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.


[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)


[A12] E. James, Britain in the First Millennium (2001) - England, Wales, and Scotland, for a change
Anglo-Saxon England: a Bibliographical Handbook


[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


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

**Social, economic and administrative history**


**Regional history and archaeology**


[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).


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


**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).


[A50.3] 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).


[A51.2] *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)


**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.


**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 indispensable: 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


See also the *New Cambridge Medieval History* (A69), etc.


**Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian history**

For the Garland encyclopedias, see A106, etc.


[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).
Scotland, Ireland, and Wales


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.


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:


[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


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


[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


[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).


[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)


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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.


[A86.1] *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.


**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**


**Handbooks of dates**


[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.**


[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

Prosopography

Supplements was published in numerous volumes between 1884 and 1901, followed by several Scandinavians in Britain; Hist and (b) under classified headings (Anglo
were not included in the ASE bibliography for 2004, but are here listed (a)
National Biography

a

odness.  The

extensive bibliography.  <Accessible online (from the Cam domain) at <http://www.

Conqueror.  Many other entries, on saints, scholars, etc.  Each entry is followed by an

major work of reference.  The

written (for the most part) in 1995

vols. (2004).  Work on the

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

[2000).  Entries include

Bullough on 'Angelsachsen'; Wormald on 'Angelsächsisches Recht'; Brooks on 'Canterbury',

'Kent', 'Northumbria'; etc.  <CUL: R532.7>

[115] [J. Hoops], Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, ed. H. Jankuhn, et al.,


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


[109] Medieval Archaeology: an Encyclopedia, ed. P. Crabtree (2000); Trade, Travel and


Bullough on ‘Angelsachsen’; Wormald on ‘Angelsächsisches Recht’; Brooks on ‘Canterbury’,

Edington; E. Treharne on the

Asser, Treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, the School of Alfred, and the Battle of

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.>


Rosenthal (1998)


[103] 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

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.>


historiographical surveys (up to 1000 words each), including A. Todd on Offa; D. Pratt on

Asse, 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.>


Rosenthal (1998)


[109] Medieval Archaeology: an Encyclopedia, ed. P. Crabtree (2000); Trade, Travel and


Bullough on 'Angelsachsen'; Wormald on 'Angelsächsisches Recht'; Brooks on 'Canterbury',

'Kent', 'Northumbria'; etc.  <CUL: R532.7>

[115] [J. Hoops], Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, ed. H. Jankuhn, et al.,


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[115] [J. Hoops], Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, ed. H. Jankuhn, et al.,


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,

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Bullough on 'Angelsachsen'; Wormald on 'Angelsächsisches Recht'; Brooks on 'Canterbury',

'Kent', 'Northumbria'; etc.  <CUL: R532.7>
**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**


**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)


**Other cultures**


[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


[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.


[A232.3] 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)


[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)

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 (mousetat, 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)


[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 wits (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 Britain and Anglo-Saxon England (1899) - major figures, arranged chronologically (e.g. Alfred the Great (pp. 125–35), Guthrum, Asser, Plegmund, Werferth, Grimbald, John the Old Saxon, Æthelred, Ingimund, Æthelflaed, Edward the Elder (pp. 148–53), Æthelstan, Edmund, Eadred, Eric Bloodaxe, Oda, Æthelstan Half-King, Eadwig, Edgar (pp. 165–70), Dunstan, Ætfelwald, Oswald, Edward the Martyr, Æthelred the Unready (pp. 183–9), Byrhtnoth, Æthelward, Wulfric [Spot], Ælfheah, Emma, Eadric Streona, Thorkell, Uhtred, Edmund Ironside, Swein Forkbeard, Crnut, 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, Crnut, Edward the Confessor, Ethelred the Unready, St Ethelwold, Oluf, 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), Mevyaert (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, Wigtonshire (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 byOrm 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.


**[A405]** The Chadwick Memorial Lectures, commemorating H.M. Chadwick (1870–1947), hosted by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, University of Cambridge: B86.


### 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.literacy.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.

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### 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, 1 (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**


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.


**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, GY), B630 (JW), B635 (HH); forthcoming B625 (WM, GY). 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 AO, intended to make it easier to see what is available in EHD for a given period.


**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**


**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. lxxiv–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).


[B20.5] 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]


[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 Egcbert, written in 734 (pp. 343–57)


**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:

16
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. Dickens (1950), pp. 245–57 (reptd in T8, no. VI).


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.

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).

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–cvii, 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).

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:

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.

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. 209–71), 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), reprinted (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’


[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.


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); Jeziorski (G228); etc.


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


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’


Welsh, Irish and Scottish annals


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.


‘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 Ælla, see B656.

Important not least for purposes of comparison:


Many other items could be added in the same spirit, e.g. the *Life of Robert the Pious* (B613).


### 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


### The age of the Conversion


[B140] Stephen of Ripon’s *Life of St Wilfrid* (written 709 x 7720). 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).


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

The age of the Mercian Supremacy


English missionaries active on the continent in the eighth century

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

[B160] Life of St Wilibrord (d. 739) 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.


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

[B162] Life of St Leofgryth (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 Hyegurbur 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 Missions 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 reprinted (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 (Byrhtelm). 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 southwest) 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 Byrhtelm; Winterbottom (G153).

[B165.1] Adalard of Ghent’s letter to Archbishop Ælfrheah (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.


[B165.5] 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.


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.


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.


[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.


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)**  

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**


### 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 hum 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, nunery, 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 Wilfrid, ch. 17, for Ripon; Bede’s Letter to Egbert (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**

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).


York

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).


An unknown house

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.


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).


For Simeon’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, Brecon, 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

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 Egberht,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

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 Coenwulf, 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.


[B231.5] 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 Egwin, 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.


**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 Æelfhere, ealdorman of Mercia (d. 983). The abbey boasted an ‘Orthodoxorum’ charter (Q127), dated 972, which passed to Worcester (cf. 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 Merewaelhe, ruler of the Magnesetan. 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). 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**

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**

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 Burghred, 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).


**Gloucester, St Oswald’s (The New Minster)**

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)**

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**

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 Regie Capellæ de Windsore an. 1640’. See also Hooke and Slater (Q142).
**Burton**

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).


[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**

Land at Eynsham was acquired by Æthelmaer 'the Fat', son of Ealdorman Æthelweard, from his son-in-law Æthelweard. Æthelmaer 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 Æthelmaer, 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).


**Erford, St Frideswide's**

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.


**Breendon-on-the-Hill**

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**

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).


**Crowland**

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.


**Thorney**

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 Æthelwine’), 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, Torthred, and Tova (Q438); see also Q256.


**Eynesbury / St Neots**

A religious house was founded at Eynesbury in the 970s, though it is not clear whether the credit is due to a certain Æthelflaed (?wife of Ealdorman Æthelwine), or to a certain Leofric and his wife Leoflaed, 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 Conwie (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 survey).

[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 period 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

[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

[B249] The Vita et miracula S. Yvonis [BHL 4621–3], written c. 1090 by Goscelin of Canterbury, has a direct bearing on events in 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 Wythem, a man of German origin who had become abbot of Ramsey in 1016, quarrelled 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. Wythem appears to have changed his name to Andrew, reflecting his passage through Greece; interestingly, a person named ‘Andreas Grecus’ is registered in the Liber Vitæ of the New Minster, Winchester (1031). Text: Migne, Patrologia Latina 155, cols. 81–90 (Vita), with Macray (B248), pp. lix–lxv (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–xii/xiii) 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. Badmunde* [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 Badmundi* 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)


**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 Ælfflæd 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 Ælfflæd, 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 Ægbert, 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, Grimbold (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 Wulfwald (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.


[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 Wulfwald (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 Edburgh, 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 Alfred), 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.1 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 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.


[B268.5] 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.

Abbortsbury

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

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 (Somerset). 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

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

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.


Bradford-on-Avon

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**

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 Æthelward 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
O.J. Padel, ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies (forthcoming); see also W.M.M. Picken,
‘Bishop Wulfilsge Comoere: an Unrecognised 10th-Century Gloss in the Bodmin Gospels’
Discussion: Insley (G74.6), pp. 24–6.

**Crediton/Exeter**

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), rep’d in his *Essays in
of the charters is in preparation (B342).

**Tavistock**

Tavistock abbey, on the western edge of Dartmoor, was founded by Ordulf, 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**

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.

History* (1994)

**Wilton**

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),
Wulfhryth (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 conventional 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’,  
Goscelin’s ‘Life of Edith’ (Q390) and of the ‘Translation of Edith’ (Q390)

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.


**Malmesbury**

Wiltshire

Malmesbury abbey was founded towards the middle of the seventh century by Maudiluca,  
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).

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 (B172), chs. 11–13. ÆEthelwold  
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  
covering period c.1071–c.1164; vol. I 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. lii–liii  
and ccxiv–ccxx.

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–cxxxii), and  
examining the history of the abbey’s endowment (I, pp. cxxxii–ccxiii). 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  
ÆElfric, 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. ÆElfgifu, Edith, Edward), AB ÆElfric (d. 1005), Abbot Wulfgar  
(d. 1016), and ‘ÆEthelwald’s Bowl’ (from which monks received their ration of beer); ptd by  
351–3 (Wulfgar), and by Porter (G169).

[B283] The tract *De abbatibus Abbendorum*, 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 ÆEthelwald’s arrangements and activities. Text: Stevenson
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 Æthelthryth, 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. Osualdi (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.

**Cholsey**

**Berkshire**

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 re-founded 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).

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**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).


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 Somerset 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 Someretensis*, 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 archives, 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

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

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

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.


For Lyminge, see also Insley (A115).

Canterbury, St Augustine’s

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,

**Rochester**

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).


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

**Selsey**

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**

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**

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

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

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).


Westminster

The foundation of Westminster abbey, on Thorney Island in the Thames, is credited, variously, to Æðelberht, 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 Wulfwise, 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

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.


[B299.60] 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 (R23)

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 epistolarum 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).


[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).


[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


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 onomastical 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:


[B330] ‘Kemble’, aka the *Anglo-Saxon Charters Website* [www.trin.cam.ac.uk/keemble]. 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,
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.


[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.


[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.


[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.

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/chn/langscape/>.

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

**Royal writs**

[B350] F.E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (1952; reprinted 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 facsimiles of all Anglo-Saxon wills which survive in their original form

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


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


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


**Papal letters and charters**

A useful starting-point is the website (sic) of the Archivum Secretum Apostolicum Vaticano <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.


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:


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:
from the mission of St Augustine to the accession of King Alfred (871)


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:

[B379] Quaedviri (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, ‘Quaedviri’, in T29, pp. 111–72, reprinted in T65, pp. 81–114


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:


**Germanic legislation on the continent**


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).


[B393] Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, I: Nicea 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)


[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)


[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


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).


[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).


[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)

[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 each calendar on 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


[B438] 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>

[B439] 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. xviii–cii. 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).


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.


[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 (B330), and trans. of version in Lanalet Pontifical, in Wickham Legg (B475, pp. 335–36).


[B462] Obits from Ælfric’s obits in Easter Tables (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 567). See Gerchow (B440), pp. 305–8; and Keynes (B450), p. 52; for obits of seventh-century kings of Kent, recorded in a group of continental manuscripts, see Story (B18).


[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 ‘ordes’**

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. 239b).


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).


[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 Æxeter. Text and translation: Stubbs (B165.5), pp. 355–7.

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


For the historical significance of coronation ordinæ, 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 Eadwswith (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.


[B478] ‘Ælfwine’s Prayerbook’ (BL Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), written 1023–1031, probably at Leominster in Herefordshire, with poem Carta dirigè 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. vii, 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)


**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.

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 indispensable research powertools which enable one to trace all occurrences of a particular Old English word, see A86 and A87.


[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 Townsend (H39), etc.


[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


[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 Athelstan (pp. 551–68)


[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


[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 Peters Bede). See also entry in A100. Facsimiles of all extant copies are in EEMF 23 (B813). For Whitby, see D95, etc.


Beowulf (and Judith)


[B536.1] D. Whitelock, The Audience of Beowulf (1951), reptd in T5, no. 1, 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 Mediev. 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


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

The Exeter Book

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).


[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).


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.


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.


[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); Hygebold (p. 220).

[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 (1874–90), reptd (1967). Extracts in translation: Swanton (B563), 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 (B811) and Mayr-Hartling (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 lii; 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–xlii. 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 Æthelward 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.


[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. xxvi: 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. xliv–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 (Q121), 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. lxxvi–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.


[B565.3] 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–xxxix), and the date and origin of the Catholic Homilies (pp. xxix–xxxvi), and detailed commentary on the homilies themselves.


[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. lxxxi–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 (B501), 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).


Æthelstasame, including his reflection on kings who were victorious through God (Alfred, see also Wilcox).  Ælfric's preface to Genesis, addressed to Ealdorman Æthelweard (Crawford, pp. 76–77).  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.i.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 Æthelward (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 ‘Benedictionary of St Æthelwold’; Godden (J47.3, and esp. J47.4); Lapidge (Q180); Keynes (Q89), p. 66 (Prayer of Moses).

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), reprinted 2 vols. (1966)

Ælfric’s Life of St Swithun: edited in Lapidge (Q212), pp. 575–609, with translation and commentary.


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, Barthum (B575), pp. 221–4 (no. XII); translation, Swanton (B560), pp. 184–7.


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 (j).

Ælfric’s Pastoral Letter for Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne (c. 995).  Text: Fehr (G211), 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.


[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. MS: 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 at Eastheolone (1005 x ?), also known as his treatise ‘On the Old and New Testaments’. First printed: W. Lisle, A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament (1623). Text: Assmann (B572), pp. 81–91, with pp. xxvi–xxvii. MS: Ker (B800), nos. 344, art. 4, and nos. 220, 239, 310. Text (with Lisle’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 p. 40–4; and Hurt (G211), pp. 90–3.

[B572.6] Ælfric’s Letter to Wulfgeat at Ylmandune (1005 x ?). Text: Assmann I, pp. 1–12, with pp. xi–xvi. MS: Ker (B800), no. 344, art. 3, and nos. 332, 338.


[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, reprinted 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: Loyin (B813).

[B573.6] Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595 4to (collection of excerpts, sermons, etc.). Description: Ker (B800), no. 99. Facsimile: Cross and Tunberg (B813).


[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).


Wulfstan’s Sermo ad Anglos (possibly 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 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: EHĐ no. 240; also in Swanton (B560), pp. 178–84. For discussion, see Bethurum (G215); Godden (J47.4). etc.

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 CCC 201 (Ker (B800), no. 49B, art. 42), and Nero A. i (ibid. no. 164, art. 1); extra bits for II Polity in CCC 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:


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 ‘Ælfric’s Prayerbook’ (B478). For the liturgy, see Bedingfeld (B438), and Gittos and Bedingfeld (B439).

Miscellany of various ‘monastic’ texts in BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii (Ker (B800), no. 186), perhaps a handbook for an archbishop.


For the ‘Vision of (Earl) Leofric’, see Napier (L90).

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.

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.


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:
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).


**[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.


**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 constituted 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 CCC 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 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 ecclesiastical 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 genealogies, see Dumville (B480); for the ecclesiastical 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).


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 prospectus 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 (A233), (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; Epistolarum; 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 Saxon records.


Some collections of primary sources in translation
[B601.6] P.D. King, Charlemagne: Translated Sources (1987) - includes annals, the Astronomer's Life of Louis the Pious (B105), capitularies, etc.

Merovingian chronicles and charters
For discussion of Merovingian historical writing, see McKitterick (A60.10)


Carolingian chronicles and charters
For Carolingian royal biography, see B100, etc.


[B609a] G. Tessier, Diplomatique Royale Française (1962)


The tenth and eleventh centuries


[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).


B.H. Hill, Medieval Monarchy in Action: the German Empire from Henry I to Henry IV (1972) - translations of 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 (including the marriage of his son Otto to Edith, sister of King /Ethelstan, 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).


[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’


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 Æthelwardi 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 Hastinage 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.

Charts 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–xxiv); 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:


William of Malmesbury [Sharpe (A57), pp. 784–6] (Q259)


**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]**


**Henry of Huntingdon** (Sharpe (A57), pp. 171–2)


**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 Bryhtferth 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).


**[B645]** *Libellus de primo Saxorum vel Normannorum adventu, sive de eorumde regibus* (Graves (A76), no. 2157 (d)), also known as *De primo Saxorum adventu vel 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 (P83), S.57; Rollason, in B644, p. 11.
Some later twelfth-century historians


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 R42.


[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).


Ralph de Diceto [Sharpe (A57), p.446], dean of St Paul’s, London


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 sobriquet ‘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.


**Collections of sources in translation**

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).

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**


**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).


*B670.2* 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)


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


leading to battles at Gate Fulford and Stamford Bridge, with discussion (pp. 331–6) of Magnús Óláfsson (k. of Norway), Haraldr Sigurðarson (k. of Norway), et al. [B672] R. Frank, Old Norse Court Poetry: the Ættkvætt 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:


[B673.5] 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 Sigfusson, ‘History of the Kings of Norway’ (lost)

They were followed sooner or later by the great compendia, in the vernacular:

[B674f] Flateyjarbók (Syrett (A77), B323). Manuscript written c. 1390. Sagas of the kings of Norway; includes the so-called ‘Supplement’ to Jómsvikinga 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 Óláf Tryggvason (d. 1000) and Óláf Haraldsson [St Olaf] (d. 1030), kings of Norway, originated towards the end of the twelfth century, in the form of Latin biography/hagiography.


[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. xlv–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. Pålsson and P. Edwards, PC (1976) - for Egil Skallagrimsson at the court of Eric Bloodaxe

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Danish historiography


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)


[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


For editions of the relevant inscriptions in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, see:  


[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, Uplands runinskriker I–IV, Sveriges runinskrifter 6–9 (1940–57), nos. 194, 241, 344, 539, 616, 668, 812, 978, 1181.


For Scandinavian runic inscriptions as evidence of Viking activity in England, see Syrett (J84.5).

Scandinavian runic inscriptions in the British Isles


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)


[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’, Runrún / Runologiska bidrag utgivna av Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet 14 (1999); see also Parsons (C68)


For ‘Scandinavian’ runic inscriptions in England, see Barnes and Page (B709).


Manuscripts

For a useful review of the study of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, see Rumble (S4.6).


[B761] ‘Walney’, 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 many 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])

[B766] The British Library’s ‘Collect Britain’ website, which contains numerous 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:


[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.

The development of Anglo-Saxon scripts

Entries on codicology and on script in A100.


**[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 Protopagotic and then by the Gothic System of Scripts

The so-called ‘Insular System of Scripts’ (600–850)


**[B787.5]** R. McKitterick, ‘Insular Schrift / Insular Script’, in Erhart & Hollenstein (M199.5), pp. 89–96

Later Anglo-Saxon scripts


For Anglo-Carolina 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 Game in the ODNB (A150) [under ‘Aelsinus’]. For Ælfwine (New Minster, Winchester, s. xii), see B478 and Q90c.


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.


**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 ‘Ethelstan 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 Festschrift for P. Szarmach.


[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.


**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).


**[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 Novell 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).


**[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)


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).


[B820] Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. Edition of the medieval catalogues of major 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, 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 Ethelthani 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 encyclopaedia of medieval archaeology, ed. Crabtree (A109).


[B832] S. Johnson, Later Roman Britain (1980; available in paperback) - includes coverage of Anglo-Saxon settlements


[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)
Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture

Visit the project's website at www.durham.ac.uk/corpus


[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. Kjøby-Biddle, South-East England, CASSS 4 (1995); including material from Winchester


[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


[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.


[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.

[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:
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.
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**
**Anglo-Saxon England: a Bibliographical Handbook**


See also Higham (A17); James (A12), pp. 91–4.

**The Anglo-Saxon settlements in the fifth century**

In the year of our Lord 449 Maricn ... 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:


[C27] 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).


[C29] R.W. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain* (1966) - includes chapters on Gildas, Bede and the *Historia Brittonum*

See also Howé (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).


[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


**Linguistic and place-name evidence**

See Cameron (B870), Gelling (B871), Clark (in B521), and:


[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


[C68] D. Parsons, ‘The Language of the Anglo-Saxon Settlers’, *NOWELE* Supplement 17 (1996), 146–51; see also Parsons (B715)


[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**


Continental origins of the Angles, Saxons, etc.


C82] W.A. Van Es, Wijster: a Native Village beyond the Imperial Frontier (1967)


Surveys of the archaeological evidence

See Lucy (N120), and the essays collected in Lucy and Reynolds (N130).


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 (C43), 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 500–750 AD; but note that it omits theKentish series (p. 4), which are especially important for connections between southern Scandinavia and Kent in the sixth century; cf. Hawkes (C107a)


See also entry on pottery in A100.


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


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).

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


**Spong Hill**


See also S84 (Little Wilbraham, Cambs.) and S86 (Kingston, Kent). For the study of seventh-century cemeteries, see Geake (D73).

**Settlements**


[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)


**Continuity or cataclysm?**


[C121] H.P.R. Finberg, Lucerna (1964), esp. ‘Continuity or Cataclysm?’, pp. 1–20, and ‘Roman and Saxon Withington’, pp. 21–65


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.


[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’

**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.


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.


[C130.5] 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.


[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.


See also Lendinara (M178), on the Kentish laws.

The Kingdom of Essex

Yorke (A9), pp. 45–57; Yorke on Essex in A100.


See also Dumville (C159).

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**The Kingdom of Sussex**

Kelly (B293), pp. lxxiii–lxxxiv; Kelly on Sussex in A100.


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**The Kingdom of Northumbria**


For the name Bernicia, see Jackson (C63).

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**The Kingdom of Mercia**

Yorke (A9), pp. 100–27; Gelling (A42); Keynes on Mercia in A100; James (A12), pp. 144–6.


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.

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**The Hwicce and the Magonsætan**

[C156] the Hwicce (Gloucs./Worcs.): see Finberg, Charters of the West Midlands (B325), pp. 167–80 (‘The Principles of the Hwicce’); Sims-Williams (D26), pp. 29–39.


Yorke on the Hwicce in A100.

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**Lincoln**


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**Middle Angles and the fenland**


Kelly on the Middle Angles in A100.

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**Surrey and Middlesex**

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).


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**The Kingdom of East Anglia**
Yorke (A9), pp. 58–71; Higham on East Anglia in A100.

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**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.

The proceedings of the commemorative conference on St Augustine, held in 1997:
The most recent survey: Yorke (A9.5). See also James (A12), pp. 147–79, esp. 151–60 (Augustine) and 160–4 (Aidan, *et al.*).

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**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
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 Ecclesiastical 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


[D26] P. Sims-Williams, Religion and Literature in Western England 600–800, CSASE 3 (1990) - major study of developments in the west midlands


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 (S27–65), 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:


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).


The Franks or Gauls to practise the monastic life; they also sent their daughters to the kingdom of Wessex, see the laws of Ine (EHD no. 32). For England and Rome, see also Q68, etc.

**The cults of Pope Gregory the Great and St Augustine**


[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*.


[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).


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 Britannia) 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);


**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.)


[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


[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 reviews 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)


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.

Coenred, king of the Mercians. Hence Stenton (A1), p. 143, on country

The Ine, king of Wessex, 726–727, in EHD nos. 31–2, in which connection cf. ASC c.850. A contemporary account of a king of Mercia, the Wealdhere Letter (M209.5) was produced during this most interesting period: the ‘Wealdhere Letter’ (M209.5) was produced during this most interesting period: the ‘Wealdhere Letter’ (M209.5) was produced during this most interesting period: the ‘Wealdhere Letter’ (M209.5) was produced during this most interesting period: the ‘Wealdhere Letter’ (M209.5) was produced during this most interesting period:


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, Lindisfarne), Abbess Hild, and Cedd (bishop of London), an


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] Bentley Grange, Derbyshire, whence the famous boar-headed helmet: Bruce-Mitford (D61), pp. 223–52.


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 Alfrith. There is an impressive aerial photograph of Whitby abbey in Current Archaeology 14.7 [163] (June 1999), p. 276.


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”


[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)


[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)


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:


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)


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. Batticombe (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).


[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.


**Ripon and Hexham**

Ripon was founded from Melrose by Abbot Eata (Bede, *Life of St Wilfrid*, 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 7720 (B140); cf. Bede HE v.19


** Monkwearmouth and Jarrow**

The career of Bishop Baduicing (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 Alfrith, subking 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 [EH 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. 86. **Bede** (p. 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)


For Benedict Biscop, see also Wormald (D147). For Abbot Ceolfrith's letter to King Nectan, 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.


Scriptorium of **Monkwearmouth-Jarrow**, represented by the 'Codex Amiatinus', the 'Stonyhurst Gospel of St John', and the 'St Petersburg [formerly Leningrad] Bede'.


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.


[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.


Scriptorium of -?, represented by the ‘Book of Durrow’ and perhaps also by the ‘Book of Kells’: in Ireland, Iona, Northumbria, or elsewhere.


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.


**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)


[D132.2] R. Cramp, Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites, II (finds) [forthcoming]


**Whitby**


**Lindisfarne** (Bede, HE iii.25 and 26)


**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


For Whithorn, see Bede, HE iii.4, entry in A100, and D400, etc.


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.

‘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.

See also Blair (A20), pp. 100–8; and Wormald’s Briexworth 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 ‘Wealtheyre 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.

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

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Anglo-Saxon England: a Bibliographical Handbook


Bede’s conception of kingship


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.


[D181] S. Keynes, ‘Rædwald the Bretwalda’, in D66, pp. 103–23; see also Keynes (E28)


[D183] N.J. Higham, ‘King Cearl, the Battle of Chester and the Origins of the Mercian “Overkingship”’, Midland History 17 (1992), 1–15


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


**[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 (pp. 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.


**[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


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


**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, reprinted 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.

**Episcopal organization**

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).


**Kings and kingdoms in the seventh century**

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.


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.

**Ethnicity, political identity, kingship, etc.**

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.


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.

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

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.

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.

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 Hwice (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), Whtberht (who failed to make an impression in Frisia), Willibord (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 (Leo[glyth), and Larrington (Willibald).

**Willibrord (aka Clement)**

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.

**Wynfrith (aka Boniface)**

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 received 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.

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 Ragynrdruds’ (*Codex Bonifatianus* II), with several colour plates


**Lebuin (Leofwine)**

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.

**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.

**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.

**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.

**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.

**Modern studies of the English missionaries on the continent**


[**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.

**[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)


[**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


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.


[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, Wulhere, Æthelbald, Offa, Coenwulf, and Mercia, etc., by Keynes, in A100; fuller accounts of the same in the ODNB (A150), by Kelly (Penda, Wulhere, 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 (P23), etc. On the archaeology of ‘Middle Saxon’ London, see Biddle (P70a), Cowie (P71a), Keene (F112), etc. For the stunning gold coin of King Coenwulf, bear 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 Jones (C155a), on place-names; Insley (A115), xix.548 for the suggestion that it might depict King Æthelbald. 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 (P23), 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.

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.


[E35.6] 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)


[E37] BL Cotton Otho A. 1. 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.


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]; Ægfrith (Offa’s son), ed. Dümmler no. 61 [Allott no. 35]; the nun Hunderatu (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 (E88), 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):** Alitheher, 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, Æthelward’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 (T77), 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)
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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. lxvv–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.


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 Egfrith), and 463–8 (to Offa, and on death of Æthelred, king of Northumbria, in April 796), at which point which the book ends. For Alcuin's significant change of attitude after the 'death of kings' (Æthelred, Offa, Egfrith) 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


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[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.


[E89.5] M. Garrison, ‘Quid Hinielusdum cum Christo?’ in T110, vol. 1, 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.


[E91] D. Hill and M. Worthington, Offa’s Dyke: History and Guide (2003); but see also review in Medieval Archaeology 49 (2005), 490–2


For offa and the papacy, see also Nelson (F4.15), pp. 16–21.

**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); 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.


[E98] Rumble, in F283, pp. 182–8; Campbell (M350), pp. 43–5

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**


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.


**Economic determinism**


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 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. EA4); see Morton (P64), etc.

Ine’s successors in the eighth century are less well known: ÆEthelheard (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:
The period would also seem to have witnessed a certain amount of internal dynastic strife:

The account of the struggle between King Cynwulf 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, ‘Wile<>rs and the Morality of the Cynwulf 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.

King Wihtred’s law-code, see EHD no. 31.

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 Werburgh, 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 Ælflæd, 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).

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).


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 at Clôfêsho (825) and then at a meeting at Osلافeshlau (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 ÆEthelbald).

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.


[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)


For the glorious gold coin of King Coenwulf (‘+d vico Lvndoniae’), see M710.1.

**‘Mercian’ manuscripts of the late eighth and early ninth centuries**


[E220] Mercian regnal list, added in a Worcester cartulary (BL Cotton Tiberius A. xiii), ptd Hearne (B231), p. 242, ending ‘Beornulf iii, Ludeca i, Wiglaf ii, Egberht i, Wiglaf v, Berhtwulf xii, Burgred xxv, Ceolwulf v, ÆEthelred [no figure given for length of reign]’. Note inclusion of Egberht [of Wessex, for one year], Ceolwulf [for 5 years], and ÆEthelred [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), Ælredberht (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).


[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


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).


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:


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 ÆEthelwulf, 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 ÆEthelwulf. No less interesting is the fact that the English were terrified by a vision related by an English priest, who had been warned 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 ÆEthelwulf (839–58)

The significance of the role of King ÆEthelwulf 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. ÆEthelwulf 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 ÆEthelwulf’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 ÆEthelwulf’s ring, see Wilson (B840), no. 31, and A200, no. 243. For the suggestion that Deor is a satire on King ÆEthelwulf, see North, in OEN 29.2 (1996), 35–6.

[F10] S. Keynes, ‘The West Saxon Charters of King ÆEthelwulf and his Sons’, EHR 109 (1994), 1109–49, esp. 1114–23; for charters of King ÆEthelwulf, see EHD nos. 88–9; see also Nelson (M100.5)


English visitors to Italy in the mid-nineteenth 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 Æthelgifu). Further discussion: Story (E86), pp. 224–43.


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.


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):


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.

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.
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:


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


[F50.5] Other ‘Alfredian’ entries in the ODNB (A150): e.g., Nelson on King Æthelwulf; Wormald on Asser; Pfaff on Grimbald; and several others.


[F52a] D. Sturdy, Alfred the Great (1995)


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).


[F66] King Alfred's writings. Preface to Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care. Excerpts from OE Pastoral Care, OE Consolation of Philosophy, OE Solutioques 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); 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' [CCC 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. 824] (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

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 Angelcyn, 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).


[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', reprinted in T43, pp. 107–20
The ‘Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons’

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).


F101.2 R. Abels, ‘Alfred the Great, the micel hæthen here and the Viking Threat’, in Reuter (F54), pp. 265–79


[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


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 documentary evidence, see Dyson (P72). For exposition of the literary, documentary and numismatic evidence, see Keynes (F90) and Blackburn (M742).


**Economic matters**


**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.


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:


**Grimbold of Saint-Bertin (in Saint-Omer, Flanders)**

Entry on Grimbold 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 Grimbold, see Q445.
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 Grimbold and John the Old Saxon, see: F50, p. 214 n. 26; Gretsch (G208), pp. 248–9, 276–7.


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).


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., EEETS, os 44 and 55 (1871–2)


[F156b] N.G. Discenza, ‘Alfred’s Verse Preface to the Pastoral Care and the Chain of Authority’, Neophilologus 85.4 (2001), 625–33


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.
in Viking Age England’, in H6 (2000), pp. 43

The treaty was probably drawn up before then, in 879, for reaffirmation of its attribution to King Alfred

For the view that it was drawn up before then, in 879, see Dolley (M740), Blackburn (M744), etc.

For the OE Martyrology (B561), see:


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).

J. Roberts, ‘The Old English Prose Translation of Felix’s Vita Sancti Guthlac’, 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:


Commentary on the principal sources

Charts (F64)


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)

For ‘Bald’s Leechbook’, see B591.

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).


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)


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.


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.


[F225] D. Whitelock, ‘The Importance of the Battle of Edington, AD 878’, in T5, no. XIII - a response to Wallace-Hadrill (F222) and Davis (F223)


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?


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


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)

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)

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:

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

D. Whitelock, The Genuine Asser, Stenton Lecture 1967 (1968); reptd in T5, no. XII - a powerful response to Galbraith (F260)

S. Keynes, ‘On the Authenticity of Asser’s Life of King Alfred’, JEH 47.3 (1996), 529–51 - in response to Smyth (F51)


A.P. Smyth, ‘The Solar Eclipse of Wednesday, 29 October A.D. 878. Ninth-Century Historical Records and the Findings of Modern Astronomy’, 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


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?)


The Burghal Hidage (B505, F67)

For the view that the burghal system was constructed in 878–9, see Haslam (F91.5).
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).  


[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.  


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.


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).

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.


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, reprinted in T70 (II) - on Cynethryth (pp. 36–41), Cwoenthryth, et al., and Æthelflæd (pp. 45–9)


On the death of Æthelflæd, see also Thompson (N141).

**The Norse settlements in the north-west**


[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


**The Cuerdale hoard**


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).


[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


[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**

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 Ælfthryth, 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 Ælfthryth, 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 Eadburgh (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 Ælflæd,

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 Etheltani 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.


**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 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: Drögerfeit (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 composite document associated with the London peace-guild. For further discussion, see Loyn (M165); Keynes (M212), 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 Times of Saint Dunstan

[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


[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)


[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.


[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


[G74] S.E. Wilson, ‘King Æthelstan 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, ‘Æthelstan, 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; and 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 etheling, won by the sword’s edge undying glory in battle round Brunanburh...’


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 ...'

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), I, archbishop of


D. Rollason, Anglo-Scandinavian York: the Evidence of Historical Sources’, in Hall (P85.6), pp. 305–24; see also Rollason (P85)

H. Clarke and B. Ambrosiani, ‘The Vikings in Britain’ [on towns, incl. York], in P53a, pp. 90–102


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 Skallagrímsson (B676), see:


Whitelock, in the Whitelock archive (Cambridge); C.R.
unnumbered page at the beginning of vol. III. Discussion:
Coenwald, bishop of Worcester [G95]
much to our understanding of this complex period.

There are two highly distinctive groups of charters in the 940s and 950s, which contribute
King Edmund (939–46) and King Eadred (946–55)

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
Ælfgar, Wulfstan of Daleham, Ealdorman Ælfgar, Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, and others.

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.

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

N.R. Ker, ‘Aldred the Scribe’ [1943], reprinted in T8.5, pp. 3–9, and W. J. P. Boyd,
Aldred’s Marginalia 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, Ælfwine,
Æthelwulf, and 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 Ælfgar, Wulfstan of Dalham, Ealdorman Ælfgar, Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, and others.

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

J. Campbell, ‘A Nearly, but Wrongly, Forgotten Historian of the Dark Ages’, in T117,
forthcoming; see also Wormald (M160), p. 10, n. 37

C.R. Hart, ‘Æthelberht “Half-King” and his Family’, in T17, pp. 569–604; orig. ptd in
ASE 2 (1973), 115–44

A. Williams, Princeps Merciorum Gentis: the Family, Career and Connections of
Ælfgar, Ealdorman of Mercia, ASE 10 (1982), 143–72

C. Hart, ‘The Ealdormen of Essex’, in T17, pp. 115–40; orig. ptd in An Essex Tribute,
ed. K. Neale (1987), pp. 57–84

L.N. Banton, ‘Ealdormen and Earls in England from the Reign of King Alfred to the
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.

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
unnecessary page at the beginning of vol. III. Discussion: unpublished typescript by D.
Whitelock, in the Whitelock archive (Cambridge); C.R. Hart, ‘Danelaw and Mercian

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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.


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 VSdonis, ch. 13 (pp. 24–8), in VS Dunst, chs. 25 [character] (p. 92), 29–30 [coronation] (pp. 96–100), 33–6 [division, etc.] (pp. 102–6), and in VS Oswald, ch. 3 (pp. 220–2); and William of Malmesbury, in VS Dunst (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 Scrapp (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).


[G98.4] C. Lewis, ‘Edgar, Chester, and the Kingdom of the Mercians, 957–9’, in Scrapp (T118) [forthcoming]; and for the charter in question, see also (G99.71)


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).


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 cleric, 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 seem to 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 Wihtbordestan (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 [Wrecocensæte], and Derbyshire [Peesæte]: 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), no. 31.


[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. cvv–cxxvi (Abingdon scribe, perhaps Abbot Æthelwold); Thompson (B339.5), pp. 126–8 (S 717). It was 'Edgar A' who wrote Edgar's charter for Wulflic 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...
the reigns of Edmund and Eadred; and what in retrospect became the movement itself was
movement lay at the court of King Æthelstan; the opening stages were a minor feature of
The monastic reform movement is one among the several themes which it is possible to

[G99.95] 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], L [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 [Horizontally, 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 (j)]; 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.


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 Æthelhæld of Romsey (Q391), and St Wulphild 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 Werwell (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 Æthelstane; 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); e. 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 distinctly 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.


**[G100.52]** J. Wollasch, ‘Monasticism: the First Wave of Reform’, in (A71), pp. 163–85

**[G101]** Cluny, near Macon, dép. 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).


**[G101.16]** 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


**[G102.5]** J. Nightingale, ‘Oswald, Fleury and Continental Reform’, in G181, pp. 23–45


**[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.

[G105.6] 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 Ministers 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.


[G114.52] 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 oldeste boke that ever I sawe yet, and most strangeely 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.


[G133] V. Ortenberg, The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (1992)


[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 Benedicite 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**


**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).


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.


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).


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, Peterborough, 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.


[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


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.


Ramsey Abbey

It was at the funeral of a king's thane, who had died at a particularly significant meeting c. 965 (G106), that a ‘thane’ [recte ealdorman] called Æthelwine (son of Ealdorman ÆEthelstan 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 ÆEthelwine, 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).


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.


[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.


[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)


[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


Lanfred of Winchester and Wulfstan of Winchester
Entries on both in A100; Lapidge, on Wulfstan, in ODNB (A150). For Lanfred’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.


[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


[G212.5] J. Wilcox, ‘Ælfric in Dorset and the Landscape of Pastoral Care’, in Tinti (Q19.5), pp. 00–00 <not yet seen>


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).

[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.


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.


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.


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 Vau, 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 ‘Lindfield 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.


[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


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); Cilen (966–71); **Kenneth II** (971–95), who submitted to Edgar in 973, and to whom Edgar is said to have granted Lothian (B64S); 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); Mabeth (1040–57); et al.


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

[A.M. Duncan, 'The Battle of Carham, 1018’, Scottish Historical Review 55 (1976), 20–8

The coronation of King Edgar (973), and the ‘submission’ at Chester (973). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MSS. ABC, s.a. 973, focuses 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 Thiæmar (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 getrewodon that hæt hi woldon efenwyrtan 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 throughout 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.


W.H. Stevenson, ‘The Great Commendation to King Edgar in 975’, EHR 13 (1898), 505–7

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 as a ‘peace summit’

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


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.

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’ (White洛克). 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 /Ethelevoldi episcopi (B245).


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:


[G327] G. Parliby, ‘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).


Further discussion: Keynes (F91), pp. 47–8.


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 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.


[H2] H.R. Loun, The Vikings in Britain (1977)


New Danelaw studies


See also Abrams (G99.85).

The debate about the density of the Scandinavian settlements


[H16] A New Historical Geography of England before 1600, ed. H.C. Darby (1976), pp. 16–26


The conversion or christianization of the Danelaw


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.


[H26] G. Fellows Jensen, Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (1968)


[H32] C. Clark, in *Nomina* 3 (1979), 17–18 - for evidence that Vikings did not bring their own women, and soon married (?) English women


The evidence of language


See also B522; Kastovsky, in B521, pp. 320–36; Hadley (H7), pp. 116–117.

The evidence of archaeology


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.

Anglo-Danish society in the Danelaw

‘And it is my will that secular rights (worulddgerihta) 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. 72–83). See also Abrams (G99,85).

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


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 Quadrupartitus (B370) and the Leges Edwardi (B373).

Ely abbey and the Anglo-Danish society of Cambridgeshire

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 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 (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–xcv, 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 Æthelward’s lifetime. 993 x 1002 (c. 995): letter to Wulfsgis, 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 Sigeward ‘æt Easteholon’ (B572.3); letter to Wulfgis ‘æt Ylmandune’ (B572.6); letter to Sigeforth (B572.7). Presumed to be in or after 1005: further homilies (B566.2), and other writings, e.g. Wyrdwurteras (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, between 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 Æthelward’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 Thórðarson's Vikingavísur [EHD no. 12, and Fell (J81)], and Óttarr svartí's Höfundlausn [EHD no. 13], for the exploits of Óláfr Haraldsson in 1009–12 (with Thorkell's army) and 1014 (with King Æthelred); (ii) Thórir Kolbeinsson's Eiriksrúða [EHD no. 14], for Eirikr Hákonarson's involvement in Cnut's conquest of England in 1015–16; (iii) Óttarr svartí's Knýtjárdrípa [EHD no. 15, and Poole (J80)], for Cnut's conquest of England in 1015–16; and (iv) Líthsmannaflokkr, 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.

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).


[J9.3] 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.


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 (7997), 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 Ællflæd to Ely Abbey. For further discussion, see Keynes (Q148), p. 28, with n. 128 and references.

Papal letters

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

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 Justus; 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 Ælfric. Cf. Keynes (F42), p. 63, with wrong picture.

Some general reading

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 Justus; 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 Ælfric; followed by extensive notes on Cnut and Edmund, pp. 673–98.

Modern accounts

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


J21.5 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


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”: Thorkill’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).


[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


[J28] A. Sheppard, 'Noble Counsel, No Counsel: Advising Æthelred the Unready' (2002), in T102, pp. 393–422; see also Sheppard (B69.2)


[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)


[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


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 (B9450), pp. 81–3, with commentary and further references in Keynes (B9450), 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.
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 Minutes of the Eleventh Century, see also Head (Q227), pp. 273–94.

The ‘Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’ (B42, etc.)

The ‘Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’ (B42, etc.)
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.  


[J44.5] 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: Townsend (G216).  

For the significance of the Millennium, see (J88), etc.  


[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)  


For Ælfric’s Wyrdrwiteras, 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. Scrugg (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  

For skaldic verse produced
Studies in Memory of Gerd Wolfgang Weber
(J83.7) (2003), 471
Saints
(J83.6)
42, on the battle of Ringmere (1010)
(J83)

For skaldic verse by Sigvat Thórtharson

[72x78]For skaldic verse on Olaf Haraldsson
Skaldic verse and the Danish invasions
Whitelock
devel
(J66)
(pp. 24
(J65)
King Æthelred's legislation
(J62)
Charters as evidence of lawlessness and treachery

[72x78]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


[J84.4] 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)


[J84.5] 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 subsequently to be applied to the payments of tribute, with confusing results. See Keynes (J23), pp. 202–3, and entry on Heregeld in A100.


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.


ÆEthelred’s adversaries, I: the Norwegians

Received wisdom about the successive Yngling kings of Norway in the tenth century, featuring Harald Fairhair, Eirik Bloodaxe, Håkon 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 Håkon 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
Norway, and made the Danes Christian. Gorm his father and Thyre his mother. That Harald who won for himself Denmark all, and Sven Forkbeard, and grandfather of Cnut:

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all of the
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in the shape of a ship, a church between the mounds, and the two Jelling rune stones.  See below for the most comprehensive database of viking-age sites and antiquities in Denmark, with maps and images.

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.

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**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.


**[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.


**[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).


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 Thye his mother. That Harald who won for himself Denmark all, and Norway, and made the Danes Christian.’

viking raid on England in 991. After gaining his due share of fame and fortune, and after his induction into the Christian faith (994), Olaf went to Norway, and became king (995–999/1000). Following Olaf’s defeat at the Battle of Svold, Norway was again ruled in the Danish interest by the jarls of Lade. (St) Olaf 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 Erik Hákonarson of Lade, was with Cnut’s army in 1015, enabling Olaf Haraldsson to become king of Norway (1014). Olaf reigned until his death, at the battle of Stiklastathir, in 1028/1030; and again Norway passed under Danish rule.


The Viking ‘fortresses’

Military organization

Ships and seafaring

Æthelred’s adversaries, III: the Swedes

The Celtic World

France, Germany, and Flanders

OTHER PERSPECTIVES
The comparison with Ottonian Germany is particularly instructive.

For a spectacular exhibition catalogue on Henry II, see A245.

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 Æthelward 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 Æthelward’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 Wulfsga, 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 Wulfsga (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], reprinted 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;
(c) Pastoral Letter to Bishop Wulfsga (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 (994) 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 separationism; 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 ...’ Archibald Sigeric first advised that course’ (ASC CDE s.a. 991). A charter of 994 (EHVD 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.


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.


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 charters 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).


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

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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 unpowdered 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 Æthelred’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 Ælhelm 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 binding 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 Olaf 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 Winchcombe 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 Winchcombe. 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 Æthalred, is dated 1008 (EHD, no. 44). A modified version of the same code (Latin, OE), known as VI Æthalred, 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.


**Works of Ælfric** written during this period, as abbot of Eynsham (J3.1): e.g. letter to monks of Eynsham (B571); his letter to Sigeward (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)


**Arrival of Thorkill’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 Thorkill’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 Doley (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; Metcalfe (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 space for discussion. For London as a focal point of attention in Æthelred’s reign, see P70, etc.

[J167.8] Sigvatr Thórharsön’s *Vikingavísir* [EHD no. 12], on which see Fell (J81), and Ottarr svarti’s *Höfðihlausn* [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 Wulfhige, 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 earldoms 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.


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 Malinesbury, 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 [lii–[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).


[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 Hollow’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)


[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, Glos., 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 Ælheah from St Paul’s, in London, to Canterbury, in 1023.


[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.
the rise of Earl Godwine during the reign of Cnut

[72x81]the rise of Earl Godwine in Cnut's reign, and the power of himself and his family thereafter

see also Lawson's account of Cnut in

ed.,

proceedings of a conference on Cnut, held in 1990

[72x180](1964)

[72x191]

[72x202]

[72x213]

[72x224]

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[72x268]

[72x279]

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[72x334]

[72x345]

[72x356]

[72x367]

[72x378]

[72x389]

[72x392]

[72x403]

[72x414]

[72x425]

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[72x447]

[72x458]

[72x469]

[72x480]


L.M. Larson, Cnut the Great (1912)


G.N. Garmonsway, Canute and his Empire, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture 1963 (1964)


E. Christiansen, 'Canute and his World', History Today 36 (Nov. 1986), 34–9


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

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

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)

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.


[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


Aspects of the reign of King Cnut
For Cnut and the Salian kings, see A246. Cf. Wipo's 'Deeds of Emperor Conrad II' (B110).


[K50] J. Gerchow, 'Prayers for King Cnut: the Liturgical Commemoration of a Conqueror', in Hicks (T28.5), pp. 219–38

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. The 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.


For Cnut and geld, see Lawson (J87), etc. For the spoliation of Worcester, see Williams (R347).

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 Regiae*.

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).

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.


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.


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).

Proceedings of the conference on Harald Harefoot and Harthacnut, held at Manchester in 2001; but plans for publication appear to have been abandoned.

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.

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))

The Vita Ædwardi Regis (B90); see Barlow (L10, pp. 291–300)

Eadmer, Historia Novorum in Anglia (Bosanquet (R92), esp. pp. 5–9)

Charters, writs, etc.: EHD II nos. 31–4, 74–6

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).

William of Jumièges (R45) and William of Poitiers (R50)

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.
Detailed commentary on the sources

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).


L44] K.E. Cutler, ‘The Godwinist Hostages: the Case for 1051’, Annuale Mediaevale 12 (1972), 70–7; for hostages, see also Lavelle (M130)


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 ANS (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).

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).
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


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 ordinæ. For the ‘First’, ‘Second’ and ‘Third’ Anglo-Saxon ordinæ, 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) Ælfred, 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 Ælgifu, 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.


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


[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.)


[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 Sigebert in 757; instances of regicide; divisions of the kingdom; return of King Æthelred in 1014.

(7) **The rituals of kingship.** The inwardsness 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.


**Royal estates**


[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.


[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
See also Pantos (M290).

With map, p. 436.

Chadwick (M35), ch. 9, on the constitution of the ‘national council’; Hooper (K45); Clarke

Mostert (M83), pp. 47

HSJ


M87 F. Liebermann, The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period (1913)


(M89) J. Campbell, Anglo-Saxon Courts, in Cubitt (T100), pp. 155–69


(M91.5) P. Dalton, ‘Sites and Occasions of Peacemaking in England and Normandy, c.900–c.1150’, HSJ 16 (2006), 12–26, on Pentecost, Agrus 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 Lown (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; Lown (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 Pants (M290).

Royal succession

(M95) D.N. Dumville, ‘The Ætheling: a Study in Anglo-Saxon Constitutional History’, ASE 8 (1979), 1–33

Household, court, and witan


(M85) L.M. Larson, The King’s Household in England before the Norman Conquest (1904)


(M87) F. Liebermann, The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period (1913)


(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, Agrus Dei coinage, crown-wearings, etc.

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See also Pants (M290).

Royal succession

(M95) D.N. Dumville, ‘The Ætheling: a Study in Anglo-Saxon Constitutional History’, ASE 8 (1979), 1–33

For ritual, see also essays in Althoff (A60.1).

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. Lown, ‘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.

Kingship, overlordship, and the imperial pretensions of kings

Deshman (Q690, Q691). On the ‘unity of the British Isles’, see Charles

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. Lown, ‘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.

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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), Ælfgith (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 Æwardi regis* (B90 [2nd ed.], pp. 22–4).

See also Loyn (M38, pp. 15–19 and 90–3), and Chadwick (M35, pp. 355–66).

**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 (Q633); 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).


## 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).


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III. LAW-CODES, CHARTERS, AND THE OPERATION OF ROYAL GOVERNMENT

(a) Legislation and litigation

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)

Some general works


F. Seebohm, Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law (1911), esp. chs. 10–14


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


M. Lupoi, The Origins of the European Legal Order (2000) - includes coverage of Anglo-Saxon law

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:

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.


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.
(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 Chapslais (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.


[M195] H. Wartmann, Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen I–II (700–920) (1863), for texts of the charters; Chartae Latinæ 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, Stiftsbibliothek, 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, Stiftsbibliothek, 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>


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.


[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.

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| M207 | S. Lerer, Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon Literature (1991) |
| 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 |
| M217 | P.J. Geary, 'Land, Language and Memory in Europe 700–1100', TRHS 6th ser. 9 (1999), 169–84; see also Geary (J146) |

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 (1848–1999).


[M218.5] H. Brunner, Zur Rechtsgeschichte der römischen und germanischen Urkunde I (1880), reprint (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)


[M218.7] 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


[M219.3] 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, Stanton, 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).


[M219.45] 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)


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

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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:


For West Saxon charters during the same period, see Edwards (E111).


[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)


[M224.55] 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 (B788.3), 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-claims, 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).


[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’


[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
For the reservation clause (military obligations), see Brooks (circumstances of their production). For royal styles, see Scharer and Kleinschmidt (M224); sanctions in tenth century charters, witness to the use of charters in the Anglo-Saxon period; script and physical features of single sheets; use of charters in the Anglo-Saxon period; 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 period; study of the written word in royal government, see Campbell (M239–41) and Keynes (M212). On all aspects of the writ, see B250.

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 diplomacy

‘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 period; 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.

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.

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.

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.

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...
Proems and sanctions

For Eynsham: S 911, for which see B239 and (Q128).

[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:


[M232.42] ‘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.


[M232.45] The ‘alliterative’ [Dunstan A] charters of the 940s and 950s: above (G95).

[M232.46] The ‘Dunstan B’ charters of the 950s: above (G96).


[M232.50] Foundation charters (Q129). Sherborne: Sawyer 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)


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).


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


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 *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], reprinted 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: Winchcombe 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 ‘Winchcombe’.


**[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**


**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.


**[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 ‘Æthelheard 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.


It is arguable that enthusiasm for the late Anglo-Saxon state can be taken too far.


**[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 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 learnt 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’ (MBC), 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.


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


(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 Harkirk, 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


-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


-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, *Angloasachsiska 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


-M437-C.A. Nordman, *Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Finland* (1921)


-M441-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


Anglo-Saxon England: a Bibliographical Handbook

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 important, 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)


[M472] E.J.E. Pirie, Grosvenor Museum, Chester: Coins with the Chester Mint-Signature, SCBI 5 (1964)


[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)


Collections in Scandinavia, and elsewhere in Europe


trial pieces use and circulatio likely to represent casual losses (through holes in pockets), and thus bear on matters of the date and therefore the circumstances of its deposition. The composition of every ingenuity of the techniques which numismatists bring to bear in making sense of the 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

Collections in the USA

(d) General accounts of the coinage

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: 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.

Regional studies and collections

Medieval European Coinage (MEC)

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Entries on coinage, hoards, mints, and moneymen, in A100. See also A5, esp. pp. 62–3, 130–1 and 204–5, and Loyn (M38), pp. 118–26, on financial organisation.

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Entries on coinage, hoards, mints, and moneymen, in A100. See also A5, esp. pp. 62–3, 130–1 and 204–5, and Loyn (M38), pp. 118–26, on financial organisation.

Medieval European Coinage (MEC)

Modern replicas of Anglo-Saxon coins

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(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).

Saxon Coinage’, BNJ 27.2 (1953), 167–72; for square flans, see also Dolley and Elmore
Jones (M932), p. 281, n. 1
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)

Hoards
[M590] J.D.A. Thompson, Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500, Royal
Numismatic Society Special Publications 1 (1956)
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.

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).
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 Akademiuen], Commentationes de
Akademiens Handlingar, Antikvariska Serien 9 (1961)
[M611] [Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiuen], Commentationes de
Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Antikvariska Serien 19 (1968)
[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)


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).


Northumbria in the 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.


[M681] Stenton (M410), pp. 378–82 - coinage in relation to kingship, and Charlemagne


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).)

Gold mancus of King Coenwulf (796–821).  Obverse: + 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 'vicum 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.)

Silver penny of Egbert, king of the West Saxons (802–39), styled king of the Mercians ('rex M[erciorum]'), struck at London ('Lundonia civ[itas]'), 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).

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.

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.

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).

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.

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).  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.
The coinage of King Alfred and his contemporaries. For a survey of the evidence, see Blackburn (M576) [1986], pp. 311–15.

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.

For the hagiography of St Æthelberht (II), see Dolley, Mercia by Offa, who presently seized power in East Anglia for himself death, was none other suggesting that the Beornred who briefly seized power in Mercia in 757, after Æthelbald was executed at the command of King Offa in 794, and became the subject of a cult.

Several 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.

East Anglian coinage of the eighth and ninth centuries

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.

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.

King Edmund (855–69) is styled ‘rex Anglorum’ 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.


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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 (M825), esp. pp. 72–87; and for some more flexible approaches to the evidence, see, e.g., Lyon (M415), pp. 199–200, and Stewart (M803).

v. The later Anglo-Saxon coinage 973–1066

Cuerdale Hoard (G24). Dolley (M570), Blackburn (M576).


M782 M. Dolley, ‘The Anglo-Danish and Anglo-Norse Coinages of York’, in (G84), pp. 26–31


M787 M. Blackburn, ‘The Coinage of Scandinavian York’, in Hall (P85.6), pp. 325–49 For the coinage of Eric Bloodaxe, see (G88.5).


M792 M. Blackburn, ‘Currency under the Vikings, Part I: Guthrum and the Earliest Danelaw Coinages’, BNJ 75 (2005), 18–43
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 later 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 Ipswich; 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).
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.

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

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

I.H. Stewart, ‘The Stamford Mint and the Connexion with the Abbot of Peterborough under Æthelræd II’, BNJ 28 (1955–7), 106–10 - First Small Cross, First Hand

C.E. Blunt and C.S.S. Lyon, ‘The Oakham Hoard of 1749, Deposited c. 980’, NCChron, 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.


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.


[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 - 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


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.


The Small Crux type (c. 995–7) (Hildebrand, Type Ca; North, p. 122)

[M928] B.H.I.H. Stewart, ‘The Small Crux Issue of Æthelred 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.


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.

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.

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.


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


For a unique penny of 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 ÅS 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 ìgelösa 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] The Tyskegård hoard (1876, 1993–6), of Long Cross pennies; see Moesgaard (M974)

[M973] The Eskilstuna hoard, Sweden, comprising 390 pennies of Æthelred, found 1977; see Jonsson (M810), p. 28

[M974] Store Frigård II hoard (Denmark), featured in *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.


[M975] Necklace comprising ten silver pennies of 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)


The reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66)


See also Jones (L111), pp. 102–6, on new iconography in coins and seals from c. 1053.

The reign of King Harold (1066)


The Norman Conquest and the English coinage


See also Archbald (M450).

vi. Coinage and the economy of Anglo-Saxon England

Weights and measures


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


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. n. 17.

[N2] Law-codes (B366, B367). For a guide to the contents of the laws, consult the indexes. For wergilds, 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.


[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.


[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).


[N15] H.M. Chadwick, Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions (1905), chs. 3–5 and 10


The bonds of society: kinship, friendship, etc.


illness in 1015 was no less important. For plague, see Maddicott (P140); and for death, see Lucy (N120). For King Alfred's
Anglo-Saxon
in the Eleventh Century
Smith (= 1000: Medical Practice at the End of the First Millennium
B835), pp. 423–24 and other chapters in the same book, e.g. on Boniface, Alcuin, etc. For manuscripts containing
textile production, are reptd in B835, pp. 423–24. See also Stafford (A41), pp. 147–71; Holt (R223); Dyer (A29.5). For the guild regulations, see Williams (Q19a), pp. 22–3.

Aspects of life

For manuscripts containing 'medical' recipes, prognostics, etc., see 'Bald's Leechbook' (B591), 'Lacnunga' (B592), etc. See also Cameron (B594), and Hollis (B594a).

Illness and medical practices

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 less important.

The classes of society

For the East Anglian landed aristocracy in the tenth and eleventh centuries

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See also Loyn (M236). For individualism, see Campbell (M350), pp. 62–5, and Faith (P113). For the archaeo-political 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.).
Anglo-Saxon England: a Bibliographical Handbook

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.


D.M. Hadley, Death in Medieval England (2001)


For liturgical commemoration, see Q30, etc.

P. LAND, WEALTH, TOWNS, AND TRADE

The essential primary sources

Coinage and trade

Legislation on the coinage: see II Æthelstan (in B366, and EHD no. 35), ch. 14, and IV Æthelred (in B367), chs. 5–9

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?)

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

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

Rectitudines singularum personarum (‘Rights and ranks of people’) and Be gesceaduwan 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).


The Ely farming memoranda. MS (facsimile): A205, no. 150. Text and translation: Robertson (B355), pp. 252–7. For historical context, see Keynes (Q1)


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.


**P17** J. Campbell, 'The English Economy in the Eleventh Century' (forthcoming)


See also Fleming (P59).


**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 **coineage** 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 [Æthelmaer]; Sunbury [important estate]; Chertsey [monastery]; Windsor [royal estate]; Bray [Regenhald]; 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.


**P34.5** N. Cohen, ‘Boundaries and Settlements: the Role of the River Thames’, in P119.5, pp. 9–20

**P34.6** J. Neville, ‘Brothgar’s Horses: Feral or Thoroughbred?’, *ASE* 35 (2006), 131–57
Trade
McCormick (P10). Entries on trade, ships, etc., in A100. For an encyclopedia of medieval trade, see Friedman and Frigg (A 109).


See also Maddicott (E109, F120).

‘Productive sites’
See Hodges (P20), etc.


[F48a] 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).


Dorset, and Devon, with special chapters on London, Chichester, Southampton, Bath, Gloucester, and Exeter


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.


**Winchester**


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 Ecgbéhrht’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) ‘Ælfrician’ 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.


[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**


**Ipswich**


‘Mercian’ towns, including Gloucester and Chester


Postscript to an article originally published in Essays in Honour of R.H. Hilton

There are entries in A100 on agriculture, estate management, field systems, labour (M167); Charles See also Adams, study: complex of royal estates in Bampton Hundred, Oxon)

Kingdom

In English

There are entries on bookland, folkland, and land tenure in A100.

Ch.

Reynolds, (J23), pp. 31

89 (2000), 35

Archaeological and Historical Evidence',

Torksey and Newark pp. 143

Palliser, 'Sources for York History to AD 1100, AY 1 (1998)


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.


R. Lennard, Rural England 1086–1135 (1959)

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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).


**Animals, food, drink, etc.**
Entries in A100 on animal husbandry, fishing, food and drink, hawking and wildfowling, hunting, malnutrition. See also Fleming (P18).


**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.


**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.


**Conditions of daily life**

For general guidance on domestic and other structures, see Hunter Blair (A2), p. 209; Addyman (C110); Rahtz (C112); Fernie (Q710).


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.


**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.


**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


#### 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


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.


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 Loyin (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.


**[Q14.5]** J. Barrow, ‘The Clergy in English Dioceses c. 900–c.1066’, in Tinti (Q19.5), pp. 17–26, including royal clerks (pp. 21–2)

[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


[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 (Q21.2)

[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).


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)


[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


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).

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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).

[H. Vollrath, Die Synoden Englands bis 1066 (1985)]


[C. Cubitt, Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650–c.850 (1995)]

[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).


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


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’

[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.


[R. Morris, Churches in the Landscape (1989)]


See also Rodwell (in P107); Morris (in P108); Blair (in P109, and Q18); entry on parochial organization in A100.


**Education and intellectual life**

Lapidge (A55, and G201); Wallace-Hadrill (D80); Sims-Williams (D26).


P. Riché, Les écoles et l’enseignement dans l’Occident chrétien de la fin du Ve siècle au milieu du XIIe siècle (1979)


V. Law, Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages, Longman Linguistics Library (1997) - collected papers, including B568, D200


G. Knappe, Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik im angelsächsischen England (1996)

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


D. Howlett, Insular Inscriptions (2005), esp. ‘Anglo-Latin Inscriptions’ (pp. 82–136), and ‘Inscriptions in Old and Middle English’ (pp. 197–229)


**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).

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

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>.

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.

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).
Anglo-Saxon England: a Bibliographical Handbook


[Q75] H. Loyn, ‘Peter’s Pence’ (1984), reprinted 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, and several other important papers on Rome in the early Middle Ages


On the cult of Pope Gregory, see Thacker (D43.6), and Gretsch (Q175).

Patronage


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 important as 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).


[Q83.5] Inventories of treasures at St Paul’s, London: ed. in Archaeologia 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 (Q208), pp. 382–3.

[Q86] Sigeric, monk of Glastonbury, abbot of St Augustine’s, Canterbury (980–5), 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 Ramsey (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] Ælfwine of Dorchester (c.1007–c.1016), died at the Battle of Ashingdon 18 Oct. 1016. An important figure at Ely, and perhaps also a significant figure at King Æthelred’s court. See Keynes (Q148).

[Q89] Wulfseige, monk of Glastonbury and Westminster, abbot of Westminster (990–93), bishop of Sherborne (993–1002). For the ‘Life’ of Wulfseige, see Q455. For Ælfric’s letter to Wulfseige, see B570. Discussion: S. Keynes, ‘Wulfseige, Monk of Glastonbury, Abbot of Westminster (c. 990–3) and Bishop of Sherborne (993–1002)’, in B270.5, pp. 53–94.

[Q89a] Ælfswige, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester (988–1007). A significant figure at King Æthelred’s court; see Keynes (B450), pp. 32–3.

[Q89b] Ælfswige, 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). For his image of Cnut and Emma, see K14. For his will, see S 1488, in Kelly (B281), no. 133. 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).


[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 LXVII


[Q94a] Æthelwicg, 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


[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).


[Q99.2] 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.


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 Æthelmaer 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.


[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. lxxxv–cxxv; 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.


[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:


**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)


**[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


**[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


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).


For Lyminge and Reculver, see Kelly (B290.5).

**[Q140.5]** F.M. Stenton, *The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon* (1913)
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 shrines and reliquaries in A100. 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 shrines and reliquaries in A100. For the impact of the Norman Conquest, see Cowrie (R342.3).

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).
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:

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 Ælthelthryth, Cuthbert, *et al.*)
Q170] 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 Ælthelthryth

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:


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.


Grimbald of Saint-Bertrin, 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 Bardon, 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 Bardon ‘into Mercia’ in 909, and were venerated in the ‘New Minster’ founded at Gloucester by Ælfordman 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 Haegelisduan (?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 CCC 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]** Frithgode of Canterbury (Sharpe (A57), p. 117), *Breulioquium utiae 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).


**[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.


**[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 (P996). For Ælfric’s ‘Lives of the Saints’, including Swithun, see B569.3.


**St Æthelthryth, abbess of Ely (d. 679)**

The cult of St Æethelthryth (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 Æthelthryth 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...
promoted 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 Eadburg, translated at Winchester (970s); St Wibburg, 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 Ethel, translated at Wilton (997, 3 Nov.); St Iwi, brought to Wilton (s. x ex., 8 Oct.); St Eadbald, 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 Wulfsgie, 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:


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 dispersion in the eighteenth century, see Keynes (B358), pp. 254–5 and 262–3.


**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.


**[Q231]** Collection of saints’ *Lives* in Gothic, Forschungsbibliothek I. 81, compiled somewhere in England in the second half of the fourteenth century. For its contents, see P. Grosjean, ‘De codice hagiographicum 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. lxxxvii.

**[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**


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.


**[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), Eormenilda (Q324), and Witheburg (Q323), as well as material on Werburgh (Q345)

**[Q243]** *The Works of Fulcard of Saint-Bertin*, ed. R.C. Love, OMT (forthcoming) - comprising *vitae* of Bertin, John of Beverley, Botulf (plus a translation narrative), and *vitae* of the Thorney Three (Tancred, Torthred and Tova), plus a poem on St Vigor

See also Winterbottom and Thomson (B167), for William of Malmesbury’s *Lives* of Wulfstan, Dunstan, et al.; 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 Æthelthryth (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 Egwine, 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–xlvi, and Lapidge and Love (Q225), pp. 19–67. Among the principal exponents of the genre were Goscelin and Focard, 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 Mildred (Q274), St Mildburgh (Q344), St Werburgh (Q345), St Kenelm (Q350), St Edith (Q390), St Wulfisige (Q455), and St Ivo (B249). See also Barlow (B90), pp. xlvi–xlvi; Ridyard (Q160), p. 30 n. 69, 38–9, 48–9, 172–5; Love (Q241), pp. xxxiii–xlvi; 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.


**[Q256] Focard 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 Botulf (Q423), and the Thorney saints (Tancred, Torhtred, Tova). Edition: Love (Q243), forthcoming. See also Barlow (B90), pp. lii–lix; Love (Q241), pp. xlv–xlvi; 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.

**[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).


**[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 Willstan (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 Eadburgh (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. 644), 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 [ Oswesty] 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
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–xxxii, and nos. 40–53. Mildburg, 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


**[Q272]** S 1048 (spurious charter of King Edward the Confessor, probably concocted in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest), ed. Kelly (B342), no. 34


**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), pp. 147.


Elements of the legend occur in the ‘Life’ of St Mildburgh attributed to Goscelin (Q344), in Goscelin’s ‘Life’ of St Werburgh (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.


For further and general discussion of this material, see:


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, Eorconberht, king of Kent, and succeeded her sister Æthelthryth as abbess of Ely. (iii) St Æthelburh was abbess of Faremoûtier, who went to Faremoûtier-en-Brie, and St Eormenhild, who married King Wulfhere and was the mother of St Werburh. (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–xxxii, 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).


For discussion of St Æthelthryth, see Love (Q242), and Ridyard (Q160), pp. 50–61 and 176–201. See also:

For other saints connected with Æthelthryth, see:

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.

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.’

For other saints connected with Æthelthryth, see:


Qu320] SÆXBURGH (Sexburga) [Æthelthryth’s sister], wife of Eorcenberht, k. of Kent; foundress and abbess of Minster-in-Sheppey; 2nd abbess of Ely. Bede, HE iii.iii, iv.19; LE i.18, i.25–35, ed. Blake (B247), pp. 35–6, 42–51. ‘In festivitate S. Sexburge’, 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.

Qu321] SÆÆTHRYTH [Æthelthryth’s half-sister], nun at and abbess of Faremoutier-en-Brie. Bede, HE iii.8.


Qu323] WHTBURH [allegedly Æthelthryth’s sister], of Holkm and Dereham (ASC, MS. F, s.a. 798); translated to Ely in 974. LE ii.53, i.144–50, ed. Blake (B247), pp. 120–3 and 228–36. ‘Vita S. Wh tịchurge virginis’, in CCCC MS. 393, art. 4, etc. Hardy (B6), pp. 469–70; Ridyard (Q160), pp. 59, 185–6. Text and translation: Love (Q242).

Qu324] EORMENHILD [Æthelthryth’s daughter], wife of Wulfhere, k. of the Mercians; mother of Coenred and Werburgh; 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).


For St Werburgh, daughter of King Wulfhere and Eormenhild, see Q345.
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.

SS Cyneburh and Cyneswith [Q340], daughters of Penda and sisters of Wulfhere. Cyneburh married Alfrith [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.

St Eadburg [Q341] Edburga of Atherington (Oxon.), and St Edith of Aylesbury (Bucks.), both daughters of Penda, and both mentors of St Osgyth of Aylesbury (Q348).

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.

St Mildburg [Q344] Mildburg, 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 Magonasatan. Rollason (Q290), pp. 25–6, 80–1; Barlow (B90), p. 149; Thacker (Q154), pp. 4–5.

St Werburh [Q345] 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 (Q241), pp. 91–115.

St Rumwold [Q346] of King’s Sutton (Northants.), Brackley (Northants.), and Buckingham, son of Alfrith 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, preacher 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. cxx–clxxxviii.


St Osgyth [Q348] (Osyth), of Aylesbury (Bucks.), apparently not to be although later confused with St Osyth of Chich (Essex), a Hwiccan 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.’

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. Gouger, 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).


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 Cynewulf (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 Cwoenthrith, 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 (‘Britbard’), 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. xlvi.

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.


[Q370] St Cuthburgh (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 Eadburg (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.
flourished at various times from the seventh century to the eleventh. The historical value

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 (634–650). Bede, HE iii.7. For text and translation of an eleventh-century ‘Life’ of St Birinus, see Love (Q241), pp. xlii–xxxvii and 1–47.


**[Q423]** Botulf, 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 Botulf by Folcard (Q256); *Liber Eiusnis* (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 Erkenwald* (1899). See also Thacker (Q199).


**[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’, *C.H. T. 82*; Southern (Q258), pp. 279–98. For St Frideswide see also Thacker (Q199).

**Lives of saints who flourished in the ninth century**

**[Q435]** St Swithun, bishop of Winchester (d. 863). See Lapidge (Q212); Ridyard (Q160), pp. 108–10.


**[Q445]** St Grimbold (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.


**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

William of Malmesbury’s ‘Life’ of St Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester (d. 1095). Text and translation: see B185.

‘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.

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
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
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).
C.R. Dodwell, The Pictorial Arts of the West 800–1200 (1993), pp. 95–122, on Anglo-Saxon painting
L. Nees, Early Medieval Art (2002)

References to works of art in written sources
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.
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.

Anglo-Saxon art of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Backhouse, et al. (A205). Aspects of book production: Dumville (G255, G256); Bishop (B789). Illuminated manuscripts: Temple (B807). Particular manuscripts: the ‘Ælflæd 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).

F. Wormald, English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (1952)


J. Higgitt, ‘Glastonbury, Dunstan, Monasticism and Manuscripts’, Art History 2 (1979), 275–90


E. Coatsworth, ‘Inscriptions on Textiles Associated with Anglo-Saxon England’, in Rumble (T112), pp. 71–95 (Maaseik embroideries, Ælfleda stole and maniple, Bayeux Tapestry)


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

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.

Anglo-Saxon church architecture during the Early Eleventh Century, 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.

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 (Æthelwold), iv.2 and iv.12 (Putta), iv.18 (John of Hexham), iv.24 (Cedmon 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's famous description of the powerful organ at Winchester, see Q211, in Lapidge (Q212), pp. 382–76, and Williams (Q850). For musical notation, see Millfull (B434), pp. 92–103, with references.


Q825 M. Berry, 'What the Saxon Monks Sang: Music in Winchester in the Late Tenth Century', in G165, pp. 149–60


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.


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


**Biographies of William the Conqueror, etc.**


**The classic narrative account**


**General studies**


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.

**Extracts in translation**


[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


[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


[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)


**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.


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


Testimony from Saint-Wandrille


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).


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.


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.


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).


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 Évrul, in Normandy. For Orderic and Roger, see their respective entries in ODNB (A150).


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.


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] (942–996), 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


247
Relatio de Guillelmo nobilissimo comite Normannorum 1106, written by a monk of Battle Abbey

The 'Norman' sources of Harold's trip to Normandy, and the hostages; with much more on Lanfranc and Anselm.

The 'English' sources

Fulford (20 Sept 1066) and Stamford Bridge (25 Sept 1066), see Campbell (B670.5), etc.

pp. 92

For essential guidance on the sources, see Chibnall (R55), II, pp. 368

Early Norman Historiography', Twelfth Centuries

See also Gardiner (P46). For the cartulary of Mont (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


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 Guillëlmo nobilissimo comite Normannorum, Written by a Monk of Battle Abbey', in

[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. 69), 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).


The ‘Carmen de Hastingae Proelio’


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.


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.S) and Beech (R116.6).


[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.


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.

Wace's Roman de Rou


Wace's Roman de Brut


Baudri of Bourgueil's Poem for Adela

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.
The legend of Hereward was developed at Ely in the early twelfth century. A band of outlaws, based at Ely, who had previously fled from the country. A reliable historical tradition (ASC, MSS. DE, s.a. 1071) represents Hereward as the leader of a reliable historical tradition (ASC, MSS. DE, s.a. 1071) represents Hereward as the 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 abbey. 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).


[R141.5] 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)


[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)


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.


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.


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.


Charters and writs

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)


[R164] De obitu Willelmi: see EHD II, no. 6, and Brown (R25, no. 65)


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).


On the symbolic affirmation of the ‘laws of King Edward’, and its consequences, see Wormald (M160), pp. 398–414; see also O’Brien (B373).


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Anglo-Norman government (including sheriffs)

[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 and 87; Green (M275), p. 29; Fleming, in ODNB (A150). For his ignorance of St. Ethelthryth, 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

[R219] R.A. Brown, Origins of English Feudalism (1973) - includes the Indiculum (G180)

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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 + R240–2.


[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


[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.>

Electronic Domesday Books
[R244.5] Alecito 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

Electronic Domesday Books
[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
[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 Gazetteer (1975) - lists and identifications of place-names in DB, with maps, arranged county by county

For the identification of men and women in Domesday Book with English names, see von Feilitzen (B877), Tengvik (B878), and Lewis (L77).

General guidance

The making of Domesday Book
See EHD II, nos. 198–204

[R273] R. Weldon Finn, An Introduction to Domesday Book (1963)

Domesday geography

Domesday economy
Studies of particular themes


See also Palliser (P86a).

The manuscripts


See also Hyams (R184), and Roffe (R275).

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).


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).


[343] H. Loyn, 'Abbots of English Monasteries in the Period Following the Norman Conquest', in R27, pp. 95–103; see also L. A24
[345] 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

Please, property, privileges, etc.


The church in the north

[352] A. Lawrence-Mathers, Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (2003), esp. for production of manuscripts at Durham s. xi/xii

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Lanfranc of Bec, by M. Gibson (1978)


[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. Ælfdheah, see also Knowles and Brooke (R165), pp. xxviii–xxx and xxxv–xxxvi


**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.


[R364.8] **Agreement of confraternity**, promulgated by Bishop Wulfstan, between the monks 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. Pelletet (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).


**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).


[R369] A. Lawrence, ‘Anglo-Norman Book Production’, in R27, pp. 79–93; see also Lawrence-Mathers (R349.5)


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 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 (II).


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 Wuthun, 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 inventions 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).


See also Lewis (R331), and several of the essays in Gillingham (T69).

For the ‘Book of Llandaff’ (B360), see:


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.

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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.


[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


For Margaret’s son David, king of Scotland (1124–53), see Ailred (B647).
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).


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 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/.

**S1.65** H.B. Walters, The English Antiquaries of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1934)

**S1.7** T.D. Kendrick, British Antiquity (1950) - chapters on Leland, etc.

**S1.8** J. Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries (1956)

**S2.1** M. McKisack, Medieval History in the Tudor Age (1971) - includes chapters on Leland and Bale, Matthew Parker and his circle, etc.

**S2.2** 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

**S2.3** E.N. Adams, Old English Scholarship in England from 1566–1800, Yale Studies in English 55 (1917) - another account of the same subject

**S2.4** 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.

**S2.5** T. Graham, 'Anglo-Saxon Studies: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', in A51.3 (2001), pp. 415–33

**S2.6** Old English Scholarship and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Carl T. Berkhout, ed. J. Wilcox, OE Newsletter Subsidia 32 (2004) <not yet seen>

**S2.7** 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

**S3.1** 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.


**S7** S. Kliger, The Goths in England: a Study in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Thought (1952)
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[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


[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 Encyclopaedia’ (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.


[S13.3] 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. xii.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).


The fifteenth century


[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-rolling outside SDK’s office.


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


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


[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


Sir John Prise (1501/2–55)


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–lv, on the ownership and use of manuscripts, 1540–1603, esp. by Talbot, Nowell, Lamb, C. Parker, and Joscelyn. For Joscelyn, see Graham (S4.3).


[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


The four books printed by John Day for Archbishop Parker, using Anglo-Saxon type:

[S26.1] [M. Parker], *A Testimonia of Antiquity* (1566), being an edition of Ælfric’s homily for Easter Day I (L.I); a collected edition of Anglo-Saxon laws, 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 *Acts and Monuments* [aka *Book of Martyrs*] (1570, 1576, 1583), as a sermon ‘against transubstantiation’.


[S26.2] W. Lambard, *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 (S128), p. 240


[S26.3] [John Foxe, aided by Parker and Joscelyn], *The Gospels of the Fower Evanglistes* (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 this present, is no new reformation of things 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 few later yeares’. See also Liuzza (B578), I, pp. xiii–xiv and xxi (text from Bodley 441).

[S26.4] M. Parker, Ælfredi Regis Res Gestæ (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.


[S26.92] 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: ‘Here lies the Daye that darknes could not blnyd / when popish fogges had over cast the sunne: / This Daye the cruel night did leave behind, / To view and shew what bouldi 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).


[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.


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.


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).


**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).


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).


[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)


[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.


[S56.2] 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, S46, 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’, Archaeologia Cantiana 1 (1858), 50–65, at 55–8, and by Evans (S2a), pp. 21–3. The original was sold at the Dering sale in 1881, lot 1156; bt by Quaritch (£415s), 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.


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 a 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 (accessibile through the Warwicks. R.O.)


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.


[S59.4] 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 original Grant of King Edgar ... I believe 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:
Anglo-Saxon England: a Bibliographical Handbook

[S59.5] [H. Savile], Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam praecepsui, 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, Historiae ecclesiasticae 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 Cluniac 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 title-page (by Dugdale/Hollar), incorporating a bit of Getæychvo, 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.


[S59.9] [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 ecclesie Ramesiensis (Ramsey), the Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi (Ely), John of Wallingford, and Alcuin's poem on the saints of York

[S59.11] E. Gibson, Chronicon Saxonichum (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).

Anglo-Saxon studies at Oxford

in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

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, Humphrey 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.


[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.


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

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exerted a significant influence on the development of Anglo-Saxon studies in the late seventeenth century, most notably in respect of diplomatic and palaeography


See <http://www.hml.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.


[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 Hal by 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)


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).


[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


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.


**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)**


**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).


**Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753)**

and the foundation of the British Museum


**Perceptions of English history in the eighteenth century**


[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:
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

For Strutt, see Hindman, et al. (S13b), pp. 19–24.

For the early use of the sculpture of Saxon kings, see Keynes (B450), pp. 75–7.

For Strutt, see Hindman, et al. (S13b), pp. 19–24.

Sharon Turner (1768–1847)

For Strutt, see Hindman, et al. (S13b), pp. 19–24.


**Joseph Strutt (1749–1802)**

For Strutt, see Hindman, et al. (S13b), pp. 19–24.

**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**


[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

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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.

[S78] S. Keynes, John Mitchell Kemble (1807–57): Apostle, Revolutionary, and Anglo-Saxonist, Fell-Benedizik Lecture 2005 (forthcoming); see also Keynes (B801), no. 41, on Kemble at Trinity College, and on the dispersal of his papers
See also Wilson (S70), pp. 129–30.

The later nineteenth century
The primary sources were produced 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).

[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] Saxons 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–xxvii) 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, Sibertswood, Barfriston, Beakesbourne, Chartham, and Crudale, 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, Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria, being a Series of Illustrations of the Ancient Versions of the Bible ... (1843–5), retd 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


[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)


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)


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.

Anglo-Saxon England: a Bibliographical Handbook

[S101a] C.A. Simmons, 'Introduction', Medievalism and the Quest for the "Real" Middle Ages, ed. C.A. Simmons (2001), pp. 1–28
[S104] D. Donoghue, Lady Godiva: A Literary History of the Legend (2003); see also S103

**The cult of Alfred the Great**

[S125] D. Horspool, Why Alfred Burned the Cakes: a King and his Eleven-Hundred-Year Afterlife, Profiles in History (2006); see also Hill (S13c)
See also Stanley (S102), Hills (C42).

For purposes of comparison:


**Miscellany**


**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.

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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:

By various authors on various subjects:

By a single author on various subjects (cont’d):
[T61] C.W. Jones, Bede, the Schools and the Computus, ed. W.M. Stevens (1994)
By various authors on various subjects (cont’d):
[T114] Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland, ed. J. Green and M.T. Flanagan <not yet seen>