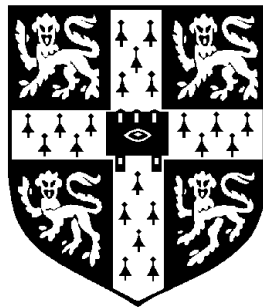


KATHLEEN HUGHES MEMORIAL LECTURES 7

OLIVER PADEL

Slavery in Saxon Cornwall:  
the Bodmin Manumissions



HUGHES HALL  
&  
DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE AND CELTIC  
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Hughes Hall was founded in 1885 as the Cambridge Training College (CTC) for graduate women schoolteachers. It is therefore Cambridge's oldest Graduate College, consisting currently of around 50 Fellows and some 400 student members, men and women, who study for doctoral or M.Phil. degrees or for the postgraduate diplomas and certificates offered by the University. We also have an increasing number of mature undergraduates in a variety of subjects. As a result, the academic community of Hughes Hall is now extremely diverse, including students of over 60 nationalities and representing almost all the disciplines of the University. Enquiries about entry as a student are always welcome and should be addressed initially to the Admissions Tutor, Hughes Hall, Cambridge, CB1 2EW, U.K. (<http://www.hughes.cam.ac.uk/>).

An important step in this transformation came with the granting of Cambridge degrees to women in 1948: the CTC was then given the status of a 'Recognised Institution', the crucial first move towards integration with the University proper. The College took the name of CTC's charismatic first Principal, the celebrated women's educationist, Elizabeth Phillips Hughes. Apart from Miss Hughes's Welsh heritage, there is no known connection between the College and the scholar now commemorated in this series of lectures.

Kathleen Winifred Hughes (1926-77) was the first and only Nora Chadwick Reader in Celtic Studies in the University of Cambridge. Previously (1958-76) she had held the Lectureship in the Early History and Culture of the British Isles which had been created for Nora Chadwick in 1950. She was a Fellow of Newnham College (and Director of Studies in both History and Anglo-Saxon), 1955-77. Her responsibilities in the Department of Anglo-Saxon & Kindred Studies, subsequently the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, were in the fields of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh history of the early and central Middle Ages. Her achievements in respect of Gaelic history have been widely celebrated, notably in the memorial volume *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe*, published in 1982. The Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures both acknowledge her achievements and seek to provide an annual forum for advancing the subject. Each year's lecture will be published as a pamphlet by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic on behalf of Hughes Hall.

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## **PREFACE**

The Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lecture was initiated as an annual event by Hughes Hall as the result of an anonymous benefaction in her memory and to mark the establishment of the Welsh Assembly. This benefaction came to the College as a result of an initiative taken by our Fellow, Dr Michael J. Franklin, Director of Studies in History and in Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic.

Each lecture will be published, both on the College's web-site (<http://www.hughes.cam.ac.uk/>) and as a printed pamphlet, to coincide with the following year's lecture. Hughes Hall is grateful to the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic for acting as hard-copy publisher.

Hughes Hall hopes that this academic initiative will make a significant scholarly contribution in those areas which fall within the research interests of Kathleen Hughes, and that the series will continue for many years. We are pleased that it continues to be a fixed point in the College's calendar.

**Sarah Squire**  
President  
Hughes Hall

## Slavery in Saxon Cornwall: the Bodmin Manumissions

OLIVER PADEL

It is a great pleasure to be invited to give a lecture in memory of Kathleen Hughes. She taught me Celtic History when I was an undergraduate in the Department of Anglo-Saxon (as it then was) in 1968–70, and she was notable, even within the department, for the interest and kindness which she showed to her undergraduates. She maintained the strong tradition of ASNaC at Newnham College, which had preceded her there especially in the persons of Nora Chadwick and Dorothy Whitelock, and which is maintained today by the present head of the Department. A subject as small as ours is especially dependent upon the support shown to it by individual colleges, and Dr Hughes would have been delighted at the enthusiasm for it shown nowadays here at Hughes Hall, and especially also that a former history student of hers at Newnham, Sarah Squire, is chairing this lecture today, as the president here.

As an example of her friendly but firm manner towards her undergraduates, I can mention a remark she made at one of her lunches for us, when (having recently grown a beard) I admitted to having always wanted an Old English sheepdog, and she commented briskly, ‘Oliver, if you haven’t got time to shave, you *certainly* haven’t got time to brush one of those!’ (You will appreciate that her own dog, Jess, was a boxer.)

I do not think that Kathleen ever wrote or taught specifically about Cornwall. She concentrated her energies on Ireland, Wales and latterly Scotland, and it was her successor, David Dumville, who with characteristic energy and rigour extended the scope of Celtic History in the Department to include Cornwall and Brittany, thus placing even greater demands upon teacher as well as students in an already complex subject. The single text which provides my material today is an ideal ASNaC topic, since its interest is both linguistic and historical, and it straddles the Anglo-Saxon and Brittonic cultures, with small amounts of Irish and Scandinavian thrown in.

The text is also an ideal ASNaC topic in another way. It is a basic principle of the Department that a knowledge of the relevant languages is essential for studying the literature and history of a culture, and in the case of this text it is only through linguistic analysis of its contents that some of its historical significance emerges. That fact may account for the surprising neglect which the document has experienced historically. Although the text was printed seven times in the nineteenth century, only one of these editions contained even an index of names,

let alone any historical discussion.<sup>1</sup> The most recent edition is that by Max Förster, published in 1930, and it too contains virtually no historical analysis.<sup>2</sup> The text has never been fully translated, although Dorothy Whitelock included eight entries in her volume of *English Historical Documents*.<sup>3</sup> As for discussion, Henry Jenner's studies are still valuable, not only at the local level.<sup>4</sup> Subsequent interest has been mainly linguistic. Kenneth Jackson used the evidence of the Cornish names for his great study of the Brittonic languages in 1953;<sup>5</sup> Jenefer Lowe provided a linguistic analysis of the names in an unpublished M.A. thesis in 1980;<sup>6</sup> and Meredith Cane has placed the names in the wider context of naming-practices in the medieval Brittonic world.<sup>7</sup> Neil Ker has usefully provided palaeographical datings of the entries; occasionally these can be given greater precision when persons appearing in the text are known in other sources.<sup>8</sup> The notable exception to this historical neglect is the work of David Pelteret, who has made excellent use of the source in his study of slavery in Anglo-Saxon England (1995), and has thereby placed its contents into their much-needed national context.<sup>9</sup> But apart from Henry Jenner eighty years ago, nobody has examined the text as a source for Cornish history in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The subject has more than local significance, since the text spans a century and a half from the mid-tenth century to about 1100; it thus begins just when Cornwall was becoming fully incorporated into the newly-formed kingdom of England, and it is one of the crucial sources for showing how that assimilation proceeded, especially because of a shortage of other detailed sources for the county at this period. It raises and illuminates questions of national and sub-national identity, which has been a fashionable subject in historical circles in recent years. This matter is also topical today, because of current political questions about the role of England within this island.

The text is also of wider interest because it deals with the subject of slavery.

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<sup>1</sup> Whitley Stokes, 'The manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels', *Revue celtique*, 1 (1870–2), 332–45.

<sup>2</sup> Max Förster, 'Die Freilassungsurkunden des Bodmin-Evangeliars', in *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen*, edited by N. Bøgholm and others (Copenhagen, 1930), pp. 77–99 (with references to earlier editions, p. 80). Förster's numbering is used here, and will be followed in my fresh edition of the text.

<sup>3</sup> *English Historical Documents*, vol. I, c. 500–1042, edited by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1979), nos 141–8, translations of Manumissions nos 11, 26, 29, 50, 7, 14, 33, and 50 (in chronological order); however, Ker's dating (below) of Bodmin no. 33 to s.xi<sup>2</sup> is preferable to Whitelock's to s.x<sup>2</sup> (following Förster, p. 93).

<sup>4</sup> Henry Jenner, 'The Bodmin Gospels' and 'The manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 21 (1922–5), 113–45 and 235–60.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 59–60.

<sup>6</sup> J. M. Lowe, 'The personal names in the Bodmin Manumissions', unpublished M.A. dissertation (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1980).

<sup>7</sup> Meredith Cane, 'Personal names of women in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, 400–1400 A.D.', unpublished M.Phil. thesis (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1999); *eadem*, 'Personal names of men in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, 400–1400 A.D.', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 159 (no. 126).

<sup>9</sup> David Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England, from the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 1995).

I am not equipped to discuss the broader dimensions of this vast subject; it is a commonplace to point out that the nature of slavery has varied greatly over time and place. I have myself met someone who was effectively a freed slave, an Indian tribal woman (thus from a group which stands outside and beneath the caste system, still being dreadfully persecuted in India today) who had been bought out of debt-bondage by a middle-class Indian journalist, who set her free and married her. Pelteret has listed some of the variable factors especially in medieval European slavery, drawing upon the extensive literature on the subject, and David Wyatt has considered Anglo-Saxon slavery in its historiographical context;<sup>10</sup> I have also found Rosamond Faith's book on the English peasantry illuminating.<sup>11</sup> Looking further afield, Julia Smith has offered a vigorous commentary on the debate over whether early medieval Europe should be considered as having a slave economy; and Amitav Ghosh an illuminating account of an Indian slave in twelfth-century Egypt, using documents from the Geniza collection here in the University Library.<sup>12</sup>

Pelteret draws a firm distinction in the European Middle Ages between slaves and the later serfs of Norman England and elsewhere, the distinction being that a slave is someone who is unfree through being owned outright by someone, who can move them or sell them, having total rights over them; whereas serfs are unfree through their tied tenancy of a piece of land, but who work partly for themselves. He also points out that there must have been a continuum between the two conditions in our period, although he is definite that those listed in Domesday Book all over England in 1086 were slaves, not serfs.<sup>13</sup> I am not in a position to question this clear-cut distinction, but I confess that I am not always entirely clear about its application. My surmise is that some of these people in Cornwall may come into the grey zone between the two categories.

For our purpose today it is important to note that slavery was the norm in Europe in the earlier Middle Ages: there was nothing unusual about its existence in Cornwall at this period. It is attested in Ireland and Wales from the time of our earliest sources; in early Ireland, indeed, it was a fundamental feature of society, for female slaves and cattle were reckoned as units of currency in that non-monetary economy before the Viking Age.<sup>14</sup> Both slaves and tied peasants (serfs) are attested in south Wales in the same period;<sup>15</sup> and slaves are attested in early

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<sup>10</sup> Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. 1–3 and 12–24; David Wyatt, 'The significance of slavery: alternative approaches to Anglo-Saxon slavery', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 23 (2001), 327–47.

<sup>11</sup> Rosamond Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (Leicester, 1997), pp. 59–70.

<sup>12</sup> J. M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: a New Cultural History, 500–1000* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 151–60; Amitav Ghosh, *In an Antique Land* (London, 1992), especially pp. 259–61 (and notes, pp. 378–9).

<sup>13</sup> Pelteret, *Slavery*, p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland* (London, 1995), p. 145; *Crith Gablach*, edited by D. A. Binchy (Dublin, 1970), pp. 81–2.

<sup>15</sup> Wendy Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London, 1978), pp. 43–4; compare E. I. Bromberg, 'Wales and the mediaeval slave trade', *Speculum*, 17 (1942), 263–9.



Brittany, where even peasants could own serfs in the ninth century.<sup>16</sup> There is every reason to extrapolate from these kindred societies to pre-Saxon Cornwall.

There were several ways by which people could come to this condition. One was through being born of people who were themselves slaves; another was by being captured and sold by way of trade; a third was through being sold by one's parents, or selling oneself, a desperate measure at times of extreme poverty or debt;<sup>17</sup> and a fourth was as punishment for an offence against another. Thus slaves in Cornwall may often have been of native ancestry, descended from slaves or enslaved locally through legal process; or they may have been brought to Cornwall from elsewhere, through either trade or warfare, or descended from such people. Whatever their ultimate descent, however, by the time that we meet them most were native Cornish people, irrespective of their more distant ancestry.

I shall discuss their owners later, in examining the names found in the text; for now the important point is that the owners will often have acquired them as part of the livestock of the estates where they lived. Slavery in tenth-century Cornwall will have been predominantly a continuation of the situation which prevailed among the Cornish themselves before the Saxon conquest, which had taken place a hundred years before our source begins.

Since the text is concerned with the manumission or freeing of slaves, the obvious question arises, what would have happened to these slaves after they were freed? We need not suppose that life suddenly became more pleasant. It may actually have become harder, if they became tied serf-tenants who had to feed themselves, instead of people who worked and received housing and board as part of a well-run household or estate. We may surmise that they often continued to live on the same estate, though as serf-tenants instead of slaves; but one entry (only) in our source concludes with the words, *Vale, vive in Christo* 'Farewell, live in Christ' (Bodmin, no. 27), suggesting an expectation, in this one instance, that the freed slave would depart and start a new life elsewhere.

Before proceeding to the contents of the text in detail, I should give some local historical background. Two centuries before the earliest of our manumissions, Cornwall had experienced its one century or so of existence as a separate political entity, during the period which came between the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Devon in the seventh to early eighth centuries, which left Cornwall as the surviving tail-end of the earlier British kingdom of Dumnonia, and King Ecgbert's military conquest of Cornwall itself in 815–838. After Ecgbert's final victory over a

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<sup>16</sup> N.-Y. Tonnerre, 'L'esclavage dans la Bretagne du Haut Moyen Age', in *Actes du 107<sup>e</sup> congrès national des sociétés savantes, Brest, 1982: section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610*, II, *Questions d'histoire de Bretagne* (1984), pp. 105–15; Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds: the Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London, 1988), pp. 98 and 163 (and, more generally, pp. 87–9).

<sup>17</sup> Faith, *English Peasantry*, pp. 61–2; Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. 247–8; on the Durham entry see now David Pelteret, 'The manumissions in the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *The Durham Liber Vitae*, edited by David and Lynda Rollason, 3 volumes (London, 2007), I, 66–72.

combined force of Cornish and Vikings in 838, Cornwall was under the political control of Wessex; at some date before his death in 839 Ecgbert was in a position to grant an estate at Pawton, close to Bodmin right in the centre of the county, to the Saxon minster of Sherborne in Dorset.<sup>18</sup>

It was in Alfred's reign in the late ninth century that Cornwall became more closely engaged with the affairs of Wessex, though still with its own ruler until the last king of Cornwall, Dungarth, died in 875–6;<sup>19</sup> we could envisage his position as a sub-king to the rulers of Wessex as analogous with that of the rajahs in India under British rule. However, it was not until probably the mid-tenth century that Cornwall became administratively fully assimilated as a county of England. The earliest extant charters, which significantly include grants of estates in the farthest west of the county, are from this period, the mid-tenth.<sup>20</sup> This was just when England itself was becoming united, during the reign of King Athelstan (924–39) and subsequently. The manumission-entries therefore cover precisely the period when Cornwall, having already been under Saxon rule for a century, came to be governed as an ordinary part of England, and they provide some evidence to illuminate that process.

The Anglo-Saxon takeover of Cornwall differed markedly from that of Devon and areas further east. In most of Cornwall it was similar to the Norman Conquest, with a few landowners and administrators moving in, while the native population remained substantially unchanged; whereas in Devon and the rest of England the linguistic and toponymic evidence indicates that there was a substantial influx of farming settlers, producing a major change in culture and presumably, to some extent at least, in population, more like the European takeover of North America.<sup>21</sup>

The evidence of place-names shows that the estates existing in Cornwall in 1066 were pre-Saxon ones which had been perpetuated, and which continued under the Normans and later. The likelihood is that when these estates changed hands, for instance through being taken over by an incoming Anglo-Saxon (whether by force or negotiation, or something in between), the existing slaves would have remained on the land, much as if someone buying a whole farm today were to acquire the

<sup>18</sup> J. Armitage Robinson, *The Saxon Bishops of Wells* (London, 1918), pp. 18–24, the Division of the Sees of Wessex; and *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, edited by A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1895), no. VII (pp. 18–19 and 102–10), Archbishop Dunstan's Letter.

<sup>19</sup> *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals*, edited and translated by John Morris (Chichester, 1980), p. 90; = *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682–954: Texts A–C in Parallel*, edited by David N. Dumville (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 12–13.

<sup>20</sup> P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), nos 450 (attributed to King Athelstan but dated 943), 552 (King Eadred, 949), 684, 755, 770, 810 (King Edgar, 960–8), and 832 (King Edward the Martyr, 977); see also Della Hooke, *Pre-Conquest Charter-Bounds of Devon and Cornwall* (Woodbridge, 1994).

<sup>21</sup> O. J. Padel, 'Place-names and the Saxon conquest of Devon and Cornwall', in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by Nick Higham (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 215–30; compare Richard Coates, 'Invisible Britons: the view from linguistics', *ibid.*, pp. 172–91.

cattle and sheep on the land. If so, then these people might be considered in the blurred area in the distinction drawn between slavery and serfdom. Similarly when the clerics of St Petrock's church freed slaves, as they did on three occasions, once with their bishop Wulfsige Cemoyre (who also freed slaves in his own name on six further occasions), we must suppose that they were in a position to do so because of their tenure of landed estates.<sup>22</sup> Pelteret has pointed out a few other instances elsewhere in late Anglo-Saxon England of people who could perhaps be classed as serfs rather than slaves, so it would not be exceptional to suggest such a category in tenth- or eleventh-century Cornwall.<sup>23</sup>

The manumissions were taking place under the aegis of, and often physically within, the minster-church of St Petrock. This church was the wealthiest land-owning church in Cornwall in 1066–86, the period of the latest manumissions, and may have been so since the 940s or earlier, throughout the period when the manumissions were being recorded.<sup>24</sup> At least three-quarters of the manumissions took place 'upon St Petrock's altar'. The only problem is that we cannot be certain where that altar was. At some date during the period spanned by the entries, St Petrock's community moved from its original coastal site at Padstow (etymologically 'St Petrock's *stōw* or holy place'), at the mid-point of the north coast of Cornwall, inland to a fresh site at Bodmin, right in the centre of the county, eleven miles away.<sup>25</sup> The move may well have been a defensive one, perhaps the result of a Viking attack on Padstow in 981, mentioned in the Chronicle, compounded by other attacks in the region in subsequent years. But the date when the community moved is uncertain, and so is the date when the saint's relics followed, probably rather later. According to the Anglo-Saxon tract on the resting-places of the saints, drawn up in its present form around the millennium, two decades after the attack, St Petrock's body still lay at Padstow, not at Bodmin.<sup>26</sup>

We can attribute that tenacity of the relics to the rootedness of Celtic and other local saints to their sites — it is almost surprising that the saint was ever moved at all;<sup>27</sup> but this dual location means that the earlier manumissions at least, from the 940s through at any rate to 981 (assuming that the move began then), presumably took place at Padstow, and only the later ones at Bodmin, although all

<sup>22</sup> Bodmin, nos 14, 16, 36; and nos 3, 6+7, 39, 40, 46, 47; W. Davies (*Small Worlds*, p. 101) has noted the presence of serfs on priests' land in ninth-century Brittany.

<sup>23</sup> Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. 125 and 128.

<sup>24</sup> Lynette Olson, *Early Monasteries in Cornwall* (Woodbridge, 1989), especially pp. 66–78; Karen Jankulak, *The Medieval Cult of St Petroc* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 115–36; Nicholas Orme and O. J. Padel, *Victoria County History of Cornwall*, vol. II (forthcoming).

<sup>25</sup> Olson, *Early Monasteries in Cornwall*, pp. 69–73; Jankulak, *Cult of St Petroc*, pp. 50–71.

<sup>26</sup> F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hannover, 1889), pp. 17–18; D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), 61–93 (at p. 92).

<sup>27</sup> O. J. Padel, 'Local saints and place-names in Cornwall', in *Local Saints and Local Churches*, edited by Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford, 2000), pp. 303–60 (at pp. 351–2).

were performed ‘upon St Petrock’s altar’. We do not know that there was any altar of the saint in Bodmin before 981; and even after that date any altar of St Petrock there might have been sanctified by only minor relics, until the move of the saint’s whole body at some date after the millennium. The move was perhaps complete by 1066 or 1086, since Bodmin appeared first, and Padstow second, among the properties of St Petrock’s church in Domesday Book;<sup>28</sup> but it is not until the mid-twelfth century that there is clear evidence for Bodmin as the home of the relics.<sup>29</sup> There are other historical questions about the move from Padstow to Bodmin, such as who gave the land at the new site, and what was at Bodmin before the move; but I shall not discuss them here, although they too are of more than local interest.

What is notable about St Petrock’s church is that it flourished under Anglo-Saxon and Norman rule, instead of dwindling or disappearing altogether. On the whole the small landholding church-communities which were characteristic of Celtic-speaking regions seem not to have found favour with the Anglo-Saxon overlords, or subsequently with the Norman ones, and several of them disappeared altogether in the eleventh or twelfth centuries.<sup>30</sup> But for some reason St Petrock’s flourished, or even expanded. Either it already conformed, in the ninth or tenth century, to what the Anglo-Saxons expected a minster-church to look like, or for some other reason it was selected for encouragement. The move from Padstow to Bodmin was itself symptomatic of the favour shown to the church, since the new site was probably a former episcopal seat, but did not lie within St Petrock’s existing estates, as far as the evidence goes.<sup>31</sup> It was a prestigious site, newly given to them, probably in the late tenth century. The question therefore arises, whether St Petrock’s church was in some sense an Anglo-Saxon creation or implantation in the county, or was a pre-existing Cornish foundation selected for favourable treatment, unlike most of the other native monastic houses; and the names of its clerics, as shown in the manumission-records, may throw some light on this question (below).

The source itself is the gospel-book now in the British Library, Additional MS. 9381, containing the fifty or so marginal memoranda which constitute my text. The book is one of the few documents to survive from Bodmin priory; most of its archive was presumably destroyed at the Reformation. By the early seventeenth century the book was in private hands in Oxfordshire, and it was bought by the British Museum in 1833.<sup>32</sup> The practice of entering such memoranda in the margins of gospel-books or liturgical books was widespread in the Celtic world at this

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<sup>28</sup> *Domesday Book*, vol. 10, *Cornwall*, edited by C. and F. Thorn (Chichester, 1979), §4.3–4 (Exchequer Domesday, fol. 120d).

<sup>29</sup> Jankulak, *Cult of St Petroc*, p. 67.

<sup>30</sup> Padel, ‘Local saints and place-names in Cornwall’, pp. 326–9.

<sup>31</sup> Olson, *Early Monasteries in Cornwall*, pp. 69–78; Jankulak, *Cult of St Petroc*, pp. 59–60.

<sup>32</sup> Ker, *Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 159.

period, but it was not confined to it, and it is unclear whether the practice should be claimed as Celtic, or specifically Welsh, in origin.<sup>33</sup> In this case the gospel-book is itself of historical interest, since it is one of several which were written in Brittany in the late ninth century or around 900, but which have survived outside Brittany, either in England or elsewhere on the Continent.<sup>34</sup>

The fact that this particular volume was in Cornwall within half a century of being written might at first be ascribed to the close links which have always existed between Brittany and Cornwall; but the other examples from elsewhere in England point to a different cause, namely the general flight from Brittany, to England and elsewhere, which occurred in the earlier tenth century in the face of Viking attacks. However, the script of the earliest manumission-entries, dating from the 940s, does seem to owe something to the close historical links between the two regions, since those entries include some of the earliest examples from anywhere in England of Caroline script, which had been adopted in Brittany in the ninth century, and which began to be used in England from the mid-tenth onwards. The only earlier English example which is securely dated is one from Canterbury in the previous decade, the 930s, but that is thought likely to have been written by a foreign scribe.<sup>35</sup> David Dumville has justly hinted that this precocious appearance of the new script in the far south-west might be due to its independent adoption in Cornwall, acquired directly from Brittany, in parallel to its introduction from France to south-eastern England.<sup>36</sup>

Between the mid-tenth century and about 1100 about 50 memoranda were written into the margins or blank pages of this book, recording the manumission of slaves in mid-Cornwall. These memoranda are the earliest documents which show us Cornish men and women at all levels of society — almost the earliest to record individual Cornish people at all, although the inscribed stones of the fifth and sixth centuries give us the names of a few high-ranking individuals, and place-names record many more people, but they are undated and provide no additional information. Four overlapping groups of people are named in the entries: the slaves freed, the owners freeing them, the people for whose souls the action was done (often the owners themselves), and the witnesses. Two sample entries will give an idea of them, a simple early one and a later, up-market, one.

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<sup>33</sup> Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, 'The Welsh marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 5 (1983), 37–66, and 7 (1984), 91–120, at I, 61–5, including examples from outside the Celtic and Insular worlds.

<sup>34</sup> J. J. G. Alexander, 'A note on the Breton Gospel books', in Francis Wormald, *An Early Breton Gospel Book: a Ninth-Century Manuscript from the Collection of H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence*, edited by Jonathan Alexander (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 13–23.

<sup>35</sup> The poem beginning 'Rex pius Æðelstan' in British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius A.ii: David N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 16 n. 43, 92, and 141.

<sup>36</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, especially pp. 141–2.

**11.** Hec sunt nomina mulierum, Medhuil, Adlgun, quas liberauit Eadmunt rex, super altare sancti Petroci, palam istis testibus, Cangueden diaconus, Ryt clericus, Anaoc, Tithert.

These are the names of the women, Medhuil, Adlgun, whom King Edmund freed upon St Petrock's altar, before these witnesses, Cangueden the deacon, Ryt the cleric, Anaoc, Tithert.

[Date: 939×946, King Edmund.]

**22.** † Hoc es nomen illius mulieris, Ælfgyþ, quam liberauit Æpælfælæd pro anima sua et pro anima domini sui Æpælwerd dux (*sic*), super cimbalum sancti Petroci, in uilla que nominatur Lys Cerruyt, coram istis testibus uidentibus, Æpæstan presbiter, Wine presbiter, Dunstan presbiter, Goda minister, Ælfwerd Scirlocc, Æpælwine Muf, Ealdred fratrem (*sic*) eius, Eadsige scriptor; et hii sunt testes ex cleri (*sic*) sancti Petroci, Prudens presbiter, Boia [diacon]us, Wulfsige diaconus, Bryhsige (*sic*) clericus; ut libertatem ... (*text lost*). Et postea uenit Æpælwærd dux ad monasterium sancti Petroci et liberauit eam pro anima sua, super altare sancti Petroci, coram istis testibus uidentibus, Buruhwold bisceop, Germanus abbas, Tittherd presbiter, Wulfsige diaconus, Wurgent filius Samuel, Ylcærþon prepositus, Teþion consul, ... filius Mór. Et ipse adfirmauit ut quicumque custodierit hanc libertatem benedictus sit, et quicumque fregerit anathema sit a Domino Deo celi et ab angelis eius. AO.

This is the name of that woman, Ælfgyþ, whom Æpælfælæd freed for her own soul's sake and for that of her lord, Ealdorman Æpælwerd, upon St Petrock's bell, in the town called Liskeard, before these witnesses, Æpæstan the priest, Wine the priest, Dunstan the priest, Goda the minister, Ælfwerd Bright-hair, Æpælwine Muf, Ealdred his brother, Eadsige the scribe, and these witnesses from among St Petrock's clerics, Prudens the priest, Boia the [deacon], Wulfsige the deacon, Bryhsige the cleric; so that [she might have] liberty ... Afterwards Ealdorman Æpælwærd came to St Petrock's minster, and freed her for his own soul's sake, upon St Petrock's altar, before these witnesses, Bishop Buruhwold, Abbot Germanus, Tittherd the priest, Wulfsige the deacon, Wurgent son of Samuel, Ylcærþon *prepositus* (reeve), Teþion the *consul*, [and] ... son of Mór. He himself has confirmed that whoever preserves this liberty shall be blessed, and whoever breaks it shall be cursed by the Lord God of heaven and by His angels. Amen.

[Date: 1011×1027, Bishop Buruhwold, Ealdorman Æthelweard II.]<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready', 978–1016* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 192 n. 139.

To give an idea of the scale of the material, the number of individuals named in a single entry averages eight or nine, with a maximum of 23; and approximately 250 named individuals appear altogether, with the obvious uncertainties over whether a single name appearing in two entries refers to one person or to two of the same name; about 129 of those named are slaves who were manumitted (not counting unnamed ones) — just over half the total of named individuals.

The kind of analysis which can be done is shown by the work of another of my ASNaC teachers, Cecily Clark, former Director of Studies at Caius College. She used her knowledge of Early English and French to study the extraordinary change in the patterns of personal naming which occurred all over England, including Cornwall, in the century and a half following the Norman Conquest. In a series of articles in the 1970s and 80s she used a group of under-exploited sources to ask perceptive questions about how and why this remarkable change took place.<sup>38</sup> Margaret Gelling always hoped that Cecily would one day write a book called *What Happened in 1066?* My Cornish source is only a pale reflection of those used by Clark in its contents, but the principle is similar.

The population in Cornwall at the time of these entries remained substantially native-Cornish, while coming under the cultural, linguistic and administrative dominance of a limited number of Anglo-Saxon landlords, and of the national administration which was then being created. That situation is reflected in the linguistic mix appearing in the names of the persons, but it is not a straightforward mix. We might expect that the slaves being freed would have Cornish names, while their owners would have English ones. That is largely true for the slaves: out of about 129 named persons freed, 109 had Cornish-language names and only about ten had Old English ones (and one of those had a mother with a Cornish name); a few had other names (Old Testament, Latin, Irish), or ones of uncertain affiliation (see the lists in the Appendix).

It is in the names of the owners that the situation is more complex. Of about 34 named manumitters eighteen had Old English names, while ten had Cornish ones. But that does not give the full picture, for as early as the mid-tenth century Cornishmen were taking English names in addition to their Cornish ones (or instead of them), presumably following fashion, or in order to make themselves respectable in the eyes of the incoming English administration. The practice may have been especially prevalent at the upper end of the Cornish social scale. Two lay recipients of land-grants in King Edgar's reign (in 967 and 969) were so named;<sup>39</sup> so too, most importantly, was Bishop Wulfsige Cemoyre (sometimes known by only one or other of his two names), whose career as a cleric at St Petrock's can be

<sup>38</sup> Cecily Clark, *Words, Names and History: Selected Papers*, edited by Peter Jackson (Cambridge, 1995), especially (but not only) chapters 14–21.

<sup>39</sup> Wulfnoth Rumuncant, the recipient of S.755 (dated 967), and Ælfeah Gerent, the recipient of S.770 (dated 969); the latter had a wife with a Cornish name, Moruurei.

traced in the earlier manumission-entries, before he became bishop of St Germans, in south-east Cornwall, at some time between 959 and 963, and freed slaves at St Petrock's in that capacity.<sup>40</sup>

In theory these double-named individuals could be English incomers who had taken additional Cornish names, going native in order to blend into the cultural environment in which they were living; but subsequent evidence indicates the opposite. By 1066 there were hardly any landholders in Cornwall with Cornish-language names, the overwhelming majority having Old English ones, so it is a fair conclusion that the drift had been in that direction over the previous two centuries; and then it is logical to see these individuals with double names as manifestations of that drift, Cornishmen who had taken an Old English name in addition to their Cornish-language one. We cannot know how many other people who are given an English name alone at this period may actually have been of Cornish descent.

Another way in which Cornish men and women could come to have English names is suggested by a family, a woman with three sons, freed in the time of King Eadred (946–55; no. 36). The woman had a typical Cornish female name, Medguistyl, and two of her three sons had Cornish names, Bleidiud and Ylcerthon, but the third, Byrchtylym, an Old English one. Two possible reasons for the discrepancy are either that the advantages of adopting an English name were already apparent, even at the lowest level of Cornish society, as they were at higher ones by this period; or that this third son had a different father from the other two. In fact, Cornish-language names continued to appear among those of the priests and slaves in the eleventh century, suggesting that English names were adopted more slowly outside the land-owning class; so the second explanation may be the likelier one in this case.<sup>41</sup> Even the latest entry of all among the memoranda, of around 1100, still contains three Cornish names among those of the six witnesses, Gryfyið, Bleyðcuf, and Salaman;<sup>42</sup> it is not clear whether they were clerics or laymen.

Thus, from the mid-tenth century on, people with a Cornish ethnic background, both landowners and others, could have Old English names. Some of those with Old English names who are seen owning and freeing slaves could therefore have been Cornish landowners who had already embraced an Anglo-Saxon identity, either exclusively or in addition to a Cornish name which might not have been mentioned. The point is really that, from as early as the tenth century, it is not meaningful to draw an opposition between Cornish and English identity, for the two were already blending into one another.

The entries naturally contain a good deal of information about the family

<sup>40</sup> W. M. M. Picken, 'Bishop Wulfsgie Comoere: an unrecognised tenth-century gloss in the Bodmin Gospels', *Cornish Studies*, 14 (1986), 34–8, reprinted in his *Medieval Cornish Miscellany* (Chichester, 2000), pp. 28–33.

<sup>41</sup> Compare remarks of Clark, *Words, Names and History*, pp. 126–33 and 280–91 (among others).

<sup>42</sup> No. 37, dated 's. xi/xii' by Ker, *Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 159.



relationships of the people mentioned within them; and in this area there are two surprises. One is that there is not a single instance of someone described as ‘son’ by means of the Cornish word *map*, in a phrase *X map Y*. One person has the word as an epithet (attached to an Old English personal name), Godric Map (no. 33, second half of eleventh century), but that is not the same thing. Only seven people in total are defined by the specific phrase, ‘X son of Y’ (in Latin or Old English), apart from some family-groups of slaves examined below.<sup>43</sup> That still makes it the commonest type of additional descriptor (since most people were known in these memoranda merely by a single name), but its rarity is nevertheless surprising, in a society where parentage must actually have been the standard way of defining someone, legally and socially, as it was to remain in Wales for another half-millennium. In fact the Cornish phrase, *X map Y*, occurs only once anywhere in the whole of the known documentary record, and that was not in Cornwall at all but in Exeter in the eleventh century, where a manumission was witnessed by a man with the curious name, *Ælfric map Happes*, ‘Ælfric son of chance’, where both main elements of his name are Old English but the noun linking them is Cornish.<sup>44</sup>

It is also notable that family relationships were more often recorded for the slaves than for the owners or witnesses. The reason is that several times a group of freed slaves consisted of a named parent and their offspring, usually unnamed. Of the eleven groups so specified, seven were a woman with her offspring, compared with three men and their offspring.<sup>45</sup> Seven out of eleven of these families headed by a woman is a high proportion, and I wonder whether there was some particular reason for it: spouses of slaves, or couples, are never mentioned, so it is possible that these slave-women were deprived of conventional opportunities of marriage, and were bearing their masters’ children. If so, however, at least they had some continuing rights in their own offspring, since they were freed as groups.<sup>46</sup> Similarly the three men who were freed with their progeny evidently had paternal rights in their offspring. The only husbands and wives mentioned at all in the entries are two couples who each freed slaves jointly, perhaps ones held by the couple in the wife’s name, or inherited by her.<sup>47</sup>

Not only were people not often defined by familial relationships in these records, but there are also disappointingly few nickname epithets, of the kind that

<sup>43</sup> Byhstan Bluntan sunu (no. 10), Teþion filius Wasso (no. 19), Ordulf filius Brun (no. 21), Wurgent filius Samuel and ... filius Mór (no. 22), Teðion Modredis sunu (no. 30), Ælfric Ælfwines sunu (no. 33), and three groups of slave plus offspring (below).

<sup>44</sup> *The Leofric Missal*, edited by F. E. Warren (Oxford, 1883), p. 1; my thanks to David Thornton for first drawing this name to my attention.

<sup>45</sup> Wuennmon and Moruiw (no. 26), Leðelt (no. 29), Ongyneðel (no. 30), Ourdylic (no. 35), Medguistyl (no. 36) and Diuset (no. 48+49), all women; Iliuþ (no. 18), Teripian (no. 21) and Wurgustel (no. 26), all men; and Iudprost (no. 6+7), gender not clear.

<sup>46</sup> Compare Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 79, for families of serfs, including unattached women with children, in ninth-century Brittany.

<sup>47</sup> Byrhsie and his wife Æþelhid (no. 10), and Æþælwerd *dux* and his lady Æþælfælð (no. 22).

can be so interesting in later (Middle English) documents.<sup>48</sup> The general impression is of a very small-scale society, which combined with the wide variety available of Cornish personal names made further differentiation seem largely unnecessary in this particular record, whether by paternity or by nicknames, although both of those were in use. The variety of Old English personal names current was rather lower, and the definite examples of duplication, that is to say, of two clearly distinct individuals bearing the same name, involve people with Old English, not Cornish, names; most obvious in this category are the *Æilsig* who purchased a slave and freed her, and the *Æilsig portgereua* ‘town reeve’ to whom he paid 4*d.* in tax (both in no. 30, later eleventh century). Probably for that reason, both paternity and epithets were given for a higher proportion of people with Old English names than ones with Cornish names.<sup>49</sup>

However, not all Cornish names were unique: there are at least eight instances of Cornish slaves’ names which are repeated in more than one manumission.<sup>50</sup> Among these there may be separate individuals who happened to share the same (Cornish) name. However, I have noted earlier that it was possible for a free person to become enslaved, for example through debt or through an offence against a person; so some of these entries could theoretically show us individuals who, having been freed, were unfortunate enough to become re-enslaved, though also fortunate enough to be freed a second time.

Two entries show an individual with the very unusual, presumably Brittonic, name of *Ylcerthon*.<sup>51</sup> The first entry (no. 36) shows one of that name being freed as part of a family along with his mother (as mentioned earlier), perhaps as a youngster, in the time of King Eadred, 946–55; the second (no. 22) shows someone of the same name (here spelt *Ylcærþon*) serving as a *prepositus* ‘reeve’ in the time of Bishop Burhwold, 1011–27, more than fifty-five years later. If this was the same man he would by then have been aged at least 60. That would not be impossible, and the unusual name encourages an identification; but two place-names in Cornwall contain the same personal name, Tregarton in Goran parish and Tregath in Lanteglos by Camelford;<sup>52</sup> so it looks as if the name may have had a wider currency in Cornwall, even though it is unparalleled in Wales and Brittany. If these

<sup>48</sup> *Ælfwerd Scirlocc* ‘bright hair’ and *Æþælwine Muf*, obscure (no. 22); *Godric Map* ‘son, boy’ (no. 33); *Gurcant Cest* ‘paunch’ (no. 45); additionally *Wenwiu Puer* (no. 47) is punctuated as two separate people, but if the punctuation is misleading then *Puer* may be a (Latin) epithet.

<sup>49</sup> See notes 43 and 48, above; the overall number of people with Cornish names is greater, but a smaller proportion of them have such descriptors.

<sup>50</sup> *Benedic* (nos 24, 28); *Iosep* (nos 44, 46, 47); *Medguistyl* or *Meðwuiſtel* (nos 36, 47); *Ongyneþel* or *Oncenedl* (nos 30, 45); *Onwen*, *Onnwuen* or *Onwean* (nos 8, 28, 40); *Otcer* (nos 28, 44); *Proscen* (nos 16, 38); and *Tancwoystel* or *Tancwueſtel* (nos 12, 46); see below on the variation of spelling in these names.

<sup>51</sup> The personal name is not attested in Wales or Brittany, although its presumed first element, *El-* or *Il-* ‘many’ is common to all three Brittonic areas: Cane, ‘Personal names of men in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany’, p. 315.

<sup>52</sup> Tregarton in Goran parish (SW983436) was spelt *Trevelgarthan* in 1303 (Feudal Aids), while Tregath in Lanteglos by Camelford (SX105849) was spelt *Treuilgardha* in 1256 (Cornwall Feet of Fines).

two entries do show a single individual, having been born in slavery he rose to a position of administrative responsibility; but the evidence is too scanty for assurance.

There is a comparable example, though not necessarily a freed slave, in the case of Maccos the Hundredman. He is mentioned in two entries of the later eleventh century (nos 30, 31), and his name also appears in Domesday Book, borne by a man holding one of St Petrock's estates in 1066 and 1086.<sup>53</sup> His name, Maccos, is an unusual one, found all over the British Isles, but infrequently (especially so in southern England), both at this period and later. The name is not claimed or even acknowledged by any language, ASNaC or other, but David Thornton has suggested convincingly that it arose specifically in the mixed conditions of Norse-Gaelic contact, primarily in Ireland, and perhaps originally as a Norse nickname for a Gael or Irishman because of their patronymics in *mac* 'son'.<sup>54</sup> If he is right (and I know of no other suggestion), then this Maccos living in Cornwall in the second half of the eleventh century was presumably an immigrant Norse-Irishman, who had risen to the responsible administrative position of hundredman within the estates of St Petrock. His name survived until nearly 1700 within the place-name of another of St Petrock's former estates.<sup>55</sup>

This man vividly illustrates how Cornwall's peninsular and maritime nature has rendered it constantly open to immigrants who have settled and become native. In the fifth and sixth centuries the inscribed stones north of Padstow show Irish-speaking settlers mingling with the local population; and in about 1540 the antiquary John Leland described Padstow itself as 'ful of Irisch men'.<sup>56</sup> Maccos's background, as suggested by his name, also serves to emphasise (though it hardly needs stating) the historical naïvety of attempts at racial or genetic definitions of a population such as that of Cornwall.

The one clearly Irish name in the entries belonged to a slave called Muelpatrec, freed in the second half of the tenth century (no. 44, 959×90): he presumably belonged to the more predictable class of what we might call involuntary immigrants. I do wonder whether Maccos may have been a similar imported slave, who had been freed and subsequently enjoyed a successful career in the national administrative system, which was well established in Cornwall by his day. If so, then we may hope it gave him satisfaction that, in his role of helping

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<sup>53</sup> Manumissions nos 30 and 31 (both dated palaeographically to the second half of the eleventh century by Ker); *Domesday Book: Cornwall*, §4.17 (Exchequer Domesday, fol. 121a): *Machus* held the estate of *Fosnewit* (Fursnewth, in St Cleer parish, SX225674).

<sup>54</sup> D. E. Thornton, 'Hey, Mac! The name *Maccus*, tenth to fifteenth centuries', *Nomina*, 20 (1997), 67–98.

<sup>55</sup> O. J. Padel, 'Talkarn Mackus', appendix II (pp. 95–8) of Thornton, 'Hey, Mac!'; the estate was Higher Tolcarne, formerly *Talkarn Mackus* 1286 or *Tolcarne Vaccas* 1694, in the parish of St Mawgan in Pyder (SW884654); compare the estate of *Talcarn*, taken away from St Petrock's after 1066 (*Domesday Book: Cornwall*, §4.22, fol. 121b).

<sup>56</sup> *The Itinerary of John Leland*, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London, 1906–10), I, 179.

to run the minster's estates, he was himself in a position to free a slave on one occasion (no. 31). In the tenth and eleventh centuries there was a flourishing trade in slaves across the Irish sea, centred on the Scandinavian community in Dublin.<sup>57</sup> In the mid-eleventh century the centre of this trade on the eastern side of the Irish sea shifted to Bristol;<sup>58</sup> and Cornwall, particularly Padstow, would have been a natural stopping-off point on the route between Dublin and Bristol. Maccos could very well have arrived in Cornwall via this trade-route, whether as a slave or not; but the earlier Muelpatrec was a slave in Cornwall before this particular route is known to have existed; so his presence may be due rather to the more general intercourse between north Cornwall and Ireland, attested over more than a millennium.

One of St Petrock's clerics had the Irish-looking name Osian (also spelt *Oysian*), but here the appearance may be deceptive:<sup>59</sup> I have failed to find *Osian* itself as a historical name in Ireland at this period. However, some Irish names are not far distant in form: *Osgen*, *Ōss*, *Ossān*, *Ossine*;<sup>60</sup> so this priest may be a candidate for a third person from Ireland in the entries; at any rate *Os-* does not look Brittonic. Alternatively I wonder whether his name was possibly of mixed language, with Old English *Ōs-* (as in Oswald, Osferth, etc.) and the suffix *-ian*, presumably Brittonic, seen in other names in the text (*Milian*, *Teripian*, *Inisian*, all paralleled in Brittany).<sup>61</sup>

Two free men appearing in the entries had Scandinavian names: an eleventh-century owner called *Purcild* who sold a slave to be freed (no. 30);<sup>62</sup> and a lay witness called *Sictricus* in the second half of the eleventh century (no. 31), who bore the same name as the abbot of Tavistock, in Devon, at the same period.<sup>63</sup> Apart from the very different case of Maccos, these two men provide the only direct Scandinavian interest in the text. The presence of their names here in Cornwall can probably be ascribed to the installation of Danish landowners widely in England by King Cnut and his sons in the first half of the eleventh century, and the consequent prestige which Scandinavian personal names enjoyed in English society generally;<sup>64</sup> so it is possible that these two men with Norse names were not

<sup>57</sup> Poul Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin, ninth to twelfth centuries', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), 317–345; David Wyatt, 'Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Hiberno-Norse world', *Welsh History Review*, 19 (1998–9), 596–617 (at pp. 601–3).

<sup>58</sup> Holm, 'Slave trade of Dublin', p. 340; Clare Downham, 'England and the Irish-Sea zone in the eleventh century', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 26 (2003), 55–73 (at pp. 56–7).

<sup>59</sup> Osian, priest, witness in nos 5, 14, 20=41, 24, 44, 51; and as *Oysian* in no. 36.

<sup>60</sup> *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. I, edited by M. A. O'Brien (Dublin, 1976), index, p. 721.

<sup>61</sup> Stokes, 'Manumissions', p. 342: compare Old Breton *Inisan*, *Milon* or *Milun*, and *Terithien* or *Torithgen*, all in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon*, edited by H. Guillotel, A. Chédeville, B. Tanguy and others, 2 vols (Rennes, 1998–2004), II, index.

<sup>62</sup> Old Norse *Borketill* or *Borkell*: John Insley, 'Some Scandinavian personal names from south-west England', *Namn och Bygd*, 70 (1982), 77–93 (at pp. 88–9), for this and other occurrences of the name.

<sup>63</sup> Old Norse *Sigtryggr*; for Abbot Sihtric see Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), p. 364.

<sup>64</sup> Insley, 'Scandinavian personal names from south-west England', pp. 77–8; also John Insley, 'Some Scandinavian

themselves of Scandinavian descent. Theoretically they could alternatively have come to Cornwall by the western route, like Maccos; but in view of the presence of similar names elsewhere in southern England, both before and after the Norman Conquest, the eastern route seems more likely.

Because of their re-appearance in multiple entries, we can learn something about the community of priests at St Petrock's church in this period, including hints about its ethnic makeup. Their numbers seem to have been small for such a major church at the county level. Usually only three to five clerics were listed as witnesses to manumissions, and the largest numbers named were seven or eight, in five of the entries.<sup>65</sup> Not all clerics were specifically stated to belong to St Petrock's monastery, but some certainly did and in most entries where 'clerics' are listed, the likelihood is that they all belonged to it. About 47 members of the community are named in total in the century and a half covered by the entries. Cornish and English names were fairly evenly balanced in this community; Old English ones were already present at the time of the earliest entries, in the 940s,<sup>66</sup> but they seem to become more common among the clerics as one goes forward into the eleventh century, perhaps as part of the general change in Cornish nomenclature during the period. This ethnic mix helps to answer the question raised earlier, whether the success of St Petrock's church under Anglo-Saxon rule implies that it was an English implantation: it certainly does not appear to have been so — or, if so, it was one which was enthusiastically embraced by the Cornish, with at least half of its staff, perhaps more, coming from within the local community.

Occasionally full priests who do not seem to have been members of St Petrock's community appeared as witnesses — that is to say, priests who were presumably installed in nearby parish churches, or ones in the employ of a great household. These priests seem to have had more consistently Anglo-Saxon names.<sup>67</sup> It may be the nature of the specific entries which determined that imbalance, for it is only one or two entries, by manumittors high up the social scale, which name such priests as witnesses in addition to St Petrock's clerics; and priests accompanying such top people were perhaps more likely to be either imported Englishmen, or Cornishmen with English names. Moreover, the few entries of this type belong to the eleventh century rather than the tenth, so they may partly illustrate the change in the nomenclature of Cornish people themselves which took place during the period. However, the contrast between the names of

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personal names in south-west England from post-Conquest records', *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica*, 3 (1985), 23–58 (at pp. 44–6 and 53).

<sup>65</sup> Nos 21, 30, 31, 35, and 36.

<sup>66</sup> Tithert (no. 11) and Wulfsie, the future bishop (no. 12+13), both in 939×46 (King Edmund); Byrhsie (no. 14), in 959×75 (King Edgar); etc.

<sup>67</sup> e.g. *Æþæstan*, *Wine* and *Dunstan* in no. 22.

secular priests and those of St Petrock's clerics seems to appear even within an individual entry (no. 22, 1011×27), so it may be a real one.

Another point which emerges from the lists of clerics is the long life of one or two. The extreme example is one with the very rare Old English name of Tidheard. His first appearance, as the most junior of the community (not yet even a *clericus*) was in King Edmund's reign, 939–46, and his last, as a full priest, at some time after 1011, giving him a minimum active span of 65 years between his first and last appearances.<sup>68</sup> Although that may seem improbable, it is not impossible. The low average life expectancy in the Middle Ages did not prevent a few hardy individuals from attaining a great age. Thomas of Bamburgh, a monk of Durham Cathedral Priory, had an active life of nearly seventy years, having entered the community in about 1268 and being still alive in 1336, aged about 90.<sup>69</sup> In the fourteenth-century court rolls of the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd, in north-east Wales, the Welsh patronymic system of naming, combined with other factors, means that one can sometimes be confident that the same name appearing in successive entries represents a single person. When I was working on a project studying some of those rolls, we noted men who had active adult lives of well over 50 or 60 years, having lived through the period of the Black Death.<sup>70</sup> What is interesting about this Tidheard is that he seems to have spent nearly all his life as a simple cleric (that is, below the rank of deacon), then suddenly to have risen to the priesthood in extreme old age. The progression shown in his appearances, combined with the great rarity of his name, makes it unlikely that this later priest is another person of the same name.<sup>71</sup>

There is more work to be done on the careers of the clerics named in these entries; but I have the impression that Tidheard's career was not untypical, except in its length. At least one of his colleagues seems to have spent many years as a deacon before finally being priested, if the entries all refer to the same man.<sup>72</sup> Becoming a deacon seems to have counted as a career in itself, rather than a stepping-stone to full priesthood as generally nowadays. Doing more work on the careers of these men may also serve to clarify the dating of some of the entries for which only a palaeographical dating is available at present. However, lest you should think that the document is full of octogenarians, I should add that these two

<sup>68</sup> In nos 9 (dated 939×46) and 22 (dated 1011×27); his advancement to *clericus* appears in nos 9, 34, 36, 38 (all second half of tenth century); and to priest also in nos 19 and 21 (both first half of eleventh century).

<sup>69</sup> *Durham Liber Vitae*, edited by Rollason, III, 199.

<sup>70</sup> For example, Dafydd ap Heilyn Fychan, adult in 1340 and still active 56 years later, in 1396 (National Archives, SC2/217/6, m. 25; SC2/220/10, m. 19); and Ieuan ap Bleddyn Ddu, adult in 1311–12 and still active 63 years later, in 1375 (SC2/215/71, m. 17; SC2/219/10, m. 16d). My thanks to Andrew Barrel for confirming these references.

<sup>71</sup> Only one example of the personal name, contained within a place-name, is given by W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 452.

<sup>72</sup> Morhaytho, deacon in nos 6+7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 24 and 27 (all second half of tenth century), and in nos 4 and 21 (first half of eleventh century); and priest in no. 1 (palaeographically dated to the second half of the eleventh century).

whom I have mentioned are exceptional, and I should expect further work on the clerics and their careers to show a different age-structure overall.

There is one final aspect relating specifically to slavery, namely the places where the manumission-ceremonies actually took place. The great majority, where specified, occurred upon St Petrock's altar, in either Padstow or Bodmin; but the few which did not are instructive. Two secular transactions (not actual manumissions) were recorded as having taken place at the church door in Bodmin (nos 30 and 33). In the later Middle Ages church doors were used as the location for a variety of actions, including marriage; I learn from Pelteret that these eleventh-century instances are actually the earliest recorded examples in England of such use of this location.<sup>73</sup> Two manumissions were made upon relics but away from the church. In one case the ceremony was performed seemingly upon privately-owned relics, though unfortunately their nature is unclear:

**29.** Marh gefreode Leðelt and ealle hire team for Eadwig cyningc on his ægen reliquias, and he hie het lædan hider to mynstere and her gefreogian on Petrocys reliquias, on þæs hirydes gewitnesse.

Marh freed Leðelt and all her offspring, for the sake of King Eadwig, upon his own relics; and he had them brought here to the church and freed here upon St Petrock's relics, in the witness of the community.

[*Date: approximately 955×9 (King Eadwig).*]

The manumission-ceremony was first carried out elsewhere, but was confirmed in the church.

The other such ceremony (no. 22, above) was performed upon St Petrock's bell (significantly not a corporal relic of the saint), at Liskeard, eleven miles from Bodmin, in the early eleventh century. Liskeard was probably the secular centre of Anglo-Saxon government in eastern Cornwall at this period, having been inherited from the last king of Cornwall in King Alfred's reign. St Petrock's bell had apparently been brought there so that Lady Æthelflæd, the wife of Ealdorman Æthelweard, and hence the First Lady of Cornwall at that date, could free a slave-woman upon it. In this case, too, the manumission performed away from the church was subsequently confirmed in the church, by Ealdorman Æthelweard himself. In both cases the repetition of the ceremony at St Petrock's altar would seem to render the first ceremony redundant, although reasons can be envisaged why it was thought appropriate — perhaps the second ceremony was added in order to ensure that the act would be recorded in the gospel-book. But there are no examples in these Cornish entries of the powerfully symbolic practice, found sometimes elsewhere in England (including Devon) and on the Continent, of freeing a slave at

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<sup>73</sup> Pelteret, *Slavery*, p. 151.

a cross-roads — the implication being that they were now free, perhaps for the first time, to choose which road to take.<sup>74</sup>

My last broad topic is the extent to which this document shows Cornwall becoming assimilated to Anglo-Saxon society in the tenth and eleventh centuries. I shall consider this subject briefly under three headings — the political and administrative, the economic, and the social and cultural spheres. The political is perhaps the most remarkable, for these fifty memoranda actually mention every king of the newly-formed realm of England, from Edmund in the 940s through to Æthelred II *Unræd* around the year 1000, with the single exception of Edward the Martyr, who reigned for four years in the 970s.<sup>75</sup> We must consider what these appearances mean, both in terms of dating and in terms of direct involvement by the kings.

Many of the mentions are simply to the effect that a manumission was performed ‘for the soul of’ a certain king. It is unclear whether these were done during the king’s lifetime or after his death. Dorothy Whitelock seems to have thought that the balance was in favour of their being done after the king’s death.<sup>76</sup> However, in other cases the manumissions were performed (where we can tell) for the souls of persons who were still living, usually the manumittor himself or herself, whether or not anyone else as well;<sup>77</sup> and if it was done for somebody’s soul after their death, it was probably not very long after. Therefore in my suggested datings I have treated these manumissions performed by a king, or for the sake of his soul, as if they were performed during the king’s lifetime; but if I am wrong then some of these datings could accordingly be too early, by perhaps a few years.

We cannot know whether the named king was present at the ceremony, or involved at all. He could have sent a payment to the minster, with the instruction that a manumission was to be performed for the benefit of his soul; in which case he had some limited involvement but need not have been present. But in a few entries the wording is suggestive of more direct involvement. These are ones where the king is named as the person who himself freed the slaves, with no mention of any other party’s involvement. King Edmund (in nos 11 and 12+13), King Edgar (in nos 25 and 32), and King Æthelred (in no. 18) are all stated to have themselves freed slaves ‘upon St Petrock’s altar’. There is also one anomalous entry, not an

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<sup>74</sup> Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. 143–5.

<sup>75</sup> King Edmund (939–46), nos 11 and 12+13; King Eadred (946–55), nos 26 and 36; King Eadwig (955–9), no. 29; King Edgar (959–75), nos 6+7, 14, 25, 32, 34, 39, 40, 42, 46, 47, 48+49, and 50; and King Æthelred II (978–1016), no. 18.

<sup>76</sup> Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, I, 608–9, nos 142–3 and 145 (Manumissions nos 26, 29 and 7).

<sup>77</sup> Manumittor for own soul (only), nos 1, 8, 12+13 (King Edmund), 15, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25 (King Edgar), 27, 31, 37, 38, 43, 44, 51; manumittor for own soul and king’s, nos 6+7, 36, 39, 40, 46, 47; for king’s soul alone, nos 14, 28, 32, 34, 42, 48+49; for souls of King Eadred (946–55) and Bishop Æthelgar (of Crediton, 934–53), no. 26; for own soul and (living) husband’s, no 22; for another’s soul (only), nos 9 (Ælfsie’s), 20=41 (mother’s).



actual manumission, where a group of King Edgar's tenants successfully defended themselves against an accusation of inherited servile status (of being *coloni regis*), and they did so with the king's permission expressly obtained (*Eadgari regis permisu*, no. 50).<sup>78</sup>

Some of these entries thus can be read as if the king were actually present, although still not decisively so. In the two manumissions made by King Edmund (nos 11 and 12+13), the witness-lists are extremely meagre, consisting in one of just four clerics, none higher than a deacon, and in the other of just a priest and two other clerics. The two manumissions performed by King Edgar are similar in the low-key nature of their witnesses (nos 25 and 32). One might have supposed that for a royal visit the wealthiest minster in Cornwall could have mustered a better turn-out. Perhaps this meagreness suggests that the kings were not actually present in person, despite the wording of these entries; though even in the king's absence one might perhaps have expected a more impressive list for a royally-sanctioned manumission. As seen above, these numbers of clerics are typical for St Petrock's monastery; it is the absence of visiting dignitaries, secular and ecclesiastical, which is notable, if it were the occasion of a royal visit. In contrast, when Ealdorman Æthelweard confirmed, in person, his wife's manumission of a woman (no. 22, 1011×27), the witnesses included Burhwold bishop of St Germans and Abbot Germanus (possibly the well-known abbot of Winchcombe and Cholsey, having retired perhaps to Exeter or further west),<sup>79</sup> as well as lesser clerics and minor officials. Similarly three less typical transactions all unusually included a number of full priests as their witnesses; they were not necessarily members of St Petrock's community, but their presence evidently gave additional weight to the occasions.<sup>80</sup> By contrast the more typical manumissions seem to have been rather small-scale, private occasions (albeit recorded before witnesses), which could have made a large formal presence unnecessary even for a king's act. If so, these grants of freedom were very unlike land-grants, which of course is true in other ways too.

What is particularly striking about these entries mentioning royalty is the number which mention King Edgar — twelve, which is nearly a quarter of all the entries, and twice as many as those mentioning all the other kings put together.<sup>81</sup> In theory this imbalance might be due simply to a fashion for freeing slaves at this particular period, especially since quite a few of the less closely dated entries seem to belong to roughly the same period; but two factors make it look more significant

<sup>78</sup> For *colonus* (essentially the later serf) and discussion of this entry specifically, see Faith, *English Peasantry*, pp. 80–1, and Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. 157 and 182; it was a normal term in ninth-century Brittany (Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 47).

<sup>79</sup> M. Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1993), pp. 387–417 (especially pp. 405–14), and Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 79–85.

<sup>80</sup> Nos 22, Lady Æthelflæd at Liskeard (three mass-priests); 30, Æilsig's purchase and manumission (six mass-priests); and 33, Putrael's avoidance of enslavement (three mass-priests); all eleventh-century.

<sup>81</sup> Nos 6+7, 14, 25, 32, 34, 39, 40, 42, 46, 47, 48+49, and 50.

than that. One is that it is during the sixteen years of Edgar's reign, 959–975, that extant royal land-grants first appear in earnest in Cornwall, with four charters, three granting lands in the western third of the county, well to the west of Padstow and Bodmin.<sup>82</sup> This sudden flurry could also be due to the nature of the surviving evidence, for Simon Keynes has shown that the number of extant charters in the country as a whole becomes significantly greater in the mid-tenth century,<sup>83</sup> so the four surviving Cornish charters may be merely symptomatic of the larger number surviving at the national level. But it could also be that this was when the king of England was in a position to exercise full authority over the furthest corners of the region. By then it had already been under overall English governance for about 150 years, but until the mid-century the far west may still have been a little too remote, from the English kings' perspective, for land-grants there to be a relevant or practical concern.

There is one extant royal grant of a slightly earlier date, of land in the very far west, close to Land's End;<sup>84</sup> but this grant was made to a church dedicated to a local Cornish saint (Buryan), in contrast with the secular recipients of Edgar's western grants some twenty years later, so it might have seemed a more straightforward business; it may anyway have been merely a confirmation of that saint's existing holdings. Of course there is no telling what documents have been lost. We have seen that King Ecgbert (802–839), nearly a century and a half before Edgar, granted Pawton, in central Cornwall near Bodmin, to the minster at Sherborne. For that reason it would certainly be unwise to assume that the kings could not have made grants in this westernmost area before Edgar's time; but the sudden flurry of extant charters in Edgar's reign both is striking in itself, and it also accords well with the twelve appearances by that king in the manumissions. The lay recipients of two of these grants were among the men with double names, Cornish and Old English, showing the partial anglicisation of the native ruling class at that period.<sup>85</sup>

The other factor suggesting a significant personal involvement by King Edgar is his donation of a portable shrine for the relics of St Petrock in 963, as we learn from the twelfth-century 'Miracles of St Petrock'. That shrine is now lost, having been replaced in the 1170s; but a century and a half after being donated it was brought and displayed at the court of King Henry I (1100–35), and the inscription recording its donation by King Edgar was noted.<sup>86</sup> In view of these various separate indications of Edgar's involvement in Cornish affairs, and

<sup>82</sup> Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, nos 684, 755, 770, and 810.

<sup>83</sup> Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready', 978–1016* (Cambridge, 1980), table, p. 47.

<sup>84</sup> Sawyer, no. 450, to St Buryan church; its date of 943, four years after Athelstan's death in 939, may well be genuine.

<sup>85</sup> Wulfnoð Rumuncant, Sawyer, no. 755; Ælfeah Gerent and his wife Moruurei, Sawyer, no. 770.

<sup>86</sup> Paul Grosjean, 'Vies et miracles de S. Petroc', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 74 (1956), 131–88 and 470–96 (at pp. 172–3); Jankulak, *Cult of St Petroc*, p. 33.

specifically in those of St Petrock's church, as manifested by both the shrine and the manumissions, it seems likely that some at least of the entries mentioning him refer to events which occurred during a personal visit, especially perhaps those involving Bishop Wulfsige Cemoire, who rose from being a priest at St Petrock's to become bishop of St Germans, soon after the beginning of Edgar's reign, and who remained in that position through into Æthelred's reign.<sup>87</sup>

Further evidence for administrative assimilation lies in the various lay officials who are mentioned in passing: Ealdorman Æthelweard and his wife (no. 22), figures on the national scene, evidently based at Liskeard when in Cornwall, Maccos the Hundredman, mentioned earlier (nos 30–1), and Æilsige the *portgereva* or town reeve of Bodmin in the late eleventh century (no. 30), collecting national taxes; also various men called *prepositus* or *prauost*, 'provost' or 'reeve' (nos 18, 22, and 33), though it is not always clear whether these were lay officials or church ones. There are also officials called a *preses* in Edgar's reign (Ælfsie, no. 50), and a *consul* in the 11th century (Teðion, no. 22), but both these administrative terms seem to be too vague to be informative without more context. It seems clear, from these scattered allusions, that by the eleventh century, and indeed in Edgar's reign as the charters indicate, the normal Anglo-Saxon county administration was in place. It may well have been in place rather earlier, perhaps as early as Athelstan's reign, but the evidence is not sufficient to tell us whether that was so or not.

Next, economic assimilation. Here too the manumission-entries amplify the situation known from other evidence. Cornwall, like Wales and Ireland, shows little sign of having had a monetary economy in the earlier Middle Ages; in Cornwall that seems to have arrived with Saxon rule in the ninth century.<sup>88</sup> Two atypical entries in the manumissions, both of the later eleventh century, show the state of Cornwall by that date, as also does Domesday Book at the same period. In the first a man, Putrael, avoided being enslaved by another, Ælfric son of Ælfwine, by agreeing to pay eight oxen to Ælfric. As part of the agreement Putrael also had to pay 60*d.* to Ælfric's brother, Boia, for negotiating the settlement (no. 33). These seem high values, suggesting that the enslavement might have been a punishment for some major offence committed by Putrael against Ælfric, with the payments denoting compensation for an offence, not just the standard cost of a slave at this period.

More significantly, in the late eleventh century a man purchased a slave-woman and her son in order to free them, and the transaction included 4*d.* toll paid to the portreeve of Bodmin and to the hundredman (no. 30). The price paid for the

<sup>87</sup> Nos 6+7, 39, 40, 42, 46, 47, and 50; also (less closely dated) in nos 3, 16, 17, and 44; nos 12+13, 25, and 36 show Wulfsie in St Petrock's community before he became bishop; see also above, and Picken, 'Bishop Wulfsige Comoere'.

<sup>88</sup> R. D. Penhallurick, *Ancient and Roman Coins in Cornwall and Scilly* (London and Truro, forthcoming); compare Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 47–58.

slave, half a pound, is the commonest of the various prices recorded by Pelteret for slaves generally in the tenth and eleventh centuries (her son being apparently included free); and, notably, the toll of 4*d.* is also in keeping with the amount recorded in similar transactions elsewhere in England.<sup>89</sup> The twofold conformity suggests that by the later eleventh century prices of this kind in Cornwall were in line with those elsewhere in the country, signifying the integration of Cornwall into the national economy. In fact, Cornwall had already had an Anglo-Saxon mint a hundred years earlier, at Launceston under King Æthelred; and it continued there through to the reign of Henry II (1154–89);<sup>90</sup> so in fact the economic assimilation had presumably been attained at least a century before the date of this manumission.

Finally, the social and cultural sphere. I have already examined one dimension of this, the mixture of personal names found in the entries, but there is more to say on other aspects. Perhaps the most important is the obvious but easily overlooked question, why these manumission-records exist at all. Is their cultural background Brittonic or Anglo-Saxon? To some extent that may be a non-question. By this date the Brittonic and the Anglo-Saxon worlds both shared in much of general western-European culture, and we may suppose that the act of manumission was common to both worlds. But the recording of manumissions may be more culturally specific, and my question is prompted by an interesting imbalance in such records between the two worlds.

The earliest such record that has survived from Britain comes from Wales, where the ninth-century marginal entry known as ‘Chad 5’ in the Lichfield or St Chad Gospels (formerly at Llandeilo Fawr, Carmarthenshire) records that a man called *Bleidiud* (modern Bleiddudd) paid four pounds and eight ounces, presumably of silver, for his freedom from four brothers.<sup>91</sup> This record is earlier than any of the manumissions surviving from England, though given the normal rates of survival at this period I doubt whether that is very significant. The size of Bleidiud’s payment seems great, and makes one wonder whether he was not simply purchasing his freedom, but paying to avoid enslavement because of some offence committed against the brothers who ‘freed’ him, so that the size of his payment reflected the gravity of his offence rather than the actual price of a slave, as in one of the Bodmin entries (no. 33, above). The fact that his freedom was gained from four named brothers could also suggest an offence against a whole family, such as a killing.

<sup>89</sup> Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. 152–4 and 180 (half a pound) and 156 (4*d.* toll).

<sup>90</sup> P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, ‘Cornish numismatics’, *British Numismatic Journal*, 3 (1907), 107–16; Penhallurick, *Coins in Cornwall and Scilly*.

<sup>91</sup> *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhys (Oxford, 1893), p. xlvi; discussed by Jenkins and Owen, ‘Lichfield Gospels’, I, 54, and Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. 139–40; dated shortly before 840 or late ninth century, depending upon the possible identification of one witness (Jenkins and Owen, I, 52–3 and 56–7).

After this single Welsh memorandum, such manumission-records are overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon within Britain, with a further seventy such records from other parts of England supplementing the fifty found in the Bodmin Gospels. But, to compound this imbalance, the geographical distribution within England is very uneven, with forty from Devon beside the fifty from Cornwall, but only thirty from the rest of England;<sup>92</sup> and of these thirty half are from Bath.<sup>93</sup> Those from Devon date from the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth centuries. They are preserved in two Exeter manuscripts, the Leofric Missal, given to Exeter cathedral by Leofric, bishop there in 1050–72, and the Exeter Book of Old English poetry;<sup>94</sup> but some of the manumissions recorded in the former book were performed elsewhere in Exeter diocese, some in the Lifton area in west Devon (where the slaves included two from just inside Cornwall), and one in Cornwall, which after 1050 lay within the diocese of Exeter.

Thus, of 120 such entries from England overall (including the Cornish ones), 90 are from the two south-western counties, and 105 are from the greater south-west, if one includes Bath in that region. The remaining fifteen comprise two from Durham and various less certainly located ones,<sup>95</sup> plus three analogous documents (one from Hertfordshire and two from Kent) which affirmed the free status of individuals whose status was in question, a type of document to which Bodmin no. 50 also belongs.<sup>96</sup>

Like the imbalance of such records between Wales and England, it is difficult to judge whether this imbalance within England itself is significant, or is due merely to the chances of survival. There were slaves all over England, and we know from wills and other records that they were regularly freed.<sup>97</sup> The 120 surviving manumission-records come from twelve manuscripts altogether, but 112 of them are contained in just six books. With a single book providing up to fifty such entries, the survival of one such manuscript can make a significant difference to the distribution; so the geographical imbalance could be due merely to the chances of survival. Nevertheless the predominance of the south-west, and especially Devon and Cornwall, in the extant examples of this type of record is striking. If we take the distribution as significant, it appears that the entering of such memoranda into valued books was a practice especially characteristic of the south-west. If so, then the Bodmin records belong with those from Devon, which

<sup>92</sup> Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. xiv–xvi and 140–1.

<sup>93</sup> Ker, *Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 35.

<sup>94</sup> Ker, *Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, nos 20 (Exeter Book, articles 5, 11 and 13) and 315 (Leofric Missal); Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. xv–xvi.

<sup>95</sup> Ker, *Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, nos 6 (Bedwyn, Wiltshire), 147 (Durham), 176 (Durham?), 194 (Exeter?), and 246 (Kent?); Pelteret, 'Manumissions in the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *Durham Liber Vitae*, edited by Rollason, I, 66–72 (discussion) and 138 (text).

<sup>96</sup> Ker, *Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, nos 194 (Hertfordshire) and 373B (Kent); Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. xvi and 180–2.

<sup>97</sup> Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. 109–30 (wills); 137–9 (other evidence).

are thoroughly Anglo-Saxon in their context. However, Cornwall in the tenth and eleventh centuries was culturally mixed, and the background of the entries may reflect that mixture. It is even possible that the practice of recording manumissions in this way spread from Cornwall into Devon, since most of the Cornish entries are considerably earlier than any of the Devon ones; however, even earlier than any of the Cornish entries are two from Wiltshire and one from Kent, so the relative dates are probably not significant.<sup>98</sup>

Another factor which, at first glance, places the Bodmin entries in an Anglo-Saxon rather than a Brittonic cultural context is the fact that nine of them are actually written in Old English, instead of Latin;<sup>99</sup> these include some of the earliest ones in the book (nos 26 and 29, of the mid-tenth century, Kings Eadred and Eadwig; also nos 46, 47, and 48+49, King Edgar). None in Cornish, alas — a thousand pities, since not a single full sentence survives in Cornish until the fourteenth century, and just one sentence from this early period would have been of enormous linguistic interest. It seems that by the mid-tenth century English was already the dominant written vernacular in central Cornwall, at least in Padstow and Bodmin, although those towns were to remain bilingual probably for another 300 years. It is not surprising that when texts in Cornish do finally appear, further west, in the fourteenth century and later, this Celtic language was already showing all-pervasive influence from English in its vocabulary, syntax and idioms — a point which is sometimes overlooked by those who would use Middle Cornish to study common-Brittonic linguistic features.

However, the language of the entries may not be as straightforward an issue as it seems at first. Elsewhere in England manumission-records were normally written in Old English. Obviously there were still Cornish-speakers in Bodmin at the time when the entries were being written; and it would have been their cultural tradition to use Latin for such memoranda. Kenneth Jackson has detected an occasional tendency of the scribes to use anglicised spellings for the Cornish names in the entries written in Old English, whereas in the Latin entries there are some spellings (though not many, it should be emphasised) which are characteristic of the distinctive native-Cornish spelling-system, shared with Welsh and Breton:<sup>100</sup> for example, *Rumun* (2), *Iudprost* (6+7), *Cangueden* (11), *Guenguuiu* (20), and *Oncenedl* (45), native-Brittonic spellings in Latin entries; and *Gyðiccael* (30), *Meðwuiſtel* (47, with *wynn*), and *Ongyneðel* (30), Anglo-Saxon spellings in Old English entries. However, although there may be such a tendency, counter-examples can also be found: for example, *Morhaiðo* (15), *Ylcærpon* (22), Anglo-

<sup>98</sup> Ker, *Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, nos 6 and 246 (pp. 4–5 and 316–17).

<sup>99</sup> Nos 10, 26, 29, 30, 33, 37, 46, 47, and 48+49.

<sup>100</sup> Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 60; on the Common-Brittonic spelling-system in Cornwall see B. Lynette Olson and O. J. Padel, 'A tenth-century list of Cornish parochial saints', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 12 (1986), 33–71 (at pp. 38–40).

Saxon spellings in Latin entries; and *Mermen* (8, 47), *Catuutic* (47), Brittonic spellings in Old English entries.

More work is therefore needed to establish how consistent the tendency is, and to consider the choice of different languages for the entries. Those written in Old English will have been so because that was the standard choice elsewhere; so although those written in Latin are commoner within the Bodmin Gospels, at the national level the Latin ones are the exception which needs to be explained. If the tendency discerned by Jackson is consistent enough, we might surmise that the Latin entries were ones written by Cornish-speaking scribes, although the distinction is unlikely to have been so clear-cut. Probably we should think rather of a bilingual (or trilingual) community, with mixed usages, both orally and scribally, even by particular individuals.

The overall decline of Cornish-speaking from east to west across the county has yet to be adequately charted, using all the available data;<sup>101</sup> different kinds of evidence combine to show that the language was effectively dead east of Bodmin, in the centre, by about the thirteenth century or at any rate 1300; the limit then remained fairly static for about 250 years after that. In the later Middle Ages Bodmin thus lay on the boundary between the all-English east and the mixed-language west. It is generally considered that towns in west Cornwall became anglicised in speech earlier than the countryside,<sup>102</sup> and although that idea has not been demonstrated in detail, it is likely to be broadly correct; if so, then the bilingual condition of Padstow and Bodmin in the tenth and eleventh centuries could have been partly due to their status as towns, rather than showing the general state of mid-Cornwall at that period. At any rate these manumission-entries provide valuable evidence of how those later linguistic stages were reached. Later medieval literature and documents at Bodmin were written, as we should expect, in English, not Cornish.<sup>103</sup>

On the other hand, it has been suggested that the form of the manumission-entries owes something to the Brittonic side of their cultural background. Wendy Davies has identified a distinctive form and vocabulary of Latin charters, used in western, Celtic-speaking, areas (Wales, Ireland, Brittany and Scotland) in charters down to the twelfth century.<sup>104</sup> Having established this common pattern, she has

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<sup>101</sup> Most recently M. Spriggs, 'Where Cornish was spoken and when: a provisional synthesis', *Cornish Studies*, 2nd series, 11 (2003), 228–69; and J. Holmes, 'On the track of Cornish in a bilingual country', *ibid.*, pp. 270–90; but the conclusions of both for east Cornwall require modification, partly in the light of additional kinds of evidence.

<sup>102</sup> For example, Charles Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History* (Oxford, 1935), p. 33.

<sup>103</sup> M. F. Wakelin, 'Mediaeval English written at Bodmin', in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh*, edited by M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 237–49; and 'Later Middle English from Bodmin', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 84 (1983), 353–6.

<sup>104</sup> Wendy Davies, 'The Latin charter-tradition in western Britain, Brittany, and Ireland in the early mediaeval period', in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, edited by Dorothy Whitelock and others (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 258–80.

suggested that traces of it are present in two tenth-century grants of land in Cornwall;<sup>105</sup> and also that it can be seen in manumission-records, including the Bodmin ones.<sup>106</sup> The distinctive features of the form are the structure of the documents, consisting of disposition (the act itself) plus witness-list and religious sanction against breaking the effect of the act, but lacking other adornments (such as address-clause and date); some formulaic vocabulary; and the past-tense, third-person narrative of the documents ('X has given'), instead of the present tense and first person ('I, X, give'), as normally in Anglo-Saxon charters.

Some of the vocabulary and formulae which Davies has identified in the two Cornish land-grants are convincingly distinctive;<sup>107</sup> but I find the case less conclusive when applied to the manumission-entries. As Davies has pointed out, some of the same distinctive features are found in manumission-records from elsewhere in England, recorded in Devon, Bath and Canterbury;<sup>108</sup> so it might be objected that the structure in the Bodmin entries (specifically the third-person, past-tense, narrative, and the lack of additional clauses of protocol), while distinctively western in land-grants at this period, is common to manumission-records more generally. Accepting these Bodmin entries as belonging to the western tradition would imply that the mode of entering manumission-records all over England in the tenth and eleventh centuries was derived from this western Latin charter-form. I wonder, instead, whether the nature of manumission-records, as contrasted with land-grants, prompted the use of their third-person and past-tense phrasing. However, to examine this complex issue properly would involve examining formulae in Latin charters all over both Britain and western Europe, which I cannot attempt here. For the present purpose the important point is that a western or 'Celtic' background has been suggested for the formulae of the Bodmin (and other) manumissions, but perhaps not conclusively so.

There is one additional point which arises from examining the structure of the records, namely that the formulae for the entries are not consistent. Sometimes the manumittor is named first, sometimes those being freed; some entries lack any mention of witnesses, and quite a few lack a sanction. The Latin is also dodgy at times, so the grammatical forms cannot always be relied upon. Unfortunately this inconsistency means that in one or two instances where the Latin is ambiguous through grammatical misuse, we cannot be entirely confident in deducing the

<sup>105</sup> Davies, 'Latin charter-tradition', pp. 260 and n. 8 (Sawyer, no. 1207, Lanlawren), and 272 and n. 53 (Sawyer, no. 810, St Kew).

<sup>106</sup> Davies, 'Latin charter-tradition', p. 260 and note 6; complete in Bodmin, nos 1, 18, 21, 22, 30, 31 and 37 (all eleventh-century; of which nos 30 and 37 are in Old English); and elements of the tradition in other entries.

<sup>107</sup> For Sawyer no. 1207 see also O. J. Padel, 'Two new pre-Conquest charters for Cornwall', *Cornish Studies*, 6 (1978), 20–7 (especially p. 24 n. 7), and 'The charter of Lanlawren (Cornwall)', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, edited by K. O'Brien O'Keefe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto, 2005), II, 74–85; for a phrase in a third Cornish charter see Padel, 'Two new pre-Conquest charters', pp. 26–7.

<sup>108</sup> Davies, 'Latin charter-tradition', p. 260 and n. 7.



intended meaning by analogy with other, clear, entries: there is one entry where it is open to question who was actually freeing whom, though an informed guess can be made.<sup>109</sup>

Comparison with the single surviving manumission-record from ninth-century Wales is also instructive. In form it is similar to our entries, couched in Latin and using the third-person past-tense narrative seen both in land-grants in the Celtic world, and, as we have seen, in manumission-entries elsewhere, including Cornwall. In content there is a contrast: Bleidiud purchased his freedom for ‘four pounds and eight ounces’, presumably of silver. I have already suggested that this payment may not have been a simple purchase of freedom, but perhaps the avoidance of enslavement following an offence committed against the family, like that of Putrael in Bodmin no. 33. In contrast, most of the Cornish manumissions were apparently performed solely ‘for the soul’ of the manumittor or others, no payment being mentioned; the two exceptions are one of emancipation through purchase by a third party, and Putrael’s payment to avoid enslavement.<sup>110</sup>

By the tenth century such acts of manumission were presumably frequent all over western Europe, and the religious nature of such acts had been enshrined in law from the fourth century;<sup>111</sup> my impression is that, in western Europe generally, it was in the ninth to eleventh centuries that the Classical opposition of free versus unfree status became increasingly blurred.<sup>112</sup> So the emancipation of these men and women in Cornwall in the tenth and eleventh centuries cannot be ascribed specifically to the Anglo-Saxon cultural influence present in Cornwall by that date. However, for the reasons examined here it seems possible that our knowledge of their emancipation, through the presence of these written entries in the Bodmin Gospels, may well be due to that specific influence, with the cultural background of these entries being predominantly Anglo-Saxon, although it still contained elements which reflected the cultural mix in mid-Cornwall at that period — obviously the names, probably the use of Latin, and perhaps some of the formulaic usages. It is even possible that the writing of such records was a distinctively south-western practice, in both cultures.

Consideration of other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing manumissions also raises another intriguing question, that of erased entries. Three pages of the Bodmin Gospels have erasures, and three other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing manumissions also show erasures.<sup>113</sup> This seems a surprisingly high

<sup>109</sup> No. 42: compare no. 43, but contrast no. 4.

<sup>110</sup> Nos 30 (purchase for liberation) and 33 (payment to avoid enslavement).

<sup>111</sup> Pelteret, *Slavery*, p. 132.

<sup>112</sup> Julia Smith, *Europe after Rome*, pp. 153–5 and 158–9; also Lynette Olson, *The Early Middle Ages: the Birth of Europe* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 103–4 and 154.

<sup>113</sup> Bodmin, folios 6v and 108rv; Ker, *Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, nos 6 (Bern, Stadtbibliothek MS. 671, from Wiltshire), 35 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS. 140 + 111, from Bath), and 147 (Durham *Liber Vitae*).

tally of the total of twelve manuscripts, and I have wondered whether there is something in the nature of manumissions which made them prone to erasure. Two possible explanations are, first, that the line of descendants of the person who had been freed was known to have died out, and so the entry became irrelevant; or, conversely and more intriguingly, that it had *not* died out, and so the person's descendants might have wanted this evidence of their unfree origins destroyed, if they also felt secure enough not to need the record any longer.

One last point in the form of the entries is the fact that one of them is duplicated, almost word for word (no. 20 = no. 41), with the same manumittor, the same two women freed, and the same unique motive (the soul of the manumittor's mother). In no. 20 it is said to have happened upon St Petrock's altar, which is not mentioned in no. 41; and the three witnesses named are slightly different, Osian the priest, Leucum and Ret the clerics (no. 20), compared with Freoc and Osian the priests, Leucum the monk (no. 41); but even so the two texts are too similar to be separate entries. Although it was possible, as mentioned earlier, for people to become re-enslaved, the similarities are too great for that to be the explanation here, and we must suppose that they are scribal variants of a single entry. Like the thirteenth stroke of a clock, this observation is extremely worrying once one considers its implications.

If an entry could be duplicated in this way, that suggests that the records were not necessarily entered directly upon the occasion itself, but that there was some intermediate form of the text before it was written into the Gospels. In that case, the question arises how reliably the date of the palaeography indicates the date of a particular manumission: the undated act could theoretically have occurred substantially before the date of its being written into the book. However, it is hard to envisage a motive for entering such records long after the event, so the palaeography remains the best available guide. The possibility that entries have been copied actually helps with some problems, for there is at least one name which seems to have been miscopied, in a way which suggests misreading rather than a slip of the pen: a slave's name *Fuandrec* (no. 40) is clearly legible, but is otherwise unknown. However, if the initial *F* is emended to *R* it becomes a name, *Ruandrec*, recognisable from Old Breton.<sup>114</sup> Could we suppose that a scribe misread an *R* in his original and wrote *F* in error? But the possibility of other scribal errors in the surviving texts is a further worry raised by the double entry, as the comparison of the two witness-lists shows.

I shall end with a question, since Kathleen Hughes appreciated them: she

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<sup>114</sup> Old Breton *Roiandreh*, *Ruantrec*, etc.: J. Loth, *Chrestomathie Bretonne* (Paris, 1890), p. 162, who has suggested the emendation of the Bodmin name (*ibid.* n. 5); the first element occurs in a variety of other Old Breton personal names.

<sup>115</sup> Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christianity in Pictland*, Jarrow Lecture 1970, reprinted in her *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by David Dumville (Woodbridge, 1980), at p. 38 n. 1.

generously said that the idea for her lecture on early Christianity in Pictland came from one of her undergraduates, Sian Victory.<sup>115</sup> In the laws of the Wessex king Ine, in the late seventh century, the *Wealas* or native British living within his kingdom were treated distinctly from the main population (termed *Englisc* in the surviving text of Ine's code), and separately too from slaves, for whom there was a different word, *ðeowa*.<sup>116</sup> The implication is that, in seventh-century Wessex, the *Wealas* were a separate class in society from the Anglo-Saxons, living under a kind of apartheid, with lower penalties for harming a *Wealh* than an Anglo-Saxon.<sup>117</sup>

But it is my impression that by the late ninth century and the tenth, in the laws of Alfred and Athelstan, there was no such differential treatment of British and Anglo-Saxons: *Wealas* are not mentioned in the law-codes of those two kings.<sup>118</sup> Given that the reigns of these two kings were just the period when Cornwall was being absorbed into Wessex, this silence seems remarkable, yet I have not found any discussion of it by someone competent in Anglo-Saxon law. What it suggests is that by that date the native British under Anglo-Saxon rule, meaning for our present purpose the people of Cornwall, were by then considered to be on an equal legal footing with the Anglo-Saxons themselves. The only alternative that I have been able to envisage is that the provisions of Ine, two centuries and more earlier, were reckoned still to stand: but if that were so, one might have expected an occasional amplification or qualification of the differential treatment to have appeared in the codes of the later kings; and, given that no such allusion appears, that explanation seems unlikely. Ine's code was still treated with respect, but it seems that this one of its provisions was considered obsolete by Alfred's time. In other words, by around 900 the Cornish were not simply considered 'honorary English' (to adapt the terminology from the bad old days of South Africa), they actually became English, legally speaking.

This treatment under the provisions of Alfred and Athelstan is in contrast, not only with the earlier law of King Ine, but also with the policies of the later (post-Conquest) English kings in Wales and Ireland. Here again a kind of apartheid operated, whereby the native Welsh and Irish were subject to different systems of law from the English settlers, becoming second-class citizens in their own countries — though that treatment also meant that at least they retained their own native legal systems, instead of having to conform to English law. Professor Rees Davies, a former lecturer in this series, has mentioned the dual system, and the

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<sup>116</sup> *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, edited and translated by F. L. Attenborough (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 36–61, notably Ine §§23–4, 32–3, 54, and 74 (pp. 42–4, 46, 54, and 60); it was possible to be both, a *ðeowwealh* (Ine §74, p. 60). On the terms see also Pelteret, *Slavery*, pp. 305 and 319–22.

<sup>117</sup> Louis M. Alexander, 'The legal status of the native Britons in late seventh-century Wessex as reflected by the Law Code of Ine', *Haskins Society Journal*, 7 (1995), 31–8; compare Bryan Ward-Perkins, 'Why did the Anglo-Saxons not become more British?', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 513–33 (at pp. 523–4).

<sup>118</sup> Attenborough, pp. 62–93 (Alfred) and 122–69 (I–VI Athelstan); in VI Athelstan §6.3 (Attenborough, p. 160) there is mention of the treatment due to a 'Welsh thief' (*þam Wyliscean þeofe*).

advantage of becoming classed as legally ‘English’, in his recent book on the ‘First English Empire’, covering the period from the twelfth century on.<sup>119</sup> Cornwall is rightly not discussed in that book, because by his period it was fully incorporated as a county of England, having passed through the colonial stage in the ninth century.

If my deduction about the situation under Alfred and Athelstan is right, then those kings adopted an extraordinarily enlightened attitude in their law-making — much in advance, not only of King Ine two centuries earlier, but also of the English rulers in Wales and Ireland several centuries later. One reason for the difference in approach may have been that there existed a well-established native body of written law in Wales and Ireland when the English conquerors arrived. There is no hint of such a system in Cornwall, and although some sort of customary law must have existed under the native kings before the time of Ecgbert, it obviously was not codified in writing by the ninth and tenth centuries; so it is possible that the lack of a written legal system, in contrast with Wales and Ireland, was one reason why the English kings adopted so progressive an approach in Cornwall.

However, the unintended corollary of that generosity was the full assimilation of Cornwall into England. Was it therefore the enlightened racial attitude of the earliest kings of all England, particularly of Alfred and Athelstan and their successors in the tenth century, which incidentally hastened the anglicisation of Cornwall? In another way Athelstan may actually have done much to protect Cornwall from anglicisation, if we believe William of Malmesbury’s assertion that it was Athelstan who fixed the River Tamar as a boundary, as also the River Wye in south-east Wales. If that is true, it may have been Athelstan who finally halted the onward sweep of Anglo-Saxon settlers who had extinguished the Brittonic language and place-names in Devon and parts of eastern Cornwall;<sup>120</sup> and if so it was Athelstan who ensured the preservation of the Cornish language into the later Middle Ages. But his generosity in another area, that of legal status, meant that from the tenth century on, to be Cornish was also to be English.

This is the kind of problem which Kathleen Hughes would have appreciated. The anglicisation of Cornwall was not caused by the extension of legal English status to its people: size was the cause, and no other need be sought. But if these deductions and surmises concerning the laws are valid, then it may be that the assimilation was incidentally hastened by a surprisingly progressive legal and racial attitude to the Cornish in the tenth century, just at the period when these manumissions constitute such a significant part of the evidence.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343* (Oxford, 2000), especially pp. 106–8 and 183.

<sup>120</sup> Padel, ‘Place-names and the Saxon conquest of Devon and Cornwall’, pp. 223–4.

<sup>121</sup> I am grateful to Fiona Edmonds, Simon Keynes, and Paul Russell for their comments upon the text of this lecture, and to Thomas Charles-Edwards and Wendy Davies for commenting upon particular aspects; but they are not

**Appendix:** types and numbers of names (approximate)Names of manumitted slaves: numbers (in order of date-indicator)

*King Edmund* (939–46; nos 11, 12+13): 4 Cornish.

*King Eadred* (946–55; nos 26, 36): 6 Cornish, 1 OE (of a family with Cornish names) = 7 total.

*King Eadwig* (955–9; no. 29): 1 OE (?) (**Leðelt**, fem.)

*King Edgar* (959–75; nos 6+7, 14, 25, 32, 34, 39, 40, 42, 46, 47, 48+49, 50): 46 Cornish (including Latin through Cornish), plus 2 Old Testament, 2 (?) Latin (**Magnus, Puer** [?]) = 50 total.

*King Edgar* (?) (nos 8, 9, 21, 24): 6 Cornish (including Latin through Cornish, and *Iesu*).

*Bishop Wulfsige Cemoyre* (959 × 990; nos 3, 16, 17, 44): 9 Cornish, plus 1 Old Testament, 1 Irish = 11 total.

*Æthelred II* (978–1016; nos 18 and 22): 1 Cornish, 1 OE = 2 total.

*Maccos hundredes-mann* (late 11th; nos 30 and 31): 3 Cornish.

Palaeographically-dated entries:

s. x<sup>2</sup> (nos 2, 5, 10, 15, 27, 28, 38, 43, 45): 28 Cornish, 4 Old English, 2 uncertain (**Meonre, Loi**) = 34;

c. 1000 (nos 20=41, 35, 51): 4 Cornish, 1 Old Testament = 5;

s. xi<sup>1</sup> (nos 4, 19): 2 Cornish;

s. xi<sup>2</sup> (nos 1, 33): 2 OE, 1 uncertain (**Putrael**) = 3;

c. 1100 (no. 37): 1 OE.

Total in palaeographically-dated entries: 34 Cornish, 1 Old Testament, 7 OE, 3 uncertain = 45 total.

*Totals:* 109 Cornish (including Latin through Cornish), 4 Old Testament (= Cornish?), 10 OE or probably so, 2 (?) Latin, 1 Irish, 3 uncertain = approximately 129 named persons manumitted.

For the suggestion that Old Testament names were characteristically Brittonic during the Anglo-Saxon period: Richard Sharpe, ‘The naming of Bishop Ithamar’, *English Historical Review*, 117 (2002), 889–94.

Names of Manumittors

34 different manumittors named: of whom 18 had Old English names, 10 had Cornish names, plus 2 with double names (**Wulfsige Cemoyre**, bishop, nos 3, 6+7, 16, 39, 40, 46, 47; and **Wu[n]sie Commonoc** no. 48+49); plus **Maccos** (Norse-Irish, no. 31); and ‘St Petrock’s clerics’ (nos 14, 36; and with the bishop, no. 16).

Cornishmen taking English names

Bishop **Wulfsie Cemoyre**, flourished 939×46 — 981×90; became bishop in 959×63 (not yet bishop in nos 12+13, 25, 36; bishop in nos 3, 6+7, 16, 17, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46, 47, 50).

**Cenmenoc, Wu[n]sie Commonoc**, flourished 959×75, King Edgar (nos 24, 48+49).

**Medguistyl** and her offspring **Bleidiud, Ylcerthon, Byrchtlym**, alive 946×55, King Eadred (no. 36).

(?) **Æpælwine Muf** (or an epithet?), alive 1011×27 (no. 22).

Compare: **Wulfnoth Rumuncant** 967 (S.755), **Ælfeah Gerent** and his wife **Moruurei** 969 (S.770), **Geordaf Æðelmarh** mid-10th (witness, S.450).

Scandinavian names

**Sictricus**, lay witness, no. 31 (2nd half 11th).

**Purcild**, owner, no. 30 (2nd half 11th).

Irish names

**Maccos** *hundredes-mann* (*centurio*), witness and official (no. 30), manumittor (no. 31), 2nd half 11th: Hiberno-Scandinavian (see pp. 14–15 above)?

**Muelpatrec**, slave, 959×90 (no. 44).

(probably not) **Osian** *presbiter*, witness, nos 5, 14, 20=41, 24, 36, 44 (*sacerdos*), 51; flourished 946–90 (nos 14, 36, 44): more probably Brittonic instead (see p. 15 above)?

Epithets

Ælfwerd **Scirlocc** ‘bright-hair’, lay witness at Liskeard, 1011×27 (no. 22).

Gurcant **Cest** ‘paunch’, slave, 2nd half 10th? (no. 45).

Godric **Map** ‘boy (?)’, lay witness, 2nd half 11th (no. 33).

(?) Æpælwine **Muf**, lay witness, 1011×27 (no. 22): or double name?

Long Life

Tithert, Tidherd, Tittherd (OE \**Tidheard*, Searle, p. 452), witness, 939×46 (no. 11); witness as cleric, 946×55 (no. 36), 959×75 (no. 34), 2nd half 10th? (nos 9, 38); witness as *presbiter*, 1011×27 (no. 22), 1st half 11th (nos 19, 21).

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