker (H58b), pp. 195–6. The evidence of coinage is again of the greatest importance: see Blackburn (M780, M787), etc.
[G80] A.P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, 2 vols. (1975–9) - controversial, and of great importance; review by R.I. Page, 'A Tale of Two Cities', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 335–51
[G80a] A. Breeze, 'The Irish Nickname of Sitric Caoch (d. 927) of York, *SBVS* 25.1 (1998), 86–7
[G81] R. Hall, *Viking Age York* (1994); R. Hall, *The Viking Dig: the Excavations at York* (1984); R. Hall, *Viking Age Archaeology in Britain and Ireland* (1990; Shire Archaeology paperback); see also P56 and P58; R. Hall, 'A Kingdom too Far', in G14 (2001), pp. 188–99
[G82] D. Tweddle, 'Craft and Industry in Anglo-Scandinavian York', *Work in Towns, 850–1850*, ed. P.J. Corfield and D.J. Keene (1990), pp. 17–41
[G83] J.D. Richards, *Viking Age England* (1991), rev. ed. (2004)
[G84] *Viking Age York and the North*, ed. R.A. Hall (1978): includes P.H. Sawyer, 'Some Sources for the History of Viking Northumbria', pp. 3–7; A.P. Smyth, 'The Chronology of Northumbrian History in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', pp. 8–10; and J.T. Lang, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture in Yorkshire', pp. 11–20
[G84.5] D. Rollason, 'Anglo-Scandinavian York: the Evidence of Historical Sources', in Hall (P85.6), pp. 305–24; see also Rollason (P85)
[G85] H. Clarke and B. Ambrosiani, 'The Vikings in Britain' [on towns, incl. York], in P53a, pp. 90–102
[G86] P. Sawyer, 'The Last Scandinavian Kings of York', *Northern History* 31 (1995), 39–44 - for an alternative chronology of the kings of York in the 940s and 950s; see also P. Sawyer, *Scandinavians and the English in the Viking Age*, H.M. Chadwick Lecture 5 (1995)

See also A275, pp. 66–7 (very effective illustration); Higham (A45), pp. 173–210. For Dolley on the coinage, see also M570, and for Lang on sculpture, see B845.3.

For **Erik Bloodaxe**, and Egill Skallagrimsson (B676), see:
[G87] A. Seeberg, 'Five Kings', *SBVS* 20.1–2 (1978–9), 106–13, on the poem *Eiríksmál*; M. Wood, *In Search of the Dark Ages* (1981), pp. 151–76
[G88] J. Hines, 'Egill's Hofuthlausn in Time and Place', *SBVS* 24.2–3 (1995), 83–104
[G88.1] C. Downham, 'The Chronology of the Last Scandinavian Kings of York, AD 937–954', *Northern History* 40.1 (2003), 25–51; A. Woolf, 'Eric Bloodaxe Revisited', *Northern History* 34 (1998), 189–93
[G88.2] M. Townend, 'Whatever happened to York Viking Poetry? Memory, Tradition and the Transmission of Skaldic Verse', *SBVS* 27 (2003), 48–90 - especially important

[G88.3] C. Downham, 'Eric Bloodaxe – Axed? The Mystery of the Last Scandinavian King of York', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 14 (2004), 51–77 - throwing doubt on traditional (late 12th-century) identification of Eric, king of York, with Eric Bloodaxe of Norway

[G88.5] Coinage of Erik Bloodaxe. A search of the Fitzwilliam Museum website (M400), selecting both EMC and SCBI, with images, produces about 30 coins for the 'first' and 'second' reigns of Eric Bloodaxe (948–9 and 952–4); the seemingly distinctive 'Sword' type (952–4) harks back to York coinage in the 920s (Sihtric I and St Peter). See Blackburn (M787).

For Egill's verse, see also Jesch (B670.6).

Chester-le-Street, Durham, Bamborough

For the dealings of the kings of the English with the north, see Whitelock (G12). For the history of the community of St Cuthbert, at Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham, from the 880s to 995, see B220 and B227. For King Æthelstan's gifts to St Cuthbert's, see Keynes (G65), pp. 170–85. Documents are entered in the community's *Liber Vitae* (B445). For the English and Scotland, in the tenth century, see B300, etc.

[G88b] E. Cambridge, 'Why did the Community of St Cuthbert Settle at Chester-le-Street?', in Bonner (D102), pp. 367–86; G. Bonner, 'St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street', in Bonner (D102), pp. 387–95

[G88c] N.R. Ker, 'Aldred the Scribe' [1943], reprinted in T8.5, pp. 3–9, and W. J. P. Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia: Explanatory Comments in the Lindisfarne Gospels*, Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies (1975) - on Aldred, who wrote the gloss and colophon in the Lindisfarne Gospels (D120) as well as the gloss and colophon in the 'Durham Ritual' (B813), on which see Ker (B800), no. 106

See also Hadley (H7c), pp. 118–19.

The aristocracy in the tenth century

For Byrhtferth's account of Æthelstan 'Half-King', and his four sons (Æthelwold, Ælfwold, Æthelsige, and Æthelwine), see his *Life of St Oswald* (B175), iii.14. For studies of several of the well-attested 'noble' families in the tenth century, see Wareham (N31), on Ealdorman Æthelwine, Wulfstan of Dalham, Ealdorman Ælfgar, Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, and others.

[G89] E.W. Robertson, 'Chapters of English History before the Conquest', in his *Historical Essays in Connexion with the Land, the Church, etc.* (1872), pp. 166–215: includes 'The King's Wife', pp. 166–71; 'The King's Kin', pp. 177–89; 'Dunstan and his Policy', pp. 189–200; and 'The Coronation of Edgar', pp. 203–15.

[G89.5] J. Campbell, 'A Nearly, but Wrongly, Forgotten Historian of the Dark Ages', in T117, forthcoming; see also Wormald (M160), p. 10, n. 37

[G90] C.R. Hart, 'Æthelstan "Half-King" and his Family', in T17, pp. 569–604; orig. ptd in *ASE* 2 (1973), 115–44

[G91] A. Williams, '*Princeps Merciorum Gentis*: the Family, Career and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia', *ASE* 10 (1982), 143–72

[G92] C. Hart, 'The Ealdordom of Essex', in T17, pp. 115–40; orig. ptd in *An Essex Tribute*, ed. K. Neale (1987), pp. 57–84

[G93] L.N. Banton, 'Ealdormen and Earls in England from the Reign of King Alfred to the Reign of King Æthelred II', unpublished DPhil thesis, Univ. of Oxford (1981). For summary, see <www.theses.com>. See also Banton (G142).

See also Finberg (B275), Yorke (G144), and Pope (G145). For the same theme in the eleventh century, see Williams (L70), etc.

The domestic politics of the 940s and 950s

Robertson (G89) showed the way forward. For general accounts, see John (G6), Stafford (H4), and Keynes (G5). Hart (G90) and Williams (G91) cover two important families; Yorke (G166) and Brooks (G151) put their subjects in a political context. On the career of Wulfstan I, archbishop of York (931–56), see entry on him in A100. Much depends on the detailed analysis of charters, and on the integration of the evidence of law-codes and coinage. For the laws of Edmund, see EHD no. 38, and Wormald (M160), pp. 308–12.

King Edmund (939–46) and King Eadred (946–55)

There are two highly distinctive groups of charters in the 940s and 950s, which contribute much to our understanding of this complex period.

[G95] The **'alliterative' charters** of the 940s and 950s, arguably associated with Coenwald, bishop of Worcester. The group was first identified by Birch (B341), on an unnumbered page at the beginning of vol. III. Discussion: unpublished typescript by D. Whitelock, in the Whitelock archive (Cambridge); C.R. Hart, 'Danelaw and Mercian

Charters of the Mid Tenth Century', in T17, pp. 431–53, at 431–44, designated 'Dunstan A', and associated with Glastonbury; Keynes (Q95), p. 186, n. 5; *Atlas of Attestations* (B331), Table XXVIII; Keynes (G65), pp. 156–9; Keynes, entry on Bishop Koenwald in A100.

[G96] The **'Dunstan B' charters** of the 950s, arguably associated with Glastonbury. Discussion: Hart, in T17, pp. 444–5; S. Keynes, 'The "Dunstan B" Charters', *ASE* 23 (1994), 165–93; *Atlas of Attestations* (B331), Table XXIX.

[G97] P.A. Goold, 'King Eadred of Wessex', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 142 (1999), 317–27

[G98] The will of King Eadred (S 1515), drawn up *c.* 955. Of cardinal importance for understanding the politics of the mid-tenth century. Text: Miller (B265). Text and translation: Harmer (B356), pp. 34–5 and 64–5. Translation: EHD no. 107. Note the significance of Queen Eadgifu in this connection (G38).

King Eadwig (955–9), with Edgar as king of the Mercians and Northumbrians (957–9)

A very unfavourable impression of Eadwig comes across from the hagiography of St Dunstan: see B165. Interestingly, it represents a process of development, starting with 'B', Adalard, and Osbern. For the later stages, see Eadmer (B166.5), in *VSOdonis,* ch. 13 (pp. 24–8), in *VSDunst,* chs. 25 [character] (p. 92), 29–30 [coronation] (pp. 96–100), 33–6 [division, etc.] (pp. 102–6), and in *VSOswald,* ch. 3 (pp. 220–2); and William of Malmesbury, in *VSDunst* (B167), i.27–31 (pp. 224–32) and ii.1, 3 (pp. 236, 238–40). Hence also the Anglo-Norman accounts of King Eadwig's rule, by John of Worcester (B630), pp. 404–8, and William of Malmesbury (B620), pp. 236–8; but cf. Henry of Huntingdon (B635), p. 318, who seems unaffected by the hagiographical view.

As always, there is more to it all than meets the eye. For the numerous **charters** of King Eadwig, see Keynes (J23), pp. 48–69, and (G5), pp. 471–9; for the evidence of attestations, displayed in tabular form, see Keynes (B331). For the coinage, see Blunt, *et al.* (M770). See also John (T54), pp. 99–123. For Queen Eadgifu, see G38. For the circumstances behind the **division of the kingdom in 957**, see Stenton (A1), pp. 364–7; Stafford (A8), pp. 47–50; Keynes (G5), pp. 477–9; Williams (A19), p. 87; Biggs, in Scragg (T118). The **events of 957–9** should be compared with the indivisibility of the royal title in Ottonian Germany, on which see Reuter (A60.35), pp.149–51. For Bishop Æthelwold on Eadwig, see B563a. For Ealdorman Æthelweard on Eadwig, see B56. For Eadwig's reign, see also Banton (G93).

[G98.2] S. Keynes, 'Eadwig, King of England', in the *ODNB* (A150), vol. 17 (2004), pp. 539–42, and online

[G98.3] C. Wickham, *Problems in doing Comparative History,* Reuter Lecture 2004 (2005), esp. pp. 16–28; otherwise comparing England in 10th/11th centuries with France

[G98.4] C. Lewis, 'Edgar, Chester, and the Kingdom of the Mercians, 957–9', in Scragg (T118) [forthcoming]; and for the charter in question, see also (G99.71)

[G98.5] F. Biggs, 'Edgar's Path to the Throne: a Late Example of Joint Kingship', in Scragg (T118) [forthcoming]

Correct identification of the multiplicity of **bishops called Brihthelm**, in the mid-950s, is a matter of some importance, since on it depends our understanding of the division of the kingdom in 957, and the likely agenda of the bishop of Winchester who immediately preceded St Æthelwold. The evidence is somewhat indigestible, and can be interpreted in different ways. See Keynes (B331), Table XLIX, and Lapidge (G152), p. 257, n. 53; see also Brooks (Q16), pp. 238–40, and Brooks (G151), pp. 20–1; Kelly (B293), pp. xci–xcii and 85–91 (no. 20).

[G98.5] P. Wormald, 'The Strange Affair of the Selsey Bishopric, 953–963', in T71 (2001), pp. 128–41

The church in England before the accession of King Edgar

The monastic reform movement (see below), which might be said to have originated at the court of King Æthelstan but which did not get going with a vengeance until the 960s, tends to attract attention away from other aspects of the Anglo-Saxon church in the sixty years from Alfred's death (899) to Edgar's accession (959). Yet this was an important period for the revitalisation of the religious life, in general, after the vicissitudes of the ninth century, as can be seen from the study of charters, book production, and much else besides. The trick is not to be lulled into the supposition that the only good churchman was a dead clerk, or a Benedictine monk.

[G99] Evidence bearing on the activities of certain churchmen in the first half of the tenth century. For Oda, archbishop of Canterbury (941–58), see Gretsch (G208), pp. 339–41. For Ælfheah 'the Bald', bishop of Winchester (934–51), see Gretsch (G208), p. 250 n. 73. The account of Bishop Koenwald/Cenwald's tour of inspection of monasteries in Germany, in

929, bearing gifts from King Æthelstan, was set down in a book belonging to one of the monasteries in question; see G65, pp. 198–201. No less important is the will of Theodred, bishop of London, who seems to have been of German origin, yet well established in eastern England, and who made a bequest to Glastonbury for his soul; see EHD no. 106, probably drawn up in the 940s.

[G99.5] Evidence bearing on the fortunes of particular religious houses in the first half of the tenth century, including those already functioning in Alfred's reign (e.g. Athelney, Shaftesbury, Exeter), those known to have been founded in the reign of Edward the Elder (e.g. the New Minster, Winchester), and those founded or revived in the second quarter of the century (e.g. Æthelstan's foundation at Milton). The evidence has yet to be collected and processed systematically. For Exeter during this period, see Conner (Q136.5), pp. 21–32, and G. Corona, 'Saint Basil in Anglo-Saxon Exeter', *N&Q* 247 (2002), 316–20.

[G99.6] D.N. Dumville, 'A Pictish or Gaelic Ecclesiastic in Mercia?', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 21 (2003), 1–8, on Cynath, abbot of -?-, who features in Mercian contexts in s. x.i

For a review of the condition of the church in the late ninth and first half of the tenth centuries, leading to a review of the reform movement, see Blair (A20), pp. 341–54.

IV. THE REIGN OF KING EDGAR (959–75)

'It is a sign of Edgar's competence as a ruler that his reign is singularly devoid of recorded incident' (Stenton (A1), p. 368). See also Fisher (A3), pp. 272–81; John (G6), pp. 185-9; Stafford (H4), pp. 50-6; James (A12), pp. 249–52; Scragg (T118).

The important matters in the 960s were the reunification of the kingdom, following the death of King Eadwig, in 959, and the progress, with Edgar's support, of the monastic reform movement, in the 960s; see Keynes (G5), pp. 479–82. For Edgar's standing as a crowned king, in the early 960s, see the New Minster charter of 966 (Q125). There may yet be something to be learnt about domestic events, in the 960s, from the attestations in King Edgar's charters (B331). For the ealdormen, see Banton (G93), and Banton (G142).

[G99.70] Laws of King Edgar. The 'Hundred Ordinance', also known as 'I Edgar' (EHD no. 39), is important for its bearing on local administration (hundreds presupposing shires). Edgar's Andover code, also known as 'II–III Edgar' (EHD no. 40), deals with both ecclesiastical and secular matters. Edgar's code issued at *Wihtbordesstan* (EHD no. 41) was promulgated in response to a plague (possibly the plague recorded for 962, but perhaps an unrecorded plague in the early 970s), and has an important bearing on large political issues, and on arrangements for the publication of law-codes; it also anticipates Wulfstan's legislation for Æthelred and Cnut. Discussion: Keynes (M212), pp. 241–2; Wormald (M160), pp. 313–20 and 441–2 (date of IV Edg).

[G99.71] 'Mercian' charters. A small but significant group of 'Mercian' charters, issued between 958 and 963, by a draftsman who, among other distinctive usages, employed a seemingly 'outdated' Mercian terminology for locating estates in Herefordshire [*Magonsæte*], Shropshire [*Wreocensæte*], and Derbyshire [*Pecsæte*]: Sawyer (B320), nos. 667, 677, 712a, and 723, from four different archives. Discussion (general): Keynes (J23), p. 69 n. 137 [before discovery of S 712a]; Hart (G95), pp. 449–50 and 451–2; Kelly (B281), I, p. lxxviii. **S 667** (Chester), dated 958 (issued at Penkridge, Staffs.): Hart (G95), pp. 449–50 (Penkridge); Lewis (G98.4) [forthcoming]. **S 677** (Wells), dated 958, and preserved in its original single-sheet form: Kelly (B287) [forthcoming], no. 31. **S 712a** (?Burton), dated 963, and preserved as an early modern copy of a lost single sheet: N. Brooks, M. Gelling and D. Johnson, 'A New Charter of King Edgar', *ASE* 13 (1984), pp. 137–55, at 145–6, reptd in T59, pp. 217–37; Keynes (B337), no. 44 (facsimile). **S 723** (OMW), dated 963. The unreconstructed view taken by this draftsman should be compared with the charters of 'Edgar A' (G99.72).

[G99.72] Charters of 'Edgar A' (960–3). Discussion: Drögereit (M224.7), on 'Edgar A' as an Abingdon scribe, perhaps Abbot Æthelwold; Keynes (J23), pp. 70–9 (royal scribe, possibly of 'Mercian' origin); Keynes (Q95), p. 186, n. 6; *Atlas of Attestations* (B331), Table XXX; Hart, in T17, pp. 467–85, at 478–9; Kelly (B281), I, pp. cxv–cxxvi (Abingdon scribe, perhaps Abbot Æthelwold); Thompson (B339.5), pp. 126–8 (S 717). It was 'Edgar A' who wrote Edgar's charter for Wulfric cufing (G99.75).

[G99.74] Meetings of the *witan*. The charters of King Edgar afford a good indication of attendance at the meetings of the *witan* held during the course of his reign, though much remains to be worked out in detail. See *Atlas of Attestations* (B331), Tables LIV–LVIIa. Striking features include the unusually large number of charters issued in 963 (Table XXVI), on which see Keynes (K38), p. 87–8; the unfolding pattern of the attestations of abbots in the 960s and into the 970s (Table LV); the 'absence' of West Saxon ealdormen in the early 970s, and the 'dominance' of Mercia, East Anglia, Essex and Northumbria (Table

LVI); the significance among the thegns of Ælfgar, the king's kinsman in Devon, in the early 960s (cf. *ASC*, s.a. 962), and thereafter of Byrhtferth and Æthelweard (Table LVIIa); the presence of 'Scandinavian' names among the ealdormen and thegns in S 674 (Peterborough, 958), S 679 (York, 958) and S 681 (Peterborough, 959), among the ealdormen in 963, and among the thegns in S 779 (Ely, 970) and S 782 (Peterborough, 971).

[G99.75] The Tale of Wulfric Cufing (as distinct from the tale of Wulfric, brother of St Dunstan). During the 940s and 950s Wulfric accumulated a vast amount of land in Berkshire, Hampshire, Sussex, and elsewhere. He would appear to have fallen out of favour with Eadwig in (late) 956, although he was to some extent respectable again by 958 (when he received land from Eadwig); and in 960, after the reunification, he paid 120 mancuses of gold to King Edgar for the restoration of all his lands (S 687, being a charter of 'Edgar A' extant in its original form), though he was still unable to recover his position in the royal household. His career illustrates the vicissitudes of life as a royal thegn in the mid-950s, though opinions differ on the likely date of Wulfric's fall from grace. Discussion: Stenton (Q140.5), pp. 42–3 [*in or after 958*]; Hart, *ECNE* (B325), pp. 370–2 [*after Eadwig's death in 959*]; SDK, 'Studies' (1976), pp. 361–5 (unpublished) [*? 956*]; Brooks (G151), pp. 163–6, at 164 and n. 28 [*late 958, or after Eadwig's death*]; *Atlas of Attestations* (B331), Tables XLIII [Edmund], XLVI [Eadred], LI [Eadwig], and LVII [Edgar]; Kelly (B281) I, pp. clxxiii–lxxxv, with map, and II, pp. 351–5 (no. 87) [*at the division of the kingdom in 957*].

On Edgar's (?'long-deferred' or ?second) coronation, at Bath, in 973, and associated events, see G310, etc. For Edgar's initiative in summoning a council at Winchester, see G108. For Roger of Wendover's allusion to King Edgar's reform of the coinage, see EHD no. 4, s.a. 975, and B650.

[G99.80] Coinage of King Edgar. The basic details are in North (M440), pp. 109–13. For Edgar's coinage *before* its reform, see Blunt, *et al.* (M770), esp. pp. 157–70 (Horizontal, or Two-Line), 172–81 (Circumscription), 195–7 (Bust Crowned), and 272–7 (general discussion); see also Jonsson (M776.5), and Pagan (M776.6). For Edgar's reform of the coinage, see Dolley and Metcalf (M800), etc.

[G99.81] Contemporary (if in fact monastic and retrospective) impressions of Edgar's rule: Æthelwold of Winchester, in EHD no. 238; Lantfred of Winchester, in Q210; Wulfstan of Winchester, in his 'Life' of St Æthelwold, ch. 13, in B172, p. 24; Ælfric of Winchester/Cerne, in his *Life of St Swithun* (Q212), pp. 606–7 [EHD no. 239 (g)], and in *Judges* (B569.7) [EHD no. 239 (i)]; and Byrhtferth of Ramsey, in B175.

[G99.82] 'Yet he did one ill-deed too greatly: he loved evil foreign customs and brought too firmly heathen manners within this land, and attracted hither foreigners and enticed harmful people to this country.' Wulfstan of York, in *ASC* MSS. DE, s.a. 959.

Anglo-Norman accounts of the peaceful rule of King Edgar *pacificus*: John of Worcester (B630), pp. 408–26, including his fleet, pp. 424–6, and his rule, p. 426; William of Malmesbury (B620), pp. 238–62; Henry of Huntingdon (B635), pp. 318–22.

[G99.83] S. Keynes, 'The Reign of King Edgar (959–75)', in Scragg (T118) [forthcoming]
[G99.85] L. Abrams, 'King Edgar and the Men of the Danelaw', in Scragg (T118) [forthcoming]
[G99.86] S. Jayakumar, 'Some Reflections on the "Foreign Policies" of Edgar "the Peaceable"', *HSJ* 10 (2002), 17–37

The wives of King Edgar, and other women
For the three wives of King Edgar, see the genealogical table at the back of this *Handbook*. The second wife, Wulfthryth, was venerated at Wilton as a saint (Q385). Among other women associated with King Edgar were SS Mærwynn and Æthelflæd of Romsey (Q391), and St Wulfhild of Barking (Q395). Cf. Queen Eadgifu (G38).

[G99.9] Queen Ælfthryth, Edgar's third wife, was an especially significant force from the mid-960s until her death, *c.* 1000. Entry by P. Stafford in *ODNB* (A150). Discussion: Hart (M98); Stafford (M100); Meyer (G129); Meyer (G130). See also under Wherwell (B267), and Cholsey (B284).

[G99.95] B. Yorke, 'King Edgar and the Women', in Scragg (T118) [forthcoming]

V. THE MONASTIC REFORM MOVEMENT
The monastic reform movement is one among the several themes which it is possible to pursue through the tenth century; and a small number of reformed monks have contrived, in effect, to ensure that it is generally regarded as the most important. The origins of the movement lay at the court of King Æthelstan; the opening stages were a minor feature of the reigns of Edmund and Eadred; and what in retrospect became the movement itself was

a major aspect of the reign of King Edgar. The major events: 963, Æthelwold became bishop of Winchester; 964, expulsion of the clerks at certain places, and their replacement by monks; 966, King Edgar's charter for the New Minster (Q125); 971, Translation of St Swithun (Q210); *c.* 973, Council of Winchester and *Regularis Concordia* (G108); etc.

The insular and continental backgrounds

On the insular background, see Wormald (G100), pp. 40–1; see also Gransden (G132), and Dumville (F132). On the continental background, see Bullough (G120) and Wormald (G100). On the significance of developments at King Æthelstan's court, see Wood (G64); Keynes (G65), esp. pp. 197–8; and Gretsch (G208). For relations between England and Germany, see G99, and Leyser (G68); for relations between England and Flanders, see Grierson (F140); for England and the continent in general, see Ortenberg (G133).

[G100] P. Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast' [1988], in G165, pp. 13–42, comprising valuable annotated profiles of Benedict of Aniane (pp. 15–19), Odo of Cluny (pp. 19–22), Abbo of Fleury (pp. 22–5), Gerard of Brogne (pp. 25–6), John of Gorze (pp. 26–9), and Adalbert of Magdeburg (pp. 29–30), followed by discussion of the sources of the *Regularis Concordia* (pp. 30–5), the question of relations between religious houses and the secular powers (pp. 35–7), and the distinctively English phenomenon of the monastic cathedral (pp. 37–41), including Æthelwold's sense of the past (pp. 40–1); but to be cited as reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 169–206

[G100.5] Ardo of Aniane's *Life* of Benedict, Abbot of Aniane and Inde (d. 821). Translation: Noble and Head (B164a), pp. 213–54; Dutton (B601.7), pp. 176–98.

[G100.51] M. de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer', in (A70), pp. 622–53; J.L. Nelson, 'Medieval Monasticism', in (A60), pp. 576–604

[G100.52] J. Wollasch, 'Monasticism: the First Wave of Reform', in (A71), pp. 163–85

[G101] Cluny, near Macon, dépt. Saone-et-Loire, Burgundy, in east central France. Founded in 910 by William I, duke of Aquitaine (886–918), and count of Auvergne; the first three abbots were Berno (909–26), Odo (926–44), and Aymard (944–64). For Odo of Cluny, see Wormald (G100), and Sitwell (G101.3).

[G101.15] B.A. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (1982)

[G101.16] B.A. Rosenwein, *To be a Neighbor of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (1989) - important demonstration of insights to be gained from a superb archive of charters

[G101.3] Odo of Cluny's *Life* of Gerald of Aurillac, and John of Salerno's *Life* of St Odo. Translation: G. Sitwell, *St. Odo of Cluny. Being the Life of St. Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac by St. Odo* (1958); Odo's *Life* reptd in Noble and Head (B164a), pp. 293–362. Discussion: S. Airlie, 'The Anxiety of Sanctity: St Gerald of Aurillac and his Maker', *JEH* 43 (1992), 372–95.

[G101.5] Charters of Cluny (most important in their own right, but also of interest for comparison with Anglo-Saxon documentation). On the archive in general, see Rosenwein (G101.16), esp. pp. 14–16. Original charters (facsimile, text, discussion): *Les plus anciens documents originaux de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. H. Atsma, S. Barret, and J. Vezin, Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi, Series Gallica 1–3 (1997–2002); the Cluny foundation charter (11 Sept. 910) is in vol. 1, pp. 33–9 (no. 4). Edition: *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, 6 vols. (1876–1903). Translation (selected charters): 'Charters of Cluny', *Readings in Medieval History*, ed. P.J. Geary, 2nd ed. (1997), pp. 304–10 (including the foundation charter).

[G102] Fleury. M. Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury: a Study of the Ideas about Society and Law of the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement* (1987); M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: a Provisional List of Manuscripts* (1989); E. Dachowski, 'The English Roots of Abbo of Fleury's Political Thought', *Revue bénédictine* 110 (2000), 95–105

[G102.5] J. Nightingale, 'Oswald, Fleury and Continental Reform', in G181, pp. 23–45

[G103] Gorze. A. Wagner, *Gorze au XIe siècle: contribution à l'histoire du monachisme bénédictine dans l'Empire*, ARTEM 1 (1996)

[G104.5] P.J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (1994)

[G104.6] G. Declercq, 'Originals and Cartularies: the Organization of Archival Memory (Ninth–Eleventh Centuries)', in Heidecker (M204), pp. 147–70

[G104.8] M. Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57: a Witness to the Early Stages of the Benedictine Reform in England?', *ASE* 32 (2003), 111–46

The main primary sources

It is important to bear in mind that the views of the secular clergy, and of the communities of 'regular' but unreformed houses, are not well represented.

[G105.5] Letter from Pope John XII (? 963), authorising ejection of secular clerics from the Old Minster, Winchester. Text: Whitelock (B401), pp. 109–13 (no. 29). Text and translation: Rumble (G170a), pp. 233–7 (no. 33). Discussion: Barrow (Q110), pp. 37–8, forged at Canterbury, s. xi/xii; further discussion by C. Wright (forthcoming).

[G105.6] King Edgar's edict on monasteries (?). According to Byrhtferth, *Life of St Oswald* (B175), iv.3, in Raine (B175.5) I, p. 434, Edgar had promulgated a law to the effect that all monastic sites should be established with monks or nuns. If so, this may lie behind the crucial entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (B65), MS. A, s.a. 964 [cf. Wulfstan's *Life of St Æthelwold* (B170), chs. 18–20], on the expulsion of the secular clerics, or canons, from the Old and New Minsters at Winchester, and from Chertsey and Milton, and their replacement with monks; and for the implementation of a similar order in Mercia, see the Worcester chronicle (B630), p. 418, in an annal dated 969.

[G106] At an **Easter Council**, convened at an unspecified place in an unspecified year (*c.* 965), King Edgar is said to have ordered the foundation of over 40 monasteries; see Byrhtferth, *Vita Oswaldi* (B175), iii.10–12, in Raine (B175.5) I, pp. 425–7, though it seems rather unlikely that there was any specific occasion on which any such thing happened. It was also at this meeting that Oswald asked King Edgar for a place for a monastery, and was given a choice of St Albans, Ely, or Benfleet; he went off to inspect them, but had also received a better offer (Ramsey) (B248, etc.). For houses founded in Edgar's reign, see further below (G139).

[G107] King Edgar's **charter for the New Minster**, Winchester, produced probably at the Old Minster under the auspices of Bishop Æthelwold in 966. For further details (text, translation, etc), see Q125. See also Westwood (S87), pl. 47. For the image of King Edgar, which serves as a frontispiece, see Karkov (Q696), pp. 85–93.

[G108] Proemium or Foreword to the ***Regularis Concordia***, describing how King Edgar 'commanded a Synodal Council to be held at Winchester', and how he sent a letter to the assembly in which 'he urged all to be of one mind as regards monastic usage'. Not to be confused with Edgar's edict (G105.6). Text and translation: Symons (B435), pp. 1–9. Text: B401, no. 32. See also Kornexl (B436); Wormald (G100). The council cannot be dated more closely than 964 x 975, probably in the early 970s.

[G109] '**The Benedictional of St Æthelwold**' (BL Add. 49598), containing formulas or blessings recited by a bishop during the course of solemn mass and on other special occasions, written (according to a prefatory poem) by a scribe called Godeman, probably in the early 970s, for Æthelwold's personal use. Facsimile (in colour): A. Prescott, *The Benedictional of Saint Æthelwold: a Masterpiece of Anglo-Saxon Art* (2002), with introduction. For a full account of the manuscript and its spectacular decoration, see Deshman (Q692); see also Gretsch (G208), pp. 296–310. For Godeman's poem, see Lapidge (G200), in *ASE* 4, pp. 105–6, or in T19, pp. 143–4; translated in Deshman (Q692), p. 148.

[G110] Bishop Æthelwold's account of '**King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries**' (*EEM*), written apparently to accompany his translation of the Rule of St Benedict: see B563a. Discussion: Wormald (G100), p. 40.

[G111] The ***Lives*** of the principal protagonists, all written *c.* 1000, looking back from a vantage point during the reign of Æthelred the Unready, and inviting us to focus on their activities to the exclusion of any others. (i) B's *Life of St Dunstan* (B165), written apparently by a priest based in the west country, who may not have been very well-informed about Dunstan's activities elsewhere, whether at Canterbury or at court; pro-Dunstan, anti-King Eadwig, and significantly uninformative about monastic reform. (ii) Wulfstan's *Life of St Æthelwold* (B170), written by a card-carrying member of the monastic reform party, writing at its centre of operations about its most dynamic leader. (iii) Byrhtferth's *Life of St Oswald* (B175), written by monk of Ramsey, and not least for this reason revealing rather less than we should like about Oswald's activities at Worcester.

[G112] Records bearing on the **foundation of the fenland abbeys** (Ely, Peterborough, Ramsey, Thorney, Crowland, etc.), and on the process of endowment at each place: see section B, on religious houses in the fens, at B239.10, etc. Comparisons between them can be instructive. The *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi*, written at Ely abbey in the early twelfth century (B245), illustrates the activities of Bishop Æthelwold and Abbot Byrhtnoth as land tycoons in the early 970s, and the reaction precipitated by the death of King Edgar in 975; see also Whitelock (G172), etc. For Ramsey, see the abbey's *Liber benefactorum* (B248), and Raftis (G195).

[G113] Collection of texts in BL Cotton **Tiberius A. iii** (Ker (B800), no. 186; A205, no. 28), compiled in the mid eleventh century, including many that were essential for the proper conduct of the regular monastic life. Contents include the Rule of St Benedict with an Old English gloss (cf. G207), the *Regularis Concordia* (G108) [preceded by the famous portrait of (?) King Edgar seated between Dunstan and Æthelwold], prognostics, prayers,

Ælfric's *Colloquy* (B567), homilies, *Monasteriales Indicia* (B579), etc., etc. For the image of King Edgar, see Karkov (Q696), pp. 93–9.

[G114.50] MSS associated with Dunstan. There is a natural tendency among palaeographers and historians to associate particular manuscripts with particular people; and, in several cases, not without good reason. See esp. Dumville (G255), pp. 66–95.

[G114.51] 'St Dunstan's Classbook' [Bodleian, MS. Auct. F. 4.32 (2176)], with the famous 'portrait' of Dunstan on his knees at the feet of Christ. Facsimile: R.W. Hunt, *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury*, Unbrae Codicum Occidentalium 4 (Amsterdam, 1961).

[G114.52] A manuscript written at the command of Abbot Dunstan, at Glastonbury (Bodleian, Hatton 30): Keynes (G96), pp. 186–7, and references.

[G114.53] The 'Pontifical of St Dunstan' (Paris, BN, MS lat. 943), later associated with Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne: Keynes (Q89), pp. 62–6, and references.

[G114.54] The 'Benedictional of Archbishop Dunstan' was seen by Bale in the mid-16th century, and described by him as 'the oldest boke that ever I sawe yet, and most straungely written, but yet legible to hym that was acquainted with that kynde of writynge'. Discussion: Graham and Watson (S25.4), pp. 20 and 37 n. 52; D.N. Dumville, 'John Bale, Owner of St Dunstan's Benedictional', *Notes & Queries* 239 (1994), 291–5, suggesting its identification with either the 'Pontifical of St Dunstan' or a mid-tenth-century benedictional now represented only by three fragments, viz. Gneuss (B760), no. 504.3.

It is also instructive to observe the increase, in the later 960s, in the number of abbots attesting the charters of King Edgar; the evidence is displayed in tabular form in B331. For the establishment of the **cult of St Swithun** in 971, and its later development (an important aspect of the reform movement in its second generation, in the 990s), see Lapidge (Q212).

General studies of the reform movement

The essential reading is contained in the books commemorating the one thousandth anniversaries of the council of Winchester in the early 970s (G127), the death of Bishop Æthelwold in 984 (G165), the death of Archbishop Dunstan in 988 (G150), and the death of Archbishop Oswald in 992 (G181). Wormald (G100) is essential for the continental background. Blair (A20) provides a very good sense of the larger picture. It is as well, however, to be familiar with the early stages in the development of the subject.

[G115] J.A. Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (1923), pp. 81–158

[G116] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* [1943], 3rd ed. (1971), pp. 433–69

[G117] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* [1940], 2nd ed. (1963), pp. 31–82

[G118] R.R. Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period', *EHR* 51 (1936), 385–428

[G119] M. Deanesly, *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church* (1962)

See also Kirby (A3), pp. 92–114; Fisher (A3), pp. 281–97; James (A12), pp. 252–60.

[G120] D.A. Bullough, 'The Continental Background of the Reform', in G127, pp. 20–36, reptd in his *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (1991), pp. 272–96

[G121] D.H. Farmer, 'The Progress of the Monastic Revival', in G127, pp. 10–19

[G122] E. John, 'The Age of Edgar', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J. Campbell (1982), pp. 160–89

[G123] S. Keynes, 'Introduction', in A205, pp. 11–16 - general survey introducing exhibition catalogue

[G124] G. Lanoë, 'Approche de quelques évêques moines en Angleterre au Xe siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 19 (1976), 135–50

[G125] D.N. Dumville, 'Learning and the Church in the England of King Edmund I, 939–46', in T15, pp. 173–84

[G126] F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd ed. (1979) - has appendix on monasteries, not present in first edition

[G127] *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. D. Parsons (1975)

[G128] T. Symons, '*Regularis Concordia*: History and Derivation', in G127, pp. 37–59; see also T. Symons, 'The English Monastic Reform of the Tenth Century', *Downside Review* 60 (1942), 1–22, 196–222, and 268–79

[G129] M.A. Meyer, 'Women and the Tenth-Century English Monastic Reform', *Revue bénédictine* 87 (1977), 34–61

[G130] M.A. Meyer, 'Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981), 332–58

[G131] D.H. Farmer, 'The Monastic Reform of the Tenth Century and Cerne Abbas', *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures*, ed. K. Barker (1988), pp. 1–10

[G132] A. Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo–Saxon Monasticism', *JEH* 40 (1989), 159–207, reptd in T17a, pp. 31–79

[G133] V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (1992)

[G134] P. Halpin, 'Women Religious in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *HSJ* 6 (1995), 97–110

[G135] C. Cubitt, 'The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England', *EME* 6 (1997), 77–94 - valuable review article

[G136] S. Coates, 'Perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon Past in the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement', *The Church Retrospective*, ed. R.N. Swanson (1997), pp. 61–74

[G137] P. Stafford, 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen: Gender, Religious Status and Reform in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Past and Present* 163 (1999), 3–35, reptd in T70 (XI)

[G138.1] N. Robertson, 'Dunstan and Monastic Reform: Tenth-Century Fact or Twelfth-Century Fiction?', *ANS* 28 (2006), 153–67, on Dunstan's (lack of) credentials as a reformer; N. Robertson, *Sanctity and Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England* (forthcoming)

[G138.2] J. Barrow, 'The Chronology of the Tenth-Century English Benedictine Reform in Edgar's Reign', in Scragg (T118) [forthcoming] - arguing that the promulgation of the *Regularis Concordia* (G108) can be dated *c.* 966

[G138.3] A. Rumble, 'The Laity and the Monastic Reform in the Reign of Edgar', in Scragg (T118) [forthcoming]

[G139] Religious houses. According to Bryhtferth, in his account of the Easter Council (G106), King Edgar gave instruction for the founding of '40' religious houses; a figure of 47 is given in the 'Altitonantis' charter (Q126). By 1066, there were roughly 45 Benedictine houses (monasteries and nunneries) in England, most of which had indeed been refounded or founded during Edgar's reign. Many of the houses founded or reformed in the tenth century are included under 'Histories and Records of Religious Houses', above, section B. For nuns and nunneries, see Yorke (Q21b), and the systematic survey by Foot (Q23); for women and the reform movement, see Meyer (G129, G130), Halpin (G134), Stafford (G137), Crick (Q24), etc.

Political and social dimensions of the reform movement

[G140] E. John, *Orbis Britanniae* (1966) - especially 'The King and the Monks in the Tenth-Century Reformation', pp. 154–80, stressing the importance of the king's role

[G141] A. Jones, 'The Significance of the Regal Consecration of Edgar in 973', *JEH* 33 (1982), 375–90

[G142] N. Banton, 'Monastic Reform and the Unification of Tenth-Century England', *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews (1982), pp. 71–85; cf. Campbell (T42), p. 42. (For Banton's D.Phil. thesis, which remains unpublished, see G93.)

[G143] P.A. Stafford, 'Church and Society in the Age of Ælfric', *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds*, ed. P.E. Szarmach and B.F. Huppé (1978), pp. 11–42

[G144] B. Yorke, 'Æthelmær, the Foundation of the Abbey at Cerne and the Politics of the Tenth Century', *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures*, ed. K. Barker (1988), pp. 15–26

[G145] J.M. Pope, 'Monks and Nobles in the Anglo-Saxon Monastic Reform', *ANS* 17 (1995), 165–80

Dunstan at Glastonbury and Canterbury

On the cult of St Dunstan, see Ramsay and Sparks (B168). For manuscripts associated with Dunstan, see above (G114.5).

[G150] *St Dunstan: his Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. Ramsay, *et al.* (1992) - important papers on various subjects, given at the Dunstan conference in 1988

[G151] N.P. Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', in G150, pp. 1–23, reptd in T59, pp. 155–80; see also Brooks (Q16), pp. 243–53, on Dunstan as archbishop of Canterbury

[G152] M. Lapidge, 'B. and the *Vita S. Dunstani*', in G150, pp. 247–59; reptd in T19, pp. 279–91

[G153] M. Winterbottom, 'The Earliest Life of St Dunstan', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 19 (2000), 163–79 [CUL P706.c.196]

[G155] L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (1996); see also *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. L. Abrams and J. Carley (1991)

[G157] D. Dales, *Dunstan: Saint and Statesman* (1988) - a synthesis of recent work; see also E.S. Duckett, *Saint Dunstan of Canterbury* (1955)

[G158] C. Cubitt, 'Archbishop Dunstan: a Prophet in Politics?', in Barrow and Wareham (T117), forthcoming

See also Gretsch (G208), pp. 372–6.

Æthelwold at Abingdon and Winchester

'Æthelwold is actually the first Englishman known to have been born in a town' (Wormald (G100), p. 13), reflecting the development of Winchester in the tenth century.

[G165] *Bishop Æthelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed. B.A. Yorke (1988) - collection of essays, commemorating the millennium of Æthelwold's death in 984

[G166] B. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in G 165, pp. 65–88

[G168] A. Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', in G165, pp. 43–64

[G169] D. Porter, 'Æthelwold's Bowl and the *Chronicle of Abingdon*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 97 (1996), 163–7 - on a riddle in B282, setting out the daily ration of beer (two double cups, filled from 'Æthelwold's Bowl') allowed to the monks at Abingdon

For a valuable discussion of Æthelwold, and the 'monastic cathedral' at Winchester, see Wormald (G100), pp. 37–41.

The essential text for Æthelwold at Winchester is Wulfstan's *Life* (B170); but no less important for other aspects of the reform movement is Wulfstan's special dedicatory letter to Æthelwold's successor, Ælfheah, prefixed to his *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (Q211).

[G170] M. Biddle and D.J. Keene, 'Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. Biddle, Winchester Studies 1 (1976), pp. 241–448, at 306–13 (Old Minster), 313–21 (New Minster) and 321–3 (Nunnaminster)

[G170a] Winchester Studies (WS). M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester*, i: *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters*, WS 4.i (forthcoming [2005–6]); M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester*, ii: *The Cult of St Swithun*, WS 4.ii (2003); A. Rumble, *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester*, iii: *Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman Charters relating to Winchester*, WS 4.iii (2002). For imaginary drawings, see Lavelle (J29), pls. 7–8. For 'Winchester Studies', see also P66.

[G171] M. Biddle, '*Felix Urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform', in G127, pp. 123–40, reptd in T43, pp. 289–316; see also Biddle (P55, P65)

Æthelwold's activities at the Old Minster, Winchester, were matched by Æthelgar at the New Minster, Winchester. See B263; and for the reforms at the New Minster, see also Keynes (B450), pp. 24–32.

Æthelwold at Ely, Peterbouough, and Thorney

Æthelwold's activities in the fens were not as well represented in G165 as they might have been. On the cult of St Æthelthryth, see Q300, etc. For a review of the history of Ely abbey from 672 to 1109, see Keynes (Q148). For the process of the abbey's endowment in the late tenth century, see the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi* (B245), and Kennedy (M171); for its endowment in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, see the *Liber Eliensis* (B247). For the construction of the past at Peterborough in the twelfth century, see the *Relatio Hædde abbatis* (B239.10), etc.

[G172] D. Whitelock, foreword to *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E.O. Blake (1962), pp. ix–xviii: important for understanding Æthelwold's methods in connection with endowment of Ely abbey; see also E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (1951), esp. pp. 16–25

[G175] S. Raban, *The Estates of Thorney and Crowland* (1977), pp. 6–20

[G176] E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086–1310: a Study in the Land Market* (1973) - pp. 6–12 on the endowment of Æthelwold's foundation before the Conquest; see also B240

[G177] D.F. Mackreth, 'Peterborough, from St Aethelwold to Martin de Bec, *c*.970–1155', *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain*, ed. B. Thompson (1999), pp. 137–56

Oswald at Worcester, York and Ramsey

The source material is to be found in the two eleventh-century Worcester cartularies (B231). Oswald had been a monk at Fleury, and became bishop of Worcester in 961; from which point he would have been eager to establish a community of monks. He did so initially at Westbury-on-Trym, Gloucs. (B236c); but from *c.* 965, and perhaps after his establishment of monks at Ramsey (G194), he appears to have begun to establish monks in the church of St Mary at Worcester, within the cathedral precincts, creating a form of 'mixed' community. For further discussion, see Barrow (B183).

[G178] Leases issued by Bishop Oswald (and others). For the cartulary in which they are preserved, see B231. For a translation of one of Oswald's leases, see EHD no. 111. The evidence of the attestations in the Worcester leases is set out, in tabular form, in Keynes (B331), Table LXXVI. The view that the secular clergy were ousted, and replaced by monks (as at Winchester in 964), arises from the 'Altitonantis' charter (Q126), dated 964; and see John (G186). For the notion that there was a more *gradual* change at Worcester, from a

'secular' to a 'monastic' community, see Sawyer (G187), based on analysis of the attestations in the Worcester leases. The attestations do indeed seem to show that a community comprising 'clerks', 'deacons', and 'priests', with seemingly rather few 'monks', persisted at Worcester into the 990s and beyond; but for matters of terminology, which might be relevant in this context, see Keynes (B450), pp. 64–5.

[G180] The *Indiculum* (statement of the terms of Oswald's leases). Translation: R.A. Brown, *Origins of English Feudalism* (1973), pp. 133–6. See also P. Wormald, 'Lordship and Justice in the Early English Kingdom: Oswaldslow Revisited', *Property and Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (1995), pp. 114–36, reptd in T65, pp. 313–32; P. Wormald, 'Oswaldslow: an "Immunity"?', in G181, pp. 117–28.

[G181] *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (1996), incl. D. Bullough, 'St Oswald: Monk, Bishop and Archbishop', pp. 1–22; M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', pp. 64–83; and many others

[G182] S.A.J. Bradley, *St Oswald, Archbishop of York, and the Beauties of Holiness* (1992)

[G183] J. Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino (1992), pp. 53–74; J. Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester, 961–*c*.1100', in G181 (1996), pp. 84–99; Barrow (Q110), esp. pp. 34–7; J. Barrow, 'Wulfstan and Worcester: Bishop and Clergy in the Early Eleventh Century', in Townend (G216), pp. 141–59; see also Barrow (M224.56), on forgery of charters at Worcester

[G185] J.A. Robinson, 'St Oswald and the Church of Worcester', British Academy Supplemental Papers 5 (1919), and G115, pp. 123–42

[G186] E. John, 'St Oswald and the Church of Worcester', in G140, pp. 234–48; see also E. John, *Land Tenure in Early England* (1960), pp. 80–161; E. John, 'The Church of Worcester and St Oswald', in T47 (2001), pp. 142–57

[G187] P.H. Sawyer, 'Charters of the Reform Movement: the Worcester Archive', in G127, pp. 84–93

[G188] A.E.E. Jones, *Anglo-Saxon Worcester* (1958)

[G189] C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: the Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester 680–1540* (1980)

[G190] D.A. Bullough, *Friends, Neighbours and Fellow-drinkers: Aspects of Community and Conflict in the Early Medieval West*, H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture 1 (1991), pp. 19–24

Ramsey abbey

It was at the funeral of a king's thegn, who had died at a particularly significant meeting *c.* 965 (G106), that a 'thegn' [*recte* ealdorman] called Æthelwine (son of Ealdorman Æthelstan Half-King), offered him Ramsey (*Life of St Oswald* (B175), iii.13 and 15–17). The extended process of foundation (suitability of site, with necessary resources; building of oratory, dormitory, and refectory; arrival of monks from Westbury, plus other men; building of the church; consecration of the church, provision of books and vestments, etc., and periodic visits) is described by Byrhtferth (G194). For the process of its endowment, in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, see the abbey's *Liber benefactorum* (B248).

[G194] The foundation of Ramsey abbey in the mid-960s, by Bishop Oswald and Ealdorman Æthelwine, is described in some detail by Byrhtferth of Ramsey, in his *Life of St Oswald* (B175), iii.16, iv.2, and iv.15; but, perhaps significantly, without reference to a charter (cf. Q129).

[G195] J.A. Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey: a Study in Economic Growth and Organization* (1957), pp. 1–21

Schools, Scholars and Scholarship

SS Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald represent the first generation of the monastic reformers, active in the second and third quarters of the tenth century; and their work was carried forward by their pupils into the later tenth and eleventh centuries.

[G200] M. Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *ASE* 4 (1975), 67–111 (reptd in T19, pp. 105–49), and 'A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England: Frithegod of Canterbury / Fredegaud of Brioude', *ASE* 17 (1988), 45–65 (reptd in T19, pp. 157–81); see also Lapidge in A51.1, pp. 25–30

[G201] M. Lapidge, 'Schools, Learning and Literature in Tenth-Century England', *SettSpol* 38 (1991), 951–1005, reptd in T19, pp. 1–48

[G202] J. Hill, 'The Benedictine Reform and Beyond', in A51.3 (2001), pp. 151–69

Riché (Q61); Bullough (Q62); Lendinara (Q64); entry in A100 on grammar.

Æthelwold of Abingdon and Winchester

Yorke, in ODNB (A150); entry in A100. G165, etc.

[G205] M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', in G165, pp. 89–117, reptd in T19, pp. 183–211; see also M. Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *ASE* 1 (1972), 85–137, reptd in T19, pp. 225–77

[G206] H. Gneuss, 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *ASE* 1 (1972), 63–83; see also W. Hofstetter, 'Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary', *ASE* 17 (1988), 139–61

[G206a] M. Gretsch, *Winchester Vocabulary and Standard Old English: the Vernacular in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Toller Lecture 2000 (2001), also published in *BJRL* 83.1 (2001), 41–87 - clarifying the difference between the distinctive vocabulary developed by Æthelwold, *et al.*, at Winchester, s. x/xi, and the form of the Late West Saxon dialect found in all parts of the country from the late tenth century onwards (and here associated with the emergence of the unified kingdom of the English)

[G206b] M. Gretsch, 'In Search of Standard Old English', in T106, pp. 33–67

[G207] M. Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung* (1973); M. Gretsch, 'Æthelwold's Translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and its Latin Exemplar', *ASE* 3 (1974), 125–51; M. Gretsch, 'The Benedictine Rule in Old English: a Document of Bishop Æthelwold's Reform Politics', in T27, pp. 131–58

[G208] M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE 25 (1999), arguing, on lexical evidence, that the continuous interlinear gloss in the 'Royal Psalter' (Ker (B800), no. 249), the interlinear and marginal gloss in a manuscript of Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* (Ker (B800), no. 8), and the Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule (manuscripts listed by Gretsch, pp. 227–8), share a common origin; and, on various grounds, that their origin is to be sought in the person of Æthelwold, who had been at Æthelstan's court in the 930s before pursuing his career as a monastic reformer at Glastonbury, Abingdon, and Winchester

[G209] R. Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule: Writing for Women and Men', *ASE* 32 (2003), 147–87

Lantfred of Winchester and Wulfstan of Winchester

Entries on both in A100; Lapidge, on Wulfstan, in *ODNB* (A150). For Lantfred's career, and for his writings on the cult of St Swithun (mid-970s), see Lapidge (Q212). For Wulfstan's career, and for his *Life* of Bishop Æthelwold, see Lapidge and Winterbottom (B172). For Wulfstan's writings on the cult of St Swithun (mid-990s), which are of the utmost importance, see Q211, and Lapidge (Q212).

Ælfric of Winchester, Cerne, and Eynsham

Godden, in *ODNB* (A150). For Ælfric at Eynsham, see Keynes (J162.5). For his career and writings, see B563.5, etc. See also Knowles (G117), pp. 61–4.

[G210] P. Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. Clemoes (1959), pp. 212–47, with chronology, pp. 244–5, reptd in T45, pp. 29–72; see also P. Clemoes, 'Ælfric', *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. E.G. Stanley (1966), pp. 176–209

[G210.5] A.A. Prins, 'Some Remarks on Ælfric's Lives of Saints and his Translations from the Old Testament', *Neophilologus* 25 (1940), 112–22

[G211] C.L. White, *Ælfric: a New Study of his Life and Writings* (1898), reptd with a supplementary classified bibliography by M.R. Godden (1974); J. Hurt, *Ælfric* (1972) - general study of his life and works

[G211.5] C.A. Jones, '*Meatim sed et rustica*: Ælfric of Eynsham as a Medieval Latin Author', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 8 (1998), 1–57

[G212] E. John, 'The World of Abbot Ælfric', in T22, pp. 300–16; see also John (T54), pp. 124–38

[G212.5] J. Wilcox, 'Ælfric in Dorset and the Landscape of Pastoral Care', in Tinti (Q19.5), pp. 00–00 <not yet seen>

[G213] J. Hill, 'Translating the Tradition: Manuscripts, Models and Methodologies in the Composition of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', *BJRL* 79 (1997), 43–65; J. Hill, *Bede and the Benedictine Reform*, Jarrow Lecture 1998 (1999)

[G214] C.A. Lees, *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (1999), esp. pp. 86–93 ('Remembering the Reform') and 93–101 ('The Past in the Present: History in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*')

For further bibliography, see A73, A74, and A78.

Wulfstan of York

Wormald, in *ODNB* (A150). For his career and writings, see Bethurum (B575), etc., and K35, etc. 'There is nothing in his temperament, so far as we can judge it, that would make probable an interest in art' (Bethurum (B575), p. 62).

[G215] D. Bethurum, 'Wulfstan', *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. E.G. Stanley (1966), pp. 210–46; T.N. Hall, 'Wulfstan's Latin Sermons', in Townend (G216), pp. 93–139

[G216] *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York,* ed. M. Townend (2004), being the proceedings of a major commemorative conference held in York, July 2002, with many valuable contributions, covering various aspects of Wulfstan's activity, e.g. Wormald (K40), Barrow (G183), Wilcox (J49.7), Baxter (B573.9), Mann (B573.7), Godden (J47.5), Cowen (J45), Hall (G215), Jones (B415), Heslop (K60)
For further bibliography, see A73, A74, and A78.

Byrhtferth of Ramsey

Lapidge, in *ODNB* (A150), and entry on him in A100.
[G220] Byrhtferth was a monk of Ramsey, best known for his *Life of St Oswald* (B175), written *c.* 1000, and for his *Enchiridion* [Handbook or Manual] (B590), written in 1011. He also produced a *Historical Miscellany* (B640). For his 'Natural Science Text Book' (Oxford, St John's College, MS. 17), see B599, and A210, no. 34. See also Knowles (G117), pp. 64–5.
[G221] C. Hart, 'Byrhtferth and his Manual', *Medium Ævum* 41 (1972), 95–109; P.S. Baker, 'Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* and the Computus in Oxford, St John's College 17', *ASE* 10 (1982), 123–42; P.S. Baker, 'More Diagrams by Byrhtferth of Ramsey', in T110, vol. II, pp. 53–73
[G222] M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia Regum* Attributed to Symeon of Durham', *ASE* 10 (1982), 97–122 (reptd in T19, pp. 317–42), and 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979), 331–53 (reptd in T19, pp. 293–315)
[G223] M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth at Work', in T34, pp. 25–43
[G224] P. Semper, 'Doctrine and Diagrams: Maintaining the Order of the World in Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*', *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching*, ed. P. Cavill (2004), pp. 121–37
For further bibliography, see A73, A74, and A78. For a bibliographical account of Byrhtferth's writings, see Hollis and Wright (A78a), pp. 149–84. For Byrhtferth's alleged involvement in ghosting Asser's *Life of Alfred*, see Smyth (F266).

Ealdorman Æthelweard and his Chronicle (B56), written *c.* 985

Wormald, in *ODNB* (A150), and entry on him in A100. The writing of the chronicle was prompted by a wish to inform his cousin Matilda (granddaughter of Edith, wife of Otto I), abbess of Essen (973–1011), about their common past; for the royal convent at Essen, see Bernhardt (G4b), pp. 190–4.
[G225] M. Winterbottom, 'The Style of Æthelweard', *Medium Ævum* 36 (1967), 109–18; for grecisms in his style, see also Lapidge (L110), pp. 395–9, and Lapidge (G200), pp. 97–8
[G226] E. van Houts, 'Women and the Writing of History in the Early Middle Ages: the Case of Abbess Matilda of Essen and Æthelweard', *EME* 1 (1992), 53–68
[G227] A. Lutz, 'Æthelweard's *Chronicon* and Old English Poetry', *ASE* 29 (2000), 177–214
[G228] W. Jezierski, 'Æthelweardus Redivivus', *EME* 13 (2005), 159–78
For Æthelweard's attitude to vikings, see Page (J43). For synopsis, and Æthelweard's 'England', see Keynes (J34.6), pp. 247–8. For his 'Anglo'-centricity, see Brooks (D180.1), pp. 49–51.
For Æthelweard (and his son Æthelmær), see also B569.3 and B569.5, and Yorke (G144); and see J. Stevenson, 'Anglo-Latin Women Poets', in T110, vol. II, pp. 86–107, at 92–3.

Book production

For book production in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Dumville (B788.6), on the development of Square minuscule, and Bishop (B789), on the development of Anglo-Caroline minuscule.
[G255] D.N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (1992), esp. 'Liturgical Books for the Anglo-Saxon Episcopate: a Reconsideration', pp. 66–95, and 'Liturgical Books from Late Anglo-Saxon England: a Review of Some Historical Problems', pp. 96–152
[G256] D.N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030* (1993), esp. 'The Dissemination of Anglo-Caroline Minuscule: the Evidence of the Oxford Manuscript of the Old English Benedictine Rule', pp. 7–85, 'The Early History of Caroline Writing at Christ Church, Canterbury', pp. 86–110, and '"Eadwig the Fat" and the Origins of Anglo-Caroline Minuscule, Style IV', pp. 111–40

For the decoration of manuscripts in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see the main section on Anglo-Saxon art (Q600, etc.).

VI. ENGLAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

WALES. On the submission of Welsh rulers to King Alfred, see Asser (B80), ch. 80, and Dumville (G280). For the legal text *Dunsæte*, see (G52); and for Anglo-Welsh relations during the reign of Æthelstan, see (G47). For the tenth-century poem *Armes Prydein Vawr*, reflecting hostility between Welsh and English, see Williams and Bromwich (G45).

For attestations of Welsh rulers in charters of Æthelstan, Eadred, and Eadwig, during the period 928–56, see Loyn (G286), with Lloyd (A64) i.353 and Keynes (B331), Table XXXVI. For the historical context of the *Annales Cambriae* (B70), see Higham (C124b), pp. 170–217. Hywel Dda, styled 'rex Brittonum' in the A-Text of the *Annales Cambriae* (B70), attested a charter for the last time, and died, in 950. Welsh annals in the later tenth century — (B70) and (B71), with Lloyd (A64) i.343 n. — seem for the most part to register occasions on which particular parts of Wales were ravaged, by the Welsh, by vikings, and by the English. The 'Lichfield Gospels' (A200, no. 90) were at Llandeilo Fawr in the ninth century, and apparently at Lichfield by *c.* 970; see K (B450), p. 55. For a ravaging of Wales, see the Welsh annals (B70), s.a. 967. Certain entries in the 'Book of Llandaff' (e.g. (B330) pp. 246, 248–9, 252) reflect contact between the church of Llandaff and the English royal court in the later tenth and eleventh centuries.

For interaction between Welsh and English, see Lloyd (A64), i.333–43 (Hywel Dda) and 343–52 (later tenth and early eleventh centuries). See also W. Davies (A64), pp. 112–16; W. Davies (A64a), pp. 61–79; Davies (B360a), pp. 105–6; Walker (A64), pp. 15–19.

[G280] D.N. Dumville, 'The "Six" Sons of Rhodri Mawr: a Problem in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*', *CMCS* 4 (1982), 5–18, reptd in T18, no. XV; see also Thornton (G294), pp. 10–11

[G281] T. Charles-Edwards, on King Alfred and the Welsh rulers, O'Donnell Lecture 1999 (forthcoming) - comparing Mercian and West Saxon relations with the Welsh; for relations between Alfred and Wales, see also Charles-Edwards (E93a), pp. 100–5

[G284] *The Law of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales*, ed. D. Jenkins (1986), on the organisation of the royal household, etc. (to be handled with caution); see also T.M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (1989)

[G285] D.P. Kirby, 'Hywel Dda - Anglophil?', *Welsh History Review* 8 (1976–7), 1–13; see also Thornton (G294), pp. 12–13

[G286] H. Loyn, 'Wales and England in the Tenth Century: the Context of the Æthelstan Charters', *Welsh History Review* 10 (1980–1), 283–301, reptd in T16, pp. 173–99; see also Thornton (G294)

[G287] A. Breeze, '*Armes Prydein*, Hywel Dda, and the reign of Edmund of Wessex', *Études celtiques* 33 (1997), 209–22

[G288] D.N. Dumville, 'Brittany and Armes Prydein Vawr', in T18, pp. XVI 145–58, placing the poem in the 950s

[G289] H. Fulton, 'Tenth-Century Wales and *Armes Prydein*', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, new ser. 7 (2001), 5–18

[G294] D.E. Thornton, 'Predatory Nomenclature and Dynastic Expansion in Early Medieval Wales', *Medieval Prosopography* 20 (1999), 1–22, esp. 18–20, on the identity of the Welsh rulers attesting Anglo-Saxon charters in the tenth century; D. Thornton, 'The Death of Hywel Dda: a Note', *Welsh History Review* 20 (2001), 743–9

[G295] K. Maund, 'Dynastic Segmentation and Gwynedd *c.* 950–1000', *Studia Celtica* 32 (1998), 155–67 - villains include Ælfhere, ealdorman of the Mercians

[G296] D.E. Thornton, 'Maredudd ab Owain (d. 999): the Most Famous King of the Welsh', *Welsh History Review* 18.4 (1997), 567–91 - for the involvement of a certain Æthelsige in an attack on south Wales in the early 990s

For England and Wales in the eleventh century, see Maund (L50) and Maund (R386).

SCOTLAND. For events in Scotland, see (A62a) and (A62b). For Constantine and the battle of *Brunanburh*, see (G76), etc. For 'The Chronicle of the Kings of Alba', see (B74). For relations between Southumbria and Northumbria, see Whitelock (G12). For relations with Scotland, see Stenton (A1), pp. 332–3, 340, 342–3, 359, 370, 418–20, and the several books registered at (A62). Entries in A345 on **Constantine II**, king of Alba (900–43), who submitted to Edward in 920 and to Æthelstan in 927, and later opposed the English at *Brunanburh* (B553); Malcolm I (943–54); Indulf (954–62); Dub (962–6); Culen (966–71); **Kenneth II** (971–95), who submitted to Edgar in 973, and to whom Edgar is said to have granted Lothian (B645; Roger of Wendover (B650), in EHD no. 4, s.a. 975; and B651); Constantine III (995–7); Kenneth III (997–1005); **Malcolm II**, k. of *Scotia* (1005–34), who besieged Durham in 1006, and who defeated the English at the battle of Carham (1018); Duncan (1034–40); Macbeth (1040–57); *et al.*

[G300] P. Wormald, 'The Emergence of the *Regnum Scottorum*: a Carolingian Hegemony?', *Scotland in Dark Age Britain*, ed. B.E. Crawford (1996), pp. 131–60; D. Broun, 'When did Scotland become Scotland?', *History Today* (Oct. 1996), pp. 16–21; A. Grant, 'The Construction of the Early Scottish State', in T41, pp. 47–71

[G303] M.O. Anderson, 'Lothian and the Early Scottish Kings', *Scottish Historical Review* 39 (1960), 98–112

[G305] B. Meehan, 'The Siege of Durham, the Battle of Carham and the Cession of Lothian', *Scottish Historical Review* 55 (1976), 1–19

[G306] A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Battle of Carham, 1018', *Scottish Historical Review* 55 (1976), 20–8

The notion of Edgar as a ruler of Britain is implicit in the common source behind the twelfth-century chronicles of John of Worcester (B630) and William of Malmesbury (B620), when they tell of Edgar's fleets stationed on the east, west, and north coasts, and how he would pass from east to west, from west to north, and from north to east again, during the summer months.

VII. THE EVENTS OF 973/975

[G310] The coronation of King Edgar (973), and the 'submission' at Chester (973). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MSS. ABC, s.a. 973, focusses attention on the [?second] coronation of King Edgar at Bath at Pentecost [11 May] 973, which was undoubtedly an event of the utmost political significance. For the emperor Otto I's assemblies in *March* 973, see Thietmar (B615), ii.30, pp. 114–15, and Reuter (A60.35), p. 175 (with ref. to English ambassadors). The 'Northern Recension' (MSS DE), from a different perspective, adds: 'And immediately after that the king took his whole naval force to Chester, and six kings came to meet him, and all gave him pledges that they would be his allies on sea and land [*and ealle with hine getreowsodon thæt hi woldon efenwyrhtan beon on sæ and on lande*]'. In the words of Ælfric, 'And all the kings who were in this island, *Cumera* [Welsh] and Scots, came to Edgar, on one occasion eight kings on one and the same day, and they all submitted to Edgar's direction [*and hi ealle gebugon to eadgares wissunge*]' (Lapidge (B569.34), pp. 606–7; Skeat (B569.31) I, p. 468; EHD, no. 239g). Edgar seems soon afterwards to have granted Lothian (beyond the Tweed) to Kenneth II. For later accounts of the events at Chester, including rowing on the river Dee, see William of Malmesbury (B620), pp. 238–40, naming a full eight of sub-kings, with discussion by Thomson, ii.132–3; John of Worcester (B630), pp. 422–4, naming eight sub-kings; Henry of Huntingdon (B635), p. 322; etc.; but bear in mind that their presentation might be affected by twelfth-century notions of rule thoroughout Britain. Something similar underlies a purported charter of King Edgar (S 808 (BCS 1185)), from Canterbury. The presence of a great fleet at Chester with King Edgar, in 973, is registered in the Welsh annals (B70, B71). For William of Malmesbury's remarks on Edgar, see Mynors, *et al.* (B620), pp. 258–9 and 260–1, and Thompson (B620), pp. 140–1.

For general discussion of the significance of the events at Bath and at Chester, see Lloyd (A64), i.349–50; Stenton (A1), pp. 368–70, on 'delayed' coronation, etc.; John (G140), p. 56–8, on 'delayed' coronation; Fisher (A3), p. 280; Nelson (M65), pp. 63–70 (reptd pp. 296–303); Jones (G141); Hudson (A62), pp. 97–101; Keynes (G5), pp. 481–2; Davies (M26); etc. See also Wormald (G100), p. 32, connecting the choice of Bath with the hot springs which had attracted Charlemagne to Aachen.

The promulgation of the *Regularis Concordia* (G108), the reform of the coinage (?973), and perhaps the promotion of 'Standard Old English' (G206a), should be understood in the same regenerative connection.

[G310.5] J. Manco, 'Saxon Bath: the Legacy of Rome and the Saxon Rebirth', *Bath History* 7 (1998), 27–54

[G311.1] W.H. Stevenson, 'The Great Commendation to King Edgar in 975', *EHR* 13 (1898), 505–7

[G311.2] D. Thornton, 'Edgar and the Eight Kings, AD 973: *Textus et Dramatis Personae*', *EME* 10.1 (2001), 49–79 - establishing the crew's identity and interpreting the event an a 'peace summit'

[G311.3] J. Barrow, 'Chester's Earliest Regatta? Edgar's Dee-Rowing Revisited', *EME* 10.1 (2001), 81–93 - questioning the presumption that the event reflected overlordship

[G311.4] A. Williams, 'An Outing on the Dee: King Edgar at Chester, AD 973', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 14 (2004), 229–43 - conference of the 'Great Powers'

The rowing was one of those events which captured the imagination of Samuel Wale: Keynes (S120), p. 308. For a later illustration, see J.E. Doyle, *A Chronicle of England* (1864), p. 69.

[G314] Death of King Edgar on 8 July 975, and his burial at Glastonbury. A chronicler commemorated the event in verse (*ASC*, MSS ABC), 'of a quality to make one glad that the chroniclers mainly used prose' (Whitelock). See Townend (B69.5).

'After his death the position and prospects of the English suffered a set-back' (WM, *GR*, ii.160). King Edgar's tomb was opened by Abbot Æthelweard, in 1052, and his corpse was found to be incorrupt (WM, *GR*, ii.160, in Mynors, *et al.* (B620) i.260–2 and ii.141).

VIII. THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE MARTYR (975–8)

The reign of Edward the Martyr was characterised by a disputed succession in 975, the so-called 'anti-monastic reaction' thereafter, and his murder at Corfe Castle, in Dorset, on 18 March 978; and the question arises to what extent these matters are related.

The principal source for the disputed succession in 975 is Byrhtferth's 'Life' of St Oswald (B175), in EHD no. 236, p. 914; cf. EHD no. 123. The principal source for the 'anti-monastic reaction' is the ASC, s.a. 975; see also *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi* (B245).

[G320] D.J.V. Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1950–2), 254–70 - interpreting the reaction in the context of the disputed succession

The principal sources for the murder of Edward are ASC, s.a. 978, and Byrhtferth's 'Life' of St Oswald (B175), in EHD no. 236, pp. 914–16; see also the *Passio et miracula S. Edwardi* (Q400), and Goscelin's 'Life of St Edith' (Q390), ch. 18.

On the cult of **St Edward**, see the *Passio et miracula S. Edwardi* (Q400), and:
[G325] C.E. Fell, 'Edward King and Martyr and the Anglo-Saxon Hagiographic Tradition', *Ethelred the Unready*, ed. D. Hill, BAR, Brit. ser. 59 (1978), 1–13
[G326] B. Yorke, 'St Edward, King and Martyr: an Anglo-Saxon Murder Mystery', in Keen (B271a), pp. 99–116
[G327] G. Parlby, 'A King Turns Icon', *BBC History Magazine* 4.3 (March 2003), 36–9 - on the dispute about the bones found at Shaftesbury in 1931
Further discussion: Keynes (J23), pp. 163–74; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 140–75; Wormald (M160), pp. 343–4; Keynes (F91), pp. 48–55.

On the cult of **St Edith** (d. *c.* 984; translated, *c.* 997), at Wilton abbey (B277), see Q390. It was alleged that the throne had been offered to her after Edward's death, and that she turned it down ('Life of Edith', ch. 19).
[G330] B. Yorke, 'The Legitimacy of St Edith', *HSJ* 11 (2003 for 1998), 97–113
[G331] S. Hollis, 'St Edith and the Wilton Community', in Hollis (B276.5), pp. 245–80
Further discussion: Keynes (F91), pp. 47–8.

[G400] M. Hare, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach: an English Monk in Flanders and Upper Lotharingia in the Late Tenth Century', *Anglo-Saxon England* 33 (2004), 109–44

H. THE DANELAW

ASC, s.a. 876: 'And that year Healfdene shared out the land of the Northumbrians, and they proceeded to plough and to support themselves.' ASC, s.a. 877: 'Then in the harvest season the army went away into Mercia and shared out some of it, and gave some to Ceolwulf.' ASC, s.a. 880: 'In this year the army went from Cirencester into East Anglia, and settled there and shared out the land.' ASC, s.a. 896: 'And afterwards in the summer of this year the Danish army divided, one force going into East Anglia and one into Northumbria; and those that were moneyless (*feohlease*) got themselves ships and went south across the sea to the Seine.'

For Scandinavians in the Tees-Tyne area, in the early tenth century, see the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (B220). For Scandinavian settlement in the north-west (including the Wirral), see G20, etc.

Some general reading: Richards (G83); Graham-Campbell (A61.6), pp. 122–42; Keynes (F42), pp. 63–73; Wood (E97), pp. 129–42; James (A12), pp. 234–40.
[H1] G. Fellows Jensen, 'The Vikings in England: a Review', *ASE* 4 (1975), 181–206
[H2] H.R. Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain* (1977)
[H3] *The Vikings in England*, ed. E. Roesdahl, *et al.* (1981) - catalogue of the exhibition in York, with useful short essays on all aspects of the subject
[H4] P. Stafford, 'The Danes and the "Danelaw"', *History Today* 36 (Oct. 1986), 18–23
New Danelaw studies
[H5] *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress, Nottingham and York, 21–30 August 1997*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell, *et al.* (2001) - containing many excellent papers, most of which are registered in this bibliography
[H6] *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 2 (2000) - another excellent collection
[H7] D.M. Hadley, '"Cockle Amongst the Wheat": the Scandinavian Settlement of England', in T42 (2000), pp. 111–35 - clear statement of the case for an 'Anglo-Danish' Danelaw

[H7a] D.M. Hadley, '"And they proceeded to plough and to support themselves": the Scandinavian Settlement of England', *ANS* 19 (1997), 69–96

[H7b] D.M. Hadley, 'In Search of the Vikings: the Problems and the Possibilities of Interdisciplinary Approaches', in H5 (2001), pp. 13–30; D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards, 'Introduction: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Scandinavian Settlement', in H6 (2000), pp. 3–15 - reviewing the evidence

[H7c] D.M. Hadley, '"Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark": Lordship in the Danelaw, c. 860–954', in T6 (2000), pp. 107–32 - on the rulers, as opposed to the settlers

[H8] K. Holman, 'Defining the Danelaw', in H5 (2001), pp. 1–11

[H8a] M. Innes, 'Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism, and Political Allegiance', in H6 (2000), pp. 65–88

[H8b] D.M. Hadley, 'Viking and Native: Re-thinking Identity in the Danelaw', *EME* 11.1 (2002), 45–70

[H9] D.M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure, c. 800–1100*, Studies in the Early History of Britain (2000); see also D.M. Hadley, 'Multiple Estates and the Origins of the Manorial Structure of the Northern Danelaw', *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (1996), 3–15

[H9.5] L. Abrams, 'Edward the Elder's Danelaw', in G14 (2001), pp. 128–43

See also Abrams (G99.85).

The debate about the density of the Scandinavian settlements

[H10] F.M. Stenton, 'The Danes in England' (1927), in T1, pp. 136–65, and F.M. Stenton, 'The Danish Settlement of Eastern England' (1942), in T1, pp. 298–313 - classic statements of the case for a large-scale peasant (or secondary) migration in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, and 'racial cleavage' thereafter

[H12] R.H.C. Davis, 'East Anglia and the Danelaw', *TRHS* 5th ser. 5 (1955), 23–39; reptd with postscript in T14, pp. 15–32 - challenging received wisdom

[H13] P.H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (1962), 2nd ed. (1971), pp. 148–76 - more revisionism

[H14] P.H. Sawyer, *et al.*, 'The Two Viking Ages of Britain: a Discussion', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 2 (1969), 163–207 - 'internal colonization' vs. 'secondary migration'

[H15] P.H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings* (1982), pp. 98–112

[H16] *A New Historical Geography of England before 1600*, ed. H.C. Darby (1976), pp. 16–26

[H17] N. Lund, 'The Settlers: where do we get them from - and do we need them?', *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress*, ed. H. Bekker-Nielsen, *et al.*, Mediaeval Scandinavia Supplements 2 (1981), 147–71, reptd in T43, pp. 121–56 - full of good sense

[H18] P.H. Sawyer, 'Conquest and Colonization: Scandinavians in the Danelaw and in Normandy', as in H17, pp. 123–31 - stresses importance of tenth-century developments

[H19] S. Trafford, 'Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England', in H6 (2000), pp. 17–39

The converson or christianization of the Danelaw

[H20] D. Whitelock, 'The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw', *SBVS* 12 (1941), 159–76 - argues for rapid adoption of Christianity

[H20a] L. Abrams, 'The Conversion of the Danelaw', in H5 (2001), pp. 31–44 – asking what is rapid, and whether in fact revival of ecclesiastical life followed reassertion of English rule

[H20b] L. Abrams, 'Conversion and Assimilation', in H6 (2000), pp. 135–53

[H21] D.M. Hadley, 'Conquest, Colonisation and the Church: Ecclesiastical Organisation in the Danelaw', *Historical Research* 69 (1996), 109–28

[H22] J. Barrow, 'Survival and Mutation: Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in H6 (2000), pp. 155–76

See also Wilson (H52).

The evidence of place- and personal names

For place-names, see the online 'Key to English Place-Names' (B869). The classic map of 'Scandinavian Settlement', with arrows and dots, was first published in Smith (B867), vol. I (1956), in back pocket. General studies: Cameron (B870, B873); Gelling (B871, P109); Wormald, in (A5), pp. 162–3; Clark, in (B521), pp. 482–5.

[H25] K. Cameron, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence, Parts I–III', reptd in *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements*, ed. K. Cameron (1975), pp. 115–38 (-*by* names), 139–56 (-*thorpe* names) and 157–71 ('Grimston hybrids') — influential discussion of main types of place-name bearing on Scandinavian settlement

[H25a] K. Cameron, 'Stenton and Place-Names', *Stenton's 'Anglo-Saxon England' Fifty Years On*, ed. D. Matthew (1994), pp. 31–48, at 41–5

[H26] G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (1968)

[H27] G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire* (1972)
[H28] G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands* (1978)
[H29] G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (1985)
[H30] G. Fellows Jensen, 'Place-Names and Settlement in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Northern History* 14 (1978), 19–46
[H31] G. Fellows Jensen, 'In the Steps of the Vikings', in H5 (2001), pp. 279–98, on the zones of Viking settlement in England; G. Fellows Jensen, 'Place-Name Evidence for Scandinavian Settlement in the Danelaw: a Reassessment', *The Vikings*, ed. T. Andersson and K.I. Sandred (1978), pp. 89–98; G. Fellows Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Danelaw in the Light of the Place-Names of Denmark', as in H17, pp. 133–45; G. Fellows Jensen, 'Scandinavian Names and Words in Europe', in A220, pp. 106–9; G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the British Isles and Normandy: What the Place-Names Reveal', in Adams and Holman (A61.21), pp. 137–47, esp. 142–5
[H31a] G. Fellows Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement Names in East Anglia: Some Problems', *Nomina* 22 (1999), 45–60
[H32] C. Clark, in *Nomina* 3 (1979), 17–18 - for evidence that Vikings did not bring their own women, and soon married (?) English women
[H33] N. Lund, '*Thorp*-Names', *Medieval Settlement*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (1976), pp. 223–5 - argues that Danelaw *thorps* are OE rather than ODan
[H34] *Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress*, ed. J.E. Knirk (1987): G. Fellows Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles', pp. 295–308, and K.I. Sandred, 'The Vikings in Norfolk: Some Observations on the Place-Names in -*by*', pp. 309–24
[H35] J. Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk: a Survey Based on Medieval Records and Place-Names* (1994)
[H36] G. Fellows Jensen, *The Vikings and their Victims: the Verdict of the Names*, Coke Memorial Lecture 1994 (1995)
[H37] L. Abrams and D.N. Parsons, 'Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England', *Land, Sea and Home*, ed. J. Hines, A. Lane and M. Redknap, Soc. for Medieval Archaeol. Monograph 20 (2004), pp. 379–431 - significant review of evidence
For Grimston-hybrids, see Insley (A115). For personal names, see Hadley (H7a), pp. 121–6.

The evidence of language
[H39] M. Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations Between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (2002), with review by M. Barnes, *SBVS* 28 (2004), 129–34; see also M. Townend, 'Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society', in H6 (2000), pp. 89–105
[H40] J. Geipel, *The Viking Legacy: the Scandinavian Influence on the English and Gaelic Languages* (1971)
[H41] R.I. Page, 'How long did the Scandinavian Language survive in England? - the Epigraphical Evidence', in T21, pp. 165–81; D.N. Parsons, 'How long did the Scandinavian Language survive in England? Again', in T5 (2001), pp. 299–312; M.P. Barnes, 'The Scandinavian Languages in the British Isles: the Runic Evidence', in Adams and Holman (A61.21), pp. 121–36, at 131–2
[H42] M. Barnes, 'Norse in the British Isles', *Viking Revaluations*, ed. A. Faulkes and R. Perkins (1993), pp. 65–84, at 67–74
[H43] B.H. Hansen, 'The Historical Significance of the Scandinavian Element in English: a Theoretical Valuation', *Nowele* 4 (1984), 53–95
See also B522; Kastovsky, in B521, pp. 320–36; Hadley (H7), pp. 116–117.

The evidence of archaeology
[H50] D.M. Wilson, 'The Scandinavians in England', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1976), pp. 393–403; D.M. Wilson, 'The Scandinavians in Britain and Ireland', in A220, pp. 96–105; D.M. Wilson, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the North and West of the British Isles - an Archaeological Point-of-View', *TRHS* 5th ser. 26 (1976), 95–113
[H50a] J.D. Richards, 'The Scandinavian Presence', *The Archaeology of Britain*, ed. J. Hunter and I. Ralston (1999), pp. 194–209; J.D. Richards, 'Boundaries and Cult Centres: Viking Burial in Derbyshire', in H5 (2001), pp. 97–104 [Repton, Ingleby]; J.D. Richards, 'Finding the Vikings: the Search for Anglo-Scandinavian Rural Settlement in the Northern Danelaw', in H5 (2001), pp. 269–77; J.D. Richards, 'Identifying Anglo-Scandinavian Settlements', in H6 (2000), pp. 295–309
[H51] G. Halsall, 'The Viking Presence in England? The Burial Evidence Reconsidered', in H6 (2000), pp. 259–76
[H52] D.M. Wilson, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in Northern England', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 30 (1967), 37–46

[H55] J. Graham-Campbell, 'Pagan Scandinavian Burial in the Central and Southern Danelaw', in H5 (2001), pp. 105–23 [Ingleby, etc.]; J. Graham-Campbell, 'Pagans and Christians', *History Today* 36 (Oct. 1986), 24–8
[H55a] K. Leahy and C. Paterson, 'New Light on the Viking Presence in Lincolnshire: the Artefactual Evidence', in H5 (2001), pp. 181–202
[H55b] G. Thomas, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw: Exploring Social and Cultural Interaction', in H6 (2000), pp. 237–55 - on strap-ends
[H56] C. Morris, 'Viking and Native in Northern England: a case-study', as in H17, pp. 223–44; see also C. Morris, 'The Vikings in the British Isles: some Aspects of their Settlement and Economy', *The Vikings*, ed. R.T. Farrell (1982), pp. 70–94, and T. Unwin, 'Towards a Model of Anglo-Scandinavian Rural Settlement in England', in P109, pp. 77–98
For towns in the Danelaw, see Clarke and Ambrosiani (P58), and P87, etc.

The evidence of sculpture
For volumes in the 'Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture', see Lang (B845.3, B845.6), on eastern and northern Yorkshire.
[H57] *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture*, ed. J. Lang, BAR, Brit. ser. 49 (1978), chs. 7–9
[H58] R.N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (1980); see also B845.3, B851
[H58a] D. Stocker and P. Everson, 'Five Towns Funerals: Decoding Diversity in Danelaw Stone Sculpture', in H5 (2001), pp. 223–43 [in the territory of the five boroughs]
[H58b] D. Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century', in H6 (2000), pp. 179–212
[H58c] P. Sidebottom, 'Viking Age Stone Monuments and Social Identity in Derbyshire', in H6 (2000), pp. 213–35
See also Cramp (B845.1), for Durham and Northumberland; Lang (B845), for Eastern Yorkshire; and Everson and Stocker (B845), for Lincolnshire.

The evidence of coinage
See Blackburn (M780, M787), etc.

Anglo-Danish society in the Danelaw
'And it is my will that secular rights (*woruldgerihta*) be maintained among the Danes (*mid Denum*) in accordance with as good laws as they can best choose' (IV Edgar, ch. 2a.1); though it is not clear whether Edgar is here making a concession to the Danes for services rendered, as argued by Lund (H68), or tacitly acknowledging an inability to legislate on their behalf, leaving the problem to his son Æthelred (F42, pp. 72–3). See also Abrams (G99.85).

[H65] Law-codes relating to the Danelaw (texts and translations in B367): IV Edgar, ch. 2a (EHD no. 41); III Æthelred, and cf. I Æthelred (J11); VI Æthelred, ch. 37; II Cnut, chs. 15, 62, 65
[H66] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (1971), pp. 502–25
[H68] N. Lund, 'King Edgar and the Danelaw', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 9 (1976), 181–95
[H69] O. Fenger, 'The Danelaw and Danish Law', *Scandinavian Studies in Law* 16 (1972), 85–96
[H70] A.K.G. Kristensen, 'Danelaw Institutions and Danish Society in the Viking Age: *Sochemanni*, *Liberi Homines* and *Konigsfreie*', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 8 (1975), 27–85
[H71] F.M. Stenton, *The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw* (1969), pp. 1–22
[H72] S. Reynolds, 'What do we mean by "Anglo-Saxon" and "Anglo-Saxons"?', *Journal of British Studies* 24 (1985), 395–414, at 406–13 - plays down 'Danishness' of the Danelaw
[H73] D. Pelteret, 'Slavery in the Danelaw', *Social Approaches to Viking Studies*, ed. R. Samson (1991), pp. 179–88
[H74] C. Neff, 'Scandinavian Elements in the Wantage Code of Æthelred II', *Journal of Legal History* 10 (1989), 285–316
See also Finberg (A33, pp. 467–82), and Williams (K47).

For a twelfth-century conception of the extent of the Danelaw, see the *Libellus de primo Saxonum vel Normannorum adventu* (B645). For conceptions of legal practices in the Danelaw, see *Quadripartitus* (B370) and the *Leges Edwardi* (B373).

Ely abbey and the Anglo-Danish society of Cambridgeshire
[H90] The *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi* (B245) affords a view of Anglo-Danish society in Cambridgeshire in the 970s, and of the place of Ely abbey within that society. Text and translation: Keynes and Kennedy (B245).
Discussion: Fisher (G320), Whitelock (G172), Clark (J51), Kennedy (M171), Abrams (H20a), pp. 38–9.

J. THE REIGN OF KING ÆTHELRED THE UNREADY (978–1016)

ASC, MS. A, s.a. 978: 'In this year King Edward was killed. And in the same year the atheling Æthelred his brother succeeded to the kingdom.'

ASC, MSS. CDE, s.a. 1016: 'Then it happened that King Æthelred died before the ships arrived. He ended his days on St George's Day [23 April], and he had held his kingdom with great toil and difficulties as long as his life lasted.'

The essential primary sources
The main 'literary' sources
[J1.1] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Local (Winchester) annals in MS. A (annals for 990s, and long annal for 1001); and the 'main' account of the reign in MSS. CDE. Text: B42, etc.; Marsden (B516), pp. 61–8 (annals 981–93, 995–8, 1002–3). Translation (all versions): B65, or EHD no. 1; B67; see also Ashdown (J7a). Discussion: Körner (K24), pp. 7–10; Barlow (L10), p. 4; Clark (J40); Keynes (J30), pp. 201–4 (annals for 1001); Keynes (J21.9), on the date of the annals in MSS. CDE; Wilcox (J54); Sheppard (B69.2, J28); etc.

[J1.2] *The Battle of Maldon* (OE poem on the battle fought in 991). Text and translation: B555, J50; Marsden (B516), pp. 251–69. See also Ashdown (J7a). Discussion: Scragg (J50); etc. There is, of course, a large amount of critical literature on this most famous of Old English poems.

[J2.1] The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (B85), for an account of the activities of Swein Forkbeard and Cnut in England 1013–16, representing the view from the Anglo-Danish court, *c*. 1040 (unreliable in points of detail, but important not least because it is seemingly independent of the *Chronicle*)

[J2.2] The tract *De obsessione Dunelmi* (B225), on the siege of Durham in 1006 (when invading Scots were defeated by Uhtred). For the date, see *Annals of Ulster* (B72.5), s.a. 1006. Discussion: Stenton (A1), p. 418; Hudson (A62), pp. 112–13; and esp. Fletcher (N28).

Writers active during the reign of King Æthelred
For the works of Ælfric and Wulfstan, see B560, etc., and G200, etc.

[J3.1] Ælfric of Cerne and Eynsham. On the chronology of Ælfric's works, see Clemoes (G210); Pope (B566.2), I, pp. 146–50; and Godden (B565.2), p. xc–xciv, with more recent discussion in Godden (B565.3), pp. xxix–xxxvi; see also Lees (G214), pp. 86–7. The 'fixed' points are: (i) Ælfric's move from Winchester to Cerne, presumed to be in 987 (B268.5); (ii) the appointment of Sigeric as archbishop of Canterbury in 990, and his death on 28 Oct. 994 [Keynes (J23), pp. 251–2]; (iii) the death of Ealdorman Æthelweard, probably *c*. 998 [not 1002: Clemoes (G210), p. 244, n. 6; Keynes (J23), p. 206, n. 193]; and (iv) Ælfric's appointment as abbot of Eynsham in 1005 (J162.5). Ælfric is presumed to have died *c*. 1010, although the dating is not based on any particularly compelling evidence. **Summary**: 990 x 994: the First and Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* (B565), dedicated to Sigeric. Pre-*c*.998: *Lives of the Saints* (B569.3), and other works written during Æthelweard's lifetime. 993 x 1002 (*c*. 995): letter to Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne (B570). 1002 x 1005: first letter to Archbishop Wulfstan (B572.8). In or after 1005: letter to the monks of Eynsham (B571); letters to Archbishop Wulfstan (B572.8); letter to Sigeweard 'æt Eastheolon' (B572.3); letter to Wulfgeat 'æt Ylmandune' (B572.6); letter to Sigeferth (B572.7). Presumed to be in or after 1005: further homilies (B566.2), and other writings, e.g. *Wyrdwriteras* (B566.5). The **question** for a historian is how Ælfric's perception of the viking raids developed, as the pressure intensified during the 990s and into the opening decade of the eleventh century. **Discussion** (in historical context): Godden (J47.4); Clayton (J48); Keynes (Q89); Keynes (J162.5).

[J3.2] Wulfstan, Archbishop of York. Attention is focussed on his *Sermo ad Anglos* (? x 1014). Text and translation: B576. Discussion: Bethurum (G215); Hollis (J45); Orchard (J46); Godden (J47.4); Wilcox (J49.6, J49.7); Keynes (J22.6); etc. For law-codes drafted by Archbishop Wulfstan, beween 1008 and 1014, see below (J11).

[J3.3] Byrhtferth of Ramsey. *Vita S. Oswaldi* (B175), bk V, chs. 4–5, on the resumption of viking raids, and the death of Byrhtnoth at the battle of Maldon, reflecting a positive attitude to King Æthelred (*c*. 1000). Translation: Lapidge (B176); see also Lapidge, in Scragg (J50), pp. 51–8. For his *Enchiridion*, written in 1011, see Baker and Lapidge (B590).

[J4] Other texts which originated during Æthelred's reign: Ealdorman Æthelweard's chronicle (B56); and the first *Lives* of Æthelwold (B170) and Dunstan (B165). For the prose translation of the Gospels, see Liuzza (B578); for the tract on the resting-places of saints, see Liebermann (B596); for the colloquies of Ælfric Bata, see Gwara and Porter (B597).

The view from the continent
'Continental' accounts of the viking raids and invasions in the early eleventh century.

[J5] (i) **Thietmar of Merseburg** (B615), for the death of Archbishop Ælfheah in 1012, etc. (ii) **Adam of Bremen** (B616), for Swein Forkbeard; (iii) **William of Jumièges**, v.4–9, ed. van Houts (R45), II, pp. 10–22, for Æthelred and Normandy.

The view from Scandinavia

[J6] Skaldic verse bearing on viking activity in England in 1009–12 and 1015–16. The standard form of access to the corpus of skaldic verse is now online (B670.2), pending the appearance of the new corpus (B670.1). The most interesting poems are: (i) Sigvatr Thórtharson's *Víkingarvísur* [EHD no. 12, and Fell (J81)], and Óttarr svarti's *Höfuthlausn* [EHD no. 13], for the exploits of Óláfr Haraldsson in 1009–12 (with Thorkell's army) and 1014 (with King Æthelred); (ii) Thórthr Kolbeinsson's *Eiríksdrápa* [EHD no. 14], for Eiríkr Hákonarson's involvement in Cnut's conquest of England in 1015–16; (iii) Óttarr svarti's *Knútsdrápa* [EHD no. 15, and Poole (J80)], for Cnut's conquest of England in 1015–16; and (iv) *Lithsmannaflokkr*, for the siege of London in 1016 [Poole (J80)]. Discussion: Ashdown (J7a); Campbell (B670.5); Jesch (B670.6); Jesch (J103); Poole (J80); etc.

[J7] Later Scandinavian traditions. (i) Danish historiography: Sven Aggeson (B685) and Saxo Grammaticus (B690). (ii) West Norse tradition: B674 (synoptics and compendia); B675a (Óláfr Tryggvasonr), B676–80 (various Icelandic sagas). For discussion of their historical value, see Fjalldal (B673.5), esp. pp. 36–51.

[J7a] M. Ashdown, *English and Norse Documents Relating to the Reign of Ethelred the Unready* (1930) - contains text and translation of relevant Norse sagas and scaldic verses, as well as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *Battle of Maldon*

Anglo-Norman historians on the reign of King Æthelred

The works of the major historians are now available in modern editions, and are ripe for further historiographical analysis.

[J9.1] Eadmer of Canterbury (Q258) seems to have set the ball rolling, with his *Historia novorum in Anglia* (B619)

[J9.2] Florence or **John of Worcester** (B630), pp. 428–84, retaining an annalistic framework, and with some additional details from 'Worcester' tradition

[J9.3] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (B620), pp. 268–78 and 300–14, for the classic indictment of the indolent king; *Gesta Pontificum* (B625), ch. 21, trans. Preest, pp. 23–4; and *Vita S. Dunstani* (B167), pp. 268–74

[J9.4] Henry of Huntingdon (B635), pp. 326–30 and 338–56. Discussion: Keynes (J21.9).

The evidence of charters, law-codes, and coins

[J10] Charters. For a complete list of Æthelred's charters, see Sawyer (B320), nos. 833–946; texts are on the website at B330. For a selection in translation, see EHD nos. 117–21, 123–4 and 127. Nos. 118 (fighting), 119 (pig-stealing), 120 (on the crimes of Wulfbald, representing repeated defiance of royal authority), 121 (treachery), and 123 (treason, etc.) are held to illustrate the lawlessness characteristic of Æthelred's reign and the weakness characteristic of his regime; cf. J31. No. 127 relates to the implementation of the massacre of St Brice's Day (13 November) 1002. Discussion: J31, J61.

[J11] Law-codes. Text and translation: Robertson (B367). Selection also in EHD. The basic distinction is between the 'early' codes (pre *c.* 1000) and the 'later' codes (drafted by Archbishop Wulfstan). The 'early' codes: *II Æthelred* (EHD no. 42) is a treaty with the Viking army (994); *III Æthelred* (EHD no. 43) is legislation for a part of the Danelaw, promulgated at Wantage (?997), to be compared with *I Æthelred*, promulgated at Woodstock, for 'English' England. The 'Wulfstan' codes: *V Æthelred* (EHD no. 44) is a version of the Enham code of 1008, drafted by Archbishop Wulfstan, to be compared with *VI Æthelred*; *VII Æthelred* (EHD no. 45), also in Wulfstan's style, is a programme for public prayer promulgated at Bath in 1009, in response to the viking invasion of that year; *VIII Æthelred* (EHD no. 46), also in Wulfstan's style, is part of the legislation promulgated soon after the king's return to England in 1014; *IX* and *X Æthelred* are fragments of two more codes in Wulfstan's style. *IV Æthelred* is important for trade in London, and for the coinage, but is not certainly Æthelredian. Discussion: J31, and esp. Wormald (J66).

[J12] Coinage. For further guidance on Æthelred's coinage, see (M860), etc. For the evidence (incidence) of hoards, see Blackburn and Pagan (M595), and Allen (M1035). For the *Agnus Dei* coinage, see J166.

The (lost) Byrhtnoth embroidery

[J12.5] A 'hanging' said to depict events in the life of Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, presumably culminating with his death at the battle of Maldon in 991, was given by his widow Ælfflæd to Ely Abbey. For further discussion, see Keynes (Q148), p. 28, with n. 128 and references.

Papal letters

[J13] Letter of Pope John XV, on King Æthelred's relations with Normandy (991). Text: Stubbs (B165.5), pp. 397–8. Translation: EHD no. 230. Further discussion: see J149.

[J14] Letter of a Pope John (XIV–XVIII), on the 'greedy cupidity' of a certain Ealdorman Ælfric towards Glastonbury abbey: EHD no. 231, with J23, p. 182 n. 104

Scandinavian artifacts

[J15] The St Paul's rune-stone (J84.4)

[J16] Weapons, etc., from London: see Shetelig (B702), IV, pp. 77–92, including the evocative collection of battle-axes, spear-heads, and a grappling-iron, found near Old London Bridge (Fig. 44); see also R.E.M. Wheeler, *London and the Vikings* (1927), pp. 18–23, with Fig. 1, and A5, p. 165.

[J17] Rune-stones from Scandinavia. For Swedish, Danish and Norwegian rune-stones bearing on the activities of Scandinavians in England, see B700, etc., and esp. Syrett (J84.5). Three which refer to payments of geld are illustrated in Scragg (J50), pp. 96 (Väsby), 97 (Lingsberg), and 118 (Yttergärde); see also p. 126 (Kålsta). One from Evje, Galteland, in Norway, refers to Cnut's invasion of England ((B707.5), pp. 96–9). Discussion: Jansson (J84.2), Syrett (J84.5), etc.

[J18] Silver necklace from Åspinge, Skåne, Sweden, constructed from ten pennies of King Æthelred (*Long Cross*, *Helmet*, *Last Small Cross* types). Graham-Campbell (B703), no. 156, with Fig. 156 (showing reverses of coins); Graham-Campbell and Kidd (A215), Fig. 55 (showing obverses of coins). Cf. Keynes (F42), p. 63, with wrong picture.

Some general reading

The conventional (negative) view of Æthelred is founded upon the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (J1) and the Anglo-Norman historians (J9). In the 18th century the line was developed by (e.g.) Rapin de Thoyras (S70a), Hume (S70b), and Sharon Turner (S72). A gloriously vitriolic account of Æthelred, first published in 1867, is to be found in E. A. Freeman's *Norman Conquest* (R10), vol. I, pp. 258–397. For more of the same, s. xix/xx, see Ramsay (S89), Hodgkin (S94), and Oman (S94a).

There are (as always) some valuable notes in Freeman's vol. I, pp. 621–73, covering: leading men in England at the death of King Edgar; election of Edward the Martyr; the two Ælfrics; treaty with Olaf and Justin; relations of Æthelred with Normandy; Æthelred's invasion of Cumberland; the massacre of St Brice; Ulfcytel of East Anglia; the rise of Eadric; the succession of the Northumbrian earls; the assessment of 1008; Wulfnoth of Sussex; Thurkill the Dane; Wulfric Spot; the taking of Canterbury and the martyrdom of Ælfheah; kingship and death of Swein; the Sermo of Wulfstan or Lupus; and the children of Æthelred'; followed by extensive notes on Cnut and Edmund, pp. 673–98.

Modern accounts

[J20] F.M. **Stenton**, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (1971), pp. 372–93 (+ 394)

[J21] *Ethelred the Unready*, ed. D. Hill, BAR Brit. ser. 59 (1978) - collection of papers, from a conference held in 1978 to commemorate the millennium of the king's accession in 978

[J21.3] J. Campbell, 'England, France, Flanders and Germany: some Comparisons and Connections', in J21, pp. 255–70, reptd in T9, pp. 191–207

[J21.5] P. Stafford, 'The Reign of Æthelred II: a Study in the Limitations on Royal Policy and Action', in J21, pp. 15–46, reptd in T70 (IV); see also Stafford (A8), pp. 57–68

[J21.7] N.P. Brooks, 'Arms, Status and Warfare in Late-Saxon England', in J21, pp. 81–104, reptd in T58, pp. 138–61 - on rates of heriot in the early eleventh century

[J21.9] S. Keynes, 'The Declining Reputation of King Æthelred the Unready', in J21, pp. 227–53, esp. 229–36, reptd (with updated annotation) in T43, pp. 157–90
See also Wormald (J66); Dolley (M865).

[J22] S. Keynes, 'Æthelred the Unready', in *ODNB* (A150), vol. I, pp. 409–19; also published online

[J22.5] S. Keynes, 'Re-Reading King Æthelred the Unready', in Bates (T113), pp. 77–97, focusing on the period 991–1005, with discussion of King Æthelred's charter for Abingdon Abbey (S 876), pp. 90–3

[J22.6] S. Keynes, '"God Help Us": Thorkell's Army in England (1009–12)', forthcoming - discussion of *VII Æthelred*, and the *Agnus Dei* coinage (J166), with a reconsideration of the date of Wulfstan's *Sermo ad Anglos* ('1014', or perhaps 1009–12)

[J23] S. **Keynes**, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016* (1980), reprinted in paperback (2005). The tables included in 1980 edition have been superseded by B331; accordingly, they are not included in the 2005 reprint. For discussion of the framework for the reign, based on analysis of charters (pp. 163–228), see Keynes (J22) and (J22.5).

[J24] M. Wood, *In Search of the Dark Ages* (1981), pp. 177–203 (on King Æthelred)

[J25] E. John, 'The Return of the Vikings', in A5, pp. 192–213, esp. 193–201

[J25.5] J. Whybra, *A Lost English County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (1990), pp. 114–25 ('England in the Early Eleventh Century and the Demise of Winchcobeshire'), on the impact of the viking raids, and on the role of Eadric Streona

[J26] S. Keynes, 'The Historical Context of the Battle of Maldon', in (J50), pp. 81–113; for a survey of the viking raids during the reign of Æthelred, see also Keynes (F42), pp. 73–82

[J27] A. **Williams**, *Æthelred the Unready: the Ill-Counselled King* (2003); see also A. Williams, 'The Ill-Counselled King', in (A19), pp. 107–22

[J27.5] J. Damon, 'Advisors for Peace in the Reign of Æthelred Unræd' (2000), in T101, pp. 57–78, on the inception of the payments of *gafol* in the early 990s

[J27.6] J. Damon, 'Sanctifying Anglo-Saxon Ealdormen: Lay Sainthood and the Rise of the Crusading Ideal' (2002), in T102, pp. 185–209, covering Byrhtnoth, Æthelwine (of East Anglia), Æthelweard (of Wessex), Leofric (of Mercia), and Waltheof

[J28] A. Sheppard, 'Noble Counsel, No Counsel: Advising Ethelred the Unready' (2002), in T102, pp. 393–422; see also Sheppard (B69.2)

[J29] R. Lavelle, *Aethelred II King of the English 978–1016* (2002)

[J29.5] I. Howard, *Swein Forkbeard's Invasions and the Danish Conquest of England, 991–1017* (2003)

[J29.6] P. Hill, *The Road to Hastings: the Politics of Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (2005) [second volume in a trilogy; see also G74.5 and S13c], covering the period 978–1066

See also Lawson (K28), pp. 9–48; James (A12), pp. 261–2. For further discussion of the reign from the viewpoint of the military historian, see Abels (M119).

[J30] S. Keynes, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready', *TRHS* 5th ser. 36 (1986), 195–217, esp. 201–4 (*ASC*) and 211–17 (Æthelred and Eadric Streona); and for further discussion, see Abels (M119)

[J31] S. Keynes, 'Crime and Punishment in the Reign of Æthelred the Unready', in (T26), pp. 67–81, for discussion of the evidence of law-codes (J11) and charters (J10)

[J32] *Anglo-Scandinavian England*, ed. J. Niles and M. Amodio (= *Scandinavian Studies* 59 (1987)), re-issued (1989): T.M. Andersson, 'The Viking Policy of Ethelred the Unready', pp. 284–95; P.R. Brown, 'The Viking Policy of Ethelred: a Response', pp. 296–8; P. Sawyer, 'Ethelred II, Olaf Tryggvason, and the Conversion of Norway', pp. 299–307

[J33] J. Campbell, 'England *c.* 991', in (J52), pp. 1–17; reptd in (T66), pp. 157–78

[J34] A. Williams, 'Britain AD 1000', *History Today* 50.3 (March 2000), 35–41;

[J34.5] *Europe around the Year 1000*, ed. P. Urbanczyk (Warsaw, 2001)

[J34.6] S. Keynes, 'Apocalypse Then: England AD 1000', in Urbanczyk (J34.5), pp. 247–70

[J34.9] D. Bates, 'England around the Year 1000', *Hommes et sociétés dans l'Europe de l'An Mil*, ed. P. Bonnessie and P. Toubert (2004), 101–12; D. Bates, 'Britain and France and the Year 1000', *Franco-British Studies* 28 (1999), 5–22

[J35] J. Mann, *Atlas of the Year 1000* (1999, pb), pp. 32–65, on the different parts of Europe, including 'The Viking Heartland', 'England: a Nation on its Knees', 'The Celtic World', 'France: Powerful Dukes, an Embattled King', 'Viking + Greek = Russian Orthodox', and 'Otto III's Teenage Dreams of Imperial Grandeur', etc. (Jews, Hungary, Byzantium) - with attractive and instructive maps

[J36.3] R. Eales and R. Gameson, *Vikings, Monks and the Millennium: Canterbury about 1000 A.D.* (2000), comprising Eales, 'Politics and Society in Canterbury around 1000 A.D.", pp. 1–13, and Gameson, 'Books, Culture, and the Church in Canterbury around the Millennium', pp. 15–41, with excellent pictures

[J36.5] C. Insley, 'Politics, Conflict and Kinship in Early Eleventh-Century Mercia', *Midlands History* 25 (2000), 28–42 - on tension between families of Ælfhelm and Eadric

See also Fleming (R322), on collapse in relations between king and aristocracy. For political executions, see Gillingham, in R185, pp. 38–9. For military failure, see Abels (M119). For scholarly activity during the reign, see Stafford (G143), and G200 etc.; and for manuscript production during the reign, see, e.g., A205 and J36.3. For England and Wales, see Thornton (G296). For England and Scotland, see Meehan (G305).

Apocalypse Now and Then
For apocalyptic thoughts in 601, from one in a good position to know, see Pope Gregory's letter to King Æthelberht (Bede, *HE* i.32); and for consciousness of the impending end in 971, during the reign of King Edgar, see one of the Blicking homilies (B563). It was, indeed, a commonplace of Christian teaching that the 'Sixth Age' of the world extended from the Nativity to the coming of Antichrist, which would be a period of 999 or 1000 years (see, e.g., Rev. XX.7, and the tract on the Six Ages of the World, in Birch (B450), pp. 81–3, with commentary and further references in Keynes (B450), p. 99); and of course there was much to learn about impending events from the Bible, e.g. from Matthew XXIV–XXV and from the Book of the Revelation of St John.

[J37] Rodulfus Glaber: *The Five Books of the Histories.* Text and translation: France (B614). See also France (B614), pp. lxiii–lxx, 94, 170, etc., and Index s.v. millennium - for the view from Burgundy. On the rebuilding of churches from 1003, and cult of relics in the eleventh century, see also Head (Q227), pp. 273–94.

[J37.1] T. Reuter, 'Introduction: Sherborne and the Millennium', in Barker *et al.* (B270.5), pp. 1–9 - excellent survey of wider dimensions of the millennium

[J37a] H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past and Present* 46 (1970), 42–67; *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. T. Head and R. Landes (1992), esp. pp. 170–1; R. Landes, 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern', *Speculum* 75 (2000), 97–145; see also Mann (J35), pp. 48–51, on the 'Peace of God'

[J37b] *Le siècle de l'an mil, 950–1050*, ed. L. Grodecki, *et al.* (1973), covering architecture (L. Grodecki), manuscript illumination (F. Müterich and F. Wormald), and other objects (J. Taralon), on the continent and in England, with superb illustrations, plus apparatus

[J37c] H. Stahl, 'Eve's Reach: a Note on Dramatic Elements in the Hildesheim Doors', *Reading Medieval Images: the Art Historian and the Object*, ed. E. Sears and T.K. Thomas (2002), 163–75 - on the bronze doors at Hildesheim

[J37d] R. Perkins, 'Medieval Norse Visits to America: Millennial Stocktaking', *SBVS* 28 (2004), 29–69

Viking invasions were readily identified as one of the signs which preceded the Day of Judgement (Hollis (J45); Keynes (J21.9); etc.); and there might well have been some expectation, therefore, that cosmic closure would occur in the 990s. For the millennium in charters, see Bethurum (B575), pp. 280–1, and Keynes (J23), pp. 109–10 and 122 n. 125; but there is little in the corpus of vernacular wills (B357). For accounts of the 'Last Days', in connection with the year 1000, or not, as the case may be, see Plummer (B20), ii.62, and Bethurum (B575), pp. 278–82. Needless to say, the theme of impending doom lost none of its force after 1000.

This was also the heyday of Ælfric (at Cerne, and from 1005 at Eynsham) and Wulfstan (at London, and from 1002 at Worcester and York). For an enlightening discussion of Ælfric and Wulfstan, in this context, see Godden (J47.4, J47.5); see also Godden on Judith, in A51.2, pp. 219–20, and Lees (G214). For Ælfric's homily *De die judicii*, see Pope (B566.2), II, no. xviii (probably composed after 1000).

[J38] M.McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (1977), esp. pp. 77–84 (Ælfric) and 105–16 (Wulfstan); J.B. Trahern, 'Fatalism and the Millennium', in A51.2, pp. 160–71, esp. pp. 166–8; L. Carruthers, 'Apocalypse Now: Preaching and Prophecy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Études Anglaises* 51 (1998), 399–410; Z.P. Thundy, *Millennium: Apocalypse and Antichrist and Old English Monsters c. 1000 A.D.* (1998), pp. 137–54; E. Duncan, 'Fears of the Apocalypse: the Anglo-Saxons and the Coming of the First Millennium', *Religion and Literature* 31 (1999), 15–23 and 79–80

[J39] J. Hill, 'Ælfric and Wulfstan: Two Views of the Millennium', in T46 (2000), pp. 213–35
See also Sisam (B524), p. 169, n. 1; Wormald (M160), pp. 451–5; Cavill (A61.21), pp. 185–209.

Commentary on the sources

For detailed discussion of the evidence of coinage, see below (M400), etc.; but for the (more 'historical') debate on the 'Danegeld', see below (J87), etc.

The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' (B42, etc.)

[J40] C. Clark, 'The Narrative Mode of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* before the Conquest', in T21, pp. 215–35, at 224–30, reptd in T51, pp. 3–19

[J41] T.D. Hill, '"When the Leader is Brave …": an Old English Proverb and its Vernacular Context', *Anglia* 119 (2001), 232–6 - cf. *ASC*, s.a. 1003

[J42] C.R. Hart, *Chronicles of the Reign of Æthelred the Unready: an Edition and Translation of the Old English and Latin Annals*, Early Chronicles of England 1 (2006)

[J42.5] M. Gardiner and R. Coates, 'Ellingsdean, a Viking Battlefield Identified', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 125 (1987), 251–2 - on *Æthelingadene*, named in ASC MS. A, s.a. 1001, as the site of a battle with the Danes, identified as Ellingsdean, being the name of a rabbit warren in Binderton, West Sussex, near West Dean, north of Chichester
See also Keynes (J21.9), Wilcox (J54), Sheppard (B69.2, J28).

Ealdorman Æthelweard (B56, B569.3, B569.5)

Active in the 990s. See Winterbottom (G225), van Houts (G226), Lutz (G227).

[J43] R.I. Page, *'A Most Vile People': Early English Historians on the Vikings*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture 1986 (1987)
See also Wormald's account of Æthelweard in the *ODNB* (A150).

The poetic codices (including the 'Beowulf' manuscript)

The four 'great' poetic codices (the Exeter Book, the *Beowulf* manuscript, the Cædmon manuscript, and the Vercelli Book: described by Ker (B800), nos. 116, 216, 334 and 394) are conventionally dated 's.x.2' or 's.x/xi', suggesting that they might have originated in Æthelred's reign; so the question arises whether the contents of any one or more of them can or should be understood in that context.

[J44.1] W.G. Busse and R. Holtei, '*Beowulf* and the Tenth Century', *BJRL* 63 (1981), 285–329 - with an account of Æthelred's kingship (pp. 305–28) as an indication of *Beowulf*'s 'transferability to the socio-political conditions which define the communication situation'

[J44.5] K. Powell, 'Meditating on Men and Monsters: a Reconsideration of the Thematic Unity of the Beowulf Manuscript', *Review of English Studies* 57 (2006), 1–15 - suggesting that the contents of the manuscript (including the OE poem *Judith*) were appropriate to conditions prevailing in Æthelred's reign

Ælfric and Wulfstan   (B564, etc.; B573, etc.)

See Godden's account of Ælfric, and Wormald's account of Wulfstan, in the *ODNB* (A150). General guidance on Ælfric: see Reinsma (B563.5). General guidance on Wulfstan: see Greenfield and Robinson (A78), pp. 381–3; see also Gatch (J38) and Hill (J39). Essential reading on Wulfstan: Townend (G216).

For the significance of the Millennium, see (J88), etc.

[J45] S. Hollis, 'The Thematic Structure of the *Sermo Lupi*', *ASE* 6 (1977), 175–95; A. Cowen, '*Byrstas* and *bysmeras*: the Wounds of Sin in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*', in Townend (G216), pp. 397–411

[J46] A.P.McD. Orchard, 'Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *ASE* 21 (1992), 239–64; see also Lees (G214), esp. pp. 101–5

[J47.3] M. Godden, 'Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles', *Leeds Studies in English* 16 (1985), pp. 83–100, esp. 92–6 (Ælfric's response to troubles in the 990s)

[J47.4] M. Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies presented to E.G. Stanley*, ed. M. Godden, *et al.* (1994), pp. 130–62, on Ælfric and Wulfstan

[J47.5] M. Godden, 'The Relations of Wulfstan and Ælfric: a Reassessment', in Townend (G216), pp. 353–74

[J48] M. Clayton, 'Ælfric and Æthelred', in T46 (2000), pp. 65–88, for Ælfric's apparent attitude to the kingship of Æthelred; see also Lees (G214), esp. pp. 98–101

[J49.1] J.W. Earl, 'Violence and Non-Violence in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric's "Passion of St. Edmund", *Philological Quarterly* 78 (1999), 125–49 - on why Ælfric toned down Abbo's account of Edmund's death, and on his attitude of non-violence to vikings in general

[J49.2] H. Magennis, 'Warrior Saints, Warfare and the Hagiography of Ælfric of Eynsham', *Traditio* 56 (2001), 27–51

[J49.5] J. Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: the Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', in Hicks (T28.5), pp. 199–217; and for Wulfstan manuscripts, see also Wilcox (B814)

[J49.6] J. Wilcox, 'The Wolf on Shepherds: Wulfstan, Bishops, and the Context of the Sermo Lupi ad Anglos', in T45 (2000), pp. 395–418

[J49.7] J. Wilcox, 'Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as Political Performance: 16 February 1014 and Beyond', in Townend (G216), pp. 375–96 - 16 Feb. 1014, at York, on the occasion of the consecration of Ælfwig as bishop of London (*ASC*, MS. D, s.a. 1014)

For Ælfric's *Wyrdwriteras*, see (B566.5). For Wulfstan as legislator, see Whitelock (K35), Wormald (J66), Wormald (K39a), Wormald (M160), etc. On the significance of Wulfstan's use of the migration myth, following Alcuin, see Howe (C88).

For early instances of the use of Wulfstan's *Sermo ad Anglos* as an indictment of the state of affairs in Æthelred's reign, see Turner (S72), vol. II, pp. 277–8, and Freeman (R10), vol. I, pp. 367–8 and 667–9 (Note RR). For further discussion of the date of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, see Keynes (J22.6).

The 'Battle of Maldon'   (B555)

The literature on *Maldon* is, of course, enormous. For general guidance, see Greenfield and Robinson (A78), pp. 121–4; supplemented by the annual bibliographies published in *OEN* (A73a, A74) and *ASE* (A73b). Entry on *Battle of Maldon* in A100.

[J50] *The Battle of Maldon, A.D. 991*, ed. D. Scragg (1991) - collection of essays on different aspects of the poem and battle, with text and translation of the poem itself, and of other more or less contemporary accounts of the battle

[J50.1] D. Scragg, *The Return of the Vikings: the Battle of Maldon 991* (2006)

[J50.5] H. Gneuss, 'Die Battle of Maldon als historisches und literarisches Zeugnis' (1976), and '*The Battle of Maldon* 89: Byrhtnoth's *ofermod* Once Again' (1976), both reptd in T56, nos. IX–X

[J51] C. Clark, 'On Dating *The Battle of Maldon*: certain Evidence Reviewed', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 27 (1983), 1–22, reptd in T51, pp. 20–36; see also E.R. Anderson, 'The *Battle of Maldon*: a Reappraisal of Possible Sources, Date, and Theme', *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature*, ed. P.R. Brown, *et al.* (1986), pp. 247–72

[J51a] A. Williams, 'The Battle of Maldon and "The Battle of Maldon": History, Poetry and Propaganda', *Medieval History* 2 (1992), 35–44

[J52] *The Battle of Maldon: Fiction and Fact*, ed. J. Cooper (1993) - collection of essays from the Maldon conference in 1991. Includes P. Sawyer, 'The Scandinavian Background', pp. 33–42; K. Leyser, 'Early Medieval Warfare', pp. 87–108; N. Lund, 'Danish Military Organisation', pp. 109–26

[J53] J.D. Niles, 'Maldon and Mythopoesis', *Mediaevalia* 17 (1994 for 1991), 89–121; E.I. Condren, 'From Politics to Poetry: Ambivalent Ethics in *The Battle of Maldon*', pp. 53–66; J.M. Hill, 'Transcendental Loyalty in the "Battle of Maldon"', pp. 67–88; and other papers in the same volume (cf. *OEN* 29.2 (1996), 34–5)

[J54] J. Wilcox, '*The Battle of Maldon* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 979–1016: a Winning Combination', *Proceedings of the Medieval Association of the Midwest* 3 (1995), 31–50

[J55] T.D. Hill, 'The *Liber Eliensis* "Historical Selections" and the Old English *Battle of Maldon*', *JEGP* 96 (1997), 1–12

[J56] P. Pulsiano, '"Danish Men's Words are Worse than Murder": Viking Guile and *The Battle of Maldon*', *JEGP* 96 (1997), 13–25

See also Hart (G92), pp. 73–6, expanded and developed in (T17), pp. 533–51.

King Æthelred's charters   (J10)

[J60] F.M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (1955), pp. 74–82; see also EHD, p. 345 (in 1st ed.) or p. 379 (in 2nd ed.)

[J61] S. Keynes, in J23, pp. 84–153, esp. 126–53, and pp. 186 and 200–2; Keynes (J31), on charters as evidence of lawlessness and treachery

[J62] P. Stafford, 'Political Ideas in Late Tenth-Century England: Charters as Evidence', *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. P. Stafford, *et al.* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 68–82, reptd in T70 (VII) - excellent discussion of the charters issued in the 990s

King Æthelred's legislation   (J11)

[J65] H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *Law and Legislation from Æthelberht to Magna Carta* (1966) [a book which seems not to have met with the approval of Sir Frank Stenton (A1, p. 723)], pp. 24–7, for classic rude remarks about Æthelred's legislation

[J66] P. Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', in J21, pp. 47–80 - an excellent analysis, developing lines which are pursued further in Wormald (M160), pp. 320–45

For *II Æthelred*, see J32 and J157. For *VII Æthelred* and the 'Agnus Dei' coinage, see J22.6, etc. For Wulfstan's continued role as legislator during the reign of King Cnut, see Whitelock (K35), and Wormald (M160).

Skaldic verse and the Danish invasions   (J6)

For skaldic verse on Olaf Haraldsson's involvement in the viking raids of 1009–12, and in the restoration of King Æthelred in 1014, see (J167.8). On knowledge of all such events in 13th-century Iceland, see Fjalldal (B673.5), esp. pp. 36–51.

[J80] R. Poole, 'Skaldic Verse and Anglo-Saxon History: Some Aspects of the Period 1009–1016', *Speculum* 62 (1987), 265–98 - includes text, trans., and discussion of *Knútsdrápa* and of *Lithsmannaflokkr*; see also R.G. Poole, *Viking Poems on War and Death*, Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations 8 (1991)

[J81] C. Fell, 'Víkingarvísur', *Speculum Norroenum*, ed. U. Dronke, *et al.* (1981), pp. 106–22 - text, trans., and discussion of the verses by Sigvatr Thórtharson

[J82] R. Frank, 'King Cnut in the Verse of his Skalds', in K27, pp. 106–24

[J83] M. Townend, *English Place-Names in Skaldic Verse*, EPNS Extra ser. 1 (1998), pp. 38–42, on the battle of Ringmere (1010)

[J83.5] M. Townend, 'Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*: Skaldic Praise-Poetry at the Court of Cnut', *ASE* 30 (2001), 145–79, at 151–62 - essential reading

[J83.6] M. Townend, '"Like Father, like son": *Glælognskvitha* and the Anglo-Danish Cult of Saints', *Scandinavian and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Simek and J. Meurer (2003), 471–82

[J83.7] J. Jesch, 'Knútr in Poetry and History', *International Scandinavian and Medieval Studies in Memory of Gerd Wolfgang Weber*, ed. M. Dallapiazza, *et al.* (2000), pp. 243–56

For skaldic verse produced in England, see Jesch (B670.6). See also Jesch (J103).

Scandinavian artifacts (rune-stones) (J15, etc.)

[J84.1] G. Stephens, 'Some Account of Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions which speak of Knut the Great', *Archaeologia* 43 (1871), 97–117, with line drawings

[J84.2] S.B.F. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England: the Evidence of the Rune Stones*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture 1965 (1966)

[J84.3] B. Sawyer, 'Viking-Age Rune-Stones as a Crisis Symptom', *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 24.2 (1991), 97–112; B. Sawyer, *Property and Inheritance in Viking Scandinavia: the Runic Evidence* (1988); and esp. Sawyer (B708)

[J84.4] The St Paul's rune-stone ('Ginna and Toki had this stone set up'), found in 1852 at St Paul's, London. Graham-Campbell (B703), p. 148 (no. 499); for another illustration, see Campbell (A5), p. 209. Discussion: Barnes and Page (B709), pp. 285–8; K. Holman, 'Scandinavian Runic Inscriptions as a Source for the History of the British Isles: the St Paul's Rune Stone', *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung*, ed. K. Düwel (1998), pp. 629–38; see also Holman (B709.5)

[J84.45] B. Nilsson, 'Vikings Deceased in England - Commemorated by Whom? Runic Memorials in Sweden', *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Hill and M. Swann (1998), pp. 379–90

[J84.5] M. Syrett, *The Vikings in England: the Evidence of Runic Inscriptions*, ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies 4 (2002) - complete corpus of Scandinavian runic inscriptions relating to men who were active in England or more generally in the 'west', with maps and plates showing several of the inscriptions themselves; see also Jesch (J103), pp. 70–7

The debate on the 'Danegeld'

The essential distinction is between *gafol* (tribute, paid 991–1012, and in 1016–18) and *heregeld* (army-tax, levied annually 1012–51). The *heregeld* was known also as Danegeld, but this term came subsequently to be applied to the payments of tribute, with confusing results. See Keynes (J23), pp. 202–3, and entry on *Heregeld* in A100.

[J87] M.K. Lawson, 'The Collection of Danegeld and Heregeld in the Reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut', *EHR* 99 (1984), 721–38; J. Gillingham, '"The Most Precious Jewel in the English Crown": Levels of Danegeld and Heregeld in the Early Eleventh Century', *EHR* 104 (1989), 373–84; M.K. Lawson, '"Those Stories Look True": Levels of Taxation in the Reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut', *EHR* 104 (1989), 385–406; J. Gillingham, 'Chronicles and Coins as Evidence for Levels of Tribute and Taxation in Late Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century England', *EHR* 105 (1990), 939–50; M.K. Lawson, 'Danegeld and Heregeld Once More', *EHR* 105 (1990), 951–61.

[J88] D.M. Metcalf, 'Large Danegelds in Relation to War and Kingship. Their Implications for Monetary History, and Some Numismatic Evidence', *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. S. Hawkes (1989), pp. 179–89; D.M. Metcalf, 'Can We Believe the Very Large Figure of £72,000 for the Geld Levied by Cnut in 1018?', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. K. Jonsson (1990), pp. 165–76

See also Blackburn (M867), and Wickham (A29), p. 150 (taxation). For the payment of tribute in the seventh century, see Bede, *HE* iii.24. On payments made in the ninth century, see Coupland (F41). On the strategy in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, see Damon (J27.5).

ÆTHELRED'S ADVERSARIES

For bibliographical guidance on the Scandinavians or Vikings in general, at home and at large, see Syrett (A77). For books on the Vikings, see Sawyer (A61.1), Jones (A61.2), Foote and Wilson (A61.3), the *Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (A61.7), and many others. The series of viking exhibition catalogues (A215, A220, A221) are especially instructive. For Scandinavian sources of various kinds, see B669, etc. On the knowledge of these events in 13th-century Iceland, see Fjalldal (B673.5), esp. pp. 36–51.

[J90] J. Jesch, 'Vikings on the European Continent in the Late Viking Age', in Adams and Holman (A61.21), pp. 255–68 - on Scandinavian activities on the continent in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries

Æthelred's adversaries, I: the Norwegians

Received wisdom about the successive Yngling kings of Norway in the tenth century, featuring Harald Fairhair, Eirík Bloodaxe, Hákon the Good, Harald Grey-cloak, and others, is of uncertain authority; but no doubt it kept people entertained. For a while in the late tenth century, Jarl Hákon of Lade ruled Norway in the Danish interest, until he asserted his independence and defeated a Danish/Jomsviking force at Hjorungavag. According to the tradition, **Ólaf Tryggvason**, of the Yngling dynasty, was passing his youth in the usual viking pursuits; and it was this Ólaf, probably accompanied by Sven Forkbeard (son of Harald Bluetooth), who is known from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to have led the major

viking raid on England in 991. After gaining his due share of fame and fortune, and after his induction into the Christian faith (994), Ólaf went to Norway, and became king (995–999/1000). Following Ólaf's defeat at the Battle of Svold, Norway was again ruled in the Danish interest by the jarls of Lade. (St) **Ólaf Haraldsson**, another member of the Yngling dynasty, had himself enjoyed an adventurous youth, participating in Thorkell's invasion of 1009–12; but he would appear to have been on Æthelred's side in 1014, and must have returned to Norway soon afterwards. Jarl **Erík Hákonarson**, of Lade, was with Cnut's army in 1015, enabling Ólaf Haraldsson to become King of Norway (1014). Ólaf reigned until his death, at the battle of Stíklastathir, in 1028/1030; and again Norway passed under Danish rule.

General Discussion: Foote & Wilson (A61.3), pp. 36–52, at 42–4.

[J95.6] P. Sawyer, 'English Influence on the Development of the Norwegian Kingdom', in T111, pp. 224–9

Æthelred's adversaries, II: the Danes

In Denmark, a dynasty was established by Gorm the Mighty, whose son, Harald Bluetooth, advertised his own achievements on the Jelling Stone (J110). When Harald's son, **Sven Forkbeard**, first came to England, in the early 990s, he may have been a political outcast; but by the time he came again, in 1002–4, he had clearly re-asserted his position as king of the Danes. The army which attacked England in 1006–7, led apparently by **Tostig**, and the army which attacked England in 1009–12, led by **Thorkell the Tall**, may both have been drawn mainly from Denmark, with or without Sven's assistance; but no doubt they also included men from elsewhere in the Scandinavian world. Sven Forkbeard himself led the invasion of 1013–14; and his son **Knut** led the invasion of 1015–16.

General discussion: Foote and Wilson (A61.3), pp. 7–24.

[J100] E. Roesdahl, *Viking Age Denmark* (1982), esp. pp. 134–58 (military organization) and 171–6 (Harold Bluetooth and Jelling); E. Roesdahl, 'Growth of a Danish King', *The Vikings in England*, ed. E. Roesdahl, *et al.* (1981), pp. 147–55; Roesdahl (A61.5); E. Roesdahl, 'Princely Burial in Scandinavia at the Time of the Conversion', in D66, pp. 155–70

[J100.5] 'Fund og Fortidsminder' <www.dkconline.dk/> – a website which provides a comprehensive database of viking-age sites and antiquities in Denmark, with maps and images

[J101] K. Randsborg, *The Viking Age in Denmark* (1980), esp. pp. 25–44 (on 'Runestones and People in a Changing Society') and 139–41 (on Swein Forkbeard's 'K-value', i.e. his coefficient of aggression)

[J102] E. Moltke, *Runes and their Origin: Denmark and Elsewhere* (1985), esp. pp. 184–223 (Jelling stones, etc.) and 284–326 (Danish society seen through runestones)

[J103] J. Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age: the Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse* (2001); see also Syrett (J84.5)

[J104] P. and B. Sawyer, 'A Gormless History? The Jelling Dynasty Revisited', *Runica – Germanica - Mediaevalia*, ed. W. Heizmann and A. van Nahl (2003), pp. 689–706

[J105] E. Roesdahl, 'The Scandinavians at Home', and D.M. Wilson, 'The Viking Adventure', *The Northern World*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1980), pp. 127–58 and 159–82

[J106] Graham-Campbell and Kidd, 'Kings and Coinage', in A215, pp. 119–29; see also J. Graham-Campbell, *The Viking World* (1980), esp. pp. 194–213

[J107] D.M. Wilson, 'Danish Kings and England in the Late Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries - Economic Implications', *ANS* 3 (1981), 188–96

[J108] M. Syrett, 'Drengs and Thegns Again', *SBVS* 25.3 (2000), 243–71; see also Jesch (J103), pp. 216–39 (discussion of terminology, including *húskarl*, pp. 237–9)

[J109] N. Lund, 'Harold Bluetooth: a Saint Very Nearly Made by Adam of Bremen', in Jesch (T107), pp. 00–00 <not yet seen>

For Sven Forkbeard, see Sawyer (A61.4, J171), Christiansen (A61.9), pp. 149–53, and Howard (J29.5); see also Keynes (J23), pp. 222–7.

Jelling

The site comprises the 'North Mound', the 'South Mound', an underlying setting of stones in the shape of a ship, a church between the mounds, and the two Jelling rune-stones - all of the utmost importance. See B705, Atlas volume, pp. 42–9 (nos. 111–23); A221, pp. 77–8; Roesdahl (J100), pp. 171–6; etc.

[J110] The inscription on the larger Jelling Stone, naming Harald Bluetooth, father of Sven Forkbeard, and grandfather of Cnut: 'King Harald ordered this stone to be raised after Gorm his father and Thyre his mother. That Harald who won for himself Denmark all, and Norway, and made the Danes Christian.'

[J110.5] K.J. Krogh, *Gåden om Kong Gorms Grav: Historien om Nordhøjen i Jelling*, Vikingekongernes Monumenter i Jelling 1 (1993) - fully illustrated account of the various investigations of the North Mound (King Gorm), between 1820 and 1942 (in Danish)

[J110.6] K.J. Krogh, 'The Royal Viking-Age Monuments at Jelling in the Light of Recent Archaeological Excavations', *Acta Archaeologica* 53 (1982), 183–216; K. Christensen and K.J. Krogh, 'Jellinghøjene dateret', *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1987, pp. 223–31 (with English summary, p. 231 - dendrochronological dating of the two mounds)

[J110.7] S. Hvass, *De kongelige monumenter i Jelling: deres historie, forvaltning og formidling* (2000) - excellent guidebook, with English summary, pp. 83–9

The Viking 'fortresses'

[J115] O. Olsen and H. Schmidt, *Fyrkat: En Jysk Vikingeborg I: Borgen og Bebyggelsen* (1977), pp. 205–41 (in English), and E. Roesdahl, *Fyrkat: En Jysk Vikingeborg II: Oldsagerne og Gravpladsen* (1977), pp. 185–207 (in English)

[J116] T.E. Christiansen, 'The Age of Trelleborg: Archaeological Dating', and N. Bonde and K. Christensen, 'The Age of Trelleborg: Dendrochronological Dating', *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1982), pp. 100–9 and 139–52

[J117] E. Roesdahl, 'Aggersborg in the Viking Age', *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress*, ed. H. Bekker-Nielsen, *et al.*, Mediaeval Scandinavia Supplements 2 (1981), 107–22, and 'The Danish Geometrical Viking Fortresses and their Context', *ANS* 9 (1987), 209–26

[J118] B. Jacobsson, 'Visst har de funnits en borg i Trellegborg', *Populär arkeologi* 1990.2, pp. 7–9 - a 'new' fortress, at Trelleborg (*sic*), in Skåne, Sweden (formerly part of Denmark)

[J120] L.P. Slupecki, 'Jómsvikingalog, Jómsvikings, Jomsborg/Wolin and Danish Circular Strongholds', *The Neighbours of Poland in the 10th Century*, ed. P. Urbanczyk (2000), pp. 49–59

[J121] S.W. Andersen, *The Viking Fortress of Trelleborg* (1996) - informative illustrated guidebook (in English)

Military organization

Lund (J170); Syrett (J84.5); Jesch (J103), pp. 187–203. See also Bachrach (R33).

Ships and seafaring

[J125] O. Crumlin-Pedersen and O. Olsen, ed., *The Skuldelev Ships I*, Ships and Boats of the North 4.1 (2002) - includes account of 'Skuldelev 2', pp. 141–94, broadly representative of a viking longship of the period 975–1050. A replica of this spectacular ship was launched at Roskilde in September 2004.

Website of the Viking Ship Museum at Roskilde: <http://www.vikingeskibsmuseet.dk/>.

Æthelred's adversaries, III: the Swedes

Rather little is known about Sweden in the tenth century, though the profusion of rune-stones in the late tenth and eleventh centuries (B706) is suggestive of significant political, social and economic developments at that time. Wealth and power seem to have been concentrated in Svealand, in central Sweden. The first key figure was **Ólaf skötkonung** (*c.* 995–1022), who issued a Christian coinage from Sigtuna, but whose name reflects his apparent subordination to Sven Forkbeard and Knut. A considerable number of Swedes appear to have taken part in the raids on England in the early eleventh century, perhaps reflecting their relationship with the Danes.

General discussion: Foote and Wilson (A61.3), pp. 25–36.

OTHER PERSPECTIVES

The Celtic World

[J129] C. Downham, 'England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 26 (2004), 57–73, at 58–62

France, Germany, and Flanders

It is naturally instructive to observe the activities of Æthelred's contemporaries across the Channel, notably Hugh Capet (987–96) and Robert the Pious (996–1031) of France, and Otto III (983–1002) and Henry II (1002–24) of Germany. See, e.g., Bouchard (A60.8); see also Campbell (J21.3). It is also possible to learn something from the techniques of analysis practised by continental historians.

[J130] J-F. Lemarignier, *Le Gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens (987–1108)* (1965), ch. 1, pp. 37–65, on 'Le déclin royal de la première génération capétienne et les prolongements carolingiens (987–1025/1028)', on multiple attestations in royal charters as a sign of 'decline', esp. pp. 42–3 (Hugh Capet) and 44–59 (Robert the Pious), with pp. 187–90 (on Capetian charters) and 193–6 (on the charters with multiple subscriptions), with Tables (of witnesses) and Maps (showing area of interest)

[J131] R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation 987–1328* (1960); see also Hallam (A60.7), esp. pp. 67–9 (on Hugh Capet), 69–72 (on Robert the Pious), and 91–2 (on Lemarignier)

[J132] *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil*, ed. M. Parisse and X. Barral i Altet (1992) - papers from a conference commemorating millennium of accession of Hugh Capet in 1987 <CUL 560.48.b.95.3 [NF5]>

[J133] *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000*, ed. T. Head and R. Landes (1992)

For a superb exhibition catalogue covering Capetian France, see A242. For Helgaud's Life of Robert the Pious, see B613; and for Capetian charters, see B610.5.

The comparison with Ottonian Germany is particularly instructive.

[J135] G. Althoff, *Otto III.* (1997), transl. P.G. Jestice (2003)

For a spectacular exhibition catalogue on Henry II, see A245.

[J140] S. Weinfurter, 'Authority and Legitimation of Royal Policy and Action: the Case of Henry II', in Althoff (A60.1), pp. 19–37; J.W. Bernhardt, 'King Henry II of Germany: Royal Self-Representation and Historical Memory', in Althoff (A60.1), pp. 39–69

[J145] G. Althoff, 'The Variability of Ritual in the Middle Ages', in Althoff (A60.1), pp. 71–87

[J146] P.J. Geary, 'Oblivion between Orality and Textuality in the Tenth Century', in Althoff (A60.1), pp. 111–22

See also Reuter (A60.35), pt III, pp. 183–286, and for Ottonian charters, see B611. For Ottonian art in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, see Mayr-Harting (Q635), esp. pp. 157–201. For inauguration rituals, see Nelson (M65), etc.

For Flanders, see Nicholas (A60.36); the Canterbury letter-collection (B315); Vanderputten (B315.5); Hare (G400); Grierson (L55); Grierson (P38).

A FRAMEWORK FOR THE REIGN OF KING ÆTHELRED THE UNREADY

For an analysis of the reign based on domestic politics, as represented by charters, see Keynes (J23), pp. 154–231. For an analysis of the reign based on the course of Scandinavian activity, with discussion of the nature of the English response, see Keynes (F42), pp. 73–82. The question arises how to relate the one unfolding pattern of events to the other, and how to integrate material derived from other disciplines, e.g. coinage, legislation, writings of Ælfric and Wulfstan, other Anglo-Latin and vernacular literature, other cultural activity, cults of saints, church building, etc.

I. The king's youth 978–91

Æthelred, son of King Edgar and Queen Ælfthryth, was born *c.* 966. Little is known of the circumstances of his upbringing during the reign of King Edgar (959–75) or during the reign of his half-brother Edward the Martyr (975–8).

Murder of Edward. Æthelred was about 12 years old when Edward was murdered (18 March 978); see Yorke (G326), etc. The question arises: was Æthelred in any way responsible for Edward's death, or was he held responsible for it by his contemporaries? According to Wilton tradition (B276.5), the throne was offered to Edith, but she turned it down ('Life of St Edith', ch. 19, in Q390, pp. 51–2); see Yorke (G330), etc.

Coronation of King Æthelred. After some delay, Æthelred was crowned by Archbishop Dunstan, at Kingston-upon-Thames, on 4 May 979. For the OE coronation oath, which was probably administered on this occasion, see B473.

Developments in the 980s. There is reason to believe that the key figures in the early years of Æthelred's reign were his mother, Ælfthryth, and Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester. For the dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester, on 20 Oct. 980, see Wulfstan of Winchester's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* (Q211), and his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (B170), ch. 40; see also Sheerin (Q213). Bishop Æthelwold died on 1 Aug. 984, when the king was about 18. The bishop's death marked the beginning of a period identified in retrospect as one in which the king was led astray by a particular group of his councillors. In the 980s viking raids were sporadic, and may not have made much impression, except locally. For Ealdorman Æthelweard's perception of the vikings, probably in the mid-980s, see his *Chronicon* (B56), and entry above (G225, etc.).

For the coinage in the 980s (*Hand*), see M890, etc.

[J149] King Æthelred's treaty with Normandy (990/1). For text and translation of Pope John XV's letter, written in 991, see J13. Further discussion: Keynes (J26), p. 86; Bullough (E141), p. 96; and esp. Chaplais (M49a), pp. 37–40, arguing that the letter was drawn up or 'dictated', in the pope's name, by the bishop of Sherborne, or Lisieux, in accordance with procedure followed for drawing up royal diplomas. For the three men named as negotiators, see Keynes (J23), p. 91 n. 29. For wider discussion of Anglo-Norman relations, see R80, etc.

Discussion of the period: Keynes (J23), pp. 163–86; Keynes (J26), pp. 85–6.

The viking threat escalated in 991, and by 993 the king, now aged 27, appears to have resolved to mend the errors of his earlier ways.

II. Varied responses to a sustained threat 991–1005

A period of sustained viking presence (991–1005), prompting a variety of responses. For the battle of Maldon (J2), see J50, etc., and for the account in the *Chronicle* (J1), see J40, etc.

Aspects of **the English response**: (1) payments of *gafol* (J87), in 991 (10,000 pounds), 994 (16,000 or 22,000 pounds), and 1002 (24,000 pounds); (2) hiring of mercenaries, as in *II Æthelred* (994); (3) various activities in the later 990s and early 1000s (see below); (4) Æthelred's marriage to Emma (1002); (5) the massacre of St Brice's Day (13 Nov. 1002).

For the **coinage** in the 990s (*Crux, Long Cross*), see M910, M930, etc.; and cf. the more belligerent image on the *Helmet* coin-type (M940), introduced *c.* 1003. For hoards of Æthelred's coinage found in Scandinavia, see M970, etc.

Discussion of the period: Stafford (J21.5), pp. 29–34; Keynes (J23), pp. 186–208; Keynes (J26), pp. 88–95 and 98–102; Keynes (F42), pp. 73–82. Debate about payments of *gafol*: Lawson (J87), etc. For some of the higher ecclesiastics active during this period, see Q85, etc.

Works of Ælfric written during this period, at Cerne, include the two series of *Catholic Homilies* (B565), his *Lives of the Saints* (B569.3), his paraphrase of parts of the Old Testament (B569.5), and his letter to Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne (B570). BL Royal 7. C. XII (Ker (B800), no. 257) is the earliest surviving manuscript of the First Series of the Catholic Homilies, and has annotations in Ælfric's hand (J150). CUL Gg.3.28 (Ker (B800), no. 15) is a manuscript containing the First and Second Series of the homilies (with prefaces), and ends with the letter to Bishop Wulfsige (B570); it was written possibly at Cerne, *c.* 1000. Further discussion: Godden (J47); Clayton (J48); Earle (J49), Keynes (Q89); etc.

[J150] K. Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies' [1931–3], reptd in (B524), pp. 148–98, esp. pp. 157–60 (date of Ælfric's *CathHom*, in relation to viking raids), 165–71 (on CUL Gg.3.28, with more on dating), and 171–5 (on Royal 7.C.XII, including identification of Ælfric's hand on fol. 64r and elsewhere)

[J151] Works of Ælfric which reflect his awareness of the viking invasions in the 990s: (a) Latin Preface to Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, in Wilcox (B564), pp. 111 and 128–9; (b) 'De oratione Moysi', in his *Lives of the Saints*, ed. and trans. Skeat (B569.31) I, pp. 282–304; (c) Pastoral Letter to Bishop Wulfsige (B570), on which see Keynes (Q89), pp. 63 + 66–7. See also B566.2 (later homilies) and *Wyrdwriteras* (B566.5).

The **initial invasion** (991), leading to the **battle of Maldon** (991), the inception of the **payments of *gafol*** (991), and to the **treaty** with the viking army in 994 (*II Æthelred*).

[J154] E. John, 'War and Society in the Tenth Century: the Maldon Campaign', *TRHS* 5th ser. 27 (1977), 173–95; see also John (T54), pp. 139–50

[J155] The *Battle of Maldon* (B555, J2, J50, etc.), on which there is, of course, a massive secondary literature (bibliographies in A73a, A73b, A78). The question arises whether the historian can detect in the poem anything that might be germane to his various purposes: sense of Englishness, or regional separatism; attitudes to the invaders, or to the policies adopted towards them; attitude to quality of leadership, the 'heroic' code, death in battle, treachery; etc., etc.). Much depends on when it was written; but remember also that it is a poem, like *The Charge of the Light Brigade*.

[J156] Payments of *gafol* (tribute). 'And in that year it was determined that tribute should first be paid to the Danish men because of the great terror they were causing along the coast … Archbishop Sigeric first advised that course' (ASC CDE s.a. 991). A charter of 994 (EHD no. 117) suggests that Sigeric might have promised money to the Danes when they first arrived in Kent, in 991, before they came to Maldon; and that it was not least for the balance of this money that the Danes came back in 994. Discussion: Stenton (A1), p. 376; Keynes (J23), pp. 202–3; Lawson (J87); Keynes (J26), pp. 99–102; Damon (J27.5). On the collection of *gafol* in the early 990s, see Metcalf (M1030.5), pp. 182–3.

[J157] E.V. Gordon, 'The Date of Æthelred's Treaty with the Vikings: Olaf Tryggvason and the Battle of Maldon', *Modern Language Review* 32 (1937), 24–32; N. Lund, 'Peace and Non-Peace in the Viking Age', *Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress*, ed. J.E. Knirk (1987), pp. 255–69, at 264–8; Keynes, in J50, pp. 91–3 and 103–7; Lavelle (F102), pp. 52–3.

[J158] D. Chamberlain, '*Judith*: a Fragmentary and Political Poem', *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation*, ed. L.E. Nicholson and D.W. Frese (1975), pp. 135–59 – product of the 990s; see also the entry on *Judith* in A100; Sisam, in (B524), p. 67; and for Ælfric's *Judith*, see Clayton (J164.5), etc.

For the attacks on London in the 990s, see J16. On the date of the death of Archbishop Sigeric (28 Oct. 994), see Sisam (J150), pp. 157–8; Keynes (J23), p. 251; Godden (B565.3), pp. xxix–xxxvi; etc.

Activities in the period *c*. 990–1005. It should not be imagined that the only available response to viking invasion was military action (or the lack of it).

The **blinding of Ælfgar** in 993 (ASC). Regarded by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* ii.165.3, in Mynors, *et al.* (B620), pp. 270–1, as punishment for his father's actions in 992; but see Keynes (J23), pp. 183–4. Further discussion: Lavelle (M130), pp. 294–5.

[J159] G. Bührer-Thierry, '"Just Anger" or "Vengeful Anger"? The Punishment of Blinding in the Early Medieval West', *Anger's Past: the Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.H. Rosenwein (1998), pp. 75–91

For a literary instance of blinding, in the *Beowulf*-manuscript, see Powell (J44.5), p. 12. See also below, on the 'palace revolution' of 1006.

The **foundation of monasteries** and the affirmation of **church privileges**, in charters of the 990s and early 1000s. See Keynes (J34.6), pp. 263–4; Stafford (J62). Significant charters: the Abingdon charter of 993, for which see J22.5, Q90a, and Q127; the charter for Sherborne abbey, dated 998, for which see Q89 and Q128; and the charters for Wherwell, Burton, and Eynsham (Q129). Numerous manuscripts are dated 's.x/xi', whatever that might signify. For church building, see Gem (Q725).

The promulgation of **new legislation**, represented by *I Æthelred* and *III Æthelred*, probably *c*. 997, on which see Wormald (M160), pp. 320–30; possibly matched by other administrative reforms or innovations.

The **millennium** of Christ's birth came and went, without further ado; see Gatch (J38), Hill (J39), and Godden (J47). For Æthelred's raid on Normandy (*c*. 1000), see J5.

The **promotion of the cults of saints**. Ceremonial translations of saints' relics to new resting-places: for several examples from this period, see Q218, including St Edith at Wilton (3 Nov., *c*. 997), St Edward at Shaftesbury (20 June 1001), and St Oswald at Worcester (15 Apr. 1002). For the cult of Edith, see Q390; and for the translation, *c*. 997, see Hollis (B276.5), pp. 69–71. For the cult of Edward, see Q400. For the translation of Oswald, see Eadmer's *Miracula S. Oswaldi* (B178) and John of Worcester (B630), s.a. 1002. For the production of hagiography, *c*. 1000, see B165, B170, B175, Q211, Q218. For continental dimensions, see Glaber (J37), and Head (Q227), pp. 273–94.

The **marriage of King Æthelred and Queen Emma** (1002). 'And then in the spring the queen, Richard's daughter, came to this land' (*ASC*). The significance of the event was recognised, if for the wrong reasons, by Henry of Huntingdon (B635), p. 338. Emma was promptly given the official name Ælfgifu, as if to signify her inclusion in the English royal line; cf. Williams (R22), p. 200, and Keynes (K61), p. xvii.

Discussion of this stage of Emma's career: Stafford (M99); Keynes (K61), pp. xvi–xxii.

The **appointment of Wulfstan**, bishop of London since 996, as archbishop of York in the late summer of 1002.

The **Massacre of St Brice's Day** (13 Nov. 1002). One of the most notorious events in Anglo-Saxon history. The basic account is *ASC*, s.a. 1002, supplemented by King Æthelred's charter for St Frideswide's, Oxford (S 909: EHD, no. 127). There are also important accounts in later sources: William of Jumièges (R45), v.6, ed. van Houts, II, 14–16; Henry of Huntingdon, ed. Greenway (B365), p. 340; and so on, with further embellishment. Discussion: Freeman (R10), I, 634–8; Keynes (J23), pp. 202 and 203–5; Reynolds (H72), p. 412; Keynes (S120), p. 306 and n. 379; Hadley (H7), p. 117; Innes, in H6, pp. 65–7. For possible reflections in numismatic evidence, see Dolley (M930).

[J160] S. Keynes, 'The Massacre of St Brice's Day (13 November 1002)' (forthcoming), commemorating the millennium of the massacre (13 Nov. 2002)

[J162] J. Wilcox, 'The St. Brice's Day Massacre and Archbishop Wulfstan' (2000), in T101, pp. 79–91 - on the persistence of the perception of viking invaders as pagans, and thus beyond redemption; see also Clayton (J164), p. 21

Massacres of one kind or another are easily confused with the Massacre of the Holy Innocents (as depicted, e.g., in BL Cotton Caligula A. vii, engraved by Strutt (S71)), or with the St Valentine's Day Massacre.

'As the saying goes: "When the leader gives way, the whole army will be much hindered."' (*ASC*, s.a. 1003). Cf. Plummer (B40), II, p. 183. See also Abels (M112.3), pp. 46–8.

The **'Great Famine' of 1005**, which was more effective than the English had been in driving the Danes back whence they came. For the impact of the famine in Germany, see

Leyser, in (G2), pp. 1–3. It would be interesting to know more about this event, and how widely in northern Europe its effects were felt. Cf. Maddicott (P140), etc.

Foundation of Eynsham abbey (B239). Æthelmær (son of Ealdorman Æthelweard), appears to have 'retired' in 1005, to live among the community of the monastery which he founded at Eynsham. See also Yorke (G144) and Gordon (Q145). The proem in foundation charter reflects the impact of viking raids.

[J162.5] S. Keynes, 'King Æthelred's Charter for Eynsham Abbey (1005)', forthcoming – historical context of Æthelmær's foundation of the abbey (S 911), and Ælfric's later homilies (B566.2); see also Keynes (J23), pp. 209–10

Unpowered flight. For the story of Eilmer (Ælfmær or Æthelmær), monk of Malmesbury, who made the first recorded attempt at unpowered flight in England, apparently in the early eleventh century, by fixing wings to his hands and feet and jumping off a tower, see WM, *GR* ii.225.6, in Mynors, *et al.* (B620), pp. 412–14, and Thomson (B620), pp. 211–12.

III. The raids of Tostig (1006–7) and Thorkell the Tall (1009–12)

A period defined by two raids which had a devastating impact on the English, separated by significant legislative and military activity in 1008. Payments of *gafol* in 1007 (36,000 pounds) and in 1012 (48,000 pounds). For Uhtred's success at Durham in 1006, see J8.

The **'palace revolution' of 1006**. 'In the same year Wulfgeat was deprived of all his property, and Wulfheah and Ufegeat were blinded and Ealdorman Ælfhelm killed' (*ASC*, MSS. CDE, s.a. 1006), leading to the rise of Eadric Streona in 1007 (when he was appointed an earl) and 1009x1012 (when he attained secular primacy); though we cannot be sure whether this took place some time *before* the arrival of the viking fleet in the summer, or whether the domestic crisis was in fact precipitated by its arrival.

For the coinage, see M940 (*Helmet*), etc.

[J162.8] E. Boyle, 'A Welsh Record of an Anglo-Saxon Political Mutilation', *ASE* 35 (2006), 245–9, drawing attention to the record in the Welsh annals, *s.a.* 1004, of the blinding of Gwlfach and Ubiat, evidently representing the Wulfeah and Ufegeat of the *ASC*

For blinding as political punishment, see Bührer-Thierry (J159), and Powell (J44.5), p. 12.

Viking raids. Knowledge of the course of events is derived from the *Chronicle* (J1). The rune-stone at Yttergärde (Syrett, no. 7) names Tostig (putative leader of the raid in 1006), Thorkell, and Cnut. For skaldic verse (J6), see Poole (J80), Fell (J81), Townend (J83). For the involvement of Oláfr Haraldsson in Thorkell's raid, see J6 (i). For rune-stones (J17), see Jansson (J84.2), Syrett (J84.5). Further discussion: Brooks (J21.7), on heriot; Stafford (J21.5), pp. 34–5; Keynes (J23), pp. 209–25; Keynes (J26), pp. 95–8; Keynes (F42), pp. 73–82, esp. 79–80. For the view that the army active in 1006–7 remained in England, see Howard (J29.5), pp. 76–7.

Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Mercia (1007–1017). Entries by Keynes in (A100), pp. 150–1, and in *ODNB* (A150); Insley (J36.5); Fjalldal (B673.5), pp. 49–50; etc. On the rise of Eadric, see Keynes (J23), pp. 213–14; he was appointed ealdorman of the Mercians in 1007. His reputation as a villain is well-established: e.g. in the *Chronicle* (J1.1); the *Encomium* (J2.1); Osbern (Q460); Hermann's *Miracula S. Eadmundi* (B252); and Hemming's *Codicellus* (B231.6), p. 280. See also Freeman (R10), I, 323–5 ('evil genius') and 640–4; Keynes (K31), p. 67; Keynes (J168). Hemming's remark, to the effect that Eadric interfered arbitrarily with the Mercian shires, and subsumed Winchcombeshire into Gloucestershire, raises the question of his suggested involvement in the creation of the Mercian shires; see Taylor (M270), but cf. Stenton (A1), p. 337, for the view that they originated in the early tenth century, and Brooks (M222.1), p. 146 n. 40, for the continued use of the 'old' terminology in *c.* 960 and in 1016. In fact, Hemming's remark may signify simply that it was Eadric who, *c.* 1007, created modern 'Gloucestershire', by amalgamating the older (tenth-century) shires of Gloucestershire and Winchcombeshire. It should be noted that in 2007 we celebrate the millennium of the appointment of Eadric Streona as ealdorman of Mercia.

V–VI Æthelred (May 1008), drafted by AB Wulfstan. One version (OE), known as *V Æthelred*, is dated 1008 (EHD, no. 44). A modified version of the same code (Latin, OE), known as *VI Æthelred*, is Robertson (B367), pp. 90–107; the preamble to the Latin text names AB Ælfheah and AB Wulfstan, and places it at Enham, at Pentecost (16 May in 1008). Contains important set of provisions at the end, on treachery, coinage, military reform, abuses, etc.; for the reforms, cf. ASC (J1), s.a. 1008-9.

[J163] K. Sisam, 'The Relationship of Æthelred's Codes V and VI', reptd in his (B524), pp. 278–87, with discussion of the circumstances of their promulgation in 1008

Further discussion: Wormald (M160), pp. 330–5 (substance) and 343–4 (feast-day of King Edward).

Works of Ælfric written during this period, as abbot of Eynsham (J3.1): e.g. letter to monks of Eynsham (B571); his letter to Sigeweard (B572.3), referring to Judith (B572.2); and some homilies in which Ælfric is critical of his contemporaries (B566.3).

[J164] M. Clayton, 'Of Mice and Men: Ælfric's Second Homily for the Feast of a Confessor', *Leeds Studies in English* ns 24 (1993), 1–26 - the homily (Assmann [B572], no. IV) is known to have been composed at the request of Æthelwold II, bishop of Winchester (1006–12); so the argument is that it was written *c.* 1007, in response to contemporary political circumstances

[J164.5] M. Clayton, 'Ælfric's *Judith*: Manipulative or Manipulated?', *ASE* 23 (1994), 215–27; and for Ælfric on Judith and Esther, see (B572.2)

[J164.6] M. Clayton, 'Ælfric's *Esther*: a Speculum Reginae?', *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer*, ed. H.C. O'Briain, A.M. D'Arcy and J. Scattergood (1999), pp. 89–101; see also Brookes, in T46, pp. 37–62

Arrival of Thorkell's army (early August 1009), recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and with additional details in the Worcester Chronicle (B630, vol. II, p. 462).

VII Æthelred **(Aug. 1009)**, drafted by AB Wulfstan; offering an instructive instance of the interplay of historical, numismatic, legal, literary, liturgical, and art-historical evidence, and at the same time illustrating the impact of Thorkell's invasion on the English. Discussion: Keynes (J22.6). For Carolingian analogies, see also Keynes (J31), p. 74, n. 46, and esp. King (B601.6), pp. 309–10. For *VII Æthelred*, in other contexts, see Lees (G214), pp. 1–3, 15.

[J165] A.N. Other, 'Rites of Public Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in Gittos and Bedingfield (B439), pp. 00–00 <not yet seen>

The ***Agnus Dei*** (Lamb of God) coin-type will feature on the front cover of this *Handbook* in 2009. For the 16 surviving specimens, see Moesgaard and Tornbjerg (M956), and Keynes (J22.6). For resonances of the *Agnus Dei*, see the entry in A100 on iconography, and the several objects of s. x/xi on which the *Agnus Dei* appears.

[J166] The starting-point is Dolley (M950). Further discussion: Keynes (J23), pp. 216–19, connecting the type with *VII Æthelred* (1009); Lawson (K39), pp. 152–3, connecting it with *V–VI Æthelred* (1008); Keynes (F42), pp. 79–81; Stewart (M803), p. 477; Metcalf (M600), pp. 129–30; Keynes (J22.6); etc.

The *Agnus Dei* type was followed in 1009 by *Last Small Cross*, harking back to Edgar's *Reform* type of 973. For the 'Pax' chrismons of 1010–11, see Keynes (M995), pp. 169–71.

The **Brussels Cross** (with the *Agnus Dei* on the back, at the centre) is perhaps an example of the kind of cross which would have been carried in the processions. The cross was commissioned by Æthelmær and his brother Æthelwold, 'for the soul of Ælfric their brother'; it was made by Drahmal.

[J167] Descriptive and discursive catalogue entry in A205, pp. 90–2 (no. 75), with colour plate XXIII. For the inscription, with bibliography, see Okasha (B710), pp. 57–8 (no. 17). For further and wide-ranging discussion, see Ó Carragáin (D379.5), pp. 339–54.

[J167.5] 'Yatesbury: Vikings and Villages in North Wiltshire', *Current Archaeology* 15.3 [no. 171] (Dec. 2000), 113–18 - on the beacon system (*ASC*, s.a. 1010), on which see also Hill (M114), and Reynolds (A37), pp. 92–6

Attacks on London in November/December 1009. There can be no doubt that Olaf Haraldsson (St Olaf) was involved in attacks on (Old) London Bridge in the early eleventh century; and it would also appear that Olaf was instrumental in helping Æthelred recover his throne, presumably in 1014. For the skaldic verse, see (J6). The attacks on London bridge (P74.5–6) seem more likely to have been in 1009 than in 1014; but there is scope for discussion. For London as a focal point of attention in Æthelred's reign, see P70, etc.

[J167.8] Sigvatr Thórtharson's *Víkingarvísur* [EHD no. 12], on which see Fell (J81), and Óttarr svarti's *Höfuthlausn* [EHD no. 13]. Cf., e.g., *Heimskringla* [*St Olaf's saga*, chs. 12–15] (B680), in which the attack on the bridge is connected with Æthelred's return after the death of King Swein (1014); and for an illustration, see P74.6.

On the battle of *Ringmere* (5 May 1010), see Hart (T17), pp. 525–6; for its location, see Townend (J83). For the defence of Balsham, Cambs., in 1010, see HH, in Greenway (B635), pp. 348–9.

Adalard's letter to Archbishop Ælfheah, on the life of St Dunstan (B165.1), *c.* 1010, reflecting awareness that Dunstan's prophecies were being fulfilled

Translation of the remains of St Wulfsige, *c.* 1010: see Love (Q455), p. 110–11, and Keynes (Q89), p. 72.

Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* (B590) was written in 1011.

Eadric Streona (see above). Eadric was accorded primacy among King Æthelred's ealdormen some time between 1009 and 1012; defected to Cnut in 1015; was taken back onto the English side by Edmund Ironside in 1016; started the flight at battle of **Assandun**, 1016; and was killed on the instructions of King Cnut in 1017.

[J168] S. Keynes, *Deerhurst, A.D. 1016: Eadric Streona and the Danish Conquest of England*, Deerhurst Lecture 2004 (forthcoming)

The **martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah** (19 April 1012). For Ælfheah himself, see (Q88). For Osbern's 'Life' and 'Translation' of St Ælfheah, see Q460. For a later account of Ælfheah, see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (B625), chs. 20 and 76. For a reflection of viking raids in a charter of 1012, see Rumble (G170a), no. 28.

On the incidence and nature of crimes reported in Æthelred's charters, see Keynes (J31), pp. 76–81, esp. 80–1. For the forfeiture of Leofric, mentioned in a charter of 1012 (S 927), see also Wormald (M160), pp. 148–50.

IV. The invasions of Swein Forkbeard (1013–14) and Cnut (1015–16)

The sword-thrusts of 1006–7 and 1009–12 were followed by successive hammer blows, in the form of invasions led by kings bent on conquest. The first led to Æthelred's exile in 1013–14. The second invasion precipitated a new political crisis, leading to Eadric's defection and ultimately to defeat. For the account in the *Chronicle*, see J1, and for Wulfstan's *Sermo ad Anglos* (? x 1014), see J4. For scaldic verse, see J6, with J80, J81. For the account in the *Encomium Emmae*, see B85, pp. 8–30 (text and translation), and [li]–[lx] (discussion).

Discussion of the period: Keynes (J23), pp. 225–8; etc. For two 'new' charters of King Æthelred, issued in April 1013, see 'Kemble' (B330), under 'Recent discoveries' (Barking).

[J170] N. Lund, 'The Armies of Swein Forkbeard and Cnut: *Leding* or *Lith*?', *ASE* 15 (1986), 105–18; N. Lund, 'The Danish Perspective', in (J50), pp. 114–42; N. Lund, '*Expedicio* in Denmark', in (T49), pp. 149–66; see also Lund in (J52)

[J171] P. Sawyer, 'Sven Forkbeard and the Historians', *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages*, ed. I. Wood and G. Loud (1991), pp. 27–40

[J172] N.A.M. Rodger, 'Cnut's Geld and the Size of Danish Ships', *EHR* 110 (1995), 392–403 See also Lawson (K28), Cathers (M118). Note the importance of Sandwich as a landing-point for Danish fleets in 991, 1006, 1009, 1013, and 1015; and cf. the 'Vision of Leofric' (L90). For the attacks on London in the early eleventh century, see J16; and for Old London Bridge, see P74.5.

The **submission to Swein Forkbeard at Gainsborough**, ?July 1013. Higham (A11), pp. 56–9, describing the event as the 'Gainsborough Accord', and suggesting that it involved the ætheling Æthelstan.

Recognition of **Swein** as 'full king' (1013); Æthelred took refuge with Emma and their children in Normandy (late Dec. 1013 or early Jan. 1014); other children presumably remained in England. For a mid-13th-century manuscript containing illustrations of Swein's oppression, Emma's flight to Normandy, etc., see B92 (images online).

Death of Swein Forkbeard (3 February 1014), and his burial initially at York. For the suggestion that Archbishop Wulfstan first preached the *Sermo ad Anglos* at York, on 16 Feb. 1014, see Wilcox (J49.7). For the massacre of the thingmen, see Flateyjarbók (B674f). For evidence that Æthelred's return in 1014 was effected with help from Olaf Haraldsson, see J167.8.

The English Accord of 1014: 'Then the king sent his son Edward hither with 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 hated; and 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 …' (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MSS. CDE, *s.a.* 1014).

[J180] It is not clear what was the exact nature of the agreement in 1014 between the king and the 'people': perhaps a reaffirmation of the coronation oath, perhaps more, but clearly something which involved obligations on both sides. Role of Eadric Streona? For the view that the agreement of 1014 was 'the Anglo-Saxon Magna Carta', see D. Starkey, *The Monarchy of England*, I: *The Beginnings* (2004), p. 83.

Æthelred's return in the spring of 1014, and promulgation of **VIII Æthelred (1014)**. For the law-code, drafted by AB Wulfstan, see EHD, no. 46; see also Wormald (M160), pp. 336–9 and 344–5 (on secular measures).

The **ætheling Æthelstan** (d. 25 June 1014) was evidently a significant player in the events of this period: see account of him in *ODNB* (A150), and entry in A100. For the date

of his death, see Lawson (K28), p. 78 (2nd ed., p. 77, n. 72), arguing that he died at the battle of Sherston in 1016; Keynes (K31), p. 71, n. 156; Keynes (K61), p. xxi. See also Higham (A11), pp. 44–7 and 56–9. On Cnut and the hostages, in 1014, see Lavelle (M130).

Possible significance of the king's **illness** in 1015; and the invasion of **Cnut**. On Edmund's stand against the king, and Eadric Streona, and on the circumstances of Eadric's defection to the Danes in 1015, see: Stafford (J21.5), pp. 35–7; Keynes (J30), pp. 211–17; etc.

Death, and burial, of King Æthelred at St Paul's, London, in 1016. It is a fact of considerable symbolic importance that King Æthelred was the first 'King of the English' to be buried at St Paul's, reflecting the emergence of London as the nation's 'capital'. For Hollar's engraving of the tomb of King Æthelred, in Old St Paul's, see Pennington (S59.25), p. 357 (no. 2341), from Dugdale's *St Paul's* (1658); illustrated in Taylor (Q137), p. 10; and see also Thacker (Q199), p. 116.

Let us pray. 'Grant, we beseech thee Almighty God, everlasting rest to the soul of thy servant King Æthelred, and to all those who have enriched this monastery with their alms to the honour and glory of thy holy name.' Entry in the Leominster Prayerbook (B235a), fol. 89v: see B479, p. 122 (text), and J21.9 [1978], p. 242 (facsimile).

Edmund Ironside, and the battle of *Assandun* (Essex) (18 October 1016)
[J190] C.R. Hart, 'The Site of *Assandun*', in T17, pp. 553–65, favouring Ashdon, Essex
[J191] W. Rodwell, 'The Battle of *Assandun* and its Memorial Church', in (J52), pp. 127–58, favouring Ashdon, Essex, and preferring a lost church at Ashdon, rather than nearby Hadstock, as the site of the memorial church built in 1020
On the location of *Assandun*, see also Townend (J83), pp. 21–7, favouring Ashingdon, Essex. For the date of the battle, see the Ely obits (B467).

The **meeting between Edmund and Cnut** at Olney, an island in the Severn near Deerhurst, Gloucs., in Oct./Nov. 1016. See Keynes (J168). The story of the single combat is told in the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (B85), p. 24; see also William of Malmesbury, *GR* ii.180.8, in (B620), pp. 316–18, with discussion in Thomson (B620), pp. 166–7. For illustrations of the supposed event, see Matthew Paris (B655), and B92.

K. THE DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND (1016–42)

'Knútr was exceptionally well-built and strong, and the handsomest of men except that his nose was thin, stunted, and somewhat crooked. He had a fair complexion, and a fine, thick head of hair. His eyes were better than those of other men, in the sense that he was both fair-eyed and keen-eyed. He was a generous man, a great warrior, valiant, victorious, and a man of great good fortune in everything to do with power. He was not, however, very bright; and it could be said of King Sveinn, and of Haraldr and Gormr before, that they too were not exactly noted for their wisdom.' *Knytlinga saga*, ch. 20.

The essential primary sources
'Arnsteinn raised this stone in memory of Bjor, his son. He was killed in the *lith* when Cnut attacked England' (rune-stone from Evje, in Galteland, Norway). Illustrated: Keynes (F42), p. 82. Discussion: Syrett (J84.5), pp. 33–5; Spurkland (B707.5), pp. 96–9.

The main 'literary' sources
[K1] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Translation: B65, B67. Gives little sense of unfolding sequence of events from 1016–35, but does have some crucial events: e.g. arrangements in 1016–18, culminating with the Oxford meeting (K6); consecration of the minster at *Assandun* (J191), in 1020, commemorating the Danish victory there in 1016; and the translation of the relics of St Ælfheah from St Paul's, in London, to Canterbury, in 1023.
[K2] Account of Cnut's reign in the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, esp. bk ii, chs. 15–24; account of the events of 1035–41 in *EER*, bk iii, chs. 1–14. Text and translation: B85.
[K3] Account of Cnut and Earl Godwine in *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, esp. bk i, ch. 1. Text and translation: B90.
[K4] *Knytlinga saga* (for what it may be worth). Text and translation: B679. For the remark that Cnut was good-looking, but intellectually challenged, see above.
[K5] Skaldic verse (on Cnut's activities in Scandinavia, etc.). Translation: EHD nos. 15–19. Discussion: Frank (K27), (J82); Fell (J81); Jesch (B670.6), (J103); Poole (J80); Townend (J83.5).

The evidence of charters, law-codes, and coins
[K6] Cnut's law-code of 1018, representing the political settlement reached at Oxford in 1018. Text and translation of the code as a whole: Kennedy (K37). Text and translation of the preface: Whitelock (B401) no. 59; see also EHD no. 47.

[K7] Cnut's letter to the English people, written while he was in Denmark 1019–20. Chs. 1–13 constitute Cnut's letter; chs. 14–20 are in Wulfstan's style, and may thus have been added when Wulfstan caused a copy of the letter to be entered in the 'York Gospels'. Text and translation: Whitelock (B401) no. 60; Robertson (B367). Translation: EHD no. 48. Facsimile, and discussion of the context of its preservation: Keynes (K38).

[K8] Cnut's law-code (*I–II Cnut*), promulgated at Winchester during the Cristmas season. If we may assume that Wulfstan was involved in its promulgation, the code was issued before his death (23 May 1023); and since Cnut was overseas in 1019–20, and in 1022–3, the code was presumably issued at Christmas 1021 or at Christmas 1022. Text and translation: Whitelock (B401) no. 64; Robertson (B367). Translation: EHD no. 49 (no. 50 in 1st ed.), dated 1020 x 1023, and with an opening paragraph which is not likely to be authentic.

[K9] Cnut's letter to the English people, 1027, in which he reports on his trip to Rome for the coronation of the Emperor Conrad (26 March 1027), and announces what he intends to do next, in Denmark. The original OE text does not survive, and the letter is known only from a Latin translation given by Anglo-Norman historians. Text and translation: John of Worcester (B630), pp. 512–19; William of Malmesbury (B620), pp. 324–9. See also Whitelock (B401) no. 65; Robertson (B367). Translation: EHD no. 53 (no. 49 in 1st ed.). For a contemporary 'Life' of the Emperor Conrad, see B110.

[K10] Charters, etc. A selection in translation: EHD nos. 130–5.

[K10.5] Coinage. See section M, incl. Malmer, on Cnut's 'Swedish' coinage (M980), and Nightingale (M1020).

Other sources

[K11] Letter of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, to Cnut. Translation: EHD no. 233.

[K12] Entries in the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney abbey (B455), reflecting activities of Earl Thorkell and his Scandinavian companions; see also Gerchow (K50), with pl. 18.

[K13] The trading agreement between the king of the Anglo-Saxons and the king of the Lombards (P4) may or may not belong to this period; cf. letter of 1027 (K9), ch. 6.

[K14] Image of King Cnut and Queen Emma (Ælfgifu) placing a cross on the altar of the New Minster, Winchester, serving as a frontispiece in the community's 'Liber Vitae' (B450). Reproduced everywhere (e.g. A5, p. 208; A100). The image was made in 1031, conceivably by Abbot Ælfwine himself, and represents the abbot's view of the community's royal patrons and benefactors; it also reflects the truth that Cnut and Emma operated as a double act. For its context within the 'Liber Vitae', see B450; see also K61, pp. xxiv–xxvi. See also Karkov (Q696), pp. 119–56.

Anglo-Norman historians

[K15] Florence/John of Worcester's account of the Danish kings, based on the *Chronicle* but with some additional material. Text and translation: B630. Translation: EHD no. 9.

[K16] Osbern's 'Life' and 'Translation' of St Ælfheah, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1012), provides evidence that Cnut once had a bath. See Rumble (Q460), p. 303.

[K19] The story of King Cnut commanding the incoming tide to stop, without success, is first told by Henry of Huntingdon. Text and translation: B635, pp. 366–8. See also Wright (S13.1), pp. 175–8; Tschan (B616), p. 221, n. 143.

General accounts of the period

See John (A5), pp. 207–21; James (A12), pp. 262–6.

[K20] L.M. Larson, 'The Political Policies of Cnut as King of England', *American Historical Review* 15 (1910), 720–43

[K21] L.M. Larson, *Cnut the Great* (1912)

[K22] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (1971), pp. 394–432

[K23] G.N. Garmonsway, *Canute and his Empire*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture 1963 (1964)

[K24] S. Körner, *The Battle of Hastings, England and Europe 1035–66* (1964)

[K26] E. Christiansen, 'Canute and his World', *History Today* 36 (Nov. 1986), 34–9

[K27] *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A.R. Rumble (1994) - proceedings of a conference on Cnut, held in 1990

[K28] M.K. Lawson, *Cnut: the Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (1993), 2nd ed., *Cnut: England's Viking King* (2004), with revised footnotes and updated bibliography; see also Lawson's account of Cnut in *ODNB* (A150)

[K29] F. Barlow, *The Godwins: the Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty* (2002) - account of the rise of Earl Godwine in Cnut's reign, and the power of himself and his family thereafter

[K29a] E. Mason, *The House of Godwine: the History of a Dynasty* (2003), esp. pp. 31–47, on the rise of Earl Godwine during the reign of Cnut

[K30] P. Sawyer, 'Cnut's Scandinavian Empire', in K27, pp. 10–22; N. Lund, 'Cnut's Danish Kingdom', in K27, pp. 27–42
[K31] S. Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', in K27, pp. 43–88
[K32] A. Pedersen, 'Anglo-Danish Contact across the North Sea in the Eleventh Century: a Survey of the Danish Archaeological Evidence', in Adams and Holman (A61.21), pp. 43–67
For Cnut and Dorset, see Keynes (Q89), pp. 73–5, and references.

On the date of Beowulf (B536, continued)
The debate about the date of *Beowulf* (B535) turns to some extent on one's expectations or presumptions about attitudes to Danes prevalent among the English in the late tenth and eleventh centuries; but it is far from clear why this should be so, or how one can work from a generalisation to a particular case.
[K33] K.S. Kiernan, *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript* (1981; rev. ed. 1996), arguing that '*Beowulf* is an 11th-century composite poem, and that the Beowulf MS [BL Cotton Vitellius A. xv] is the archetype of the epic as we now have it' (pp. 277–8), and, in view of the pronounced 'Danish' element in the poem, that it originated and was copied during the reign of Cnut (esp. pp. 13–23)
[K34] G.F. Rose, 'The Kiernan Theory Revisited: *Beowulf* at the Court of Cnut?', *Envoi* 6.2 (1997), 135–45; James (A12), pp. 263–4; D.N. Dumville, 'The *Beowulf*-Manuscript and How Not to Date it', *Medieval English Studies Newsletter* 39 (1998), 21–7; E. Stanley, 'A West Saxon's Sympathy for the Danes During the Reign of Æthelred the Unready', *N&Q* 244 (1999), 309–10
See also Busse and Holtei (J44.1), Powell (J44.5).

Archbishop Wulfstan and the laws of Cnut
For Wulfstan as a legislator, see Wormald (J66) and (M160); see also Wormald's account of Wulfstan in *ODNB* (A150). For his 'Canon Law Collection', see B415. For his homilies, see B575; no. 18 may have been preached in 1020 at Ashingdon (p. 64). For his *Institutes of Polity*, see B577. For manuscripts associated with Archbishop Wulfstan, see Ker (B573), etc.
[K35] D. Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *TRHS* 4th ser. 24 (1942), 25–45; see also D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *EHR* 63 (1948), 433–52, and 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws', *EHR* 70 (1955), 72–85; reptd in T6, nos. XI–XIII
[K36] P. Stafford, 'The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises', *ASE* 10 (1981), 173–90, reptd in T70 (VI)
[K37] A. Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code of 1018', *ASE* 11 (1983), 57–81
[K38] S. Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in Barker (B212), pp. 81–99 - facsimile of manuscript containing text of Cnut's letter of 1019–20, with discussion of Wulfstan's role in its preservation; see also Wormald (M160), pp. 195–7 and 347
[K39] M.K. Lawson, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut', in K27, pp. 141–64; also in *EHR* 107 (1992), 565–86
[K39a] P. Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in T65, pp. 225–55, reptd in T43, pp. 191–224
[K40] P. Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-Builder', in Townend (G216), pp. 9–27

Aspects of the reign of King Cnut
For Cnut and the Salian kings, see A246. Cf. Wipo's 'Deeds of Emperor Conrad II' (B110).
[K45] N. Hooper, 'The Housecarls in England in the Eleventh Century', in T28, pp. 1–16; see also Jesch (J103), pp. 237–9 (*húskarl*) and 258–61 (*níthingr*)
[K46] K. Mack, 'Changing Thegns: Cnut's Conquest and the English Aristocracy', *Albion* 16 (1984), 375–87
[K47] A. Williams, '"Cockles amongst the Wheat": Danes and English in the Western Midlands in the First Half of the Eleventh Century', *Midland History* 11 (1986), 1–22
[K48] M.W. Campbell, 'The Rise of an Anglo-Saxon Kingmaker: Earl Godwine of Wessex', *Canadian Journal of History* 13 (1978), 17–33
[K49] D.G.J. Raraty, 'Earl Godwine of Wessex: the Origins of his Power and his Political Loyalties', *History* 74 (1989), 3–19
[K50] J. Gerchow, 'Prayers for King Cnut: the Liturgical Commemoration of a Conqueror', in Hicks (T28.5), pp. 219–38
[K50.5] E.C. Parker, 'The Gift of the Cross in the New Minster Liber Vitae', *Reading Medieval Images: the Art Historian and the Object*, ed. E. Sears and T.K. Thomas (2002), pp. 177–86

[K51] M. Hare, 'Cnut and Lotharingia: Two Notes', *ASE* 29 (2000), 261–78 - on Cnut's baptismal name (Lambert), and on his visit to Cologne in ?1027

[K52] G. Beech, 'England and Aquitaine in the Century before the Norman Conquest', *ASE* 19 (1990), 81–101

See also Syrett (J108), on drengs and thegns.

Queen Emma. See Stafford (M99); material on the *Encomium Emmae* (below); and account of Emma by S. Keynes in *ODNB* (A150). On the circumstances of Cnut's marriage to Emma, and the exile of the æthelings in Normandy, see Keynes (R83); on the marriage, see also van Houts (R84). On Winchester as a centre of the Anglo-Danish establishment, during the reign of Cnut and during the lifetime of Queen Emma, see Biddle (P66), and Keynes (B450), pp. 34–41. It should be noted that the property given by King Æthelred to Queen Emma in 1012 (see Rumble (G170a), no. 28), known as God Begot House, is now a pizza parlour. For images of Queen Emma, see Karkov (Q696).

Earl Godwine. See Campbell (K48), Raraty (K49), and esp. Barlow (K29); see also Keynes (K31), pp. 70–4, and account of Godwine by A. Williams in *ODNB* (A150). For his landed interests, see Fleming (L72), etc. For an earlier view, see (e.g.) William of Malmesbury (B620), pp. 354–64, telling how he choked to death on asserting his innocence in the death of Alfred the atheling.

Earl Leofric, son of Earl Leofwine, and founder of Coventry abbey and Stow St Mary, Lincs. See Baxter (L79); Keynes (K31), pp. 74–5 and 77–8; and account of Leofric by A. Williams in *ODNB* (A150). For Stow St Mary, see B239.

[K56] J. Hunt, 'Piety, Prestige or Politics? The House of Leofric and the Foundation and Patronage of Coventry Priory', *Coventry's First Cathedral*, ed. G. Demidowicz (1994), pp. 97–117

For Cnut and geld, see Lawson (J87), etc. For the spoliation of Worcester, see Williams (R347).

[K59] Books and charters written by the scribe **Eadwig Basan**, active at Christ Church, Canterbury, during the reign of King Cnut: Bishop (B789), no. 24; R.W. Pfaff, 'Eadui Basan: *Sciptorum Princeps*?', in Hicks (T28.5), pp. 267–83; Dumville (G256), pp. 111–40; Gameson (B793); Heslop (K60), pp. 286–98; Farr (Q395.5); Gameson, in the *ODNB* (A150); Karkov (B794.8), on the 'Eadwig Gospels' (Hanover, Kestner Museum, WM XXIa 36), with Eadwig's colophon, and with a series of evangelist portraits (of a recognised type) depicting the evangelists in the act of writing.

Queen Emma and the 'Encomium Emmae Reginae'

Queen Emma, wife of King Æthelred the Unready 1002–16 and wife of King Cnut 1017–35, was an important feature of the political scene from 1002 to 1052. She was most active in the period from Cnut's death in 1035 until the accession of Edward the Confessor in 1042, and thereafter remained at Winchester until her death. For general accounts of this period, see Körner (K24) and Barlow (L10); and for a detailed study, focussing on Emma herself, see Stafford (M99). The *Encomium Emmae* (B85) was written in 1041–2, during the reign of Harthacnut. For the *Encomium*, see also Sawyer (J171) and Lawson (K28, pp. 54–6).

[K60] T.A. Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *ASE* 19 (1990), 151–95; T.A. Heslop, 'Art and the Man: Archbishop Wulfstan and the York Gospelbook', in Townend (G216), pp. 279–308, arguing that the 'York Gospels' (B212) was made for Wulfstan himself

[K61] S. Keynes, 'Queen Emma and the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell (1949, reptd 1998), pp. [xiii]–[lxxx]

[K62] S. Keynes, 'Queen's Gambits', *BBC History Magazine* (Dec. 2002), pp. 18–20, with colour reproductions of the two contemporary images of Emma, from the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster (B450) and from the *Encomium Emmae* (B85), and of the pizza parlour

[K63] H. O'Brien, *Queen Emma and the Vikings: a History of Power, Love and Greed in Eleventh-Century England* (2005; pb 2006); I. Strachan, *Emma the Twice-Crowned Queen: England in the Viking Age* (2004) - intended for the general reader

[K65] F. Barlow, 'Two Notes: Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043', *EHR* 73 (1958), 649–56; reptd in T7, pp. 49–56

[K66] M.W. Campbell, 'Queen Emma and Ælfgifu of Northampton: Canute the Great's Women', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 4 (1971), 66–79

[K67] M.W. Campbell, 'Emma, reine d'Angleterre: mère dénaturée ou femme vindicative?', *Annales de Normandie* 23 (1973), 99–114

[K68] E. Searle, 'Emma the Conqueror', *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, *et al.* (1989), pp. 281–8

[K69] M.W. Campbell, 'The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*: Personal Panegyric or Political Propaganda?', *Annuale Mediaevale* 19 (1979), 27–45

[K70] E. John, 'The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*: a Riddle and a Solution', *BJRL* 63 (1980), 58–94; see also John (T54), pp. 151–160 and 161–70

[K71] F. Lifshitz, 'The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*: a 'Political Pamphlet' of the Eleventh Century?'. *HSJ* 1 (1989), 39–50

[K72] C. N. de Vegvar, 'A Paean for a Queen: The Frontispiece to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', reptd in T43, pp. 317–21

[K73] E.M. Tyler, '"The Eyes of the Beholders were Dazzled": Treasure and Artifice in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', *EME* 8.2 (1999), 247–70

[K73.5] E.M. Tyler, 'Talking about History in Eleventh-Century England: the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and the Court of Harthacnut', *EME* 13 (2005), 359–83

[K74] A. Orchard, 'The Literary Background to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001), 156–83

For the image of Emma, which serves as a frontispiece, see Karkov (Q696), pp. 146–55. For the trial of Queen Emma, and the ordeal of hot ploughshares, see B261.

[K80] H. Hollick, *A Hollow Crown: the Story of Emma, Queen of Saxon England* (2004) - a bodice-ripper (see p. 144), set in the first half of the eleventh century

Harald Harefoot and Harthacnut

Knowledge of the politics of the period from Cnut's death, in 1035, to the accession of Edward the Confessor, in 1042, depends largely on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (B65), the *Encomium Emmae* (B85), and William of Jumièges (R45). The crucial events were the expeditions of the æthelings Edward and Alfred to England (1036), leading to Edward's ignominious retreat, and to Alfred's capture and blinding (Q405), Earl Godwine's switch of allegiance from Harthacnut to Harald Harefoot (1036–7), and Emma's exile (1037).

[K85] Proceedings of the conference on Harald Harefoot and Harthacnut, held at Manchester in 2001; but plans for publication appear to have been abandoned.

[K90] W.H. Stevenson, 'An Alleged Son of King Harold Harefoot', *EHR* 28 (1913), 112–17 - important letter bearing on the transfer of loyalty to Harald in 1036–7

For the numismatic evidence bearing on the shifts of allegiance in 1035–7, see Talvio (M986), etc. See also Hill's *Atlas* (A260), p. 95).

Account of Harald Harefoot by M.K. Lawson in *ODNB* (A150)

L. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, EARL GODWINE AND HAROLD

The essential primary sources

Sources bearing on the events of the Norman Conquest are covered in section R.

[L1] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (B65). The account in MS. E (redacted at Canterbury) tends to be pro Earl Godwine and his family; the account in MS. C (redacted at Abingdon) tends to be hostile to Earl Godwine and his family; the account in MS. D (redacted at York or Worcester) tends to be politically neutral; the different biases are apparent in, e.g., annals 1036, 1046, 1051–2 and 1055. See also John of Worcester, based on the *Chronicle* but with additional material (B630: EHD II no. 2, and Brown (R25, pp. 50–80))

[L2] The *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (B90); see Barlow (L10, pp. 291–300)

[L3] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia* (Bosanquet (R92), esp. pp. 5–9)

[L4] Charters, writs, etc.: EHD II nos. 31–4, 74–6

[L5] Coinage of Edward the Confessor. See Freeman (M990), etc. For the Appledore hoard, deposited *c.* 1051–2 (i.e. at a moment of great crisis), see Lyon (M992).

[L8] William of Jumièges (R45) and William of Poitiers (R50)

[L9] Accounts of this period by Anglo-Norman historians. John of Worcester (B630), pp. 534–600, retaining an annalistic framework, with some additional details from 'Worcester' tradition, and a striking eulogy of King Harold (p. 600); William of Malmesbury (B620), pp. 348–65 and 416–18; Henry of Huntingdon (B635), pp. 370–84.

For skaldic verse bearing on the events of 1066, see Whaley (B671a). For a mid-thirteenth-century illustrated 'Life' of Edward the Confessor, see B92 (images freely available on the Internet).

General studies of the period

There are accounts in the *ODNB* of many of the persons involved in the events of this period.

[L10] F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (1970), new ed. (1997) - an excellent biography; and for the question of the succession, see pp. 214–39; see also Barlow's account of Edward in *ODNB* (A150)

[L11] F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor and the Norman Conquest* (1966; Historical Association pamphlet); reptd in T7, pp. 99–111

[L12] F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd ed. (1979)

[L13] H.R. Loyn, *Harold, Son of Godwin* (1966; Historical Association pamphlet); reptd in T16, pp. 299–321

[L14] D. Whitelock, *et al.*, *The Norman Conquest: its Setting and Impact* (1966)

[L15] T.J. Oleson, *The Witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor* (1955)

[L16] S. Körner, *The Battle of Hastings, England and Europe 1035–66* (1964)

[L17] E. John, 'The End of Anglo-Saxon England', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J. Campbell (1982), pp. 214–39

[L18] P.A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (1994); D. Henson, *The English Elite in 1066: Gone but not Forgotten* (2001)

[L19] C.P. Lewis, 'The French in England before the Norman Conquest', *ANS* 17 (1995), 123–44; for the English TRE, see Lewis (L77)

[L20] A. Williams, 'England in the Eleventh Century', in Harper-Bill and van Houts (R4.6), pp. 1–18

See also Higham (A11); Walker (L69).

The millennium of the birth of Edward the Confessor, some time between 1003 and 1005, was celebrated at Westminster Abbey in October 2005.

[L21] Proceedings of symposium commemorating the millennium of St Edward's birth, ed. D. Carpenter and J. Nelson (forthcoming <?>)

Detailed commentary on the sources

[L25] C. Clark, 'The Narrative Mode of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* before the Conquest', in T21, esp. pp. 230–4, reptd in T51, pp. 3–19

[L26] J.T. Rosenthal, 'Edward the Confessor and Robert the Pious: 11th Century Kingship and Biography', *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971), 7–20

[L27] E. Tyler, '"When Wings Incarnadine with Gold are Spread": the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* and the Display of Treasure at the Court of Edward the Confessor', *Treasure in the Medieval West*, ed. E.M. Tyler (2000), pp. 83–107

[L28] R. Beare, 'Godwin's Sons as Birds', *Prudentia* 32.1 (2000), 25–52 - on *VÆdR*

[L29] J.L. Grassi, 'The *Vita Ædwardi Regis*: the Hagiographer as Insider', *ANS* 26 (2004), 87–102 - on its authority as historical evidence

The politics of Edward the Confessor's reign

On the rise of Earl Godwine, in the early years of Cnut's reign, see Campbell (K48), Raraty (K49), Keynes (K31), and Barlow (K29).

[L30] E. John, 'Edward the Confessor and the Norman Succession', *EHR* 94 (1979), 241–67; see also John (T54), pp. 167–9, and 171–95

[L31] J.R. Maddicott, 'Edward the Confessor's Return to England in 1041', *EHR* 119 (2004), 650–66 - on Edward's undertaking to observe the laws of Cnut, made on his return from Normandy to England in 1041, at *Hursteshevet* (identified as Hurst Head, in the Solent, near the Isle of Wight)

[L35] F. Barlow, 'Edward the Confessor's Early Life, Character and Attitudes', *EHR* 80 (1965), 225–51; reptd in T7, pp. 57–83

[L36] F. Barlow, 'Two Notes: Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043', *EHR* 73 (1958), 649–56; reptd in T7, pp. 49–56

[L37] K.E. Cutler, 'Edith, Queen of England, 1045–66', *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973), 222–31

[L40] B. Wilkinson, 'Freeman and the Crisis of 1051', *BJRL* 22 (1938), 368–87

[L41] D.C. Douglas, 'Edward the Confessor, Duke William of Normandy, and the English Succession', *EHR* 68 (1953), 526–45; reptd in T3, pp. 141–59

[L42] T.J. Oleson, 'Edward the Confessor's Promise of the Throne to Duke William', *EHR* 72 (1957), 221–8

[L43] M.W. Campbell, 'Earl Godwin of Wessex and Edward the Confessor's Promise of the Throne to William of Normandy', *Traditio* 28 (1972), 141–58

[L44] K.E. Cutler, 'The Godwinist Hostages: the Case for 1051', *Annuale Mediaevale* 12 (1972), 70–7; for hostages, see also Lavelle (M130)

[L45] M.W. Campbell, 'The Anti-Norman Reaction in England in 1052: Suggested Origins', *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976), 428–41

[L46] M.W. Campbell, 'A Pre-Conquest Norman Occupation of England?', *Speculum* 46 (1971), 21–30

[L50] K.L. Maund, 'The Welsh Alliances of Earl Ælfgar of Mercia and His Family in the Mid-Eleventh Century', *ANS* 11 (1989), 181–90; see also Maund (R386)

[L55] P. Grierson, 'A Visit of Earl Harold to Flanders in 1056', *EHR* 51 (1936), 90–7 - the visit is attested by a charter extant as an original

[L56] S. Keynes, 'The Crowland Psalter and the Sons of Edmund Ironside', *Bodleian Library Record* 11.6 (1985), 359–70 - for Edward the Exile's return and death in 1057; and for the circumstances of Edward's return in 1057, see also Aelred, in B647.1

[L57] G. Ronay, *The Lost King of England: the East European Adventures of Edward the Exile* (1989) - but the 'lost king' of the title is, in fact, Edgar the Ætheling

[L57a] A. Ayton, *Realm of St Stephen: a History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (1997)

[L60] M.W. Campbell, 'Hypothèses sur les causes de l'ambassade de Harold en Normandie', *Annales de Normandie* 27 (1977), 243–65

[L60a] M. Rud, 'A Hidden Revelation in the Bayeux Tapestry? What was Harald Godwinson's Purpose in Normandy?', *Kuml* (1997), 173–83

[L61] B. Wilkinson, 'Northumbrian Separatism in 1065 and 1066', *BJRL* 23 (1939), 504–26

[L62] M.W. Campbell, 'Note sur les déplacements de Tostig Godwinson en 1066', *Annales de Normandie* 22 (1972), 3–9

[L63] K. De Vries, *The Norwegian Invasion of England in 1066* (1999); C. Jones, *The Forgotten Battle of 1066: Fulford* (2006)

[L64] K. De Vries, 'Harold Godwinson in Wales: Military Legitimacy in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in T49 (2001), pp. 65–85

[L65] C. Morton, 'Pope Alexander II and the Norman Conquest', *Latomus* 34 (1975), 362–82

[L66] J.S. Beckerman, 'Succession in Normandy, 1087, and in England, 1066: the Role of Testamentary Custom', *Speculum* 47 (1972), 258–60 — among the Normans, a designation could not be revoked, but among the English it was the last words which counted

For Duke William's claim to the English throne, see Garnett (R24), pp. 62–8.

Edith, daughter of Earl Godwine

King Edward the Confessor married Edith on 23 January 1045. For her queenship, and her career, see Stafford (M99), Cutler (L37), entry on her in A100, and account of her by A. Williams in *ODNB* (A150). In 1051–2 she was entrusted to the abbess of Wherwell (Edward's sister), but she had resumed her attendance at court by 1059. She subsequently commissioned the *Vita Ædwardi regis* (B90). She is found after the Conquest at Wilton; see Keynes (Q96), pp. 243–7 and 262–3. She died on 18 December 1075, and was buried at Westminster.

[L68] M. Otter, in *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity*, ed. C.L. Carlson and A.J. Weisl (1999), pp. 63–92; for the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, see also Otter (R126)

Harold, son of Earl Godwine

Account of Harold by R. Fleming in *ODNB* (A150). For a eulogy of Harold's rule, see JW in McGurk (B630), p. 601. See also Barlow (K29), and historical essays in Owen-Croker (R116.8).

[L69] I.W. Walker, *Harold: the Last Anglo-Saxon King* (1997; pb, 2000)

See also Swanton (B195), Watkiss and Chibnall (B299), and Loyn (L13).

The land-holding nobility in the eleventh century

Fleming (P18); Fleming (P59); Fleming (R322); Clarke (L18); Williams (L20). There are accounts of several eleventh-century magnates in the *ODNB* (A150).

[L70] A. Williams, 'Land and Power in the Eleventh Century: the Estates of Harold Godwineson', *ANS* 3 (1981), 171–87

[L71] A. Williams, 'The King's Nephew: the Family and Career of Ralph, Earl of Hereford', *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, *et al.* (1989), pp. 327–43

[L72] R. Fleming, 'Domesday Estates of the King and the Godwines: a Study in Late Saxon Politics', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 987–1007

[L72.5] J.L. Grassi, 'The Lands and Revenues of Edward the Confessor', *EHR* 117 (2002), 251–83

[L73] K. Mack, 'The Stallers: Administrative Innovation in the Reign of Edward the Confessor', *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986), 123–34

[L74] A. Williams, 'A Vice-Comital Family in Pre-Conquest Warwickshire', *ANS* 11 (1989), 279–95

[L75] A. Williams, *Land, Power and Politics: the Family and Career of Odda of Deerhurst*, Deerhurst Lecture 1996 (1997)

[L75a] D. Parsons, 'Odda's Chapel, Deerhurst: Place of Worship or Royal Hall?', *Medieval Archaeology* 44 (2000), 225–8, on *regia aula* as 'church' (not 'royal hall'); J. Higgitt, 'Form and Focus in the Deerhurst Dedication Inscription', *Roman, Runes and Ogham*, ed. J. Higgitt, *et al.* (2001), pp. 89–93

[L76] A. Williams, 'A West-Country Magnate of the Eleventh Century: the Family, Estates and Patronage of Beorhtric, Son of Ælfgar', in T39, pp. 41–68

[L77] C.P. Lewis, 'Joining the Dots: a Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book', in T39, pp. 69–87

[L78] A. Williams, 'Lost Worlds: Kentish Society in the Eleventh Century', *Medieval Prosopography* 20 (1999), 51–74

[L79] S. Baxter, 'The Earls of Mercia and their Commended Men in the mid Eleventh Century', *ANS* 23 (2001), 23–46

[L80] C. Senecal, 'Keeping up with the Godwinesons: in Pursuit of Aristocratic Status in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *ANS* 23 (2001), 251–66

[L81] S.A.J. Bradley, *Orm Gamalson's Sundial: the Lily's Blossom and the Roses' Fragrance*, Kirkdale Lecture 1997 (2002), on Okasha (B710), no. 64, naming Earl Tostig and King Edward; see also L. Watts, *et al.*, 'Kirkdale - The Inscriptions', *Medieval Archaeology* 41 (1997), 51–99, on the lead plate found at Kirkdale in 1996, and on the sundial itself

[L90] The **'Vision of Leofric'** (Leofric, earl of Mercia, d. 1057). Text: A.S. Napier, 'An Old English Vision of Leofric, Earl of Mercia', *Trans. of the Philological Soc.* (1907–10), 180–8, from CCCC 367, art. b (Ker (B800), no. 64), from Worcester. Discussion: M.McC. Gatch, 'Miracles in Architectural Settings: Christ Church, Canterbury, and St Clement's, Sandwich, in the Old English Vision of Leofric', *ASE* 22 (1993), 227–52.

See also maps in Hill's *Atlas* (A260, pp. 100–6); and introductions to county publications of Domesday Book, e.g. in the volumes of the Victoria County History (A39), or in the county fascicules of the Alecto facsimile (R241). For a map of landholding TRE in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, see A48, no. 31.

England and Byzantium

[L100] J. Shepard, 'The English and Byzantium', *Traditio* 29 (1973), 53–92; K. Ciggaar, 'England and Byzantium', *ANS* 5 (1983), 78–96

[L110] M. Lapidge, 'Byzantium, Rome and England in the Early Middle Ages', in Q76, pp. 363–400

[L111] L. Jones, 'From *Anglorum basileus* to Norman Saint: the Transformation of Edward the Confessor', *HSJ* 12 (2002), 99–120, esp. 106–13

See also Franklin and Sheperd (A60.40). For England and the Islamic world, see Scarfe Beckett (P210).

M. KINGSHIP AND ROYAL GOVERNMENT

I The theory and practice of Anglo-Saxon kingship; **II** Military organization;
III Law-codes, charters, and the operation of royal government; **IV** Anglo-Saxon coinage

Lists of Anglo-Saxon kings

[M1] 'Local Rulers of Anglo-Saxon England to A.D. 927', and 'Kings of England, (1): 927–1066', in A95, pp. 1–29 - based on earlier editions, but revised (with introductory remarks) by D.N. Dumville

[M2] S. Keynes, 'Rulers of the English, *c.* 450–1066', in A100, pp. 494–510

For tabular genealogies of the main royal lines, see EHD, pp. 934–47, and A70, pp. 849–55.

Some important primary sources

[M5] Royal genealogies and regnal lists. See Sisam (E50) and Dumville (B480, B485); see also entries in A100 for royal genealogies and regnal lists.

[M6] Coronation *ordines*. For the 'First', 'Second' and 'Third' Anglo-Saxon *ordines*, see B470–2; see also entry on coronation in A100.

[M7] Articulated statements on Christian kingship. (i) Report of the papal legates in 786, esp. ch. 12: see B400 + 405 for full text and translation; EHD no. 191. (ii) Alcuin's letters (B310). (iii) Ælfric, using a Carolingian source (EHD no. 239(b)). (iv) *VIII Æthelred*, esp. ch. 2.1 (EHD no. 46); Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* (B577). Etc.

[M8] Royal biographies, notably Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (B80), and the *Life of King Edward* (B90).

[M9] Royal wills. The wills of King Alfred and King Eadred are in B356; both are also in EHD, nos. 96 and 107; the will of Alfred is also in F50. The will of Ælfgifu, former wife of

King Eadwig, is in B357, no. 8; see also Marsden (B516), pp. 92–6. The will of the ætheling Æthelstan is EHD no. 129 (no. 130 in 1st ed.).

[M10] King Alfred's writings (F66). Note especially King Alfred's remarks in the OE Boethius, in F50, pp. 132–3; and see F80, F81, F82, etc.

[M15] *Beowulf* (B535).

General studies

Loyn (M38), and Williams (A19).

[M20] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (1971); for his collected papers (several of which are relevant), see T2

[M21] W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (1969)

[M22] W.A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* (1970)

[M23] D.A. Binchy, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship* (1970)

[M24] D.H. Green, *The Carolingian Lord* (1965), pp. 216–32, and Green (E21), pp. 121–40

[M25] H. Kleinschmidt, *Untersuchungen über das englische Königtum im 10. Jahrhundert*, Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft 49 (1979), with discussion of royal styles in tenth-century charters, kingship in coronation *ordines*, and royal hagiography

[M26] R.R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093–1343*, Ford Lectures 1998 (2000), esp. pp. 4–30 ('The High Kingship of the British Isles'), at 8–10 (rule of Britain), and pp. 31–53 ('Island Mythologies'), at 35–8 (idea of Britain) and 48–53 (Britain=England)

[M27] M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (1986)

[M30] P. Wormald, 'Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship: Some Further Thoughts', *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (1986), pp. 151–83

[M31] D. Bethurum Loomis, '*Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* in the Early Eleventh Century', in T21, pp. 129–45

[M32] D.N. Dumville, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood (1977), pp. 72–104

[M35] H.M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (1905) - a remarkable book, in many respects way ahead of its time; discusses shires, ealdormen, reeves, thegns, etc.

[M36] D. Whitelock, in EHD, pp. 60–7 (pp. 62–70 in 1st ed.)

[M37] P.H. Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England* (1978), pp. 179–203

[M38] H.R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500–1087* (1984)

[M39] T. Charles-Edwards, 'Nations and Kingdoms: a View from Above', in Charles-Edwards (A7), pp. 23–58; P. Stafford, 'Kings, Kingships, and Kingdoms' (2003), in Davies (A7), pp. 11–39

[M45] S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Kingship', *History Today* 35 (Jan. 1985), 38–43

[M46] J.T. Rosenthal, 'A Historiographical Survey: Anglo-Saxon Kings and Kingship since World War II', *Journal of British Studies* 24 (1985), 72–93

[M47] P. Wormald, 'Anglo-Saxon Society and its Literature', in A51.2, pp. 1–22

[M48] J. Nelson, 'Kingship and Royal Government', in A70, pp. 383–430, esp. pp. 387, 397–8, 405–6 (Alfred's laws), 407–8 (royal household), 410 (communication), 413 (*vassi/faselli*), and 430 (construction of the past)

[M49] J. Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', in A71, pp. 95–129, with some excellent remarks on late Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 115–17 and 123

[M49a] P. Chaplais, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages* (2003), incl. marriage alliances (pp. 1–3, 32–5), tokens of credence (pp. 5, 30–1), oral messages (pp. 21–2, 27, 30), written messages (pp. 21–3, 27, 28–9), foreign relations (pp. 28–9), treaties (pp. 31–2, 36–40), bishops as envoys (pp. 35–6), chirographs (pp. 40–1), etc.

See also entries on king's council, kings and kingship, queens, royal dynasties, and separate kingdoms, in A100; some group entries also in the *ODNB* (A150). For the 'FA Cup' model of state formation in Anglo-Saxon England, see Bassett (C130).

I. THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ANGLO-SAXON KINGSHIP

Some matters for consideration

(1) **The theory of kingship**. Old Testament kingship of David and Solomon; exemplary kingship, in the writings of Bede and others; influence of Carolingian tracts on kingship and royal government; the example of King Alfred. The notion of the 'common burdens', as services owed not to the king personally but to the larger body politic, in respect of folkland and bookland. Comparison with military obligations in Norman England.

(2) **The process of king-making**. In-fighting during a king's reign; the designation (or otherwise) of a successor; the making of a will; circumstances of death, and place of burial; the implementation (or otherwise) of the late king's will; the interests of those left in

power; the 'election' of a successor; act of submission, and oath of loyalty; the ritual or ceremony of the king's coronation, and the coronation oath. See also (7) below.

(3) **Conduct of kingship, I**: at the centre. Dynastic identity; the king's family; composition and organisation of the royal household; palace and court; royal patronage; communication from the centre with local assemblies (shire, borough, hundred, etc.) and other bodies; control of resources; control of the coinage.

(4) **Conduct of kingship, II**: on the road. The public display of royal power, as a means of maintaining the king's profile, and maintaining his contact with people. Operation of itinerant kingship; periodic meetings of the 'council'; matters conducted at such meetings, including current affairs of state, reception of visitors, production of charters, promulgation of laws, settlement of disputes, ratification of new appointments, etc. Visits to particular churches, areas, or towns. Other 'royal' activities: crown-wearing, hunting, feasting, foundation of churches, dedication services, etc. See also (7) below.

(5) **Kingship in action**. Relations with other kingdoms or peoples, including foreign powers, according to changing political circumstances. Inter-dynastic marriages. Treaties. Extension of a kingdom, for ideological, economic, or other reasons. Defence of the kingdom, whether against other kingdoms or against external attack. Military leadership, and the presence of the king. Royal estates, and royal residences in towns, etc.

(6) **Constitutional (re-)arrangements**, and scope for resistance to the king. E.g. deposition of Sigeberht in 757; instances of regicide; divisions of the kingdom; return of King Æthelred in 1014.

(7) **The rituals of kingship**. The inwardness and wider significance of the several public ceremonies or rituals associated with the practice of kingship, including inauguration (coronation), meetings of the witan, crown-wearings, weddings, oath-takings, submissions, and obsequies; and the significance of royal hairstyle, royal dress, and regalia. The representation or iconography of kingship.

The archaeology of kingship

For general guidance, see entries in A100 on, e.g., Cheddar, royal sites, Sutton Hoo, and Yeavering. For Yeavering (Northumbrian royal estate, 6th–7th century), see Hope-Taylor (D55). For Sutton Hoo (East Anglian royal ship-burial, ?630s), see D60–5. See also Biddle (C91), pp. 399–402, Rahtz (C112), pp. 65–8, Addyman (C112), pp. 295–7.

[M50] P. Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar*, BAR, Brit. ser. 65 (1979) - tenth-century West Saxon royal estate

[M51] J.H. Williams, 'From "Palace" to "Town": Northampton and Urban Origins', *ASE* 13 (1984), 113–36; see also J.H. Williams, *et al.*, *Middle Saxon Palaces at Northampton* (1985)

[M52] C. Neuman de Vegvar, 'The Iconography of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon Archaeological Finds', *Kings and Kingship*, ed. J. Rosenthal, *Acta* 11 (1986 for 1984), 1–15

[M53] J. Blair, 'Palaces or Minsters? Northampton and Cheddar Reconsidered', *ASE* 25 (1996), 97–21

[M54] U. Lobbedy, 'Carolingian Royal Palaces: the State of Research from an Architectural Historian's Viewpoint', in T100, pp. 129–54

Royal estates

[M60] P. Sawyer, 'The Royal *Tun* in Pre-Conquest England', in T22, pp. 273–99

[M61] P.A. Stafford, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organization of King Edward's Estates in Domesday', *Economic History Review* 33 (1980), 491–502

[M61.1] R. Lavelle, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organisation of Royal Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex', *HSJ* 14 (2005), 53–82

See also Hill's *Atlas* (A260), pp. 100–6, for maps showing the estates of King Edward and others in 1066; Williams (L70); Fleming (L72 and R322).

Coronation, and the liturgy of kingship

Entries on coronation in A100 and A105; plus entry on Kingston-upon-Thames in A100. For the Anglo-Saxon coronation *ordines* (orders of service), see B470–2.

[M65] J.L. Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood (1977), pp. 50–71, reptd in M69, pp. 283–307

[M66] J.L. Nelson, 'The Earliest Surviving Royal *Ordo*: Some Liturgical and Historical Aspects', *Authority and Power*, ed. B. Tierney and P. Linehan (1980), pp. 29–48, reptd in M69, pp. 341–60 - 'First' *ordo* (believed to date from s. ix.1)

[M67] J.L. Nelson, 'The Second English *Ordo*', in M69, pp. 361–74, at 365–7, arguing that the Second *ordo* was used for the first time for Edward in 900;

[M67.5] J.L. Nelson, 'The First Use of the Second Anglo-Saxon Ordo', in T117, forthcoming, arguing, in the light of Orchard (B441), that the 'Second *ordo*' was used for the first time for the coronation of King Æthelstan in 925

[M68] J.L. Nelson, 'The Rites of the Conqueror', *ANS* 4 (1982), 117–32, reptd in M69, pp. 375–401 - 'Third' *ordo*

[M69] J.L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (1986) - collected papers

[M70] J.L. Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship', *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. A.J. Duggan (1997)

[M71] M.A. Cann, 'Rites of King-Making in Tenth-Century England', *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West*, ed. M. Gosman, *et al.* (1997), pp. 111–27

[M72] P. Buc, 'Political Rituals and Political Imagination in the Medieval West from the Fourth Century to the Twelfth', in (A60), pp. 189–213

[M73] G. Garnett, 'The Third Recension of the English Coronation *ordo*: the Manuscripts', *HSJ* 11 (2003 for 1998), 43–71

For ritual, see also essays in Althoff (A60.1).

[M74] R. Strong, *Coronation: a History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (2005)

Kingship, overlordship, and the imperial pretensions of kings

For overlordship, and the 'Bretwaldas', see John (D175), etc., and other references there cited. On the use of the words 'English', 'Anglo-Saxon', etc., see Freeman (R10), vol. I, pp. 529–42; on the bretwaldadom and later 'imperial' titles, see *ibid.*, pp. 542–56; on the question 'King of England' or 'King of the English', see *ibid.*, pp. 584–6; and on the names of kingdoms and nations, see *ibid.*, pp. 597–605.

[M75] H.R. Loyn, 'The Imperial Style of the Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Kings', *History* 40 (1955), 111–15

See also Keynes (G65), Dumville (G66), Darlington (G118), Jones (G141), Banton (G142), Deshman (Q690, Q691). On the 'unity of the British Isles', see Charles-Edwards (A7), pp. 266–70.

Household, court, and witan

Nelson (F4.17), on rights and rituals. Keynes (J23), pp. 158–62, on the composition of the royal household.

[M80] Primary sources: Hincmar's *De ordine palatii* (a late-ninth-century Carolingian tract describing the officials of the royal household), trans. in *The History of Feudalism*, ed. D. Herlihy (1970), pp. 208–27; Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (B80), ch. 100; the will of King Eadred (M9); for the Welsh 'Laws of Court', see D. Jenkins, *The Laws of Hywel Dda* (1986), pp. 5–41; for the *Constitutio Domus Regis*, representing the Anglo-Norman household, see EHD II, no. 30 (and J.A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (1986), pp. 26–37)

[M82] T. Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in Linehan and Nelson (A60), pp. 432–50, reptd in Reuter (T72), pp. 193–216

[M83] *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. Barnwell and M. Mostert (2003)

[M85] L.M. Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (1904)

[M86] S.B. Chrimes, *An Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England*, 3rd ed. (1966), pp. 1–17 ('Origins: the King's Household before the Norman Conquest')

[M87] F. Liebermann, *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period* (1913)

[M88] T.J. Oleson, *The Witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor* (1955)

[M90] J. Campbell, 'Anglo-Saxon Courts', in Cubitt (T100), pp. 155–69

[M91] C. Insley, 'Assemblies and Charters in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in Barnwell and Mostert (M83), pp. 47–59

[M91.5] P. Dalton, 'Sites and Occasions of Peacemaking in England and Normandy, *c.*900–*c.*1150', *HSJ* 16 (2006), 12–26, on Pentecost, *Agnus Dei* coinage, crown-wearings, etc.

[M92] M.F. Smith, R. Fleming and P. Halpin, 'Court and Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Catholic Historical Review* 87 (2001), 569–602

See also Loyn (M38), pp. 95–100, on the royal household, and pp. 100–6, on the witan; Chadwick (M35), ch. 9, on the constitution of the 'national council'; Hooper (K45); Clarke (L18), on Edward the Confessor's thegns.

Meeting-places of the king and his councillors (900–1066)

Stenton (A1), p. 350 (map of meeting-places); Keynes (J23), pp. 36 (map of meeting-places, Fig. 1) and 269–73 (Appendix 2, citing evidence for Fig. 1); Hill (A260), pp. 82–91 and 94–5 ('itineraries'); Sawyer (M60), p. 277; Loyn (A31), pp. 102–5; Wormald (M160), pp. 430–49, with map, p. 436.

[M93.5] M. Biddle, 'Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', *ANS* 8 (1986), 51–72, at 69–72

See also Pantos (M290).

Royal succession

[M95] D.N. Dumville, 'The Ætheling: a Study in Anglo-Saxon Constitutional History', *ASE* 8 (1979), 1–33

[M96] A. Williams, 'Some Notes and Considerations on Problems Connected with the English Royal Succession, 860–1066', *ANS* 1 (1979), 144–67
See also Loyn (M38, pp. 15–19 and 90–3), and Chadwick (M35, pp. 355–66).

Queens and queenship

Primary sources: e.g. Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (B80), ch. 13; the *ordo* for the consecration of the queen, in B471; the attestations, in charters, of Eadgifu (wife of Edward the Elder), Ælfthryth (wife of Edgar), Ælfgifu-Emma (wife of Æthelred, then of Cnut), and Edith (wife of Edward the Confessor); the *Encomium Emmae* (B85); and the portrait of Queen Edith in the *Vita Æduuardi regis* (B90 [2nd ed.], pp. 22–4).

[M98] C. Hart, 'Two Queens of England', *Ampleforth Journal* 82 (1977), 10–15, 54
[M99] P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (1997), with P. Stafford, 'Writing the Biography of Eleventh-Century Queens', in T113, pp. 99–109; see also P. Stafford, 'Emma: the Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century', *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. A.J. Duggan (1997), pp. 3–26, reptd in T70 (X); P. Stafford, 'Powerful Women in the Early Middle Ages: Queens and Abbesses', in (A60), pp. 398–415
[M100] P. Stafford, 'The King's Wife in Wessex 800–1066', *Past and Present* 91 (1981), 3–27, reptd in T70 (IX), and *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: the King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (1983)
[M100.5] J.L. Nelson, 'The Queen in Ninth-Century Wessex', in T111, pp. 69–77
[M101] M.C. Ross, 'Concubinage in Anglo-Saxon England', *Past and Present* 108 (1985), 3–34
[M102] M.A. Meyer, 'The Queen's "Demesne" in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *The Culture of Christendom*, ed. M.A. Meyer (1993), pp. 75–113
[M103] G.T. Beech, 'Queen Mathilda of England (1066–1083) and the Abbey of La Chaise-Dieu in the Auvergne', *FS* 27 (1993), 350–74, at 363–8, for Edith 'Swansneck' (wife of Harold), Ealdgyth, d. of Earl Ælfgar (queen of Harold), and Edith, d. of Earl Godwine (queen of Edward the Confessor)
[M104] P. Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries', *Medieval Queenship*, ed. J.C. Parsons (1994), pp. 143–67; see also J.L. Nelson, on queen-making, in the same book, and J.L. Nelson, 'Medieval Queenship', *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, ed. L. Mitchell (1998)

Entries on Ælfthryth, Eadgifu, Emma, Eadgyth [Edith], and queens, in A100 and in the *ODNB* (A150); entry on queens in A105; Stafford (G137), on queens and monastic reform; Brooke (A3), pp. 62–72.

The iconography of kingship

The iconography of kingship springs from various sources, and finds expression in various media (sculpture, coinage, books, etc.). Roman coinage found in Britain, and brought over from the continent, provided a sense of the image of rulership in the classical tradition; Roman sculpture added another dimension. Christian iconography, e.g. of King David and of Christ, provided further inspiration. Increasing awareness of Carolingian and Ottonian royal portraiture (drawing on Byzantine prototypes) provided a fresh stimulus for the development of the iconography of kingship in Anglo-Saxon England.

For the Repton Stone (?Æthelbald), see E36. For royal portraiture on the coinage of King Offa, see (M645). There are only a few surviving illustrations, in contemporary manuscripts, of identified Anglo-Saxon kings and queens, and obviously they are all of the greatest interest, not least for the contexts in which they occur. For **Æthelstan**, see G65, pp. 173–4 (Cotton Otho B. ix) and 180 (CCCC 183). For **Edgar**, see Q125 (New Minster Charter) and G113 (Cotton Tiberius A. iii). For **Cnut** and **Ælfgifu (Emma)**, see B450 (*Liber Vitae* of the New Minster), and for **Emma**, see B85 (*Encomium Emmae*). Edward the Confessor, Harold, and others are depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry (R105). See also Talvio (M996).

Illustrations in A5, pp. 112 (David), 187 (Edgar), 188 (Edgar), 208 (Emma and Cnut), 236 (Edward). For depictions of kings in general, see, e.g., B547 (Junius 11), B569.5 (Cotton Claudius B. iv). Discussion: Deshman (Q690, Q691); Mac Lean (D88), pp. 195–9 (on David); Jones (L111), on Edward; Karkov (Q696). On Germany: Mayr-Harting (Q635); Bernhardt (J140).

Royal obsequies

The circumstances of the death and burial of kings and queens (e.g. arrangements made before death, and the implementation of those arrangements after death) are often a matter of considerable historical interest. Consider, for example, the significance of the

place of burial of each successive king in the tenth and eleventh centuries, registered in Keynes (M2).

[M104.5] M. Evans, *The Death of Kings: Royal Deaths in Medieval England* (2002) and M. Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (2003), though both start in 1066

[M104.6] A. Dodson, *The Royal Tombs of Great Britain* (2004) - illustrated guide

[M104.7] D. Palliser, *Royal Bones* [forthcoming] - covering royal burials before and after the Conquest

II. MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Entries in A100 on arms and armour, army, navy, *here*, housecarls, Trinoda Necessitas, etc. For an atlas of warfare (esp. against the vikings), see Hooper and Bennett (A270). The standard account of military obligations is Brooks (E49); and for arms, status, and warfare, see Brooks (J28). For an early-eleventh-century concept of military organization, in Normandy, see Bachrach (R33).

[M105.1] E.V. Crosby, *Medieval Warfare: a Bibliographical Guide*, Garland Medieval Bibliographies (2000)

[M105.2] K. DeVries, *A Cumulative Bibliography of Medieval Military History and Technology* (2002), pp. 193–214, on Anglo-Saxon England [CUL R532.5.4]

[M106.5] C.W. Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions on the Eve of the Norman Conquest* (1962, reptd 1998)

[M106.6] C.W. Hollister, *The Military Organization of Norman England* (1965)

[M107] N. Hooper, 'Anglo-Saxon Warfare on the Eve of the Conquest: a Brief Survey', *ANS* 1 (1979), 84–93; N. Hooper, 'Some Observations on the Navy in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in T28, pp. 17–27; N. Hooper, 'The Anglo-Saxons at War', *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. S.C. Hawkes (1989), pp. 191–202

[M108] R. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (1988) - presenting a significantly different conception of military obligations, incumbent upon holders of bookland in particular; cf. Bachrach (R33), p. 169, n. 13

[M109] J. Manley, 'The Archer and the Army in the Late Saxon Period', *ASSAH* 4 (1985), 223–35; N. Brooks, 'Weapons and Armour', in J50, pp. 208–19, reptd in T58

[M110] J. Haywood, *Dark Age Naval Power: a Reassessment of Frankish and Seafaring Anglo-Saxon Activity to c. AD 850* (1991); N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: a Naval History of Britain*, I: *660–1649* (1997)

[M111] N. Brooks, 'Church, Crown and Community: Public Work and Seigneurial Responsibilities at Rochester Bridge', *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages*, ed. T. Reuter (1992), pp. 1–20; N. Brooks, in *Traffic and Politics: the Construction and Management of Rochester Bridge, AD 43–1993*, ed. N. Yates and J.M. Gibson (1994), pp. 1–40 and 362–9; N. Brooks, 'Medieval Bridges: a Window onto Changing Concepts of State Power', *HSJ* 7 (1997), 11–29, reptd in T58, pp. 1–31; N. Brooks, 'Rochester Bridge AD 43–1381', in T58, pp. 219–65

[M112] P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* (1984)

[M112.1] R. Abels, 'English Tactics, Strategy and Military Organization in the Late Tenth Century', in J50, pp. 143–55

[M112.2] R. Abels, 'English Logistics and Military Administration, 871–1066: the Impact of the Viking Wars', *Military Aspects of Scandinavian Society in a European Perspective AD 1–1300*, ed. A.N. Jørgensen and B.L. Clausen (1997), pp. 257–65

[M112.3] R. Abels, '"Cowardice" and Duty in Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of Medieval Military History* 4 (2006), 29–49

[M113] M. Strickland, 'Military Technology and Conquest: the Anomaly of Anglo-Saxon England', *ANS* 19 (1997), 353–82

[M114] D. Hill and S. Sharp, 'An Anglo-Saxon Beacon System', in T36, pp. 157–65

[M115] S. Pollington, *The English Warrior from Earliest Times to 1066* (1996), expanded (2001), re-issued (2006)

[M116] R. Underwood, *Anglo-Saxon Weapons and Warfare* (1999); J. K. Siddorn, *Viking Weapons and Warfare* (2001)

[M116.5] I.G. Pierce, *Swords of the Viking Age* (2002)

[M117] M.J. Swanton, 'King Alfred's Ships: Text and Context', *ASE* 28 (1999), 1–22

[M118] K. Cathers, 'Hierarchy or Anarchy: an Examination of the Leadership Structures within the Anglo-Saxon Military', *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West*, ed. M. Gosman, *et al.* (1997), pp. 97–110

[M119] R. Abels, 'From Alfred to Harold II': the Military Failure of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', in T49 (2001), pp. 15–30

[M120] G. Williams, 'Military Institutions and Royal Power', in E34 (2001), pp. 295–309; and G. Williams, 'Military Obligations and Mercian Supremacy in the Eighth Century', in Hill and Worthington (E33), pp. 103–9 - on military service, etc., within a Mercian context;
[M125] J. Pullen-Appleby, *English Sea Power c871 to 1100* (2005)

See also F280, etc. (on the Burghal Hidage), Loyn (M38, pp. 163–9), John (R217), Bond (P57), and Strickland (T28). For the Battle of Hastings, see Morillo (R132).

[M130] R. Lavelle, 'Hostages in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *EME* 14 (2006), 269–96

III. LAW-CODES, CHARTERS, AND THE OPERATION OF ROYAL GOVERNMENT
(a) Legislation and litigation

[M140] Anglo-Saxon law-codes (B365–7); choice accounts of legal proceedings, esp. the Westbury dispute (EHD nos. 81 and 84), the Fonthill letter (EHD no. 102), and a Herefordshire lawsuit (EHD no. 135); charters of King Æthelred describing crimes (EHD nos. 118–20 and 123)
[M141] D. Whitelock, in A32, pp. 134–54, and in EHD, pp. 357–69 (pp. 327–37 in 1st ed.)
[M142] D.M. Stenton, *English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter 1066–1215* (1965), pp. 6–21, on 'The Anglo-Saxon inheritance'
[M143] H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *Law and Legislation from Æthelberht to Magna Carta* (1966), pp. 1–29, on 'Legislation in the Old English Kingdoms'

See also Wormald (M160), on all aspects of the subject; Oliver (D53), on seventh-century Kentish lawcodes; others (K35–8), on Cnut's laws; Keynes (J31), on crime and punishment in the reign of Æthelred the Unready; Loyn (M38), pp. 126–30, on the king and administration of justice, and pp. 140–8, on hundreds, tithings, and frankpledge; and Keynes (M212), on the means of publication of royal law. Entries by P. Wormald on law, courts, and jury, and by A. Kennedy on crime, feud, and jurisdiction, in A100.

Some general works
[M150] H. Adams, *et al.*, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law* (1876) - contains essays on courts of law, land-law, family law, and legal procedure, followed by a section giving texts and translation of select cases in Anglo-Saxon law; see also O. Cargill, 'The Mediaevalism of Henry Adams', *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown*, ed. P.W. Long (1940), pp. 296–329, and R. Fleming, 'Henry Adams and the Anglo-Saxons', in T32
[M151] F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (1898), vol. I, pp. 25–63 (and *passim*); reptd with introduction by S.F.C. Milsom (1968)
[M152] F. Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law* (1911), esp. chs. 10–14
[M153] J. Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor: a Study in the History of English Criminal Procedure* (1937), pp. 336–440
[M154] W.S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, esp. vol. 2, 6th ed. (1938), pp. 3–118
[M155] H.M. Cam, '*Manerium cum hundredo*: the Hundred and the Hundredal Manor', *EHR* 47 (1932), 353–76, reptd in H.M. Cam, *Liberties & Communities in Medieval England* (1963), pp. 64–90
[M156] H.M. Cam, 'The Private Hundred in England before the Norman Conquest', *Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. Conway Davies (1957), pp. 50–60, reptd in H.M. Cam, *Law-Finders and Law-Makers in Medieval England* (1962), pp. 59–70
[M157] M. Lupoi, *The Origins of the European Legal Order* (2000) - includes coverage of Anglo-Saxon law
[M158] A. Harding, *Medieval Law and the Foundation of the State* (2002), including remarks on the idea of the 'state', and ch. 2, 'Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Justice', pp. 10–42

Modern studies of subjects and themes
Important work on Anglo-Saxon law and legislation was done between *c.* 1975 and *c.* 2000 by **Patrick Wormald** (1947–2004): see, e.g., M166 and M205 [seminal surveys], M172 [7th cent.], J66 [Æthelred the Unready], M168–9 and M173 [disputes and their settlement], G180 [Oswaldslow], R301 [Domesday], B370 [Quadripartitus], and S34 [Lambarde], of which several are reprinted in T65.

Wormald's exposition of the material is set down for posterity in magisterial form:
[M160] P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, I: *Legislation and its Limits* (1999), including an account of the manuscript-contexts in which the written texts have been preserved (pp. 162–263), and a systematic survey of all of the surviving texts from Alfred's law-code onwards (pp. 264–415). Reviews: see A73a, A73b.

[M161] P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, II: *From God's Law to Common Law*, which was forthcoming at the time of PW's death in late September 2004. It is not yet clear whether the book will be published; but it promises to explore the wider implications of the Wormaldian view of English law, and, in particular, the notion that without Alfred, Henry II was inconceivable.

[M164] A. Harding, *The Law Courts of Medieval England* (1973), pp. 13–31, on 'The Courts of the Anglo-Saxons'

[M165] H.R. Loyn, 'The Hundred in England in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries', *British Government and Administration*, ed. H. Hearder and H.R. Loyn (1974), pp. 1–15; reptd in T16, pp. 111–34

[M166] P. Wormald, '*Lex Scripta* and *Verbum Regis*: Legislation and Germanic Kingship from Euric to Cnut', *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood (1977), pp. 105–38, reptd with additional note in T65, pp. 1–43

[M167] A.G. Kennedy, 'Disputes about *Bocland*: the Forum for their Adjudication', *ASE* 14 (1985), 175–95; see also Wormald (M160), pp. 153–8

[M168] P. Wormald, 'Charters, Law and the Settlement of Disputes in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (1986), pp. 149–68, reptd with additional note in T65, pp. 289–311 - deals in particular with Westbury dispute (EHD nos. 81 and 84) and Snodland dispute (Robertson (B355), nos. 59 and 69)

[M169] P. Wormald, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits', *ASE* 17 (1988), 247–82, reptd with additional note in T65, pp. 253–87

[M170] The '**Fonthill Letter**'. Text: Marsden (B516), pp. 96–102. Translation: EHD no. 102. Discussion: S. Keynes, 'The Fonthill Letter' [1992], in T27, pp. 53–97 (with text and translation); M. Gretsch, 'The Language of the Fonthill Letter', *ASE* 23 (1994), 57–102; M. Boynton and S. Reynolds, 'The Author of the Fonthill Letter', *ASE* 25 (1996), 91–5; Wormald, in M160, pp. 144–8; C. Hough, 'Cattle-Tracking in the Fonthill Letter', *EHR* 115 (2000), 864–92; M. Gretsch, 'The Fonthill Letter: Language, Law and the Discourse of Disciplines', *Anglia* 123 (2005), 667–86; Brooks and Kelly (B290a), no. 104 (forthcoming).

[M171] A. Kennedy, 'Law and Litigation in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi*', *ASE* 24 (1995), 131–83

[M172] P. Wormald, '"Inter cetera bona … genti suae": Law-Making and Peace-Keeping in the Earliest English Kingdoms', *SettSpol* 42 (1995), 963–93, reptd in T65, pp. 179–99, covering the seventh-century law-codes of Kent and Wessex

[M173] P. Wormald, 'Giving God and King their Due: Conflict and its Regulation in the Early English State', *SettSpol* 44 (1997), 549–83, reptd in T65, pp. 333–57

[M174] S. Rubin, 'The Bot, or Compensation in Anglo-Saxon Law: a Reassessment', *Legal History* 17 (1996), 144–54

[M174a] C. Hough, 'Penitential Literature and Secular Law in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASSAH* 11 (2000), 131–41

[M175] R.V. Colman, 'Domestic Peace and Public Order in Anglo-Saxon Law', *The Anglo-Saxons: Synthesis and Achievement*, ed. J.D. Woods and D.A.E. Pelteret (1985), pp. 49–61

[M176] M.P. Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts of the Old English Laws: Tradition and Innovation', in T40 (1986), pp. 171–92

[M177] M.P. Richards, 'Elements of a Written Standard in the Old English Laws', *Standardizing English: Essays in the History of Language Change in Honor of John Hurt Fisher*, ed. J.B. Trahern (1989), pp. 1–22

[M178] P. Lendinara, 'The Kentish Laws', in T35, pp. 211–30

[M179] K.O'B. O'Keeffe, 'Body and Law in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 27 (1998), 209–32 - on the law of mutilation in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, with discussion of the blinding of the ætheling Alfred in 1036

[M180] R. Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: the Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (1986), and P.R. Hyams, 'Trial by Ordeal: the Key to Proof in the Early Common Law', *On the Laws and Customs of England*, ed. M.S. Arnold, *et al.* (1981), pp. 90–126

[M181] D.W. Rollason, *Two Anglo-Saxon Rituals: the Dedication of a Church and Judicial Ordeal*, Univ. of Leicester Vaughan Paper 33 (1988)

[M186] P.R. Hyams, 'Feud in Medieval England', *HSJ* 3 (1991), 1–21; see also Hyams (N29)

[M187] M.P. Richards, 'Anglo-Saxonism in the Old English Laws', in S100, pp. 40–59

[M188] C. Hough, 'Numbers in Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Law', in Rumble (T112), pp. 114–36

For interesting **archaeological dimensions** (including execution cemeteries), see Reynolds (A37), esp. pp. 96–110, stressing the administrative Hundred as the context; see also N120, etc.

[M190] T. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (1989); see also D. Jenkins, *The Laws of Hywel Dda* (1986)

[M191] F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (1988)

(b) The use of the written word

Entries on literacy in A100 and A105. For an important discussion of styli and literacy, see Pestell (Q16.5), pp. 36–48; perhaps to be read in conjunction with the apparent proliferation of *æstels* (F320). For a recent survey of means of communication, see Chaplais (M49a).

The Carolingian standard is set by the extraordinary range of material preserved in the archives and library of the abbey of **St Gall**, Switzerland. For Bishop Cenwald's visit to St Gall, and to Reichenau, on behalf of King Æthelstan, in 929, see G55.

[M194] An early ninth-century (*c.* 820) conceptualization of an 'ideal' monastery, prioduced at Reichenau, sent to St Gall, and known as the 'Monastery Plan of St Gall' (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1092): J. Duft, *Der karolingische Klosterplan in der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen* (1998), with separate full-size colour facsimile; see also Horat in M199, pp. 186–8 and 196–7.

[M195] H. Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen I–II (700–920)* (1863), for texts of the charters; *Chartae Latini Antiquiores* (B338.1) for the original charters of the 8th century; P. Erhart and J. Kleindinst, *Urkundenlandschaft Rätien*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 319, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 7 (2004), for facsimiles and texts of over fifty charters (8th-10th century), relating to a particular area south of the abbey, with discussion

[M196] The 'Liber Promissionum' of St Gall (St Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. C.3.B.56), being a register of vows made by individual monks at St Gall, from the ninth century onwards. Facsimile edition: P.M. Krieg, *Das Professbuch der Abtei St. Gallen* (1931) [CUL 899.bb.364]; see also M199, pp. 25 and 70 (fair copy of 8th-cent. names), and 17 (autograph entries, 10th-cent.).

[M197] The 'Liber Vitae' of St Gall (St Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. C.3.B.55). For description and references to an edition of this example of a ninth-century Carolingian confraternity book, with later additions, see von Euw (B444.5), pp. 207–8 and 215; see also Keynes (G65), p. 200, with pl. XIV.

[M198] The 'Book of St Gall' (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 915), containing a register of confraternity agreements, from the early ninth century onwards: see D. Geuenich, 'The St. Gall Confraternity of Prayer', in M199, pp. 29–38; and for the record of Bishop Cenwald's visit in 929, see Keynes (G65), pp. 198–200, with pl. XIII. <office book>

[M199] *The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall*, ed. J.C. King and W. Vogler (2000) - comprising instructive articles about various aspects of the abbey's history, library, and archives, with excellent illustrations

[M199.5] *Mensch und Schrift im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. P. Erhart and L. Hollenstein (2006) - catalogue of an exhibition at the Stiftsarchiv, St Gall, 23 Sept.–12 Nov. 2006, with many superb illustrations

The significance of the charters of St Gall is very well demonstrated by McKitterick (M200), pp. 77–134, and (M199), pp. 217–25; and the question is whether anything like this could have existed in Anglo-Saxon England, or, perhaps more realistically, how situations might have differed.

[M200] R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (1989); see also R. McKitterick, 'Perceptions of Justice in Western Europe in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *SettSpol* 44 (1997), 1075–1102, at 1094–1101, and McKitterick (A60.10)

[M201] J. Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government', *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (1990), pp. 258–96

[M202] M.B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity' (1973), reptd in T57, pp. 275–97

[M202a] D. Ó Cróinín, 'Writing', in Davies (A7), pp. 169–200 and 250–5 - important survey covering development and uses of writing throughout Britain and Ireland

[M203] *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. M. Mostert, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 1 (1999); *Organizing the Written Word: Scripts, Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. M. Mostert, USML (forthcoming [2002])

[M204] *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. K. Heidecker, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 5 (2000) - contains instructive papers on Carolingian charters, compilation of cartularies (G104.5), etc.

[M204a] A.J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (2001)

[M205] P. Wormald, 'The Uses of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and its Neighbours', *TRHS* 5th ser. 27 (1977), 95–114

[M206] M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (1979), esp. pp. 12–17 ('Anglo-Saxon Uses of Writing'), 2nd ed. (1993), pp. 26–32, and pp. 116–50 ('The Preservation and Use of Documents'), at 121, 2nd ed. (1993), pp. 145–84, at 150

[M207] S. Lerer, *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (1991)

[M208] M. Richter, *The Formation of the Medieval West: Studies in the Oral Culture of the Barbarians* (1994)

[M209] G. Brown, 'The Dynamics of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', Toller Lecture 1994, *BJRL* 77.1 (1995), 109–42; reptd in Scragg (T108)

[M209.5] The **'Wealdhere Letter'**: from Wealdhere, bishop of London, to Berhtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, written in 704 or 705, and hailed as 'the first letter known to have been written by one Englishman to another' (Stenton (A1), pp. 142–3, 179). Facsimile (BL Cotton Augustus ii.18): *BMFacs.* (B335), i.5, and B339. Translation: EHD (B1), no. 164. Discussion: P. Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere of London to Archbishop Brihtwold of Canterbury: the Earliest Original "Letter Close" Extant in the West' (1978), reptd in his *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (1981), ch. XIV, pp. 3–23 + Add.

[M210] S. Kelly, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Society and the Written Word', *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (1990), pp. 36–62

[M211] R. Derolez, 'Runic Literacy among the Anglo-Saxons', *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, ed. A. Bammesberger and A. Wollmann (1990), pp. 397–436

[M212] S. Keynes, 'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (1990), pp. 226–57

[M212a] C. Hough, 'Legal and Documentary Writings', in A51.3 (2001), pp. 170–87

[M213] K.A. Lowe, 'Lay Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and the Development of the Chirograph', in T33, pp. 161–204; K.A. Lowe, 'The Nature and Effect of the Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Will', *Journal of Legal History* 19 (1998), 23–61

[M213a] B. Danet and B. Bogoch, 'Orality, Literacy, and Performativity in Anglo-Saxon Wills', *Language and the Law*, ed. J. Gibbons (1994), pp. 100–35

[M214] T.A. Bredehoft, 'First-Person Inscriptions and Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASSAH* 9 (1998 for 1996), 103–10

[M215] W.G. Busse, 'Sua gath tha lareowas beforan thæm folce, & thæt folc æfter. The Self-Understanding of the Reformers as Teachers in Late Tenth-Century England', *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. U. Schaefer (1993), pp. 58–106

[M216] M. Griffith, 'Ælfric's Preface to Genesis: Genre, Rhetoric and the Origins of the *ars dictaminis*', *ASE* 29 (2000), 215–34 - for comparison with origins of the formulaic writ

[M217] P.J. Geary, 'Land, Language and Memory in Europe 700–1100', *TRHS* 6th ser. 9 (1999), 169–84; see also Geary (J146)

[M218] C.B. Bouchard, 'Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity', *Charters, Cartularies and Archives: the Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. A.J. Kosto and A. Winroth (2002), pp. 22–32

See also Campbell (M239–41), on various aspects of 'pragmatic literacy'.

(c) Anglo-Saxon charters

The indispensable guide is Sawyer (B320), listing texts, translations (if any available), and discussions of every charter. For modern editions, see B342, esp. the fascicules edited by Kelly (B271, B291, B293, B281), which are furnished with excellent introductions and commentaries. For a selection of charters of particular historical importance, in translation, see EHD, nos. 54–135, with short commentaries. See also entries in A100 on charters, chancery, etc.; and entries in A105. Unfortunately, there is no manual on Anglo-Saxon charters.

For Merovingian charters, see Kölzer (B604.5). For Carolingian charters, see B610. For French (Capetian) charters, see B610.5. For German (Ottonian and Salian) charters, see B611 and B612. For Carolingian charters, see Bautier (B610a), and esp. Mersiowsky (B610a). For aspects of ritual in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Buc (M72), Althoff (J145), Geary (J146), Nelson (F4.17), etc.

Early stages in the study of diplomatic

The branch of knowledge known as 'diplomatic' is founded upon the work of **Mabillon** (S63), and the basic principles arose from the activities, in the second half of the nineteenth century, of Austrian, German, and French scholars, focussed largely on continental charters. Prominent among the names to conjure with are those of **Theodor**

Sickel (1826–1908), **Heinrich Brunner** (1840–1915), **Harry Breslau** (1848–1926), and **Arthur Giry (1848–99).**

[M218.4] Th. v. Sickel, *Acta regum et imperatorum Karolinorum digesta et enarrata*, 2 vols. (1867–8), I: *Lehre von den Urkunden der ersten Karolinger (751–840)*, esp. pp. 30–42; and see also Giry (M218.7), pp. 75–6

[M218.5] H. Brunner, *Zur Rechtsgeschichte der römischen und germanischen Urkunde* I (1880), reptd (1961), which covers Italian private charters (pp. 1–148), including the *traditio cartae* (pp. 86–96), the Anglo-Saxon 'land-book' (pp. 149–208) [regarded by Brunner as 'private', and dispositive], and Frankish private charters (pp. 209–307)

[M218.55] H.D. Hazeltine. 'Comments on the Writings Known as Anglo-Saxon Wills', in Whitelock (B357), pp. vii–xl

[M218.6] H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (1889), 2nd ed. (1912), 3rd ed. (1958)

[M218.7] A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique* (1894), e.g. pp. 433–54, on style; pp. 482–8, on formularies; pp. 493–526, on external features; etc. Unfortunately, Giry avoids discussion of AS charters, on the grounds that the Anglo-Saxons had no organized chancery, and because AS charters did not serve as models for post-Conquest charters (p. 795).

Although the pioneer was John Mitchell Kemble (S75), compiler of the *Codex Diplomaticus* (B340), the founder of the modern study of Anglo-Saxon charters was **W. H. Stevenson** (1858–1924), of St John's College, Oxford, well known for his edition of Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (B80), and of *Early Scholastic Colloquies* (B597), and for some important 'historical' articles (e.g. G311.1, K90), but also the author of some significant work on charters. There is an account of him in the *ODNB* (A150). 'It is with Stevenson that the modern study not only of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic but also of Anglo-Saxon history really begins' (Stenton (M220), p. 8).

[M219.1] W.H. Stevenson, 'The Old English Charters to St. Denis', *EHR* 6 (1891), 736–42 – on a curious group of charters which are spurious in their received form, although none the less interesting

[M219.2] *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the Bodleian Library*, ed. A.S. Napier and W.H. Stevenson (1895) - edition, with comprehensive notes, of a small collection of Anglo-Saxon charters in single-sheet form (B337), acquired by the Bodleian Library in the late nineteenth century

[M219.2] W.H. Stevenson, 'An Old-English Charter of William the Conqueror in Favour of St. Martin's-Le-Grand, London, A.D. 1068', *EHR* 11 (1896), 731–44. For this charter, see also Keynes (Q95), pp. 218–19; Bates (R155), pp. 594–601 (no. 181); and Taylor (Q97).

[M219.3] W.H. Stevenson, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery', Sandars Lectures, University of Cambridge, May 1898 - a survey of Anglo-Saxon charters from the seventh century to the eleventh. On 29 January 1899, F.W. Maitland wrote from the Canary Isles to R. Lane Poole, in Oxford: 'Should you see Stevenson, be good enough to tell him that if, when I return in April, I do not find the Anglo-Saxon Chancery in print I will swear in Spanish.' Maitland must have so sworn; for Stevenson's lectures remained unpublished, and after his death the manuscript passed from one scholar to another (Galbraith, Wainwright, Whitelock, Stenton, Wallace-Hadrill) until 1955, when it was placed by Wallace-Hadrill in the library of St John's College, Oxford. A complete text is available on 'Kemble' (B330).

[M219.4] W.H. Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', *EHR* 29 (1914), 689–703

[M219.45] H. Kleinschmidt, 'W.H. Stevenson and the Continental Diplomatics of his Age', unpublished, though it is hoped that it will be made available on 'Kemble' (B330)

[M219.5] M.P. Parsons, 'Some Scribal Memoranda for Anglo-Saxon Charters of the 8th and 9th Centuries', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, Erg. Bd. 14 (1939), 13–32 - pioneering analysis of early Anglo-Saxon charters extant in their 'original' single-sheet form, to be made more accessible, with images, on 'Kemble' (B330)

The transfer of land, use of land, establishment of rights over land, or defence of title to land, probably generated various kinds of documentation, ranging from the title-deed (royal diploma) to records of a more ephemeral kind. For records (e.g. 'notices de tradition') on the continent, see Parisse, *et al.* (B610.7), etc. In England, certain monastic houses retained and preserved certain kinds of record; for Ely, see the *Libellus* (B245).

Some 'modern' reading on Anglo-Saxon charters
The best and most accessible introduction to the material:

[M220] F.M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (1955) - now the 'classic' account of charters, presented in a highly readable format

[M220.5] D. Whitelock, in EHD, pp. 369–82 (pp. 337–47 in 1st ed.) - no less valuable, because keyed in to her translations of key charters, but all too easily overlooked

Four important papers on Anglo-Saxon charters by Pierre Chaplais were first published in 1965–9, in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists*:

[M221] P. Chaplais, 'Some Early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas on Single Sheets: Originals or Copies?' (1968), reptd in *Prisca Munimenta*, ed. F. Ranger (1973), pp. 63–87; see also Chaplais (D42), Chaplais (M225.5), and Chaplais (M225.6)

Not long afterwards, an authoritative review-article was published, by Nicholas Brooks:

[M222] N. Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon Charters: the Work of the Last Twenty Years', *ASE* 3 (1974), 211–31, reptd as 'Anglo-Saxon Charters: Recent Work', incorporating 'Postscript: Anglo-Saxon Charters, 1973–1998', in T59, pp. 181–215

[M222.5] D. Bates, 'Charters and Historians of Britain and Ireland: Problems and Possibilities', in T114, pp. 00–00 <not yet seen>

[M223] A. Scharer, *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 26 (1982) - on the diplomatic (and authenticity) of Kentish charters of the late seventh and eighth centuries, of East Saxon charters connected with Bishop Eorcenwald, and of Mercian charters of the late seventh and eighth centuries (notably those of Æthelbald and Offa). For West Saxon charters during the same period, see Edwards (E111).

[M224] A. Scharer, 'Die Intitulationes der angelsächsischen Könige im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert', *Intitulatio* III: *Lateinische Herrschertitel und Herrschertitulaturen vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. Wolfram and A. Scharer, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Erg.-Bd. 29 (1988), 9–74; H. Kleinschmidt, 'Die Titulaturen englischer Könige im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', *ibid.*, pp. 75–129 - on royal styles in charters from the seventh to the eleventh century

[M224.3] D. Howlett, *Sealed from Within: Self-Authenticating Insular Charters* (1999) - a new and challenging exposition of some early charters, esp. S 7–9, 11, 13–15, 19, 21, 65, 1171, and 346 (Alfred for Bishop Werferth, 889); see also McKee and McKee (Q67.5)

[M224.5] R. Sharpe, 'The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century', *ASE* 32 (2003), 247–91; R. Sharpe, 'Address and Delivery in Anglo-Norman Royal Charters', in T114, pp. 00–00 <not yet seen>

[M224.55] S. Foot, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record, or Story?', in Tyler and Balzaretti (T115), pp. 39–65

[M224.56] J. Barrow, 'The Chronology of Forgery Production at Worcester from *c.* 1000 to the Early Twelfth Century', in Barrow and Brooks (Q99.2), pp. 105–22; see also Barrow (G183)

The use of charters in Anglo-Saxon England: ritual and the written word

A matter of special significance for our understanding of royal diplomas is whether a diploma was truly 'dispositive', or merely 'evidentiary'. If a charter can be seen to have played a significant and necessary part in the ceremonial or ritual surrounding the transfer of land or privileges, culminating with a formal *traditio cartae* (the handing over of the charter to the beneficiary), it would follow that the charter should be regarded as in some sense 'dispositive'. If, on the other hand, the legal act could be effected without a written document (perhaps instead with a symbol of the land, such as a piece of turf), and if it were clear that the written document was drawn up afterwards, it would follow that the charter was evidentiary, drawn up after the event to serve as evidence that the substantive act had taken place. Brunner (M218.5) argued that diplomas were indeed dispositive; but others have not been convinced. It has been noted, for example, that a written record of a will is clearly to be regarded as 'evidentiary', because it merely records or advertises the *oral* act of announcing one's intentions before witnesses, and because the oral act itself was substantive; so Hazeltine (M218.55), esp. pp. xxxi–xxxiv, asked whether the same might not apply to the diploma.

Further discussion: Turner (P91), etc.; Keynes (J23), pp. 31–5, with R. V. Colman, in *Amer. Jnl of Legal Hist.* 26 (1982), 270–2, on the ceremony known in medieval England as 'livery of seisin'; Kelly (M210), p. 44. Much turns on the evidence of Anglo-Saxon charters preserved in their original single-sheet form: see 'Kemble' (B339); Chaplais (M221); and Keynes (M224.6).

There is perhaps a danger in pressing such legal distinctions too far, coupled with a need to make allowance for improvisation and experiment. In the seventh century, the transfer of land might involve placing a sod of earth on a gospel-book, or on an altar, with or without a charter. The question is how the ceremonial developed thereafter: what use was made of written documents (scribal memoranda, charters, etc.) at meetings of the king and his councillors, and whether surviving single sheets bear traces of the circumstances of their production (at court or elsewhere). From what little we know of the ceremonial of land transfer, whether conducted within the confines of a church, or at a meeting of the king and his councillors, it would appear that written documents were often central to the

proceedings; and it was arguably their origin and use in such contexts that gave them validity as title-deeds. The question might also be asked whether written wills were quite as subordinate to the oral act as Hazeltine would suggest, given the care often taken to make two or three copies, for safe-keeping by the interested parties.

[M224.6] S. Keynes, 'The Witan and the Written Word' (forthcoming), arguing that in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries a variety of practices were followed (cf. Keynes (B339.2)); that in the tenth and eleventh centuries it was a common (though by no means the invariable) practice for diplomas to be drawn up *in advance of*, and *for use in*, the ritual act conducted before witnesses at a meeting of the witan, and that the work was undertaken by a 'central' agency, working at the meeting; but that in some instances it would appear that a different procedure was adopted, and that certain charters were produced by a 'local' agency, working some time after the event

Seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. On the introduction of charters in the seventh century, see Chaplais (D42) and Kelly (M210); see also Wormald (D310), and Blair (A20), pp. 85–7. For Northumbrian charters of the seventh century, see above, before B200. On a group of charters associated with Abbot/Bishop Eorcenwold (Sawyer nos. 1165, 235, and 1171, translated in EHD nos. 54, 58, and 60), see Chaplais (M221), pp. 78–9, and Wormald (D310), pp. 9–11. On the secularization of the charter in the eighth century, see Bede (B303), in EHD no. 170, pp. 805–6. On West Saxon charters 670–839, see Edwards (E111). On 'Kentish' diplomatic, see Kelly (B291), pp. lxxi–xcvi. On 'South Saxon' diplomatic, see Kelly (B293), pp. xlv–lv. On single sheets, see Keynes (B339.2). On ninth-century diplomatic, see Brooks (Q16), esp. pp. 327–30; see also Brown (E205), pp. 162–72. On ninth-century script, see Dumville (B788.5), esp. pp. 311–19 (charters). On ethnic terminology in eighth- and ninth-century charters, see Brooks (D180.1), pp. 43–6. For distinctive groups of charters, see M232.41, etc. On 'West Saxon' diplomatic in the ninth century, and the origins of the Anglo-Saxon royal chancery, see Keynes (F10); see also Crick (F13).

Tenth and eleventh centuries. For distinctive groups of charters ('Æthelstan A', the alliterative charters, the 'Dunstan B' charters, 'Edgar A', etc.), see M232.44, etc. For the charters of King Eadwig (955–9), see Keynes (J23), pp. 48–69. For the charters of King Æthelred, see Keynes (J61). For the charters of King Cnut, see Lawson (K28), pp. 236–44, and Keynes (K31), pp. 48–54. For some choice charters of Edward the Confessor, see Keynes (Q95) and (Q96). See also entries in A100 on charters, chancery, etc.

On 'friendship' in charters, see Barrow (N25.5). On vernacular boundary-clauses, see entry in A100, and P115, etc. For the diplomas of William the Conqueror, see Bates (R155).

The 'royal chancery'

For the Carolingian chancery, see Bautier (B610a).

[M224.7] R. Drögereit, 'Gab es eine angelsächsische Königskanzlei?', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 13 (1935), 335–436 - the classic article on the production of charters in the tenth century, introducing 'Æthelstan A', *et al.*, to Anglo-Saxon scholarship; a translation is available on 'Kemble' (B330).

[M225.5] P. Chaplais, 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma' (1965), reptd in *Prisca Munimenta*, ed. F. Ranger (1973), pp. 28–42

[M225.6] P. Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: from the Diploma to the Writ' (1966), reptd in *Prisca Munimenta*, ed. F. Ranger (1973), pp. 43–62

[M226] S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016* (1980), esp. pp. 14–83 and 134–53. Reviews: P. Wormald, in *History* 67 (1982), 309–10; P. Chaplais, in *JEH* 35 (1984), 262–5; and Chaplais (M227). See also Insley (M229) and Kelly (M230).

[M227] P. Chaplais, 'The Royal Anglo-Saxon "Chancery" of the Tenth Century Revisited', *Studies in Medieval History presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (1985), pp. 41–51; see also Chaplais (M49a) [2003], p. 40, with reference to the procedure for drawing up royal diplomas, 'none of which appears ever to have been issued by a royal chancery'

[M228] B.B. Rezak, 'The King Enthroned: a New Theme in Anglo-Saxon Royal Iconography: the Seal of Edward the Confessor and its Political Implications', *Kings and Kingship*, ed. J. Rosenthal, *Acta* 11 (1986 for 1984), 53–88

[M229] C. Insley, 'Charters and Episcopal Scriptoria in the Anglo-Saxon South-West', *EME* 7.2 (1998), 173–97

[M229a] C. Insley, 'Where Did All the Charters Go? Anglo-Saxon Charters and the New Politics of the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 24 (2002), 109–27 - with valuable discussion of 10th-century charters (pp. 111–20), and reflections on the circumstances of the 'decline' of the charter in the 11th century (pp. 120–7); see also Insley (M91), on assemblies and charters

[M230] S. Kelly (B281), I, pp. lxxi–cxxxi, reviewing the whole matter from an Abingdon perspective, and giving special attention to charters directly in favour of the abbey (pp. lxxi–lxxxiv), the 'Orthodoxorum' charters (Q127) (pp. lxxxiv–cxv), and the charters of 'Edgar A' (pp. cxv–cxxv)

[M231] S. Miller (B265), commentary on nos. 26 (p. 127), 27, 28, 30.

Palaeography and diplomatic. For tenth-century charters and the development of Square minuscule, see Dumville (B788.6). For Eadwig Basan, and his possible training as a royal scribe, see Dumville (G256). For palaeographical analysis of single sheets, see Thompson (B339.5).

On the **use of the written word** in royal government, see Campbell (M239–41) and Keynes (M212). On all aspects of the writ, see B250. On the terminology of the 'chancery', see Keynes (J23), pp. 145–7; and for the glossary in question, see B587 (Kindschi, p. 249). For Regenbald the 'chancellor', see Keynes (Q95); for charters produced by Bishop Giso, see Keynes (Q96); see also R159. Loyn (M38), pp. 106–18; Brown (R15), pp. 59–63, and (R41); John (T54), pp. 100–4.

Aspects of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic

'Diplomatic' is the study of charters as formal documents, but refers mainly to the close analysis of the transmitted text. The study of charters involves much more: circumstances of production; script and physical features of single sheets; use of charters in the Anglo-Saxon and later periods; forgery of charters before and after the Norman Conquest; preservation of charters in the archives of religious houses; the fate of these archives in the 16th and 17th centuries; criticism of the texts; use of the texts for historical and other purposes. In the absence of a manual of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic, the entries below give an indication of some of the subjects which such a manual might contain.

[M232.30] Of their nature, charters present a distinctive kind of challenge to the editor. Surviving texts can be classified under five main headings: (1) charters on single sheets (B339), ranging from 'originals' or contemporary copies to later copies and forgeries; (2) copies of variable quality entered in cartularies of religious houses, compiled under a variety of different circumstances for various purposes (e.g. B231, B232, B239, B240, B243, B246, B248, B260, B264, B267, B270, B271, B277, B278, B280, B288, B289, B291, B292, B295; lost cartularies B269, B285, B290, B296, B297), whether copied from a single sheet or from an earlier cartulary copy; (3) copies made as part of the process whereby charters were formally 'inspected' in the middle ages; (4) copies of foundation charters, etc., entered in the 'Prise-Say Register' (S24) in the 1530s, whether from single sheets, inspeximus copies, or cartulary copies, itself lost but now represented by several late 16th-/early 17th-century transcripts; (5) antiquarian transcripts and early printed editions, made in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, whether from single sheets or cartularies, and especially important in those (many) cases where the single sheets or cartularies in question have not survived.

[M232.31] The editorial process involves the need to distinguish interpolations from the 'original' text, as well as matters of orthography, capitalization, word-division, and punctuation, in copies of variable quality (M232.30). It also involves the treatment of special features, such as pictorial invocation, layout, boundary clause, witness-list, and endorsement. The incidence of 'errors' (of spelling, concord, etc.) can be of significance in its own right, e.g. as evidence of declining standards (Lapidge (F31)), so editors might have to distinguish between original error and copyist's error. For modern editions of royal diplomas, see B342.

[M232.32] Diplomatic analysis of a charter serves three purposes: (1) It is an essential part of the process of establishing the *authenticity* (or otherwise) of a charter, thereby unlocking its potential as primary source material. (2) It is an essential part of the process of discerning the circumstances behind the *production* of charters, which also has a direct bearing on their use as historical evidence. (3) It helps to establish what is formulaic and what is *potentially 'original'* in a given text, which bears on their use as evidence for Latin learning.

[M232.33] Each of the 'formulaic' parts of a charter requires separate study in its own right: pictorial invocation, verbal invocation, proem, dispositive section (including royal style, appurtenances, immunity clause, reservation clause), sanction, boundary-clause, dating clause, witness-list, and endorsement. Many of the formulas used for proems and sanctions in tenth-century charters have a clearly identifiable period of first (intensive) use, followed by an afterlife of occasional re-use; this bears directly on the likely circumstances of their production. For royal styles, see Scharer and Kleinschmidt (M224); for the reservation clause (military obligations), see Brooks (E49); for boundary-clauses, see

'LangScape' (B345), and Keynes (M232.63); for witness-lists, see Keynes (B331). For proems and sanctions, see below. For further information, see 'Kemble' (B330).

[M232.34] Distinctions should be made between different strands in the Latin text of a charter: (a) passages derived directly from identifiable written sources, such as the Bible, or learned works (M232.36); (b) passages derived directly or indirectly from other charters, which might include whole elements (e.g. proem, sanction, dating clause, etc.) or particular forms of words in the dispositive section (e.g. immunity clause, reservation clause) (M232.33); (c) whole formulas, or passages within formulas, that appear to represent the draftsman's adaptation of a formula, or his own work, in the formulaic parts of the text; (d) passages of original composition, which of their nature would be particular to the charter in question.

[M232.35] Anglo-Saxon charters should be approached as literary compositions in their own right. They have interest not only for our understanding of land tenure, aspects of royal policy, and the history of landed estates (of laymen and religious houses), but also as works of literature: e.g. in the variety of themes chosen for proems and sanctions, and the details of language and literary allusion.

[M232.36] Several hundred charters were 'sourced' for *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* (A50.1), in the late 1990s, by R. C. Love. To find these entries, go to the *Fontes* website and pursue links as follows: Search the Fontes database / Search by Anglo-Saxon Author / Anon. (Lat.). Press 'Submit', and a list of several hundred records will appear, each representing a particular charter, identified by its Sawyer-number. In this list, 'Show Records' will show identified passages; 'Show Sources' will show identified sources; and clicking on the charter will give details of the edition used.

[M232.37] The classic principle, that one should work from charters preserved in their original form to charters preserved only in cartulary and later copies, is not entirely helpful, since relatively few texts survive as originals. The vital principle is therefore to work from charters preserved in one archive to charters preserved in all other archives; for in this way we can begin to discern not only indications of 'local' production, and in-breeding, but also the common features which might represent a diplomatic 'mainstream' (including products of a putative royal writing office) or which might lead to the identification of distinctive groups of charters (M232.38). For archives of religious houses, see above, Section B (B200–99).

[M232.38] The fabrication or forgery of charters started as early as the eighth century, and the practice was rife thereafter; but fabricated charters are no less interesting than the (supposed) real thing, for all manner of reasons.

Distinctive groups of charters

In the early period (7th, 8th and 9th centuries), there is a need to distinguish between Kentish, Mercian, West Saxon and other diplomatic traditions. In the later period (10th and 11th centuries), there is a need to distinguish distinctive groups of charters within or from what may be identified (arguably) as the mainstream. The most distinctive groups of Anglo-Saxon charters are:

[M232.40] The eighth-century toll charters: Kelly (P42).

[M232.41] King Æthelwulf's 'decimation' charters (854): Keynes (F10), pp. 1115–23; *Atlas of Attestations* (B331), Table XXIII; Nelson (F4.17), pp. 14–22); Kelly (B278), pp. 65–91; Pratt (F92), pp. 66–72. For the 'First' decimation charters, cf. Keynes (J162.5).

[M232.42] 'West Saxon' charters issued in the central decades of the ninth century, perhaps to be associated with a West Saxon priest in the king's household: Keynes (Q95), p. 185, n. 3; Keynes (F10), pp. 1114–34; Crick (F13).

[M232.43] The charters of King Alfred issued in the 890s, perhaps to be associated with a Mercian priest in the king's household: Keynes (F10), pp. 1134–41; Kelly (B281), pp. 78–9.

[M232.44] The charters of 'Æthelstan A' (928–35): above (G50.2).

[M232.45] The 'alliterative' ['Dunstan A'] charters of the 940s and 950s: above (G95).

[M232.46] The 'Dunstan B' charters of the 950s: above (G96).

[M232.47] A 'Mercian' draftsman working for King Edgar (958–63): above (G99.71).

[M232.48] The charters of 'Edgar A' (960–3), and of the 'Edgar A' type: above (G99.72).

[M232.49] The 'Orthodoxorum' charters: below (Q127).

[M232.50] Foundation charters (Q129). Sherborne: S[awyer] 895, for which see Keynes (Q128). Wherwell: S 904, for which see B267. Burton (S 906), for which see B238. Eynsham: S 911, for which see B239 and Keynes (J162.5).

For 'pancarts', see Tock (B610.7).

Proems and sanctions

[M232.51] B. Danet and B. Bogoch, '"Whoever Alters This, May God Turn His Face from Him on the Day of Judgement": Curses in Anglo-Saxon Legal Documents', *Journal of*

American Folklore 105 (1992), 132–65; see also L.K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (1993)

[M232.52] R.H. Bremmer, 'The Final Countdown: Apocalyptic Expectations in Anglo-Saxon Charters', *Time and Eternity: the Medieval Discourse*, ed. G. Jaritz and G. Moreno-Riaño, International Medieval Research 9 (2003), 501–14

For mention of Jews in the sanctions, see Scheil (P216).

Boundary-clauses

For the boundary-clauses in Anglo-Saxon charters, see entry by J. Jenkyns in A100, pp. 97–9; see also Thompson (B339.5), pp. 40–2, and Hooke (P117), etc. Website: 'Langscape' (B345).

[M232.61] M. Reed, 'Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries', *Discovering Past Landscapes*, ed. M. Reed (1984), pp. 261–306 - excellent survey of the evidence; see also M. Reed, 'Buckinghamshire Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries' [1979], in Gelling (B325), pp. 168–87, with point-by-point explanation, and essential maps

[M232.62] K.A. Lowe, 'The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clause', *Nomina* 21 (1998), 63–100

[M232.63] S. Keynes, 'Boundary-Clauses in Anglo-Saxon Charters' (forthcoming)

[M232.64] P. R. Kitson, 'The Nature of Old English Dialect Distributions, Mainly Exhibited in Charter Boundaries', *Medieval Dialectology*, ed. J. Fisiak (1995), pp. 43–135; also P. Kitson, *Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries* (forthcoming) - major survey of Anglo-Saxon boundary-clauses

See also Howe (P215), pp. 15–20; Cooper (P34), on roads. For 'heathen burials' in boundary-clauses, see Reynolds (N140).

The compilation of cartularies

For circumstances behind the compilation of ninth-century continental cartularies, see McKitterick (A60.10), esp. pp. 157–62, Geary (G104.5, M217) , and Declercq (G104.6). For the two 11th-cent. Worcester cartularies (the later one compiled by Hemming), see B231; for the earlier, see B573.9. For the (?11th-cent.) *Liber Terrarum* of Glastonbury, see B285. For archival practices after the Conquest, see Clanchy (M206).

[M234] F. Tinti, 'From Episcopal Conception to Monastic Compilation: Hemming's Cartulary in Context', *EME* 11.3 (2002), 233–61; and for Hemming himself, see entry in A100

For the compilation of cartularies, see also Bouchard (M218).

(d) Aspects of late Anglo-Saxon royal government

[M235] R.R. Darlington, 'The Last Phase of Anglo-Saxon History', *History* 22 (1937), 1–13, superseded by R.R. Darlington, *The Norman Conquest*, Creighton Lecture in History 1963 (1963), on the Anglo-Saxon legacy, esp. pp. 3–7 (chancery), 7–9 (coinage), 9–14 (law), 14–18 (church), 19–22 (vernacular and Latin), 23–7 (military organisation and [post-Conquest] origins of feudalism)

[M236] H.R. Loyn, 'The King and the Structure of Society in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *History* 42 (1957), 87–100; reptd in T16, pp. 65–89

[M237] R.H.C. Davis, 'The Norman Conquest', *History* 51 (1966), 279–86 - for institutional continuity

[M238] R.A. Brown, 'The Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 5th ser. 17 (1967), 109–30, reptd in T12, pp. 242–63 - takes a dim view of the Anglo-Saxon achievement; see also Brown (R15, pp. 51–93)

[M239] J. Campbell, 'Observations on English Government from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *TRHS* 5th ser. 25 (1975), 39–54, reptd in T9, pp. 155–70

[M240] J. Campbell, 'The Significance of the Anglo-Norman State in the Administrative History of Western Europe', *Beihefte der Francia* 9 (1980), 117–34, reptd in T9, pp. 171–89

[M241] J. Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (1987), pp. 201–18, reptd in T43, pp. 225–49, and in T66, pp. 201–25

[M242] P. Sawyer, 'The Anglo-Saxon Inheritance', *SettSpol* 32 (1986), 863–83

[M245] W.L. Warren, 'The Myth of Norman Administrative Efficiency', *TRHS* 5th ser. 34 (1984), 113–32

[M246] W.L. Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England 1086–1272* (1987), esp. pp. 25–55 ('The Anglo-Saxon Legacy')

See also Barlow (L10) for royal government in the reign of Edward the Confessor. For the late Anglo-Saxon state, see Campbell (M350), etc.

Shires and sheriffs

On **shires**: entry in *BEASE* (A100), pp. 420–2; Stenton (A1), pp. 292–3 and 336–8; Loyn (M38), pp. 133–40; Gelling (A42), pp. 125–45. On the hundred: Loyn (M165).

On **sheriffs** (who appear s. x/xi): Keynes (J23), p. 198, with n. 165 (references); Keynes (J31), pp. 69–70 (friction with ealdormen); entry on reeve in *BEASE* (A100); entry on sheriff in A105. The major work is Green (M275).

[M270] C.S. Taylor, 'The Origin of the Mercian Shires' [1898], reptd. in *Gloucestershire Studies*, ed. H.P.R. Finberg (1957), pp. 17–45 - attributing major role to Eadric Streona, who was appointed ealdorman of Mercia in 1007

[M270.5] J. Whybra, *A Lost English County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (1990) - the first 15 pages depend verbatim on Taylor (M270), but the rest deals with the separate history of what is now the northern part of Gloucestershire, and what was then [until the early eleventh century] a distinct unit known as 'Winchcombeshire'

[M271] D. Hill, 'The Shiring of Mercia - Again', in G14 (2001), pp. 144–59

[M275] J.A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (1990) – essential lists, shire by shire, with detailed coverage of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman sheriffs

[M280] W.A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (1927), pp. 1–16 ('Introduction: the King's Reeve') and 17–39 ('The Office of Sheriff in the Anglo-Saxon Period')

For Anglo-Norman sheriffs, see Green (R202), etc.; and note that William de Cahagnes (R205.5) was a fine example of his kind.

Meeting-places

[M290] A. Pantos, '"On the Edges of Things": the Boundary Location of Anglo-Saxon Assembly Sites', in P119.5, pp. 38–49

Seals

Kings had seals (B350, M228), and so did bishops (B840, no. 18); so too did less exalted members of the social hierarchy, including thegns. The interesting questions are who was entitled to have them, by whom were they made, and how were they used. See entry by Heslop on seals in A100, with references.

[M300] P.D.A. Harvey and A. McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (1996), pp. 1–5

[M301] T.A. Heslop, *Image and Authority: English Seals of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, but apparently not yet published (Brepols), and presumably still forthcoming

[M302] Lead impression of the seal of King Coenwulf (796–821), reading '+ Coenvvlfi regis' on obverse and 'Merciorum' on reverse; apparently used loose (not attached to a document), and apparently found in Italy (though now in the BM); comparable in certain respects with the gold coin of King Coenwulf (M710.1)

[M304] Seal-matrix of Edith, 'royal sister' [of King Edward and King Æthelred], later St Edith of Wilton: see Q390; Harvey and McGuinness (M300), fig. 3; Yorke (Q22.5), p. 55.

[M305] Seal-matrix of Ælfric (a layman): Wilson (B840), no. 104; Okasha (B710), no. 119.

[M306] Seal-matrix of Wulfric (a layman): Okasha (B710, Supp.), no. 176; A210, no. 369.

[M307] Seal-matrix of Godwine *minister* (thegn), re-used by Godgyth (a religious woman): Beckwith (B844), no. 41; Okasha (B710), no. 117; A210, no. 368; A233.5, no. 113. See also A5, p. 197; Hinton (B837), pp. 146–7.

For Carolingian seals, see Kornbluth (F4.5).

See also Chaplais (M49a).

(e) The Anglo-Saxon State

'It follows from all this that, according to whatever standard of political value we make our judgement, the England of the tenth and eleventh centuries will be found utterly lacking in all qualities which make a state strong and keep it efficient ...'. Thus Stenton (R5), pp. 21–2, writing in 1908. Thanks not least to Stenton's later work, it has become axiomatic, more recently, that the late Anglo-Saxon 'state' was among the most 'advanced' and 'sophisticated' polities of its day.

For well articulated statements of the maximalist position, see Campbell (G7), Wormald (G8), Campbell (M239), Campbell (M240), Campbell (M241), etc.

[M350] J. Campbell, 'The Late Anglo-Saxon State: a Maximum View', *PBA* 87 (1995), 39–65; reptd in T66, pp. 1–30, esp. p. 10 ('Late Anglo-Saxon England was a nation state ...')

It is arguable that enthusiasm for the late Anglo-Saxon state can be taken too far.

[M355] R. Davies, 'The Medieval State: the Tyranny of a Concept?", *Journal of Historical Sociology* 16.2 (2003), 280–300

[M356] Keynes (J34.6), pp. 251–9; S. Keynes, 'The "Grand Combinations" of the Anglo-Saxons' (forthcoming) - from a conference on 'Shaping Understanding: Form and Order in the Anglo-Saxon World, 400–1100' (March 2002)

If the 'Tribal Hidage' is an antidote to the concept of the Heptarchy, and if the 'Fonthill Letter' is an antidote to to the concept of a disembodied legal system, it may not be difficult to find an antidote to the concept of the late Anglo-Saxon state. Certainly, the reality fell some way short of the aspiration. It should not be assumed, for example, that practices which obtained in one part of the 'kingdom of the English' necessarily obtained elsewhere; there would have been much regional variation. For Northumbria, we have come some distance from Stenton (R5), p. 8 ('Its inhabitants were barbarous beyond the ordinary savagery of the Anglo-Saxons, and bitterly resented any attempt to make them conform to the low standard of order which obtained elsewhere in the land'); but see Whitelock (G12), and Fletcher (N28). For feud and the state, see Hyams (N29). For the concept of the state, see Harding (M158). It is important, above all, to maintain differentials: to give Alfred his due, but to allow space for further developments under Æthelstan and Edgar.

IV ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE

'There's not much to be learn'd from any Coins we have of our Saxon Kings, their Silver ones being all of the same Size, and generally very slovenly minted' (William Nicholson [1655–1727], *The English Historical Library* (London, 1696), p. 106).

The immediate attraction of Anglo-Saxon coinage as historical evidence stems from the familiarity of a coin as an object of a kind still in daily use. Matters of terminology still need to be worked out systematically, in relation to historical, legal, and numismatic contexts; a good start could be made with the Toronto dictionary (A86) and the Thesaurus of OE (A90), and for an earlier discussion of terminology (thrymsa, sceatt, styca, penny, shilling, mancus, etc.), see Turner (S72), vol. 5 [*c.* 1800], pp. 425–35. There is also scope for developing a fuller understanding of the *use* of coins, in relation to other forms of exchange. Yet *pace* Nicholson (above), the great significance of numismatic evidence for historical purposes needs no advertisement; see Stenton (M410), etc. The particular delight of the subject arises from the clever things that can be done with evidence of this kind; see below, on numismatic analysis.

[M400] The **website** of the Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, at <www-cm.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/>, offers several major resources. (1) The 'Early Medieval Corpus Project', aka 'Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds', provides a searchable database of single finds of Anglo-Saxon coins, with automatic mapping. (2) The 'Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles' provides a searchable database of over 30,000 Anglo-Saxon coins published to date in the volumes of SCBI (M460). (3) The 'Checklist of Coin Hoards from the British Isles, *c.* 450–1180' is an essential tool for a variety of numismatic and historical purposes. (4) 'Medieval European Coinage' (*MEC*), being a multi-volume survey of the coinage of Europe, *c.* 450–1500 (M560).
The material freely accessible on this website offers great potential for research. The main databases (1) and (2) can be searched together. Other numismatic material is accessible from the website at (A0).
Bibliographical guidance
The bibliographies in *OEN* and *ASE* (A73) cover the material as published from year to year. The standard journals are the *British Numismatic Journal* (*BNJ*) and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and, for shorter notes, Spink's *Numismatic Circular* and Seaby's *Coins and Medals Bulletin*.
[M405] R.H. Thompson, *Contents of the British Numismatic Journal Volumes 1 to 66 (1903/4–1996)* (1998), superseding earlier edition (1991) - useful list of major numismatic articles, classified by subject ('English coins to 1066', pp. 14–23)
Articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* are listed by author under 'NC Index' (Medieval) on the website of the Royal Numismatic Society <www.rns.dircon.co.uk/index.html>.
(a) Anglo-Saxon coinage and the historian
[M410] F. Stenton, 'Anglo-Saxon Coinage and the Historian' (1958), in T1, pp. 371–82
[M411] C.E. Blunt, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coinage and the Historian', *Medieval Archaeology* 4 (1960), 1–15
[M412] S. Lyon, 'Historical Problems of the Anglo-Saxon Coinage, (1)', *BNJ* 36 (1967), 215–21 - on Northumbrian coinage of the 8th and 9th centuries, and on Offa's coinage
[M413] S. Lyon, 'Historical Problems of the Anglo-Saxon Coinage, (2): The Ninth Century: Offa to Alfred', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 216–38
[M414] S. Lyon, 'Historical Problems of the Anglo-Saxon Coinage, (3): Denominations and Weights', *BNJ* 38 (1969), 204–22

[M415] S. Lyon, 'Historical Problems of the Anglo-Saxon Coinage, (4): The Viking Age', *BNJ* 39 (1970), 193–204 - incl. discussion of Dolley's sexennial hypothesis

[M416] S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Coinage and the Historian' (1985), in (M455), pp. 7–14

(b) Early modern works making use of coins

It is interesting to see how coinage was first introduced into the perception of the Anglo-Saxon past, and for what purposes it was used. Knowledge of the coinage originated among the Elizabethan antiquaries (e.g. Joseph Holland, Francis Tate, William Camden, and others). Among the first collectors were Sir Robert Cotton (another of their number) and Sir Symonds D'Ewes, in the early 17th century. Obadiah Walker (1616–99) was among the first to deploy numismatic evidence effectively.

[M425] J. Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, and *History of Great Britain* (1611) - using coins supplied by Sir Robert Cotton, and engraved by Christopher Swister; with some amusing mistakes

[M426] [O. Walker, ed.], *Ælfredi Magni Anglorum Regis Invictissimi Vita Tribus Libris Comprehensa a Clarissimo Dno Johanne Spelman ...* (1678), with five plates of Anglo-Saxon coins, including coins from a 10th-cent. hoard found at Harkirke, Lancs., in 1611 [D.R. Woolf, in Kelley and Sacks (S7a), pp. 93–132; Keynes (S120), p. 264, n. 173]; and Walker's contribution to W. Camden, *Britannia*, ed. E. Gibson (1695), with pls. V–VIII

[M427] Sir A. Fountaine, *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica Breviter Illustrata*, in G. Hickes and H. Wanley, *Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Libri Duo*, 2 vols. (1703–5) I, pp. 161–85, with plates

[M428] George Vertue, in engravings for Rapin (S70a), used coinage to lend authenticity to royal portraits, e.g. of King Egbert of Wessex; whole pages of Anglo-Saxon coins (derived via Walker from Speed, and reproducing all of Speed's mistakes) occur in Barnard's *New, Comprehensive, and Complete History of England* (1783) and in Spencer's *New, Authentic, and Complete History of England* (1794), on which see Keynes (S120), pp. 310–11

[M429] R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Britain*, 3 vols. (1817–19), with set of plates published in 1803 - excellent line-engravings, used by SDK for handouts

[M430] J. Lindsay, *A View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy* (1842)

(c) Collections, catalogues, and classifications

If you are that way inclined, it can be fun drooling over the sale-catalogues of the major collections, such as those of Lord Grantley (sold in the mid-1940s), R.C. Lockett (sold in the late 1950s), R.P. Mack (sold in the late 1970s), and L.R. Stack (sold at Sotheby's, 22–3 April 1999, catalogued with stunning colour plates). Among published collections are those of Mack (M480), Norweb (M530), and Stenton (M476). The collection of the late Christopher Blunt is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The great national collection is of course that in the British Museum (M436, M486); but it is a nice reflection of viking profit motives that very substantial collections of Anglo-Saxon coins are also to be found in the national collections of Denmark (M510) and Sweden (M435, M511).

[M435] B.E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinettet Funna i Sveriges Jord* [Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals, found in Sweden] (1846), 2nd ed. (1881), with 14 pls. - in effect, the proceeds of viking activity in the west, essential for coinage of Æthelred, Types A–G, pp. 23–186, and the Anglo-Danish kings

[M436] C.F. Keary, ed. R.S. Poole, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, I [incl. Mercia, Kent, East Anglia, Northumbria] (1887), and H.A. Grueber and C.F. Keary, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, II [Wessex and England to the Norman Conquest] (1893), both reptd (1970) - for the 'BMC' classification of the coinage, e.g. of Æthelred (II, 202–8) and Cnut (II, 248–55)

[M437] C.A. Nordman, *Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland* (1921)

[M440] J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, vol. I, 3rd ed. (1994) - an essential reference work, listing and illustrating all the major types

[M445] I. Stewart, 'A Numeration of Late Anglo-Saxon Coin Types', *BNJ* 45 (1975), 12–18

For AS coins at Lund (Sweden), see Jonsson (M810), pp. 115–22.

Exhibition catalogues

[M450] BM exhibition catalogues displaying a range of coinage: M.M. Archibald, in A200, pp. 35–7 (early), 62–7 (7th cent.), 105–7 (misc.), 155–6 (York), 189–92 (incl. Offa's dinar), 247–53 (Mercia and Wessex), 284–9 (Alfred); M.M. Archibald, 'Anglo-Saxon Coinage, Alfred to the Conquest', in A205, pp. 170–91; and M.M. Archibald, in A210, pp. 320–41 (on late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coinage)

[M455] *Anglo-Saxon Coins: an Exhibition* [at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge], ed. T.R. Volk (1985), with introduction by S. Keynes (M416), and illustrated catalogue by M. Blackburn - exhibition mounted for the ISAS conference held at Cambridge in 1985

Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles (SCBI)

[M460] Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles (SCBI) (1958–). Over 50 volumes have been published so far; further volumes are in preparation. The volumes contain classified lists of all the coins in the collection concerned, with details of inscription, weight, die-axis, etc., and illustrations of the obverse and reverse of each coin. For the website of the project, see M400, or go to <www-cm. fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/scbi/index.html>.

Collections in the British Isles

Of the following volumes, M470, M471 and M475 (covering collections in Cambridge, Glasgow, and Oxford) are particularly useful, because broadly representative of the whole series. M476 is of interest as containing the collection of Sir Frank Stenton. The Mack Collection (M480) is also impressive, and has particularly clear illustrations.

[M470] P. Grierson, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, SCBI 1 (1958); the medieval coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum are in the process of being recatalogued (M560)

[M471] A.S. Robertson, *Hunterian Museum, Glasgow*, SCBI 2 (1961)

[M472] E.J.E. Pirie, *Grosvenor Museum, Chester: Coins with the Chester Mint-Signature*, SCBI 5 (1964)

[M473] R.B.K. Stevenson, *National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh: Anglo-Saxon Coins*, SCBI 6 (1966)

[M474] R.H.M. Dolley, *British Museum: Hiberno-Norse Coins*, SCBI 8 (1966)

[M475] J.D.A. Thompson, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Anglo-Saxon Pennies*, SCBI 9 (1967)

[M476] C.E. Blunt and M. Dolley, *Reading University: Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins, with Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm, VI: Anglo-Norman Pennies*, SCBI 11 (1969)

[M477] D.M. Metcalf, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, II: *English Coins 1066–1279*, SCBI 12 (1969)

[M478] A.J.H. Gunstone, *Midlands Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman Coins*, SCBI 17 (1971)

[M479] L.V. Grinsell, C.E. Blunt and M. Dolley, *Bristol and Gloucester Museums: Ancient British Coins and Coins of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Mints*, SCBI 19 (1972)

[M480] R.P. Mack, *Mack Collection: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman Coins*, SCBI 20 (1973)

[M481] E.J.E. Pirie, *Yorkshire Collections: Coins from Northumbrian Mints, c.895–1279; Ancient British and later coins from other mints to 1279*, SCBI 21 (1975)

[M482] A.J.H. Gunstone, *West Country Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Norman Coins*, SCBI 24 (1977)

[M483] M.H.McK. Clough, *Museums in East Anglia: Morley St Peter Hoard, and Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Angevin Coins, and later coins of the Norwich Mint*, SCBI 26 (1980)

[M484] A.J.H. Gunstone, *Lincolnshire Collections: Coins from Lincolnshire Mints, and Ancient British and later coins to 1272*, SCBI 27 (1981)

[M485] M. Warhurst, *Merseyside County Museums: Ancient British and later coins to 1279*, SCBI 29 (1982)

[M486] M.M. Archibald and C.E. Blunt, *British Museum: Anglo-Saxon Coins*, V: *Athelstan to Edgar's Reform*, SCBI 34 (1986) - the first volume covering the national collection, otherwise represented by M436.

[M487] A.J.H. Gunstone, with V. Smart, *et al.*, *South-Eastern Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, and Later Coins to 1279*, SCBI 42 (1992)

[M488] J. Booth, *Northern Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Plantaganet Coins to 1279*, SCBI 48 (1997)

Collections in Scandinavia, and elsewhere in Europe

[M510] The Royal Collection, Copenhagen. G. Galster, *Royal Collection, Copenhagen*, I: *Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon*, SCBI 4 (1964); G. Galster, *Royal Collection, Copenhagen*, II: *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Æthelred II*, SCBI 7 (1966); G. Galster, *Royal Collection, Copenhagen*, III A, B, C: *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Cnut*, SCBI 13–15 (1970); G. Galster, *Royal Collection, Copenhagen*, IV: *Anglo-Saxon Coins from Harold I and Anglo-Norman Coins*, SCBI 18 (1972); G. Galster with M. Dolley and J. Steen Jensen, *Royal Collection, Copenhagen*, V: *Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Irish Coins*, SCBI 22 (1975).

[M511] The Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm. T. Talvio, *Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm*, IV: *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Harold I and Harthacnut*, SCBI 40 (1991); C.E. Blunt and M. Dolley, *Reading University: Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins, with Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm*, VI: *Anglo-Norman Pennies*, SCBI 11 (1969). For an earlier catalogue, see Hildebrand (M435).

[M512] The National Museum, Helsinki, Finland. T. Talvio, *National Museum, Helsinki: Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Coins*, SCBI 25 (1978); T. Talvio, *Coins and Coin Finds in Finland AD 800–1200* (2002). For an earlier catalogue, see Nordman (M437).

[M513] B. Kluge, *State Museum, Berlin: Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Hiberno-Norse Coins*, SCBI 36 (1987)

[M514] A. Mikolajczyk, *Polish Museums: Anglo-Saxon and later medieval British Coins*, SCBI 37 (1987)

[M515] T. Berga, *Latvian Collections, Anglo-Saxon and Later British Coins*, SCBI 45 (1996)

[M516] V.M. Potin, *Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg*, I: *Anglo-Saxon Coins to 1016*, SCBI 50 (1999)

Collections in the USA

[M530] C.E. Blunt, F. Elmore Jones and R.P. Mack, *Norweb Collection: Ancient British and English Coins to 1180*, SCBI 16 (1971)

[M531] J.D. Brady, *American Collections: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins*, SCBI 30 (1982)

The **cumulative indexes** covering SCBI vols. 1–40, are essential for the study of moneyers' names; see also Smart (M830).

[M540] V. Smart, *Cumulative Index of Volumes 1–20*, SCBI 28 (1981)

[M541] V. Smart, *Cumulative Index of Volumes 21–40*, SCBI 41 (1992)

Regional studies and collections

[M550] M. Blackburn, C. Colyer and M. Dolley, *Early Medieval Coins from Lincoln and its Shire c. 770–1100*, The Archaeology of Lincoln 6.1 (1983)

[M555] D.W. Dykes, *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the National Museum of Wales*, reptd from *Bull. of the Nat. Mus. of Wales* 24 (Winter, 1976)

See also Nordman (M437).

Medieval European Coinage (MEC)

[M560] P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, I: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (1986). For further information, see the project's website (M400).

Modern replicas of Anglo-Saxon coins

There are various replica coins on the market, of various kinds (ranging from replicas cast from moulds made from real coins, or made by joining together electrotypes of each side of a real coin, to replicas struck on silver flans from dies skillfully engraved by hand). The 'best' appear to be those made in the 1970s (and thereafter) by Trevor Ashmore, of Devon:

[M565] P. Finn, 'Ashmore Replicas – Revisited', *Numismatic Circular* 108 (2000), 50–4 - lists over 150 coins made by Ashmore, about 100 of which are 'Anglo-Saxon', with illustrations of them all. Ashmore replicas are known to have been 'stressed' with dirt, etc., and then sold as genuine; so it is important to be on the lookout for anyone bearing quantities of spectacularly rare Anglo-Saxon coins. They are, on the other hand, very educational.

(d) General accounts of the coinage

Entries on coinage, hoards, mints, and moneyers, in A100. See also A5, esp. pp. 62–3, 130–1 and 204–5, and Loyn (M38), pp. 118–26, on financial organisation.

[M570] R.H.M. Dolley, *Anglo-Saxon Pennies* (1964), and *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin* (1965) - British Museum pamphlets, the latter esp. valuable for the Hiberno-Norse kings of York; for the Norman Conquest, see also Dolley (M1010)

[M574] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Coins', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1976), pp. 349–72

[M575] S. Lyon, 'Some Problems in Interpreting Anglo-Saxon Coinage', *ASE* 5 (1976), 173–224 - important survey of Anglo-Saxon numismatics in all its aspects

[M576] M. Blackburn, 'The Anglo-Saxons: Sixth - Mid Eighth Centuries' and 'The Anglo-Saxons and Vikings: Eighth - Tenth Centuries', in (M560), pp. 155–89 and 267–325; and for the period to 900, see also M. Blackburn, 'Money and Coinage', in McKitterick (A70), pp. 538–59

[M577] I. Stewart, 'The English and Norman Mints, *c.* 600–1158', *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. C.E. Challis (1992), pp. 1–82

[M578] M. Blackburn, *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (forthcoming) - an introductory guide

Numismatic analysis

It would be impertinent for a historian to summarise the extraordinary range and ingenuity of the techniques which numismatists bring to bear in making sense of the surviving coinage; yet it would be a shame not to try. The composition of every *hoard* of coins bears on the range of coinage accessible to and accumulated by its owner, and on the date and therefore the circumstances of its deposition. *Single finds* of coins are more likely to represent casual losses (through holes in pockets), and thus bear on matters of use and circulation. Much can be learnt about minting techniques from surviving *dies*, *trial pieces*, *lead weights*, etc. Much can also be learnt from the study of *die-axis*

(orientation of reverse in relation to obverse), *die-duplicates* (coins struck from same pair of dies), *die-links* (coins linked by a shared die, sometimes involving coins struck at different mints), and *mules* (coins struck from dies of successive types, whether 'the-right-way-round' — using a discarded *obverse* of the previous type with a *reverse* of the current type — or vice versa). The intended significance of the *designs* used for each type is obviously important, not least because coinage was (at least from the 8th or 9th cent.) the product of royal government most likely to become familiar to relatively large numbers of people (more so, one suspects, than charters), and thus had great potential as a form of advertisement and propaganda. Analysis of die-cutting *style* is also important, for the reconstruction of activity in central or regional die-cutting centres. It is always instructive to follow the output of a particular *mint*, or group of mints, whether in relation to each other or to a larger group; and of course the output of mints serves as an index of economic activity in a particular borough or region. It is no less instructive to trace the careers and activities of individual *moneyers*, and to examine their names in relation to their locality. And once the system is understood, we begin to appreciate how the coinage was manipulated by those in control of it (e.g. by variation in silver content, by variation in weight standard, and by periodic recoinages), and to what purpose.

There is no manual of Anglo-Saxon numismatics. For mules, see Dolley (M898), p. 24. For coin-dies and trial-pieces from 10th-cent. York, see BM exhibition catalogue (A205), pp. 190–1. For the artistic design of early coins, see Gannon (M645). For coinage and the symbolism of rulership, see Talvio (M996).

[M580] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Significance of Die-Axis in the Context of the Later Anglo-Saxon Coinage', *BNJ* 27.2 (1953), 167–72; for square flans, see also Dolley and Elmore Jones (M932), p. 281, n. 1

[M581] R.H.M. Dolley, 'Contemporary Forgeries of Late Saxon Pence', *BNJ* 28.1 (1955), 185–9 - on the phenomenon of 'pecking', and on forgeries

[M582] C. Kilger, 'Silver-Handling Traditions During the Viking Age—Some Observations and Thoughts on ther Phenomenon of Pecking and Bending', in M614, pp. 449–65; see also Metcalf (M974.4)

[M585] G. Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon and Viking Coin Weights', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 19–36

Hoards

[M590] J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publications 1 (1956)

[M595] M. Blackburn and H. Pagan, 'A Revised Check-List of Coin Hoards from the British Isles, *c.* 500–1100', in T24, pp. 291–313 - lists all known hoards in order of their date of deposit; use version available on the website of the Fitzwilliam Museum (M400)

See also Allen (M1035).

Single finds

On the significance of single finds, see Dolley (M960), p. 269.

[M600] D.M. Metcalf, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds, c.973–1086* (1998), important for economic affairs in the tenth and eleventh centuries, including type-by-type examination of the periodic types from 973 onwards (pp. 105–90), and regional analysis

See MEC on the website (M400).

[M605] M. Bonser, 'Single Finds of Ninth-Century Coins from Southern England: a Listing', in M720, pp. 199–240

[M606] 'Coin Register', listing single finds, published annually: e.g. *BNJ* 69 (1999), 227–41

Essays on Anglo-Saxon coinage

The classic volume of essays on Anglo-Saxon coinage is, symbolically, the collection edited by Michael Dolley in honour of Sir Frank Stenton (T20), published in 1961. No less important is the volume of essays in memory of Michael Dolley himself (T24), published in 1984. Some other volumes of collected studies are grouped together below.

[M610] [Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien], *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis*, pt I, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Antikvariska Serien 9 (1961)

[M611] [Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien], *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis*, pt II, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Antikvariska Serien 19 (1968)

[M612] C.J. Becker, ed., *Studies in Northern Coinages of the Eleventh Century*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 9.4 (1981)

[M613] *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage in Memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand*, ed. K. Jonsson, Numismatiska Meddelanden 35 (1990)

[M614] *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c. AD 500–1250: Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald*, ed. B. Cook and G. Williams (2006)

(e) Chronological survey of Anglo-Saxon coinage
i. Early Anglo-Saxon coinage (c. 600–760)

For the 7th-cent. gold coinage (as found at Sutton Hoo), see Blackburn (M576), pp. 159–64, and for the so-called *sceattas* (a form of silver penny), see Blackburn (M576), pp. 164–89. The challenge is to understand whether the remarkable range of designs employed particularly in the 8th-cent. 'sceatta' coinage signifies anything (e.g. religion, kingship), or whether the designs are merely debased representations of their models.

[M625] C.H.V. Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard* (1948)

[M630] D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, 3 vols. (1993–4) - essential for economic affairs in the seventh and eighth centuries

[M630.5] D.M. Metcalf, 'The First Series of Sceattas Minted in Southern Wessex: Series W', *BNJ* 75 (2005), 1–17 - on the beginnings of coinage in southern Wessex in the late seventh and early eighth centuries

[M631] T. Abramson, *Sceattas: an Illustrated Guide. Anglo-Saxon Coins and Icons* (2006) – illustrated survey of the sceatta coinage of the late seventh and eighth centuries, with summary of the classification; including the 'signed' Northumbrian coinage, pp. 128–31

[M635] *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, ed. D. Hill and D.M. Metcalf, BAR Brit. ser. 128 (1984)

[M636] J. Booth, 'Sceattas in Northumbria' (1984), in Metcalf (M635), pp. 71–97

[M640] D.M. Metcalf, 'Coinage as a Royal and Episcopal Prerogative before Offa's Reform', in Metcalf (M630), vol. i, pp. 10–25

[M641] G. Williams, 'The Circulation and Function of Coinage in Conversion-Period England, *c.* AD 580–675', in M614, pp. 145–92

[M645] A. Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage (Sixth–Eighth centuries)* (2003); see also A. Gannon, 'Riches in Heaven and on Earth: Some Thoughts on the Iconography of Coinage at the Time of Æthelbald', in Hill; and Worthington (E33), pp. 133–8 (Æthelbald), and A. Gannon, 'The Five Senses and Anglo-Saxon Coinage', *ASSAH* 13 (2006), 97–104

ii. Northumbrian coinage in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries

The earliest regal coins are those struck in the name of King Aldfrith (686–705).

[M650] E.J.E. Pirie, *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria, c.700–867 in the Yorkshire Collections* (1996)

[M650.5] E.J. Pirie, 'Contrasts and Continuity Within the Coinage of Northumbria, *c.* 670–867', in M614, pp. 211–39

[M651] C.S.S. Lyon, 'A Reappraisal of the Sceatta and Styca Coinage of Northumbria', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 227–42

[M652] J. Booth, 'Coinage and Northumbrian History: c.790–c.810' (1987), in Metcalf (M660), pp. 57–83; J. Booth, 'Northumbrian Coinage and the Productive Site at South Newbald', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 3 (1997), 15–38

[M653] M. Blackburn and A. Gillis, 'A Second Coin of Kig Eardwulf of Northumbria and the Attribution of the Moneyer Coins of King Ælfwald', *BNJ* 67 (1997), 97–9

[M655] E.J.E. Pirie, 'Earduulf: a Significant Addition to the Coinage of Northumbria', *BNJ* 65 (1995), 20–31

Northumbria in the ninth century
A100, p. 504. Blackburn (M576), pp. 298–303.

[M660] *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, ed. D.M. Metcalf, BAR British ser. 180 (1987)

[M665] H.E. Pagan, 'Northumbrian Numismatic Chronology in the Ninth Century', *BNJ* 38 (1969), 1–15 - King Osberht, in second half of ninth century

iii. The coinage of southern England in the eighth and ninth centuries
Mercian and Kentish coinage of the eighth century

Lyon (M412); Blackburn (M576), pp. 276–82; Metcalf (M640); James (A12), pp. 194–6.

[M680] C.E. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Offa', in T20, pp. 39–62

[M681] Stenton (M410), pp. 378–82 - coinage in relation to kingship, and Charlemagne

[M682] D.M. Metcalf, 'Monetary Expansion and Recession ...', *Coins and the Archaeologist*, ed. J. Casey and R. Reece, BAR, Brit. ser. 4 (1974), 206–23, esp. 211–15; 2nd ed. (1988), 230–53, esp. 239–45

[M683] I. Stewart, 'The London Mint and the Coinage of Offa', in T24, pp. 27–43

[M685] *The Coinage of Offa, King of the Mercians (757–96)*, ed. D. Chick and R. Naismith (forthcoming [2005/2006])

[M685a] D. Chick, 'Towards a Chronology for Offa's Coinage: an Interim Study', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 3 (1997), 47–64; D. Chick, 'The Coinage of Offa in the Light of Recent Discoveries', in Hill; and Worthington (E33), pp. 111–22

[M691] G. Williams, 'Mercian Coinage and Authority', in E34 (2001), pp. 210–28

West Saxon coinage of the eighth century

[M695] For the coinage of Beorhtric (786–802), see North (M440), nos. 558–9; only three specimens are known

West Saxon, Mercian, and Kentish coinage of the ninth century

It is a reflection of our lack of evidence for the period that there are several ninth-century coins (unique or excessively rare) which seem to be suffused with historical significance: listed below (M710.1, etc.), In a way, the coins lend support to each other, so we should not be shy of attaching significance to them; and they constitute a salutary reminder that much of what we think we know about the ninth century hangs from threads, whether a single instance, a single object, or a single text. (BMC = Grueber and Keary (M436).)

[M710.1] Gold *mancus* of King Coenwulf (796–821). Obverse: + COENVVLF REX M[erciorum]. Reverse: + DE VICO LUNDONIAE ('from the *wic* of London', perhaps with reference to London as a commercial centre, or perhaps with reference to a royal estate at London). Minted from dies engraved at Canterbury, *c*. 810. Comparable with a gold coin of Charlemagne, inscribed 'vico Dorestatis' (Dorestad); also comparable with the lead seal of King Coenwulf, found apparently in Italy (M302). Perhaps minted for use in England; but perhaps also intended for annual payments of mancuses to Rome (see EHD nos. 204–5). The coin was found by a metal detectorist by the river Ivel, at Biggleswade in Bedfordshire, in 2001, and was sold to a dealer in 2004 for £230,000. The dealer sold it for £357,832; and it now has a permanent home in the British Museum. (Replicas on Ebay for about £4.)

[M710.15] G. Williams, in Spink catalogue, 6–7 October 2004, lot 493, pp. 99–101, and in *Current Archaeology* 194 (2004), pp. 56–7. M. Blackburn's statement as 'Expert Adviser', in Case 41 heard before the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art, available online at <www.mla.gov.uk/action/cp/00rev.asp>.

[M710.2] Silver penny of Egbert, king of the West Saxons (802–39), styled king of the Mercians ('rex M[erciorum]'), struck at London ('Lundonia civit[as]'), presumably produced during brief period of West Saxon control of London, *c*. 830. Dolley (M570), pl. VII, no. 19. For Ashmore replica, see Finn (M565).

[M710.3] Silver penny combining obverses of Berhtwulf, king of the Mercians (840–52) and Æthelwulf, king of the West Saxons (839–58), presumed by some to commemorate the transfer of Berkshire from Mercia to Wessex in the early 840s, but regarded by others as an aberration (i.e. the product of an accidental combination of dies). Dolley (M570), pl. VIII, no. 22.

[M710.4] Silver penny of a certain King Eanred, inscribed 'thes moneta' [? 'the coin of that (king)'], which appears to refer to a king active somewhere in southern England, but who is not otherwise known to the historical record. Dolley (M570), pl. VIII, no. 24.

[M710.6] Silver penny of the *Two Emperors* type, struck in the name of King Alfred (871–99), styled 'rex Anglo[rum]'; and silver penny of a similar type, struck in the name of King Ceolwulf II (874–9). BMC Alfred Type iv. The type is seemingly indicative of a political association between Alfred and Ceolwulf. Discussion: Dolley and Blunt (M740), pp. 81–2; Blackburn and Keynes (M743), pp. 131–2. Dolley (M570), pl. XI, no. 33 (Alfred).

[M710.7] Silver penny, apparently from East Anglia, inscribed 'Elfred rex' and 'Edelstan rex gelda', perhaps representing part of a payment of tribute from King Guthrum (Æthelstan) to King Alfred. BMC Alfred, no. 309. Discussion: Dolley and Blunt (M740), p. 92.

[M710.8] Silver penny of King Alfred, struck at Gloucester (the political centre of Æthelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians, and his wife Æthelflæd). BMC Alfred Type xx (no. 80): unique specimen, in the BM. For Ashmore replica, see Finn (M565). Discussion: Dolley and Blunt (M740), p. 83. Cf. pennies of King Alfred struck at Oxford and at London, emblematic of the Alfredian 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons'.

[M710.9] Silver 'offering piece' in the name of King Alfred, with 'Aelfred rex Saxonum' on the obverse and 'Elimo[sina]' (alms) on the reverse, weighing over six times more than a 'normal' silver penny. BMC Alfred Type xxii (nos. 158–9): two specimens (one a fragment), both in the BM. For Ashmore replica, see Finn (M565). Comparable with pennies struck at Winchester and Exeter. Perhaps connected with the annual gifts of the 'alms of King Alfred and the West Saxons' to Rome (*AS Chronicle*, s.a. 883, 887–90), or with gifts of alms in general. Discussion: R.H.M. Dolley, 'The So-called Piedforts of Alfred the Great', *Numismatic Circular* 14 (1954), 76–92; Dolley and Blunt (M740), pp. 77–8.

[M720] *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage in Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M.A.S. Blackburn and D.N. Dumville (1998) - includes Blackburn (M742), Keynes (F90), etc.; also includes Lord Stewartby on moneyers in the written records, pp. 151–3, and P. Bibire on moneyers' names, pp. 155–66; reviewed by S. Lyon, *BNJ* 70 (2000), 169–71

[M723] C.E. Blunt, *et al.*, 'The Coinage of Southern England, 796–840', *BNJ* 32 (1963), 1–74

[M724] H. Pagan, 'Coinage in Southern England, 796–874', in T24, pp. 45–65; see also Blackburn (M576), pp. 282–95 and 303–16

 [M725] C.E. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Ecgbeorht, King of Wessex, 802–839'. *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 467–76

[M730] R.H.M. Dolley and K. Skaare, 'The Coinage of Æthelwulf, King of the West Saxons', in T20, pp. 63–76

[M732] J. Booth, 'Monetary Alliance or Technical Co-operation? The Coinage of Berhtwulf of Mercia (840–852)', in M720, pp. 63–103

[M733] H.E. Pagan, 'Coinage in the Age of Burgred', *BNJ* 34 (1965), 11–27

For single finds of ninth-century coins, see Bonser (M605). For an important survey of Carolingian coinage in late eighth- and ninth-century England, see Story (E86), pp. 243–55.

The coinage of **King Alfred** and his contemporaries. For a survey of the evidence, see Blackburn (M576) [1986], pp. 311–15.

[M740] R.H.M. Dolley and C.E. Blunt, 'The Chronology of the Coins of Alfred the Great 871–99', in T20 (1961), pp. 77–95 - the 'classic' study

[M741] C.E. Blunt and R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Hoard Evidence for the Coins of Alfred', *BNJ* 29 (1958–9), 220–47

[M742] M. Blackburn, 'The London Mint in the Reign of Alfred', in M720, pp. 105–23

[M743] M. Blackburn and S. Keynes, 'A Corpus of the *Cross-and-Lozenge* and Related Coinages of Alfred, Ceolwulf II and Archbishop Æthelred', in M720, pp. 125–50

[M744] M. Blackburn, 'Alfred's Coinage Reforms in Context', in Reuter (F54), pp. 199–217

East Anglian coinage of the eighth and ninth centuries

A100, p. 509. Ælfwald, k. of the East Angles, was succeeded in 749 by Hun, Beonna and Æthelberht (Alberht), of whom Beonna and Æthelberht (I) are known from their coinage:

[M750] M.M. Archibald, 'The Coinage of Beonna in the Light of the Middle Harling Hoard', *BNJ* 55 (1986), 10–54; Blackburn, in M576, pp. 277–8; M.M. Archibald, 'Beonna and Alberht: Coinage and Historical Context', in Hill and Worthington (E33), pp. 123–32, suggesting that the Beornred who briefly seized power in Mercia in 757, after Æthelbald's death, was none other than Beonna of East Anglia, and that he was soon driven out of Mercia by Offa, who presently seized power in East Anglia for himself

[M751] M.M. Archibald and V. Fenwick, 'A Sceat of Ethelbert I of East Anglia and Recent Finds of Coins of Beonna', *BNJ* 65 (1995), 1–19

A later king of the East Angles, called Æthelberht (II), is also known from his coinage. He was executed at the command of King Offa in 794, and became the subject of a cult centred at Hereford. For the hagiography of St Æthelberht (II), see Q330.

[M752] Silver penny of King Æthelberht, struck by the moneyer Lul, who later struck coins for Offa, king of the Mercians, and for Eadwald, king of the East Angles: see Dolley, *Anglo-Saxon Pennies* (M570), pl. III, nos. 7–9, and A200, p. 251.

Several ninth-century kings of the East Angles are known only from the coins struck in their names: Eadwald, Æthelstan (I), Æthelweard, Æthelred, and Oswald. See Blackburn (M576), pp. 293–4.

[M760] M.M. Archibald, 'A Ship-type of Athelstan I of East Anglia', *BNJ* 52 (1982), 34–40

[M761] H.E. Pagan, 'The Coinage of the East Anglian Kingdom from 825 to 870', *BNJ* 52 (1982), 41–83

King Edmund (855–69) is styled 'rex An[glorum]' on his coins.

iv. Anglo-Saxon coinage in the tenth century (to the reform of the coinage in 973)

For legislation on the coinage in the tenth century, see *II Æthelstan* (in B366, and EHD no. 35), ch. 14, and *IV Æthelred* (in B367), chs. 5–9, and Wormald (M160), index, *s.v.* money.

[M770] C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart, and C.S.S. Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England from Edward the Elder to Edgar's Reform* (1989); see also I. Stewart, 'English Coinage from Athelstan to Edgar', *Numismatic Chronicle* 148 (1988), 192–214

[M771] S. Lyon, 'The Coinage of Edward the Elder', in G14 (2001), pp. 67–78

[M772] C. Karkov, 'Æthelflæd's Exceptional Coinage', *OEN* 29.1 (1995), 41

[M775] C.E. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Æthelstan, King of England 924–39', *BNJ* 42 (1974), 35–160, in part superseded by Blunt, *et al.* (M770).

[M776] D.M. Metcalf, 'Were Ealdormen Exercising Independent Control over the Coinage in Mid Tenth Century England?', *BNJ* 57 (1987), 24–33 - review of Jonsson (M812)

[M776.5] K. Jonsson, 'The Pre-Reform Coinage of Edgar—the Legacy of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', in M614, pp. 325–46

[M776.6] H. Pagan, 'The Pre-Reform Coinage of Edgar', in Scragg (T118) [forthcoming]

[M777] H. Pagan, 'Mints and Moneyers in the West Midlands and at Derby in the Reign of Eadmund (939–46), *Numismatic Chronicle* 1995, pp. 139–64

[M778] O. von Feilitzen and C. Blunt, 'Personal Names on the Coinage of Edgar', in T21 (1971), pp. 183–214, covering pre-reform and reform types

[M779] V. Smart, '"Not the Oldest Known List": Scandinavian Moneyers' Names on the Tenth-Century English Coinage', in M614, pp. 297–324 [44 names on coinage of 924–73]
See also Jonsson (M812), which covers the pre-reform coinage of the tenth century.

Coinage of the 'Danelaw'
Cuerdale Hoard (G24). Dolley (M570), Blackburn (M576).

[M780] M. Blackburn, 'Anglo-Viking Coinages, *c.* 890–954', in M576, pp. 316–25

[M782] M. Dolley, 'The Anglo-Danish and Anglo-Norse Coinages of York', in (G84), pp. 26–31

[M783] C.S.S. Lyon and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The Northumbrian Viking Coins in the Cuerdale Hoard', in T20 (1961), pp. 96–121

[M785] E.J.E. Pirie, *Post-Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971–81*, Archaeology of York 18 (1986), pp. 33–45, on the coin-dies found at York

[M786] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Post-Brunanburh Viking Coinage of York, with Some Remarks on the Viking Coinages which Preceded the Same', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* 1957–8, pp. 13–88

[M787] M. Blackburn, 'The Coinage of Scandinavian York', in Hall (P85.6), pp. 325–49
For the coinage of Eric Bloodaxe, see (G88.5).

[M788] M. Blackburn, 'The Earliest Anglo-Viking Coinage of the Southen Danelaw (Late 9th Century), *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatists* (1986), pp. 341–8

[M789] C.E. Blunt, 'The St Edmund Memorial Coinage', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 31 (1969), 234–53

[M790] M. Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) Hoard and the Currency of the Southern Danelaw in the Late Ninth Century', *BNJ* 59 (1990), 13–38 [?Ashton]

[M791] M. Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control: Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian Minting South of the Humber', in H5 (2001), pp. 125–42 [Ashton hoard, etc.]

[M792] M. Blackburn, 'Currency under the Vikings, Part I: Guthrum and the Earliest Danelaw Coinages', *BNJ* 75 (2005), 18–43

v. The later Anglo-Saxon coinage 973–1066
'Then he [King Edgar] ordered a new coinage to be made throughout the whole of England, because the old was so debased by the crime of clippers that a penny hardly weighed a halfpenny on the scales.' This statement, from a late source (Roger of Wendover (B650), in EHD, no. 4, p. 284), is the only explicit indication that King Edgar reformed the coinage; but when interpreted in the light of close analysis of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage, conducted by R.H.M. Dolley and others from the mid-1950s onwards, it gave rise to the modern conception of the coinage as one of truly remarkable sophistication. Dolley's sexennial hypothesis was first advanced in M940; a slightly different model was proposed by Petersson (M805), esp. pp. 72–87; and for some more flexible approaches to the evidence, see, e.g., Lyon (M415), pp. 199–200, and Stewart (M803).

[M800] R.H.M. Dolley and D.M. Metcalf, 'The Reform of the English Coinage under Eadgar', in T20, pp. 136–68

[M803] I. Stewart, in *BNJ* 58 (1988), 119–20, and 'Coinage and Recoinage after Edgar's Reform', in Jonsson (M613) (1990), pp. 455–85 - review of the evidence for the sexennial cycle, suggesting that Dolley's scheme is too rigid

[M805] H.B.A. Petersson, *Anglo-Saxon Currency: King Edgar's Reform to the Norman Conquest* (1969) - essential statistics; see also Petersson (M825)

[M806] B. Malmer, review of H.B.A. Petersson, *Anglo-Saxon Currency* (1969), in *BNJ* 39 (1971), 171–80

[M808] J.D. Brand, *Periodic Change of Type in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Periods* (1984) - controversial

[M810] K. Jonsson, *Viking-Age Hoards and Late Anglo-Saxon Coins: a Study in Honour of Bror Emil Hildebrand's Anglosachsiska mynt* (1986) - account of the hoards found in Sweden and Denmark which contain AS coins (pp. 7–34), followed by a listing of all known specimens of coins of the period *c.* 973–91 (pp. 35–114), and further information on some Scandinavian hoards (M970, M971)

[M812] K. Jonsson, *The New Era: the Reformation of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage* (1987), covering the pre-reform coinage of Edgar (pp. 31–78), the reform of the coinage (pp. 79–184), and the organisation of the coinage in the tenth century (pp. 185–92), with summary, pp. 193–5; cf. Metcalf (M776)

[M820] C.S.S. Lyon, 'Variations in Currency in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Mints, Dies, and Currency*, ed. R.A.G. Carson (1971), pp. 101–20

[M824] K. Jonsson and G. van der Meer, 'Mints and Moneyers *c.* 973–1066', in Jonsson (M613) (1990), pp. 47–136 - an invaluable tabulation of the evidence as a whole, showing which moneyers at which mints struck which types, followed by a list of all moneyers in normalized form, giving origin of name (pp. 123–36)

[M825] H.B.A. Petersson, 'Coins and Weights: Late Anglo-Saxon Pennies and Mints *c.* 973–1066', in Jonsson (M613) (1990), pp. 207–433 - tables showing weight-distributions of nearly 45,000 coins, by mint and type

[M830] V.J. Smart, 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage 973–1016', *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis* II, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Antikvariska Serien 19 (1968), 191–276; V. Smart, 'Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage: the Danish Dynasty 1017–42', *ASE* 16 (1987), 233–308; see also Smart (M540)

[M832] V. Smart, 'Osulf Thein and Others: Double Moneyers' Names on the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage', in Jonsson (M613) (1990), pp. 435–53

[M840] H. King, 'The Coins of the Sussex Mints, Part I: Bramber (?), Chichester, Pevensey, and Rye', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 60–74, and '...Part II: Hastings and Steyning', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 249–63, and '... Part III: Lewes', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 518–36

The coinage of King Edgar (973–5) and Edward the Martyr (975–8)

See Jonsson (M810), pp. 43–9 (Edgar's *Reform Small Cross*) and 50–7 (Edward the Martyr); for the organzation of the coinage, see also Jonsson (M812). For moneyers' names (pre-reform and reform types), see von Feilitzen and Blunt (M778).

[M850] M. Dolley, 'Roger of Wendover's Date for Eadgar's Coinage Reform', *BNJ* 49 (1979), 1–11

The reign of King Æthelred the Unready (978–1016)

The bibliography focuses on the coinage of the period 978–1016, for several reasons: the organised nature of the coinage itself, coupled with the great volume of surviving specimens, mean that the coinage is quite well understood; it thus throws light on the operation of royal government, and on the late AS economy; it is fundamental to any analysis of the incidence and impact of viking raids on England throughout this period; and it helps us to understand what use was made of the proceeds of hostile and other activity by the Scandinavians themselves.

For basic guidance, see Dolley (M865); Archibald (M450); Metcalf, in A5, pp. 204–5. For the incidence of hoards in Æthelred's reign, see Blackburn and Pagan (M595), p. 297, as updated on the web (M400). On monetary circulation in the Danelaw, see Metcalf (M1030.5). For the succession of types, and a list of mints and moneyers, see North (M440), pp. 119–28. For moneyers' names, see Smart (M830).

There is much to be learnt from numismatic evidence about the impact of viking activity in Æthelred's reign. Incidence of hoards in relation to recorded (or unrecorded) events: e.g. Chester, *c.* 980, and Ipwsich; several hoards in the 990s, and esp. *c.* 1000; no hoards in the period 1009–12; etc. Implementation of the massacre of the Danes in 1002: effect on moneyers? Impact of viking activity on the activity of mints: sack of Wilton in 1003, and transfer on moneyers to Salisbury (M940); 'emergency' mints opened *c.* 1010 at Cadbury (from Ilchester) and at Cissbury (? from elsewhere in Sussex) (M964); sack of Oxford in 1010 (M962); but no discernible effect in other cases. Interpretation of particular designs: e.g. *Hand*, *Helmet*, *Agnus Dei* (M950, etc.). Inwardness of particular features of the production of the coinage: regional die-cutting centres; varieties of *Crux* in the later 990s, after several years of regularity (M926, M927, M928); etc. For discussion of the relationship between Æthelred's coinage and viking activity, see Stewart (M803), pp. 477–9. For discussion of the payments of *gafol* and *heregeld*, etc., see Lawson vs. Gillingham (J87) and Metcalf (J88).

[M860] M. Dolley, 'Two Anglo-Saxon Myths', *Numismatic Circular* 64.11 (Nov. 1956), cols. 469–70 - on coins of Æthelred found in England, and coins found in Scandinavia being *heregeld* rather than *gafol*, and on the significance of the battle of Maldon

[M865] M. Dolley, 'An Introduction to the Coinage of Æthelred II' (1978), in J21, pp. 115–33

[M866] P. Stafford, 'Historical Implications of the Regional Production of Dies under Æthelred II', *BNJ* 48 (1980), 35–51; see also Jonsson (X00), pp. 340–2

[M867] M. Blackburn, 'Æthelred's Coinage and the Payment of Tribute', in J50, pp. 156–69

Mints and moneyers

[M870] W.C. Wells, 'The Stamford Mint under Æthelred II', *BNJ* 24 (1944), 69–109

[M871] V.J. Butler and R.H.M. Dolley, 'Two Die-Links Relative to the Anglo-Saxon Mint at Northampton', *BNJ* 30.1 (1960), 54–6

[M872] R.H.M. Dolley, 'Further Southampton/Winchester Die-Links in the Reign of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 25–33 - further to M871, establishing that 'Hamtune' is Southampton, not Northampton

[M873] C.E. Blunt and M. Dolley, 'The Mints of Northampton and Southampton up to the Time of Edgar's Reform', *Mints, Dies, and Currency*, ed. R.A.G. Carson (1971), pp. 91–100

[M874] F. Elmore Jones, 'The Mint of Axbridge', *BNJ* 30 (1960–1), 61–9

[M875] R.H.M. Dolley, 'A Note on the Anglo-Saxon Mint of Reading', *BNJ* 30.1 (1960), 70–5 <only Edward the Confessor, not Æthelred>

[M876] V.J. Butler, 'Some Misread Moneyers of London in the Reign of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 30 (1960–1), 221–6

[M877] C.E. Blunt and C.S.S. Lyon, 'Some Notes on the Mints of Wilton and Salisbury', in Jonsson (M613), pp. 25–34

[M878] R.J. Eaglen, 'The Mint of Huntingdon', *BNJ* 69 (1999), 47–145 - known to have been in operation from the reign of Æthelred onwards; good illustration of detailed numismatic analysis; and see pp. 59–60 for apparent disruption during *Helmet* (*c*.1003–9)

The sequence of types 978–1016
The following list is intended to provide basic bibliographical coverage of the succession of types in Æthelred's reign, using the familiar names for each type, and giving their date according to Dolley's sexennial system (but cf. criticism mentioned above).

The **First Small Cross** type (978–9) (Hildebrand, Type A; North 764–5)
The basic and essential distinction between *First Small Cross* and *Last Small Cross* was established by Nordman (M437), esp. pp. 22–31, and by Wells (M870). Jonsson (M810), pp. 58–61. Note the Pemberton's Parlour Hoard (Thompson (M590), no. 85), at Chester, in the light of the fact that Cheshire was ravaged in 980.

[M880] R.H.M. Dolley, 'Two Anglo-Saxon Notes: An Enigmatic Penny of Edward the Martyr, *and* The Mysterious Mint of "Fro"', *BNJ* 28.3 (1957), 499–508

[M881] R.H.M. Dolley, *Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Æthelræd II*, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitetsakademien, Antikvariskt Arkiv 9 (1958), pp. 4–7 (First Small Cross), 7–10 (Intermediate Small Cross), and 10–40 (Last Small Cross) - especially important for pioneering analysis of regional styles in die-cutting

[M882] I.H. Stewart, 'The Stamford Mint and the Connexion with the Abbot of Peterborough under Ethelred II', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 106–10 - *First Small Cross, First Hand*

[M883] C.E. Blunt and C.S.S. Lyon, 'The Oakham Hoard of 1749, Deposited c. 980', *NChron*, 7th ser. 19 (1979), 113–21

The **Hand** types of the 980s (*First Hand [979–85], Second Hand [985–91], Benediction Hand*) (Hildebrand, Type B1–3; North 766–9)
Jonsson (M810), pp. 62–83, for *First Hand*; pp. 84–98, for *Second Hand*; and pp. 99–103, for *Benediction Hand*. Important discussion by Stewart (M803), pp. 471–4. The essential point is that *Second Hand* was not struck at York or Lincoln, casting doubt upon its credentials as a substantive type.

[M890] R.H.M. Dolley, 'A New Anglo-Saxon Mint—Medeshamstede', *BNJ* 27.3 (1954), 263–5, and M.A.S. Blackburn, in *BNJ* 70 (2000), 143–6 (not *Medeshamstede*, but Melton Mowbray)

[M891] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Left-Facing *First Hand* Pennies of Æthelræd II—Two Additions", *BNJ* 33 (1964), 191–2

[M892] R.H.M. Dolley, 'A Small Parcel of First Hand Pennies of Æthelræd II from the 1863 Ipswich Hoard', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 34–8

[M892] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Repercussions on Chester's Prosperity of the Viking Descent on Cheshire in 980', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 39–44 - few coins of the 980s

[M893] M. Dolley, 'The Metrology of the English Coins in the 1911 Glemminge Hoard from Southern Sweden', *Numismatic Circular* 74.11 (Nov. 1966), 276–7 - *Hand* and *Crux* types

[M895] M. Dolley and T. Talvio, 'The Regional Pattern of Die-Cutting Exhibited by the First Hand Pennies of Æthelred II Preserved in the British Museum', *BNJ* 47 (1977), 53–65

[M896] M. Dolley, 'Æthelræd's Rochester Ravaging of 986—An Intriguing Numismatic Sidelight', *Numismatic Circular* 75.2 (Feb. 1967), 33–4

[M897] R.H.M. Dolley, 'New Light on the Mullingar Find of *Hand* Pence of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 12–21

[M898] R.H.M. Dolley, 'An Unpublished Link between the *First* and *Second Hand* Types of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 22–4 - Canterbury, altered dies

For the 1863 Ipswich hoard, see Thompson (M590), no. 199. It comprised pennies of the *First Hand* type; but was it deposited *c.* 985, or *c.* 991 (Maldon campaign)?

The **Crux** type (*c.* 991–7) (Hildebrand, Type C; North 770–2)
Note the incidence of hoards in the mid-990s. For the late varieties, see Jonsson (M810), pp. 104–5.

[M910] R.H.M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'An Unpublished Variant of the Crux Type of Æthelræd II, from the H.W. Taffs Collection', *Numismatic Circular*, 65.2 (Feb. 1957), cols. 57–8 - Godwine, at Lydford, c. 991

[M911] B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The Early Coins of Ethelred II's Crux Issue with Right-facing Bust', *NChron*, 7th ser. 11 (1971), 237–42

[M912] M. Dolley, 'Some Irish Evidence for the Date of the *Crux* Coins of Æthelred II', *ASE* 2 (1973), 145–54

[M913] D.M. Metcalf and W. Lean, 'The Battle of Maldon and the Minting of Crux Pennies in Essex: *Post Hoc Propter Hoc*?', in J52, pp. 205–24

[M914] M. Dolley, 'The Neglected Norwegian Dimension to the 1848 Coin-Hoard from Bradda Mountain (Isle of Man)' ('Skatten fra Bradden Mountain [på] Man fra 1848: en oversett norsk tilknytning'), *NNF-Nytt* 2 (Sept. 1980), 7–24 - on the events of 994, the exploits of Swein and Olaf, 994/5, and a parcel of *Crux* pennies, many from Wessex mints, found in the Isle of Man

[M915] R.H.M. Dolley and V.J. Butler, 'Some "Northern" Variants, etc., of the "Crux" Issue of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 30.2 (1961), 217–20 - Scandinavian imitations

[M916] D.M. Metcalf, 'The Fall and Rise of the Danelaw Connection, the Export of English Coins to the Northern Lands, and the Tributes of 991 and 994', *Sigtuna Papers*, ed. K. Jonsson and B. Malmer (1990), pp. 213–23

For the regular disposition of the letters C-R-U-X around the central cross, see Keynes (M995); see also Stewart (M928).

The **Intermediate Small Cross** type (*c.* 997) (Hildebrand, Type Cb; North 773)
Dolley (M881); Jonsson (M810), pp. 106–8.

[M925] R.H.M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'A Preliminary Note on an Intermediate Small Cross Type of Æthelræd II in Relation to Late Varieties of Crux', *Numismatic Circular* 64.1 (Jan. 1956), cols. 5–8

[M926] R.H.M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'An Intermediate Small Cross Issue of Æthelræd II and Some Late Varieties of the Crux Type', *BNJ* 28.1 (1956), 75–87

[M927] I. Stewart, 'Notes on the Intermediate Small Cross and Transitional Crux Types of Ethelred II', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 16–24

The **Small Crux** type (*c.* 995–7) (Hildebrand, Type Ca; North, p. 122)
[M928] B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'The Small Crux Issue of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 509–17 - regional die-cutting centres; no advantage in 'light' coinage for payments of *gafol* in the late 990s, made by weight, so perhaps this was an issue intended for use by tale, i.e. face value>; see also Dolley (M926), pp. 83–4

The **Long Cross** type (*c.* 997–1003) (Hildebrand, Type D; North 774)
Several hoards of *Long Cross* pennies have been found in England, at Great Barton (Suffolk), Harting Beacon (Sussex), London (Honey Lane), Shaftesbury (Dorset), York, Downham (Ely, Cambs.), Barsham (Suffolk), Bramdean Common (Hants.), and ?Welbourn (Lancs.). Those known in the mid-1950s were connected by Dolley (M930) with the St Brice's Day Massacre in 1002.

[M930] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Shaftesbury Hoard of Pence of Æthelræd II', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th ser. 16 (1956), 267–80; R.H.M. Dolley, 'Three Forgotten English Finds of Pence of Æthelræd II', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th ser. 18 (1958), 97–107

[M931] V. Smart, 'A Subsidiary Issue of Æthelred II's *Long Cross*', *BNJ* 34 (1965), 37–41 - with a distinctive portrait, at south-eastern mints

[M932] R.H.M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'The Mints "æt Gothabyrig" and "æt Sith(m)estebyrig', *BNJ* 28.2 (1956), 270–82 - 'Gothabyrig', in the south-west, for *Long Cross*, etc.; Cissbury, in Sussex, as an 'emergency mint' for *Last Small Cross*

[M933] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Mythical "Helmet"/"Long Cross" Mules of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 30.1 (1960), 57–60 - Scandinavian imitations

The **Helmet** type (*c*. 1003–9) (Hildebrand, Type E + F; North 775)
The design shows King Æthelred in helmet and armour. It is the case, however, that the type was modelled closely on a Roman prototype: perhaps an Antoninianus (double denarius) of Maximian (286–305), minted at Lyons (T20, p. 14, with pl. II, nos. 19–20), or perhaps an Antoninianus of Carausius (287–93), who declared himself emperor in Britain (B1, pl. XII, no. 7). For the date of the introduction of the type, see Stewart (M803), p. 478. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, several boroughs were burned, etc., during the currency of the type, in 1003, 1004, 1006; so the question arises whether this left any trace in the output of the mints.

[M940] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Sack of Wilton in 1003 and the Chronology of the "Long Cross" and "Helmet" Types of Æthelræd II, *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* 5 (May 1954), 152–6 - noting that Wilton *Long Cross* moneyers moved to Salisbury [i.e. the hill-fort at Old Sarum], for *Helmet*, and connecting this with the sack of Wilton in 1003 (but cf. Stewart (M803), p. 478); and proposing the six-year cycle of coinage in Æthelred's reign; on the two mints, see also Dolley and Elmore Jones (M926), p. 84, and Blunt and Lyon (M877)

For disruption in the *Helmet* type at Huntingdon, see Eaglen (M878).

The **Agnus Dei** type (?1009) (Hildebrand, Type G; North 776)
Excessively rare: the corpus currently stands at 16 known specimens. A remarkable design, dispensing (most unusually) with the royal portrait, and bearing figurative designs, with deep religious significance, on both sides. The symbolism invokes the Lamb of God (Christ), who (in the words of the liturgy) drives away the sins of the world, and brings peace. The question is whether the type is an 'aborted' type, quickly replaced by *Last Small Cross*, or whether it was always intended to be a short-lived special issue. For further discussion, see J166.

[M950] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The *Agnus Dei* Pennies of Æthelred II', unpublished typescript (*c*. 1960), 166 pp., among Dolley's papers in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, cat. no. 667; forming the basis of R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Nummular Brooch from Sulgrave', in T21 (1971), pp. 333–49, at 338–44

[M951] R.H.M. D[olley], 'An Alleged *Agnus Dei* Penny of the Wareham Mint', *BNJ* 28.2 (1956), 412–14

[M952] M. Dolley and T. Talvio, 'The Twelfth of the Agnus Dei Pennies of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 47 (1977), 131–3, and 'A Thirteenth *Angus Dei* Penny of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 49 (1979), 122–5

[M953] B. Kluge, 'Das älteste Exemplar vom Agnus Dei-Typ', in Jonsson (M613) (1990), pp. 137–56, with fig. showing 12 specimens

[M954] I. Leimus, 'A Fourteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny of Æthelred II', in Jonsson (M613) (1990), pp. 157–63 - an interesting example from a West Saxon mint (Salisbury), moneyer Goldus (ex Wilton)

[M955] Spink & Son Ltd., Auction 124 (18–19 November 1997), Lot 2197, with a list of 15 specimens; this 15th specimen, found in England, is also on the *MEC* website (M400)

[M956] J.C. Moesgaard and S.A. Tornbjerg, 'A Sixteenth Agnus Dei Penny of Æthelred II', *Numismatic Chronicle* 159 (1999), 327–32

The **Last Small Cross** type (*c*. 1009–16) (Hildebrand, Type A; North 777–80)
For regional styles in die-cutting, see Dolley (M881). Note that several boroughs were 'burned' in 1010, without any detectable effect on the coinage (Thetford, Cambridge, Ipswich, Bedford, Northampton), plus Canterbury in 1011; cf. Lyon on Oxford (M962). Note also the *absence* of hoards from the period 1009–12, while Thorkell's army was at large.

[M960] R.H.M. Dolley, 'A Note on the Mints of Sudbury and Southwark at the end of the Reign of Æthelræd II', *BNJ* 28.2 (1956), 264–9 - Southwark

[M961] M. Dolley, 'A Mythical Æthelræd II Moneyer of the Romney Mint', *Numismatic Circular* 75.1 (Jan. 1967), 1 - Manna, in *LSC*, at Norwich, not Romney

[M962] C.S.S. Lyon, 'The Significance of the Sack of Oxford in 1009/10 for the Chronology of the Coinage of Æthelred II', *BNJ* 35 (1965), 34–7, observing that the mints of Oxford and Wallingford appear to have closed soon after inception of *LSC* in 1009, perhaps following sack of Oxford in early 1010

[M963] F. Elmore Jones, 'A New Sussex Mint', *Numismatic Circular*, April 1956, 166–7 - on Cissbury

[M964] R.H.M. Dolley, 'Three Late Anglo-Saxon Notes: A New Anglo-Saxon Mint; A Probable New Mint in Shropshire; *and* The Emergency Mint of Cadbury', *BNJ* 28.1 (1956), 88–105 - mint removed from Ilchester to Cadbury in 1009/10; and for Cissbury, another emergency mint in Sussex, see Dolley and Elmore Jones (M932), pp. 277–82, but cf. Lyon (M415), pp. 202–3, on mobile royal moneyers

[M965] S. Lyon, 'Die-cutting Styles in the *Last Small Cross* Issue of c.1009–1017 and Some Problematic East Anglian Dies and Die-links', *BNJ* 68 (1998), 21–41

For a unique penny of King Æthelred (London, Ealdred; preserved at Bergen), showing the king in a pointed helmet, see Lyon (M415), p. 201, with pl. IX, no. 9; also illustrated by Dolley (M865), p. 129.

Some Scandinavian hoards

For a list of hoards found in Sweden and Denmark, see Jonsson (M810), pp. 7–34, with discussion of the incidence and significance of those Scandinavian hoards which contained AS pennies (many in the period 990–1005, but fewer in the period 1005–16). One has to ask, however, whether they represent payments of *gafol* or *geld*, i.e. payments made to returning members of a raiding army, or to returning mercenaries.

[M970] The Värpinge hoard, Skåne (1783), containing *Hand* pennies, plus large number of *Crux* pennies (esp. London and Southwark), and regarded 'as one of the very few hoards which include danegeld payments': see Jonsson (M810), pp. 32 and 123–31

[M971] The Igelösa hoard, Skåne (1924), containing mainly *Crux* and *Long Cross* pennies, incl. two large parcels, 'which makes it foremost among the (surprisingly few) hoards that can be said to consist of danegeld payments'; see Jonsson (M810), pp. 32 and 132–40

[M972] Tyskegård hoard (1876, 1993–6), of *Long Cross* pennies; see Moesgaard (M974)

[M973] Eskilstuna hoard, Sweden, comprising 390 pennies of Æthelred, found 1977; see Jonsson (M810), p. 28

[M974] Store Frigård II hoard (Denmark), featured in BBC's *Blood of the Vikings* TV programme (screened in 2001), comprising coins of *Crux* type, perhaps representing a share in a payment of *gafol* made in 994, or a share in a payment made to returning mercenaries in the later 990s.

[M974.4] D.M. Metcalf, 'Inflows of Anglo-Saxon and German Coins into the Northern Lands, c. 997–1024: Discerning the Patterns', in M614, pp. 349–88 (incl. pecking, p. 351)

[M974.5] J.C. Moesgaard, 'The Import of English Coins to the Northern Lands: Some Remarks on Coin Circulation in the Viking Age Based on New Evidence from Denmark', in M614, pp. 389–433

[M975] Necklace comprising ten silver pennies of King Æthelred (*Long Cross*, *Helmet*, *Last Small Cross*), found in the Äspinge Hoard, Hurva, Skåne, Sweden: see Graham-Campbell (B703), no. 156 (and cf. caption to inset illustration in Keynes (F42), p. 63)

The Anglo-Danish kings (1016–42)

For coinage in Scandinavia, see Graham-Campbell (J106).

[M980] B. Malmer, *King Canute's Coinage in the Northern Countries*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture 1972 (1974) - important for numismatic indications of Cnut's rule in Sweden (the coins in question were then dismissed as imitations; but see M980.5)

[M980.5] B. Malmer, 'The 1954 Rone Hoard and Some Comments on Styles and Inscriptions of Certain Scandinavian Coins from the Early Eleventh Century', in M614, pp. 435–48, at 440–3 – reasserting the significance of Cnut's 'rex sw[eorum]' coins from Sigtuna

[M980a] B. Malmer, *The Anglo-Scandinavian Coinage, c.995–1020*, Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI, new ser. 9 (1997)

[M981] P. Nightingale, 'The Origin of the Court of Husting and Danish Influence on London's Development into a Capital City', *EHR* 102 (1987), 559–78

[M982] R.H.M. Dolley and J. Ingold, 'Some Thoughts on the Engraving of the Dies for the English Coinage *c.* 1025', in M610, pp. 189–222

[M983] M. Blackburn and S. Lyon, 'Regional Die-Production in Cnut's Quatrefoil Issue', in T24 (1986), pp. 223–72

[M984] R.H.M. Dolley, 'The "Jewel-Cross" Coinage of Ælfgifu-Emma, Harthacnut, and Harold I', *BNJ* 27 (1952–4), 266–75

[M985] P. Seaby, 'The Sequence of Anglo-Saxon Coin Types, 1030–50', *BNJ* 28 (1955), 111–46

[M986] T. Talvio, 'Harold I and Harthacnut's *Jewel Cross* Type Reconsidered', in T24 (1986), pp. 273–90; see also Talvio, in M511 (1991), pp. 1–3, and D.M. Metcalf, 'A Kingdom Divided', *Numismatic Circular* 1991, pp. 292–3

[M987] D.M. Metcalf, 'Viking-Age Numismatics, 4: The Currency of German and Anglo-Saxon Coins in Northern Lands', *Numismatic Chronicle* 158 (1998), 345–71; and D.M.

Metcalf, 'Viking-Age Numismatics, 5: Denmark in the Time of Cnut and Harthacnut', *Numismatic Chronicle* 159 (1999), 395–430

The reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66)

[M990] A. Freeman, *The Moneyer and the Mint in the Reign of Edward the Confessor 1042–1066*, BAR Brit. Ser. 145 (i)–(ii) (1985)

[M991] B.H.I.H. Stewart and C.E. Blunt, 'The Droitwich Mint and BMC Type XIV of Edward the Confessor', *BNJ* 48 (1978), 52–7

[M992] S. Lyon, 'The "Expanding Cross" Type of Edward the Confessor - the Appledore (1997) Hoard', *NCirc* (Dec. 1998), 426–8 - on the hoard of nearly 500 pennies of the *Expanding Cross* type, deposited c. 1051–2, found in 1997 by metal detectorists at Appledore, in Kent; now in the British Museum

[M995] S. Keynes, 'An Interpretation of the *Pacx*, *Pax* and *Paxs* Pennies', *ASE* 7 (1978), 165–73

[M996] T. Talvio, 'The Designs of Edward the Confessor's Coins', in Jonsson (M613) (1990), pp. 487–99 - German influence, and greater realism

See also Jones (L111), pp. 102–6, on new iconography in coins and seals from *c.* 1053.

The reign of King Harold (1066)

[M1000] H.E. Pagan, 'The Coinage of Harold II', in Jonsson (M613) (1990), pp. 177–205

The Norman Conquest and the English coinage

[M1010] M. Dolley, *The Norman Conquest and the English Coinage* (1966)

See also Archbald (M450).

vi. Coinage and the economy of Anglo-Saxon England

Weights and measures

[M1020] P. Nightingale, 'The Ora, the Mark, and the Mancus: Weight-Standards and the Coinage in Eleventh-Century England', *Numismatic Chronicle* 143 (1983), 248–57, and 144 (1984), 234–48

[M1021] S.E. Kruse, 'Late Saxon Balances and Weights from England', *Medieval Archaeology* 36 (1992), 67–95

See also Lyon (M414), Williams (M585).

Economic affairs

Sawyer (P12), Campbell (P15), Fleming (P18), Hodges (P20), Metcalf (M600), etc. For the ninth-century economy, see Maddicott (E109, F120) and Metcalf (F121).

[M1030] D.M. Metcalf, 'How Large was the Anglo-Saxon Currency?', *Economic History Review* 18 (1965), 475–82

[M1030.5] D.M. Metcalf, 'Monetary Circulation in the Danelaw, 973–1083', in T111, p. 159–85

[M1031] D.M. Metcalf, 'The Prosperity of North-West Europe in the 8th and 9th Centuries', *Economic History Review* 20 (1967), 344–57

[M1032] P. Grierson, 'The Volume of the Anglo-Saxon Coinage', *Economic History Review* 20 (1967), 153–60; reptd in his *Dark Age Numismatics* (1979), no. XXVII

[M1033] H.R. Loyn, 'Boroughs and Mints A.D. 900–1066', in T20, pp. 122–35; reptd in T16, pp. 90–110

[M1034] S.R.H. Jones, 'Devaluation and the Balance of Payments in Eleventh-century England: an Exercise in Dark Age Economics', *Economic History Review* 44 (1991), 594–607; S.R.H. Jones, 'Transaction Costs, Institutional Change, and the Emergence of a Market Economy in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Economic History Review* 46 (1993), 658–78, summarised in *OEN* 29.2, p. 153

[M1035] M. Allen, 'The Volume of the English Currency, *c.* 973–1158', in M614, pp. 487–523, including a list of hoards deposited in England from *c.* 973 to *c.* 1070 [and beyond], pp. 503–9 and 514–18

N. ASPECTS OF SOCIETY

For one the earliest attempts to integrate social history into a study of Anglo-Saxon England, see Turner (S72). It is now axiomatic that matters of political, ecclesiastical, and economic history cannot be pursued except in relation to their impact on society.

The essential primary sources

[N1] Vernacular charters and **wills** (B355, B356, B357). Much useful information can be gained by consulting the *Index Rerum* in each of these works. For wills, see Sheehan (N13), and entry in A100.

[N1.5] Estate surveys (cf. P5, etc.), which give some indication of the men, women and children living on a rural estate. The prime example is the Hatfield survey, once taken to refer to the Hatte family: text and translation in Thorpe (B354), pp. 649–51, and Pelteret (N45.1), pp. 471–92; and for the context, see Keynes (Q148), p. 6, n. 17.

[N2] Law-codes (B366, B367). For a guide to the contents of the laws, consult the indexes. For the feud, see esp. *II Edmund* (EHD no. 38), and entry in A100.

[N3] Tracts on social status. 'A Compilation on Status' (EHD no. 51), probably compiled by Wulfstan, archbishop of York (1002–23): one text defines the entitlements of ceorls, thegns, traders and scholars, and others deal with Northumbrian and Mercian wergilds. See also P5, P6, P7, for rights and duties of various categories of men on rural estates.

[N4] Guild regulations (tenth- and eleventh-century) (B359): the Bedwyn guild statutes (EHD no. 138), entered in a gospel-book from a royal estate in Wiltshire; the Exeter guild statutes (EHD no. 137), entered in a gospel-book at Exeter; the regulations of the thegns' guild of Cambridge (EHD no. 136), entered in a gospel-book at Ely; the regulations of Orc's guild at Abbotsbury (EHD no. 139), extant in single-sheet form, from an estate in Dorset. Discussion: Rosser (N30); Williams (Q19a), pp. 22–3.

[N5] Manumissions of slaves (B359): a manumission of a slave seemingly in the household of King Æthelstan (EHD no. 140), on which see Keynes (G65), pp. 185–9; manumissions entered in a gospel-book at Bodmin (EHD nos. 140–8), in a gospel-book at Exeter (EHD no. 140), and in the *Liber Vitae* of St Cuthbert's community (EHD no. 150). Discussion: Pelteret (N45).

[N6] Ælfric's **Colloquy** (B567) is important for an insight into the activities of monks, ploughmen, shepherds, oxherds, (king's) huntsmen, fishermen, fowlers, merchants, shoemakers, salters, bakers, cooks, 'counsellors', carpenters, blacksmiths, and students.

[N7] Calendars with illustrations depicting the occupations appropriate to each month: Temple (B807), nos. 62 (BL Cotton Julius A. vi) and 87 (BL Cotton Tiberius B. v); see also A205, nos. 60 and 164; and for a facsimile of Tiberius B. v, see B813. See also 'An Anglo-Saxon Calendar', on the website at A0. Carolingian example in Pleticha (A60.30), opp. p. 353; better illustration in Bullough (E80), opp. p. 145.

[N7a] D. Hill, 'Eleventh-Century Labours of the Months in Prose and Pictures', *Landscape History* 20 (1998), 29–39

[N8] The **Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi** (B245) conveys a vivid impression of tensions within an East Anglian society in the second half of the tenth century, and is the closest we come to an Anglo-Saxonist's *Montaillou*.

General studies

The standard textbooks are Loyn (A30), Whitelock (A32) and Finberg (A33); see also Stenton (A1), pp. 277–318, on 'The Structure of Early English Society', and Whitelock, in EHD, pp. 52–71 (pp. 54–74 in 1st ed.); Seebohm (M152); Faith (P113); Dyer (A29.5).

[N10] P. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England* (1892); P. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (1908); see also Vinogradoff (P100)

[N11] C.B. Bouchard, *Those of My Blood: Creating Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (2002) - on family structure and family consciousness in Francia, 8th–12th cent.

[N13] M.M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England* (1963), pp. 5–106

[N15] H.M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (1905), chs. 3–5 and 10

[N16] P.V. Addyman, 'Archaeology and Anglo-Saxon Society', *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*, ed. G. de G. Sieveking, *et al.* (1976), pp. 309–22 - some discussion of *Gerefa*

[N17] D. Bullough, 'Anglo-Saxon Institutions and Early English Society', *Annali della fondazione Italiana per la storia amministrativa* 2 (1965), 647–59, reptd in T43, pp. 1–19

The bonds of society: kinship, friendship, etc.

[N18] D. Bullough, 'Early Medieval Social Groupings: the Terminology of Kinship', *Past and Present* 45 (1969), 3–18

[N19] H.R. Loyn, 'Kinship in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 3 (1974), 197–209; reptd in T16, pp. 45–64

[N20] L. Lancaster, 'Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society, Parts I and II', *British Journal of Sociology* 9 (1958), 234–48 and 359–77

[N21] S.D. White, 'Kinship and Lordship in Early Medieval England: the Story of Sigeberht, Cynewulf and Cyneheard', *Viator* 20 (1989), 1–18

[N22] J. Campbell, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Society According to the Written Sources', in T9, pp. 131–8

[N23] T. Charles-Edwards, 'Anglo-Saxon Kinship Revisited', in T35, pp. 171–204

[N24] J.H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (1998)

[N24.5] P.R. Richardson, 'Making Thanes: Literature, Rhetoric, and State Formation in Anglo-Saxon England', *Philological Quarterly* 78.1–2 (1999), 215–32 - on kinship and lordship

[N25] G. Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe* (2004) - translation of a book first published in German in 1990

[N25.5] J. Barrow, 'Friends and Friendship in Anglo-Saxon Charters', *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Haseldine (1999), pp. 106–23, and other chapters in the same book, e.g. on Boniface, Alcuin, etc.; and cf. J. Meddings, 'Friendship Among the Aristocracy in Anglo-Norman England', *ANS* 22 (2000), 187–204

[N26] J. Crick, 'Posthumous Obligation and Family Identity', in T42, pp. 193–208

[N27] A. Wareham, 'The Transformation of Kinship and the Family in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *EME* 10 (2001), 375–99

[N28] R. Fletcher, *Bloodfeud: Murder and Revenge in Anglo-Saxon England* (2002, pb 2003) - taking its cue from the tract *De obsessione Dunelmi* (B225; J2.2)

[N28.5] A. Wareham, 'Kinship and the Social Order in England and Normandy', *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power*, ed. A-J. A. Bijsterveld, *et al.* (1999), pp. 107–32, at pp. 108–16 (on *De obsessione Dunelmi*)

[N29] P. Hyams, 'Feud and the State in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of British Studies* 40 (2001), 1–43; see also Hyams (M186)

[N30] G. Rosser, 'The Anglo-Saxon Gilds', in (Q18), pp. 31–4

See also Stafford (A41), pp. 147–71; Holt (R223); Dyer (A29.5). For the guild regulations, see Williams (Q19a), pp. 22–3.

[N31] A. Wareham, *Lords and Communities in Early Medieval East Anglia* (2005) <not yet seen> - for the East Anglian landed aristocracy in the tenth and eleventh centuries

Aspects of life

[N35] G.R. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (1986), revised and enlarged edition (2004). Two chapters, on women's costume in 10th &11th centuries, and on textile production, are reptd in B835, pp. 423–85.

[N36] S. Crawford, *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England* (1999); S. Crawford, 'Children, Death and the Afterlife in Anglo-Saxon England', reptd in B835, pp. 339–58

[N37] M. Dockray-Miller, *Motherhood and Mothering in Anglo-Saxon England* (2000)

[N37.5] M. Colardelle and E. Verdel, *Les habitats du lac de Paladru (Isère) dans leur environnement: la formation d'un terroir au XIe siècle*, Documents d'archéologie française 40 (1993) - included here for comparative purposes (in the absence of anything similar from England), as an example of an early-eleventh-century settlement site (between Lyon and Grenoble), which yielded an extraordinary array of the ordinary objects of everyday life; some also featured in the Capetian exhibition catalogue (A242), nos. 20–6 and 40–56

Illness and medical practices

For manuscripts containing 'medical' recipes, prognostics, etc., see 'Bald's Leechbook' (B591), 'Lacnunga' (B592), etc. See also Cameron (B594), and Hollis (B594a).

[N38] A. Meaney, 'The Practice of Medicine in England about the Year 1000', *The Year 1000: Medical Practice at the End of the First Millennium*, ed. P. Horden and E. Savage-Smith [= *Social History of Medicine* 13.2] (2000), 221–37

[N38.5] D. Banham, 'A Millennium in Medicine? New Medical Texts and Ideas in England in the Eleventh Century', in T111, pp. 230–42

[N38.6] B. Brennessel, M.D.C. Drout and R. Gravel, 'A Reassessment of the Efficacy of Anglo-Saxon Medicine', *ASE* 34 (2005), 183–95

For plague, see Maddicott (P140); and for death, see Lucy (N120). For King Alfred's illnesses, see F127. For King Eadred's illnesses, see G96, p. 185, etc. King Æthelred's illness in 1015 was no less important.

The classes of society

[N40] H.R. Loyn, 'The Term *Ealdorman* in the Translations Prepared at the Time of King Alfred', *EHR* 68 (1953), 513–25

[N41] H.R. Loyn, 'Gesiths and Thegns from the Seventh to the Tenth Century', *EHR* 70 (1955), 529–49

[N42] F.M. Stenton, 'The Thriving of the Anglo-Saxon Ceorl', in T1, pp. 383–93

[N43] A.T. Thacker, 'Some Terms for Noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England *c.* 650–900', *ASSAH* 2, BAR, Brit. ser. 92 (1981), 201–36

[N43b] J. Roberts, 'The Old English Vocabulary of Nobility', *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations*, ed. A.J. Duggan (2000), pp. 69–84

[N44] W.G. Runciman, 'Accelerating Social Mobility: the Case of Anglo-Saxon England', *Past and Present* 104 (1984), 3–30

[N45] D. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England* (1995). See also D. Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding and Slave Trading in Early England', *ASE* 9 (1981), 99–114; 'Slavery in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Anglo-Saxons: Synthesis and Achievement*, ed. J.D. Woods and D.A.E. Pelteret (1985), pp. 117–33; 'The Image of the Slave in Some Anglo-Saxon and Norse Sources', *Slavery and Abolition* 23.2 (2002), 75–88; 'A Missing Half-Millennium: the Beginning and End of Slavery in Early Medieval England', *Slavery across Time and Space*, ed. P. Hernæs and T. Iversen, Trondheim Stud. in Hist. 38 (2002), 69–95

[N45.1] D. Pelteret, 'Two Old English Lists of Serfs', *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986), 470–513

[N45a] D. Wyatt, 'The Significance of Slavery: Alternative Approaches to Anglo-Saxon Slavery', *ANS* 23 (2001), 327–47

[N46] H. Loyn, *The Free Anglo-Saxon* (1975); reptd in T16, pp. 279–98

[N47] D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000–1300* (1992), pp. 46–50, on 'Anglo-Saxon Ealdormen and Earls'

[N48] J. Gillingham, 'Thegns and Knights in Eleventh-Century England: Who was then the Gentleman?', *TRHS* 6th ser. 5 (1995), 129–53, reptd in T69, pp. 163–85

[N49] H. Härke, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Social Structure', in T35, pp. 125–60

See also Loyn (M236). For individualism, see Campbell (M350), pp. 62–5, and Faith (P113). For the archaeological perspective, see Reynolds (A37) and Lucy (N120).

Anglo-Saxon women

See entries on women in A100 and A105. For guidance on how to get married, see EHD no. 50 (no. 51 in 1st ed.).

[N50] L.M. Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe, 400–1100* (2002)

[N50.5] C. Fell, *Women in Anglo-Saxon England* (1984)

[N51] F.M. Stenton, 'The Place of Women in Anglo-Saxon Society', in T1, pp. 314–24

[N52] S.E. Dietrich, 'An Introduction to Women in Anglo-Saxon Society (*c*.600–1066)', *The Women of England*, ed. B. Kanner (1980), pp. 32–56; A.L. Klinck, 'Anglo-Saxon Women and the Law', *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982), 107–21; M. Clunies Ross, 'Concubinage in Anglo-Saxon England', *Past and Present* 108 (1985), 3–34, reptd in T43, pp. 251–87

[N53] K. Herbert, *Peace-Weavers and Shield-Maidens: Women in Early English Society* (1997)

[N54] M.A. Meyer, 'Land Charters and the Legal Position of Anglo-Saxon Women', *The Women of England*, ed. B. Kanner (1980), pp. 57–82; M. A. Meyer, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Penitentials and the Position of Women', *HSJ* 2 (1990), 47–61

[N55] T.J. Rivers, 'Widow's Rights in Anglo-Saxon Law', *American Journal of Legal History* 19 (1975), 208–15

[N56] M.P. Richards and B.J. Stanfield, 'Concepts of Anglo-Saxon Women in the Laws', *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. H. Damico and A.H. Olsen (1990), pp. 89–99

[N57] M.A. Meyer, 'Women's Estates in Later Anglo-Saxon England: the Politics of Possession', *HSJ* 3 (1991), 111–29

[N58] P. Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 6th ser. 4 (1994), 221–49, reptd in T70 (XV)

[N59] H. Leyser, *Medieval Women: a Social History of Women in England 450–1500* (1995)

[N60] C. Hough, 'The Early Kentish "Divorce" Laws: a Reconsideration of Æthelberht, chs. 79 and 80', *ASE* 23 (1994), 19–34; C. Hough, 'The Widow's *Mund* in Æthelberht 75 and 76', *JEGP* 98 (1999), 1–16

[N61] J. Crick, 'Women, Posthumous Benefaction, and Family Strategy in Pre-Conquest England', *Journal of British Studies* 38 (1999), 399–422; J. Crick, 'Women, Wills and Moveable Wealth in Pre-Conquest England', *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective*, ed. M. Donald and L. Hurcombe (2000), pp. 17–37

[N62] J. Crick, 'Men, Women and Widows: Widowhood in Pre-Conquest England', *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. S. Cavallo (1999), pp. 24–36

[N62a] R.H. Bremmer, 'Widows in Anglo-Saxon England', *Between Poverty and the Pyre: Moments in the History of Widowhood*, ed. J. Bremmer and L. van der Bosch (1995), 58–88

[N63] V. Thompson, 'Women, Power and Protection in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Medieval Women and the Law*, ed. N.J. Menuge (2000), pp. 1–17

[N64] C. Cubitt, 'Virginity and Misogyny in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Gender and History* 12 (2000), 1–32

[N65] C.A. Lees and G.R. Overing, *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (2001)

[N66] E. Okasha, 'Anglo-Saxon Women: the Evidence from Inscriptions', *Roman, Runes and Ogham*, ed. J. Higgitt, *et al.* (2001), pp. 79–88

For women in the church, see Mitchell (D86), Hollis (Q21), Yorke (Q21b), Foot (Q23), Crick (Q24), Meyer (G130), and Halpin (G134). For Anglo-Saxon fashion, see Owen-Crocker (N35); for children, see Crawford (N36); for motherhood, see Dockray-Miller (N37).

Death and burial

For early AS cemeteries, see Meaney (C100), etc. For archaeological evidence in general, see also Reynolds (A37), and esp. Fleming (P18). For medical matters, see Meaney (N38), etc.

[N120] S. Lucy, *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death* (2000) - on evidence derived from the study of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; S. Lucy, *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire: an Analysis and Interpretation*, BAR Brit. ser. 271 (1998)

[N121] N. Stoodley, *The Spindle and the Spear: a Critical Enquiry into the Construction and Meaning of Gender in the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite*, BAR Brit. ser. 288 (1999); E. O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: Burial Practices Reviewed*, BAR Brit. ser. 289 (1999)

[N125] D.M. Hadley, *Death in Medieval England* (2001)

[N130] *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. S. Lucy and A. Reynolds, Society for Med. Archaeology Monograph 17 (2002)

[N140] A. Reynolds, 'Burials, Boundaries and Charters in Anglo-Saxon England: a Reassessment', in N130, pp. 171–94

[N141] V. Thompson, 'The View from the Edge: Dying, Power and Vision in Late Saxon England', in P119.5, pp. 92–7; V. Thompson, *Dying and Death in Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Stud. 4 (2004), focusing on the death and burial of Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians

For liturgical commemoration, see Q30, etc.

P. LAND, WEALTH, TOWNS, AND TRADE

The essential primary sources

Coinage and trade

[P1] Legislation on the coinage: see *II Æthelstan* (in B366, and EHD no. 35), ch. 14, and *IV Æthelred* (in B367), chs. 5–9

[P2] A toll charter (EHD no. 66); letter of Charlemagne to Offa (EHD no. 197); *IV Æthelred* (in B367), chs. 1–2, on London trade; the merchant in Ælfric's *Colloquy* (B567), in B560, p. 173; Cnut's letter of 1027 (EHD no. 53), ch. 6, on agreements made while in Rome (cf. P4?)

[P3] The accounts of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan (B598.3), in the OE Orosius (F170). *Two Voyagers at the Court of King Alfred: the Ventures of Ohthere and Wulfstan*, ed. N. Lund (1984); see also Swanton (B560), pp. 62–7

[P4] Regulations of the royal court at Pavia ('between *c.* 1010 and *c.* 1020, based upon tenth-century sources'), on which see refs. in Keynes (F14), p. 99 n. 4: trans. R.S. Lopez and I.W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (1955), pp. 56–60 - on bad-tempered English merchants at Pavia, and agreement concluded between 'the king of the Angles and Saxons' and 'the king of the Lombards'

The management of rural estates

[P5] *Rectitudines singularum personarum* ('Rights and ranks of people') and *Be gesceadwisan gerefan* ('On the discriminating reeve'; *Gerefa* for short). Text: Liebermann (B365), I, pp. 444–55. Translation: EHD II, no. 172 (RSP only); Swanton (B560), pp. 26–33 (both). These documents afford some insight into the obligations of the different classes of society on a rural estate, and into the management of an estate. For an important discussion, see Harvey (P110). For *Gerefa*, see also Addyman (N16).

[P6] Services at Hurstbourne Priors, Hampshire. Text and translation: Robertson (B355), no. 110. Translation: EHD II, no. 173.

[P7] Services at Tidenham, Gloucestershire. Text and translation: Robertson (B355), no. 109. Translation: EHD II, no. 174.

[P8] The Ely farming memoranda. MS (facsimile): A205, no. 150. Text and translation: Robertson (B355), pp. 252–7. For historical context, see Keynes (Q1

[P9] Carolingian capitulary *De villis*, and the *Brevium exempla*. Translation: B601.5, pp. 64–73 and 98–105. Valuable for purposes of comparison.

For the so-called 'work calendars', illustrating the labours of each month, see N7.

General studies

Wickham (A29); Stenton (A1), pp. 525–44; Whitelock, in EHD, pp. 68–71 (pp. 71–4 in 1st ed.); Sawyer (A4), pp. 204–33; Loyn (A30); Finberg (A33); Hodges (A34); Hinton (A35); Dyer (A29.5). For the evidence of coinage, see M440 and M570, etc.

[P10] M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (2001) - essential reading, on *movement* in the early middle ages, covering communication across land and sea, travel and pilgrimage, trade, exiles, relic-collecting, coinage, ships, tolls, and much else besides

[P12] P.H. Sawyer, 'The Wealth of England in the 11th Century', *TRHS* 5th ser. 15 (1965), 145–64

[P13] T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Distinction between Land and Moveable Wealth in Anglo-Saxon England', *Medieval Settlement*, ed. P. Sawyer (1976), pp. 180–7

[P14] N. Brooks, *Church, State and Access to Resources in Early Anglo-Saxon England*, Brixworth Lecture 2002, Brixworth Lectures, 2nd ser. 2 (2003)

[P15] J. Campbell, 'The Sale of Land and the Economics of Power in Early England: Problems and Possibilities', *HSJ* 1 (1989), 23–37; reptd in T66, pp. 227–45

[P16] J. Campbell, 'Was it Infancy in England? Some Questions of Comparison', *England and her Neighbours, 1066–1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. M. Jones and M. Vale (1989), pp. 1–17, reptd in T66, pp. 179–99

[P17] J. Campbell, 'The English Economy in the Eleventh Century' (forthcoming)

[P18] R. Fleming, 'The New Wealth, the New Rich and the New Political Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *ANS* 23 (2001), 1–22 - conspicuous consumption among the thegns, and money as the driving force in political affairs; R. Fleming, 'Bones for Historians: Putting the Body back into Biography', in T113, pp. 29–48; see also R. Fleming, 'Lords and Labour', in Davies (A7), pp. 107–37 and 247–9

See also Fleming (P59).

[P20] R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: the Origins of Towns and Trade A.D. 600–1000* (1982), esp. pp. 66–86 (gazetteer of emporia, incl. Hamwic, London [before its 'discovery' at Aldwych], Ipswich, etc.; and Hodges, 'The Age of Emporia', in A34, pp. 69–114 (incl. Hamwic, London [after its 'discovery' at Aldwych], Ipswich, etc.)

[P21] R. Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* (2000)

[P22] *The Long Eighth Century*, ed. I.L. Hansen and C. Wickham, Transformation of the Roman World 11 (2001)

[P22.5] S. Coupland, 'Trading Places: Quentovic and Dorestad Reassessed', *EME* 11.3 (2002), 209–32 - Dorestad declined *c.* 850, while Quentovic prospered

See also Pestell and Ulmschneider (P47), etc.

For **coinage** and the economy, see Metcalf (M1030), etc.

Rivers, roads, transport, and communications

On the four highways of Britain (the Icknield Way, Ermine Street, Watling Street, and the Fosse Way), see Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, i.7, in (B635), pp. 22–4, and refs; also marked on several of the maps at the end of this bibliographical handbook. Entries on bridges, roads, transport and communication in A100. For the rivers Thames and Severn, see Gildas (B10), ch. 3.1. For bridges, see Brooks (M111) and Brooks (P14).

[P30] The river Thames. The Thames rises at Thames Head, near Kemble, nr Cirencester, Gloucestershire. It was, of course, an important artery, and also, of course, an important political frontier. Were one to sail, row or swim up the river, from London Bridge, one would pass through many places which have very important associations in the Anglo-Saxon period (royal estates, meeting-places, religious houses, burhs, burial sites, etc.): e.g. Chelsea [church councils]; Kingston-upon-Thames [coronations], where the river ceases to be tidal; Thames Ditton [Æthelmær]; Sunbury [important estate]; Chertsey [monastery]; Windsor [royal estate]; Bray [Regenbald]; Taplow [Tappa's mound]; Cookham [royal estate]; Sashes [burh]; Reading [battle]; Wallingford [burh]; Dorchester-on-Thames [bishopric]; Abingdon [royal estate/religious house]; Oxford [burh]; Eynsham [monastery]; Cricklade [burh]. J.K. Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat* (1889). *The Oarsman's and Angler's Map of the River Thames from its Source to London Bridge* (1893), reprinted (with an introduction by R. Way) by Old House Books, Devon (n.d., *c.* 2000), is most instructive.

[P33] F.M. Stenton, 'The Road System of Medieval England', in T1, pp. 234–52; I.D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 3rd ed. (1973); Hill, *Atlas* (A260), p. 116

[P34] A. Cooper, 'The Rise and Fall of the Anglo-Saxon Law of the Highway', *HSJ* 12 (2002), 39–69 - including discussion of roads in boundary-clauses of tenth-century charters

[P34.5] N. Cohen, 'Boundaries and Settlements: the Role of the River Thames', in P119.5, pp. 9–20

[P34.6] J. Neville, 'Hrothgar's Horses: Feral or Thoroughbred?', *ASE* 35 (2006), 131–57

For communication by means of the written word, see M200, etc.

Trade

McCormick (P10). Entries on trade, ships, etc., in A100. For an encyclopedia of medieval trade, see Friedman and Frigg (A 109).

[P35] G.C. Dunning, 'Trade Relations between England and the Continent in the Late Anglo-Saxon Period', *Dark Age Britain*, ed. D.B. Harden (1956), pp. 218–33

[P36] A.R. Lewis, *The Northern Seas: Shipping and Commerce in Northern Europe, A.D. 300–1100* (1958)

[P37] P. Grierson, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: a Critique of the Evidence', *TRHS* 5th ser. 9 (1959), 123–40; reptd in his *Dark Age Numismatics* (1979), no. II

[P38] P. Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 4th ser. 23 (1941), 71–112, reptd in *Essays in Medieval History*, ed. R.W. Southern (1968), pp. 61–92; see also Sisam (B524), pp. 196–7

[P39] D. Jellema, 'Frisian Trade in the Dark Ages', *Speculum* 30 (1955), 15–36

[P40] P.H. Sawyer, 'Kings and Merchants', *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood (1977), pp. 139–58, and 'Early Fairs and Markets in England and Scandinavia', *The Market in History*, ed. B.L. Anderson and A.J.H. Latham (1986), pp. 59–77, reptd in T43, pp. 323–42

[P41] O. Crumlin-Pedersen, 'Boats and Ships of the Angles and Jutes', *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons,* ed. S. McGrail, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 71 (1990), 98–116

[P42] S. Kelly, 'Trading Privileges from Eighth-century England', *EME* 1 (1992), 1–26; see also A.J. Stoclet, *Immunes ab omni teloneo: étude de diplomatique, de philologie et d'histoire sur l'exemption de tonlieux au haut Moyen Age et specialement sur la Praeceptio de navibus*, Institut Historique Belge de Rome, Bibliothèque 45 (1999)

[P43] R.H. Britnell, 'English Markets and Royal Administration before 1200', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 31 (1978), 183–96

[P44] *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia*, ed. M. Anderton (1999)

[P45] P. Johanek, 'Merchants, Markets and Towns', in A71, pp. 64–94

[P46] M. Gardiner, 'Shipping and Trade between England and the Continent During the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 22 (2000), 71–93

[P46.5] J. Naylor, *An Archaeology of Trade in Anglo-Saxon England*, BAR Brit. ser. 376 (2004), focusing on eastern England in the period 650–900

See also Maddicott (E109, F120).

'Productive sites'

See Hodges (P20), etc.

[P47] *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive Sites, 658–850*, ed. T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (2003) - including a number of important papers essential for understanding of trade, etc., in the eighth and ninth centuries

[P48] K. Ulmschneider, 'Settlement, Economy, and the "Productive" Site: Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire A.D. 650–780', *Medieval Archaeology* 44 (2000), 53–79

[P48a] K. Leahy, 'Middle Anglo-Saxon Metalwork from South Newbald and the "Productive Site" Phenomenon in Yorkshire', in C152, pp. 51–82

Towns

Stenton (A1), pp. 525–44; Hodges (P20); James (A12), pp. 196–204 (*Hamwic*, London, Ipswich, York). The classic article on the Alfredian burhs is Biddle and Hill (F280). Entries on towns in A100 and A105; and see also entries on particular places. For further guidance, see the sections on towns in the *ASE* bibliographies (A73b).

[P49] *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, I: *600–1540*, ed. D.M. Palliser (2000), including: G. Astill, 'General Survey 600–1300', pp. 27–49; J. Campbell, 'Power and Authority 600–1300', pp. 51–78; J. Barrow, 'Churches, Education and Literacy in Towns 600–1300', pp. 127–52; D.A. Hinton, 'The Large Towns 600–1300', pp. 217–43 (including the *wic* sites at London, York, Ipswich and Southampton); J. Blair, 'Small Towns 600–1300', pp. 245–70; and much else besides

[P49a] S.T. Loseby, 'Power and Towns in Late Roman Britain and Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Sedes regiae (ann. 400-800),* ed. G. Ripoll and J.M. Gurt (2000), pp. 319–70

[P50] J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (1936)

[P51] C. Platt, *The Medieval English Town* (1976)

[P52] S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of the English Medieval Town* (1977); S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (1984)

[P53] *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, ed. J. Haslam (1984) - important collection of essays covering the towns of Kent, Surrey, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Somerset,

Dorset, and Devon, with special chapters on London, Chichester, Southampton, Bath, Gloucester, and Exeter

[P54] H.R. Loyn, 'Towns in Late Anglo-Saxon England: the Evidence and Some Possible Lines of Enquiry', in T21, pp. 115–28; reptd in T16, pp. 135–57

[P55] M. Biddle, 'The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Town', *SettSpol* 21 (1973), 203–30 and 299–312; M. Biddle, 'Towns', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1976), pp. 99–150; M. Biddle, 'Archaeology and the Beginnings of English Society', in T21, pp. 391–408, at 392–9

[P56] *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700–1050*, ed. R. Hodges and B. Hobley (1988): incl. important papers on London, Ipswich, *Hamwic* (Southampton), Chester, and York

[P57] *Urban Archaeology in Britain*, ed. J. Schofield and R. Leech (1987): incl. D. Hill, 'The Saxon Period', pp. 46–53, and C.J. Bond, 'Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Defences', pp. 92–116

[P58] H. Clarke and B. Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age* (1991; rev. ed. 1995), pp. 90–106, on 'The Vikings in Britain', incl. urban development in the Danelaw

[P59] R. Fleming, 'Rural Élites and Urban Communities in Late-Saxon England', *Past and Present* 141 (1993), 3–37

[P60] P. Ottaway, *Archaeology in British Towns from the Emperor Claudius to the Black Death* (1992)

[P61] A. Everitt, 'The Primary Towns of England', in his *Landscape and Community in England* (1985), pp. 95–108

[P62] C. Scull, 'Urban Centres in Pre-Viking England?', in T35, pp. 269–98

[P63] M. Bailey, 'Towns and Markets in a Regional Administrative Landscape: the Development of the Late Saxon Urban Network in East Anglia', *BJRL* 79.3 (1997), 221–49

[P63a] D. Griffiths, 'Exchange, Trade, and Urbanization', in Davies (A7) [2003], pp. 73–104, including Anglo-Saxon towns, pp. 92–7, and the rise of commerce, pp. 97–104

See also Williams in P107; Hill and Tatton-Brown in P109; Hall (P87); Reynolds (A37), pp. 159–79. On burhs and the Burghal Hidage, see Biddle and Hill (F280), etc.

Hamwic (Southampton)

See entry on Southampton in A100.

[P63a] L. Keen, 'Illa mercimonia que dicitur Hamwih: a Study in Early Medieval Urban Development', *Archaeologia Atlantica* 1.2 (1975), 165–90

[P64] A. Morton, 'A Synthesis of the Evidence', *Excavations in Hamwic* I, ed. A.D. Morton, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 84 (1992), 20–77; see also A. Morton, 'Hamwic in its Context', in P44, pp. 48–62

[P64a] *Excavations at Hamwic* II, ed. P. Andrews, CBA Research Report 109 (1997)

See also Hinton, 'Hamwih', in A5, pp. 102–3; Hodges (P20); P. Holdsworth, 'Saxon Southampton', in P53, pp. 331–43; M. Brisbane, 'Hamwic (Saxon Southampton)', in P56, pp. 101–8; and Yorke, in A46, pp. 299–309.

[P64.5] V. Birbeck, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton: Excavations at the Friends Provident St. Mary Stadium 1998–2000* (2005)

Winchester

[P65] M. Biddle, 'The Study of Winchester: Archaeology and History in a British Town, 1961–1983', *PBA* 69 (1983), 93–135, reptd in T25, pp. 299–341; see also Biddle (G171)

[P66] Winchester Studies [WS], ed. M. Biddle. The constituent volumes of this major series are in course of publication; for volumes pertaining to the three minsters at Winchester, see G170. Already published: *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, WS1 (1976); *A Survey of Medieval Winchester*, WS 2.i–iii [in 2 vols.] (1985); *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester*, ii: *The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills*, WS 3.ii (1979); *Artefacts from Medieval Winchester*, ii: *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester*, WS 7.ii [in 2 vols.] (1990).

[P69] T.B. James, *English Heritage Book of Winchester* (1997)

See also Yorke (F86).

Exeter

For Exeter during the reigns of Alfred and Æthelstan, see Maddicott (F120).

London

[P70] In historical terms, there are six main phases. (1) Roman and sub-Roman London, as provincial capital, on which see, e.g., Jones and Mattingly (A259), pp. 168–72. (2) 'East Saxon' London (s. vii/viii). Writing in 731, Bede described London as the *metropolis* of the East Saxons, and as 'an *emporium* for the many peoples who come to it by land and sea' (HE ii.3). The exact location of eighth-century mercantile London was, however, regarded as a mystery until 1984, when archaeologists realised and revealed that it lay not *within* the walls of the Roman city, but outside and to the west. (3) Middle Saxon or 'Mercian' London (s. viii/ix). For 'Mercian' London, see above (E34.5). For the remarkable gold coin

of King Coenwulf, 'de vico Lundoniae', see M710.1; and for Ecgberht's London coin, see M710.2. The *wic* or trading settlement was exposed to viking attack in the ninth century; and from *c.* 850 it began to decline. (4) 'Alfredian' London, as a focal point in the 'Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' (s. ix/x). London *wic* was eventually abandoned in favour of a renewed concentration of activity within the ancient walled city, culminating with Alfred's formal 'occupation' and refortification of the city in 886. For Alfred and London, see Keene (F112); see also Dyson (F110), Clark (F111). For an older account, see Stenton (A1), pp. 538–41. (5) The emergence of London in the tenth century, reflected in the treatment of the bishops of Winchester and London in the witness-lists of charters. (6) 'Æthelredian' London (s. x/xi), as the 'capital' of the Kingdom of the English. For the 'London' outlook of the main account of Æthelred's reign in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, see Keynes (J21.9). See also Taylor (Q137). According to Adam of Bremen (B616), bk iv, ch. 7 (Schol. 111), Cnut directed that Lund, in Denmark, should be promoted as a rival to London.

[P70a] M. Biddle, 'London on the Strand', *Popular Archaeology* 6.1 (July 1984), 23–7; A. Vince, 'The Aldwych: Mid-Saxon London Discovered', *Current Archaeology* 8.10 [no. 93] (August 1984), 310–12 - announcing the 'discovery' of mid-Saxon London

[P70b] T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Topography of Anglo-Saxon London', *Antiquity* 60 (1986), 21–8; R. Cowie and R. Whytehead, 'Lundenwic: the Archaeological Evidence for Middle Saxon London', *Antiquity* 63 (1989), 706–18

[P70c] B. Hobley, 'Lundenwic and Lundenburh: Two Cities Rediscovered', in P56, pp. 69–82; A. Vince, 'The Economic Basis of Anglo-Saxon London', in P56, pp. 83–92; M. Biddle, 'A City in Transition: 400–800', *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c.1520*, ed. M.D. Lobel, British Atlas of Historic Towns 3 (1989), 20–9; J. Mills, 'Before King Alfred: the Saxons in Town and Country', *Current Archaeology* 11.4 (May, 1991), 170–3

[P70d] D. Keene, 'London from the Post-Roman Period to 1300', in P39 [2000], pp. 187–216; D. Keene, 'London in the Early Middle Ages', *London Journal* 20.2 (1995), 9–21; see also Keene (F112), on Alfredian London.

[P71] A. Vince, *Saxon London: an Archaeological Investigation* (1990); see also J. Clark, *Saxon and Norman London* (1989), and cf. J. Schofield, *The Building of London from the Conquest to the Great Fire* (1984), pp. 23–4

[P71a] R. Cowie, 'Mercian London, in E34 (2001), pp. 194–209 - very useful review of the archaeological evidence for *Lundenwic* (covering the period to the mid-9th cent.)

[P72] T. Dyson, 'Two Saxon Land Grants for Queenhithe', *Collectanea Londoniensis*, ed. J. Bird, *et al.* (1978), pp. 200–15, on S 346 (889) and S 1628 (898 or 899)

[P73] A. Vince, 'The Development of Saxon London', *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London, 2: Finds and Environmental Evidence*, ed. A. Vince, London & Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper 12 (1991), 409–35

[P74] Anon., 'The Royal Opera House', and 'Bull Wharf: Queenhithe', *Current Archaeology* 14.2 [no. 158] (July 1998), 60–3 and 75–7; J. Ayre and R. Wroe-Brown, 'Æthelred's Hythe to Queenhithe: the Origin of a London Dock', *Medieval Life* 5 (1996), 14–25

[P74.5] *London Bridge: 2000 Years of a River Crossing*, ed. B. Watson, *et al.*, MoLAS Monograph 9 (London, 2001), pp. 52–60, on 'The Late Saxon Bridge Head'; and for further information, see <www.oldlondonbridge.com>, opening in 2009

[P74.6] B. Watson, *Old London Bridge Lost and Found* (2004), esp. pp. 19–21 (King Alfred and the Saxon Bridge) and 22–4 (Blood, Fire and Ice: Events on the Saxon Bridge), with artist's impression of the attack on London bridge in 1014, when Olaf Haraldsson is said to have helped Æthelred recover control of London after the death of Swein Forkbeard

Entries on London in A100 and 105. See also Hodges (P20), Nightingale (M981).

Norwich

[P75] J. Campbell, 'Norwich and Winchester', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J. Campbell (1982), pp. 174–5; see also A. Carter, 'The Anglo-Saxon Origins of Norwich: the Problems and Approaches', *ASE* 7 (1978), 175–204

Ipswich

[P78] K. Wade, 'Ipswich', in P56, pp. 93–100

'Mercian' towns, including Gloucester and Chester

[P80] M. Gelling, 'Towns and Trade', in A42, pp. 146–71, on Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, Coventry, Hereford, Shrewsbury, Chester

[P81] A. Vince, 'The Growth of Market Centres and Towns in the Area of the Mercian Hegemony', in E34 (2001), pp. 183–93

[P83] M. Heighway, 'Anglo-Saxon Gloucester to A.D. 1000', in P107, pp. 35–53 - important for Ealdorman Æthelred and Æthelflæd, lord and lady of the Mercians; M. Hare, 'Kings, Crowns and Festivals: the Origins of Gloucester as a Royal Ceremonial Centre',

Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society 115 (1997), 41–78; see also Heighway (Q141), and Insley (A115). NB 'Gloucester' penny of King Alfred (M710.8). For Gloucester and Worcester, see Baker and Holt (G19.5).

[P84] A. Thacker, 'Early Medieval Chester: the Historical Background', in P56, pp. 119–24; S. Ward, 'Edward the Elder and the Re-Establishment of Chester', in G14 (2001), pp. 160–6

York

The Archaeology of York (AY), ed. P.V. Addyman, is the major series on the history and archaeology of Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian York, in which numerous fascicules have been published since the late 1970s. Sections in the series include: *Anglian York (AD 410–876)*, AY 7; *Anglo-Scandinavian York (AD 876–1066)*, AY 8; *The Finds*, AY 17; *The Coins*, AY 18. For its structure, see (P85.5), pp. 304–5.

[P85] D.W. Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, AY 1 (1998)

[P85.5] D. Tweddle, J. Moulden and E. Logan, *Anglian York: a Survey of the Evidence*, AY 7.2 (1999)

[P85.6] R.A. Hall, *et al.*, *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, AY Anglo-Scandinavian York 8.4 (2004)

[P86] R.A. Hall, 'York 700–1050', in P56, pp. 125–32, reptd in B835, pp. 119–36

[P86a] D.M. Palliser, *Domesday York*, University of York Borthwick Paper 78 (1990)

[P86b] R.A. Hall, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes: Archaeological Ambiguities in Late Ninth-to Mid-Eleventh-Century York', in H6 (2000), pp. 311–24

See also Higham (A45), Hall (G81), Hall (G84).

Towns in the southern Danelaw

Clarke and Ambrosiani (P58).

[P87] R.A. Hall, 'The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw: a Review of Present Knowledge', *ASE* 18 (1989), 149–206

[P88] C. Mahany and D. Roffe, 'Stamford: the Development of an Anglo-Scandinavian Borough', reptd in T43, pp. 387–417

[P89] R. Hall, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Urban Development in the East Midlands', in H5 (2001), pp. 143–55, on the five boroughs (Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford, Derby), with Torksey and Newark

[P89a] A. Vince, 'Lincoln in the Viking Age', in H5 (2001), pp. 157–79

[P89b] P. Spoerry, 'The Topography of Anglo-Saxon Huntingdon: a Survey of the Archaeological and Historical Evidence', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 89 (2000), 35–47

Bookland and folkland

There are entries on bookland, folkland, and land tenure in A100. Basic principles: Keynes (J23), pp. 31–3. See also Wickham (A29), pp. 314–26.

[P90] P. Vinogradoff, 'Folkland', *EHR* 8 (1893), 1–17

[P91] G.J. Turner, 'Bookland and Folkland', *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. J.G. Edwards, *et al.* (1933), pp. 357–86

[P92] J.E.A. Jolliffe, 'English Book-Right', *EHR* 50 (1935), 1–21

[P93] T.F.T. Plucknett, 'Bookland and Folkland', *Economic History Review* 6 (1936), 64–72

[P94] S. Reynolds, 'Bookland, Folkland and Fiefs', *ANS* 14 (1992), 211–27; see also Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals* (R224), pp. 324–32

[P95] J. Insley, 'Folkland', *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 9.3/4 (1995), 311–13

[P96] A.R. Rumble, 'Old English Boc-land as an Anglo-Saxon Estate Name', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 18 (1987), 219–30

[P97] S. Baxter and J. Blair, 'Land Tenure and Royal Patronage in the Early English Kingdom', *ANS* 28 (2006), pp. 19–46, esp. 21–2 (bookland and folkland) and 29–44 (case study: complex of royal estates in Bampton Hundred, Oxon)

See also Adams, *et al.* (M150); Stenton (A1), pp. 309–13; Wormald (M168–9); Kennedy (M167); Charles-Edwards (N23), pp. 192–8; James (A12), pp. 207–13; Blair (A20), pp. 89–90.

Agricultural organization

There are entries in A100 on agriculture, estate management, field systems, labour service, manors and manorial lordship.

[P100] P. Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, 2nd ed. (1911); see also Vinogradoff (N10)

[P101] C.S. and C.S. Orwin, *The Open Fields*, 3rd ed. (1967)

[P102] R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135* (1959)

[P103] T.H. Aston, 'The Origins of the Manor in England', *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R.H. Hilton*, ed. T.H. Aston, *et al.* (1983), pp. 1–43 (includes long postscript to an article originally published in *TRHS* for 1958)

[P104] B.K. Roberts, *Rural Settlement in Britain* (1977)

[P105] P.J. Fowler, 'Farming in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: an Archaeologist's View', *ASE* 9 (1981), 263–80

[P106] C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead: a History of Rural Settlement in England* (1983)

[P107] *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, ed. M.L. Faull (1984) - collected essays on churches, towns and rural estates

[P108] *Medieval Villages*, ed. D. Hooke (1985) - collection of essays

[P109] *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. D. Hooke (1988) - collection of essays

[P110] P.D.A. Harvey, 'Rectitudines Singularum Personarum and Gerefa', *EHR* 108 (1993), 1–22

[P111] D. Powlesland, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Settlements, Structures, Form and Layout', in T35, pp. 101–17

[P112] P.J. Fowler, 'Farming in Early Medieval England: Some Fields for Thought', in T35, pp. 245–61

[P113] R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (1997)

[P114] R.D. Berryman, *Use of the Woodlands in the Late Anglo-Saxon Period*, BAR Brit. ser. 271 (1998)

See also Stenton (A1, pp. 470–502); Finberg (A33); Addyman (N16); Hallam (A33); Hadley (H9); and Fleming (P18).

The Anglo-Saxon landscape

For boundary-clauses in Anglo-Saxon charters, see Reed (M232.61), Keynes (M232.63), and Kitson (M232.64).

[P117] D. Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (1998)

[P118] J. Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry*, CSASE 27 (1999)

[P119] T. Williamson, *Shaping Medieval Landscapes: Settlement, Society, Environment* (2003)

[P119.5] *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. D. Griffiths, *et al.*, *ASSAH* 12 (2003)

Animals, food, drink, etc.

Entries in A100 on animal husbandry, fishing, food and drink, hawking and wildfowling, hunting, malnutrition. See also Fleming (P18).

[P120] J. Clutton-Brock, 'The Animal Resources', in Wilson (B834), pp. 373–92, covering pigs, cattle, sheep, goats, horses, cats, dogs, birds, bees, fish, and shellfish

[P122] S.L. Keefer, 'Hwær cwom mearh?: the Horse in Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of Medieval History* 22.2 (1996), 115–34 - in response to R.H.C. Davis

[P125] *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*, ed. M. Aston, BAR British Series 182 (1988); G. Lucas, 'A Medieval Fishery on Whittlesey Mere, Cambridgeshire', *Medieval Archaeology* 42 (1998), 19–44, at 40–3 - esp. in relation to the fenland abbeys

[P130] A. Hagen, *Anglo-Saxon Food & Drink: Production, Processing, Distribution & Consumption* (2006), superseding *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Food: Processing and Consumption* (1992), and *A Second Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Food & Drink: Production & Distribution* (1995)

[P131] H. Magennis, *Anglo-Saxon Appetites: Food and Drink and their Consumption in Old English and Related Literature* (1999)

Natural phenomena, I:
comets, eclipses, and other celestial phenomena

The question arises whether such phenomena were recorded for their own sake, or whether they were regarded as portents, or heavenly signs, and only recorded when they appeared to precede, coincide with, or follow significant events. For the teaching of astronomy, see Alcuin on Ælberht, archbishop of York, in Godman (B210), lines 1441–5, with notes. For a ninth-century astronomer, see Æthelwulf's *De abbatibus* (B215), ch. 21. Observations of natural phenomena, including eclipses and comets, occur in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, e.g. HE v.23 (comet of 729), in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, e.g. annal 879 (eclipse) and 891 (comet), and in various other sources. For discussion of the eclipse of '879' = 878, see Smyth (F264). For remarks on the comet of 1066, by Eilmer, the flying monk of Malmesbury, see WM, *GR* ii.225.6, in Mynors, *et al.* (B620), p. 412, and Thomson (B620), p. 211.

[P135] S. Keynes, 'The Comet in the Eadwine Psalter', *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. M. Gibson, *et al.* (1992), pp. 157–64 - on observations of comets in Anglo-Saxon England

[P136] G.W. Kronk, *Cometography: a Catalog of Comets*, I: *Ancient – 1799* (1999)

[P137] R.R. Newton, *Medieval Chronicles and the Rotation of the Earth* (1972)

Natural phenomena, II: famine and plague

Allusions (in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) to famine and plague in the tenth and eleventh century need to be processed in relation to records from elsewhere in the British Isles and on the continent. For the famine of 962, cf. the law-code *IV Edgar*; for the famine of 976, cf. Wulfstan of Winchester, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (B172), ch. 29; for the famine of 1005, cf. Leyser (G2), pp. 1–3.

[P140] J.R. Maddicott, 'Plagues in Seventh-Century England', *Past & Present* 156 (1997), 7–54

Conditions of daily life

For general guidance on domestic and other structures, see Hunter Blair (A2), p. 209; Addyman (C110); Rahtz (C112); Fernie (Q710).

[P160] S. James, *et al.*, 'An Early Medieval Building Tradition' [1984], reptd in B835, pp. 79–118.

[P165] A. Williams, 'A Bell-House and a Burh-Geat: Lordly Residences in England Before the Norman Conquest', *Medieval Knighthood* 4 (1992), 221–40

For Yeavering, see Hope-Taylor (D55). For Sutton Courtenay, see Leeds (C109). For West Stow, see West (C113). For Cheddar, see Rahtz (M50) and Blair (M53).

External relations

For Alfred's foreign relations, see Asser, ch. 91; and for Alfred and 'India', see ASC, s.a. 883; for Alfred and the far north, see Lund (P3). For England and Rome, see Q68, etc. For England and Byzantium, see L100. See also B598.1, etc.

[P205] J. Harris, 'Wars and Rumours or Wars: England and the Byzantine World in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 14.2 (1999), 29–46

[P210] K. Scarfe Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World*, CSASE 33 (2003), esp. pp. 54–60 ('Kufic coins in Anglo-Saxon England') and 60–8 ('Imported Islamic Goods in Anglo-Saxon England'); see also K. Scarfe Beckett, 'Old English References to the Saracens', in T46 [2000], pp. 483–509

The Anglo-Saxon world-view

For English perceptions of other peoples, see entries in A100 on Jews, Vikings, etc. For the eleventh-century world map in Tiberius B. v, fol. 65v, said to be the earliest showing the British Isles in a recognisable form, see B598.4.

[P215] N. Howe, 'An Angle on this Earth: Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England', Toller Lecture 1999, *BJRL* 82.1 (2000), 1–25; cf. Keynes (E180)

[P216] A. Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (2004) <not yet seen>

Q. CHURCH, SAINTS, AND CULTURE
(including art, architecture, and music)

Several of the major historical themes, such as the conversion to Christianity, the English Church during the age of Bede, and the monastic reform movement of the tenth century, are covered where appropriate above. A section on various aspects of church history (including the separate histories of religious houses, ecclesiastical prosopography, religious life and culture, and connections with Rome) is here followed by a section on the cults of saints (Q150, etc.), and by a section on other themes, including art, architecture, and music (Q600, etc.).

There have been significant developments in our perception of the history of the Anglo-Saxon church in the past 30 or 40 years.

The literary sources are no longer taken at face value; the documentary records are better understood; and more attention is given to the evidence of archaeology and topography. We seek something more nuanced than an age of conversion followed by secularization, and an age of reform followed by decline; at the same time, more searching questions are asked about the nature of conversion, the foundation of churches, provision of pastoral care for the people, the contexts of manuscript-production, the interaction between religious houses and secular powers, and so on. The distinction once made or tacitly understood between 'monasteries', inhabited by communities of monks and/or nuns living an enclosed religious life according to a monastic rule, and 'minsters', staffed by priests who dispensed pastoral care to local communities, has been abandoned as fundamentally misleading and anachronistic. Now, following pre-Conquest usage, the term 'minster'

(Latin *monasterium*, OE *mynster*) tends to be used more loosely, for any form of religious house. A fundamental issue for the early period (7th–9th centuries) is thus the role of the 'minster', in its own right and in relation to wider episcopal powers and responsibilities. A related issue is whether parish structures familiar from the later middle ages might have originated in the seventh and eighth centuries (before the impact of Scandinavian invasions in the ninth), or in the tenth and eleventh centuries (alongside political, administrative and agrarian change). In the tenth century, monastic reformers (and their apologists) began to insist upon the virtue of communities of monks and nuns living in strict accordance with a monastic rule, and firmer distinctions could be made between different forms of the religious life; but the question arises whether their perception was necessarily shared by all, and how much more was there to the late Anglo-Saxon church than the reformed religious houses?

Section One
Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Church History
General reference
[Q1] *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1957), 3rd ed., ed. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (1997), revised ed. (2005) - esp. useful for ecclesiastical technicalities
[Q2] D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (1978; 2nd ed., 1987)
[Q3] J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (1986) - listed in chronological order

Religious houses
[Q5] D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd ed. (1971), esp. pp. 463–87 ('Religious houses existing at periods before 1066'); though the list might usefully be amplified and could certainly be lengthened (to include more minsters mentioned in documents, and more whose existence is posited by modern work on churches and parishes)
[Q6] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* [1940], 2nd ed. (1963), pp. 702–3 - league table showing the income of monasteries and nunneries at the time of the Domesday survey

[Q7] Map of early dioceses and minsters, to *c.* 850: Wormald (A5), p. 71, with comment in Blair (A20), pp. 149–52; another version in Foot (A21), pp. 32–3

For histories and records of particular religious houses, see above (B200, etc.), and for some modern studies of particular houses, see below (Q130, etc.). See also Foot (Q23).

Bishops and abbots
[Q10] [S. Keynes], 'Episcopal Succession in Anglo-Saxon England', in A95, pp. 209–24 - revised though still rudimentary lists of Anglo-Saxon bishops, arranged by diocese. For episcopal lists, see Page (B490), and the entry in A100. The lists of bishops in A95 are in process of further revision on the website at B330.
[Q11] *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940–1216*, ed. D. Knowles, *et al.* (1972), 2nd ed. (2001), incorporating reprint of 1st ed., with corrigenda and addenda, pp. 239–301, and additional bibliography, pp. 302–9 - lists abbots and abbesses from the 940s onwards; see also Birch (A310)

For maps of the dioceses, see Hunter Blair (A2), 145 (8th cent.) and 171 (10th cent.); these maps were re-drawn for the Folio Society edition. For bishops in the seventh and eighth centuries, see Lanoë (D225), Cubitt (D230), Coates (D231). For bishops in the tenth century, see Lanoë (G124). For bishops in the eleventh century, see Q91, etc. For bishops and abbots at the time of the Norman Conquest, see Loyn (R341–2).

For the Jarrow, Brixworth, Deerhurst and Whithorn Lectures, see A370, etc.

General studies
The major survey of ecclesiastical history is Blair (A20), which differs significantly (and most instructively) in its approach from older works, e.g. A20–4; for a similar approach, with a regional focus, see Pestell (Q16.5). For the earlier period, see also Foot (A21). Barlow (A23) remains valuable for its coverage of the more 'institutional' aspects of the later Anglo-Saxon Church. The question arises, however, whether it is quite right to see the reign of Edgar as the golden age, after which a long decline set in. For one view of this later period, see Blair (A20), pp. 354–67. We need a context for the activities of some energetic churchmen in the late tenth and eleventh centuries (see below), for the production of some fine books and treasures, and much else besides.
[Q14] J. Godfrey, *The English Parish 600–1300* (1969)
[Q14.5] J. Barrow, 'The Clergy in English Dioceses c. 900–c.1066', in Tinti (Q19.5), pp. 17–26, including royal clerks (pp. 21–2)

[Q14a] H. Pryce, 'The Christianization of Society', in Davies (A7), pp. 139–67 and 249–50

[Q15] R. Morris, *The Church in British Archaeology*, Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 47 (1983), esp. pp. 19–48 ('Coincidence and Continuity: Christianity in Britain *c*. 400–700'), 49–62 ('The Origins of Churchyard Burial'), and 63–76 ('Churches, Settlement, and the Beginnings of the Parochial System: *c*. 800–1100')

[Q16] N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (1984) - focusing on one religious house, but, given the identity of that house, naturally a work of much wider interest and importance; see also Q131

[Q16.5] T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: the Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia, c.650–1200* (2004)

[Q17] *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris, Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 60 (1986) - valuable collection of papers

[Q17a] *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain*, ed. B. Thompson (1999)

[Q18] *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition 950–1200*, ed. J. Blair (1988): incl. J. Blair, 'Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church', pp. 1–19, and many detailed studies of churches in particular areas

[Q19] *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (1992); includes A. Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 137–70, and S. Foot, '"By Water in the Spirit": the Administration of Baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 171–92

[Q19.5] *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. F. Tinti (2005) - papers by various authors, covering church dues and the costs of pastoral care, the liturgy of parish churches, and caring for the dead; see also Barrow (Q14.5), and Wilcox (G212.5)

[Q19.51] S. Hamilton, 'Remedies for "Great Transgressions": Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in Tinti (Q19.5), pp. 00–00 <not yet seen> See also Blair (A20), and Foot (A21).

[Q19a] A. Williams, 'Thegnly Piety and Ecclesiastical Patronage in the Late Old English Kingdom', *ANS* 24 (2002), 1–24

See also Brooks (P14), on the church and resources. For the liturgy, see B420, etc., and Gittos and Bedingfield (B439).

[Q20] L. Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia', *ASE* 24 (1995), 213–49

Women religious

An exhibition on this subject, held in 2005, is survived by a hefty catalogue (A233.5).

[Q21] S. Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church* (1992); see also Neuman de Vegvar (Q166)

[Q21a] V. Ortenberg, 'Virgin Queens: Abbesses and Power in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in T47 (2001), pp. 59–68

[Q21b] B. Yorke, '"Sisters Under the Skin"? Anglo-Saxon Nuns and Nunneries in Southern England', *Medieval Women in Southern England = Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989), 95–117; see also J.T. Schulenburg, 'Women's Monastic Communities, 500–1100: Patterns of Expansion and Decline', *Signs* 14 (1989), 261–92

[Q22] B. Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (2003) - on the power and influence exerted by royal nunneries; B. Yorke, 'Æthelbald, Offa and the Patronage of Nunneries', in Hill and Worthington (E33), pp. 43–8;

[Q22.5] B. Yorke, '"Carriers of the Truth": Writing the Biographies of Anglo-Saxon Female Saints', in T113, pp. 49–60, on Ediuth, *et al.*

[Q23] S. Foot, *Veiled Women*, I: *The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England* (2000), and *Veiled Women*, II: *Female Religious Communities in England, 871–1066* (2000); see also her entry on nunneries in A100

[Q23a] B.L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215* (1997); J. Tibbetts Schulenberg, *Forgetful of their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100* (1998)

[Q24] J. Crick, 'The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections of Women's Houses in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999), 154–85

On women and the tenth-century reform movement, see also Meyer (G129, G130), Halpin (G134), Stafford (G137), and Stafford (Q147). See also Lees and Overing (N64).

See also Dumville (G255–6). On double houses, see Mitchell (D135). On monastic sites, see Blair in A100. On the early history of the church in the west midlands, see Sims-Williams (D26). On the church in the Danelaw, see Hadley (H21).

Anglo-Saxon church councils

For a list of meetings of church councils, *c.* 600 – *c.* 850, see Keynes (B395); see also Wormald (E45, pp. 126–7). Among the most important are the council of *Clofesho* (747), a Northumbrian council (786), and the council of Chelsea (816); see B400, B405, and Brooks (Q16).

[Q25] H. Vollrath, *Die Synoden Englands bis 1066* (1985)

[Q26] C. Cubitt, 'Pastoral Care and Conciliar Canons: the Provisions of the 747 Council of *Clofesho*', in Q19, pp. 193–211

[Q27] C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650–c.850* (1995)

[Q28] S. Keynes, *The Councils of Clofesho*, Brixworth Lecture 1993, Univ. of Leicester Vaughan Paper 38 (1994); and for the proceedings of the council of *Clofesho* (747), in BL Cotton Otho A. i, see Keynes (E37.5)

'in loco celeberrimo qui nuncupatur Clobeshoas': the search continues ...

For suggested identifications, see Keynes (Q28), pp. 14–17 (Cliffe-at Hoo, Abingdon, Tewkesbury, Mildenhall, Brixworth, ?diocese of London, etc.) and 48–51 (?diocese of Leicester), and the map at the end of this book. See also Cubitt (Q27), pp. 304–6 (?neighbourhood of Hertford).

[Q29] K. Bailey, 'Clofesho Revisited', *ASSAH* 11 (2000), 119–31, in the vicinity of Dunstable; C. Offer, *In Search of Clofesho: the Case for Hitchin* (2002)

Liturgical commemoration

Entry on liturgical commemoration in A100; see also Keynes (B450), pp. 49–65. Some of the primary material is assembled in Gerchow (B440). For the three surviving 'Libri Vitae', see B445 (community of St Cuthbert), B450 (New Minster, Winchester), and B455 (Thorney). For aspects of commemoration at Christ Church, Canterbury, see Fleming (B465), with Keynes (B450), p. 60, n. 91. For the commemoration of King Cnut, see Gerchow (K50). On the commemoration of the dead, in general, see Constable, in T44, pp. 169–95

[Q30] T. Graham, 'Cambridge Corpus Christi College 57 and its Anglo-Saxon Users', in T33, pp. 21–69 - liturgical commemoration at Abingdon abbey

[Q31] C. Cubitt, 'Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in T42 (2000), pp. 253–76

For details of continental confraternity books (Salzburg, St Gallen, Reichenau, Pfäfers, Remiremont, Brescia, Cividale), see McKitterick (A60.10), pp. 162–72; see also Keynes (B450), pp. 50–1. For the commemoration of English men and women in some of these books, see Keynes (F14), and Keynes (G65), pp. 198–201.

Associations of religious houses, or monastic 'empires'

[Q35] F. M. Stenton, '*Medeshamstede* and its Colonies', in T1, pp. 179–92 - the classic exposition of an association with its centre at *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough)

For further discussion, see Keynes (Q28), pp. 35–46; Foot (A21), pp. 268–76; Kelly (B240), forthcoming.

Churches (or minsters) in town and country

Map of early dioceses and minsters (Q7). See Blair (A20), *passim*, but esp. pp. 368–425 (local churches) and 426–504 (parishes and parochial identities). Foot (A21). For churches in towns, see Barrow in (P49), pp. 127–52.

[Q50] J. Campbell, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Towns', in T9, pp. 139–54

[Q51] J. Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. P. Sawyer (1986), pp. 104–42

[Q52] J. Blair, 'Local Churches in Domesday Book and Before', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (1987), pp. 265–78

[Q53] S. Foot, 'What was an Early Anglo-Saxon Monastery?', *Monastic Studies: the Continuity of Tradition*, ed. J. Loades (1990), pp. 48–57; S. Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Review of Terminology', in Q19, pp. 212–25; S. Foot, 'The Role of the Minster in Earlier Anglo-Saxon Society', in Q17a, pp. 35–58

[Q54] J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review', in Q19, pp. 226–66

[Q55] G. Rosser, 'The Cure of Souls in English Towns', in Q19, pp. 267–84

[Q56] R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (1989)

[Q57] The **'Minster Hypothesis'**. E. Cambridge and D. Rollason, 'Debate. The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a Review of the "Minster Hypothesis"', *EME* 4.1 (1995), 87–104; J. Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England', *EME* 4.2 (1995), 193–212; D.M. Palliser, 'The "Minster Hypothesis": a Case Study', *EME* 5.2 (1996), 207–14, on Beverley (B218); and for further comment, see Blair (A20), pp. 2–5 and 153–60

[Q58] J. Blair, 'Minsters of the Thames', *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. J. Blair and B. Golding (1996), pp. 5–28; J. Blair, 'Bampton: an Anglo-Saxon Minster', *Current Archaeology* 14.4 [no. 160] (Nov. 1998), 124–30

[Q59] S. Oosthuizen, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters in South Cambridgeshire', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 90 (2001), 49–67

See also Rodwell (in P107); Morris (in P108); Blair (in P109, and Q18); entry on parochial organization in A100.

For pastoral care, see Tinti (Q19.5).

[Q59.5] C. Senecal, 'Bishops as Contenders for Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England: the Bishopric of East Anglia and the Regional Aristocracy', *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power*, ed. A-J. A. Bijsterveld, *et al.* (1999), pp. 89–106

Education and intellectual life

Lapidge (A55, and G201); Wallace-Hadrill (D80); Sims-Williams (D26).

[Q60] P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century* (1976), esp. pp. 307–23 and 369–99

[Q60.5] A. Orchard, 'Latin and the Vernacular: the Creation of a Bilingual Textual Culture', in Charles-Edwards (A7), pp. 191–219, esp. 207–18 (valuable survey, *c.* Aldhelm to Alfred)

[Q61] P. Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien de la fin du Ve siècle au milieu du XIe siècle* (1979)

[Q62] D. Bullough, 'The Educational Tradition in England from Alfred to Ælfric: Teaching *Utriusque Linguae*', in his *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (1991), pp. 297–334 - essential reading (orig. publ. in *SettSpol* 19 (1972), 453–94)

[Q62.5] M.R. Godden, 'King Alfred's Preface and the Teaching of Latin in Anglo-Saxon England', *EHR* 117 (2002), 596–604

[Q63] T.J. Brown, 'An Historical Introduction to the Use of Classical Latin Authors in the British Isles from the Fifth to the Eleventh Centuries', *SettSpol* 22 (1974), 238–99

[Q63a] V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages*, Longman Linguistics Library (1997) - collected papers, including B568, D200

[Q63b] V. Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* (1982)

[Q64] P. Lendinara, 'The World of Anglo-Saxon Learning', in A51.2, pp. 264–81

[Q65] H. Gneuss, 'The Study of Language in Anglo-Saxon England', Toller Lecture, *BJRL* 72 (1990), 3–32; reprinted, with postscript, in Scragg (T108)

[Q65.5] G. Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik im angelsächsischen England* (1996)

[Q66] D.R. Howlett, *British Books in Biblical Style* (1997) - stylistic analysis of a wide range of works, in Latin and in the vernacular, from the seventh century to the eleventh

[Q67] D.R. Howlett, *Pillars of Wisdom in Ireland and England* (2000)

[Q67.1] D. Howlett, *Insular Inscriptions* (2005), esp. 'Anglo-Latin Inscriptions' (pp. 82–136), and 'Inscriptions in Old and Middle English' (pp. 197–229)

[Q67.5] For a useful exposition of 'Biblical style', see review article on Howlett in *EME* 8.2 (1999), 283–96; see also Grocock, in *Peritia* 12 (1998), 379–89; Howlett, in *Peritia* 13 (1999), 312–14; H. McKee and J. McKee, 'Chance or Design? David Howlett's *Insular Inscriptions* and the Problem of Coincidence', *CMCS* 51 (2006), 83–101.

England and Rome

Entries on the papacy, and on Rome, in A100. For papal letters and privileges, see B362–4. For the *Liber Pontificalis*, see B601. See also Wallace-Hadrill (D80).

[G68.1] Bulla of Pope Zacharias (741–52), of uncertain provenance, but perhaps detached from a papal privilege directed to a recipient in England; see *Making of England* (A200), no. 149 (a), with illustration

[Q68.2] Bulla of Pope Paschal I (817–24), found by metal detector in Herefordshire; details published on the website of the Portable Antiquities Scheme <www.findsdatabase.org.uk>

[Q68.3] Settlement of a dispute ratified at a council of *Clofesho* in 824, attested by 'Nothhelm, messenger (*praeco*) from the lord Pope Eugenius' (S 1433: EHD no. 84). Eugenius II was pope from 824 to 827.

[Q68.4] King Alfred's remarkable 'offering pieces' (M710.9), perhaps to be connected with his gifts of alms to Rome

See also EHD nos. 204–5, and the Coenwulf mancus (M710.1). For England and Rome in the ninth century, see Keynes (F14) and Keynes (E180), p. 55 (ninth-century papal list).

[Q68.5] W. Levison, 'England and the Church of Rome', in E7, pp. 15–44

[Q68.9] M. Hunter, 'Germanic and Roman Antiquity and the Sense of the Past in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 3 (1974), 29–50 [which originated as an ASNC undergraduate thesis]
[Q69] R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (1980); P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (1972)
[Q69a] P. Delogu, 'The Papacy, Rome and the Wider World in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in T44 (2000), pp. 197–220; P. Delogu, 'The Rebirth of Rome in the 8th and 9th Centuries', in P56 (1988), pp. 32–42
[Q69b] C. Wickham, '"The Romans according to their malign custom": Rome in Italy in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in T44 (2000), pp. 151–67
[Q70] W.J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum* (1937); B. Colgrave, 'Pilgrimages to Rome in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *Studies in Language, Literature, and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later*, ed. E.B. Atwood and A.A. Hill (1969), pp. 156–72; D.J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (1998)
[Q71] M. Deanesly, 'The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Papacy', *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. C.H. Lawrence (1965), pp. 29–62; R.R. Darlington, in *The English Church and the Continent*, ed. C.R. Dodwell (1959); and Barlow (A23), pp. 289–308; V. Ortenberg, 'The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Papacy', *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. C.H. Lawrence, new ed. (1999), pp. 31–62
[Q72] V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (1992); see also V. Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome', *ASE* 19 (1990), 197–246
[Q73] E. Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture 1994 (1995)
[Q74] P.A. Halpin, 'Anglo-Saxon Women and Pilgrimage', *ANS* 19 (1997), 97–122 - introducing the concept of 'virtual pilgrimage'
[Q75] H. Loyn, 'Peter's Pence' (1984), reptd in T16, pp. 241–58; see also Keynes and Lapidge (F50), pp. 237, n. 37, and 268, n. 206
[Q76] *Roma fra oriente e occidente*, SettSpol 49 (2002) - incl. Lapidge on Byzantium, Rome and England (L110), and several other important papers on Rome in the early Middle Ages
[Q77] N. Howe, 'Rome, Capital of Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34 (2004), 147–72
On the cult of Pope Gregory, see Thacker (D43.6), and Gretsch (Q175).

Patronage

[Q80] M. Lapidge, 'Artistic and Literary Patronage in Anglo-Saxon England', *SettSpol* 39 (1992), 137–91, reptd in T19 (1996)
See also Smith, *et al.* (M92), on court and piety.

Treasures

The treasures (embroidered textiles, gold and silver, ivories, etc.) which accumulated at an abbey were as important a part of its 'identity', and as significant a reflection of its place in local society, as its buildings, estates, relics, and books. For material of this kind, see Dodwell (Q660), drawing on information assembled in Lehmann-Brockhaus (Q650). See also the 'Vision of Leofric' (L90).
[Q83.4] Registers of the treasures at Ely abbey, *c.* 1075 and *c.* 1080 (*LE* ii.114), *c.* 1087 or 1093 (*LE* ii.139), and 1134 updated *c.* 1140 (*LE* iii.50). Text: Blake (B247), pp. 196–7, 223–4, and 288–94. Translation: Fairweather (B247), pp. 233–5, 267–9, and 352–60. Discussion: Keynes (Q148), p. 9. Text, translation and comparative analysis: S. Keynes and A. Kennedy, *The Treasures of Ely Abbey*, ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies (forthcoming).
[Q83.5] Inventories of treasures at St Paul's, London: ed. in *Archæologia* 50 (1887), 439–524
For other information on treasures, see Knowles (G117), p. 60 n. 2, citing material from Abingdon, Winchester, Peterborough, and Glastonbury, as well as Ely. See also Tyler (K73, L27). On the fate of English treasures after the Conquest, see (e.g.) William of Poitiers, *GG*, ii. 31 and 42, in Davis and Chibnall (R50), pp. 152–4 and 176–8.

Some tenth- and eleventh-century churchmen

For Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald, in their separate capacities as leaders of the monastic reform movement, see above, section G. The next generation, who came to prominence during the reign of Æthelred the Unready, should not be forgotten, although it is more difficult to get a good sense of their respective careers. For Ælfric of Cerne and Eynsham (B565), Wulfstan of York (B575), and Byrhtferth of Ramsey (B590), see also section G. Accounts of several of the persons named below will be found in the *ODNB* (A150).

[Q84] Æscwig, monk of the Old Minster Winchester (from before its reform?), abbot of Bath (c.963– c.977), bishop of Dorchester (c.977–1002). For the ?two abbots of Bath, see Knowles, *et al.* (Q11), pp. 27–8 and 241–2. For charters reflecting different stages in his career, see Sawyer (B320), nos. 735 (as abbot), 882 (as bishop, dealing with Archbishop Sigeric), and 1379 (involvement in charter-production). For Æscwig and Ely, see Keynes (Q148), p. 31. Discussion of S 882 and S 1379: Crick (B297); Brooks and Kelly (B342).

[Q85] Æthelgar, monk of Glastonbury, monk of Abingdon, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester (964–88), bishop of Selsey (980–8), and archbishop of Canterbury (988–90). See Keynes (B450), pp. 26–32; Gretsch (G208), pp. 382–3.

[Q86] Sigeric, monk of Glastonbury, abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury (980–5), bishop of Ramsbury (985–90), and archbishop of Canterbury (990–4). For Sigeric and Ælfric (the homilist), see B565.

[Q87] Ælfric, monk of ?Abingdon, abbot of St Albans (*c.* 970–90), bishop of Ramsbury (*c.* 990–1005), and archbishop of Canterbury (995–1005). Dedicatee of B's *Vita S. Dunstani* (B165). Buried at Abingdon, but translated to Canterbury during Cnut's reign, on 6 May; see Rushforth (B432), no. 10. Commemorated in a poem added to the Abingdon Glossary (B282). For his will, see S 1488, in Kelly (B281), no. 133.

[Q88] Ælfheah, ?monk of Deerhurst or Glastonbury, abbot of Bath (*c.* 963–84), bishop of Winchester (984–1005), and archbishop of Canterbury (1006–12). *ASC*, MS. D, s.a. 1023; Rushforth (B432), no. 10; Osbern (Q460); WM, *GP* (B625), chs. 20 and 76.

[Q88a] Ælfweard, abbot of Glastonbury (*c.* 975–1009).

[Q88b] Germanus, native of Winchester; monk at Fleury, then put in charge of Oswald's community at Westbury-on-Trym, then dean of Ramsey, then abbot of Winchcombe; latterly abbot of/at Ramsey (?975–94), and abbot of Cholsey (c.994–c.1013). For Ramsey, see B248, and for Cholsey, see B284. M. Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', reptd in T19 (1993), pp. 387–417, and his entry on Germanus in A100. Keynes (F91), pp. 50 and 68.

[Q89] Wulfsige, monk of Glastonbury and Westminster, abbot of Westminster (?990–93), bishop of Sherborne (993–1002). For the 'Life' of Wulfsige, see Q455. For Ælfric's letter to Wulfsige, see B570. Discussion: S. Keynes, 'Wulfsige, Monk of Glastonbury, Abbot of Westminster (*c.* 990–3) and Bishop of Sherborne (993–1002)', in B270.5, pp. 53–94.

[Q89a] Ælfsige, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester (988–1007). A significant figure at King Æthelred's court; see Keynes (B450), pp. 32–3.

[Q89b] Ælfsige, abbot of Ely (c.999–c.1016). An important figure at Ely, and perhaps also a significant figure at King Æthelred's court. See Keynes (Q148).

[Q90] Lyfing (Ælfstan), abbot of Chertsey (c.990–8), bishop of Wells (c.998–1013), and archbishop of Canterbury (1013–20), described as 'a very prudent man, both in matters of church and state' (ASC D, s.a. 1019).

[Q90a] Wulfgar, abbot of Abingdon (990–1016). A significant figure at King Æthelred's court. For Wulfgar and the 'Orthodoxorum' charter of 993, see Q127. See also the poem in the Abingdon Glossary (B282, B587), discussed by Porter in *ASE* 28, 106–7. Discussion: S. Keynes, 'Wulfgar, Abbot of Abingdon (990–1016), and King Æthelred's Charter for Abingdon Abbey' (forthcoming).

[Q90b] Eadnoth, monk of Worcester, monk of Ramsey, abbot of Ramsey (993–1007), bishop of Dorchester (c.1007–1016), died at the Battle of Ashingdon 18 Oct. 1016.

[Q90c] Ælfwine, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester (1031–57). For his association with various manuscripts, and with the scribe Ælfsige: Keynes (B450), pp. 66–9 and 111–15. For his 'Prayerbook': Günzel (B478). For his connection with the Vitellius Psalter (BL Cotton Vitellius E. xviii): Pulsiano, in T33, pp. 99–104; P. Pulsiano, 'Abbot Ælfwine and the Date of the Vitellius Psalter', *ANQ* 11.2 (1998), 3–12; Howlett (Q67.1), pp. 111–18. For his presumed role in the production of the 'Liber Vitae' of the NM: Keynes (B450), pp. 37–9 and 40–1. For his image of Cnut and Emma, see K14. Cf. 'Ælfwine' in Junius 11 (B547), and on the PASE website (A295).

[Q91] Leofric, bishop of Crediton/Exeter (1046–72): F. Barlow, *et al.*, *Leofric of Exeter* (1972); see also Conner (Q136.5); R. Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', *ASE* 25 (1996), 135–85; J. Hill, 'Anglo-Saxon Scholarship and Viking Raids: the Exeter Book Contextualised', *Revue de philologie* (Belgrade) 25 (1998), 9–28

[Q92] Ealdred, bishop of Worcester (1046–62) and archbishop of York (1061–9): M. Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E. XII', in T19, p. 453–67; P. Wormald, *How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst*, Deerhurst Lecture 1991 (1993), reptd in Wormald (T71), pp. 229–48, on Ealdred and ASC, MS. D (B48); V. King, 'Ealdred, Archbishop of York: the Worcester Years', *ANS* 18 (1996), 123–37; see also B214

[Q93] Royal priests in the eleventh century: M.F. Smith, 'The Preferment of Royal Clerks in the Reign of Edward the Confessor', *HSJ* 9 (2001 [for 1997]), 159–74; see also Keynes (B331), Table LXVIII

[Q94] Stigand, royal priest, bishop of Elmham (1043–7), bishop of Winchester (1047–) and archbishop of Canterbury (1052–70): M.F. Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle', *ANS* 16 (1994), 199–219

[Q94a] Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham (1058–77). For a 'Life' of Æthelwig, see Q470.

[Q95] Regenbald 'of Cirencester', a Lotharingian priest who entered into the service of Edward the Confessor, was accorded episcopal status as the king's chancellor, and also served William I: S. Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS* 10 (1988), 185–222

[Q96] Giso, a Lotharingian priest who entered into the service of Edward the Confessor and later became bishop of Wells: S. Keynes, 'Giso, bishop of Wells (1061–88)', *ANS* 19 (1997), 203–71; C.M. Oakes and M. Costen, 'The Congresbury Carvings — an Eleventh-Century Saint's Shrine?', *Antiquaries Journal* 83 (2003), 281–309; see also B287

[Q97] Ingelric, a Frankish or Lotharingian priest, probably in the service of Edward the Confessor and certainly in that of Wiliam I: P. Taylor, 'Ingelric, Count Eustace and the Foundation of St Martin-le-Grand', *ANS* 24 (2002), 215–37; see also Keynes (Q95), pp. 218–19, and Bates (R155), no. 181 (charter of William for St Martin-le-Grand, 11 May 1068)

[Q99] Wulfstan II (*c.* 1008–95), bishop of Worcester (1062–95). For the *Life* of Wulfstan, see B185, Q465. Entry on Wulfstan by E. Mason, in *ODNB* (A150). Discussion: Otter (R126).

[Q99.1] E. Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008–1095* (1990); E. Mason, 'Change and Continuity in Eleventh-Century Mercia: the Experience of St Wulfstan of Worcester', *ANS* 8 (1986), 154–76; E. Mason, Wulfstan of Worcester: Patriarch of the English?', in Keynes & Smyth (T111), pp. 114–26;

[Q99.2] *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. J.S. Barrow and N.P. Brooks (2005), including many excellent papers on various aspects of Wulfstan's career as a cross-over bishop

For eleventh-century bishops and abbots in general, see also Loyn (R341–2).

Aspects of the religious life

For monasticism in the seventh and eighth centuries, see under sections D and E. For a document symbolic of Carolingian monasticism, see M194. For the alternative lifestyle, see Q100–1. For monasticism in the tenth century, see under section G.

[Q100] B. Langefeld, '*Regula canonicorum* or *Regula monasterialis uitae*? The Rule of Chrodegang and Archbishop Wulfred's Reforms at Canterbury', *ASE* 25 (1996), 21–36 - on the Rule compiled by Chrodegang, bishop of Metz (742–66), contending that it was not known in England in the early ninth century; cf. Brooks (Q16), pp. 155–60.

[Q101] 'Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang', compiled in the second quarter of the ninth century, and known in England from the tenth century. OE version in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 191 (on which see Ker (B800), no. 46). Text, translation, and commentary (both Latin and OE): B. Langefeld, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang* (2003). See also Langefeld (Q100), pp. 21–2.

[Q105] R. Lennard, 'Some "Minsters" and Collegiate Churches', in P102, pp. 396–404

[Q110] J. Barrow, 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and the Eleventh Centuries', *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. D. Rollason, *et al.* (1994), pp. 25–39

[Q115] J.H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: a Social, Economic and Legal Study* (1976)

[Q120] E. Mason, 'Monastic Habits in Medieval Worcester', *History Today*, May 1998, pp. 37–43

[Q121] S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in Western Europe* (forthcoming [2005/2006])

Grants of privileges to religious houses

Special interest attaches to the nature of the privileges or exemptions acquired by religious houses, whether from kings or from popes, and to the impact which these privileges or exemptions had on other interested parties (whether later kings, or bishops, or ealdormen, or reeves, or other churchmen, or other laymen). This applies in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, but especially in the second half of the tenth century. In references below, S = Sawyer (B320) with number of charter. In the same context, it is important to consider the nature of the relationship between a religious house and the secular powers, whether the king, the local ealdorman and/or reeve, or any designated or self-appointed 'secular patron', such as Æthelwine at Ramsey, Byrhtnoth at Ely, or Æthelmær at Cerne. On this subject, see Wood (Q121).

For the **foundation charter** of Cluny (910), see G101.5. For Otto I's foundation of Magdeburg, see A240, Mayr-Harting (G4a), and Reuter (A60.35), p. 163. For further

comments on tenth- and eleventh-century charters, see Wormald (G100), pp. 21–2 (papal charters for Cluny), 23–5 (papal charters offering protection, and, in certain cases, even exemption from control by the diocesan bishop), 29–30 (in-house production of charters), 33–5 (in England royal support was effective), 37 (Anglo-Saxon diplomatic 'king-centred'), and 39–40 (the past, at Abingdon and Winchester). It should not be assumed that the process of founding or re-founding a monastery in tenth-century England (e.g. in the 960s or 970s) necessarily involved the production of a foundation charter. There are indications of a greater awareness of the desirability of having a charter, from the 990s onwards; but it was to some extent the apparent lack of a formal requirement to produce a foundation charter that led communities to make up for the deficiency at a later date, in one way or another.

[Q124] J. Crick, '*Pristina libertas*: Liberty and the Anglo-Saxons Revisited', *TRHS* 4th ser. 14 (2004), 47–71 - on the nature and significance of the 'liberty' granted in charters

[Q125] The so-called 'Foundation Charter' of the New Minster, Winchester (S 745), dated 966, and produced in the form of an illuminated book (BL Cotton Vespasian A. viii). Text: Birch (B341), no. 1190; Miller (B265), no. 23. Facsimile of decorated pages: Temple (B807), no. 16; Deshman (Q692), pp. 195–204, etc.; and Keynes (B450), pls. I–IV. Text and translation in Rumble (G170a), pp. 65–97. Discussion: John (G140), pp. 271–7; Keynes (B450), pp. 26–8 (context of its production, and summary of its contents); Gretsch (G208), pp. 125–7 and 236–7 (authorship), 129 and 309–10 (couplet); D.F. Johnson, 'The Fall of Lucifer in Genesis A and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters', *JEGP* 97 (1998), 500–21, at 512–19; C.E. Karkov, 'Exiles from the Kingdom', *Naked before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. B.C. Withers and J. Wilcox (2003), pp. 181–220, at 205–9.

[Q126] The notorious 'Altitonantis Charter' (S 731), dated 964, for St Mary's abbey, Worcester. Text: Birch (B341), no. 1135. Facsimile: Keynes (B337), no. 40. Discussion: John (G186), G180, etc.

[Q127] The so-called 'Orthodoxorum' charters, for Abingdon, Pershore, Worcester, and Romsey, comprising: S 658 (King Eadwig) and 673 (King Edgar), for Abingdon; S 786 (King Edgar), for Pershore; S 788 (King Edgar), for Worcester; S 812 (King Edgar), for Romsey; and S 876 (King Æthelred), for Abingdon. Discussion: E. John, 'Some Latin Charters of the Tenth-Century Reformation', in G140, pp. 181–209; Keynes (J61), pp. 98–102; Kelly (B281), pp. lxxxiv–cxv; Insley (M229a), pp. 116–17; Keynes (Q90a); Wormald (T71), pp. 205–6; Hare, in Barrow and Brooks (Q99.2), pp. 152–5; Thompson (B339.5), pp. 142–5 (Pershore). For the threat of excommunication in the sanctions found in charters of this group, see Hamilton, in Tinti (Q19.5), pp. 100–2. For Romsey, see B267a.

[Q128] The charter of King Æthelred the Unready for Sherborne abbey (S 895), dated 998. Text: O'Donovan (B270), no. 11. Text and translation: in B270.5, pp. 10–14. Discussion: Keynes (Q89), pp. 69–72.

[Q129] The process of foundation was normally managed without a foundation charter as such; for the process at Ramsey, see Byrhtferth (G194). But this was no longer the case in the early eleventh century: **Wherwell** (S 904), for which see B267; **Burton** (S 906), for which see B238; **Eynsham** (S 911), for which see B239 and Keynes (J162.5). Supposed 'foundation' charters were concocted then and thereafter for various houses, including: **Ely**, for which see Keynes (Q148), p. 22; **Tavistock** (S838), for which see Holdsworth (B275a); **Cerne** (S 1217), for which see B268.5; **Christ Church, Canterbury** (S 914), for which see B290. There is a *pancarte* from **Wells** (S 1042); see also **Beverley** (S 1067). <Horton (S 1032).> <Stowe St Mary (S 1478).>

Various other groups of charters could be identified and discussed further. See also Keynes (J61), pp. 198–9.

For purposes of comparison:

[Q129.7] Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, 'The establishment of the monastery of Gandersheim', trans. Bregman and Head in Head (Q227), pp. 237–54

[Q129.8] Charter of the Emperor Henry II (A245) confirming immunity to the abbey of St Gall (1004). Translation: Hill (B612), pp. 183–5 (no. 26).

Studies of particular religious houses

It is always important to view larger historical developments from a variety of 'local' perspectives, whether by means of a regional approach or via the history of a particular religious house (episcopal see, monastery, nunnery, collegiate church, etc.). Each religious house had its own distinctive profile or identity (some more visible in surviving records than others), which might find expression in different ways: the particular interests of founder; the circumstances behind the choice or acquisition of the site; the circumstances of foundation; the recruitment of the head of house and community; initial building operations and later improvements; the house conception of its past history, whether

imagined, reconstructed, or real; the nature of religious life practised by the community; development of the endowment; acquisition of privileges; accumulation of books, relics, treasures; association with particular cults; relationship with royal family or with other patron, advocate or protector; the place of a house within local society or within a kingdom; the reputation of the house as a centre of learning or as a training ground; etc. All things were not equal in the Anglo-Saxon period itself; and few things were equal when it came to the later history of a house, and the fate of its muniments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

For the histories and records of religious houses in different parts of the country, see above, B200 onwards. See also Knowles and Hadcock (Q5), and Foot (Q23). It is always worth consulting the appropriate volume of the Victoria County History (A39). See also entries on separate houses in A100.

Episcopal sees
For the dioceses of Anglo-Saxon England, see Q10. There are maps showing dioceses in Hunter Blair (A2), pp. 145 (*c.* 750) and 171 (10th cent.). In his *Gesta Pontificum* (B625), William of Malmesbury works through the dioceses, naming the religious houses in each. See also Henry of Huntingdon (B635), pp. 16–18. For the removal of sees from 'villages' to cities, after the Conquest, see WM (B621), ch. 42.

The cathedral history is a most instructive genre, for it often helps one to see familiar matters in a new perspective.
[Q130] *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years 1093-1993* (1993), ed. J. Crook; see also Biddle (G170)
[Q131] N. Brooks, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Community, 597–1070', *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, *et al.* (1995), pp. 1–37, reptd in T59, pp. 101–54; see also B290, and Brooks (Q16)
[Q131a] R. M. T. Hill and C. N. L. Brooke, 'From 627 until the Early Thirteenth Century', *A History of York Minster*, ed. G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (1977), pp. 1-19; see also B210, etc.
[Q131b] S.E. Kelly, 'The Bishopric of Selsey', *Chichester Cathedral: an Historical Survey*, ed. M. Hobbs (1994), pp. 1–10; see also Kelly (B293)
[Q132] J. Campbell, 'The East Anglian Sees before the Conquest', *Norwich Cathedral*, ed. I. Atherton, *et al.* (1996), pp. 3–21, reptd in T66, pp. 107–27
[Q133] D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, *English Heritage Book of Lindisfarne / Holy Island* (1995); and for a survey of the history of the community of St Cuthbert before the Conquest, at Chester-le-Street and at Durham, see B220, B227, and Aird (R349), pp. 9–99
[Q134] M. Brett, 'The Church at Rochester, 604–1185', *Faith and Fabric: a History of Rochester Cathedral 604–1994*, ed. N. Yates (1996), pp. 1–27
[Q135] S. Keynes, 'Diocese and Cathedral before 1056', *Hereford Cathedral: a History*, ed. G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (2000), pp. 3–20; J. Hillaby, 'The Early Church in Herefordshire: Columban and Roman', *The Early Church in Herefordshire*, ed. A. Malpas, *et al.* (2001), pp. 41–76
[Q136] *Exeter Cathedral: a Celebration*, ed. M. Swanton (1991); see also P.W. Conner, 'Exeter's Relics, Exeter's Books', in T46 (2000), pp. 117–56, and Conner (Q136.5)
[Q136.3] E. M. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–1072: a Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence', unpublished DPhil dissertation, Univ. of Oxford (1978)
[Q136.5] P.W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: a Tenth-Century Cultural History* (1993), covering the monastery at Exeter in the tenth century, which became an episcopal see in 1050
[Q137] P. Taylor, 'Foundation and Endowment: St Paul's and the English Kingdoms, 604–1087', *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604–2004*, ed. D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (2004), pp. 5–16 and 465–6; see also Kelly (B294)
Several sees are not yet so well served: St Germans, Cornwall (B272); Crediton (B273); Dorchester-on-Thames; Hexham; Leicester; Lichfield; Lindsey (C158); Ramsbury; Ripon; Sherborne (B270.5); Wells (B287); Worcester (B231). For Whithorn, see Hill (D134c).

Other houses
There are studies of many other religious houses, also providing alternative perspectives. Blair (A20) is indispensable. For East Anglian houses, see Pestell (Q16.5). For Exeter in the tenth century, see Conner (Q136.5).
[Q140] S. Kelly, 'The Anglo-Saxon Abbey', *English Heritage Book of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, ed. R. Gem (1997), pp. 33–49; see also Kelly (B291); R. Emms, 'The Early History of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', in Gameson (D7), pp. 410–27
For Lyminge and Reculver, see Kelly (B290.5).
[Q140.5] F.M. Stenton, *The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon* (1913)

[Q141] C. Heighway and R. Bryant, *The Golden Minster: the Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St Oswald at Gloucester*, CBA Research Report 117 (1999); M. Hare, *The Two Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Gloucester*, Deerhurst Lecture 1992 (1993); see also P83

[**Q142**] D. Hooke and T.R. Slater, *Anglo-Saxon Wolverhampton: the Town and its Monastery* (1986)

[Q143] A. Gransden, 'Legends and Traditions Concerning the Origins of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', *EHR* 100 (1985), 1–24, reptd in T17a, pp. 81–104

[Q144] D.K. Coldicott, *Hampshire Nunneries* (1989), including Nunnaminster (Winchester), Romsey, and Wherwell

[Q144a] H. G. D. Liveing, *Records of Romsey Abbey* (Winchester, 1906); C. R. Collier, 'Romsey Minster in Saxon Times', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 46 (1991), pp. 41-52

[Q145] E. Gordon, *Eynsham Abbey 1005–1228: a Small Window into a Large Room* (1990); see also Hardy (B239a).

[Q146] *Beverley Minster: an Illustrated History*, ed. R. Horrox (2000)

[Q147] P. Stafford, '*Cherchez la femme*: Queens, Queens' Lands and Nunneries: Missing Links in the Foundation of Reading Abbey', *History* 85 (2000), 4–27, reptd in T70 (XII), at 7–8 (Cholsey), 8 (Reading) and 9–10 (Leominster)

[Q147a] P. Taylor, 'The Early St Albans Endowment and its Chroniclers', *Historical Research* 68 (1995), 119–42; M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'The Origins of St Albans Abbey: Romano-British Cemetery and Anglo-Saxon Monastery', *Alban and St Albans: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, ed. M. Henig and P. Lindley, Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Transactions 24 (2001), pp. 45–77; J. Crick, 'Offa, Ælfric and the Refoundation of St Albans', *Alban and St Albans*, ed. Henig and Lindley, pp. 78–84
see also Crick (B297), and Keynes (B358)

[Q148] S. Keynes, 'Ely Abbey 672–1109', *The History of Ely Cathedral*, ed. P. Meadows and N. Ramsay (2003), pp. 3–58
For the New Minster, Winchester, see Keynes (B450), pp. 16–48. For Glastonbury, see Abrams (G155). For nunneries (Shaftesbury, Wilton, etc.), see Yorke (Q22) and Foor (Q23).

For ecclesiastical **architecture**, see Q705, etc. For the impact of the Norman Conquest, see Cownie (R342.3).

Section Two
The Cults of Saints

For the 'Metrical Calendar of York' (s. viii/ix), the 'Metrical Calendar of Hampson' (G15), and the 'Metrical Calendar of Ramsey', see B428. For 'English' saints registered in the 'Old English Martyrology', see B561. For saints registered in calendars and litanies, see Wormald (B430), Lapidge (B431), and Rushforth (B432). For the vernacular tract on 'The Saints of England', and their resting-places, see B596, and Rollason (Q150). For William of Malmesbury on English royal and other saints, see B620, pp. 386–416 and 456–8; see also B625, *passim*. Another tour of English sainthood in Henry of Huntingdon (B635), pp. 622–96, esp. 686–94. For brief accounts of all these and other saints, see Farmer's dictionary (Q2), and entries on particular saints in A100. See also entry on shrines and reliquaries in A100.

Blair (A20), pp. 141–9, on the cults of saints. For a major collection of essays on various aspects of saints and their cults, published in 2002, see Thacker and Sharpe (T104).

[Q149] J. Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints', in T104, pp. 495–565 - alphabetical register of all saints whose cults are recorded in England, with indication of evidence for each cult

[Q150] D.W. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 7 (1978), 61–93; L.A.S. Butler, 'Two Twelfth-Century Lists of Saints' Resting-Places', *Analecta Bollandiana* 105 (1987), 87–103; J. Blair, 'The Chertsey Resting-Place List and the Enshrinement of Frithuwold', in C130, pp. 231–6 and 287–8

[Q151] M. Biddle, 'Archaeology, Architecture, and the Cult of Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in Q17, pp. 1–31

[Q152] D.W. Rollason, 'The Shrines of Saints in Later Anglo-Saxon England: Distribution and Significance', in Q17, pp. 32–43

[Q153] L. Butler, 'Church Dedications and the Cults of Anglo-Saxon Saints in England', in Q17, pp. 44–50

[Q154] A. Thacker, 'Kings, Saints and Monasteries in pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History* 10 (1985), 1–25 - an excellent survey of the evidence

[Q155] M. Lapidge, 'The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in A51.2, pp. 243–63

[Q160] S.J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: a Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (1988)

[Q161] S.J. Ridyard, '*Condigna Veneratio*: Post-Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *ANS* 9 (1987), 179–206; S.J. Ridyard, 'The Cults of the Saints in the Tenth-Century Monastic Revival', *Church and Society in England 500–1215*, ed. M.J. Franklin and S.J. Ridyard <??>; see also Rubenstein (R364.1)

[Q162] J. Blair, 'A Saint for Every Minster? Local Cults in Anglo-Saxon England', in T104, pp. 455–94

[Q163] A. Thacker, 'Saint-Making and Relic Collecting by Oswald and his Communities', in G181, pp. 244–68

[Q164] A. Thacker, 'The Making of a Local Saint', in T104, pp. 45–73, on the ritual of 'translation' (e.g. of Æthelthryth, Cuthbert, *et al.*)

[Q164.5] C. Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in T104, pp. 423–53

[Q165] D.W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (1989); see also D.W. Rollason, 'The Cult of Murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 11 (1983), 1–22; D.W. Rollason, 'Relic-Cults as an Instrument of Royal Policy *c.* 900–*c.* 1050', *ASE* 15 (1986), 91–103; D. Rollason, 'Hagiography and Politics in Early Northumbria', in T37, pp. 95–113

[Q166] C. Neuman de Vegvar, 'Saints and Companions to Saints: Anglo-Saxon Royal Women Monastics in Context', in T37, pp. 51–93

[Q170] P. Hayward, 'The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom in Late Tenth- and Eleventh-Century English Hagiography', *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. D. Wood (1993), pp. 81–92

[Q171] P.A. Hayward, *Kingship, Childhood and Martyrdom in Anglo-Saxon England*, forthcoming; P.A. Hayward, 'Saint Albans, Durham, and the Cult of Saint Oswine King and Martyr', *Viator* 30 (1999), 105–44

[Q172] P.A. Hayward, 'Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest', *ANS* 21 (1999), 67–93

[Q175] M. Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 34 (2005), covering the cults of Gregory, Cuthbert, Benedict, Swithun, and Æthelthryth

[Q180] M. Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', in T37, pp. 115–29

[Q181] R.W. Pfaff, 'Why do Medieval Psalters have Calendars?', in T62, no. VI, pp. 1–15

[Q182] W. Smith, 'Iwi of Wilton: a Forgotten Saint', *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999), 297–318

[Q183] J. Hillaby, 'St Oswald, the Revival of Monasticism, and the Veneration of the Saints in the Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman Diocese of Worcester', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society* 16 (1998), 79–132

[Q184] C. Cubitt, 'Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints', *EME* 9 (2000), 53–83 - popular, not political, in origin

[Q185] C. Cubitt, 'Memory and Narrative in the Cult of Anglo-Saxon Saints', *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Y. Hen and M. Innes (2000), pp. 29–66 - on Cuthbert, Guthlac, *et al.*

[Q186] J. Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c. 1150–1300: Virginity and its Authorizations* (2001), esp. pp. 48–56, 60–6 - for post-Conquest *Lives* of Anglo-Saxon female saints

[Q187] J.E. Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors: Warfare and Sanctity in the Literature of Early England* (2003) - on the cults of Edwin, Oswald, Guthlac, Edmund, etc.

[Q188] S. Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (2006), on the cults of St Edmund, St Ithamar, and St Frideswide, among others

Shrines and relics

On the formal translation of a saint's relics from one place to another, as a public stage in the development or more deliberate promotion of a cult, see Thacker (Q164), and:

[Q190] J.G. Thomas, 'The Cult of Saints' Relics in Mediaeval England', unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of London (1974), accessible via <www.theses.com>

[Q192] J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300–1200* (2000); J. Crook, 'The Enshrinement of Local Saints in Francia and England', in T104, pp. 189–24

[Q193] P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (1978; rev. 1990)

[Q194] M. Heinzelmann, *Translationen und Translationsberichte* (1980)

[Q195] M. Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing* (1996)

[Q198] A. Thacker, 'In Search of Saints: the English Church and the Cult of Roman Apostles and Martyrs in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in T44, pp. 247–77 - the first collections
[Q199] A. Thacker, 'The Cult of Saints and the Liturgy', *St Paul's*, ed. D. Keene, *et al.* (2004), pp. 113–22, with particular reference to the cults of saints at St Paul's, London
[Q202] R. Sharpe, 'The Setting of St Augustine's Translation, 1091', in R363, pp. 1–13, at 7–8.
On the cult of St Gregory, see Thacker (D43.5), D43.6) and Gretsch (D43.7). Entry on relics in A100.   See also Sheerin (Q213), pp. 266–7; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 107–8.   For King Æthelstan as a collector of relics, see Keynes (G65), pp. 143–4.   For a tract listing King Æthelstan's grant of relics to Exeter, see B596.5.

Some tenth-century cults
The composite vernacular tract on 'The Saints of England' (B596) affords some indication of the cults which were up and running in the early eleventh century, and is complemented by the evidence of calendars and litanies (B430, B431). It might be as well, however, to register some of the cults which appear to have been of special importance in the tenth century, if only to put the great increase in the cultivation of saints, towards the end of the century, in some kind of context.

St Judoc of Saint-Josse-sur-Mer (d. c. 668)
Relics of St Judoc (a seventh-century Breton prince who became a hermit at the place later called Saint-Josse-sur-Mer, near Étaples, Ponthieu) arrived at Winchester from Ponthieu early in 901, and were seemingly of special importance in the development of the New Minster in the tenth and eleventh centuries. See Keynes (B450), pp. 17–18 and 29–30.
[Q205] M. Lapidge, 'A Metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* from Tenth-Centiry Winchester', *Journal of Medievel Latin* 10 (2000), 255–306, with translation and commentary
Grimbald of Saint-Bertin, who had come from Flanders to Wessex in the 880s, died on 8 July 901 and was also enshrined at the New Minster, but his cult may not have developed until later in the tenth century; see Q445.

St Oswald, king of the Northumbrians (d. 642)
The tomb of St Oswald at Bardney, Lincs., had been adorned with silver, etc., by Offa, king of the Mercians; see Alcuin's poem on York, in Godman (B210), p. 34. Relics of St Oswald were brought from Bardney 'into Mercia' in 909, and were venerated in the 'New Minster' founded at Gloucester by Ealdorman Æthelred and Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. See Thacker (Q154), pp. 2–4 and 18; Thacker in Q265a, pp. 97–127, at 119–23.

St Edmund, king of the East Angles (d. 869)
The decapitated body of King Edmund was buried in the first instance near *Hægelisdun* (?Hellesdon, nr Norwich, Norfolk, but identified alternatively as 'Hellesden field', in Bradfield St Clare, nr Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk), where he had been killed; and, once his head had been found and reunited with the body, a simple chapel was built over the grave. The 'St Edmund Memorial Coinage' reflects the recognition of his cult by the Danes of East Anglia in the late ninth century; see Blackburn (M576), pp. 319–20. Some years later, when peace returned to the land, the king's body, found to be incorrupt, was translated to a royal estate called *Bedericesworth* (later known as Bury St Edmunds), where a large wooden church was built. This translation took place *c*. 915. The story of Edmund's death was told by his armour-bearer at the court of King Æthelstan (924–39), and, later, by Archbishop Dunstan. For materials on St Edmund, see Hardy (B7), pp. 526–38. For the hagiography of St Edmund, see Q335, etc.

St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne (d. 687)
On the cult of St Cuthbert, see B130, B136, B220, D100, etc. It was in the political interests of King Æthelstan that he should be seen to show his devotion to St Cuthbert (B130, B136), and thereby to harness the saint's power. He presented a gospel-book to the community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street (Cotton Otho B. ix, badly damaged in 1731), as well as a specially-commissioned manuscript containing Bede's *Lives* of St Cuthbert and much else besides (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 183). See Keynes (G65), pp. 170–9 (Otho B. ix) and 180–5 (CCCC 183); and, for CCCC 183, see Budny (B802) i.161–85 (no. 12) and ii, pls. IV and 110–52. Key manuscripts are the Lindisfarne Gospels (D120) and the *Liber Vitae* (B445). See also Marner (D104), for BL Yates Thompson MS 26 (Durham, s. xii ex.); Lawrence-Mathers (R349.5).

St Wilfrid of Ripon and Hexham (d. 709)
On the cult of Wilfrid, see B140. In 948 the 'glorious minster' built by Wilfrid at Ripon was burnt down. Relics of the saint were brought from Ripon to Canterbury, prompting a

revival of interest in the cult of St Wilfrid. Oda, archbishop of Canterbury (941–58), placed the relics in a new shrine at Canterbury, and commissioned a member of his community to produce a versified version of Stephen of Ripon's 'Life' of Wilfrid (B140):

[Q206] Frithegod of Canterbury (Sharpe (A57), p. 117), *Breuiloquium uitae Wilfridi*, preceded by a prefatory letter in the name of Archbishop Oda. Text: Campbell (Q240), pp. 1–62. See also Lapidge (G200).

For later developments (Eadmer's *Life of St Wilfrid*), see Muir and Turner (Q258).

St Swithun, bishop of Winchester (c. 852–63)

The cult of St Swithun was promoted at the Old Minster, Winchester, by Bishop Æthelwold (963–84), in part as a focus for local loyalties (cf. Sheerin (Q213)), and in order to affirm the identity of the church (represented by his respectful treatment of the mortal remains of some other bishops, including Birinus of the West Saxons, Ælfheah I of Winchester, and Beornstan of Winchester), but also in response to the growing popularity of the cult of St Judoc at the New Minster (cf. Keynes (B450), p. 29). The cult of St Swithun was launched by the translation of his relics at Winchester in 971, and soon found expression in architecture, liturgy, hagiography, metalwork, manuscript illumination, etc. For materials on St Swithun, see Hardy (B7), pp. 513–19. On the representation of St Swithun in the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold', fol. 97v, see Deshman (Q692), pp. 138–9, 182, 187–8, and pl. 32. The definitive work on the cult of St Swithun is Lapidge (Q212).

[Q210] Lantfred of Fleury and Winchester (Sharpe (A57), p. 358), *Translatio et Miracula Sancti Swithuni*, written *c.* 975 (Graves (A76), no. 2312). Text and translation: Lapidge (Q212), pp. 217–333.

[Q211] Wulfstan Cantor (Sharpe (A57), pp. 824–5), *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* (based on Lantfred's work), composed in the mid–990s. Text and translation: Lapidge (Q212), pp. 335–551; superseding Campbell (Q240), pp. 65–177. With an especially important **dedicatory letter** addressed to Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester 984–1005 (ed. and trans. Lapidge, pp. 372–97), which includes: (a) an account of the dedication of the Old Minster on 20 Oct. 980, attended by those coming from a meeting of the king's councillors at Andover; (b) a marvellous description of the powerful organ installed at Winchester — the bellows operated by 70 strong men, 'flexing their arms, dripping with sweat', while two monks sat at the keyboards tinkling the ivories — which made so much noise that everyone in the vicinity had to cover their ears; (c) a wealth of information on the building works at Winchester in the late tenth century, undertaken by Æthelwold and Ælfheah; and (d) an account of the dedication of Ælfheah's new tower, in the early 990s. See also Lapidge and Winterbottom (B172), pp. xx–xxii.

[Q212] M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Studies 4.ii (2003). For Winchester Studies, see G170.

[Q213] R.N. Quirk, 'Winchester Cathedral in the Tenth Century', *Archaeological Journal* 114 (1959), 28–68, interpreting Wulfstan's account of the building works; D.J. Sheerin, 'The Dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester, in 980', *Revue bénédictine* 88 (1978), 261–73, at 269–70, suggesting that St Swithun symbolised continuity with the past

Æthelgar, bishop of Selsey and abbot of the New Minster, Winchester, responded with a building programme of his own; see Keynes (B450), pp. 29–30. The works on Swithun by Lantfred and Wulfstan Cantor are preserved in a manuscript which is itself a further expression of the cult of St Swithun at the Old Minster (BL Royal 15. C. VII), written *c.* 1000 (?996). For Ælfric's 'Lives of the Saints', including Swithun, see B569.3.

[Q214] The *Vita S. Swithuni*, written in the late eleventh century. Text and translation: Lapidge (Q212), pp. 611–39.

St Æthelthryth, abbess of Ely (d. 679)

The cult of St Æthelthryth (Etheldreda, Audrey) is well developed in Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History' (HE iv.19–20), and needed little further encouragement. It was only appropriate, therefore, and in the spirit of the reform movement, that Bishop Æthelwold should have decided to re-establish a monastic community at Ely, in the fens, and build up its endowment in the early 970s (B245); but it remains to be seen to what extent the legend itself was developed under his aegis in the late tenth century (Q242, Q300, etc.). On the representation of St Æthelthryth in the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold', fol. 90v, see Deshman (Q692), pp. 121–4, etc., and pl. 28.

Translations of saints' relics

On saints, relics of saints, and the resting-places of saints, see B595, etc. The 'invention' and translation of saints' relics continued apace in the later tenth and early eleventh centuries: no doubt for the best of reasons, but also in part as one church vied with another for the best and most efficacious cults, and in part as pressure of viking attack

prompted the English ever more eagerly to invoke the community of saints for help in obtaining divine assistance in their troubles; fear of the impending Day of Judgement was perhaps another factor. Among the cults promoted in this process were the following:

[Q218] St **Eadburh**, translated at Winchester (?970s); St **Wihtburh**, brought from Dereham to Ely in 974; St **Edward**, 'invented' and translated to Wareham (979, 13 Feb.), and translated from Wareham to Shaftesbury (979, 18 Feb.); St **Cuthbert**, brought from Chester-le-Street to Durham (995); St **Æthelwold**, translated at Winchester (996, 10 Sept.); St **Edith**, translated at Wilton (?997, 3 Nov.); St **Iwi**, brought to Wilton (s. x ex., 8 Oct.); St **Eadburh**, removed to Pershore (s. x ex.); St **Neot**, translated from a place in Cornwall to Eynesbury (Hunts.) (s. x ex., 7 Dec.); SS **Æthelberht** and **Æthelred**, translated from Wakering to Ramsey (s. x ex.); St **Edward**, translated at Shaftesbury (1001, 20 June); St **Oswald**, translated at Worcester (1002, 15 Apr.); St **Ivo**, invented at and translated from *Slepe* to Ramsey (1001, 23 April/10 June); St **Modwenna**, translated from Andresey to Burton (s. xi in.); St **Wulfsige**, translated at Sherborne (*c.* 1010).

The triumvirate of monastic reformers (Æthelwold, Dunstan, Oswald) also came to be venerated as saints in their own right, in the 990s; for their *Lives*, written *c.* 1000, see B165, B170, B175. Later eleventh-century translations of saints include: St Ælfheah, from London to Canterbury (1023); St Mildreth, from Minster-in-Thanet to St Augustine's, Canterbury (1030, 18 May). For a secular counterpart, cf. the 'translation' of Swein Forkbeard, in the *Encomium Emmae* (B85), p. 18.

For such activity in connection with the 'Peace of God' movement on the continent, see J37a. For church-building on the continent in the early eleventh century, see Glaber (J37), pp. 114–16. See also Beech (K51).

Hagiography

Saints, saints' days, and thus the lives and passions of saints, formed an important part of daily life, for laymen as well as for monks and priests (B595, etc.). For information on the *Lives* of English saints, see Hardy (B6) and (B7), *passim*. See also B115, etc. The standard form of reference (BHL, plus number) is to the following:

[Q220] Société des Bollandistes (Brussels), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols., Subsidia Hagiographica 6 (1898–1901), reptd as 1 vol. (1992), and *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, *Novum Supplementum*, ed. H. Fros, Subsidia Hagiographica 70 (1986) - alphabetical listing of saints' *Lives*

For the Bollandists, see also D. Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises* (1963), pp. 1–32, and their own most helpful and impressive website (www.kbr.be/~socboll/index.html). For their library and its dispersal in the eighteenth century, see Keynes (B358), pp. 254–5 and 262–3.

[Q221] *Hagiographies: histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, ed. G. Philippart, Corpus Christianorum, vol. i (1994), vol. ii (1996), vol. iii (2001) - containing extended accounts of the development of hagiography in different areas

[Q222] Th. Klüppel, 'Die Germania (750–950)', in Q221, vol. ii, pp. 161–209, including discussion of the hagiography of the continental missionaries, pp. 166–78

[Q223] J.E. Cross, 'English Vernacular Saints' Lives before 1000 A.D.', in Q221, vol. ii, pp. 413–27, with discussion of the OE Martyrology, pp. 422–4

[Q224] E.G. Whatley, 'An Introduction to the Study of Old English Prose Hagiography: Sources and Resources', in T37, pp. 3–32

[Q224.5] E.G. Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography, ca. 950–1150', in Q221, vol. ii, pp. 429–99

[Q225] M. Lapidge and R.C. Love, 'The Latin Hagiography of England and Wales (600–1550)', in Q221, vol. iii, pp. 203–325 - indispensable survey of the development of Latin hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England and Anglo-Norman England, and beyond, with full references

[Q226] *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, ed. and transl. J.A. McNamara and J.E. Halborg with E.G. Whatley (1992)

[Q227] *Medieval Hagiography: an Anthology*, ed. T. Head, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 1942 (2000) - wide range of hagiographic texts in translation, including Bede's *Martyrology* (D184.5)

[Q228] *Ælfric's Lives of Canonised Popes*, ed. D. Scragg, OEN Subsidia 30 (2002)

Early 'Legendaries', or collections of saints' lives and miracles

[Q229] A copy of a continental legendary which had originated in northern France, possibly in the archdiocese of Rheims, in the late ninth century, was brought to England,

in the late ninth or tenth century, and became the basis for a collection which underlies Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* (B569.3), written in the 990s.

[Q229.5] The 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary' (BL Cotton Nero E. i + Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9). Discussion (and list of its original contents): P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', in Szarmach (T37), pp. 131–46. Some 'English' saints' lives (e.g. Oswald, Ecgwine, Swithun), and other texts, were added to the manuscript, at Worcester, in the third quarter of the eleventh century, and thereafter.

[Q230] Collection of saints' *Lives* in BL Lansdowne 436, compiled at Romsey abbey in the fourteenth century. Contains abridged versions of numerous *Lives* of English saints. For its contents, see P. Grosjean, 'Vita S. Roberti', *Analecta Bollandiana* 56 (1938), 334–60, at 335–9. Lapidge and Love (Q225), pp. 78–9; Love (Q241), p. lxxxii; Wogan-Browne (Q186), pp. 197–9.

[Q231] Collection of saints' *Lives* in Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek I. 81, compiled somewhere in England in the second half of the fourteenth century. For its contents, see P. Grosjean, 'De codice hagiographico Gothano' *Analecta Bollandiana* 58 (1940), 90–103, and 'Codicis Gothani appendix', *Analecta Bollandiana* 58 (1940), 177–204. Lapidge and Love (Q225), pp. 77–8; Love (Q241), p. lxxvii.

[Q232] Collection of saints' *Lives* in BL Cotton Tiberius E. i, compiled by John of Tynemouth, monk of St Albans, towards the middle of the fourteenth century. Lapidge and Love (Q225), pp. 100–4. The collection was devised in calendrical order; it had been revised and rearranged by the mid-fifteenth century, in alphabetical order (an operation formerly though no longer attributed to John Capgrave), and was first printed as *Nova Legenda Anglie* (1516). For a modern edition, see *Nova Legenda Angliae*, ed. C. Horstman, 2 vols. (1901).

Some modern editions

[Q240] *Frithegodi Monachi Breuiloquium Vitæ Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno*, ed. A. Campbell (1950)
The study of pre-Conquest hagiography has since been transformed: Lapidge and Winterbottom (B172), for Wulfstan's *Life* of St Æthelwold; Lapidge (Q212), for St Swithun; Lapidge and Winterbottom (B166), forthcoming, for the early *Lives* of St Dunstan; and Lapidge (B176), forthcoming, for Byrhtferth's *Lives* of St Ecgwine and St Oswald.

The OMT editions by Rosalind Love provide authoritative texts and translations of a widening range of late eleventh-century saints' *Lives*; are furnished with invaluable introductions; and are revealing much about 'Anglo-Norman' perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon past.

[Q241] *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: 'Vita S. Birini', 'Vita et miracula S. Kenelmi' and 'Vita S. Rumwoldi'*, ed. R.C. Love, OMT (1996) - *Lives* of St Birinus (missionary bishop in 7th-cent. Wessex), St Rumwold of Buckingham (infant prodigy, grandson of King Penda), and St Kenelm of Winchcombe (Mercian prince, s. of King Coenwulf (796–821))

[Q242] *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ed. R.C. Love, OMT (2004) - *Lives* of the Ely Four, viz. SS Æthelthryth (Q304), Seaxburh (Q320), Eormenhild (Q324), and Wihtburh (Q323), as well as material on Werburh (Q345)

[Q243] *The Works of Folcard of Saint-Bertin*, ed. R.C. Love, OMT (forthcoming) - comprising *vitae* of Bertin, John of Beverley, Botwulf (plus a translation narrative), and *vitae* of the Thorney Three (Tancred, Torhtred and Tova), plus a poem on St Vigor

See also Winterbottom and Thomson (B167), for William of Malmesbury's *Lives* of Wulfstan, Dunstan, *et a*l.; and Turner and Muir (B166.5), for Eadmer's *Lives* of Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald.

Hagiography in the eighth and ninth centuries

The principal *Lives* of saints, important for historical as well as hagiographical purposes, are registered in section B. Saints whose *Lives* bear on the early stages of the history of the English church: St Cuthbert (B130, B136); St Gregory (B133); St Wilfrid (B140); St Æthelburh (B150). Curiously, there were no early 'Lives' of the missionaries Augustine, Paulinus, and Aidan. An eighth-century saint: St Guthlac (B155). English missionaries on the continent: St Willibrord (B160); St Boniface (B161); St Leofgyth (B162); St Willibald (B163). For King Offa and the cult of St Alban, see B657. See further Lapidge and Love (Q225), pp. 7–12.

Hagiography in the tenth and early eleventh centuries

The hagiography generated in the tenth century is obviously central to our understanding of the making of kingdoms (whether the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, or of the English), the establishment of particular cults at particular churches, and the promotion of monastic reform. The first works to appear commemorated saints who flourished in earlier times, and are of considerable interest in their own right. For the cult of St Wilfrid at

Canterbury, *c.* 950, see Q206. For material on St Æthelthryth which would appear to have originated at Ely in the late tenth century, see Q300, Q302. For the cult of St Swithun at Winchester, in the 970s and thereafter, see Q210, Q211, Q212. For the cult of St Edmund, in a form which originated at court in the 980s (not in a cult centre), see Q335. The earliest *Lives* of the protagonists of the reform movement were written *c.* 1000: St Dunstan (B165); St Æthelwold (B170); and St Oswald (B175). For Byrhtferth's 'Life' of St Ecgwine, see B430; and for his account of the Kentish princes Æthelberht and Æthelred , see Q270. See further Lapidge and Love (Q225), pp. 12–19.

Hagiography in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries

On the further development of the hagiographical industry in the later eleventh century, see Love (Q241), pp. xxxiii–xlviii, and Lapidge and Love (Q225), pp. 19–67. Among the principal exponents of the genre were Goscelin and Folcard, monks of Saint-Bertin, both of whom were in England before 1066.

[Q255] Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (Sharpe (A57), pp. 151–4), active from *c.* 1060 onwards, at Sherborne, Wilton, Ely, and elsewhere, ending up at Canterbury. Wrote numerous *Lives* of numerous saints, including St Mildreth (Q274), St Mildburh (Q344), St Werburh (Q345), ? St Kenelm (Q350), St Edith (Q390), St Wulfsige (Q455), and St Ivo (B249). See also Barlow (B90), pp. xlvii–lii and 133–49; Ridyard (Q160), p. 29 n. 69, 38–9, 48–9, 172–5; Love (Q241), pp. xxxix–xlv; Wogan-Browne (Q186), pp. 196–7; Keynes (K61), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii; Keynes (Q89), pp. 75–6 (date of his arrival); entry on him in A100; Van Houts (B91); Ugé (A60.37), pp. 169–71.

[Q255.5] D. Stroud, 'Eve of Wilton and Goscelin of St Bertin at Old Sarum *c.*1070–1078', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 99 (2006), 204–12

[Q256] Folcard of Saint-Bertin (Sharpe (A57), pp. 116–17), active from *c.* 1060, latterly acting abbot of Thorney *c.* 1068–85. Possibly responsible for the 'Life' of King Edward the Confessor (B90). Wrote *Lives* of St John of Beverley (B218), St Botwulf (Q423), and the Thorney saints (Tancred, Torhtred, Tova). Edition: Love (Q243), forthcoming. See also Barlow (B90), pp. lii–lix; Love (Q241), pp. xliv–xlv; Keynes (K61), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii (wrote a charter at Saint-Omer in 1056?); Van Houts (B91), pp. 115–16 (left Flanders in early 1050s); Ugé (A60.37), pp. 169–71.

[Q257] Osbern of Canterbury (Sharpe (A57), p. 407), active in the late eleventh century. Wrote *Lives* of St Oda of Canterbury [lost], St Dunstan of Canterbury (B165.2), and St Ælfheah of Canterbury (Graves (A76), no. 2306). See also Gransden (A91), pp. 127–9; J. Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury', in R363, pp. 27–40; Love (Q241), pp. xlv–xlvi; S.N. Vaughn, 'Among these Authors are the Men of Bec: Historical Writing among the Monks of Bec', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 17 (2000) <accessible online>

[Q257a] Faricius of Malmesbury (later abbot of Abingdon) (Sharpe (A57), p. 115), active in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Wrote a *Life* of St Aldhelm (Graves (A76), no. 2285).

[Q258] Eadmer of Canterbury (Sharpe (A57), pp. 104–5), active in the early twelfth century. Wrote *Lives* of St Oda of Canterbury (Q450), St Dunstan of Canterbury (B165.3), St Oswald of Worcester (B177, B178), and St Wilfrid (Graves (A76), no. 2313), *et al.* See also R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (1963), pp. 277–84; Gransden (A91), pp. 129–31; Love (Q241), pp. xlv–xlvi. Text and translation: Turner and Muir (B166.5), for Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald. See also B. Muir and A.J. Turner, *The Life of Saint Wilfrid by Edmer of Canterbury* (1998); also published as a digital edition, with whistles and bells (evellum.com, 2006).

[Q259] William of Malmesbury (Sharpe (A57), pp. 784–6), active in the first half of the twelfth century. Wrote *Lives* of St Aldhelm, St Dunstan (B165.4), and St Wulfstan (B185).

[Q260] Osbert de Clare (Sharpe (A57), pp. 409–10), active at Westminster in the first half of the twelfth century. Wrote *Lives* of St Eadburh (Q375), St Æthelberht (Q330), and St Edward the Confessor (B92), among others. See Ridyard (Q160), pp. 20–1.

Northumbrian royal saints

The principal royal saints are King Oswald (d. 642), and Oswine (d. 651). King Edwin, killed in battle at Hatfield against King Cædwalla and King Penda on 12 Oct. 633 (Bede, HE ii.20), was buried in part at York and in part at Whitby.

[Q265] St Oswald, killed in battle at *Maserfelth* [Oswestry] against Penda, king of the Mercians, on 5 Aug. 642, and dismembered: head buried at Lindisfarne, hands and arms at Bamborough (Bede, HE iii.9–10, 12). Bones of Oswald were later buried at Bardney, in Lindsey, by Æthelred, king of the Mercians (674–704), and his wife Osthryth [d. of King Oswiu] (HE iii.11–12). Cubitt (Q164.5). The cult flourished in the tenth century (above).

[Q265a] *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (1995); see also Thacker (Q154), pp. 2–4

[Q266] St Oswine, murdered by King Oswiu at Gilling on 20 Aug. 651 (Bede, HE iii.14); buried at Tynemouth. See Hayward (Q171).
[Q267] Alhmund (Alcmund), son of Alhred, king of the Northumbrians (765–74), killed in 800 on the orders of Eardwulf, king of the Northumbrians (796–806), buried at Lilleshall, and later translated to Derby. Thacker (Q154), pp. 15–16.

Kentish royal saints

The tale of the Kentish princes Æthelberht and Æthelred (not mentioned in Bede) illustrates the dynastic connections between Kent, East Anglia, and Mercia in the late seventh century, and introduces us to the political and economic importance of one of the Kentish royal minsters in the eighth century. Eorcenberht, king of Kent (640–64), married Seaxburh, daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles. Æthelberht and Æthelred, sons of Eormenred [brother of Eorcenberht], were killed during the reign of their cousin Egberht, king of Kent (664–73). Their sister Eormenburh (also known as Domne Eafe, or Æbba) had married Merewalh, king of the Magonsætan; she returned from Mercia to Kent, was given land on Thanet as wergild for her murdered brothers, and founded Minster-in-Thanet. Eormenburh/Eafe/Æbba was abbess of Minster-in-Thanet in the 690s. Mildthryth, daughter of Merewalh and Eormenburh, was abbess of Minster-in-Thanet in the early eighth century. A major Kentish abbey was thus ruled, during the reign of Æthelbald, king of the Mercians (716–57), by an abbess of royal 'Mercian'/Kentish parentage. The history of this abbey in the late seventh and eighth centuries is known mainly from charters; see *Charters of St Augustine's*, ed. Kelly (B342), pp. xxv–xxxi, and nos. 40–53. Mildburh, daughter of Merewalh and Eormenburh, was abbess of Wenlock, Shropshire (Q344).

The cult of SS Æthelberht and Æthelred provides a good example of the circumstances which lay behind the development and diffusion of a legend in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The cult was revived when relics of the murdered princes were translated from Wakering, in Essex, to Ramsey abbey, in the late tenth century. The earliest surviving form of the legend is contained in a work attributed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey, possibly based on earlier material received from Wakering.

Æthelberht and Æthelred
[Q270] *Passio SS. Ethelberti atque Ethelredi*, incorporated in Byrhtferth's 'Historical Miscellany' (B640). Written *c.* 1000. Ed. Arnold (B33), vol. II, pp. 3–13. See Lapidge (T19), pp. 339–40; Rollason (Q290), pp. 15–18, 73–5.
[Q271] *Passio Beatorum Martyrum Ethelredi atque Ethelberti* [Bodl. 285]. A variant (Canterbury) form of the legend, written in the mid eleventh century and later revised at Ramsey. Ed. Rollason (Q290), pp. 89–104. See Lapidge (T19), pp. 339–40; Rollason (Q290), pp. 18–20, 75–7.
[Q272] S 1048 (spurious charter of King Edward the Confessor, probably concocted in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest), ed. Kelly (B342), no. 34
[Q273] attr. Goscelin, *Vita SS. Aethelredi et Aethelberti martyrum*, etc. M.L. Colker, 'A Hagiographic Polemic', *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977), 65–96. Barlow (B90), pp. 148–9; Cubitt (Q184), pp. 74–5.

Mildthryth (Mildrith), abbess of Minster-in-Thanet
[Q274] Goscelin, *Vita Deo dilectae virginis Mildrethae*, associated with material on the history of Minster-in-Thanet in the eighth century (Q272). Written at St Augustine's, Canterbury, in the late eleventh century. Ed. Rollason (Q290), pp. 105–43. See Rollason (Q290), pp. 20–1, 77–9; Sharpe (Q293); Barlow (B90), p. 147.
[Q275] Goscelin, *Translatio S. Mildrethe virginis*. Written at St Augustine's, Canterbury, in the late eleventh century. Ed. D.W. Rollason, 'Goscelin of Canterbury's Account of the Translation and Miracles of St. Mildrith (*BHL* 5961/4): an Edition with Notes', *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986), 139–210. Barlow (B90), p. 147.

Elements of the legend occur in the 'Life' of St Mildburh attributed to Goscelin (Q344), in Goscelin's 'Life' of St Werburh (Q345), and in the Kentish section of the prefatory material in the *Chronicle* of John of Worcester (B630). See Rollason (Q290), pp. 27–8, 82–3.

The legend also circulated in vernacular form:
[Q285] Account of the Kentish and East Anglian royal saints, forming the first part of a tract on the saints of England (B596), probably compiled at Winchester in the late tenth or early eleventh century. Ed. Liebermann (B596), pp. 1–9. See Rollason (Q290), pp. 20–1, 28, 83–4.

[Q286] Life of St Mildrith, in BL Cotton Caligula A. xiv, ed. and transl. Swanton (Q291), pp. 24–6 and 17–22. See Rollason (Q290), pp. 29–31, 85–6.

[Q287] Miracles of St Mildrith, in Lambeth Palace MS. 427, ed. and transl. Swanton (Q291), pp. 26–7 and 22–4. See Rollason (Q290), pp. 29–31, 86–7.

For further and general discussion of this material, see:

[Q290] D.W. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: a Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (1982)

[Q291] M. Swanton, 'A Fragmentary Life of St Mildred and Other Kentish Royal Saints', *Archæologia Cantiana* 91 (1975), 15–27

[Q292] K.P. Witney, 'The Kentish Royal Saints: an Enquiry into the Facts behind the Legends', *Archæologia Cantiana* 101 (1985), 1–22

[Q293] R. Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth: Hagiography and Liturgy in Context', *Journal of Theological Studies*, new ser. 41 (1990), 502–16; see also Sharpe (Q202).

[Q294] S. Hollis, 'The Minster-in-Thanet Foundation Story', *ASE* 27 (1998), 41–64

See also Barlow (B90), p. 148, n. 102.

East Anglian royal saints

Anna, king of the East Angles (d. 654), had four daughters, all of whom were celebrated as saints. For Anna himself, see Bede, HE iii.7 and 18, and iv.19. **(i)** St Æthelthryth married first Tondberht, *princeps* of the South Gyrwe, and second Ecgfrith, king of the Northumbrians, and was foundress and first abbess of Ely. **(ii)** St Sexburga married Eorconberht, king of Kent, and succeeded her sister Æthelthryth as abbess of Ely. Their sons included King Ecgberht and King Hlothhere. Their daughters included St Eorcengota, who went to Faremoûtier-en-Brie, and St Eormenhild, who married King Wulfhere and was the mother of St Werburh. **(iii)** St Æthelburh was abbess of Faremoûtier-en-Brie. **(iv)** St Wihtburh of Holkham and Dereham. Moreover, **(v)** Sæthryth, abbess of Faremoûtier-en-Brie, was Anna's step-daughter. For further discussion, see Ridyard (Q160), pp. 50–61 and 176–210.

St Æthelthryth of Ely (d. 23 June 679)

The basis of our knowledge is the 'Life' of St Wilfrid (B140), chs. 19 and 22; Bede, *Chronica maiora* (D184.3); and esp. Bede, HE iv.19–20. See Love (Q242); see also Keynes (Q148), pp. 10–14. The cult of St Æthelthryth was most actively promoted by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, in the 970s. For Ælfric's 'Life' of Æthelthryth, based on Bede, see B569.3.

[Q300] Ælfhelm, 'Book of the Miracles of St Æthelthryth', written by a cleric who was at Ely during the reign of King Eadred (946–55), and who may have been a monk there in the 970s. See Blake (B247), pp. xxxii–xxxiv. Text (as later incorporated in the *Liber Eliensis*, i.43–9): Blake (B247), pp. 57–61. Text and translation (of another revised version, below): Love (Q242).

[Q301] Account of the Kentish and East Anglian royal saints, forming the first part of a tract on the saints of England (B596), probably compiled at Winchester in the late tenth or early eleventh century. Ed. Liebermann (B596), pp. 1–9. See Rollason (Q290), pp. 20–1, 28, 83–4.

[Q302] A lost 'Life of St Æthelthryth', based on Bede, and presumed to have been compiled in late tenth or early eleventh century; lies behind Q303–6. See Blake (B247), pp. xxx–xxxi, and Ridyard (Q160), pp. 54–6.

[Q303] *Vita S. Etheldrede*, in simple rhyming prose, and *Miracula S. Etheldrede* (in part derived from Ælfhelm), in a different style; preserved in Dublin, Trinity College, MS. B.2.7

[Q304] *Vita S. Etheldrede*, in rhyming prose, and *Miracula S. Etheldrede* (in part derived from Ælfhelm (Q300)), in a different style, with further miracles added in the early twelfth century; preserved in CCCC MS. 393, art. 1. Hardy (B6) i.280. Text and translation: Love (Q242).

[Q305] Gregory of Ely (Sharpe (A57), p. 155), *Vita et miracula S. Etheldrede metrice*, written in the early twelfth century; preserved in CCCC MS. 393, art. 2. Text: P.A. Thompson and E. Stevens, 'Gregory of Ely's Verse Life and Miracles of St. Æthelthryth', *Analecta Bollandiana* 106 (1988), 333–90.

[Q306] Account of St Æthelthryth in *LE* i.1–34, ed. Blake (B247), pp. 6–51.

For discussion of St Æthelthryth, see Love (Q242), and Ridyard (Q160), pp. 50–61 and 176–201. See also:

[Q310] C. Fell, 'Saint Æthelthryth: a Historical-Hagiographical Dichotomy Revisited', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 38 (1994), 18–34

[Q311] P.A. Thompson, 'St Æthelthryth: the Making of History from Hagiography', *Studies in English Language and Literature*, ed. M.J. Toswell and E.M. Tyler (1996), pp. 475–92
[Q312] S. Rosser, 'Æthelthryth: a Conventional Saint?', *BJRL* 79.3 (1997), 15–24
[Q313] P. Jackson, 'Ælfric and the Purpose of Christian Marriage: a Reconsideration of the *Life of Æthelthryth*, Lines 120–30', *ASE* 29 (2000), 235–60
[Q314] C.E. Karkov, 'The Body of St Æthelthryth: Desire, Conversion and Reform in Anglo-Saxon England', in Carver (T103), 397–411

For other saints connected with Æthelthryth, see:
[Q320] SEAXBURH (Sexburga) [Æthelthryth's sister], wife of Eorcenberht, k. of Kent; foundress and abbess of Minster-in-Sheppey; 2nd abbess of Ely. Bede, HE iii.8, iv.19; *LE* i.18, i.25–35, ed. Blake (B247), pp. 35–6, 42–51. 'In festivitate S. Seaxburge', in CCCC MS. 393, art. 5, etc. Hardy (B6), pp. 360–2; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 56–8. Text and translation: Love (Q242). See also Wogan-Browne (Q186), pp. 58–9, 201–10, 219–22.
[Q321] SÆTHRYTH [Æthelthryth's half-sister], nun at and abbess of Faremoûtier-en-Brie. Bede, HE iii.8.
[Q322] ÆTHELBURH [Æthelthryth's sister], nun at and abbess of Faremoûtier-en-Brie. Bede, HE iii.8. Ridyard (Q160), pp. 60–1.
[Q323] WIHTBURH [allegedly Æthelthryth's sister], of Holkam and Dereham (ASC, MS. F, s.a. 798); translated to Ely in 974. *LE* ii.53, ii.144–50, ed. Blake (B247), pp. 120–3 and 228–36. 'Vita S. Wihtburge virginis', in CCCC MS. 393, art. 4, etc. Hardy (B6), pp. 469–70; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 59, 185–6. Text and translation: Love (Q242).
[Q324] EORMENHILD [Sexburh's daughter], wife of Wulfhere, k. of the Mercians; mother of Coenred and Werburh; nun at and later abbess of Minster-in-Sheppey; 3rd abbess of Ely. *LE* i.36, ed. Blake (B247), pp. 51–2. 'In natale S. Eormenilde', in CCCC MS. 393, art. 6, etc. Hardy (B6), pp. 368–9; Ridyard (Q160), p. 60. Text and translation: Love (Q242).
[Q325] EORCENGOTA [Sexburh's daughter], nun at Faremoûtier-en-Brie. Bede, HE iii.8. 'Vita S. Eorcengote'. Barlow (B90), p. 148; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 60–1.
For St Werburh, daughter of King Wulfhere and Eormenhild, see Q345.

St Æthelberht, king of the East Angles (d. 20 May 794)
ASC, s.a. 794: 'In this year Offa, king of the Mercians, had Æthelberht beheaded.' Cf. John of Worcester (B630), p. 224.
[Q330] According to the Hereford tradition, Æthelberht came to the royal estate at Sutton (Herefordshire) in order to obtain the hand of Offa's daughter Ælfthryth in marriage, but was treacherously killed by Winberht acting on the instructions of the wicked Queen Cwoenthryth. (i) 'Life' of St Æthelberht (CCCC 308), ptd M. R. James, 'Two Lives of St. Ethelbert, King and Martyr', *EHR* 32 (1917), 214–44, at 236–44, and trans. E.C. Brooks, *The Life of Saint Ethelbert King & Martyr 779AD–794AD* (1996), pp. 28–38. (ii) Life of St Æthelberht (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, I. 81), by Osbert de Clare, not printed. (iii) Life of St Æthelberht (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.11.16) by Giraldus Cambrensis, ptd James, pp. 222–36, and trans. Brooks, pp. 40–58. Discussion: Thacker (Q154), pp. 16–18; Ridyard (Q160), p. 21; Keynes (Q135), pp. 9–10; Cubitt (Q184), pp. 75–6; S. Sharp, 'Æthelberht, King and Martyr: the Development of a Legend', in Hill and Worthington (E33), pp. 59–64.

St Edmund, king of the East Angles (d. 20 Nov. 869)
ASC, s.a. 870 [869–70]: 'And that winter King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes had the victory and killed the king and conquered all the land.'
[Q335] Abbo's 'Life' of St Edmund (B251), dedicated to Archbishop Dunstan (d. 988). The story of King Edmund's death in 869 had been told by the king's own armour-bearer (*armiger*) to King Æthelstan, and had been heard by Dunstan, then a young man at the king's court. Many years later, Dunstan related the story to the bishop of Rochester, the abbot of Malmesbury, and others, including Abbo, a monk of Fleury based at Ramsey abbey in 985–7. Abbo was asked by this company to commit the story to writing. It might be noted in this connection that Danish raids on England had resumed in the 980s. Text: *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. M. Winterbottom (1972). Translation: Lord Francis Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi* (1907), pp. 7–59. For Abbo, see Sharpe (A57), pp. 1–4, and entry in A100. The OE version by Ælfric (B569.3) is trans. Swanton (B560, pp. 158–64). See also Graves (A76), no. 2305; Mostert (G102); A. Gransden, 'Abbo of Fleury's "Passio Sancti Eadmundi"', *Revue bénédictine* 105 (1995), 20–78; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 61–73 and 211–33. For the rite of the 'blood-eagle', see Abbo, chs. 10–11, and F49.
[Q335.5] 'Old English Online Editions: Edmund of East Anglia', ed. P. Szarmach, at <www.wmich.edu/medieval/research/rawl/edmund/index.html>

[Q336] Hermann/Bertrann the Archdeacon's *De miraculis Sancti Eadmundi* (B252), which is of particular historical value for the cult of St Edmund in the later tenth and eleventh centuries

[Q337] D. Whitelock, 'Fact and Fiction in the Legend of St. Edmund', in T5, no. XI
See also Chapman (F24). For a twelfth-century illustrated 'Life' of St Edmund, see B253.

Edmund's supposed brother, Eadwold, was supposedly a hermit at Cerne, Dorset (B268).
[Q338] [?Goscelin of St-Bertin,] *Life of St Eadwold of Cerne*, possibly written in the 1060s. Text and translation: L. Keen (forthcoming); T. Licence (forthcoming).

Mercian royal saints

Although Bede himself is silent on the matter, the Mercian royal line represented most conspicuously by Penda (632–55) and his son Wulfhere (658–75) came sooner or later to acquire a saintly progeny of its own, equal to that of seventh-century Kentish and East Anglian kings.

[Q340] SS Cyneburh and Cyneswith, daughters of Penda and sisters of Wulfhere. Cyneburh married Alhfrith [son of King Oswiu], and was the mother of the infant prodigy Rumwold; foundress and first abbess of Castor, Northants., where she was succeeded by her sister Cyneswith. Cyneburh and Cyneswith were subsequently translated to Peterborough. Thacker (Q154), p. 6.

[Q341] St Eadburh (Edburga) of Adderbury (Oxon.), and **St Edith** of Aylesbury (Bucks.), both daughters of Penda, and both mentors of St Osgyth of Aylesbury (Q348).

[Q342] Æthelred, son of Penda, and king of the Mercians 674–704; married Osthryth, d. of King Oswiu, abdicated in 704 (Bede, HE v.24), and became a monk at and later abbot of Bardney, Lincs., where lay the relics of St Oswald (Q265). Æthelred and Osthryth are registered in the OE tract on saints (B596) as resting at Bardney. Thacker (Q154), p. 2.

The saints continued to proliferate in the next generation.

[Q344] St Mildburh (Mildburga), daughter of Merewalh [allegedly a son of Penda] and Eormenburh/ Domneva [sister of St Mildrith (Q274)], and second abbess of Much Wenlock, Shropshire, founded by Merewalh. The 'Life' of St Mildburg, attributed to Goscelin (unprinted) incorporates the so-called 'Testament of St Mildburg', which itself incorporates some late-seventh- / early-eighth-century charter material bearing on Wenlock and the Magonsætan. Rollason (Q290), pp. 25–6, 80–1; Barlow (B90), p. 149; Thacker (Q154), pp. 4–5.

[Q345] St Werburh (Werburga), daughter of King Wulfhere and Eormenhild, nun at Ely, abbess of Hanbury (Staffs.), etc.; later translated to Chester. Said to have controlled a group of minsters in Mercia. *LE* i.17, i.37, ed. Blake (B247), pp. 35, 52, and Goscelin, 'Vita S. Werburge virginis', in CCCC MS. 393, art. 7, etc. Text and translation (of Goscelin): Love (Q242). Hardy (B6), pp. 421–3; Barlow (B90), p. 148; Rollason (Q290), pp. 26–7, 81; Thacker (Q154), p. 4; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 50, 60.

[Q346] St Rumwold of King's Sutton (Northants.), Brackley (Northants.), and Buckingham, son of Alhfrith and Cyneburh [daughter of Penda], who on issuing from his mother's womb exclaimed 'I am a Christian' three times in a loud voice, was baptised, preached a sermon, gave instructions for his burial, and then died, three days after his birth. Rumwold was commemorated on 3 November, and his 'Life' was written in the eleventh century. Text and translation: Love (Q241), pp. 91–115. Thacker (Q154), pp. 6–7; Love (Q241), pp. cxl–clxxxvii.

[Q347] SS Wulfhad and Rufinus, allegedly martyred sons of King Wulfhere, who put them to death at Stone (Staffordshire). Thacker (Q154), p. 6; Keynes (B358), p. 256; A.R. Rumble, 'Ad Lapidem in Bede and a Mercian Martyrdom', in T36, pp. 307–19.

[Q348] St Osgyth (Osyth), of Aylesbury (Bucks.), apparently not to be although later confused with St Osyth of Chich (Essex), a Hwiccian princess who became the wife of Sighere, king of the East Saxons, and father of Offa, king of the East Saxons. Osgyth of Aylesbury was a daughter of Frithewald and Wilburh [daughter of Penda], and was brought up at Aylesbury by Wilburh's sister, St Edith; she died *c.* 700. See C. Hohler, 'St Osyth and Aylesbury', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 18 (1966), 61–72; D. Bethell, 'The Lives of Osyth of Essex and St Osyth of Aylesbury', *Analecta Bollandiana* 88 (1970), 75–127. Thacker (Q154), p. 7; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 134–6; Love (Q241), p. xlviii.

St Guthlac (d. 11 April 714)

ASC, s.a. 714: 'In this year the holy Guthlac died.'

[Q349] For Felix's 'Life' of St Guthlac, see B155. Guthlac became a monk at Repton *c.* 698 (Felix, ch. 20), but moved after two years to the fens (ch. 24), where he made his home in a hollowed-out burial mound (ch. 28), where among other excitements he was visited by foul spirits (ch. 31), by Æthelbald of Mercia (chs. 40, 49), and many others (e.g. chs. 42, 45), where in 715 he was found to be incorrupt after his death (ch. 51), and where Æthelbald

visited his grave *c*. 716, much to his advantage (ch. 52). Not mentioned by Bede. For Crowland abbey, see B242. There was a church dedicated to St Guthlac at Hereford. Guthlac was registered in the OE Martyrology (B561); and the annal for 714, cited above, suggests that the cult was respected at Alfred's court. For a vernacular version of the 'Life', see P. Gonser, *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des heiligen Guthlac*, Anglistische Forschungen 27 (1909); trans. Swanton (B560), pp. 88–113. For the suggestion that the vernacular version may be 'Alfredian' in origin, see Roberts (F165).

[Q349a] A.L. Meaney, 'Felix's Life of St Guthlac: Hagiography and/or Truth', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.* 90 (2001), 29–48; J. Roberts, 'Hagiography and Literature: the Case of Guthlac of Crowland', in E34 (2001), pp. 69–86

See also entry on Guthlac in A100.

The cults of two later Mercian princes appear to have arisen, plausibly enough, from the political and arguably dynastic disputes which beset the kingdom of the Mercians in the ninth century:

[Q350] St Cynehelm (Kenelm), son of Coenwulf, king of the Mercians (796–821); allegedly succeeded his father as king, but soon afterwards murdered on the orders of his jealous sister Cwoenthryth, and buried with others of his line at Winchcombe. 'Life' of St Kenelm, written in the second half of the eleventh century, possibly at Winchcombe but conceivably by Goscelin. Text and translation: Love (Q241), pp. 49–89. Hardy (B7), pp. 508–9; Thacker (Q154), pp. 8–12; Love (Q241), pp. lxxxix–cxxxix; Hayward (Q172), pp. 73–7.

[Q355] St Wigstan (Wistan), son of Wigmund and grandson of King Wiglaf (827–40); allegedly succeeded his grandfather as king, but soon afterwards murdered on the orders of his jealous cousin Berhtferth ('Britfard'), and buried with others of his line at Repton. 'Life' of Wigstan may have originated at Repton in late ninth century. Relics moved from Repton to Evesham, during the reign of King Cnut. Murder of Wigstan by Berhtferth [son of Berhtwulf, king of the Mercians 840–52], on 1 June 849, noted by John of Worcester; see Darlington and McGurk (B630), p. 262. 'Life' of St Wistan, written at Evesham in the thirteenth century. Text: Macray (B233), pp. 325–37. D.W. Rollason, *The Search for St Wigstan* (1981); Thacker (Q154), pp. 12–14; Love (Q241), p. xlvii.

For **Fremund**, supposedly a son of King Offa and a kinsman of Edmund, king of the East Angles, and supposedly killed by the Danes in the 860s, see Farmer (Q2).

West Saxon royal saints

The West Saxon royal line was not to be outdone in saintliness by the royal lines of Kent, East Anglia, and Mercia; but the line did not begin to distinguish itself, in this respect, until the tenth century.

[Q365] A. Thacker, 'Dynastic Monasteries and Family Cults: Edward the Elder's Sainted Kindred', in G14 (2001), pp. 248–63

[Q370] St Cuthburh (Cuthburga), sister of Ine, king of the West Saxons, wife of Aldfrith, king of the Northumbrians, nun of Barking, founder and abbess of Wimborne (see ASC s.a. 718; d. *c*. 725); but one hopes not the Queen Cuthburga last seen in Hell (Emerton (B305), p. 190). *Vita S. Cuthburge* in BL Lansdowne 436 (Q230). Text: R. Rushforth, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St Cuthburg', *Analecta Bollandiana* 118 (2000), 291–324. Æthelred I, king of the West Saxons, was buried at Wimborne in 871. In 962 King Sigeferth killed himself and was buried at Wimborne (ASC, MS. A).

Tenth-century saints

[Q375] St Eadburh (Edburga) of the Nunnaminster, Winchester, and of Pershore (d. *c*. 950), daughter of King Edward the Elder and Queen Eadgifu. Beneficiary of a charter of King Æthelstan, dated 939 (S 446). Osbert de Clare's *Vita S. Edburge*, written in the early twelfth century. Text: Ridyard (Q160), pp. 253–308. Translation: none. Hardy (B7), pp. 564–6; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 16–37 and 96–139 (at 130–1 for the removal of relics from Winchester to Pershore in the late tenth century).

[Q378] St Edith, sister of King Æthelstan, who married Sihtric, king of the Northumbrians, at Tamworth in 926 (ASC, MS. D), but who was presently renounced by him and passed the rest of her life doing good works at Polesworth (Warwicks.); or so say Roger of Wendover (B650) and Matthew Paris (B655).

[Q380] St Ælfgifu of Shaftesbury (d. 944, 18 May), wife of King Edmund, and mother of Kings Eadwig and Edgar. Ridyard (Q160), p. 170; Keynes (F91); Yorke (Q22.5), p. 59.

Edgar, king of the English (d. 8 July 975)

ASC, MS ABC, s.a. 975: 'In this year Edgar, king of the English, reached the end of earthly joys, chose for him the other light, beautiful and happy, and left this wretched and fleeting life.' Not generally acknowledged as a saint, perhaps with good reason; but a passage in certain manuscripts of William of Malmesbury's *GR*, ii.160.2, ed. and trans. in Mynors, *et al.*

(B620), pp. 260–2, describes how Edgar's tomb was opened by Abbot Æthelweard, in 1052, and the kings body was found to be incorrupt.

[Q385] St Wulfthryth, wife of King Edgar, mother of Edith, and abbess of Wilton (d. *c.* 1000). Details of her life in Goscelin's 'Life' and 'Translation' of St Edith: see Hollis (B276.5), esp. pp. 26–9, 73–7. She acquired relics of St Iwi in the late tenth century (Q182); and she built a stone wall around Wilton. Ridyard (Q160), pp. 142–8; Yorke (Q22), pp. 167–70; Yorke (Q22.5).

[Q390] St Edith of Wilton (d. ?984, 16 Sept.), daughter of King Edgar and Wulfthryth, and half-sister of Æthelred the Unready; buried at Wilton and translated there *c.* 997. Goscelin's 'Life of St Edith': Graves (A76), no. 2304. Text: A. Wilmart, 'La légende de Ste Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', *Analecta Bollandiana* 56 (1938), 5–101 ['Life of St Edith'] and 265–307 ['Translation of St Edith']. Translation of 'Life': Hollis (B276.5), pp. 23–62. Translation of 'Translation': Hollis (B276.5), pp. 69–93. Discussion: Barlow (B90), pp. 135–7; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 37–44, 140–54; Keynes (F91), pp. 47–8 and 51–2; Love (Q241), p. xli; Hayward (Q172), pp. 77–9; Yorke (G330); Yorke (Q22), pp. 167–70; Hollis (G331); Yorke (Q22.5).

[Q391] SS Mærwynn (Merwenna) and **Æthelflæd** [d. of Ealdorman Æthelwold], abbesses of Romsey, Hants. 'Life' of SS Æthelflæd (Elfleda) and Mærwynn in BL Lansdowne 436 (Q230). Translation: H.G.D. Liveing, *Records of Romsey Abbey 907–1558* (1906), pp. 19–26. Hardy (B7), pp. 568–9. For Romsey, see B267a.

[Q395] St Wulfhild of Barking (d. 996), a nun of Wilton seduced by King Edgar, later abbess of Barking and Horton. M. Esposito, 'La vie de sainte Vulfhilde par Goscelin de Cantorbéry', *Analecta Bollandiana* 32 (1913), 10–26. Translation: none. M.L. Colker, 'Texts of Jocelyn of Canterbury which relate to the History of Barking Abbey', *Studia Monastica* (Barcelona) 7 (1965), 383–460. See also Barlow (B90), pp. 133–49, at 136–7; Gransden (A91), pp. 107–11.

Edward King and Martyr (d. 18 March 978)

ASC, MSS. DE, s.a. 978: 'In this year King Edward was killed at the gap of Corfe on 18 March in the evening, and he was buried at Wareham without any royal honours.'

[Q400] St Edward (d. 978), son of King Edgar, and half-brother of Æthelred the Unready. *Passio et miracula S. Edwardi*, written in the eleventh century (attributed by some to Goscelin), for the circumstances of Edward's death and burial in 978, his translation to Shaftesbury in 979, and his translation at Shaftesbury in 1001. Text: C.E. Fell, *Edward King and Martyr* (1971), pp. 1–16; W.H. Hutton, *The Influence of Christianity upon National Character Illustrated by the Lives and Legends of the Saints* (London, 1903; 2nd ed. 1908), pp. 155–9 and 167–80. Translation: none [but one forthcoming, ASNC GTS]. On the significance of Archbishop Sigeric, and of Germanus, abbot of Cholsey, on the cult of Edward in the 990s, see entry on Cholsey (B284). On the development of the cult of St Edward, see Hardy (B7), pp. 579–82; Fell (G325); Keynes (J23), pp. 163–74; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 44–50 and 154–71; Hayward (Q170); Hayward (Q172), pp. 85–9; Wormald (M160), pp. 343–4; Keynes (F91), pp. 48–53; Yorke (G326); Cubitt (Q184), pp. 72–4; Yorke (Q22), pp. 171–4.

Alfred the ætheling (d. 5 Feb. ?1037)

ASC, MS. C, s.a. 1036: 'In this year the innocent ætheling Alfred, the son of King Æthelred, came into this country ... . But Godwine then stopped him and put him in captivity ... . He was threatened with every evil, until it was decided to take him thus to Ely.'

[Q405] Alfred the atheling (blinded 1036, d. at Ely, 5 Feb. ?1037), son of King Æthelred the Unready. Miracles were reported at Alfred's tomb, and he was regarded as a martyr (*Encomium Emmae Reginae* iii.6 (ed. Campbell (B85), pp. 44–6)); but for whatever reason the cult did not catch on. See also Keynes (K61), p. lxv; O'Keeffe (M179); J. Frankis, 'From Saint's Life to Saga: the Fatal Walk of Alfred Ætheling, Saint Amphibalus and the Viking Bróthir', *SBVS* 25.2 (1999), 121–37; Cubitt (Q184).

Edward the Confessor (d. 5 January 1066)

The earliest *Vita Ædwardi regis* (B90) was written soon after the king's death in 1066, for good contemporary purposes. For the later *Lives* of Edward, in relation to the developing cult of Edward at Westminster, leading to his canonisation in 1161, see B92; see also Jones (L111). For other manifestations of the cult of Edward, see Keynes (S120), pp. 237–8.

Archbishops, bishops, abbots, and hermits

There follows a selection of the numerous *Lives* of English ecclesiastics (or whatever) who flourished at various times from the seventh century to the eleventh. The historical value

of this material may be questionable; but their value as evidence for the development of a cult is self-evident.

Lives of saints who flourished in the seventh or eighth century

[Q420] Birinus, missionary among the West Saxons, and bishop of Dorchester (634–*c.*650). Bede, HE iii.7. For text and translation of an eleventh-century 'Life' of St Birinus, see Love (Q241), pp. xlix–lxxxviii and 1–47.

[Q422] Ithamar, bishop of Rochester in the mid-7th century. Text: D. Bethell, 'The Miracles of St Ithamar', *Analecta Bollandiana* 89 (1971), 421–37. Discussion: Yarrow (Q188), pp. 100–21.

[Q423] Botwulf, founder of a monastery at *Icanho*, probably Iken, Suffolk, where visited by Ceolfrith, *c.* 670; died 680. Not mentioned in Bede, HE; but see the *Life of Ceolfrith* [EHD no. 155], ch. 4, and ASC, s.a. 654. 'Life' of St Botwulf by Folcard (Q256); *Liber Eliensis* (B247), ii.138 and iii.90. See also S.E. West, N. Scarf and R. Cramp, 'St Botolph and the Coming of East Anglian Christianity', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 35.4 (1984), 279–301.

[Q425] Eorcenwald/Erkenwald, bishop of London (?675–93), and founder of Chertsey and Barking. Bede, HE iv.6. For his charters, see Chaplais (M221) and Wormald (D310). For text and translation of a 'Life' of St Eorcenwald, written in the late eleventh century, see E.G. Whatley, *The Saint of London: The Life and Miracles of St Erkenwald* (1989). See also Thacker (Q199).

[Q430] Ecgwine, bishop of Worcester (*c.*693–717). For text and translation of a 'Life' of St Ecgwine attributed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey (Sharpe (A57), p. 81), see M. Lapidge, forthcoming in B176. See also M. Lapidge, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgwine', *Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Papers* 6 (1977), 77–93; M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*', *Medieval Studies* 41 (1979), 331–53, reptd in T19 (1993), pp. 293–315.

[Q432] Frithuswith, supposedly a king's daughter, and supposedly active in the vicinity of Oxford in the early eighth century; d. '735'. F.M. Stenton, 'St Frideswide and her Times', in T1, pp. 224-33. For her church in Oxford, see B239.5. For twelfth-century 'Lives', see J. Blair, 'Saint Frideswide Reconsidered', *Oxoniensia* 52 (1987), 71–127; see also *Saint Frideswide, Patron of Oxford: the Earliest Texts*, ed. J. Blair (1988), and Yarrow (Q188), pp. 169–88.

Lives of saints who flourished in the ninth century

[Q435] St **Swithhun**, bishop of Winchester (d. 863). See Lapidge (Q212); Ridyard (Q160), pp. 108–10.

[Q438] SS **Thancred**, **Torhtred** and **Tova**. *Lives* of T3 by Folcard, in Love (Q243), forthcoming; see also C. Clark, 'Notes on a Life of Three Thorney Saints Thancred, Torhtred and Tova', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 69 (1979), 49–52.

[Q440] St **Neot**, a Cornish hermit (d. *c.* 877). For the *Vita I S. Neoti et Translatio*, probably composed in the eleventh century, see Lapidge, in Dumville and Lapidge (B62), pp. lxxv–cxxiv and 111–42. For materials on St Neot, see Hardy (B7), pp. 538–49. See also M.P. Richards, 'Liturgical Materials for the Medieval Priory of St. Neots, Huntingdonshire', *Revue bénédictine* 90 (1980), 301–6; M.P. Richards, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Neot', *Analecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981), 259–78.

[Q445] St **Grimbald** (d. 8 July 901), enshrined at the New Minster, Winchester. The 'Vita prima', supposed to have been written in the tenth century, is lost; but it is believed that lections in the 'Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey' (ed. J.B.L. Tolhurst, iv, HBS 78 (1939), for 8 July) are derived from it. There was also a 'Vita secunda', excerpted by Leland in the 1530s. Discussion: Grierson (F140), pp. 529–41; Bately (F141).

Lives of saints who flourished in the tenth century

[Q446] 'Life' of **Beornstan**, bishop of Winchester (931–4). Hardy (B7), p. 358.

[Q450] *Lives* of St **Oda** of Canterbury (d. 958). The 'Life' by Osbern is lost. For Eadmer's 'Life' of Oda, see *Anglia Sacra*, ed. H. Wharton, 2 vols. (1691) ii. 78–87. Hardy (B7), pp. 566–8; Southern (Q258), pp. 279–81.

[Q455] Goscelin's 'Life' of **Wulfsige**, abbot of Westminster, bishop of Sherborne (d. 1002). Graves (A76), no. 2317. For Goscelin, see Q255. Text: C.H. Talbot, 'The Life of Saint Wulsin of Sherborne by Goscelin', *Revue bénédictine* 69 (1959), 68–85. Important more for the cult of Wulfsige in the eleventh century than for the career of Wulfsige in the tenth. Translation: R. Love, 'The Life of St Wulfsige of Sherborne by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin', in B270.5, pp. 98–123. See also Hardy (B7), pp. 582–3; Love (Q241), p. xli; Hayward (Q172), pp. 79–81. For Wulfsige, see also Keynes (Q89).

Lives of saints who flourished in the eleventh century

[Q460] Osbern's 'Life' and 'Translation' of St **Ælfheah**, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1012), translated from London to Canterbury in 1023. The 'Life' is full of interest, e.g. for remarks

about Eadric Streona. For Osbern, see Q257. Text: *Anglia Sacra*, ed. H. Wharton, 2 vols. (1691) ii. 122–43 and 143–7. Translation: F. Shaw, *Osbern's Life of Alfege* (1999). Translation of the 'Translation': A.R. Rumble, 'Textual Appendix', in Rumble (K27), pp. 283–315. Hayward (Q172), pp. 70–3; Rushforth (B432), no. 10. See also Rubenstein (R364.1).

[Q465] William of Malmesbury's 'Life' of St **Wulfstan**, bishop of Worcester (d. 1095). Text and translation: see B185.

[Q470] 'Life' of St **Æthelwig**, abbot of Evesham (1058–77), incorporated in the *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham* (B233).

Section Three
Other themes
Anglo-Saxon art

The study of Anglo-Saxon artefacts, and through them of Anglo-Saxon art, developed quite slowly. Monumental sculpture was already attracting attention from antiquaries in the seventeenth century; but in *Hydriotaphia: Urne-Buriall*, published in 1658, Sir Thomas Browne represented Anglo-Saxon cremation urns as Roman. In the second half of the eighteenth century certain antiquaries began to display awareness of art in decorated manuscripts (S71a, S71b, S71c); but Turner (S72) was clearly not convinced. Anglo-Saxon architecture was characterised by Rickman (S73); in the 1850s artefacts of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries recovered from 'pagan' burials began to make an impression in coloured plates (S84, S85, S86); and in the 1860s the manuscripts began to receive appropriate treatment (S87). It remained for Baldwin Brown (B830) and Brøndsted (Q600) to integrate material derived from the different media; and more popular surveys of the subject begin to appear soon afterwards.

Standard works of reference for the various categories of source material are listed above, as follows: **inscriptions** (B710), etc.; **manuscripts** (B760), etc.; **metalwork** (B840), etc.; **ivories** (B844); **sculpture** (B845), etc.

[Q600] J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament: the Sources, Development and Relation to Foreign Styles of Pre-Norman Ornamental Art in England* (1924); E.T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936); T.D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1938); T.D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1949)

Bibliographical guidance

[Q610] M. Werner, *Insular Art: an Annotated Bibliography*, Reference Publications in Art History (1984) - covers manuscripts and manuscript illustration, art and archaeology, sculpture, metalwork, textiles & beads, and architecture, for the whole of the British Isles

[Q615] R. Deshman, *Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian Art: an Annotated Bibliography*, Reference Publications in Art History (1984) - covers manuscripts, textiles, carvings in ivory, bone and wood, metalwork, and stone sculpture, in the tenth and eleventh centuries

Surveys of medieval western art

For the period 950–1050, on the continent and in England, see Grodecki (J37b).

[Q620] C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800–1200* (1993), pp. 95–122, on Anglo-Saxon painting

[Q625] W.J. Diebold, *Word and Image: an Introduction to Early Medieval Art* (2000)

[Q626] L. Nees, *Early Medieval Art* (2002)

[Q635] H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: an Historical Study*, 2 vols. (1991), rev ed. [as one volume] (1999) - on the competition and inspiration from the continent

References to works of art in written sources

[Q650] O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland von Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307*, 5 vols. (1955–60) - a vast compilation of references in written sources to all kinds of works of art, with indexes <available in Trinity College library>

Surveys of Anglo-Saxon art

For Anglo-Saxon artifacts, see Hinton (B837). Entries in A100 on AS art, iconography, illumination, etc. (classified index, p. 534). See also Karkov, in A105, pp. 77–81; and pp. 81-4, on Celtic and Classical influences.

[Q660] C.R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: a New Perspective* (1982) - based as much upon 'literary' accounts of artifacts now lost (cf. Q650), as upon surviving objects and manuscripts; cf. R. Deshman, 'Anglo-Saxon Art: So What's New?', in T32, pp. 243–69

[Q665] D.M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art from the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest* (1984)

[Q670] R. Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (1995)
[Q675] R. Gem, C. Hicks, D. Park, J. Backhouse, L. Webster and M. Budny, 'Anglo-Saxon Art', *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner, 34 vols. (1996) II, pp. 63–84

For manuscript-art from the British Library, see Brown (B783a). For manuscript-art in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, see Budny (B802).
[Q677] T.H. Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: an Iconographic Catalogue c. A.D. 625 to 1100* (1986) - index enables one to find illustrations of particular subjects

Anglo-Saxon art of the sixth and seventh centuries. For pottery, metalwork, etc., from the early Anglo-Saxon period, see Hills (C90), etc. For Sutton Hoo, see Care Evans (D60), etc. For the 'Northumbrian Renaissance' of the late seventh century, see Wallace-Hadrill (D80), etc. For the relics of St Cuthbert, see Battiscombe (D101).

Anglo-Saxon art of the eighth and ninth centuries. Webster and Backhouse (A200). Illuminated manuscripts: Alexander (B806). Particular manuscripts: the 'Lindisfarne Gospels' (D120); the 'Codex Amiatinus' (D116); the 'Codex Aureus' (E130). For eighth-century objects, such as the Franks Casket, and the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses, see Wood (D350), etc. For 'Mercian' sculpture and metalwork of the eighth and ninth centuries, see Cramp (E105), etc.
[Q678] G. Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells: the Insular Gospel Books 650–800* (1987); see also C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (1986; 2nd ed., 1994)
[Q678.5] J. O'Reilly, 'The Art of Authority', in Charles-Edwards (A7), pp. 141–89
[Q679] C. Farr, 'Questioning the Monuments: Approaches to Anglo-Saxon Sculpture through Gender Studies', in B835, pp. 375–402; J. Hawkes, 'Statements in Stone: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture, Whitby and the Christianization of the North', in B835, pp. 403–21
[Q679.5] *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, ed. C.E. Karkov and F. Orton, Medieval European Studies 4 (2003)
[Q679.6] L. Webster, 'Encrypted Visions: Style and Sense in the Anglo-Saxon Minor Arts, A.D. 400–900', in T105, pp. 11–30
[Q679.7] J. Hawkes, '*Iuxta Morem Romanorum*: Stone and Sculpture in Anglo-Saxon England', in T105, pp. 69–99
[Q679.8] J.A. Rosenblitt, 'The *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the Aesthetics of Anglo-Saxon Art', *ASSAH* 13 (2006), 105–17

Anglo-Saxon art of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Backhouse, *et al.* (A205). Aspects of book production: Dumville (G255, G256); Bishop (B789). Iluminated manuscripts: Temple (B807). Particular manuscripts: the 'Æthelstan Psalter' (G16); the 'Junius Manuscript' (B547), the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' (G109). For facsimiles of several important tenth- and eleventh-century books, see Ohlgren (B813a); see also Gameson (J36.3).
[Q680] F. Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (1952)
[Q680a] F. Wormald, *Collected Writings*, I: *Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, *et al.* (1984) - several papers on 10th and 11th centuries, including English version of his contribution to Grodecki (J37b), pp. 227–58, at pp. 111–22
[Q681] J. Higgitt, 'Glastonbury, Dunstan, Monasticism and Manuscripts', *Art History* 2 (1979), 275–90
[Q682] A. Lawrence, 'Alfred, his Heirs and the Traditions of Manuscript Production in Tenth-Century England', *Reading Medieval Studies* 13 (1988), 35–56
[Q683] R. Deshman, 'Anglo-Saxon Art after Alfred', *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 176–200
[Q684] J.J.G. Alexander, 'The Benedictional of St Æthelwold and Anglo-Saxon Illumination of the Reform Period', in G127, pp. 169–83
[Q685] E. Coatsworth, 'The Embroideries from the Tomb of St Cuthbert', in G14 (2001), pp. 292–311 - made in the first quarter of the tenth century, by Ælfflæd for Bishop Frithestan
[Q686] E. Coatsworth, 'Inscriptions on Textiles Associated with Anglo-Saxon England', in Rumble (T112), pp. 71–95 (Maaseik embroideries, Ælfflæd stole and maniple, Bayeux Tapestry)
[Q690] R. Deshman, '*Christus rex et magi reges*: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976), 367–405
[Q691] R. Deshman, '*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988), 204–40
[Q692] R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (1995), with a stunning set of colour plates; see also F. Wormald, *The Benedictional of St Ethelwold* (1959); see also G109
[Q693] C.R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Gestures and the Roman Stage* (2000)

[Q695] *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: Aspects and Approaches*, ed. R. Barnhouse and B.C. Withers (2000)

[Q695.5] C. Farr, 'Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Questions of Learning and Intention', in T105, pp. 115–30 (Eadwig Basan)

For the iconography of kingship, see above, at the end of sect. M (I).

[Q696] C. Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (2004), with detailed discussion of the 'portraits' of (a) Æthelstan and St Cuthbert, (b) Edgar and others, (c) Ælfgifu/Emma + Cnut and others, and (d) Emma (+ Harthacnut and Edward) and her Encomiast; preceded by Alfrediana, and followed by Bayeux Tapestry, etc.

[Q696.5] E.C. Parker, 'The Gift of the Cross in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*', *Reading Medieval Images: the Art Historian and the Object*, ed. E. Sears and T.K. Thomas (2002), pp. 177–86 - interpreting the image of King Cnut and Queen Ælfgifu (Emma) in B450

Anglo-Saxon church building and ecclesiastical architecture

The pioneering work on Anglo-Saxon architecture was by Joseph Rickman (S73); the standard modern work is Taylor and Taylor (Q705). Entries by Gem in A100, pp. 44–5, and by K. Wickham-Crowley in A105, pp. 56–61; see also entry in A100 on monastic sites. The papers in Morris (Q15), Butler and Morris (Q17), and Blair (Q18) are especially valuable for historical contexts of church building. For church architecture in the seventh century, see Cambridge (D43a). See also Morris (Q56).

Some especially fine or interesting churches: Escombe (Co. Durham); [Monk] Wearmouth and Jarrow (Co. Durham); Brixworth (Northants.); Earls Barton (Northants.); Barton-on-Humber (Lincs.); Wing (Bucks.); Sompting (Sussex); Deerhurst (Gloucs.); Odda's Chapel, Deerhurst (Gloucs.). For guides to other sites, see A250, A255.

[Q700] M.C.W. Hunter, 'The Study of Anglo-Saxon Architecture since 1770: an Evaluation', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 66 (1975–6), pp. 129–39

[Q705] H.M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (1965–78) - authoritative and systematic, with accounts of every church in the land with surviving 'Anglo-Saxon' fabric

[Q706] Discussion of Taylor and Taylor**:** M. Biddle, *et al.*, '*Anglo-Saxon Architecture* and Anglo-Saxon Studies: a Review', *ASE* 14 (1985), 293–317, with sections on history, archaeology, sculpture, and literature; Blair (A20), esp. pp. 411–14, stressing how high a proportion of standing churches are 'late'

[Q710] E. Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (1983)

[Q715] B. Cherry, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Wilson (1976), pp. 151–200

[Q716] M. and N. Kerr, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1983; Shire Archaeology paperback)

[Q720] R. Gem, 'ABC: How should we Periodize Anglo-Saxon Architecture?', in Q17, pp. 146–55

[Q721] R. Gem, 'Architecture of the Anglo-Saxon Church, 735 to 870: from Archbishop Ecgberht to Archbishop Ceolnoth', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 146 (1993), 29–66

[Q723] H.M. Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building in England and on the Continent', in G127, pp. 141–68

[Q724] R. Gem, 'Tenth-Century Architecture in England', *SettSpol* 38 (1991), 803–38

[Q725] R. Gem, 'A Recession in English Architecture during the Early Eleventh Century, and its Effect on the Development of the Romanesque Style', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 38 (1975), 28–49; cf. Glaber (J37), pp. 114–16.

[Q730] W. Rodwell, 'Anglo-Saxon Church Building: Aspects of Design and Construction' [1986], reptd in B835, pp. 195–231

[Q740] *The Archaeology of Cathedrals*, ed. T. Tatton-Brown and J. Munby, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monographs 42 (1996) - Wells, Ripon and Hexham, etc.

[Q745] C. Pickles, *Texts and Monuments: a Study of Ten Anglo-Saxon Churches of the pre-Viking Period*, BAR British series 277 (1999) - incl. Abingdon, Beverley, Canterbury (Christ Church), Canterbury (SS Peter and Paul), Glastonbury, Hexham, Monkwearmouth & Jarrow, York

For churches made from wood, see Biddle *et al.* (Q706), p. 298 and n. 21.

Church Archaeology, being the annual journal of the Society for Church Archaeology, began to appear in 1997, and contains much of interest. E.g. R. Cramp, *et al.*, 'St Mary's, Deerhurst - a Retrospective', *CA* 2 (1998), 19–28; A. Boyle, 'The Bones of the Anglo-Saxon Bishop and Saint, Chad: a Scientific Analysis', *CA* 2 (1998), 35–8.

Music in Anglo-Saxon England

Entries in A100 on chant, music, and musical instruments; see also relevant entries in A105. Bede's *History* is full of music: see *HE* i.25 (Augustine chanting litanies), ii.20 (James the Deacon at York), iv.2 (Æddi Stephanus), iv.2 and iv.12 (Putta), iv.18 (John of Hexham), iv.24 (Cædmon of Whitby), v.20 (Maban at Hexham), v.24 (Bede). For St Dunstan's talent as a harpist, see *Vita S. Dunstani* (B165), ch. 12. For Wulfstan Cantor's famous description of the powerful organ at Winchester, see Q211, in Lapidge (Q212), pp. 382–76, and Williams (Q850). For musical notation, see Milfull (B434), pp. 92–103, with references.

[Q820] The 'Winchester Troper' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775), with musical notation, written in the mid-11th cent. (using earlier material). Description: A205, no. 161, with plate. Text: ed. Frere (B423). See also A.E. Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (1977). For the reference to King Æthelred in the litany, see Lapidge (B431), pp. 78 and 233–4, and Keynes (J21.9), p. 189 n. 89.

[Q825] M. Berry, 'What the Saxon Monks Sang: Music in Winchester in the Late Tenth Century', in G165, pp. 149–60

[Q826] M. Berry and the Schola Gregoriana of Cambridge, *Anglo-Saxon Easter* (Archiv, 413546-1) (1984) [vinyl record], and *Christmas in Anglo-Saxon Winchester* (HAVPC 115) (1992) [cassette]

[Q830] S. Rankin, 'Some Reflections on Liturgical Music at Late Anglo-Saxon Worcester', in G181, pp. 325–48; S. Rankin, 'Music at Wulfstan's Cathedral', in Barrow and Brooks (Q99.2), pp. 219–29

[Q831] N. Bell, *Music in Medieval Manuscripts* (2001), esp. pp. 18–29

[Q850] P. Williams, *The Organ in Western Culture 750–1250* (1993)

For liturgical drama, see Bedingfield (B438).

R. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST

ASC, MS. A, s.a. 1066: 'In this year King Edward died and Earl Harold succeeded to the kingdom, and held it 40 weeks and one day; and in this year William came and conquered England. And in this year Christ Church was burnt and a comet appeared on 18 April.'

For a remarkable reflection of the Norman Conquest, across two pages of the 'Liber Vitae' of the New Minster, Winchester, see Keynes (B450), plates VIII–IX, and pp. 96–8.

The **Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman studies**, instituted by the late Professor R. Allen Brown in 1978, is the forum for the promulgation of much essential work in this field; meetings take place in a room which overlooks the battlefield itself. The volumes of *Anglo-Norman Studies* (formerly known as *Proceedings of the Battle Conference*) have appeared annually since 1979, ed. R.A. Brown (1979–89), M. Chibnall (1990–4), C. Harper-Bill (1995–2000), and J. Gillingham (2001–). An Index to vols. 1–10 was published in 1991. A searchable list of all articles in *ANS* is available on the conference website: <http://www.battleconference.com/>

A most impressive Norman bibliography, compiled by Rob Helmerichs, is available on the web, at <www1.minn.net/~rob/normbib.html>. Another comprehensive bibliography on Anglo-Norman England, compiled and updated annually by Dr George Garnett, St Hugh's College, Oxford, is available on the website of the Faculty of Modern History at Oxford (Final Honour School / Special Subjects / 4. The Norman Conquest of England): <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/currentunder/bibliographies/bibliographies.htm>

General guidance

[R1] M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England 1066–1166* (1986)   - an authoritative and indispensable survey; see also M. Chibnall, 'England and Normandy, 1042–1137', in Luscombe and Riley-Smith (A72), pp. 191–216

[R2] M. Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest*, Issues in Historiography (1999) - essential historiographical guide

[R2a] M. Chibnall, *The Normans* (2000)

[R3] R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075–1225*, New Oxford History of England (2000)

[R4] D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066–1284* (2003)   - authoritative textbook covering the Norman Conquest of England (pp. 61–105), the Normans in Wales and Scotland 1058–94 (pp. 106–24), and Britain and the Anglo-Norman realm (pp. 125–62)

[R4.5] C. Tyerman, *Who's Who in Early Medieval England (1066–1272)* (1996)   - potted biographies, arranged in a roughly chronological order, beginning with William I, Edgar ætheling, Lanfranc, Regenbald, Waltheof, Wulfstan II, Odo of Bayeux, Robert of Mortain,

Geoffrey of Coutances, William FitzOsbern, Hereward the Wake, Herfast, Maurice of London, Gundulf, Thomas of Bayeux, William Warenne, Roger of Montgomery, *et al.*

[R4.6] *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (2003) - including Williams on England (L20), Potts on Normandy (R63), Abrams on the Scandinavian world (R85), van Houts on historical writing (R89b), Chibnall on feudalism and lordship (R227), and Harper-Bill on the Anglo-Norman church (R341.2), etc.

[R4.7] J. Gillingham, 'Britain, Ireland, and the South', in Davies (A7), pp. 203–32

Biographies of William the Conqueror, etc.

[R5] F.M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror* (1908) - remarkable for the rather negative view of the Anglo-Saxons taken by Stenton at this early stage in his career

[R6] D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (1964), new ed. (1999), with a Foreword by F. Barlow; see also F. Barlow, *William I and the Norman Conquest* (1965)

[R7] D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (1989), with bibliographical notes, pp. 187–93; illustrated ed. (2001), with bibliographical notes, pp. 213–18

[R8] D. Bates, 'Writing a New Biography of William the Conqueror', *State and Empire in British History: Proceedings of the Fourth Anglo-Japanese Conference of Historians*, ed. K. Kondo (2003), pp. 9–20; see also Bates (R60)

[R8.5] D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's Earliest Historians and the Writing of his Biography', in T113, pp. 129–41

[R9] D. Bates, 'William I', in *ODNB* (A150)

[R9.5] D. Bates, 'William the Conqueror and his Wider Western European World', *HSJ* 15 (2006 for 2004), 73–87

The classic narrative account

[R10] E.A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and its Results*, 6 vols. (1867–79); vols. 1–4, 2nd ed. (1870–6); vols. 1–2, 3rd ed. (1877). Also ed. J. W. Burrows (1974). One of the great works of English historiography, in the Whig tradition. Vol. 1 (1867; 2nd ed., 1870, 3rd ed., 1877) covers Anglo-Saxon history from 449 to 1042, and Norman history in the tenth century; with an appendix comprising 71 extended notes, including many on aspects of tenth- and eleventh-century history (cf. Section J). Vol. 2 (1867; 2nd ed., 1870, 3rd ed., 1877) covers the reign of Edward the Confessor, and the earlier part of the reign of Duke William in Normandy; with an appendix comprising 43 extended notes on various aspects of eleventh-century history. Vol. 3 (1869; 2nd ed., 1876) covers the reign of Harold, and the events of the Norman Conquest itself; with an appendix comprising 39 extended notes. Vol. 4 (1871; 2nd ed., 1876) covers the reign of William I; with notes. Vol. 5 (1876) covers the effects and aftermath of the Conquest; with notes. Vol. 6 (1879) is an Index to the first editions of vols. 1–5, and to the third editions of vols. 1–2.

For Freeman (1823–92), see S7c, pp. 139–40. The work of John Horace Round (1854–1928) represents a very different approach: see R210, esp. index, under 'Freeman, Professor'.

General studies

[R11] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (1971), pp. 581–687

[R12] J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (1976, reptd 1998) - important not least for its 'cross-channel' perspective, and for its line on colonisation

[R12a] J. Le Patourel, *Normandy and England 1066–1144*, Stenton Lecture 1970 (1971), propounding the notion of a cross-channel polity in the late 11th and early 12th centuries

[R13] R.H.C. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth* (1976) - renowned for its exposition of the Normans' view of themselves, as a superpower on horseback

[R14] D. Crouch, *The Normans: the History of a Dynasty* (2002), covering the history of Normandy in the tenth and eleventh centuries (pp.1–85), as well as the Conquest (pp. 87–128)

[R14.5] N. Webber, 'England and the Norman Myth', in Barrow & Wareham (T117), forthcoming

[R15] R.A. Brown, *The Normans and the Norman Conquest* [1969], 2nd ed. (1985) - a spirited and stimulating account, albeit from the 'Norman' point of view

[R16] R.A. Brown, *The Normans* (1984), pp. 49–77 - with a fine picture of the author on the back flap of the dustjacket, in his other incarnation as a Norman knight

[R17] D.J.A. Matthew, *The Norman Conquest* (1966); see also Matthew (R17.5)

[R17a] M.T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066–1272* (1983)

[R17b] H.E. Hallam, *Rural England 1066–1348* (1981)

[R17.5] D. Matthew, *Britain and the Continent 1000–1300: the Impact of the Norman Conquest* (2005) <not yet seen>

[R18] H.R. Loyn, *The Norman Conquest* [1965], 3rd ed. (1982)

[R19] S. Körner, *The Battle of Hastings, England and Europe 1035–66* (1964)

[R20] W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: the Region and its Transformation, 1000–1135* (1979) - important regional study

[R20a] A. Gransden, '1066 and all that Revisited', *History Today* 38.9 (Sept. 1988), 47–52 - surveying past and present views of the Norman Conquest

[R20b] J. Hudson, 'Essential Histories: The Norman Conquest', *BBC History Magazine* 4.1 (2003), 16–23

[R21] B. Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation: The Normans in Britain, 1066–1100* (1994; rev. ed., 2001), with chapters on the Norman Conquest 1066–1100, Settlement and Colonisation, Governing the Conquered, Military Organisation, and A Colonial Church; see also B. Golding, 'Britain 1100', *History Today* 50.4 (2000), 10–17

[R21a] D. Walker, *The Normans in Britain* (1995), with chapters on 'The Conquest of England', 'The Resistance of the Welsh', 'The Scottish Alliance', and 'The Irish Intransigence'

[R21b] T. Rowley, *The Norman Heritage 1066–1200* [dustjacket] or *The Norman Heritage 1055–1200* [title-page] (1983); T. Rowley, *The Normans* (1999)

[R21c] N.J. Higham, *The Norman Conquest*, Sutton Pocket Histories (1998)

[R21d] F.J. West, 'The Colonial History of the Norman Conquest?', *History* 84 (1999), 219–36

[R21e] J.C. Holt, 'Colonial England, 1066–1215', in his *Colonial England 1066–1215* (1997), pp. 1–24, with reprinted papers on feudalism, family nomenclature (R223), etc.

[R22] A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (1995) - of especial interest, since it focusses attention on the native English who survived the events of 1066

[R22a] H. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity 1066–c.1220* (2003)

[R22b] P. Rex, *The English Resistance: the Underground War against the Normans* (2004), with coverage of Hereward the Wake, *et al.*; for Hereward, see also Rex (R141.5)

[R23] E. van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European Eyes', *EHR* 110 (1995), 832–53; E. van Houts, 'The Trauma of 1066', *History Today* (October 1996), 9–15; E. van Houts, 'The Memory of 1066 in Written and Oral Traditions', *ANS* 19 (1997), 167–79

[R23a] E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe 900–1200* (London, 1999), pp. 123–42, on the Norman Conquest

[R23b] E. van Houts, 'Gender and Authority of Oral Witnesses in Europe (800–1300)', *TRHS* 6th ser. 9 (1999), 201–20

[R24] G. Garnett, 'Conquered England, 1066–1215', *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval England*, ed. N. Saul (1997), pp. 61–101; see also Garnett (R181) and (R182)

Extracts in translation
[R25] R.A. Brown, *The Norman Conquest* (1984, pb)

[R25a] D. Wilkinson and J. Cantrell, *The Normans in Britain* (1987, pb)

[R26] *The Normans in Europe*, ed. E. van Houts, Manchester Medieval Sources (2000, pb) – a more wide-ranging collection of extracts, with sections on 'The Normans in Normandy' (pp. 56–101) and 'The Normans and Britain: the Norman Conquest' (pp. 102–81)

[R27] *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (1994): important collection, incl. Matthew on 'The English Cultivation of Norman History', pp. 1–18, Bates on Normandy (R60), Lawrence on book-production (R369), Loyn on abbots (R342.1), Chibnall on monastic foundations, Fernie on architecture, Cownie on Gloucester, etc.

[R28] M. Altschul, *Anglo-Norman England 1066–1154* (1969) - a bibliographical guide

I. PRIMARY SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE NORMANS

Dudo of Saint-Quentin
Dudo was born in the 960s, and was a canon of St Quentin, on the river Somme, in the county of Vermandois. He visited Normandy as an envoy for the counts of Vermandois, and became chaplain (and 'chancellor') to Duke Richard II (996–1026). His *Gesta Normannorum*, being an account of Rollo, William Longsword, and Richard I, was commissioned by Richard I in the mid-990s, and written during the next twenty years.

[R30] Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *Gesta Normannorum*, written *c.* 996 x *c.* 1020. Text: *Dudonis Sancti Quintini De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normannorum Ducum*, ed. J. Lair (1865), pp. 115–301. Translation: E. Christiansen, *Dudo of St Quentin: 'History of the Normans'* (1998).

[R31] E. Searle, 'Fact and Pattern in Heroic History: Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *Viator* 15 (1984); F. Lifshitz, 'Dudo's Historical Narrative and the Norman Succession of 996', *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994); E. A. Hanawalt, 'Dudo of Saint-Quentin: the Heroic Past Imagined', *HSJ* 6 (1995), 111–18; F. Lifshitz, 'Translating "Feudal" Vocabulary: Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *HSJ* 9 (2001 for 1997), 39–56;

[R32] G.C. Huisman, 'Notes on the Manuscript Tradition of Dudo of St Quentin's *Gesta Normannorum*', *ANS* 6 (1984), 122–35

[R33] B.S. Bachrach, 'Dudo of St. Quentin as an Historian of Military Organization', *HSJ* 12 (2002), 165–85; B.S. Bachrach, 'Dudo of St Quentin and Norman Military Strategy c. 1000', *ANS* 26 (2004), 21–36

See also Albu (R89a), pp. 7–46, for discussion of Dudo

The view from Rheims

See Flodoard (B610.2, B610.3) and Richer of Saint-Remi (B610.4) for later tenth-century views of the early tenth-century origins of the duchy of Normandy.

Norman charters

[R40] M. Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie (911–1066)*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 36 (1961) - the standard edition of the 'ducal' charters, with full apparatus (in French)

[R41] R.A. Brown, 'Some Observations on Norman and Anglo-Norman Charters', *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers (1985), pp. 145–63, reptd in T12, pp. 350–68; see also Brown, R25, nos. 164–72, for a selection of Norman charters in translation

[R42] C. Potts, 'The Early Norman Charters: a New Perspective on an Old Debate', in Hicks (T28.5), pp. 25–40

Testimony from Saint-Wandrille

[R44] *Inventio et miracula S. Wulfrani*, ch. 18, on the æthelings Edward and Alfred in Normandy: E.M.C. van Houts, 'Historiography and Hagiography at Saint-Wandrille: the *Inventio et Miracula Sancti Vulfranni*', *ANS* 12 (1990), 233–51; for translation and commentary, see van Houts (R26), pp. 112–13 (no. 31)

William of Jumièges (et al.)

William of Jumièges [aka Calculus], born *c.* 1000, was a monk at Jumièges, in Normandy, during the abbacy of Robert III (*c.*1048–79).

[R45] William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, completed in 1071–2, with interpolations and continuations. Graves (A76), no. 2908. Text and translation: *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. E.M.C. van Houts, OMT, 2 vols. (1992–5). Text: *Guillaume de Jumièges: Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. J. Marx (1914). Extracts in EHD II, no. 3, and in Brown (R25), pp. 1–15.

WJ, *GND*, is a history of the Normans in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is an essential source for England and Normandy pre-1066, and for the events of the Conquest, though much depends on the date at which he was writing. See van Houts (R45), vol. I, pp. xxxii–xxxv, arguing that *GND* i.1–vii.12 (leaving aside later interpolations) was finished 'shortly before 1060', and that his account of the Norman Conquest of England, in *GND*, vii.13–21 (+ dedication to King William), was completed 'early in 1070'. Crucial passages in the earlier part of the work: *GND* v.4–9, in van Houts (R45), II, pp. 10–22, on Æthelred and Emma; *GND* vi.9–11, in van Houts (R45), II, pp. 76–82, on Duke Robert and Cnut; *GND* vii.5–6, in van Houts (R45), II, pp. 104–6, on the æthelings Edward and Alfred in 1036. And, of course, *GND* vii.13–21, in van Houts (R45), II, pp. 158–84, on Duke William and the Norman Conquest.

[R46] E.M.C. van Houts, 'The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*: a History without an End', *ANS* 3 (1981), 106–18 and 215–20

See also Albu (R89a), pp. 47–105, on 'The *GND* and the Conquest of England', for William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers

William of Poitiers

William of Poitiers was born in Normandy, *c.* 1020, but educated at Poitiers, in the county of Poitou. He returned to Normandy, and became a chaplain to Duke William; he seems latterly to have been a canon of St Martin's, Dover, giving him a link with Bishop Odo of Bayeux.

[R50] William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum*, completed in 1073–4. Graves (A76), no. 2943. Text and translation: *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. R.H.C. Davis and M. Chibnall, OMT (1998). Text and French translation: *Guillaume de Poitiers: Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant*, ed. R. Foreville (1952). Extracts in EHD II, no. 4, and in Brown (R25), pp. 15–41.

WP, *GG*, is a biography of William, duke of the Normans and king of the English. It is naturally an essential source for England and Normandy pre-1066, and for the events of the Conquest, written in the early 1070s. Crucial passages include: *GG* i.1–5, in Davis and Chibnall (R50), pp. 2–6, on the æthelings Edward and Alfred in 1036; *GG* i.14 and i.41–6, in

Davis and Chibnall (R50), pp. 18–20 and 68–78, on Edward and William (and Harold); and *GG* ii.1–49, in Davis and Chibnall (R50), pp. 100–86, on the events of 1066 and their immediate aftermath. The ending of *GG* is lost, but was used by Orderic Vitalis (R55).

[R51] R.H.C. Davis, 'William of Poitiers and his History of William the Conqueror', *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.H.C. Davis, *et al.* (1981), pp. 71–100, reptd in T14, pp. 101–30

Orderic Vitalis

Orderic Vitalis, son of Odelerius of Orleans (a priest in the household of Roger of Montgomery) and of an Englishwoman, was born in 1075 near Shrewsbury; but he passed the greater part of his life as a monk at St Évroul, in Normandy. For Orderic and Roger, see their respective entries in *ODNB* (A150).

[R55] Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written in Normandy in the 1120s and 1130s. Graves (A76), no. 2937. Text and translation: *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols., OMT (1968–80), esp. vol. I (general introduction) and vol. 2 (for events up to and including the Norman Conquest). Vol. II is available in paperback.

For Orderic's account of the history of Normandy before 1066, see *HE*, bk iii, ed. Chibnall (R55), II, pp. 2–134. His account of the events of 1066 (*HE*, bk iii), ed. Chibnall (R55), II, pp. 134–44 and 168–84, is based on William of Jumièges, William of Poitiers, etc. His account of the events of 1067 (*HE*, bk iv), ed. Chibnall (R55), II, pp. 190–208, is based on William of Poitiers. Orderic adds much of his own.

The transmitted text of William of Poitiers ends at a point corresponding to Chibnall (R55), II, p. 208 (in 1067); but Orderic's text of Poitiers extended further, covering events of 1067–71. Orderic, *HE*, bk iv, ed. Chibnall (R55), II, pp. 208–58, is based on Orderic's fuller version of William of Poitiers, and is thus of special importance.

Thereafter Orderic is substantially on his own. Orderic, *HE*, bk vii, cc. 14–16, ed. Chibnall (R55), IV, pp. 78–102, includes Orderic's account of William's death. Orderic, *HE*, bk xiii, c. 45, ed. Chibnall (R55), VI, pp. 550–6, includes Orderic's autobiography.

[R56] M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (1984)

II. NORMANDY BEFORE 1066

Counts of Rouen and (later) dukes of Normandy in the tenth and eleventh centuries: Rollo (911–c.925); William I [Longsword] (c.925–42); Richard I [the Fearless] (942–96), father of Emma, Richard II and Archbishop Robert; Richard II [the Good] (996–1026), father of Richard III and Robert I; Richard III (1026–7); Robert I [the Magnificent] (1027–35), father of William II, Odo of Bayeux and Robert of Mortain; William II [the Bastard] (1035–87), king of the English (1066–87).

General reading

[R60] D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (1982); D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's Adolescence', *ANS* 25 (2003), 1–18

[R60a] D. Bates, 'The Rise and Fall of Normandy, c.911–1204', in R27, pp. 19–35

[R61] E. Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (1988); see also E. Searle, 'Frankish Rivalries and Norse Warriors', *ANS* 8 (1986), 198–213

[R61.5] N. Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911–1154* (2005)

[R62] E.Z. Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law* (1988)

[R63] C. Potts, 'Normandy, 911–1144', in Harper-Bill and van Houts (R4.6), pp. 19–42; see also C. Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (1997)

[R64] F. Neveux, *La Normandie des ducs aux rois (Xe–XII siècle)* (1998)

[R65] C.H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (1918), pp. 3–61, on 'Normandy under William the Conqueror, 1035–1087'; see also C.H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (1915)

[R66] D.C. Douglas, 'The Rise of Normandy', *PBA* 33 (1947), 101–31, reptd in T3, pp. 95–119; see also D.C. Douglas, 'Rollo of Normandy', reptd in T3, pp. 121–140

[R67] L. Musset, 'Naissance de la Normandie', *Histoire de la Normandie*, ed. M. de Bouard (1970), pp. 75–130

[R68] J. Yver, 'Les premières institutions du duché de Normandie', *SettSpol* 16 (1969), 299–366

[R69] M. Chibnall, 'Military Service in Normandy before 1066', in T28, pp. 28–40

[R70] C.W. Hollister, 'The Greater Domesday Tenants-in-Chief', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (1987), pp. 219–48

[R71] G. Garnett, '"Ducal" Succession in Early Normandy', in T29, pp. 80–110

[R72] R. Helmerichs, '*Princeps, Comes, Dux Normannorum*: Early Rollonid Designators and their Significance', *HSJ* 9 (2001 for 1997), 57–77

[R73] *Les foundations scandinaves en occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, ed. P. Bauduin and P. Bouet (2005) - focusing on the late ninth and early tenth centuries

[R74] P. Bauduin, *La première Normandie (Xe–XIe siècles). Sur les frontières de la haute Normandie: identité et construction d'une principauté* (2004)

[R74.5] D. Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals, 911–1204*, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae (forthcoming [2005]) - covering the seven Norman cathedrals (Avranches, Bayeux, Coutances, Evreux, Lisieux, Rouen, and Sés)

See also Crouch (R14), pp. 1–85.

On the foundation of the ducal monastery of **Fécamp**, by Count Richard I, *c.* 990, see Dudo (R30), iv.126–9.

[R75] *L'Abbaye bénédictine de Fécamp*, 3 vols. (1959–63), incl. M. Chibnall, 'Fécamp and England', i.127–35 and 375–8; see also *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, pt 1, ed. D. Chadd, HBS 111 (1999), pp. 12, 14–15.

[R76] A. Renoux, *Fécamp: du palais ducal au palais de Dieu* (1991)

For the 'Fécamp Chronicle', written (?by Dudo) *c.* 1000, see Arnoux (R89). The abbey was patronised by Æthelred, Cnut, and Edward the Confessor. On its status as a ducal chancery, see Keynes (R83), pp. 188–90. See also Gardiner (P46).

England and Normandy 990–1066

[R80] Letter of Pope John XV, announcing treaty between King Æthelred and Duke Richard (J18). Translation: EHD I, no. 230.

[R81] L. Musset, 'Rouen et l'Angleterre vers l'an mil', *Annales de Normandie* 24 (1974), 287–90; see also L.W. Breese, 'The Persistence of Scandinavian Connections in Normandy in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries', *Viator* 8 (1977), 47–61

[R82] E.M.C. van Houts, 'The Political Relations between Normandy and England before 1066 according to the "Gesta Normannorum Ducum"', *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des Xie–XIIe siècles*, ed. R. Foreville, *et al.*, Actes du IVe colloque internationale Anselmien (1984), pp. 85–97

[R83] S. Keynes, 'The Æthelings in Normandy', *ANS* 13 (1991), 173–205

[R84] E.M.C. van Houts, 'A Note on *Jezebel* and *Semiramis*, Two Latin Norman Poems from the Early Eleventh Century', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992), 18–24 - interprets *Semiramis* [ed. and trans. P. Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages* (1970), pp. 66–75] as a Norman satire, composed *c.* 1017, on association between Emma and Cnut

[R85] L. Abrams, 'England, Normandy and Scandinavia', in Harper-Bill and van Houts (R4.6), pp. 43–62

See also Gardiner (P46). For the cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel, see Keats-Rohan (B299.60).

Historical writing in Normandy

[R88] L. Shopkow, *History & Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (1997)

[R89] M. Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum* and Beyond Dudo: Some Evidence on Early Norman Historiography', *ANS* 22 (2000), 29–48

[R89a] E. Albu, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (2001); see also E. Albu, 'The Normans and their Myths', *HSJ* 11 (2003 for 1998), 123–35

[R89b] E. van Houts, 'Historical Writing', in Harper-Bill and van Houts (R4.6), pp. 103–21

III. PRIMARY SOURCES FOR THE EVENTS OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

For essential guidance on the sources, see Chibnall (R55), II, pp. 368–70; Gransden (A91), pp. 92–104; and van Houts (R45), I, pp. xlv–liv. For skaldic verse on the battles of Gate Fulford (20 Sept 1066) and Stamford Bridge (25 Sept 1066), see Campbell (B670.5), etc.

The 'English' sources

[R90] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (B65); also in EHD II, no. 1

[R91] The *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (B90); see also Barlow (L10), pp. 291–300

[R92] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia* (B619), esp. pp. 5–9, for an account of the events leading up to the Conquest, written by an Englishman *c.* 1100 - important for its account of Harold's trip to Normandy, and the hostages; with much more on Lanfranc and Anselm.

The 'Norman' sources

[R95] William of Jumièges (R45)

[R96] William of Poitiers (R50)

[R97] Orderic Vitalis (R55)

Battle Abbey, Sussex, founded by King William in the immediate aftermath and on the site of his victory over King Harold on 14 October 1066.

[R98] The 'Brevis Relatio', being a short history of Normandy and England from *c.* 1035 to 1106, written by a monk of Battle Abbey *c.* 1115. Text: E.M.C. van Houts, ed., 'The *Brevis Relatio de Guillelmo nobilissimo comite Normannorum*, Written by a Monk of Battle Abbey', in

Chronology, Conquest and Conflict in Medieval England, Camden Miscellany 34 = Camden 5th ser. 10 (1997), pp. 1–48, with discussion of its historical value, pp. 16–23.

[R99] *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. E. Searle, OMT (1980), providing text and translation of the two Battle chronicles in BL Cotton Domitian A. ii, both written in the last third of the twelfth century. The first chronicle begins with an account of William's invasion of England (pp. 32–48), followed by a summary of the abbey's lands and services (pp. 48–66); the second begins with a short account of the circumstances of the abbey's foundation (p. 66), with more detailed information on its lands and privileges (pp. 66–84), but develops in a different way and extends much further (pp. 84–335).

[R99a] For the abbey's charters, see Bates (R155), pp. 130–73 (nos. 13–25). The supposed Foundation Charter is on pp. 161–5 (no. 22).

[R99b] E. Searle, 'Battle Abbey and Exemption: the Forged Charters', *EHR* 83 (1968), 449–80; E. Searle, '"Inter amicos": the Abbey, Town and Early Charters of Battle', 1st R. Allen Brown Memorial Lecture, *ANS* 13 (1991), 1–14

The 'Carmen de Hastingae Proelio'

[R100] The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio* (the 'Song of the Battle of Hastings'), normally assumed, not without good reason, to be the poem mentioned by Orderic (ed. Chibnall, vol. 2, pp. 184–6 and 214) as having been written by Guy, bishop of Amiens, *c.* 1067. Graves (A76), no. 2749. Text and translation: *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. F. Barlow, OMT (1999); superseding earlier edition, ed. C. Morton and H. Muntz, OMT (1972).

The matter of authorship remains controversial, and turns to a great extent on the precise nature of the relationship between the *Carmen* and William of Poitiers.

[R101] R.H.C. Davis, 'The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *EHR* 93 (1978), 241–61 (reptd in T14, pp. 79–100); R.H.C. Davis, *et al.*, 'The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*: a Discussion', *ANS* 2 (1980), 1–20 and 165–7

[R102] E.M.C. van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court 1066–1135: the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), 39–62

[R103] G. Orlandi, 'Some Afterthoughts on the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *Media Latinitas*, ed. R.I.A. Nip, *et al.* (1996), pp. 117–27

The Bayeux Tapestry

The Bayeux Tapestry, generally supposed to have been commissioned by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, but designed and made in England, probably at Canterbury. See entries in A100 and A105, and Graves (A76), no. 4276. For the view that it was *not* made in England, see Grape (R114.5) and Beech (R116.6).

[R105] Complete facsimile in colour: D.M. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (1985), new ed. (2003). Complete facsimile in b/w: F.M. Stenton, *et al.*, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (1957); EHD II, no. 5.

[R105.5] M. Foys, *The Bayeux Tapestry: Digital Edition* (2003) - CD-ROM, works on PC or Mac, and is very useful (as well as entertaining). A earlier pilot version of the e-BT is freely available on the Internet, incorporating discussion of every scene; follow link from website (A0), and ask for password.

The Bayeux Tapestry was published for the first time in 1729–30 (S69.5). Unsurprisingly, the literature on it is now rather extensive.

[R106] S.A. Brown, *The Bayeux Tapestry: History and Bibliography* (1988); supplementary bibliography 1985–99 in R116.4

[R107] N.P. Brooks, *et al.*, 'The Authority and Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', in R115, pp. 63–92 (orig. publ. in *ANS* 1 (1979), 1–34 and 191–9), reptd in T58, pp. 175–218 - essential reading

[R108] C.R. Dodwell, 'The Bayeux Tapestry and the French Secular Epic', in R115, pp. 47–62 (orig. publ. in *Burlington Magazine* 108 (1966), 549–60)

[R109] O.K. Werckmeister, 'The Political Ideology of the Bayeux Tapestry', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser. 17 (1976), 535–95; R.D. Wissolik, 'The Saxon Statement: Code in the Bayeux Tapestry', *Annuale Mediaevale* 19 (1979), 69–97; S.A. Brown, 'The Bayeux Tapestry: History or Propaganda?', *The Anglo-Saxons: Synthesis and Achievement*, ed. J.D. Woods and D.A.E. Pelteret (1985), pp. 11–25

[R110] H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Towards an Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', in R115, pp. 93–110 (orig. publ. in *ANS* 10 (1988), 49–65)

[R111] J. Bard McNulty, *The Narrative Art of the Bayeux Tapestry Master* (1988)

[R112] D.J. Bernstein, 'The Blinding of Harold and the Meaning of the Bayeux Tapestry', *ANS* 5 (1983), 40–64; D.J. Bernstein, *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry* (1986)

[R113] S.A. Brown, 'The Bayeux Tapestry: Why Eustace, Odo and William?', *ANS* 12 (1990), 7–28

[R114] E.F. Freeman, 'The Identity of Ælfgyva in the Bayeux Tapestry', *Annales de Normandie* 41 (1991), 117–34; D. Hill, 'The Bayeux Tapestry and its Commentators: the Case of Scene 15' [Ælfgifu], *Medieval Life* 11 (Summer 1999), 24–6
[R114.5] W. Grape, *The Bayeux Tapestry: Monument to a Norman Triumph* (1994), pp. 44–54, arguing that it is not English, but Norman
[R115] *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. R. Gameson (1997): collected essays, incl. R. Gameson, 'The Origin, Art, and Message of the Bayeux Tapestry', pp. 157–211
[R116] S. Lewis, *The Rhetoric of Power in the Bayeux Tapestry* (1999)
[R116.4] *The Bayeux Tapestry: Embroidering the Facts of History*, ed. P. Bouet, B. Levy and F. Neveux, Proceedings of the Cerisy Colloquium 1999 (2004) - important collection of papers, on the textile as a physical object, as a source for events, and as a work of art
[R116.5] A. Bridgeford, *1066: the Hidden History of the Bayeux Tapestry* (2004)
[R116.6] G. Beech, *Was the Bayeux Tapestry Made in France? The Case of Saint-Florent of Saumur* (2005), arguing that it was made in the Loire valley; see also A242, no. 256
[R116.7] L. Musset, trans. R. Rex, *The Bayeux Tapestry* (2005) - excellent colour reproduction, with well-referenced scene-by-scene commentary by a distinguished Norman historian (i.e. a Frenchman), remarking in gereral on the delicious ambiguity of it all
[R116.8] *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. G.R. Owen-Crocker (2005) - proceedings of a conference held at Manchester, with contributions on Harold as king, on the Bayeux Tapestry as a work of art, and on related matters <not yet seen>
 [R117] C. Hart, 'The Bayeux Tapestry and Schools of Illumination at Canterbury', *ANS* 22 (2000), 117–67 – a very effective demonstration of the close artistic parallels between BT and Canterbury manuscripts
[R117.2] I. Short, 'The Language of the Bayeux Tapestry Inscription', *ANS* 23 (2001), 267–80; see also Coatsworth (Q686)
[R117.3] G.R. Owen-Crocker, 'The Bayeux "Tapestry": Invisible Seams and Visible Boundaries', *ASE* 31 (2002), 257–73; G.R. Owen-Crocker, 'Squawk Talk: Commentary by Birds in the Bayeux Tapestry', *ASE* 34 (2005), 237–54
[R117.4] G.R. Owen-Crocker, 'Reading the Bayeux Tapestry through Canterbury Eyes', in T111, pp. 243–65
[R117.44] M. Lapidge and J. Mann, 'Reconstructing the Anglo-Latin Aesop: the Literary Tradition of the "Hexametrical Romulus"', *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century*, ed. M.W. Herren, *et al.* (2002), pp. 1–33 - on the fables depicted in the upper and lower borders
[R117.45] K.R. Matthews, 'Nudity on the Margins: The Bayeux Tapestry and its Relationship to Marginal Architectural Sculpture', *Naked before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. B.C. Withers and J. Wilcox (2003), pp. 138–61
[R117.5] C. Hicks, *The Bayeux Tapestry: the Life Story of a Masterpiece* (2006)
See also Karkov (Q696), pp. 168–73, on kingship in the Bayeux Tapestry; Coatsworth (Q686), for the inscriptions.

Baudri of Bourgueil's Poem for Adela

[R118] Baudri's poem, written *c.* 1100 for King William's daughter Adela, describes the hangings on the walls of her chamber, including one which depicted the story of the Norman Conquest (lines 207–578): see Herren, in Brown (R106), pp. 166–77, and extract in van Houts (R26), pp. 125–8

Wace's Roman de Rou

Wace was born in Jersey, in the duchy of Normandy, *c.* 1110, and was educated at Caen. His history of the British (*Roman de Brut*) was written in the 1150s. His chronicle of the dukes of the Normans (*Roman de Rou*) was written in the 1160s, and is of uncertain historical value.
[R120] Wace's *Roman de Rou*. Graves (A76), no. 2974 (b). Text: *Wace: Le Roman de Rou*, ed. A.J. Holden, 3 vols., Société des anciens textes français (1970–3); H. Andresen, *Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie* (1877). Translation: G.S. Burgess with E. van Houts, *The History of the Norman People: Wace's 'Roman de Rou'* (2004).
[R121] Wace's *Roman de Brut*. Text and translation: J. Weiss, *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British*, Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies (1999).
[R121.5] F.H.M. Le Saux, *A Companion to Wace* (2005), esp. on the *Roman de Rou*
[R122] M. Bennett, 'Poetry as History? The *Roman de Rou* of Wace as a Source for the Norman Conquest', *ANS* 5 (1983), 21–39
[R123] E. van Houts, 'Wace as Historian', in T39, pp. 103–32
[R124] P. Eley and P.E. Bennett, 'The Battle of Hastings According to Gaimar, Wace and Benôit: Rhetoric and Politics', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 43 (1999), 47–61; P. Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (1999), pp. 49–53 (Gaimar), 53–8 (Wace), etc.

Miscellaneous

[R125] The Ship List of William the Conqueror. Translation: van Houts (R26), pp. 130–1 (no. 37). See also E.M.C. van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *ANS* 10 (1988), 159–83.

[R126] M. Otter, '1066: the Moment of Transition in Two Narratives of the Norman Conquest', *Speculum* 74 (1999), 565–86, on William of Malmesbury's *Life of St Wulfstan* (B185) and the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (B90) as biographical 'bridges' across the Conquest

For extracts from various sources, see Brown (R25) and van Houts (R26).

IV. THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS (14 OCTOBER 1066)

'King Harold ... assembled a large army and came against him [Count William] at the hoary apple-tree. And William came against him by surprise before his army was drawn up in battle array. But the king nevertheless fought hard against him, with the men who were willing to support him, and there were heavy casualties on both sides. There King Harold was killed ... and the French remained masters of the field ...' *ASC*, MS. D, s.a. 1066.

[R130] R.A. Brown, 'The Battle of Hastings', in T28, pp. 161–81 and 273–7

[R131] S. Morillo, 'Hastings: an Unusual Battle', *HSJ* 2 (1990), 95–103

[R132] *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. S. Morillo (1996)

[R132a] M. Bennett, *Campaigns of the Norman Conquest* (2001), with maps, diagrams, and pictures of Normans doing what Normans gotta do - the perspective of a first-rate modern military historian, covering the Conquest and its aftermath (including the siege of Ely)

[R133] M.K. Lawson, *The Battle of Hastings 1066* (2002); see also M.K. Lawson, 'Observations Upon a Scene in the Bayeux Tapestry, the Battle of Hastings and the Military System of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', in T41, pp. 73–91

[R134] C. Gravett, *Hastings 1066; the Fall of Saxon England* (1992); P. Poyntz Wright, *Hastings*, Great Battles (1996); F. McLynn, *1066: the Year of the Three Battles* (1998); J. Bradbury, *The Battle of Hastings* (1998); etc.

See also Strickland (R197), pp. 1–7. For the stories which circulated about the death, or otherwise, of King Harold at the battle of Hastings, the search for his body, and his burial at Waltham, see the Waltham Chronicle (B299), ch. 21, with essential discussion, pp. xliii–xlviii, and the *Vita Haroldi* (B190). For the arrow in King Harold's eye, see Owen-Crocker (R117.4), pp. 256–8.

See also Sellar and Yeatman (S150), ch. 11.

V. ENGLISH RESISTANCE TO THE NORMANS

For the English (earls, thegns, and others) on the eve of the Conquest, see Clarke (L18) and Henson (L18). Williams (R22) provides the essential overview. Thomas (R22a) is no less important in this connection. See also Rex (R22b).

On the rather different attitudes of abbots, on the one hand, and bishops, on the other, see Keynes (Q96), p. 241. See also Hayward (Q172).

[R135] N. Hooper, 'Edgar the Ætheling: Anglo-Saxon Prince, Rebel and Crusader', *ASE* 14 (1985), 197–214

[R136] B. Hudson, 'The Family of Harold Godwinsson and the Irish Sea Province', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 109 (1979), 92–100

[R137] M. Bennett, 'The Conqueror Faces a Fightback', *BBC History Magazine* 3.1 (Jan 2002), 32–4 - Eadric the Wild, Hereward the Wake, and the Harrying of the North

The English in Byzantium

For the account in Orderic, see Chibnall (R55), II, pp. 202–4. See also Shepard (L100), and Ciggaar (L100).

[R138] J. Shepard, 'Another New England? Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Black Sea', *Byzantine Studies* 1 (1974), 18–39; J. Godfrey, 'The Defeated Anglo-Saxons Take Service with the Eastern Emperor', *ANS* 1 (1979), 63–74 and 207–9; see also C. Fell, in *ASE* 3 (1974), pp. 179–96

Hereward the Wake

Hereward 'the Wake' occurs as a minor land-holder in southern Lincolnshire, during the reign of Edward the Confessor, as a tenant of Peterborough abbey, as a tenant of Crowland abbey, and in his own right; it also emerges from Domesday Book that at some stage he 'fled from the country'. A reliable historical tradition (ASC, MSS. DE, s.a. 1071) represents Hereward as a valiant leader of the English who managed to escape from the Norman siege of Ely in 1071, but of whom nothing is heard thereafter. Later 'Peterborough' tradition (ASC, MS. E, s.a. 1070; Hugh Candidus (B240)) represents Hereward as the leader of a band of outlaws, based at Ely, who had previously plundered Peterborough, under its Norman abbot. The legend of Hereward was developed at Ely in the early twelfth century.

[R140] Richard of Ely, *Gesta Herwardi incliti militis* (B191), allegedly based in part on a vernacular 'Life' of Hereward by Leofric of Bourne; comprising a remarkable account of Hereward's activities when in exile during the reign of Edward the Confessor (in Northumberland, Cornwall, Orkney, and Flanders), on his return to Bourne after the Norman Conquest, on another visit to Flanders, and then at Ely as leader of the English resistance. For the events at Ely in 1071, see also the *Liber Eliensis* (B247).

[R141] C. Hart, 'Hereward "the Wake" and his Companions', in T17, pp. 625–48; J. Hayward, 'Hereward the Outlaw', *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988), 293–304; V. Head, *Hereward* (1995); see also M. Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend* (1961; rev. 1977), pp. 9–38

[R141.5] P. Rex, *Hereward: the Last Englishman* (2005); see also Rex (R22b)

[R142] D. Roffe, 'Hereward "the Wake" and the Barony of Bourne: a Reassessment of a Fenland Legend', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 29 (1994), 7–10; see also his entry on Hereward in the ODNB (A150)

[R142a] H.M. Thomas, 'The *Gesta Herwardi*, the English, and their Conquerors', *ANS* 21 (1999), 213–32

[R142a] E. van Houts, 'Hereward and Flanders', *ASE* 28 (1999), 201–23

[R143] C. Kingsley, *Hereward the Wake: Last of the English* (1866); *Illustrations by H.C. Selous of "Hereward the Wake" by Charles Kingsley*, Art-Union of London (1870); see also Simmons (S101)

[R143a] A. Wawn, 'Hereward, the Danelaw and the Victorians', in H5 (2001), pp. 357–68
See also Wright (S13.1); Bennett (R132a), pp. 57–60; Keynes (Q148), pp. 43–6; Rex (R22b).

Eadric the Wild

Eadric *cild*, known as 'the Wild' or as *silvaticus*, was a son of Ælfric, brother of Eadric Streona. He was renowned at Worcester for his sustained resistance to the Normans (ASC, MS. D, s.a. 1067; John of Worcester (B630), s.a. 1067 and 1070). See also Orderic Vitalis (R55), vol. 2, pp. 194 and 228; Domesday Book; Freeman (R10), vol. 4, Appendix, Note I; and Clarke (L18), pp. 116–19, 145, and 303–4.

[R145] S. Reynolds, 'Eadric "Silvaticus" and the English Resistance', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 54 (1981), 102–5

Thurketel of Harringworth

Thurketel of Harringworth and his wife Thurgunt flourished in the second quarter of the eleventh century. Thurketel held land in the east midlands (Lincs., Northants., Hunts., Cambs.), including land at Conington, Hunts. (from Thorney Abbey). At about the time of the Conquest, Thurketel left his lands, 'and moved across to the Danes who were his kinsmen'. His lands were given by King William to Earl Waltheof. The monks of Thorney pointed out to Waltheof that Thurketel had held Conington from the abbey; whereupon Waltheof gave it back, and agreed to hold it from them at rent (allaying the monks' fears that their Abbot Folcard might give it to his own relatives). Waltheof was then betrayed by his wife Judith (King William's niece); and his lands were held in 1086 by Judith, although she paid no rent to Thorney in respect of Conington.

[R146] Note on Conington in the 'Red Book of Thorney' (B243), pt 2, fol. 375r, apparently generated in connection with the Domesday survey, and printed in the enlarged *Monasticon* (S59.85), II, p. 604, no. 32. See also Hart (B325), *ECEE*, pp. 236–7.

Earl Waltheof (St Waldef)

Waltheof, son of Siward, earl of Northumbria, was involved in the rebellion of the earls in 1075; he was beheaded at Winchester in 1076, and his body was taken for burial at Crowland. For the local tradition, see Orderic Vitalis (R55), vol. 2, pp. 262, 312–22, and 344–50. For a later 'Life' of St Waldef, see B192.

[R148] F.S. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 30 (1952), 149–213

[R149] H.M. Thomas, 'The Significance and Fate of the Native English Landholders of 1086', *EHR* 118 (2003), 303–33 - factors limiting the extent of resistance

VI. THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Primary sources

[R150] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (B65); William of Jumièges (R45); William of Poitiers (R50); William of Malmesbury (B620); John of Worcester (B630); Orderic Vitalis (R55); etc.

[R153] *Acta Lanfranci*, entered (in Latin) in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. A, s.a. 1070. Text: Bately (B45), pp. 83–9. Translation: EHD II, no. 87.

Charters and writs

[R155] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I*, ed. D. Bates (1998) - a superb edition of the charters and writs of William I, which transforms our understanding of his reign

[R155a] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, I: *Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi 1066–1100*, ed. H.W.C. Davis (1913) - calendar, now out of date
See also EHD II, nos. 33, 35–40, 77–9, 269, etc.
[R156] D.A.E. Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (1990) - covers vernacular writs of William I; for pre-Conquest writs, see Harmer (B350)
[R156a] R. Mortimer, 'Anglo-Norman Lay Charters, 1066–c.1100', *ANS* 25 (2003), 153–75
[R156.5] J. Barrow, 'What Happened to Ecclesiastical Charters in England 1066–c.1100?', in Barrow & Wareham (T117), forthcoming

[R157] D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's Charters', in Hicks (T28.5), pp. 1–15; for royal writs, see Bates (R201)
[R158] D. Bates, 'The Prosopographical Study of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters', in T39, pp. 89–102

For aspects of diplomatic continuity across the Norman Conquest, see Keynes (Q95), pp. 214–18 (writs) and 218–20 (charters), and Keynes (Q96), on Bishop Giso. In addition to the vernacular writs, the crucial charters are: Bates (R155), no. 181 [William I for St Martin-le-Grand, 11 May 1068]; no. 286 [William I for the see of Wells, May 1068]; no. 254 [William I for the abbey of Saint-Denis, 13 April 1069]; no. 138 [William I for the see of Exeter, ?Easter 1069]. On the use of writs, see Sharpe (M224.5).
[R159] S. Keynes, 'The Anglo-Saxon Royal Chancery and the Norman Conquest', in Fleming (R297) (forthcoming)

Miscellaneous
[R160] The 'Ten Articles' of William the Conqueror: see Robertson (B367), pp. 238–42; also in EHD II, no. 18, and Brown (R25, no. 183)
[R161] *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, I: *William I to Stephen*, ed. R.C. van Caenegem, Selden Society 106 (1990); see also M.M. Bigelow, *Placita Anglo-Normannica: Law Cases from William I to Richard I* (1881)
[R162] *Councils & Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, I: *A.D. 871–1204, part II: 1066–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (1981), nos. 85–98
[R163] *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. H. Clover and M. Gibson (1979); for Lanfranc, see also EHD II, nos. 86–106
[R164] *De obitu Willelmi*: see EHD II, no. 6, and Brown (R25, no. 65)
[R165] *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. D. Knowles and C.N.L. Brooke, rev. ed., OMT (2002) - composed c. 1077 for use at Christ Church Canterbury

[R170] D. Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', *EHR* 104 (1989), 851–80 - important discussion of Le Patourel (R12)
[R171] D. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50–97)', *Speculum* 50 (1975), 1–20

Aspects of the Norman Conquest
On the 'old' and 'new' aristocracies of the period *c.* 1050–1100, see Dyer (A29.5). For the evidence of language, see Lutz (B528).
[R180] J. Nelson, 'The Rites of the Conqueror', *ANS* 4 (1982), 117–32 and 210–21, reptd in M69, pp. 375–401
[R180a] L.L. Gathagan, 'The Trappings of Power: the Coronation of Mathilda of Flanders', *HSJ* 13 (2004 for 1999), 21–39
[R181] G. Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda: Some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066', *TRHS* 5th ser. 36 (1986), 91–116; see also Garnett (R24)
[R182] G. Garnett, '*Franci et Angli*: the Legal Distinctions between Peoples after the Conquest', *ANS* 8 (1986), 109–37; see also Garnett (R24)
[R183] P. Hyams, 'The Common Law and the French Connection', *ANS* 4 (1982), 77–92 and 196–202
[R184] P. Hyams, '"No Register of Title": The Domesday Inquest and Land Adjudication', *ANS* 9 (1987), 127–41
[R185] J. Gillingham, '1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England', in T29, pp. 31–55, reptd in T69, pp. 209–31
[R186] G. Garnett, 'The Origins of the Crown', *PBA* 89 (1996), 171–214

On the symbolic affirmation of the 'laws of King Edward', and its consequences, see Wormald (M160), pp. 398–414; see also O'Brien (B373).
[R187] B. O'Brien, 'From Morðor to Murdrum: the Preconquest Origin and Norman Revival of the Murder Fine', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 321–57
[R188] N.D. Hurnard, 'The Anglo-Norman Franchises', *EHR* 64 (1949), 289–322 and 433–60; see also Wormald, in T65, pp. 313–32, on private jurisdiction

[R190] D.M. Stenton, *English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter 1066–1215* (1965)
[R191] R.C. van Caenegem, *The Birth of the English Common Law*, 2nd ed. (1988)
[R192] J.H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 3rd ed. (1990)
[R193] S.F.C. Milsom, *Historical Foundations of the Common Law*, 2nd ed. (1981)
[R194] G.W. Keeton, *The Norman Conquest and the Common Law* (1966)
[R195] J. Hudson, *Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England* (1994)
[R196] J. Hudson, *The Formation of the English Common Law: Law and Society in England from the Norman Conquest to Magna Carta* (1996)

[R197] M. Strickland, *War and Chivalry: the Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (1996)
For women and the Norman Conquest, see Stafford (N58).

Anglo-Norman government (including sheriffs)

[R200] D. Bates, 'The Origins of the Justiciarship', *ANS* 4 (1982), 1–12 and 167–71
[R201] D. Bates, 'The Earliest Norman Writs', *EHR* 100 (1985), 266–84
[R202] J. Green, 'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *ANS* 5 (1983), 129–45; J.A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (1986), pp. 194–214; see also Green (M270)
[R203] C.P. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS* 13 (1991), 207–23
[**R204**] E. Mason, *Norman Kingship* (1991)
See also Campbell (M239–41); Keynes (Q95); Warren (M245–6)
Some renowned (and not-so-renowned) Norman sheriffs:
[R205.3] Picot, described in the *Liber Eliensis* (B247) as 'a hungry lion, a prowling wolf, a crafty fox, a filthy pig, a shameless dog', and erstwhile sheriff of Cambridgeshire. See Green (R202), pp. 143–4; Green (M275), p. 29; Fleming, in *ODNB* (A150). For his ignorance of St Æthelthryth, see also Keynes (Q148), p. 47.
[R205.5] William de Cahagnes, on the other hand, was a model of Norman probity. Fleming (R300), p. 48 n. 89, refers to the 'incredibly straight-laced William de Cahagnes who, unlike every other sheriff in Domesday Book, has not a single complaint registered against him'. See also Green (R202), pp. 137–8, and Green (M275), p. 63 (Northamptonshire); facsimile of writ of William Rufus addressed to M. de Cahaines in Bishop and Chaplais (B351), no. 22. Unaccountably omitted from *ODNB* (A150).

Feudalism

See EHD II, pp. 863–4 and 872–3, and nos. 218–23 and 235–40
[R210] J.H. Round, *Feudal England* (1895)
[R211] F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897), esp. pp. 301–18 (Fontana paperback ed. (1960), pp. 354–73)
[R212] F.M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, 2nd ed. (1961)
[R213] D.C. Douglas, 'The Norman Conquest and English Feudalism', *Economic History Review* 9 (1939), 128–43, reptd in T3, pp. 161–75
[R214] C. Stephenson, 'Feudalism and its Antecedents in Anglo-Saxon England', *American Historical Review* 48 (1943), 245–65
[R215] M. Hollings, 'The Survival of the Five Hide Unit in the Western Midlands', *EHR* 63 (1948), 453–87
[R216] J.O. Prestwich, 'Anglo-Norman Feudalism and the Problem of Continuity', *Past and Present* 26 (1963), 39–57
[R217] E. John, 'English Feudalism and the Structure of Anglo-Saxon Society', in his *Orbis Britanniae* (1966), pp. 128–53
[R218] C.W. Hollister, '1066: the Feudal Revolution', *American Historical Review* 73 (1968), 703–23; reptd in his *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (1986), pp. 1–16; see also M105–6
[R219] R.A. Brown, *Origins of English Feudalism* (1973) - includes the *Indiculum* (G180)
[R220] E.A.R. Brown, 'The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe', *American Historical Review* 79 (1974), 1063–88
[R221] S.D. White, 'English Feudalism and its Origins', *American Journal of Legal History* 19 (1975), 138–55 (a savage review of B219)
[R222] J. Gillingham, 'The Introduction of Knight-Service into England', *ANS* 4 (1982), 53–64, reptd in T69, pp. 187–208
[R223] J.C. Holt, 'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: 1. The Revolution of 1066', *TRHS* 5th ser. 32 (1982), 193–212, reptd in R21e, pp. 161–78; J.C. Holt, 'What's in a Name? Family Nomenclature and the Norman Conquest' [1981], reptd in R21e, pp. 179–96
[R224] S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: the Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (1994); S. Reynolds, 'Afterthoughts on *Fiefs and Vassals*', *HSJ* 9 (2001 for 1997), 1–15

[R225] D. Bates, 'England and the "Feudal Revolution"', *Il feudalesimo nell'alto medioevo* = *SettSpol* 47 (2000), 611–46

[R226] D. Bates, *Re-ordering the Past and Negotiating the Present in Stenton's 'First Century'*, Stenton Lecture 1999 (2000)

[R227] M. Chibnall, 'Feudalism and Lordship', in Harper-Bill and van Houts (R4.6), pp. 123–34 - valuable review of recent historiography

Castles

For castle-building as an aspect of conquest, see Orderic, in Chibnall (R55), II, p. 218, etc. See also Fernie (R341.1), pp. 49–82, and references in n. 1.

[R229] L. Marten-Holden, 'Dominion in the Landscape: Early Norman Castles in Suffolk', *History Today* 51.4 (Apr. 2001), 46–52; O.H. Creighton, 'Castles, Lordship and Settlement in Norman England and Wales', *History Today* (Apr. 2003), 12–19

[R229a] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (2002); T. O'Keeffe, *Castles in Britain and Ireland: the World of Medieval Lordship, AD 1050–1300* (2003); C.L.H. Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (2003)

[R229b] *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. R. Liddiard (2003), including R. Eales, 'Royal Power and Castles in Norman England', pp. 41–67, and M. Chibnall, 'Orderic Vitalis on Castles', pp. 119–32

VII. DOMESDAY BOOK AND THE NORMAN SETTLEMENT

A general survey of resources in the kingdom was initiated by King William I in council at Gloucester at Christmas 1085 (ASC). As we understand it, the country was divided into seven 'circuits', each comprising a number of counties; the survey was set in motion, and the records were brought together and processed in the approved manner. On 1 August 1086 all of the main landowners in England came to the king at Salisbury, 'and they all submitted to him and became his vassals, and swore oaths of allegiance to him' (ASC). It is generally presumed that there is some connection between the survey of 1085–6, the 'Salisbury Oath' of 1086, and the surviving products of the survey, notably 'Little Domesday Book' (London, Public Record Office, E 31/1), which is dated 1086, and 'Great Domesday Book' (London, Public Record Office, E 31/2), which was produced soon afterwards, or a bit later. LDB is a consolidated account of the returns for 'Circuit VII', covering the eastern counties (Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk). GDB is a digest of the returns for the other circuits (I–VI), covering most of the rest of the country. For DB in general, see Graves (A76), pp. 463–71; Bates (R250), esp. pp. 1–3.

Domesday Book: texts and translations

[R230] 'Great Domesday Book' (GDB) and 'Little Domesday Book' (LDB).   For the manuscripts, see R305. Facsimile: of GDB, in R240, and of LDB, in R242; facsimiles of the county surveys in GDB and LDB were published by the Ordnance Survey (1861–3). Text: ed. A. Farley, 2 vols. (1783). Text and translation: Morris (R235). Translations of county surveys, with introductions, will be found in volumes of the Victoria County History (A39); see also EHD II, nos. 205–13, and R235 + R240–2.

[R231] 'Exon Domesday' (the product of an earlier stage of the survey of the south-western counties). For a summary of its contents, see Galbraith (R271, pp. 184–8); for a description of the manuscript, see N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* II (1977), pp. 800–7, and Rumble (in R292, pp. 29–32). Text: ed. H. Ellis (1816). Extracts in translation: EHD II, no. 216.

[R232] Domesday Book online: <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/domesday>

[R235] *Domesday Book*, ed. J. Morris, 35 vols. (1975–86; Phillimore paperbacks) - text and translation of surveys of individual counties; index in R255

[R240] *Great Domesday*, ed. R.W.H. Erskine, 6 large boxes (1986), published by Alecto Historical Editions - spectacular facsimile of Great Domesday Book <in CUL, Trinity College Library, etc.>

[R241] 'County fascicules', published as part of the Alecto edition (R240), with facsimile, translation, introduction, indices and maps, ed. A. Williams and R.W.H. Erskine. Published: (county abbreviations): Np & Ru (1987); Brk, Bk, Co, He, Wo (1988); So, Ha, Gl, W, Sr, Hu (1989); Ca, Sx, Nt, Db, Lei, Ox, Sa (1990); Chs, De, Do, Hrt, La, St, Wa (1991), Bd, K, Li, Mx, Y (1992); etc. (now complete).

[R242] *Little Domesday Book*, ed. A. Williams and G.H. Martin, 6 vols. (2000), in the same sumptuous format as R240, covering Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, with introduction, translations, indices, facsimile, and maps <in CUL, Trinity College Library, etc.>

[R243] The Penguin Domesday Book, derived from R241: Alecto Historical Editions, *Domesday Book: a Complete Translation*, ed. A. Williams and G.H. Martin (2002), now in paperback (PC, 2003), extending to an impressive 1440 pp.

Electronic Domesday Books

[R244] J. Palmer, *et al.*, *Domesday Explorer* (2001), on CD-ROM - an electronic edition of Great Domesday Book, based on the Phillimore translation <not yet seen>; to be followed by Little Domesday Book

[R244.5] Alecto Historical Editions, *The Digital Domesday Book* (2002), on CD-ROM - contains facsimile of the manuscripts of GDB and LDB (R240), the Farley text (R230), the translations (R243), indexes, introductions to the county surveys (R241), a glossary, and a bibliography; also possible to search the translations electronically

The Domesday 'satellites'

[R245] *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (ICC) and *Inquisitio Eliensis* (IE), with additional information (e.g. the names of the jurors in 1086 who represented the hundreds in Cambridgeshire): ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (1876); see EHD II, no. 214–15; ICC trans. VCH Cambs. (A39) I, pp. 400–27

[R246] 'Bath A' and 'Bath B': see Phillimore DB (R235), *Somerset*, ed. C and F. Thorn (1980), Appendix II

[R247] Evesham and Worcester satellites: see Phillimore DB (R235), *Worcestershire*, ed. F and C. Thorn (1982), Appendix IV and V

Essential works of reference

[R250] D. Bates, *A Bibliography of Domesday Book* (1986)

[R251] H. Ellis, *A General Introduction to Domesday Book*, 2 vols. (1833) - valuable introduction (which gathers together references to particular matters), with indexes of tenants-in-chief TRW, landholders TRE, and of sub-tenants TRW

[R252] H.C. Darby and G.R. Versey, *Domesday Gazeteer* (1975) - lists and identifications of place-names in DB, with maps, arranged county by county

[R255] *Index to Domesday Book*, 3 vols., ed. J.McN. Dodgson (1992): pt 1, Places; pt 2, Persons; pt 3, Subjects

[R256] K.S.B. Keats-Rohan and D.E. Thornton, *Domesday Names: an Index of Latin Personal and Place Names in Domesday Book* (1997)

[R257] K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: a Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166*, I: *Domesday Book* (1999) - a prosopography of Domesday Book, with focus on continental origins

For the identification of men and women in Domesday Book with English names, see von Feilitzen (B877), Tengvik (B878), and Lewis (L77).

General guidance

[R260] E.J. King, 'Domesday Studies', *History* 58 (1973), 403–9

[R261] H.R. Loyn, 'Domesday Book', *ANS* 1 (1979), 121–30 and 220–2

[R262] S. Harvey, 'Recent Domesday Studies', *EHR* 95 (1980), 121–33

[R263] A. Frearson, 'Domesday Book: the Evidence Reviewed', *History* 71 (1986), 375–92

[R264] E. Hallam, *Domesday Book Through Nine Centuries* (1986)

[R265] A.R. Bridbury, 'Domesday Book: a Reinterpretation', *EHR* 105 (1990), 284–309

[R266] *The Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam Smith and D. Bates (2001) - collection of essays by various hands

The making of Domesday Book

See EHD II, nos. 198–204

[R270] V.H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (1961)

[R271] V.H. Galbraith, *Domesday Book: its Place in Administrative History* (1974)

[R272] R. Welldon Finn, *The Domesday Inquest* (1961)

[R273] R. Welldon Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book* (1963)

[R274] S. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', *EHR* 86 (1971), 753–73

[R275] D. Roffe, *Domesday: the Inquest and the Book* (2000); D. Roffe, 'The Making of Domesday Book Reconsidered', *HSJ* 6 (1995), 153–66; D. Roffe, 'Domesday Now', *ANS* 28 (2006), 168–87

Domesday geography

[R280] *The Domesday Geography of England*, ed. H.C. Darby: the constituent volumes in this series cover Eastern England, Midland England, South-East England, Northern England and South-West England

[R281] H.C. Darby, *Domesday England* (1977), esp. pp. 1–14

[R282] S. Harvey, 'Domesday England', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* II, ed. H.E. Hallam (1988), pp. 45–136

Domesday economy

[R285] R. Welldon Finn, *The Norman Conquest and its Effects on the Economy 1066–86* (1971)

[R286] J. MacDonald and G.D. Snooks, *Domesday Economy: a New Approach to Anglo-Norman History* (1986); see also their article in *Economic History Review* 38 (1985), 353–73

Studies of particular themes
[R290] S. Harvey, 'Royal Revenue and Domesday Terminology', *Economic History Review* 20 (1967), 221–8
[R291] S. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and Anglo-Norman Governance', *TRHS* 5th ser. 25 (1975), 175–93
[R292] *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (1986)
[R293] *Domesday Essays*, ed. C. Holdsworth, Exeter Studies in History 14 (1986)
[R294] *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (1987)
[R295] *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams (1987)
[R296] D. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and Northern Society: a Reassessment', *EHR* 105 (1990), 310–30
[R297] *Domesday Book and Eleventh-Century England,* ed. R. Fleming (forthcoming)
[R298] N. Higham, 'The Domesday Survey: Context and Purpose', *History* 78 (1993), 7–21
See also Palliser (P86a).

The Domesday Inquest in 1086
[R300] R. Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England* (1998) - includes excerpts from GDB and LDB, and a comprehensive index of 'legal' subjects and themes
[R301] P. Wormald, 'Domesday Lawsuits: a Provisional List and Preliminary Comment', in Hicks (T28.5), pp. 61–102
[R302] C. Lewis, 'The Domesday Jurors', *HSJ* 5 (1993), 17–44
[R303] R. Fleming, 'Oral Testimony and the Domesday Inquest', *ANS* 17 (1995), 101–22
See also Hyams (R184), and Roffe (R275).

The manuscripts
[R305] [Anon.] *Domesday Rebound*, 2nd ed. (1965); H. Forde, *Domesday Preserved* (1986); A.R. Rumble, 'The Palaeography of the Domesday Manuscripts', in R292, pp. 28–49; A.R. Rumble, 'The Domesday Manuscripts: Scribes and Scriptoria', in R294, pp. 79–99; M. Gullick, 'The Great and Little Domesday Manuscripts', in R295, pp. 93–112

The Norman settlement
For potted biographies of some of the major players after the king, including Odo of Bayeux, Roger of Montgomery, Robert of Mortain, William fitzOsbern, William of Warenne, and Geoffrey of Coutances, see Tyerman (R4).

[R310] W.J. Corbett, 'The Development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England', *The Cambridge Medieval History* 5 (1926), 505–13
[R311] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England,* 3rd ed. (1971), pp. 626–30, and 'English Families and the Norman Conquest', in T1, pp. 325–34
[R312] R. Lennard, *Rural England* (1959), pp. 22–39
[R313] J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (1976), pp. 28–48

[R320] P. Sawyer, '1066–1086: a Tenurial Revolution?', in R292, pp. 71–85; see also Sawyer (M242), pp. 874–80
[R321] R. Fleming, 'Domesday Book and the Tenurial Revolution', *ANS* 9 (1987), 87–102
[R322] R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (1991) - the essential study

[R325] D. Roffe, 'From Thegnage to Barony: Sake and Soke, Title, and Tenants-in-Chief', *ANS* 12 (1990), 157–76
[R330] R. Mortimer, 'The Beginnings of the Honour of Clare', *ANS* 3 (1981), 119–41 and 220–1; R. Mortimer, 'Land and Service: the Tenants of the Honour of Clare', *ANS* 8 (1986), 177–97; J.C. Ward, 'Royal Service and Reward: the Clare Family and the Crown, 1066–1154', *ANS* 11 (1989), 261–78
[R331] C. Lewis, 'The Norman Settlement of Herefordshire under William I', *ANS* 7 (1985), 195–213
[R332] J.F.A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons', *TRHS* 5th ser. 13 (1963), 1–28
[R333] W.E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194* (1966)
[R334] B. Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *ANS* 13 (1991), 119–44
[R335] C.P. Lewis, 'The Formation of the Honour of Chester, 1066–1100', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* 71 (1991), 37–68
[R336] H.J. Tanner, 'The Expansion of the Power and Influence of the Counts of Boulogne under Eustace II', *ANS* 14 (1992), 251–86
[R337] R. Abels, 'Sheriffs, Lord-Seeking and the Norman Settlement of the South-East Midlands', *ANS* 19 (1997), 19–50

[R338] J.A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (1997), esp. pp. 25–99, on the Norman settlement

[R339] C.R. Hart, 'William Malet and his Family', *ANS* 19 (1997), 123–65 - on M. Malet, mentioned by WP, *GG* (R50), pp. 138–40, as the person made responsible for burying the body of King Harold in 1066; see also the *Carmen* (R100), p. 34 (lines 587–8)

[R339.5] A. Williams, 'Meet the *antecessors*: Lords and Land in Eleventh-Century Suffolk', in T111, pp. 275–87

See also Hollister (R70). See also Thomas (R149), on the native English in 1086.

VIII. ASPECTS OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN CHURCH

The major new player was Lanfranc (from Pavia), prior-schoolmaster at Bec from the 1040s, abbot of St Étienne at Caen from 1060, and subsequently archbishop of Canterbury (1070–89); yet of course one should not forget the crossovers.

[R340] F. Barlow, *The English Church 1066–1154* (1979) - the essential guide

[R341.1] E. Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (2000) - covering castles as well as cathedrals, abbeys, and other churches; see also R. Plant, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture, c. 1050 to *c.* 1200', in Harper-Bill and van Houts (R4.6), pp. 215–53

[R341.2] C. Harper-Bill, 'The Anglo-Norman Church', in Harper-Bill and van Houts (R4.6), pp. 165–90

Bishops and abbots

Bishops and abbots appointed to their offices during the reign of Edward the Confessor continued as a matter of course to hold office during the reign of William the Conqueror, though some of the 'crossover' bishops and abbots fared better or lasted longer than others. Nor should one forget the other members of the religious houses, and certain priests, such as Regenbald (Q95).

[R341] H.R. Loyn, 'William's Bishops: Some Further Thoughts', *ANS* 10 (1988), 223–35; reptd in T16, pp. 374–97; see also Loyn (A24)

[R341.2] A. Williams, 'The Cunning of the Dove: Wulfstan and the Politics of Accommodation', in Barrow and Brooks (Q99.2), pp. 23–38 - on Wulfstan of Worcester

[R341.5] D. Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln 1067–1092*, Lincoln Cathedral Publications (1992)

[R341.6] M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (1978); H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (2003)

Ealdred of York: Lapidge (Q92). Leofric of Exeter: Barlow (Q91). Stigand of Canterbury: Smith (Q94). Giso of Wells: Keynes (Q96).

[R342] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* [1940], 2nd ed. (1963), pp. 100–27

[R342.1] H. Loyn, 'Abbots of English Monasteries in the Period Following the Norman Conquest', in R27, pp. 95–103; see also Loyn (A24)

[R342.2] A. Gransden, 'Baldwin, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, 1065–1097', *ANS* 4 (1982), 65–76 and 187–95

[R342.3] E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1135* (1998), with case-studies of Abingdon, Gloucester, Bury St Edmunds, St Albans, St Augustine's, Canterbury, as well as the fenland houses

[R342.5] S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Abbeys and the Norman Conquest' [R. Allen Brown Memorial Lecture 2004], *ANS* 00 (forthcoming)

Pleas, property, privileges, etc.

[R345] D. Bates, 'The Land Pleas of William I's Reign: Penenden Heath Revisited', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 51 (1978), 1–19; see also EHD II, no. 50, and van Caenegem (R161, pp. 7–15)

[R346] E. Miller, 'The Ely Land Pleas in the Reign of William I', *EHR* 62 (1947), 438–56; Blake (B247, pp. 426–32); see also Hamilton (R245, pp. 192–5), EHD II, no. 51, and van Caenegem (R161, pp. 43–50)

[R347] A. Williams, 'The Spoliation of Worcester', *ANS* 19 (1997), 383–408; C. Dyer, 'Bishop Wulfstan and his Estates', in Barrow and Brooks (Q99.2), pp. 137–49

[R348] R. Fleming, 'Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary', *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. C.W. Hollister (1997), pp. 83–155

The church in the north

[R349] W.M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: the Church of Durham 1071–1153* (1998) - impact of the Norman Conquest in the north

[R349.5] A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (2003), esp. for production of manuscripts at Durham s. xi/xii

[R349.8] A. Dawtry, 'The Benedictine Revival in the North: the Last Bulwark of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism?', *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews (1982), pp. 87–98

[R360] C. Morris, 'William I and the Church Courts', *EHR* 82 (1967), 449–63; see also EHD II, no. 79

[R361] R.M. Thomson, 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture* II, ed. P. Ganz, Bibliologia 4 (1986), 27–40

[R362] D.N. Dumville, 'Anglo-Saxon Books: Treasure in Norman Hands?', *ANS* 16 (1994), 83–99

[R363] *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066–1109*, ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (1995) — important collection of essays bearing on the churches of Canterbury (Christ Church, St Augustine's, etc.) after the Conquest

[R364.1] J. Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History: the Competing Vision of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum* 74.2 (1999), 279–309; on Lanfranc's attitude to English saints, e.g. Ælfheah, see also Knowles and Brooke (R165), pp. xxviii–xxx and xxxv–xxxvi

[R364.2] M. Philpott, 'Eadmer, his Archbishops and the English State', in T41, pp. 93–107 See also Ridyard (Q161).

The primacy of Canterbury

See the *Acta Lanfranci* (R153), the main documents (R162), nos. 90–1, and letters of Lanfranc (R163), nos. 3–5; see also B401, pt 2.

[R364.5] Council of Winchester (Easter 1072), and **Council of Windsor** (Whitsun 1072), on the primacy of Canterbury. Facsimile of original charters: *The Palaeographical Society: Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, ed. E.A. Bond and E.M. Thompson (1873–83) III, pl. 170, from Canterbury, D&C, Cart. Ant. A. 2, with autograph crosses and attestations (Winchester); <published illustration not yet found>, from Canterbury, D&C, Cart. Ant. A. 1, with seal (B351, plate XXIX), and fuller list of witnesses (Windsor). Text and translation: R163, no. 3 (iv), pp. 44–9; B401, pt 2, pp. 601–4. On the significance of Bishop Wulfstan's attestation, see Dumville (G256), p. 138, n. 112.

[R364.7] Council of London (1075), representing the continued involvement of 'English' abbots in the affairs of the Anglo-Norman church. Single sheet (s. xi.ex): Cambridge, St John's College, MS. L. 9 (236). Text: B401, pt 2, pp. 607–16 (no. 92).

For Wulfstan II, bishop of Worcester (1062–95), see Mason (Q99), etc.

[R364.8] Agreement of confraternity, promulgated by Bishop Wulfstan, between the abbots of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, and Gloucester, and the dean of Worcester, with lists of the monks of Evesham, Chertsey and Bath [1077 x 1078], 'as if all the seven monasteries were one monastery', including recognition of William and Mathilda. Pelteret (R156), no. 78; Liuzza (B578) I, pp. xxv–xxxiii (manuscript context, entered in gospel-book at Bath (B288.5)); Mason (Q99), pp. 197–200 (discussion).

[R364.9] Obituary roll of Vitalis, abbot of Savigny (Normandy). A roll of 15 membranes stitched together, forming an historical and palaeographical wonder. Compiled in the early 1120s, incorporating commemorative *tituli* (entries) made at over 200 religious houses in Normandy, France, and England, some of which reflect consciousness of the Anglo-Saxon past. Basic description: Ker (R367), p. 16, and A210, no. 29. Facsimile: L. Delisle, *Rouleau Mortuaire du B. Vital. Abbé de Savigni, contenant 207 titres écrits en 1122–1123 dans différentes églises de France et d'Angleterre* (1909), e.g. pls xxvii (Eynsham), xxviii (Wilton, Muchelney, Malmesbury), xliii (Winchester houses), xliv (Romsey, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Milton), xlv (Glastonbury, Ely, Crowland).

Artistic and intellectual activities

Manuscripts of the period are listed by Gameson (R371); and for Northumbrian manuscripts, see also Lawrence-Mathers (R349.5). For the catalogue of the Romanesque Exhibition (1984), see A210. Decorated manuscripts are described by Kauffmann (R365). On the fate of English libraries, see Thomson (R361) and Dumville (R362).

[R365] C.M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190* (1975)

[R366] F. Wormald, 'The Survival of Anglo-Saxon Illumination after the Norman Conquest', reptd in T25, pp. 91–109

[R367] N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (1960)

[R368] E. Fernie, 'The Effect of the Conquest on Norman Architectural Patronage', *ANS* 9 (1987), 71–85

[R369] A. Lawrence, 'Anglo-Norman Book Production', in R27, pp. 79–93; see also Lawrence-Mathers (R349.5)

[R370] T. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury c. 1075 – c. 1125* (1992)

[R371] R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (1999)

[R372] P. Kidd, 'A Re-examination of the Date of an Eleventh-Century Psalter from Winchester (British Library, MS Arundel 60)', *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter*, ed. B. Cassidy and R. M. Wright, St Andrews Studies in the History of Art (2000 [for 2001]), pp. 42–

54 - a manuscript long dated '*c.* 1060' and now dated ?1072/3, from the New Minster, Winchester

Religious communities and the development of a sense of the Anglo-Saxon past

The communities of many religious houses in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries were acutely conscious that their Anglo-Saxon past could be of help to them in facing the challenges of the present: whether affirming their distinctive identity, consolidating their respective positions locally, or resisting predatory claims of kings and other laymen, or in asserting their rights over others, or in maintaining their independence from external control. And of course this became part of the context in which records of religious houses were brought into order and made to serve as the basis for local history. At some places, this found expression in the production or improvement of charters, on their own, or in the production of a cartulary (e.g. Worcester (B231), Glastonbury (B285), Peterborough (B240)). But the expression could take many other forms: local history (e.g. Durham (B220), Ely (B245); cartulary-chronicle (e.g. Abingdon (B280)); and much else besides. For histories and records of religious houses, see above, section B (III).

[R374] H-W. Goetz, 'The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in Althoff (A60.1), pp. 139–65; B. Schneidmüller, 'Constructing the Past by Means of the Present: Historiographical Foundations of Medieval Institutions, Dynasties, Peoples, and Communities', in Althoff (A60.1), pp. 167–92

[R375] J. Paxton, 'Forging Communities: Memory and Identity in Post-Conquest England', *HSJ* 10 (2002), 95–109, on Peterborough and the *Relatio Heddae* (B239.10); J. Paxton, 'Monks and Bishops: the Purpose of the *Liber Eliensis*', *HSJ* 11 (2003 for1998), 17–30; J. Paxton, 'Textual Communities in the English Fenlands: a Lay Audience for Monastic Chronicles', *ANS* 26 (2004), 123–37; see also Mackreth (G177)

[R376] J. Crick, 'St Albans, Westminster and Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', *ANS* 25 (2003), 65–83

The new respectability of the Anglo-Saxon saints (Q161) is perhaps indicated by the translation of their mortal remains: e.g. Cuthbert at Durham in 1104 (see contemporary account, trans. in Battiscombe (D101), pp. 99–107), and Æthelthryth at Ely in 1106 (see Keynes (Q148), pp. 53–4); and WM, *GP* (B625), *passim*. For the cult of St Swithun, see Lapidge (Q212). For the work of the Anglo-Norman historians, and their own distinctive attitudes to the Anglo-Saxon past, see entries above on Eadmer (B619), William of Malmesbury (B620, B625), Florence and John of Worcester (B630), Henry of Huntingdon (B635), Simeon of Durham (B640), etc. See also Otter (Q195), on *inventiones* of saints, esp. pp. 22–3 (Anglo-Norman attitudes to Anglo-Saxon saints), 23–6 (Offa and St Albans), etc.

IX. THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF WALES, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

For standard accounts, see Lloyd (A64), II, pp. 357–461; Walker (A64), pp. 20–43; Duncan (A62), pp. 117–32; Barrow (A62); Barrell (A62); Walker (R21a); Carpenter (R4).

[R380] G. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*, Ford Lectures 1977 (1980)

[R381] R.R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063–1415* (1987)

[R382] R.R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: the Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100–1300* (1990)

[R386] K. Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England in the Eleventh Century* (1991), pp. 141–55

[R397] J. Green, 'Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1066–1174', *England and her Neighbours, 1066–1453*, ed. M. Jones and M. Vale (1989), pp. 53–72; A.D. Carr, 'Anglo-Welsh Relations, 1066–1282', *ibid.*, pp. 121–38

See also Lewis (R331), and several of the essays in Gillingham (T69).

For the 'Book of Llandaff' (B360), see:

[R410] J.R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (2003)

St Margaret of Scotland

When Edward the Exile (son of Edmund Ironside) returned to England (and died) in 1057 (on which see Keynes (L56)), he brought with him his wife Agatha and their three children, who had been born and brought up in exile (in Hungary): Edgar the ætheling (R135), Margaret, and Christina. In 1069 Margaret married Malcolm III (Canmore), king of Scots (1058–93), becoming the saintly and civilized queen of Scots (d. 1093). See ASC, MS. D (B48), s.a. 1067 and 1074, and MS. E, s.a. 1093 (+ 1097, 1100); and see also Wormald (Q92), pp. 15–16. For their numerous children (several with English royal names), see Whitelock (B65), Table 18. In 1100 Maud/Matilda, d. of Malcolm and Margaret, married Henry I, king of England; and it was through Maud, d. of Henry and Maud, and mother of Henry II, that later English (and Scottish) monarchs could claim descent back through the line of Edmund, Æthelred, Edgar, Edmund, and Edward to Alfred, *et al.*

[R420] Turgot [of Durham]'s 'Life of St Margaret'. Translation: Anderson (A62b), vol. 2, pp. 59–88.

[R421] The **'St Margaret Gospels'** (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. lat. liturg. f. 5 (SC 29744), which features in one of the miracles. Detailed study of the manuscript and its historical context (with many illustrations): R. Rushforth, *St Margaret's Gospel: the Favourite Book of a Queen of Scotland*, Treasures from the Bodleian Library, Oxford (2007). See also Temple (B807), no. 91.

[R422] R. Rushforth, 'The Bury Psalter and the Descendants of Edward the Exile', *ASE* 34 (2005), 255–61 - showing that Edgar and Christina were commemorated at Bury

[R423] P. Stafford, 'Chronicle D, 1067 and Women: Gendering Conquest in Eleventh-Century England', in T111, pp. 208–23

[R425] D. Baker, '"A Nursery of Saints": St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', *Medieval Women*, ed. D. Baker (1978), pp. 119–42, esp. 129–32 (on Turgot's *Life*), 132–4 (on her Hungarian credentials) and 138–40 (on her children, including David); see also A. J. Wilson, *St Margaret, Queen of Scotland* (1993)

[R426] L.L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: a Study in Medieval Queenship* (2003), including translation of the 'Life of St Margaret', pp. 161–78

[R427] S. Marritt, 'Coincidence of Names, Anglo-Scottish Connections and Anglo-Saxon Society in the Late Eleventh-Century West Country', *Scottish Historical Review* 83.2 (2004), 150–70

For Margaret's son David, king of Scotland (1124–53), see Ailred (B647).

S. PERCEPTIONS OF THE ANGLO-SAXON PAST

General

The perception of the Anglo-Saxon past which prevails to the present day is firmly rooted in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but did not take shape until after the Norman Conquest, in the works of the Anglo-Norman historians (B619, etc.) and of their successors writing at St Albans in the thirteenth century (B650, etc.). There were various themes which needed to be worked out, encapsulated in the respective historiographical fortunes of Arthur, Alfred, and Edward the Confessor, and in notions of 'English' and 'British' identities. Edward enjoyed support in high places, though Arthur and the British history fared well under the Tudors; Alfred was nowhere. The narrative framework proved resistant to change, but the perceived significance of the period was modified thereafter: not only in response to religious, political and social developments, but also as knowledge deepened of the laws, charters, vernacular literature, coinage and latterly art and architecture of the Anglo-Saxons. It was a process which owed much in the first instance to the activities of antiquaries, and has to be understood at all times in an intellectual climate itself developing against a changing historical background.

Archives

There is much that still awaits discovery in the scattered papers of the lawyers, antiquaries, local historians and others, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who had access to material now lost. The only problem is how to find whatever one might be looking for.

[S1.4] The reports of the old **Historical Manuscripts Commission**, published in the nineteenth century, remain an invaluable guide to archives which remain in private hands, or which have since been dispersed. The HMC and the old Public Record Office were merged in 2003, relocated at Kew, and are now known as **TNA** (The National Archives). The website of TNA <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/> leads to 'A2A' (aka 'Access to Archives'), where a search might now begin.

[S1.45] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Papers of British Antiquaries and Historians*, Guides to Sources for British History 12 (2003) - an invaluable finding-list for papers of numerous antiquaries, incl. Astle [30], Camden [182], Cotton [260], Dering [308], D'Ewes [312], Ducarel [328], Dugdale [331], Gough [464], Harbin [507], Kemble [622], Lambarde [642], Leland [670], Le Neve [673], Selden [1035], Spelman [1072], Wanley [1209]. There is often useful information on archives at the end of individual entries in the *ODNB* (A150).

[S1.6] The manuscript holdings of the **British Library** comprise various separate collections, formed and acquired under different circumstances: e.g. Cotton, Harley, Royal, Arundel, Egerton, Lansdowne, Stowe, etc., and Additional. The published catalogues of these collections are large, unwieldy, difficult of access, and (of course) in need of revision according to modern standards; but most of them are now available online, in one form or another, so it is now possible to search much of this material electronically. Visit the BL website: <www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts.html>.

[S1.65] A few Cottonian manuscripts have been described and catalogued, in detail, by Julian Harrison. These descriptions are already available online, via the BL manuscripts catalogue (descriptions search/find a specific manuscript by number/cotton). Examples include: the Abingdon chronicle-cartulary, in Claudius C. ix (B280); an Anglo-Norman historical tract, in Caligula A. viii (B645); and Henry of Huntingdon, Aelred, *etc.*, in Vespasian A. xviii (B647.1).

[S1.7] The manuscript holdings of the **Bodleian Library**, in Oxford, have to be approached via the 'Quarto Catalogues' and the 'Summary Catalogue', though the exercise is not for the faint-hearted. There is, however, an excellent guide on the web: see <www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/wmss.htm#cats>. 'SC' refers to: F. Madan, *et al.*, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 8 vols. (1895–1953), supplemented by M. Clapinson and T.D. Rogers, *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Acquisitions 1916–75*, 3 vols. (1991).

[S1.8] The manuscript holdings of the **Cambridge University Library** have to be approached via an out-dated catalogue: *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 5 vols. (1856–67), reprinted (1979).

Antiquaries

The term 'antiquary' (or 'antiquarian') is regarded by some as pejorative, denoting a person who accumulates information about the past merely for its own sake; yet the activities of antiquaries represent an important stage in the history of scholarship, and there is much to be gained from according them the respect and attention they deserve. Those active in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had access to material which has since been lost or destroyed; they helped to determine the shape of received tradition, in circumstances which are important in their own right; and only by understanding the development of the tradition can we strip away those aspects of it which are integral to that process and which tend to determine the questions asked of the evidence. In this way we may hope to return to first principles when assessing the primary sources for historical purposes of our own.

There is an entry on antiquaries in A100. A bibliography of the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, compiled by Carl Berkhout, and covering publications to *c.* 1996, is available at www.u.arizona.edu/~ctb/.

[S2.1] H.B. Walters, *The English Antiquaries of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1934)

[S2.2] T.D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (1950) - chapters on Leland, etc.

[S2a] J. Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (1956)

[S3] M. McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (1971) - includes chapters on Leland and Bale, Matthew Parker and his circle, etc.

[S4.1] J. Petheram, *An Historical Sketch of the Progress and Present State of Anglo-Saxon Literature in England* (1840), reptd with an introduction and bibliographical index by K. Thomson (2000) - valuable account of AS scholarship in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries

[S4.2] E.N. Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566–1800*, Yale Studies in English 55 (1917) - another account of the same subject

[S4.3] *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. T. Graham (2000) - incl. papers on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Lutz), Joscelyn (Graham), Verstegen (Bremmer), L'Isle (Pulsiano), Somner (Lowe), Junius (Dekker), etc.

[S4.4] T. Graham, 'Anglo-Saxon Studies: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', in A51.3 (2001), pp. 415–33

[S4.5] *Old English Scholarship and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Carl T. Berkhout*, ed. J. Wilcox, OE Newsletter Subsidia 32 (2004) <not yet seen>

[S4.6] A.R. Rumble, 'The Study of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, Collections and Scribes: in the Footsteps of Wanley and Ker' [2006], in Rumble (T112), pp. 1–17

[S5] D.C. Douglas, *English Scholars* (1939), and *English Scholars 1660–1730* (1951) [with ch. 1 re-written] - chapters on Dugdale, 'The Saxon Past', Hickes, Wanley, etc.

[S5.5] R. Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2004), esp. pp. 189–229 ('The Anglo-Saxons')

[S6] C.E. Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Libraries in the Sixteenth Century', in B817, pp. 148–75, and 'The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and the Formation of the Cottonian Library', in B817, pp. 176–212

[S7] S. Kliger, *The Goths in England: a Study in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (1952)

[S7a] *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800,* ed. D.R. Kelley and D.H. Sacks (1997); F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought 1580–1640* (1962)

[S7b] S. Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination* (1994); see also N. Mortimer, *Stukeley Illustrated: William Stukeley's Rediscovery of Britain's Ancient Sites* (2003)

[S7c] *The Blackwell Dictionary of Historians*, ed. J. Cannon (1988) - a very useful set of potted biographies, covering the ground from Bede to Stenton and Whitelock

[S7d] *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, ed. K. Boyd, 2 vols. (1999), with entries by R. Collins on Bede and on Britain (Anglo-Saxon), by D. Janes on Stenton, and by others on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Camden, Selden, Maitland, etc.

[S7e] *Interpreters of Early Medieval Britain*, ed. M. Lapidge (2002) - contains accounts of several renowned Anglo-Saxonists (and others), from obituaries published in *PBA*

[S8] H. Gneuss, *English Language Scholarship: a Survey and Bibliography from the Beginnings to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 125 (1996); H. Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780–1860* (1967)

[S9] *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: the First Three Centuries*, ed. C.T. Berkhout and M.McC. Gatch (1982) - includes bibliography, 'Secondary Studies of Anglo-Saxon Scholarship'

[S10] J.W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: the Latin Writings of the Age* (1990)

[S12] *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, I: *History*, ed. H. Damico and J.B. Zavadil (1995) - incl. Bolland, Mabillon, Stubbs, Delisle, Maitland, Haskins, and Whitelock

[S13] *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, II: *Literature and Philology*, ed. H. Damico (1998) - incl. Nowell, Hickes, Wanley, Elstob, Thorpe, Skeat, Sweet, and Ker

[S13.5] G. Haenicke and T. Finkenstaedt, *Anglistenlexikon 1825–1990: biographische und bibliographische Angaben zu 318 Anglisten* (1992) - for Anglo-Saxonists in Austria, Germany and Switzerland (19th–20th centuries), with details of their lives, writings, and papers (Brandl, Brunner, Fehr, Förster, Liebermann, Luick, Sievers, Wülker, Zupitza*, et al.*), as well as British scholars active on the continent (Miller, Napier, *et al.*) <BL cat.>

[S13.6] A. Oizumi and T. Kubouchi, *Medieval English Language Scholarship: Autobiographies by Representative Scholars in Our Discipline* (2005) - includes entries by Bately, Crépin, Elliott, Mitchell, Page, Roberts, Robinson <not yet seen>

[S13a] *Pre-Nineteenth-Century British Book Collectors and Bibliographers*, ed. W. Baker and K. Womack, Dictionary of Literary Biography 213 (1999) - incl. Cotton, Wanley, *et al.*

[S13b] S. Hindman, M. Camille, N. Rowe, and R. Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, ed. S. Hindman and N. Rowe, Exhibition Catalogue, Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, Jan.–Mar. 2001 (2001)

[S13c] P. Hill, *The Anglo-Saxons: the Verdict of History* (2006) [third volume in a trilogy; see also G74.5 and J29.6]

See also papers in Wilcox (T109) <not yet seen>; and entries by P. Stokes in the 'Literary Encylopedia' (A500), on Cotton, Joscelyn, Nowell, Parker, and Wanley.

Anglo-Saxon England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

For writing about Anglo-Saxon England from the late eleventh century onwards, see above, B619, etc.

[S13.1] C.E. Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (1939). A classic work, by a student of H.M. Chadwick.

[S13.2] R.M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (1952), 2nd ed. (1970), pp. 24–59

[S13.25] J. Frankis, 'Views of Anglo-Saxon England in Post-Conquest Vernacular Writing', *Orality and Literacy in Early Middle English*, ed. H. Pilch (1996), pp. 227–47

[S13.3] Medieval images of Anglo-Saxon England. The *depiction* of past events originated in the provision of illustrations to the Bible, and other texts, and extended to representations of saints, scholars and rulers in particular or imagined contexts; latterly, it came to include very recent or effectively contemporary events, such as the embroidery depicting events in the life of Ealdorman Bryhtnoth (J12.5), and the Bayeux Tapestry (R105). For medieval manuscripts which contain images reflecting a conception of the Anglo-Saxon past, see for example: 'Life and Miracles of St Edmund', from Bury St Edmunds (*c.* 1130), depicting viking invasions and martyrdom of Edmund, King of East Angles, in 869 (B253); late-twelfth-century images from the life of St Cuthbert, in Marner (D104) and Lawrence-Mathers (R349.5); the 'Guthlac Roll', from Crowland (s. xiii.1), depicting events in the life of St Guthlac, and his interaction with Æthelbald, king of the Mercians (B242a); the 'Life of St Edward', from -?- (*c.*1250), depicting events in the life of

Edward the Confessor, beginning with the viking invasions in the reign of his father (B92); and 'Tract on the Finding of St Alban' (*c.*1250), depicting events in the legendary life of Offa, king of the Mercians, and the foundation of St Albans abbey (B657).

[S13.4] A. Bovey, *The Chaworth Roll: a Fourteenth-Century Genealogy of the Kings of England* (2005) - a form of readily accessible popular history, in French, related to the late-thirteenth-century genealogical rolls

The fifteenth century

[S14] *William Worcestre: Itineraries*, ed. J.H. Harvey, OMT (1969), from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 210. WW, born at Bristol in 1415, is described by Harvey as the 'first English layman to deserve the title of antiquary'. He travelled purposefully around England in 1477–80, visiting churches, etc., and kept a rough record of his journeys.

[S14a] A. Gransden, 'Antiquarian Studies in Fifteenth-Century England' (1980), reptd in T17a, pp. 299–327, on Thomas of Elmham, and others

[S14b] A. Hiatt, 'The Cartographic Imagination of Thomas Elmham', *Speculum* 75 (2000), 859–86

[S14.5] Memorial brass to Æthelred, king of the West Saxons (d. 871), at Wimborne Minster, Dorset (being the only such brass to an Anglo-Saxon king). Æthelred's tomb was repaired in the 15th century, and was provided at that time with a memorial brass. The inscription was recorded by Leland (S17), I, pp. 257, 304: 'In hoc loco quiescit corpus S. Etheldredi, regis Westsaxonum, martyris, qui anno Dni 827 [*sic*], 13. die Aprilis per manus Danorum Paganorum occubuit.' The original 15th-century inscription appears to have been replaced in the late 17th-century by another inscription, with the same wording. For illustration, see Rogers (S122), pp. 217–18 (suggesting that it might have been commissioned by Henry VI), and plate 49; see also brass-rubbing outside SDK's office.

[S14.6] Painting of Queen Eadgifu (G38) in Canterbury cathedral. A tomb was commissioned for Eadgifu's mortal remains in the 12th century, perhaps by Henry I (cf. R420, etc.); see C. Wilson, 'The Medieval Monuments', *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, *et al.* (1995), pp. 451–510, at 494, citing Gervase, *Historical Works*, I, 23. In the 15th century, Eadgifu's role as benefactor was marked by a painting, which still hangs in the cathedral; see C.E. Woodruff, 'The Picture of Ediva in Canterbury Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 36 (1923), 1–14.

Accounts of many of the antiquaries mentioned below will be found in the *ODNB* (A150).

The sixteenth century

English antiquaries were hard at work during the long reigns of Henry VIII (1509–47) and Elizabeth I (1558–1603). The dispersal of monastic libraries and archives in the 1530s brought a mass of books and charters out into the open, and created concern in certain quarters for the preservation of knowledge of the past. It was no less important, in the aftermath of the Reformation, that attention should be drawn to whatever was held to be distinctive about ancient English practices, especially in regard to the observance of the faith.

Historical background

[S15] D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, III: *The Tudor Age* (1959); see also J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (1971)

[S15.5] J.P. Carley, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Salvaging of the Spoils', in Leedham-Green and Webber (B773), pp. 265–91

John Bale (1495–1563) and John Leland (?1503–52)

Entries on Bale and Leland in A100. Leland is an example to us all; he went mad in 1547.

[S16] *Index Britanniae Scriptorum: John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers*, ed. R.L. Poole and M. Bateson (1902); reissued with an introduction by C. Brett and J.P. Carley (1990); and for Bale's letter to Archbishop Parker, 30 July 1560, see Graham and Watson (S25.4), pp. 17–53

[S17] *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543*, 5 vols., ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1906–10); see also *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, ed. J. Chandler (1993) - Leland's field-notes taken on his journeys through England

[S18] J. Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. A. Hall (1709); new edition, ed. C. Brett and J. Carley, OMT (forthcoming) - Leland's dictionary of British writers, based on his various collections (S17 and S19)

[S19] *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 2nd ed., 6 vols (1774), comprising vol. 1 (I.i); vol. 2 (I.ii); vol. 3 (II); vol. 4 (III); vol. 5 (Appendix pt I); vol. 6 (Appendix pt II) - academic field-notes, with excerpts and notes from manuscripts

[S20] J.P. Carley, 'John Leland and the Contents of English pre-Dissolution Libraries: Glastonbury Abbey', *Scriptorium* 40 (1986), 107–20, and 'John Leland at Somerset Libraries', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 129 (1985), 141–54

[S21] *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, ed. J.P. Carley, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 7 (2000), pp. xliii–xlvi

[S22] C. Brett, 'John Leland and the Anglo-Norman Historian', *ANS* 11 (1989), 59–76

[S23] N. Ramsay, '"The Manuscripts flew about like butterflies": the Break-up of English Libraries in the Sixteenth Century', *Lost Libraries: the Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity*, ed. J. Raven (2003), pp. 125–44

Sir John Prise (1501/2–55)

[S24] In 1535, Sir John Prise, assisted by William Say, made a register of foundation charters which he had copied in the course of his exploratory work for Thomas Cromwell. See N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise' (1955), reptd in T8.5, pp. 471–96, and the account of Prise, by H. Pryce, in ODNB (A150). For the 'Prise-Say Register', now represented by several late 16th- and early 17th-century copies, see Ker, in T8.5, pp. 472–3; N. Vincent, 'The Early Years of Keynsham Abbey', *Trans. of the Bristol and Glouc. Archaeol. Soc.* 111 (1993), 95–113, at 95–6; Kelly (B291), pp. lix–lx; C. Hall, 'Matthew Parker as Annotator: the Case of Winchester Cathedral MS XXB', *Trans. of the Cambridge Bib. Soc.* 10 (1995), 642–5.

Matthew Parker (1504–75), Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (1544–53), and Archbishop of Canterbury (1559–75), with John Joscelyn (1529–1603) as his Latin secretary from 1559

Entries on Parker and Joscelyn in ODNB (A150); entry on Parker in A100. See Ker (B800), pp. l–liv, on the ownership and use of manuscripts, 1540–1603, esp. by Talbot, Nowell, Lambarde, Parker, and Joscelyn. For Joscelyn, see Graham (S4.3).

[S25] J. Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (1721), esp. pp. 528–36 (Saxon books) and 536–40 (antiquaries)

[S25.1] C.E. Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies. Matthew Parker and his Circle: a Preliminary Study', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1949–53), 208–37; see also Wright (S6)

[S25.2] V.J.K. Brook, *A Life of Archbishop Parker* (1962)

[S25.3] R.I. Page, *Matthew Parker and his Books* (1993) - focusing on Parker's use of the manuscripts now in his library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

[S25.4] T. Graham and A.G. Watson, *The Recovery of the Past in Early Elizabethan England: Documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the Circle of Matthew Parker*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph 13 (1998) - editions of Bale's letter to Archbishop Parker (30 July 1560), pp. 17–30, with notes, pp. 31–53, on the dispersal of library books in the recent past, giving an account of what he had seen, under various headings; and of two lists compiled by Joscelyn, *c.* 1565, one (pp. 55–9) focusing on writings from Anglo-Saxon England, including the several manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and the other (pp. 61–109) casting the net wider, but also including some 'Anglo-Saxon' authors, e.g. Felix, Aldhelm, Asser, Edgar

[S25.5] T. Graham, 'The Beginnings of Old English Studies: Evidence from the Manuscripts of Matthew Parker', *Back to the Manuscripts*, ed. S. Sato, Centre for Medieval English Studies (Tokyo), Occasional Papers 1 (1997), 29–50; see also Graham and Watson (S25.4)

[S25.6] T. Graham, 'Matthew Parker's Manuscripts: an Elizabethan Library and its Use', in Leedham-Green and Webber (B773), pp. 322–41

The four books printed by John Day for Archbishop Parker, using Anglo-Saxon type:

[S26.1] [M. Parker], *A Testimonie of Antiquity* (1566), being an edition of Ælfric's homily for Easter Day (II.15) [Godden (B565.2), pp. 150–60; Godden (B565.3), pp. 487–500; Swanton (B560), pp. 149–57], with his letter for Bishop Wulfsige and his letter to Wulfstan, and OE versions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; see Adams (S4.2), pp. 23–5, 31, etc. The sermon was reprinted by Day in the 2nd and later editions of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* [aka *Book of Martyrs*] (1570, 1576, 1583), as a sermon 'against transubstantiation'.

[S26.15] J. Bromwich, 'The First Book Printed in Anglo-Saxon Type', *Trans. of the Camb. Bibliog. Soc.* 3 (1959–63), 265–91

[S26.2] W. Lambarde, *Archaionomia* (1568) – a collected edition of Anglo-Saxon laws [not including the Kentish codes, and therefore beginning with Alfred], dedicated to Queen Elizabeth; see Keynes (S120), p. 240

[S26.25] J. Bately, 'John Joscelyn and the Laws of the Anglo-Saxon Kings', in T27 (on an annotated copy of Lambarde's *Archaionomia*); P. Wormald, 'The Lambarde Problem: Eighty Years on', in T31, pp. 237–75

[S26.3] [John Foxe, aided by Parker and Joscelyn], *The Gospels of the Fower Evangelistes* (1571), supplementing Parker's 'Bishop's Bible' (1568), by demonstrating (in effect) that

there was nothing 'new' in the translation of the Bible into English. As Foxe states in the preface: the book showed 'how the religion presently taught & professed in the Church at thys present, is no new reformation of thinges lately begonne, which were not before, but rather a reduction of the Church to the Pristine state of olde conformitie, which once it had, and almost lost by discontinuance of a fewe later yeares'. See also Liuzza (B578), I, pp. xiii–xiv and xxi (text from Bodley 441).

[S26.4] [M. Parker], *Ælfredi Regis Res Gestae* (1574), being the first printed edition of Asser's 'Life of King Alfred', but also including King Alfred's will (Latin version), and the prose and verse Alfredian prefaces (with interlinear translation) to the OE version of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. Parker's book is thus a projection of the *whole* Alfred, as one who defended his country against its foes, and at the same time promoted religion and learning through the medium of the vernacular; see also Keynes (S120), pp. 240–1. Most appropriately, therefore, a copy of the book was specially decorated and bound for presentation by Parker to Queen Elizabeth I; see *The Wormsley Library: a Personal Selection by Sir Paul Getty, K.B.E.*, ed. H.G. Fletcher (1999), pp. 90–2.

[S26.45] S.C. Hagedorn, 'Matthew Parker and Asser's *Ælfredi Regis Res Gestæ*', *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 51.1 (1989), 74–90; B.S. Robinson, '"Darke Speech": Matthew Parker and the Reforming of History', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998), 1061–83

[S26.9] John Day the Printer (1521/2–84). Entry by A. Pettegree in ODNB (A150).

[S26.91] G. Wakeman, 'The Design of Day's Saxon', *The Library*, 5th ser. 22 (1967), 283–98

[S26.92] C.L. Oastler, *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer*, Oxford Bibliographical Society, Occasional Publications 10 (1975) - with frontispiece showing the memorial brass for John Day, his second wife Alice, and his countless children, in All Saints Church, Little Bradley, Suffolk <www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/bradleyl.htm>, bearing this inscription:

'Heere lies the Daye that darknes could not blynd / when popish fogges had over cast the sunne: / This Daye the cruell night did leave behind, / To view and shew what bloudi Actes weare donne: / he set a Fox to wright how Martyrs runne / By death to lyfe. Fox ventured paynes & health / To give them light. Daye spent in print his wealth. / But God with gayn reformd his wealth agayne / And gave to him, as he gave to the poore / Tow wyves he had pertakers of his payne / Each wife twelve babes and each of them one more / Als was the last encreaser of his store / who mourning long for being left alone / Set upp this toombe: her self turnd to a Stone'.

Laurence Nowell (c.1530–c.1571)

Entries in ODNB (A150) and in A100. See also Graham (S37).

[S27] R. Flower, 'Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times', *PBA* 21 (1935), 47–73, reptd in T25, pp. 1–27; C. Berkhout, 'The Pedigree of Laurence Nowell the Antiquary', *English Language Notes* 23.2 (1985), 15–26

[S28] C.T. Berkhout, 'Laurence Nowell (1530 – ca.1570)', in S13, pp. 3–17

[S28.5] Nowell's map of Anglo-Saxon England (*c*. 1563), now BL Cotton Domitian xviii, art. 13. Study: D. Hill, *Laurence Nowell's Anglo-Saxon Atlas 1563 (BL Cotton Domitian xviii, article 13* (1992), of which only a few copies were produced, in association with a lecture.

[S28.6] 'The Nowell-Burghley Atlas', now BL Add. 62540, including a map of England, *c*. 1564 (fol. 4), on which see Shirley (A258), pp. x–xi.

William Lambarde (1536–1601)

Entries in ODNB (A150) and in A100. Author/compiler of *Archaionomia* (1568) (S26.2), and of *Perambulation of Kent* (1576). For his map of the Heptarchy, see A258.

[S29] R.M. Warnicke, *William Lambarde, Elizabethan Antiquary 1536–1601* (1973)

[S30] R.J. Terrill, 'William Lambarde: Elizabethan Humanist and Legal Historian', *Journal of Legal History* 6.2 (1985), 157–78

[S31] R.H. Fritze, '"Truth Hath Lacked Witnesse, Tyme Wanted Light": The Dispersal of the English Monastic Libraries and Protestant Efforts at Preservation, ca. 1535–1625', *Journal of Library History* 18.3 (1983), 274–91

[S32] R.J.S. Grant, *Laurence Nowell, William Lambarde, and the Laws of the Anglo–Saxons* (1996)

[S37] T. Graham, 'Anglo-Saxon Studies: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', in A51.3, pp. 415–33, at 415–18 (Leland, Talbot, Recorde) and 418–23 (Nowell, Lambarde, Parker)

See also Wood (T68), pp. 109–24.

William Camden (1551–1623)

One of the greatest of the English antiquaries. Second Master (1575–93) and then Headmaster (1593–7) of Westminster School, where he wrote his *Britannia* (S39), for which he is chiefly renowned. Teacher, friend and associate of Sir Robert Cotton. His correspondence, in BL Cotton Julius C. v, is full of interest. Entry on Camden by W.H. Herendeen in the ODNB (A150), with references.

[S39] W. Camden, *Britannia* (1586), in Latin. County-by-county exposition of the antiquity of Britain. Enlarged editions of the original work were published in 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600

and 1607. The first English translation was published in 1610; but a better English edition was published by Edmund Gibson in 1695, revised in 1722. Further editions were published by Richard Gough in 1786 and 1806. There are modern facsimile reprints of the 1607 Latin edition, of the 1695 English edition, and of the 1806 edition (county by county).

[S40.5] S. Piggott, 'William Camden and the *Britannia*', *PBA* 37 (1951), 199–217

[S40.6] P. Collinson, 'One of Us? William Camden and the Making of History', *TRHS* 6th ser. 8 (1998), 139–63

The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries (active 1590–1604)

The increasing availability of important texts in printed editions provided new opportunities for the study of the past. Special attention was given to the origins of ancient institutions, and to the use of charters as historical evidence. A group of like-minded antiquaries (including William Camden, William Lambarde, Arthur Agard, Robert Cotton, Joseph Holland, Henry Spelman, Francis Tate) met regularly from *c.* 1590 to *c.* 1604, and read papers to each other as if in a modern seminar; but almost as soon as their work began to acquire a political spin, King James took offence, and the 'Society of Antiquaries' was shut down.

[S41] Group entry ('Society of Antiquaries') by C. DeCoursey in ODNB (A150), with cross-references. See also Evans (S2a), pp. 8–13; Wright (S6); Sharpe (S50); Keynes (K61), p. xlv, n. 7; Keynes (S120), pp. 242–4.

[S41.5] T. Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Discourses written by Eminent Antiquaries upon Several Heads in our English Antiquities* (1720), augmented edition, 2 vols. (1771) – texts of the papers, many of which are still preserved in their original form (Cotton Faustina E. v)

John Speed (1552–1629)

Entry on Speed by S. Bendall in the ODNB (A150).

[S42] J. Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, and *History of Great Britain* (1611), containing an important (and decorative) map of the 'Heptarchy': see Keynes (S120), p. 251, and Shirley (A258), pp. 122–3 (no. 317); Speed's work is also important for its use of coins from the collection of Sir Robert Cotton (M425)

The seventeenth century

The pretensions of the Stuart monarchs James I (1603–25) and Charles I (1625–49) made all the difference. This was the heyday of the learned lawyers, notably Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), Sir Henry Spelman (1562–1641), and John Selden (1584–1654); and during this period the myth of the 'Ancient Constitution', and the associated notion of the 'Norman Yoke', came into being. On the rise of Alfred during this period, not least as a personification of these ideas, see Keynes (S120), pp. 246–60. See also Graham (S4.3).

[S44] G. Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (1995)

[S44a] G. Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution: an Introduction to English Political Thought, 1603–1642* (1992)

[S44b] J. Greenberg, *The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution: St Edward's "Laws" in Early Modern Political Thought* (2001)

[S45] H.A. Cronne, 'The Study and Use of Charters by English Scholars in the Seventeenth Century: Sir Henry Spelman and Sir William Dugdale', *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. L. Fox (1956), pp. 73–91; H.A. Cronne, 'Charter Scholarship in England', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 8 (1962), 26–61; D.R. Woolf, 'The "Common Voice": History, Folklore and Oral Tradition in Early Modern England', *Past and Present* 120 (1988), 26–52, on the increasing use of charter evidence in the seventeenth century

[S45b] J. Crick, in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. J. Crick and A. Walsham (2004) <check title>

[S46] S. Keynes, 'The Lost Cartulary of Abbotsbury', *ASE* 18 (1989), 207–43 - for Spelman and Dugdale

[S47] C.E. Wright, 'Sir Edward Dering: a Seventeenth-Century Antiquary and his "Saxon" Charters', *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*, ed. C. Fox and B. Dickins (1950), pp. 369–93

[S48] R.H. Bremmer and P. Hoftijzer, *Johannes de Laet (1581–1649): A Leiden Polymath* = *LIAS* 25 (1998), incl. R.H. Bremmer, 'The Correspondence of Johannes De Laet (1581–1649) as a Mirror of his Life', pp. 139–64, at 155–9

[S48a] P.J. Lucas, 'From Politics to Practicalities: Printing Anglo-Saxon in the Context of Seventeenth-Century Scholarship', *The Library*, 7th ser. 4.1 (2003), 28–48 - for Selden, Spelman, Wheelock, Somner, Junius, *et al.*

[S49] P.N. Miller, *Pieresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (2000) - on Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) - one of Cotton's continental friends

[S49.5] J. Roberts, 'Extending the Frontiers: Scholar Collectors', in Leedham-Green and Webber (B773), pp. 292–321 (Dee, Cotton, Bodley, Lumley, Selden [pp. 315–21]

[S49.6] R. Ovenden, 'The Libraries of the Antiquaries (*c.*1580–1640) and the Idea of a National Collection', in Leedham-Green and Webber (B773), pp. 527–61 (College of Antiquaries, Dering, D'Ewes, Cotton [pp. 550–7], Bodleian Library)

Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) and the Cottonian Library

This was also the heyday of the great collectors, notably Sir Robert Cotton, active in the opening decades of the seventeenth century. Entry by S. Handley in *ODNB* (A150); also entry in A100. See also Ker's *Catalogue* (B800), pp. liv–lvi; Fussner (S7a); Graham (S37), pp. 423–6. For portraits of him, see 'Kemble' (B330).

[S50] K. Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586–1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (1979), esp. pp. 17–47 (antiquaries), 48–83 (library), 187–91 (past in service of present)

[S51] C.G. Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton* (1994)

[S52] J. Howell, *Cottoni Posthuma* (1651), republished in 1674 and 1679 - collection of Cotton's writings, on various subjects, useful for gaining a sense of his political and antiquarian interests; see Sharpe (S50), e.g. pp. 177–9 and 245–7, and Parry (S54)

[S53] M.P. Brown, 'Sir Robert Cotton, Collector and Connoisseur?', *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters. Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*, ed. M.P. Brown and S. McKendrick (1998), pp. 281–98

[S54] *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy*, ed. C.J. Wright (1997) - including an article on the Cotton monuments in the church at Conington (Hunts.), and article by G. Parry on the contexts of *Cottoni Posthuma* (S52)

On Cotton, the Cottonian library, and the Cottonian fire

For the sad tale of the fire at the Cottonian library, on **23 October 1731**, probably started (albeit inadvertently) by Dr Richard Bentley (Master of Trinity College, Cambridge), see Tite (S51), Keynes (E37.5), pp. 113–16, and Prescott (S58), pp. 391–3. A considerable amount of damage was done, in this fire, to a quantity of important manuscripts (S56.2), so particular importance attaches to the records and papers of those who made use of the manuscripts in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Accordingly, the essential starting-point for work on any Cottonian manuscript is now:

[S55] C.G.C.Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (2003). It may be difficult at first sight to appreciate the great significance of this book; but it contains information of enormous value to anyone interested in the study of 'Anglo-Saxon' manuscripts. It comprises three main elements: (1) Introduction (pp. 1–17); (2) an edition of several of the earliest records pertaining to the *use* of the Cottonian library (pp. 29–90), though *not* including the 1621 catalogue in Harley 6018 (on which see pp. 10–11); (3) entries for each of the Cottonian manuscripts [in Emperor order], providing summary of main contents, occurrences in the 1621 and other early Cottonian catalogues, indications of ownership and use, and reference to the compiler of contemporary table of contents (pp. 93–242). Reviews: R. Rushforth, in *The Library* 7.5.4 (2004), 451–2; S. Keynes, in *Book Collector* 54 (2005), 461–4.

[S56.1] Thomas Smith's catalogue of the Cottonian Library, published in 1696 (before many of the manuscripts were damaged in the fire of 1731): facsimile reprint, in T. Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, ed. C.G.C. Tite (1984), with introduction, etc.

[S56.2] *Report from the Committee Appointed to View the Cottonian Library* (1732), on the damage suffered in the fire - included in Tite's reprint of Smith's *Catalogue* (S56.1)

[S56.3] J. Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, deposited in the British Museum* (1802), which falls a long way short of modern standards in the cataloguing of manuscripts, but remains of value for its itemization of the contents of each manuscript; entries now incorporated in the BL's online catalogue (S1.6).

[S56.4] For a start on a new e-catalogue, see J. Harrison, 'Cataloguing the Cotton Manuscripts', *Monastic Research Bulletin* 10 (2004), 17–27; descriptions of at least 25 manuscripts, including Claudius C.ix (B280), are already available online (S1.65).

Another fire, in the bindery at the British Museum in 1865, inflicted further damage on some of the unfortunate Cottonian manuscripts:

[S58] A. Prescott, '"Their Present Miserable State of Cremation": the Restoration of the Cotton Library', in Wright (S54), pp. 391–454, at 419–21

Antiquaries in the seventeenth century

A significant development in the seventeenth century was the growing enthusiasm for study of the history and antiquities of a particular county, often (although not always) allied to the study of the genealogy and heraldry of the local nobility. For a survey of the antiquaries of this period, see Parry (S44). Albeit in the wake of Cotton himself, this was

the heyday for the collection and study of Anglo-Saxon and later medieval charters (S45, S 46, S47), by antiquaries such as Sir Henry Spelman (1562–1641), Roger Dodsworth (1585–1654), Sir Edward Dering (1598–1644) of Surrenden (Kent), Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–50) of Stowlangtoft (Suffolk), Sir Christopher (Lord) Hatton (*c.*1605–1670) of Kirby Hall (Northants.), Sir William Dugdale (1605–86) of Blyth Hall, Shustoke (Warwickshire), and John Aubrey (1626–97). The challenge is to track down the surviving papers of these antiquaries; for a valuable guide, see S1.5.

[S59] '**Antiquitas Rediviva**' (1 May 1638), being the terms of agreement between a group of antiquaries (Hatton, Shirley, Dering, and Dugdale). Printed, from the [lost] original at Surrenden, by L. B. Larking, 'On the Surrenden Charters', *Archæologia Cantiana* 1 (1858), 50–65, at 55–8, and by Evans (S2a), pp. 21–3. The original was sold at the Dering sale in 1861, lot 1156; bt by Quaritch (£4.15s), now lost. One outcome of the agreement was Sir Christopher Hatton's magnificent 'Book of Seals', with facsimiles of charters, compiled in 1640-1 (now Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton MS. 170), for which see *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, ed. L.C. Loyd and D.M. Stenton (1950), with an introduction invaluable for the study of charters in the seventeenth century.

William **Somner** (1598–1669), author of *The Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640), and of an Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Entry by P. Sherlock in ODNB (A150).

[S59.1] G. Parry, 'An Incipient Medievalist in the Seventeenth Century: William Somner of Canterbury', *Stud. in Medievalism* 9 (1997), 58–65

Sir William **Dugdale** (1605–86), of Blyth Hall, Shustoke, Warwickshire, compiler of the *Monasticon* (1655), and author of *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656) and *The History of St Paul's Cathedral* (1658). Entry by G. Parry in the ODNB (A150). Hollar's engraved portrait of Dugdale, aged 50, showing the antiquary as antiquary (Pennington (S59.25), p. 239 [no. 1392]), was first published in 1656, as frontispiece to *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*. Papers: HMC list (S1.5), pp. 59–60 (331).

[S59.2] Records of religious houses. The groundwork was done by Dodsworth, whose collections are in the Bodleian Library; e.g. Dodsworth 10 (SC 4152), compiled 1638-40, being his collection of monastic foundation charters, derived from various sources (including a version of the Prise-Say register (S24)). Complemented by Dugdale's own work in the late 1630s and 1640s, on charters, cartularies [Dugdale 48], etc.; also in Bodleian Library. The story of the so-called 'Grand Plagiary', i.e. the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (S59.8), is told by Douglas (S5).

[S59.21] *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, ed. W. Hamper (1827) - prints selection of his correspondence with fellow-antiquaries, including Somner, making use of the Dugdale archive now at Merevale Hall (accessible through the Warwicks. R.O.)

[S59.25] Dugdale's association with Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–77), ultimately from Prague (Bohemia), for the plates in the *Monasticon* (S59.8) and in the *History of St Paul's*: G. Parry, *Hollar's England: a Mid-Seventeenth-Century View* (1980), esp. nos. 67–7 (portrait of Dugdale, and title-page of the *Monasticon*); R. Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677* (1982), pp. xxxiv–xxxix (*Monasticon*); G. Tindall, *The Man Who Drew London: Wenceslaus Hollar in Reality and Imagination* (2002), pp. 102 (Dugdale) and 126–9 (St Paul's)

[S59.26] N. Ramsay, 'Libraries for Antiquaries and Heralds', in Mandelbrote and Manley (B773), pp. 134–57 (Dugdale, Harley, *et al.*)

John **Aubrey** (1626–97). Entry by A. Fox in ODNB (A150). Famously remarked of the dispersal of the archives of religious houses in Wiltshire (e.g. Malmesbury), *c.* 1600: 'In my grandfather's dayes the manuscripts flew about like butterflies.' Author of works on history and antiquities of Wiltshire and Surrey; but renowned above all for his 'Brief Lives'.

[S59.3] 'Monumenta Britannica' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Top. gen. c. 24-5 (SC 28426-7): facsimile, *Monumenta Britannica*, ed. J. Fowles and R. Legg (1980–2). His interest in charters, etc., is represented also by his 'Chronologia Graphica' (rough notes on palaeography, dated 1689) (Top. gen. c. 25, fols. 185–93).

[S59.4] *Brief Lives, chiefly of contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, between the years 1669 and 1696*, ed. A. Clark, 2 vols. (1898); new edition, by K. Bennett, forthcoming. E.g. on Silas Taylor: 'He also garbled the Library of the Church of Worcester, and Evidences, where he had the originall Grant of King Edgar ... I beleeve it haz wrapt Herings by this time.'

Early editions of printed sources for English history

Anglo-Saxon England attained greater credibility as its rulers were seen to have issued charters, law-codes, and coins, and as its history became better known. Most of the major sources were readily accessible in print by the end of the seventeenth century, in volumes which are now among the classics of English historiography:

[S59.5] [H. Savile], *Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam praecipui, ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi* (1596), rev. (1601), incl. the works of William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Æthelweard, and pseudo-Ingulf - of primary importance for its text of Æthelweard (the unique manuscript of which was destroyed by fire in 1731)

[S59.6] W. Camden, *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta* (1602) - giving wide currency to an interpolated text of Asser's *Life of Alfred*

[S59.7] A. Whelock, *Historiæ ecclesiasticæ gentis Anglorum libri V ...* (1644) - containing the OE Bede, an edition of MS. G of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and an edition of Anglo-Saxon law-codes (being the first serious contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies to emanate from Cambridge)

[S59.8] [R. Dodsworth and] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3 vols. (1655–73). The first volume (1655) comprises entries for religious houses (Benedictine houses, pp. 1–608, followed by Cluniacm Cistercian, and Carthusian houses); so for accounts of all pre-Conquest houses (Benedictine), roughly in order of their foundation, see pp. 1–310, with Wolverhampton in the addenda (p. 988). A major work, which added new dimensions to the study and understanding of the Anglo-Saxon past (including the first accessible texts of many charters, with boundary-clauses [trans. W. Somner] and witness-lists). Illustrated with engravings by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–77). For the symbolic title-page (by Dugdale/Hollar), incorporating a bit of *Gethyctho*, casting its light on darkness, see Parry (S59.25), p. 68, and Pennington (S59.25), pp. 396–7. For the illustrations (by Hollar and King), see Pennington, pp. 155–7, etc.

[S59.85] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. B. Bandinel, J. Caley and H. Ellis, 6 vols. (1846) - a much-enlarged edition, adding various texts

[S59.9] [R. Twysden], *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores X* (1652) - incl. works of Simeon of Durham, Aelred of Rievaulx, Ralph de Diceto, and William Thorne (on St Augustine's, Canterbury)

[S59.10] T. Gale, *Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae, scriptores XV ex vetustis codd. MSS. editi Opera* (1691) - incl. Gildas, Nennius, Eddius, the so-called *Annals of St Neots*, William of Malmesbury's history of the church of Glastonbury, the *Liber de benefactoribus ecclesiæ Ramesiensis* (Ramsey), the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi* (Ely), John of Wallingford, and Alcuin's poem on the saints of York

[S59.11] E. Gibson, *Chronicon Saxonicum* (1692) - edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, using Whelock (S59.7), and MS. E, with Latin translation; accompanied by a fine map

For the earliest scholarly edition of Bede, see Smith (S67.8).

<div align="center">

Anglo-Saxon studies at Oxford
in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries
</div>

The foundations of Anglo-Saxon scholarship at Oxford were laid by Francis Junius (1591–1677); but political and religious controversy, following the restoration of monarchy in the person of Charles II (1660–85), continued to exert great influence. Scholars active at Oxford in the late seventeenth century included George Hickes (1642–1715), Edward Thwaites (1667–1711), and, above all, Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726). For the significance of the cult of Alfred at Oxford, during this period, see Keynes (S120), pp. 260–9. Entry on Junius in A100; see also Graham (S37), pp. 426–30.

[S60] *Franciscus Junius: Cædmonis Monachi Paraphrasis Poetica Genesios ac praecipuarum Sacrae paginae Historiarum, abhinc annos M.LXX. Anglo-Saxonice conscripta, & nunc primum edita*, ed. P.J. Lucas, Early Studies in Germanic Philology 3 (2000) - being a facsimile reprint of Junius's pioneering edition of the biblical poems in Junius 11, published in 1655, with introduction, pp. ix–xlix

[S60.5] S. van Romburgh, 'Why Francis Junius (1591–1677) became an Anglo-Saxonist, or, the Study of Old English for the Elevation of Dutch', *Stud. in Medievalism* 11 (2001), 5–36

[S61] John Spelman's 'Life of King Alfred the Great', written *c.* 1640, deserves recognition as the earliest 'modern' work of Anglo-Saxon history. It was published first in a Latin translation, and then in its original English form: [O. Walker], *Ælfredi Magni Anglorum Regis Invictissimi Vita Tribus Libris Comprehensa a Clarissimo Dno Johanne Spelman* (1678); T. Hearne, *The Life of Ælfred the Great, by Sir John Spelman Kt* (1709). For further discussion, see Keynes (S120), pp. 254–6.

[S62] D. Fairer, 'Anglo-Saxon Studies', *The History of the University of Oxford*, V: *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. L.S. Sutherland, *et al.* (1986), pp. 807–29

Jean Mabillon (1632–1707)

See Giry (M218.7), pp. 62–6; Damico and Zavadil (S12), pp. 15–32, at 23–5; Hindman, *et al.* (S13b), pp. 6–9.

[S63] J. Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica libri VI* (Paris, 1681), with Supplement (1704), 2nd ed. (1709) - although concerned essentially with Frankish charters, etc., Mabillon's great work

exerted a significant influence on the development of Anglo-Saxon studies in the late seventeenth century, most notably in respect of diplomatic and palaeography

[S63.1] D. Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises* (1963), pp. 33–62

See <www.hmml.org/20040210_Archive/resources/Maurists/intro.htm> for text and images from an exhibition about the Maurists and their scholarship, held in 2001 at The Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Saint John's University, Collegeville, MN, USA.

George Hickes (1642–1715)

For Hickes, see Douglas (S5), pp. 93–119; S 13, A100, A150.

[S63.5] G. Hickes, *Institutiones Grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ, et Moeso-Gothicæ* (1689) [facsimile accessible in subscribing libraries via Early English Books Online], pp. 133–82, representing the first published catalogue of 'Anglo-Saxon' manuscripts; for analysis and discussion, see Gneuss, in T15, no. X

[S64] G. Hickes and H. Wanley, *Antiquæ Litteraturae Septentrionalis Libri Duo*, 2 vols. (1703–5), comprising Hickes's *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus* (1703–5), and Wanley's *Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliae Bibliothecis extant, nec non multorum Vett. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus* (1705) - a landmark in the development of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, incorporating Wanley's catalogue of manuscripts

[S64.5] W. Wotton, *Linguarum vett. septentrionalium Thesauri … conspectus brevis* (1708), being an attempt to promote the sales of Hickes & Wanley (S64), with the addition of texts of the wills of Æthelflæd and Ælfflæd (S 1494 + 1486), from the Harleian collection (see letters from Hickes to Wanley, in Harris (S64a), pp. 416–19), in return for which Hickes gave Harley the Wilton cartulary (*ibid.*, pp. 417–18); later translated by M. Shelton, *Wotton's Short View of George Hickes's Grammatico-Critical and Archaeological Treasury of the Ancient Northern Languages* (1735), 2nd ed. [expanded] (1737)

[S64a] *A Chorus of Grammars: the Correspondence of George Hickes and his Collaborators*, ed. R.L. Harris (1992) - on the making of Hickes's *Thesaurus*

Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726)

For Wanley, see Douglas (S5), pp. 120–47; S13; entry by S. Keynes in *BEASE* (A100); entry by P. Heyworth in *ODNB* (A150); Graham (S37), pp. 427–30; Hindman, *et al.* (S13b), pp. 17–18; Rumble (S4.6), pp. 2–3. There is an iconography of Wanley on 'Kemble' (B330), pending further development of 'Wanley' (B761).

[S65.1] *Letters of Humfrey Wanley, Palaeographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian 1672–1726*, ed. P.L. Heyworth (1989)

[S65.2] *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715–1726*, ed. C. E. Wright and R.C. Wright, 2 vols. (1966), including Wanley's 'Memorandum Book' (1721), pp. 427–37

[S65.5] K. Sisam, 'Humfrey Wanley', in his *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (1953), pp. 259–77

[S65.6] C.E. Wright, 'Humfrey Wanley: Saxonist and Library-Keeper', *PBA* 46 (1960), 99–129

[S65.7] E.A. Joy, 'Thomas Smith, Humfrey Wanley, and the "Little-Known Country" of the Cotton Library', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2005), art. 1, pp. 1–34 (online)

[S66] Wanley's '**Book of Specimens**' (S65.5, no. 37, pp. 67–71), comprising a set of beautifully-written facsimiles of 'dated' manuscripts, inspired by Mabillon (S63), was produced in 1697–9, and came to light in 1995 (Longleat House, MS. 345). See Keynes (E37.5), pp. 126–35; a facsimile edition, ed. S. Keynes, with introduction and commentary, is in preparation. See also Rumble (S4.6), p. 6.

Thomas Hearne (1678–1735)

"'Pox on't", said Time to Thomas Hearne. "Whatever I forget, you learn."' For an account of this most indefatigable of antiquaries, see Harmsen, in the *ODNB* (A150), with further references. Virtually all of his papers are in the Bodleian Library. Among his numerous editions of important texts, that of 'Hemming's Cartulary' (B231) is still in use today; see also S19 (Leland) and S61 (Spelman's Alfred).

[S67] *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, ed. C.E. Doble, *et al.*, 11 vols. (1885–1921) - Hearne's inimitable diary, covering the years from 1705 to 1735, and full of interesting information about activities in Oxford, London and elsewhere during this period; with excerpts from his letters

[S67.5] T.H.B.M. Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age: Thomas Hearne 1678–1735* (2000)

For Hearne on Alfred, see Keynes (S120), pp. 268–9.

John Smith (1659–1715), with his son George Smith (1693–1756)

[S67.8] *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum libri quinque, auctore venerabili Bedae*, ed. J. Smith (1722), with a map - scholarly edition of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* [incorporating the Somers collection of Anglo-Saxon charters from Worcester], produced by

John Smith (1659–1715) and his son George Smith (1693–1756); see T. Towers, 'Smith and Son, Editors of Bede', in Bonner (D147), pp. 357–65, and entry on JS by G.H. Martin in ODNB (A150); papers said to be at The Queen's College, Oxford

Elizabeth Elstob (1683–1756)
General accounts in A100, the *ODNB* (A150), S4.1, S4.2, S13; Graham, in A105, pp. 273–4.
[S68] M. Gretsch, 'Elizabeth Elstob: a Scholar's Fight for Anglo-Saxon Studies', *Anglia* 117 (1999), 163–200 and 481–524
[S68.2] A. Smol, 'Pleasure, Progress, and the Profession: Elizabeth Elstob and Contemporary Anglo-Saxon Studies', *Stud. in Medievalism* 9 (1997), 80–97; N. Clarke, 'Elizabeth Elstob (1674–1752): England's First Professional Woman Historian?', *Gender & History* 17 (2005), 210–20, on the same person, in spite of the dates, and the definition of her subject

Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755)
[S68.5] G.R. Tashjian, *et al.*, *Richard Rawlinson: a Tercentenary Memorial* (1990), and the account of him in the *ODNB* (A150)

Edward Lye (1694–1767)
[S69] *The Correspondence of Edward Lye*, ed. M. Clunies Ross and A.J. Collins, Publications of the Dictionary of Old English (2004); see also M. Clunies Ross, 'Revaluing the Work of Edward Lye, an Eighteenth-Century Septentrional Scholar', *Stud. in Medievalism* 9 (1997), 66–79, and her account of him in *ODNB* (A150)

The long eighteenth century
The post-Reformation and post-Restoration perception of Anglo-Saxon history was further refined during the eighteenth century, not least for the intended benefit of the incoming Hanoverians: George I (1714–27), George II (1727–60) and George III (1760–1820). The standard histories of England were those by Paul de Rapin-Thoyras (1661–1725) (S70a) and David Hume (1711–76) (S70b), soon joined by bowdlerized, popularized and illustrated spin-offs which enjoyed even greater popularity (S70c). It was at this time, moreover, that the past acquired a visual dimension: from *c*. 1750 onwards (to *c*. 1850), respectable artists practised 'history painting' (scenes from the Bible, literature, history, etc.), alongside landscape, still life, and portraiture (of men, women, children, horses, etc.); for further details, see Keynes (S120), pp. 292–319. In the 1770s, Joseph Strutt (1749–1802) was at work in the British Museum, copying manuscripts and other objects in an attempt to delineate the manners, customs, and habits, etc., of the ancient Brions and Saxons. At the turn of the century, Sharon Turner (1768–1847) successfully integrated social, economic and cultural themes into his general survey of Anglo-Saxon England; for which he rates an entry in A100. Yet there was still rather little appreciation of art and architecture. Aspects of an Anglo-Saxon style of architecture were identified by Joseph Rickman (1776–1841).

For valuable accounts of the activities of antiquaries in the eighteenth century, see Adams (S4.2), Graham (S4.4), Douglas (S5), and Sweet (S5.5).

[S69.5] Abbé B. de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliqué et représentée en figures* (1719–25), and *Les Monumens de la monarchie françoise*, 5 vols. (1729–33). The latter includes the first representation of the Bayeux Tapestry. See F. Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (1993), pp. 138–44.

Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), and the foundation of the British Museum
[S70] D.M. Wilson, *The British Museum: a History* (2002), esp. pp. 11–34; A. MacGregor, *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum* (1994)

Perceptions of English history in the eighteenth century
[S70a] P. de Rapin Thoyras [or Rapin de Thoyras], *The History of England, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil*, 15 vols. (1726–31), 2nd ed., 2 vols. (1732–3), 3rd ed., 2 vols. (1743); first published as *Histoire d'Angelterre*, 8 vols. (1724–7); see Keynes (S120), pp. 272–4
[S70b] D. Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, 6 vols. (1759–62), new ed. in 8 vols. (1778), illustrated ed. in 5 vols. (1799–1806); see Keynes (S120), pp. 282–3, 314–16
[S70c] T. Mortimer, *A New History of England*, 3 vols. (1764–6), and other works of the same kind; see Keynes (S120), pp. 303–11, with an account of the illustrations by Samuel Wale

Bryan Faussett (1720–76)
Faussett was a pioneer excavator of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, especially in Kent, and is renowned above all as discoverer of the Kingston Brooch (D50) in 1771. For his *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, published in 1856, see S86. See also Jessup (B843), pp. 72–4, and:

[S70k] S. C. Hawkes, 'Bryan Faussett and the Faussett Collection: an Assessment', in Southworth (C103), pp. 1–24, and M. Rhodes, 'Faussett Rediscovered: Charles Roach Smith, Joseph Mayer, and the Publication of *Inventorium Sepulchrale*', in Southworth (C103), pp. 25–64

Joseph Strutt (1749–1802)

For Strutt, see Hindman, *et al.* (S13b), pp. 19–24.

[S71a] J. Strutt, *The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England, containing in a Compleat Series the Representations of all the English Monarchs, from Edward the Confessor to Henry the Eighth ... the whole carefully collected from Antient Illuminated Manuscripts* (1773)

[S71b] J. Strutt, *Horda Angel-Cynnan; or, A Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c. of the Inhabitants of England, from the Arrival of the Saxons, till the Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 3 vols. (1774–6), with rather crude engraved illustrations

[S71c] J. Strutt, *The Chronicle of England; or, A Compleat History, Civil, Military and Ecclesiastical, of the Ancient Britons and Saxons, from the Landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain, to the Norman Conquest, with a Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arts, Habits, &c., of those People*, 2 vols. (1779) - with improved engravings

Sharon Turner (1768–1847)

[S72] S. Turner, *The History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 4 vols. (1799–1805), 7th ed., 3 vols. (1852) - survey of political history in bks I–VI (including a fine account of King Alfred, and a vitriolic account of Æthelred), with appendices on language, coinage, laws, and land, followed by bks VII–X [in vol. 3], on 'manners' (i.e. daily life), government and constitution, poetry (including the first proper appreciation of *Beowulf*), literature, arts ('The progress of the Anglo-Saxons in the art of design and painting was not very considerable'), sciences, and religion.

Thomas John Dibdin (1771–1841)

[S72a] T.J. Dibdin, *A Metrical History of England; or, Recollections in Rhyme, of Some of the Most Prominent Features in our National Chronology, from the Landing of Julius Caesar, to the Commencement of the Regency, in 1812*, 2 vols. (1813) - covers the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period, in (excruciating, but entertaining) rhyme; also available online

Joseph Rickman (1776–1841)

[S73] J. Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation* (1817), which incorporates a pioneering essay 'On Saxon Architecture' (pp. 299–308 in 4th ed.), noting 'that of twenty churches, the names of seven, or more than one third, begin with the letter B' [including Barton on Humber, Barnack, Brigstock, Brixworth, and Earls Barton]; cf. Sharon Turner's rather feeble account of architecture, in his bk IX (pp. 400–7); see also Hunter (Q700)

Sir Francis Palgrave (1788–1861), formerly Cohen

[S73a] F. Palgrave, *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth: Anglo-Saxon Period*, 2 pts (1832); also his *History of England*, I: *Anglo-Saxon Period* (1831)

[S73b] G.W. Collen, *Britannia Saxonica: a Map of Britain during the Saxon Octarchy ...* (1833) - with various tables, etc., 'to assist the student of English history during the Saxon period' (including the [heraldic] arms of the Anglo-Saxon kings, etc.)

Other luminaries include **Thomas Astle** (1735–1803), palaeographer and collector, on whom see Keynes (B450), pp. 75–7.

For the early use of archaeological evidence in relation to our perception of the Anglo-Saxon settlements, see Lucy (N120), esp. pp. 158–63.

'The Times Digital Archive 1785–1985' comprises copies of *The Times* newspaper from its beginnings, and (for subscribing libraries) is searchable online.

For the **sculptures of Anglo-Saxon kings** made in 1820–1 for the West Front of Lichfield Cathedral, see B230.1

The reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901)

The great pride still taken in the nation's past is shown by the elaborate schemes undertaken in the early 1840s for the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament. This was symbolic of and inseparable from the nation's sense of its own identity, reflecting confidence at the same time in its appointed destiny: in the wake of political turmoil elsewhere, belief in the strength of the nation's institutions was matched by belief in the strength of its people. A deepening appreciation of Germanic institutions was owed not least to the work of J.M. Kemble, who published the first comprehensive edition of Anglo-Saxon charters (B340); and advances in the quality of published illustrations, notably by the entomologist and palaeographer J.O. Westwood (1805–93), heightened awareness of achievements in Anglo-Saxon material culture. Meanwhile, an historical school in Oxford

brought the mainstream historical tradition to its finest point of development, with the narrative power to match the grandeur of the theme.

John Mitchell Kemble (1807–1857)

J. M. Kemble, elder brother of the actress Fanny Kemble, was the first in England to produce an edition of *Beowulf* (1833), followed by the first translation of the poem into modern English (1837); his six-volume edition of Anglo-Saxon charters was published between 1839 and 1848 (B340); his two-volume *Saxons in England*, based on linguistic, literary, and documentary evidence, was published in 1849; and *Horae Ferales*, his pioneering work on the archaeology of the Germanic peoples on the continent and in England, was published posthumously in 1863. An iconography of Kemble, and a list of his surviving papers, is on the 'Kemble' website (B330). There is a brief account of him in A100, and in the *ODNB* (A150); see also Lucy (N120), pp. 160–1.

[S74] P. Allen, *The Cambridge Apostles: The Early Years* (1978); W.C. Lubenow, *The Cambridge Apostles 1820–1914: Liberalism, Imagination, and Friendship in British Intellectual and Professional Life* (1998)

[S75] B. Dickins, 'John Mitchell Kemble and Old English Scholarship', *PBA* 25 (1939), 51–84; reptd in T25, pp. 57–90

[S76] *John Mitchell Kemble and Jakob Grimm: a Correspondence 1832–1852*, ed. R.A. Wiley (1971)

[S77] R.A. Wiley, 'Anglo-Saxon Kemble: the Life and Works of John Mitchell Kemble 1807–1857, Philologist, Historian, Archaeologist', *ASSAH* 1, BAR British Series 72 (1979), 165–273

[S78] S. Keynes, *John Mitchell Kemble (1807–57): Apostle, Revolutionary, and Anglo-Saxonist*, Fell-Benedikz Lecture 2005 (forthcoming); see also Keynes (B801), no. 41, on Kemble at Trinity College, and on the dispersal of his papers

[S79] J.R. Hall, 'The First Two Editions of *Beowulf*: Thorkelin's (1815) and Kemble's (1833)', *The Editing of Old English*, ed. D.G. Scragg and P.E. Szarmach (1994), pp. 239–50

[S79.5] H. Williams, 'Heathen Graves and Victorian Anglo-Saxonism: Assessing the Archaeology of John Mitchell Kemble', *ASSAH* 13 (2006), 1–18

See also Wilson (S70), pp. 129–30.

The later nineteenth century

The primary sources were made available in new editions, notable Petrie (B1) and the Rolls Series (B2). The material culture of Anglo-Saxon England came more clearly into focus, and enhanced appreciation of early English society. Many distinguished historians flourished at Oxford in the second half of the nineteenth century, among them E.A. Freeman (1823–92), William Stubbs (1829–1901), and J.R. Green (1837–83); and, building on the work of Rapin and others, they were largely responsible for the formulation of what has since come to be regarded as the mainstream view of English history. In Cambridge, the chair of modern history was held in the 1860s by the novelist Charles Kingsley (1819–75), best known for his inspiring work on Hereward the Wake (R143).

[S81] A. Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2000), reviewed by R. Frank, *SBVS* 26 (2002), 157–60 - a reading of which prompts the question whether the Victorian reception of the Vikings had any effect on the Victorian perception of the Anglo-Saxons

[S82] A. Hawkshaw, *Sonnets on Anglo-Saxon History* (1854) - by Ann Hawkshaw (1813–85), illustrating the appeal of certain subjects to the romantic mind

[S83] C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua: Etchings and Notices of Ancient Remains, Illustrative of the Habits, Customs, and History of Past Ages*, 6 vols. (1848–68) - incl. Anglo-Saxon antiquities, e.g. i.63-4 (coins of Offa); ii.203–48; iii.1–18 and 179–92 (Faussett collection); v.185–200 (Lyminge); vi.136–72 and 201–21 (burials)

[S84] *Saxon Obsequies illustrated by Ornaments and Weapons: discovered by the Hon. R. C. Neville in a Cemetery near Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire* (1852) - with fine coloured plates, showing cremation urns, bone combs, necklaces, brooches, etc.

[S84a] W.M. Wylie, *Fairford Graves: a Record of Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Burial Place* (1852) - cemetery at Fairford, Gloucestershire

[S85] J.Y. Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* (1855), comprising an account of the material culture of the 'pagan Saxons' (pp. vii–xxviii) with 40 coloured plates illustrating various kinds of objects (glass, pottery, brooches, combs, etc.) from many different places

[S86] *Inventorium Sepulchrale: an Account of Some Antiquities dug up at Gilton, Kingston, Sibertswold, Barfriston, Beakesbourne, Chartham, and Crundale, in the County of Kent, from A.D. 1757 to A.D. 1773, by the Rev. Bryan Faussett*, ed. C. Roach Smith (1856) - illustrating the material culture of seventh-century Kent; for Faussett himself, see S70k

[S86a] A.S. Cook, *Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross between the Years 1607 and 1861*, Yale Studies in English 50 (1914)

[S87] J.O. Westwood, *Fac-similes of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (1864–8), with a stunning portfolio of plates; also J. O. Westwood, *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria, being a Series of Illustrations of the Ancient Versions of the Bible ...* (1843–5), reptd as *The Art of Illuminated Manuscripts* (1988) - making possible a better appreciation of Anglo-Saxon art; for Westwood, see also Hindman, *et al.* (S13b), pp. 123–5

[S88] J. de Baye, *The Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons* (1893) - a review of the evidence revealed by archaeology in the nineteenth century

[S89] J.H. Ramsay [1832–1925], *The Foundations of England, or Twelve Centuries of British History (B.C. 55–A.D. 1154)*, 2 pts (1898) — covering Anglo-Saxon history in pt 1, being the opening part of his 8-volume 'Scholar's History of England' (up to 1500)

[S90] J.W. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (1981) - on Macaulay, Stubbs, and Freeman

[S91] J. Campbell, 'Stubbs and the English State', reptd in T66, pp. 247–68; J. Campbell, 'Stubbs, Maitland, and Constitutional History', *British and German Historiography 1750–1950: Traditions, Perceptions, and Transfers*, ed. B. Stuchtey and P. Wende (2000), pp. 99–122

[S92] W.R. Powell, *John Horace Round: Historian and Gentleman of Essex* (2001)

For Stubbs and the Oxford School, see also Lucy (N120), pp. 161–3. For Freeman, see R10. Freeman met with fierce criticism from John Horace Round (1854–1928), notably in *Feudal England* (R210), and, in Cambridge, F.W. Maitland (1850–1906) changed the ground rules (R211).

The twentieth century

The work of Round and Maitland did much to break the mould, stressing the significance of post-Conquest developments; though it was not long before the Anglo-Saxonists struck back. The giants of the twentieth century were H.M. Chadwick (1870–1947), whose distinctive contribution is represented here by M35 (1905) and C40 (1907); Sir Frank Stenton (1880–1967), who after an interesting start (R5) redefined the parameters of the subject as a whole (A1); and Dorothy Whitelock (1901–82), who provided the documentary companion to Stenton in the form of EHD I (B1). There are entries on Stenton and Whitelock in Cannon (S7c). For Stenton, see T1; for Whitelock, see T5 and T6.

[S93] Memoir of H. M. Chadwick, in Lapidge (S7e)

[S94] T. Hodgkin [1831–1913], *The History of England from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest* (1906)

[S94a] C. Oman [1860–1946], *England before the Norman Conquest* (1910), 8th ed. (1938), but then superseded by Stenton's great work (A1), first published in 1943

[S95] *Stenton's 'Anglo-Saxon England' Fifty Years On*, ed. D. Matthew, Reading Historical Studies 1 (1994) - being the proceedings of a commemorative symposium held in 1993, incl. J. Campbell, 'Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* with Special Reference to the Earlier Period', pp. 49–59, reptd in T66, pp. 269–80; S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon History after *Anglo-Saxon England*', pp. 83–110; and D. Matthew, 'The Making of *Anglo-Saxon England*', pp. 111–34; also, papers on Stenton and place-names (K. Cameron), and on Stenton and numismatics (M. Blackburn).

[S96] H. Loyn, 'Dorothy Whitelock (1901–82)', in S12, pp. 289–300; S. Keynes, 'Dorothy Whitelock', in *ODNB* (A150), vol. LVIII, pp. 692–4, and online

[S97] H. Loyn, 'Anglo-Saxon England', *A Century of British Medieval Studies*, ed. A. Deyermond (forthcoming [2007]), pp. 7–26 - a review, covering contributions to the study of Anglo-Saxon history in the 20th century

The wisdom transmitted from Stenton to Whitelock is that the 'Anglo-Saxon achievement' (i.e. contribution to the making of England) has been underestimated, and deserves greater recognition; it also remains firmly grounded in the close analysis of primary sources. Yet there is a continuing tension between the 'Germanism' of (e.g.) Stenton and Whitelock, and the 'Romanism' of (e.g.) Wallace-Hadrill; see Campbell, in T66, p. 75.

Anglo-Saxonism

On what is meant, or might be meant, by the term 'Anglo-Saxonism', see the entry in A100. It manifests itself in various forms, from the sixteenth century to the present day, in England, America, and elsewhere: changing perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon past; use made of the Anglo-Saxon past for contemporary social, political or religious purposes; poems, plays, and operas; works of general or popular history (sometimes illustrated); sculpture; 'history paintings' (especially in the period from *c*. 1750 to *c*. 1850); historical novels; children's history; etc. See also the issues of the journal *Studies in Medievalism*.

[S100] *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. A.J. Frantzen and J.D. Niles (1997)

[S101] C.A. Simmons, *Reversing the Conquest: History and Myth in 19th-Century British Literature* (1990) - on Alfred, Harold, William I, *et al.*

[S101a] C.A. Simmons, 'Introduction', *Medievalism and the Quest for the "Real" Middle Ages*, ed. C.A. Simmons (2001), pp. 1–28

[S101.5] G. Bullough, 'Pre-Conquest Historical Themes in Elizabethan Drama', *Medieval Literature and Civilization*, ed. D.A. Pearsall and R.A. Waldron (1969)

[S105.6] *Shakespeare's Lost Play: Edmund Ironside*, ed. E. Sams (1985)

[S102] E.G. Stanley, *Die angelsächsische Rechtspflege und wie man sie später aufgefasst hat*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 1999.2 (1999); E.G. Stanley, *Imagining the Anglo-Saxon Past: The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism, and Anglo-Saxon Trial by Jury* (2000)

[S103] *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. D. Scragg and C. Weinberg, CSASE 29 (2000) - wonderfully varied contents, incl. D. Donoghue, 'Lady Godiva', pp. 194–214, and Pratt (S123)

[S104] D. Donoghue, *Lady Godiva: a Literary History of the Legend* (2003); see also S103

[S105] R. Horsman, 'Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37 (1976), 387–410; R. Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: the Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (1981)

[S106] A.J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick, 1990)

[S107] M.J. Mora and M.J. Gómez-Calderón, 'The Study of Old English in America (1776–1850): National Uses of the Saxon Past', *JEGP* 97 (1998), 322–36

[S110] R. Fleming, 'Henry Adams and the Anglo-Saxons', in T32, pp. 13–36

[S111] J.A. Hilton, *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes: a Short Introduction to Anglo-Saxonism* (2006)

The cult of Alfred the Great

[S120] S. Keynes, 'The Cult of King Alfred the Great', *ASE* 28 (1999), 225–356

[S121] B. Yorke, 'Alfredism: the Use and Abuse of King Alfred's Reputation in Later Centuries', in Reuter (F54), pp. 361–80; B. Yorke, 'The Most Perfect Man in History?', *History Today* 49.10 (1999), 8–14; B. Yorke, *The King Alfred Millenary in Winchester, 1901*, Hampshire Papers 17 (1999)

[S122] N. Rogers, 'Henry VI and the Proposed Canonisation of King Alfred', *The Lancastrian Court*, ed. J. Stratford, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 13 (2003), pp. 211–20

[S123] L. Pratt, 'Anglo-Saxon Attitudes?: Alfred the Great and the Romantic National Epic', in S103, pp. 138–56

[S124] S. Heathorn, '"The Highest Type of Englishman": Gender, War, and the Alfred the Great Millenary Commemoration of 1901', *Canadian Journal of History* 37 (2002), 460–84; P. Readman, 'The Place of the Past in English Culture c. 1890–1914', *Past and Present* 186 (2005), <00–00>

[S125] D. Horspool, *Why Alfred Burned the Cakes: a King and his Eleven-Hundred-Year Afterlife*, Profiles in History (2006); see also Hill (S13c)

[S126] J. Parker, *England's Darling: the Victorian Cult of Alfred the Great* (2007 [forthcoming]); see also J. Parker, 'The Apocryphal Alfred', *The Medieval World and the Modern Mind*, ed. M. Brown and S. H. Harrison (2000), pp. 142–70, J. Parker, 'The Day of a Thousand Years', *Stud. in Medievalism* (2002), 113–36, and her article in *Jnl of Victorian Culture* (forthcoming)

See also Stanley (S102), Hills (C42).

For purposes of comparison:

[S140] R. Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France: a Thousand Years of Mythology* (2003)

Miscellany

[S150] W.C. Sellar and R. J. Yeatman, *1066 and all that: a Memorable History of England* (1930, re-issued 1999) - the classic satire of the English historical myth, from 55 BC to 1918; new ed. with introduction by F. Muir (1993)

[S155] T. Deary [and M. Brown], *Horrible Histories: the Vicious Vikings* (1994), incl. Alfred and Cnut; *Horrible Histories: the Cut-Throat Celts* (1997); *Horrible Histories: the Smashing Saxons* (2000)

T. COLLECTIONS OF PAPERS

This section comprises collections of two kinds: the collected papers of particular scholars, and collections of papers by various scholars, whether devised as a tribute to a particular scholar, or as the proceedings of a conference on a particular theme, or as a volume of reprinted papers on a particular theme. Items from these collections are cited above with reference to the numbers below.

Collected papers published by Variorum, now Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot: T4 (Meyvaert); T5 (Whitelock); T6 (Whitelock); T8 (Hunter Blair); T11 (Dumville); T18 (Dumville); T30 (Jarrow Lectures); T50 (McKitterick); T55 (Gneuss); T56 (Gneuss); T60 (Sims-Williams); T61(Jones); T62 (Pfaff); T63 (Lendinara); T64 (McGurk); T67 (Nelson).

Collected papers published by the Hambledon Press (London): T9 (Campbell); T14 (Davis); T17a (Gransden); T19 (Lapidge); T53 (Nelson); T58 (Brooks); T59 (Brooks); T65 (Wormald); T66 (Campbell).

By a single author on various subjects:

[T1] *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. D.M. Stenton (1970)

[T2] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Medieval History* (1975)

[T3] D.C. Douglas, *Time and the Hour* (1977)

[T4] P. Meyvaert, *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others* (1977)

[T5] D. Whitelock, *From Bede to Alfred: Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Literature and History* (1980)

[T6] D. Whitelock, *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th Century England* (1981)

[T7] F. Barlow, *The Norman Conquest and Beyond* (1983)

[T8] P. Hunter Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*, ed. M. Lapidge and P. Hunter Blair (1984)

[T8.5] N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries*, ed. A.G. Watson (1985)

[T9] J. Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History, 400–1200* (1986, pb 2000)

[T10] E.G. Stanley, *A Collection of Papers with Emphasis on Old English Literature* (1987)

[T11] D.N. Dumville, *Histories and Pseudo-histories of the Insular Middle Ages* (1990)

[T12] R.A. Brown, *Castles, Conquest and Charters: Collected Papers* (1989)

[T13] F.T. Wainwright, *Scandinavian England*, ed. H.P.R. Finberg (1975)

[T14] R.H.C. Davis, *From Alfred the Great to Stephen* (1991)

[T15] D.N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival* (1992)

[T16] H.R. Loyn, *Society and Peoples: Studies in the History of England and Wales, c. 600–1200* (1992)

[T17] C. Hart, *The Danelaw* (1992)

[T17a] A. Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (1992)

[T18] D. N. Dumville, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (1993)

[T19] M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (1996), and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (1993)

By various authors on various subjects:

[T20] *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Studies presented to F.M. Stenton*, ed. R.H.M. Dolley (1961)

[T21] *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (1971)

[T22] *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald with D. Bullough and R. Collins (1983)

[T23] *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (1985)

[T24] *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley*, ed. M.A.S. Blackburn (1986)

[T25] *British Academy Papers on Anglo-Saxon England*, selected and introduced by E.G. Stanley (1990)

[T26] *People and Places in Northern Europe 500–1600: Studies presented to Peter Sawyer*, ed. I.N. Wood and N. Lund (1991)

[T27] *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture presented to Helmut Gneuss*, ed. M. Korhammer, with K. Reichl and H. Sauer (1992)

[T28] *Anglo-Norman Warfare: Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Military Organization and Warfare*, ed. M. Strickland (1992)

[T28.5] *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks (1992)

[T29] *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. G. Garnett and J. Hudson (1994)

[T30] *Bede and his World: the Jarrow Lectures*, with a preface by M. Lapidge, 2 vols. (1994) - reprint of Jarrow Lectures from 1958 to 1993, with index by A. Corrêa

[T31] *Alfred the Wise: Studies in honour of Janet Bately*, ed. J. Roberts and J.L. Nelson (1997)

[T32] *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P.E. Szarmach and J.T. Rosenthal, Studies in Medieval Culture 40 (1997)

[T33] *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. P. Pulsiano and E.M. Treharne (1998)

[T34] *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. P.S. Baker and N. Howe (1998)

[T35] *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. J. Hines (1997)

[T36] *Names, Places and Peoples: An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*, ed. A.R. Rumble and A.D. Mills (1997)

[T37] *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (1996)

[T38] *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. A.P. Smyth (1998)

[T39] *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (1997)

[T40] *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (1986)

[T41] *The Medieval State: Essays presented to James Campbell*, ed. J.R. Maddicott and D.M. Palliser (2000)

[T42] *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. W.O. Frazer and A. Tyrrell, Studies in the Early History of Britain (2000)

[T43] *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. D.A.E. Pelteret, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 6 (2000)

[T44] *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. J.M.H. Smith (2000)

[T45] *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. P.E. Szarmach, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 5 (2000)

[T46] *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. J. Roberts and J. Nelson, King's College London Medieval Studies 17 (2000)

[T47] *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. R. Gameson and H. Leyser (2001)

[T48] *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (2001)

[T49] *The Normans and their Adversaries at War: Essays in Memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. R.P. Abels and B.S. Bachrach (2001)

By a single author on various subjects (cont'd):

[T50] R. McKitterick, *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th–9th Centuries* (1994), and *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (1995)

[T51] C. Clark, *Words, Names and History*, ed. P. Jackson (1995)

[T52] R.I. Page, *Runes and Runic Inscriptions*, ed. D. Parsons (1995)

[T53] J.L. Nelson, *The Frankish World 750–900* (1996)

[T54] E. John, *Reassessing Anglo-Saxon England* (1996)

[T55] H. Gneuss, *Books and Libraries in Early England* (1996)

[T56] H. Gneuss, *Language and History in Early England* (1996)

[T57] M.B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (1991)

[T58] N. Brooks, *Communities and Warfare 700–1400* (2000)

[T59] N. Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400–1066* (2000)

[T60] P. Sims-Williams, *Britain and Early Christian Europe: Studies in Early Medieval History and Culture* (1995)

[T61] C.W. Jones, *Bede, the Schools and the Computus*, ed. W.M. Stevens (1994)

[T62] R.W. Pfaff, *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England* (1998)

[T63] P. Lendinara, *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries* (1999]

[T64] P. McGurk, *Gospel Books and Early Latin Manuscripts* (1998)

[T65] P. Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (1999)

[T66] J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (2000)

[T67] J.L. Nelson, *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe: Alfred, Charles the Bald and Others* (1999)

[T68] M. Wood, *In Search of England* (1999)

[T69] J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (2000)

[T70] P. Stafford, *Gender, Family and the Legitimation of Power: England from the Ninth to Early Twelfth Century* (2006)

[T71] P. Wormald, ed. S. Baxter, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian* (2006), with additional notes

[T72] T. Reuter, *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. Nelson (2006)

By various authors on various subjects (cont'd):

[T100] *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: the Proceedings of the First York Alcuin Conference*, ed. C. Cubitt (2003)

[T101] *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. D. Wolfthal, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 4 (2000) <in the BL, but seemingly not yet available in Cambridge>

[T102] *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J.E. Cross*, ed. T.N. Hall, Medieval European Studies 1 (2002)

[T103] *The Cross goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, ed. M. Carver (2003)

[T104] *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (2002)

[T105] *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. C.E. Karkov and G.H. Brown (2003)

[T106] *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. L. Kornexl and U. Lenker (2003)

[T107] *The Scandinavians from the Vendel Period to the Tenth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. J. Jesch (2003)

[T108] *Texts and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures*, ed. D. Scragg (2003)

[T109] *Old English Scholarship and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Carl T. Berkhout*, ed. J. Wilcox, OEN Subsidia 32 (2004) <not yet seen>

[T110] *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O'B. O'Keeffe and A. Orchard (2005)

[T111] *Anglo-Saxons: Studies presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. S. Keynes and A.P. Smyth (2006)

[T112] *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. A.R. Rumble (2006)

[T113] *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. Crick and S. Hamilton (2006)

[T114] *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. J. Green and M.T. Flanagan <not yet seen>

[T115] *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. E. Tyler and R. Balzaretti (2006)

[T117] *Myth, Rulership, Church, and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. J. Barrow and A. Wareham (forthcoming)

[T118] *Edgar the Peaceable, King of England 959–75: a Reevaluation*, ed. D. Scragg (forthcoming) - proceedings of a conference at Manchester in 2004