

RELIGION, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS,

AND THE

LIBER VITAE OF DURHAM.

VOLUME ONE

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Abstract.

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'Religion, Society, and Politics, and the Liber Vitae of Durham'

The basis of this thesis is a study of the ninth-century portion of the Liber Vitae of Durham (London, British Library, Cotton Domitian VII). This is a list of names of those who were remembered in the liturgy and prayers of the community of St. Cuthbert, who were resident at Lindisfarne at the time when the greater part of the list was written. The aim of this thesis is to discover what information the Liber Vitae can provide about religion, society, and politics in Northumbria in the seventh to ninth centuries, with particular regard to the role of St. Cuthbert's community in Northumbria.

The first part of the thesis is concerned with the Liber Vitae; the second part focuses more on St. Cuthbert's community. Each part consists of three chapters. The first is a description of the manuscript; and the second looks at its purpose, with particular stress on the liturgical aspects of "libri vitae". This chapter also contains a comparison of the Liber Vitae with eight other early commemoration books. The third chapter looks more closely at the information contained in the Liber Vitae, based on the identification of the names in the book. Chapter Four is the first chapter of Part Two and comprises a description and discussion of St. Cuthbert's community and the sites included in its "familia". Chapter Five studies the community's relations with other ecclesiastical centres, and Chapter Six is a discussion of Northumbrian politics in the seventh to ninth centuries and the community's place in this world.

Within the thesis certain topics are brought out - the importance of groups within the society of the time, and in particular kinship groups; a study of the royal families who competed for power in Northumbria; the wide range of Lindisfarne's contacts; a reassessment of Lindisfarne's relations with the Irish after 664; and the connection between the Liber Vitae and the promotion of the cult of St. Cuthbert.

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Abbreviations used.

<u>Acta SS.</u>	<u>Acta Sanctorum.</u>
Adamnán	Adamnán, <u>Life of St. Columba.</u>
AHT	A. Hamilton Thompson, introduction to <u>Surtees Society</u> , 136, 1923 (facsimile edn. of the <u>Liber Vitae</u> ).
Alcuin, <u>Saints of York.</u>	P. Godman ed., <u>Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York</u> , Oxford, 1982.
<u>ALM</u>	<u>Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum</u> , Part II, <u>Latin</u> , London, 1884.
<u>ASC</u>	<u>Anglo-Saxon Chronicles</u> (different versions referred to by their usual abbreviations).
<u>A.Tig.</u>	<u>Annals of Tigernach</u> , ed. W. Stokes, in <u>Revue Celtique</u> , 17, 1896, reference is to page.
<u>AU</u>	<u>Annals of Ulster.</u>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, British Series.
CBA	Council for British Archaeology.
<u>CLA</u>	<u>Codices Latini Antiquiores</u> , ed. E.A. Lowe.
<u>Cont.B.</u> (Dresden)	"Continuation of Bede" (as in Dresden MS. J.45, etc.).
Cont.B(Moore)	"Continuation of Bede" (as in the 'Moore Bede' - Cambridge, University Library, Kk.V.16).
Cramp	R.J. Cramp, <u>Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture</u> , I, Oxford, 1984.



- CSEL Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.
- Craster E. Craster, "The Patrimony of St. Cuthbert", in English Historical Review, 69, 1954.
- DACL F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, Paris, 1907-53.
- De Abb. Aethelwulf, De Abbatibus.
- Duemmler E. Duemmler ed., Alcuin, Epistolae, in MGH, Epistolae, 4, Epistolae Karolini Aevi, 2, Berlin, 1895.
- Dumville D.N. Dumville, "The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists", in Anglo-Saxon England, 5, 1976, pp. 23-50.
- ES Eddius Stephanus, Vita Wilfridi.
- EHD English Historical Documents, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn., London, 1979.
- Haddan and Stubbs. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs ed., Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, Oxford, 1871.
- H.Brit. Historia Brittonum.
- HE Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.
- HR Historia Regum.
- HSC Historia de Sancto Cuthberto.
- JTS Journal of Theological Studies.
- Knowles and Hadcock D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales, 2nd edn., 1971.

- Levison W. Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century, Oxford, 1946.
- LV Liber Vitae of Durham:- for abbreviations to the lists in the book, see supra, p. xi.
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
- OAS W.G. Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum, Cambridge, 1897.
- Page, Episcopal Lists. R.I. Page, "Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, III", in Nottingham Medieval Studies, 10, 1966, pp. 23-24.
- PL Patrologia Latina.
- Plummer C. Plummer, Venerabilis Baedae Opera Omnia, 2 vols., Oxford, 1896.
- PSAS Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- RLT Information from R.L. Thomson.
- Roger of Wendover. Roger of Wendover, Flores Historiarum.
- Rollason D.W. Rollason, "Lists of saints' resting-places in England", in Anglo-Saxon England, 7, 1978, pp. 61-94.
- S. P.H. Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters, London, 1968.
- Simeon of Durham, HDE Simeon of Durham, Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae.
- Stevenson J. Stevenson ed., Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, Surtees Society, 13, 1841.

Sweet, <u>OE Texts</u>	H. Sweet, <u>The Oldest English Texts</u> , Early English Text Society, o.s., 83, 1885.
Tangl	M. Tangl ed., <u>Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus</u> , MGH, <u>Epistolae selectae</u> , 1, Berlin, 1916.
<u>TCWAAS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.</u>
<u>VA</u>	Anonymous <u>Life of St. Cuthbert.</u>
<u>VCH</u>	<u>Victoria County History.</u>
<u>VP</u>	Bede, <u>Life of St. Cuthbert.</u>
<u>YAJ</u>	<u>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal.</u>

The abbreviations used for the lists in the LV:-

- R - "reges" and "duces".
- Q - queens and abbesses.
- A - anchorites.
- AP - abbots who were priests.
- AD - abbots who were deacons.
- Ab - abbots.
- P - priests.
- D - deacons.
- C - clerics.
- M - monks.

Preface.

I would like to thank the following for all their help and advice:- in particular, my tutors, Ian Wood and Peter Sawyer. Also, Tom Shippey, Joyce Hill, R.L. Thomson, Richard Morris, Richard Bailey, and D.N. Rollason, and Gordon Forster. I would also like to thank the staff at the British Library, Department of Manuscripts, and at the Bodleian Library. All these people have been most helpful, and saved me from many mistakes. Anything still wrong with this thesis is entirely my own fault.

I would also like to say thank-you to the other history postgraduates at Leeds, and above all to my family, who will be even more pleased that this thesis is finished than I am. More than any, I would like to thank my parents, for I could not have completed this work without them. This thesis is dedicated to them.

*Elizabeth Briggs.*

PART ONE - THE 'LIBER VITAE' OF DURHAM.

Chapter One - The 'Liber Vitae'.

The Liber Vitae of Durham consists basically of names. It is not, at first glance, the most exciting of texts, but it can yield a lot of information about St. Cuthbert's community, which produced the book, and about the Northumbrian church and kingdom in general. This first chapter is concerned with somewhat technical questions, such as the size of the manuscript, its handwriting, its date, and its later history. But these rather dry matters are essential to the understanding and interpretation of the Liber Vitae contained in succeeding chapters.

I. Description of the manuscript.

The Liber Vitae of Durham is a Cotton manuscript in the British Library - Cotton Domitian VII. The Liber Vitae itself comprises fols. 15-84 of this volume, fols. 4-14v being a twelfth-century manuscript of extracts from the Gospels. The two manuscripts were bound up together in the seventeenth century and may not have had any previous connection with each other, as Sir Robert Cotton did sometimes have manuscripts bound together which were not related.<sup>1</sup>

The Liber Vitae was numbered at one time in ink as being fols. 12-80 of the volume, with two folios both being marked as fol. 42, and most of the printed editions use this incorrect foliation. The folios have also been numbered correctly in pencil.<sup>2</sup> This foliation in pencil can be seen faintly on some folios in the facsimile edition of the manuscript, but on the whole it cannot be made out there.

The original Liber Vitae comprises fols. 15-47v and fols. 50-55v. Fols. 56-84 are later additions, and are made of various types of parchment, generally of poorer

quality than that of the original manuscript. Fols. 48-49v have been inserted into the original part of the manuscript. They contain an incomplete transcript of the contents of fols. 51-51v which are much damaged.

The pages of the original manuscript are more or less uniform in size, being from 205-207 mm. long and 138-140 mm. wide ( $8\frac{1}{2}$ " long by  $5\frac{7}{16}$ " wide). They are of vellum, fawney-brownish in colour, quite sturdy and stiff. Some of the leaves are thicker than others, but there is not a lot of variation, and the vellum is fairly smooth and well-prepared. Fol. 50 is slightly narrower than normal, being 135 mm. wide, and fol. 51 has been cut down at the top and bottom, rather unevenly, and is only 185-190 mm. long, though of normal width. Some or all of the pages may have been trimmed however at some time, probably when they were bound in the seventeenth century, as on a number of pages words near the edges have been partly cut off.<sup>3</sup>

The gatherings are very irregular, and the manuscript as it now stands is incomplete. The gatherings are of various sizes, as happens in some other Insular manuscripts,<sup>4</sup> and there are quite a number of half-sheets. There are no original quire-signatures, but some were added at a later date, again probably in the seventeenth century. The collation of the manuscript's original portion is as follows (and see Fig. 1):-

- I. Fol. 15 is a single folio, containing the list of kings and "duces". The running title on fol. 15v is incomplete, so that there must have been a folio with the remainder of the title between fols. 15 and 16. Fols. 16-17v are a bifolium.
- II. This consists of three bifolia, fols. 18-23v, and a half-sheet, fol. 24. There may possibly be a folio missing from between fols. 24v and 25, for the running title on fol. 24v is "praes",

the first syllable of "praesbyteres". This would probably have been carried on to the opposite page, but there is no heading on fol. 25, so there may be a folio missing.

III. This comprises only two half-sheets, fols. 25 and 26.

IV. Fols. 27 and 28 are half-sheets. Fols. 29-30 are a bifolium, and fol. 31 is another half-sheet.

It is uncertain whether fol. 32 belongs with IV or V. It is a single folio. The later quire-signatures mark fol. 33 as being the first leaf of V, so fol. 32 may be part of IV.

V. Fols. 33-36 are all half-sheets.

Fol. 37 may belong with either V or VI. It contains the beginning of the list of monks, the rest of which is in VI, which suggests that it is part of VI. But the later quire-signatures make fol. 38 the first leaf of VI, so fol. 37 may belong with V.

VI. This consists of four bifolia, fols. 38-45v, and a half-sheet, fol. 46.

VII. Fols. 47 and 50 are probably a bifolium, and fol. 51 is a half-sheet. Fols. 48-49v are later insertions into the manuscript.

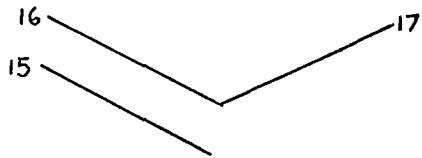
VIII. Fols. 52-55 are all half-sheets.

Of these gatherings, only the first six contain the original handwriting, the last two being left blank for additions. It is certain that at least one folio and probably two have been lost from the manuscript, and it may be that other folios have been lost too. This would be particularly likely to happen with there being so many half-sheets.<sup>5</sup>

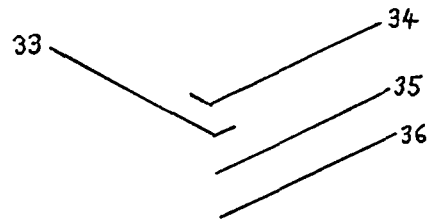
The writing of the original Liber Vitae is contained on fols. 15-45. The written area on each page, not including

Fig. 1 - Collation of the manuscript (fols. 15-55).

I.

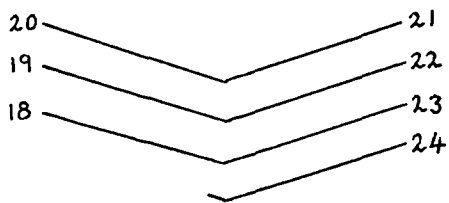


V.

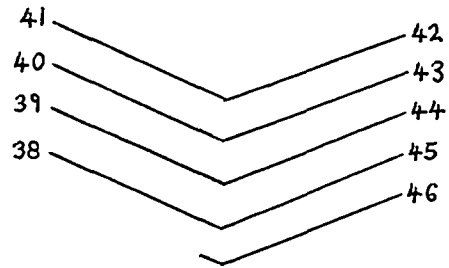


Fol. 37 may belong with  
V or VI.

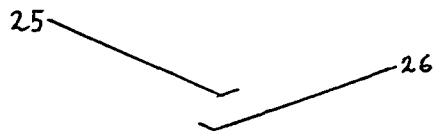
II.



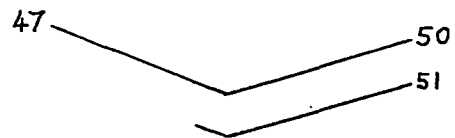
VI.



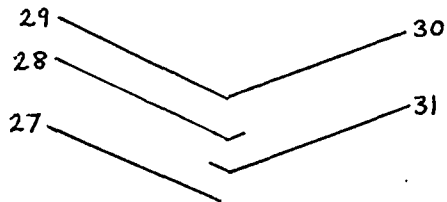
III.



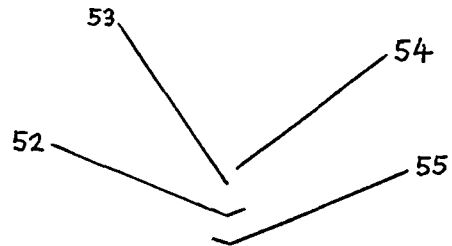
VII.



IV.



VIII.



Fol. 32 may belong  
with IV or V.



the titles, is of a standard size with little variation - 170 mm. long by 111-113 mm. wide ( $6\frac{3}{4}$ " long by  $4\frac{3}{8}$ " wide). On the first page of each separate list the written area is slightly shorter, 165 mm. long, to allow for the larger title at the top. The lists are written in twenty-one lines to a page, arranged in three columns of uniform width. The first page of each list contains only twenty lines.

The pages were ruled on both sides, with prickings in both the inner and outer margins. There are bounding lines on both sides of the written area and between each column. Pages that were left blank for additions were ruled ready for use in some instances at least, although it is hard to tell on some of the leaves as later scribes have not always used the original rulings and in some places have put rulings of their own. Sometimes only prickings can be seen on originally blank sheets, and it may be that they were only pricked and not ruled.<sup>6</sup> The intention may have been that they would be ruled when they were needed. The ruling on fol. 44v appears to have been done at a later date to that of the major part of the manuscript. The ruling is generally very neat, but that on this folio is unusually untidy, with the ends of the horizontal lines sticking out beyond the bounding line on the left - this can be seen in the facsimile edition. This page is written in the latest of the original hands, and presumably was ruled at the same date. The original scribes always followed the ruled lines properly, except on the last page of the clerics' list, fol. 36, which is again written in the latest of the original hands. This too can be seen in the facsimile edition.

The inks used in the original manuscript are red for the titles, and red, gold, and silver for the small decorated initials at the start of each list.<sup>7</sup> The names in the lists were written alternately in gold and in black ink gone over in silver,<sup>8</sup> except in a few places where two or more names together

are all in gold.<sup>9</sup> The black ink is quite dark and has lasted well on the whole, although it has faded a bit in some places. A lot of the silver has worn off. The gold has lasted well, but in some places it too has worn off, and then, having nothing beneath it, the names are hard or nearly impossible to decipher. The inks of the second and third hands in the original part of the manuscript are as good as those of the earliest hand, and have lasted just as well.

The original Liber Vitae is written in rounded Insular majuscule,<sup>10</sup> except for the first name in the kings' list, which is in capitals, and the first name in the queens' list, which is in rustic capitals. Three different hands can be seen in the lists, although it is often difficult to say exactly where one hand stops and the next begins as they are all fairly similar. Differentiating between them is not made any easier by the fact that the names in silver tend to be larger than those in gold. The three hands are:-

- i) The first hand - a good, neat hand. The major part of the original Liber Vitae is in this. It can be seen on fols. 15-15v, 16-17, 18, 18v, 19v, 20-20v, 21v-23v, 26, 27-35, 37-42v.
- ii) The second hand - this is very similar to the first hand but slightly larger. It can be seen on fols. 15v, 17-17v, 18, 18v-19, 20v, 24, 26, 35-35v, 42v-43v.<sup>11</sup>
- iii) The third hand - this is larger than the first two hands, and less neat. It occurs only towards the end of the clerics' list and the monks' list, and can be seen on fols. 36 and 44-45.

Taking each list in turn, the following points can be made as to where one hand finishes and another starts.<sup>12</sup>

- i) The kings' list - the second hand in this list is very like the first hand, but a slightly larger hand does seem to start in the second column on fol. 15v, although it is very hard to say exactly where. The seventh and eighth names in the column are both "sigred", and the second of the pair is larger and has a slightly different "g". This second name is silver however, and as the silver names do tend to be larger, this might not be the start of the second hand. If any new hand does not start at "sigred", then it begins somewhere lower down the column. The names at the top of the column are certainly first hand.
- ii) The queens' list - the second hand seems to start on fol. 17, but again it is hard to say exactly where. In the first column on this page there is a change from the use of mainly "th" as an ending to the use of mainly "ð". The change in the hand may come in the first column, perhaps at about "eanburg", six from the bottom, but this is not certain.
- iii) The anchorites' list - the last three names in the list on fol. 18 may well be in the second hand. They use the abbreviation "p̄r" for "presbyter", instead of "p̄br", as is usual in the first hand.<sup>13</sup> Also the initial letters of these last names are a bit out of line with the first hand names above them.
- iv) The list of abbots who are priests - fol. 19 is in the second hand, and the last three names on fol. 18v probably are too. These three names use "p̄r" instead of "p̄br", and the names on fol. 19 all use "p̄r" too. It is possible that "uilferð p̄br", the fourth name from the end on fol. 18v, is in the second hand too, but this is uncertain because of the use of "p̄br".

- v) The list of abbots who are deacons - this is all in the first hand.
- vi) The abbots' list - the last two names in the list, on fol. 20v, are probably in the second hand. The spelling of "-berht" in the last name, "huaetberht", is one not found in the first hand, which uses "-berct" or sometimes "-bercht".
- vii) The priests' list - the second hand starts on fol. 24, but it is hard to say where. Possibly the whole of that folio is in the second hand, or part of the first column may be in the first hand. The Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum says that there is a change in the hand on fol. 22v, but I cannot see one.
- viii) The deacons' list - the last two names in the list, on fol. 26, may be in the second hand. They look a bit larger than the rest of the names. Also "eadmaer", the fifth name from the end, looks rather like the second hand, but the two names following it look like first hand.
- ix) The clerics' list - fol. 35v is in the second hand, and this hand may start on fol. 35, perhaps in the third column at a point where two names together are in gold - "ha $\overline{\text{z}}$ uberct" and "berc $\overline{\text{z}}$ thae $\overline{\text{z}}$ ". Fol. 36 is in the third hand.
- x) The monks' list - the second hand seems to start on fol. 42v, although the first three names on that page are probably in the first hand. The third hand seems to start on fol. 44, or possibly on fol. 43v - it is hard to say exactly where.

The dating of these hands will be dealt with in the next section.

II. The Origin, Date, and Compilation of the 'Liber Vitae'.

There is no reason to doubt that the Liber Vitae is a product of the community of St. Cuthbert. Firstly, there are the contents, which point to a Northumbrian, and more particularly a Bernician, origin. Some of the later entries demonstrate that the manuscript was owned by the community in the later Anglo-Saxon period, for example, a land grant in Old English by Earl Thored to "St. Cuthberht's stow", entered on fol. 47v. Moreover, the manuscript was in the possession of that community until the sixteenth century, although it is not mentioned in any of the medieval catalogues of the books at Durham, presumably because it was always kept on the altar, and was not part of the library.<sup>14</sup> It is described in the earliest catalogue of the Cotton Library as being of Durham:-

"Liber vitæ complectens nomina Benefactorum Ecclesiæ  
Dunelmensis ab Edwino Anglorum Saxone ad Henricum  
octavum magna pars Literis aureis et Argenteis exarata".<sup>15</sup>

A different hand to that of this catalogue has written almost the same words on fol. 2v of the volume containing the Liber Vitae.

There is however some uncertainty as to where the community of St. Cuthbert had its main residence when the Liber Vitae was written. This question is connected with that of the date of the manuscript.

The three factors to be taken into account in dating the manuscript are the handwriting, the names themselves, and the history of the community in the eighth to ninth centuries. The last of these gives the "terminus ad quem" for the work, as it is unlikely that it was produced after 875, when the community began its seven-years' wandering around northern

England, in flight from the Vikings.<sup>16</sup> Names were no longer being entered in it by the 880's and 890's, for if they had been the name of the Scandinavian king Guthfrith, who gave Chester-le-Street to the community, would surely have been added to the kings' list.<sup>17</sup> More significantly, Eadred, abbot of St. Cuthbert's community in the 870's and 880's, who was involved in the election of Guthfrith to the kingship, is not in the abbots' lists.<sup>18</sup>

Another significant event in the history of the community in the ninth century was the move of the community's centre from Lindisfarne to Norham at some time in the period 830-45. Norham may then have remained the community's chief site until 875, or there may possibly have been a move back to Lindisfarne.<sup>19</sup> The migration to Norham means that part of the Liber Vitae may have been written there rather than at Lindisfarne.

The handwriting cannot provide any conclusive evidence as to date, partly because there is not much ninth-century material to compare it with. However there is one manuscript whose hand is very similar to the first hand of the Liber Vitae - this is British Library, Cotton Otho A.I. This manuscript was burnt in the Cotton fire of 1731 and only eight scraps of it remain. The hand though can be seen to be "a neat, roundish, and regular majuscule", dated by Lowe to the second half of the eighth century.<sup>20</sup> It is very very similar to the Liber Vitae's first hand, but not quite the same, the "a", "r", and "p" being a bit different.

The evidence of the names themselves is of most help, although there is the problem of a certain amount of uncertainty in the identification of the people in the lists. They are very useful in trying to date the first hand. The latest names in each of the first six lists, that are definitely in the first hand, and that can be identified with a high degree of certainty, all fall into the same period:-

- i) Kings' list - Constantine, king of the Picts,  
c.789-820.
- ii) Queens' list - Aelfflaed, queen of Aethelred, king  
of Northumbria; they were married  
in 792.
- iii) Anchorites' list - Cudrad, priest of Lindisfarne,  
fl. 793.
- iv) Abbots who are priests - Frithuwine, abbot of Monk-  
wearmouth-Jarrow, fl.  
793 x 804.
- v) Abbots who are deacons - Alcuin, abbot of St. Martin's  
at Tours, 796-804.
- vi) Abbots' list - Osbald, king of Northumbria for twenty-  
seven days in 796, later an abbot,  
d. 799.

Names are less useful in helping to find dates for the second and third hands, as the identifications of the people listed in these hands are more uncertain. However, in the kings' list the second to the last name is almost certainly Eoganán, king of the Picts, c.837-39. The problem here is that it is hard to be certain whether this name is in the first or the second hand, and the Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum takes it to be in the first hand, which it dates on the basis of this.<sup>21</sup> However it appears to me to be in the second hand, and so can be used to date that.

The following dating scheme is suggested:-

- i) the first scribe was writing in c.800 or a little  
after that, and so would have been at Lindisfarne.
- ii) the second scribe was writing later in the ninth  
century, possibly c.840 or a little earlier.  
He may have been at Lindisfarne or at Norham,  
probably the former.

iii) the third scribe was writing later in the century again, and before 875. He was probably working after the move to Norham, and may have been there rather than at Lindisfarne.

It is interesting that the date of the last names in the second hand coincide with the episcopate of Bishop Egred when the move to Norham was made. There may well be a connection between the cessation of entries in most of the lists and the move. It is also significant that there is a break in the kings' list between Eanred, the last name in the original list, who died in c.840-43, and the first name in the later additions - Athelstan, who visited St. Cuthbert's community, then at Chester-le-Street, in 934.<sup>22</sup> It is not surprising that this break in the record corresponds to one of the most disturbed periods in the community's history, and also to a time of great upheaval in the kingship of Northumbria.

The Liber Vitae comprises ten lists of names, each beginning on a separate page, and with some space left afterwards for additions. The lists are arranged in this order:-

- 1) Names of kings and "duces".
- 2) Names of queens and abbesses.
- 3) Names of anchorites.
- 4) Names of abbots of the rank of priest.
- 5) Names of abbots of the rank of deacon.
- 6) Names of abbots.
- 7) Names of priests.
- 8) Names of deacons.
- 9) Names of clerics.
- 10) Names of monks.



A number of points can be made about the contents of the manuscript. The most important is that there is no list of bishops, a strange omission when all the other ranks in the church are included. Hamilton Thompson in the introduction to the facsimile edition of the Liber Vitae suggested that the names of the bishops were omitted intentionally, and that they were recorded elsewhere, perhaps in a diptych - the predecessor of the "liber vitae" - or in a service-book, written down at the place in the liturgy where they would originally have been recited.<sup>23</sup> It seems odd, however, that even if the bishops' names were recorded in such a place, they were not transferred to the Liber Vitae when it was being compiled. It is possible that it was intended to do this, but that for some reason the work was not carried out, and so the Liber Vitae was never finished. There is another possible explanation. As has been shown, the Liber Vitae as it is now is not complete, and it may be that the bishops' list was once in the manuscript and has since been lost. If this is the case, then probably the bishops came originally after the queens and abbesses, and before the anchorites. The bishops could have been entered on the same gathering as the first two lists, and there is certainly space in the manuscript there where they could have fitted.<sup>24</sup> There is the problem though of why this particular part of the manuscript should have been lost, when the rest of the lists have survived. Another possibility, of course, is that the bishops were not recorded anywhere, but this does seem very unlikely.

If the community originally recorded the bishops in the Liber Vitae or in some other form, by the twelfth century any such list seems to have been lost, as on fol. 19 a hand of that period has entered a list of bishops in the space left after the list of abbots of the rank of priest - the highest ecclesiastics noted in the original manuscript as it stands. The scribe has used the original rulings and columns, and has entered twenty-nine names, mainly of bishops and archbishops of York, plus four bishops of Lindisfarne. The first

name is Paulinus of York, followed by Aidan, Finan, and Colman from Lindisfarne. After Colman there is Tuda, who may have had his see at either Lindisfarne or York.<sup>25</sup> Then come Chad and Wilfrid, both of York, followed by Eata, bishop of Lindisfarne and Hexham. The rest of the names are of bishops and then archbishops of York, starting with Bosa, and finishing with Thomas II, archbishop from 1109-14, with two names being omitted - Wilfrid II (718-32), and Eanbald II (796-post 808).<sup>26</sup> As Thomas II is the last name, the list may have been written c.1109-14. The names included are of those who were considered to be "bishop of the Northumbrians", which is why there is a mixture of York and Lindisfarne. This twelfth-century list does not appear to have been copied from anything that might have been the original Liber Vitae. Extant episcopal lists of the bishops of Northumbria have a mixture of bishops of York and of Lindisfarne in their early stages and it is probable that such a list was the source for this entry.<sup>27</sup> It was no doubt added in an effort to make good a gap that had been noticed in the book.<sup>28</sup>

The probability that this bishops' list was copied from an episcopal list for Northumbria helps to account for the fact that Cuthbert is not included in it, nor indeed in any other part of the book.<sup>29</sup> Hamilton Thompson suggested that the omission of Cuthbert's name was because he was the patron saint of the church, and it was not considered needful or perhaps even proper, to put his name in such a list.<sup>30</sup> This may well have been the case in the twelfth century when these names were added to the book, but Cuthbert's non-appearance in the manuscript as now extant cannot be taken as evidence that he was not in any earlier bishops' list.

The second point of interest is how high in the contents, which are arranged strictly in order of importance, the anchorites are placed. This is a demonstration of the prestige these people had, and the high rank they held, in ecclesiastical society at least, and no doubt in society as a whole.

Their importance was probably enhanced by the fact that there were not very many of them. They are the smallest group listed in the Liber Vitae - twenty-eight, as against, for example, 101 kings and "duces", 198 queens and abbesses, and 176 abbots. Their high standing also reflects the continuing influence of Celtic attitudes in the Northumbrian church.<sup>31</sup> None of the other early commemoration books, which are discussed further in Chapter Two,<sup>32</sup> have special lists for anchorites.<sup>33</sup> It is likely too that Lindisfarne accorded a high status to anchorites in honour of St. Cuthbert.

Another interesting point is that the queens and abbesses are both in the same list. Levison noted this, saying that "it was evidently a common practice for a queen after the death of her consort to become abbess of a convent of the royal house".<sup>34</sup> A number of instances of this are known, for example, Iurminburg, the wife of king Ecgfrith of Northumbria, became an abbess after her husband was killed in 685. Eddius Stephanus, who disliked her because of her opposition to St. Wilfrid, said of her that after Ecgfrith's death she changed from being "a she-wolf" into "a perfect abbess and an excellent mother of the community".<sup>35</sup> Alcuin, in a letter to abbess Aethelburh, the daughter of king Offa of Mercia, refers to her sister Aelfflaed, the wife of king Aethelred of Northumbria. Aethelred had just been killed, and Alcuin says,

"Some of this ruin has brought you hot tears, I know, for your beloved sister. Now she is widowed she must be urged to soldier for Christ in a convent, that her temporal grief may lead to eternal joy".<sup>36</sup>

As well as queens, there were also the many princesses who never married who became heads of religious communities, ladies like Aelfflaed, daughter of king Oswiu, who was placed in a convent as a child, and who eventually became an abbess.<sup>37</sup> That queens and abbesses were recorded in the same list is an indication of the high status of abbesses.

The other list containing within it two classes of people is the list of kings and "duces". This brings a problem of definition, with the question of what exactly does "dux" mean. In the seventh century and into the eighth century "dux" seems to have been used in England for great nobles, usually in military situations - the leaders of armies, if they were not kings, were usually referred to as "duces".<sup>38</sup> In this English practice followed Late Roman terminology. By the later eighth century "dux" had come to be the usual term in Northumbria and in Mercia for the greater nobles, with "princeps" and "patricius" being used as well for a few men of the very highest status. "Dux" came to be used in Wessex too as the most common term for an important nobleman, though at a rather later date than in Mercia and Northumbria. The terms "princeps" and "patricius" seem to have gone out of use gradually in the ninth century, perhaps because they had "overtones of regality" which were unwelcome to kings who were trying to limit the possession of "royal blood" to just a few families, and in Wessex to just one family - that of Egberht.<sup>39</sup> This left "dux" as the main title for great nobles throughout England in the ninth century and thereafter, when Latin was used. In its origins "dux" had no particular connection with royal birth, but in Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries it was used for people who seem to have been members of royal families, for instance, the "dux" Berhtred was the son of a Northumbrian "subregulus"; and in the later eighth century two "duces", Osbald and Eardwulf, both eventually became kings of Northumbria.<sup>40</sup> So at the time when the earliest portion of the present Liber Vitae was written in c.800, "duces" would mean the most important nobles in a kingdom, some of whom were potentially holders of the kingship itself.

Further on in the Liber Vitae, one comes to another problem of definition with the list of clerics. It is not certain exactly what "clerici" means here. As there are

separate lists for priests and deacons it might mean all those in clerical orders below the rank of deacon.<sup>41</sup> However this would not seem to be the case, because there are thirteen names in the list of clerics marked as "pbr̄". Most of these names occur close together - there are eight of them on fol. 29v, six of them being in the third column on that page.<sup>42</sup> The relative concentration on this page may have some significance. It may perhaps reflect some idiosyncrasy of the scribe who wrote the original from which this part of the list was copied - more will be said about the sources behind the Liber Vitae later in this chapter. If this is so, it is possible that other people in this list were also priests but are not marked as such. But at the least it can be seen that a few of the clerics were priests. This means the definition of "clerici" as those in orders of the rank of sub-deacon or lower does not seem to be feasible. Perhaps then "clerici" here means secular clergy as opposed to monastic. The only trouble with this definition is that one person in the list of clerics has the title "ab̄", signifying "abbot", added to his name.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps he was the head of a secular minster. We know little about the secular clergy at this period - Bede, it must be noted, says very little about them in the Historia Ecclesiastica - and this makes any discussion of their work and status and organization particularly difficult.<sup>44</sup> However in spite of the appearance of an abbot in the clerics' list, the definition of "clerici" as the secular clergy remains the most likely explanation of this term in the Liber Vitae. And if this is so, then the lists of priests and deacons in the book are presumably of priests and deacons who lived in monasteries.

There is as well another title used in the Liber Vitae which needs to be explained. Ten names in the list of priests and two names in the list of clerics are marked "lect̄", short for "lector", which means "reader".<sup>45</sup> This term had more than one meaning in medieval ecclesiastical

Latin. Firstly, lectors were one of the minor orders of the clergy. They were responsible for reading from the Scriptures at services, although as time went by they lost this work as the sub-deacon and deacon took over the reading of the Epistle and Gospel in the Mass. Lectors existed in the second century and probably go back before then.<sup>46</sup> However in the Liber Vitae "lector" does not appear to refer to this rank of clergy, for most of those given this title in the book were priests. "Lector" was also the term used in monastic life for the monk who read aloud during the community's meals.<sup>47</sup> It is possible that the word was used with this meaning in the Liber Vitae, but it is more likely that it was used to convey a sense of special distinction.

"Lector" appears in a number of sources relating to Northumbria in the eighth and ninth centuries. The earliest is Bede's prose Life of St. Cuthbert, written in c.721. In speaking of the way Lindisfarne was organized, Bede refers to "all the priests, deacons, singers and readers, and the other ecclesiastical grades" ("omnes presbiteri, diacones, cantores, lectores, caeterique gradus aecclesiastici").<sup>48</sup> It is quite possible that "lector" is being used here in one or other of the meanings given above, but taken together with other sources it may bear a different interpretation. The second piece of evidence is the letter of the deacon Cuthbert describing the death of Bede in 735.<sup>49</sup> The recipient was Cuthwine, who, like Cuthbert, had been a pupil of Bede. In the letter Cuthbert addresses Cuthwine as his "collector". This presumably does not mean that Cuthwine collected things, but that he was Cuthbert's fellow "lector".<sup>50</sup> As Cuthbert was a deacon, it is unlikely to mean that they were "lectors" in the sense of being in the same rank of minor orders.<sup>51</sup> Then there is a letter from St. Boniface to Archbishop Egberht of York, written in 746-47, in which he asks Egberht to send him copies of the works of Bede "lector".<sup>52</sup> There is also the Historia Regum, whose annal for 794 records the death of Colcu, priest and "lector". He was a correspondent of Alcuin, who

addressed him in a letter as "magister" and "pater", and he must have been a person of some importance for his death to be recorded in the annals.<sup>53</sup> Finally there is De Abbatibus, where one of the members of the community described in the poem is said to have been a "lector". This is Hyglac, one of the teachers of Aethelwulf, the author of the poem.<sup>54</sup> Hyglac was a priest and is also said to have been a "doctor", that is, a teacher. The use of "lector" in these various sources probably means that those so termed were particularly learned in reading sacred writings, and in interpreting them to others. In other words, "lector" came to mean a teacher, foreshadowing the later medieval use of the word to describe a university lecturer.<sup>55</sup> It is in this sense of the word that "lector" seems to be used in the Liber Vitae. It is not certain whether or not "lector" used in this way was seen as being different from "doctor". Hyglac in De Abbatibus was said to be both a "lector" and a "doctor", but this may have been for the sake of poetic variation. Bede, as well as being called a "lector" in the letter mentioned above, is referred to as a "doctor" in his obit in the Historia Regum.<sup>56</sup> Possibly "doctor" denoted a higher status than "lector". Hyglac is himself in the Liber Vitae, in the list of priests, but surprisingly he is not given the title of "lector" there.<sup>57</sup> All the occurrences of this term in this list come after Hyglac's appearance<sup>58</sup> - perhaps the compiler of the original of the part of the list including Hyglac did not add titles to the names, while the scribe of the original of a slightly later part did. Aethelwulf, the author of De Abbatibus, is also in the list of priests, and he is given the title of "lector".<sup>59</sup>

It should be noted that the same people may occur in more than one list, in different capacities. There is one definite example of this, as Eadberht, who was king of Northumbria from 737 to 758, and who then retired to become a cleric, appears in both the kings' list, and the abbots' list, where he is distinguished by the title "rex".<sup>60</sup> There might be other similar instances which cannot be verified.

If this is so, it is just possible that there might be some bishops in the Liber Vitae as it stands, perhaps in one of the abbots' lists.

Finally, the lists are largely ecclesiastical in character. The only lay people recorded are of the highest rank - kings, queens, and "duces". There are no lists, or at any rate no lists extant, for any other members of the laity, male or female.<sup>61</sup> Nor is there a list of nuns, although again it is possible that such a list once existed and has been lost. In the Liber Vitae as it stands however, the community of St. Cuthbert appears to have had links within a mainly ecclesiastical, predominantly male, society.

Within each list, the names are arranged in a rough chronological order. In a group of ten consecutive names, the people may all have lived in the same quarter-century or half-century, but they may not be listed in any exact chronological order.<sup>62</sup> Sometimes too a person appears quite a long way out of order. For example, in the kings' list, Sigeberht, king of the East Saxons in c.653, and Wulfhere, king of Mercia from 658 to 675, appear a few names after a group of people who lived late in the eighth century.<sup>63</sup> A discussion of the earliest section of the kings' list will show what sort of pattern the lists have. This section is the best for this purpose as it contains a high proportion of identifiable names. It corresponds to the first column of the kings' list. The first name, Edwin, has been omitted from this discussion, as his inclusion raises a number of problems which will be dealt with separately in Chapter Two.<sup>64</sup> The rest of the names can be seen in Fig. 3.



Fig. 2.

The Chronological Structure of the list of "reges" and "duces".

The numbers in the table are the numbers of people who lived at a particular date. The dates are for the date of death, or when the person was last heard of. Nine names that can only be identified very tentatively have been left out of this table.

Column in list	600-650	650-700	700-725	725-750	750-775	775-800	800-825	825-850	Not known
One	3	7	5	1					3
Two			1	2	6	1			8
Three					2	5	1		11
Four		2	1		1	1	5		7
Five						5	2	4	8

Fig. 3 - The Names in the first column of the Kings' List.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Identification</u>	<u>Birth/first</u> <u>heard of</u>	<u>Death/last</u> <u>heard of</u>	
2 osuald	K. of North.	b.604-5	k.642	
3 osuio	K. of North.	b.c.613	d.670	Brother of 2
4 ecgfrith	K. of North.	b.c.645	k.685	Son of 3
5 alchfrith	Sub-K., prob. of Deira	c.653	c.664/5	Son of 3
6 aelfuini	Sub-K. in North.	b.c.661	k.679	Son of 3
7 anna	K. of East Anglia	reigning 645	k.654	Father-in- law of 4
8 oslaf	son of king Aethelfrith?	b.pre 617	-	Brother of 2
9 eðilred	K. of Mercia	b.pre 655	d.post 704	Son-in-law of 3
10 eðilberct	Uncertain			
11 milred	Unknown			
12 beornhaeth	Sub-K. in North.	c.671	-	Fought v Picts with 4
13 berctred	"Dux" in North.	-	k.698	Son of 12
14 altfrith	K. of North.	b.pre 670	d.705	Son of 3
15 alduini	Unknown			
16 eaduulf	K. of North.	705	706	
17 coenred	K. of Mercia	b.pre 675	d.post 709	Nephew of 9
18 osred	K. of North.	b.c.698	k.716	Son of 14
19 osric	K. of North.	b.pre 705	d.729	Prob. son of 14
20 beornred	Unknown			

After Oswald, the founder of Lindisfarne, comes Oswiu, his brother, who succeeded him in Bernicia in 642, and who was king of all Northumbria 651-70. Oswiu is followed by his three sons, Ecgfrith, Alchfrith, and Aelfwine, though not in order of age, as Alchfrith was older than Ecgfrith.<sup>65</sup> Then comes Anna, king of East Anglia. His daughter Aethelthryth married Ecgfrith, but as Ecgfrith was only about nine years old when Anna was killed, that is probably not why Anna is in the list. It is possible that Anna and Oswiu were allies, as both were threatened by Penda, king of Mercia, who eventually killed Anna.<sup>66</sup> Chronologically Anna comes before Oswiu's sons, and he certainly comes before Aelfwine, who was not born until some years after Anna's death.<sup>67</sup> After Anna there is Oslaf, who may possibly be identified with a younger brother of Oswald and Oswiu, said to have been exiled with them in 617.<sup>68</sup> Nothing more is known about him. The next name is Aethelred, king of Mercia from 675 to 704. He married Oswiu's daughter, Osthryth, and together they were patrons of Bardney, and enshrined king Oswald's body there.<sup>69</sup> The next name, Aethelberht, cannot be identified with certainty, and it is not known who Milred was.<sup>70</sup> Then comes Beornhaeth, the Northumbrian "subregulus" who fought with king Ecgfrith against the Picts in the early 670's. The Berhtred who follows is Beornhaeth's son, the "dux regius Nordanhymbrorum" killed by the Picts in 698. These two are followed by Aldfrith, king of Northumbria 685-705. He was a son of king Oswiu, but is placed away from the rest of Oswiu's family. This is probably because he was held by the Church to be illegitimate. He also spent much of his time until he succeeded to the throne in exile and apparently had little contact with the rest of his family.<sup>71</sup> The next name, Aldwine, cannot be identified. Then there is Eadwulf, the man who became king of Northumbria for two months from 705-6. The next name is Coenred. He may be the Coenred who was king of Northumbria from 716-18, but the name occurs again a little further on in the list, so this Coenred may be the king of Mercia who reigned 704-9,

the nephew and successor of king Aethelred. Then there are Osred and Osric, who were probably brothers, the sons of king Aldfrith.<sup>72</sup> Osred reigned 706-16, and Osric 718-29. Beornred, the last name in the column, has not been identified.<sup>73</sup>

This section shows that chronological order was not the only guiding feature of the lists, although it was a major one. Oswiu is followed immediately by his three sons, and Ecgfrith is placed ahead of Alchfrith, who was older, probably because he became king of all Northumbria, while Alchfrith did not. This arrangement means that Anna and Oslaf are placed slightly lower down the list than they ought to be. Chronologically they should come before Oswiu's three sons. Lower down the list Beornhaeth and Berhtred are placed together, presumably because they are father and son. That one can identify such family groups illustrates one of the most important features of the Liber Vitae, that people who were associated with each other were often entered close together. Much more will be said about this in Chapter Three.

How the lists were arranged leads on to the question of how they were compiled. There is evidence that the Liber Vitae was compiled from at least one, and probably more, earlier lists. It is known that St. Cuthbert's community had a commemoration list in the earlier eighth century. This was the "album" of the community referred to by Bede. When he finished his prose Life of St. Cuthbert in about 721, Bede asked the monks of Lindisfarne for his name to be put "in albo vestrae sanctae congregationis".<sup>74</sup> This was presumably an older version of the present Liber Vitae, though it is uncertain whether it was in diptych or manuscript form.<sup>75</sup> It may well be that other lists lie behind the Liber Vitae as well as the "album", and the latter was itself probably compiled from a variety of sources. So what earlier lists might there have been? If the "album" was in manuscript form, the community may have possessed some diptychs as well. There may also have been lists of names entered in the church service-books,

like the list of bishops and priests which is in the Stowe Missal, an Irish sacramentary of c.792,<sup>76</sup> or the lists of names entered on some originally blank leaves in a Frankish sacramentary of the first half of the ninth century.<sup>77</sup>

Sometimes names were entered in a Gospel-book, as is the case with the "liber confraternitatis" of Pfäfers.<sup>78</sup> The community may also have had a calendar or calendars with obits added, like the Calendar of St. Willibrord.<sup>79</sup> Other sources might include royal genealogies, king lists, and, presuming that bishops were once recorded in the book, episcopal lists. It is known from Bede that the Northumbrians had king lists,<sup>80</sup> and the oldest surviving example of such a list is among the historical notes added at the end of the "Moore Bede", which is one of the earliest manuscripts of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica. It was written in Northumbria in c.737.<sup>81</sup> There is however only a little evidence for the use of king lists in the arrangement of the list of kings and "duces" in the Liber Vitae, unlike, for example, the eleventh-century commemoration book of New Minster at Winchester.<sup>82</sup> The run of four names at the start of the former's list of kings - "eduini, osuald, osuio, ecgfrith" - is the only piece of evidence for the use of a regnal list by the compiler.<sup>83</sup> Other names may have come from the manuscripts of letters which included lists of names of people who had died, such as the letter of Bishop Lull of Mainz to Archbishop Aethelberht of York in 767-78.<sup>84</sup> Charters may also have been a source of names. Unfortunately we do not have any Northumbrian charters from the pre-Viking period which could be compared with the lists in the Liber Vitae, but one instance of a witness list from a charter being copied into the book is known from among the later entries.<sup>85</sup>

The type of sources the Liber Vitae was compiled from helps to explain why there is no strict chronological order, and why sometimes people seem to be quite a long way out of place. One can think, for instance, of what would happen if

diptychs were being used in its compilation, or if they had been used to compile an earlier "liber vitae". Diptychs had separate lists for the living and the dead.<sup>86</sup> If lists of, say, abbots who were living and abbots who had died were written out as a single list, then one would not expect them to come in exact chronological order.

If an earlier list or lists had become as full and messy as some of the present Liber Vitae has become, then it is not surprising that it was not copied out with any strict pattern. Names might have been added in where there was space, perhaps in between other names, or in the margins, maybe even on bits of parchment inserted into the manuscript or diptychs.<sup>87</sup> The same problem would occur if names were being copied from a missal or from a Gospel-book with lists occurring here and there and names added in the margins.

Moreover, if the Liber Vitae was being compiled from a number of sources, not just from one older text, then the problem of getting people in the right order would be even worse. And of course the scribe may not have been trying particularly to place people in chronological order. He may well not have known what their chronological order was anyway. He was most likely simply copying down the lists he had as best he could, and not trying to rearrange them.

Since the present Liber Vitae was first compiled in c.800 from earlier lists, the question arises of the date of the original composition of these lists. The evidence of the kings' list, which begins with kings Edwin and Oswald, would suggest that the original compilation goes back right to the foundation of Lindisfarne, but a study of all the lists suggests that the sources behind most of them date from later on.

The first two names in the list of queens and abbesses are Rieinmelth and Eanflaed, which take the beginnings of the source of this list back to the mid-seventh century. Rieinmelth was married to king Oswiu probably before 642, and he married Eanflaed in c.642-45.<sup>88</sup> Apart from these two however, the names near the beginning of the list date from fairly late in the seventh century. Iurminburg was the wife of king Ecgfrith from the mid 670's to 685, and then became an abbess.<sup>89</sup> Aelfflaed was abbess of Whitby from c.680 to 713,<sup>90</sup> and Cuthburh was the wife of king Aldfrith (685-705), but they parted during his lifetime so that she could become a nun.<sup>91</sup> It should be noted as well that Eanflaed was still alive in 685, helping Aelfflaed to run Whitby monastery.<sup>92</sup> Particularly significant is the lack of the name of Heiu and probably that of Hild too. Heiu, the first Northumbrian nun, was consecrated by Bishop Aidan of Lindisfarne, and founded the monastery of Hartlepool.<sup>93</sup> Hild, the second abbess of Hartlepool, and subsequently abbess of Whitby, was also associated with Aidan.<sup>94</sup> In later years, at the Synod of Whitby in 664, she was on the same side as Bishop Colman of Lindisfarne and his clergy.<sup>95</sup> She died in 680.<sup>96</sup> It is strange that Hild does not appear in the Liber Vitae, unless she is there in the guise of one of the female names beginning with "hildi-", of which "Hild" could have been a pet-form. None of these names appears very early on in the list of queens and abbesses however,<sup>97</sup> and one would have expected to find her, if anywhere, in the group at the start of the list together with her kinswoman Eanflaed, and her pupil Aelfflaed, Eanflaed's daughter.

It is significant that the first name in the list of anchorites is Oethelwald, who succeeded St. Cuthbert in the hermitage on Farne Island.<sup>98</sup> Lower down the list there are the names of two men who lived earlier on, both of whom were connected with St. Cuthbert - Cuthbert's friend, Hereberht, who died in 687,<sup>99</sup> and Cuthbert's teacher, Boisil, who died in the early 660's.<sup>100</sup> Boisil's is the only name in the

list which dates from before Cuthbert's episcopate, and might have been included in the source of the list because of his association with Cuthbert. All the other identifiable names are heard of after c.685.

The lists of abbots show a similar pattern. The name at the head of the list of abbots who were priests is Ceolfrith, abbot of Jarrow from 682, and of both Monkwearmouth and Jarrow from 688 to 716.<sup>101</sup> Also near the beginning of this list are Aldhelm and Herefrith. Aldhelm was abbot of Malmesbury until 706, when he became bishop of Sherborne, and he was a friend of king Aldfrith of Northumbria.<sup>102</sup> Herefrith was abbot of Lindisfarne at the time of St. Cuthbert's death in 687. He was still alive in c.721 but by then he had resigned as abbot.<sup>103</sup> The first name in the list of abbots who were deacons may be that of Beornwine, one of the clergy of St. Wilfrid and a missionary worker in the Isle of Wight in the period after 686.<sup>104</sup> The second name in the list is Berthun, who was abbot of Beverley in 731.<sup>105</sup> The list of abbots is headed by Benedict Biscop, founder and abbot of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, who died in 689.<sup>106</sup> The next name is Cudda, who was a contemporary and friend of St. Cuthbert,<sup>107</sup> and the fourth name in the list may be Eastorwine, abbot of Monkwearmouth from 682-86, although this is not certain as he was a priest and ought to be in the list of priest-abbots.<sup>108</sup> The only name in the list of abbots who might be earlier than these is that of Utta - this may be the abbot of Gateshead who lived in the mid-seventh century, but again he was a priest, so this identification is not certain.<sup>109</sup>

In discussing the lists of abbots, and indeed all the lists, it is noteworthy that there are not many Irish names.<sup>110</sup> The abbot of Iona at the period Lindisfarne was founded does not feature in the Liber Vitae - this was Ségéné mac Fiachnaí, who ruled 623/4 to 652.<sup>111</sup> This is the more to be remarked upon when it is remembered that Ségéné was not only in communication with king Oswald after he came to the throne of



Northumbria, but met him on at least one occasion.<sup>112</sup>  
Ségéne's omission and that of his successors is also of  
significance when one considers that Iona continued to  
provide bishops for the see of Lindisfarne until 664.<sup>113</sup>  
Yet there is only one definite instance of an abbot of  
Iona in the Liber Vitae, and he lived at a much later  
period - Bressal mac Ségéni, abbot from 772-801.<sup>114</sup>

The last four lists, those for priests, deacons, clerics,  
and monks, are less easy to use for dating purposes because  
so few of the names can be identified with any certainty.  
Two points can be made however. The first name in the list  
of priests that can be identified with a fair degree of  
certainty is that of Bede, a priest who was with St. Cuthbert  
on Farne Island during the last few days of his life.<sup>115</sup>  
And the very first name in the list of deacons is probably  
Hadwald, a monk of Whitby who was killed by falling from a  
tree. This occurred during St. Cuthbert's episcopate, while  
he was visiting an estate belonging to Whitby to dedicate a  
church there. The saint saw a vision of Hadwald's soul  
going to Heaven and told Abbess Aelfflaed of Whitby that she  
would name the man the next day during Mass. Sure enough,  
the following day, while Cuthbert was celebrating Mass,  
Aelfflaed heard who had died and ran into the church and  
gave the name of the dead monk to Cuthbert, just at the point  
in the service when the living and the dead were being remem-  
bered.<sup>116</sup> It is particularly appropriate, and probably not  
accidental, that Hadwald's name heads one of the memorial  
lists in the Liber Vitae of Cuthbert's community.

The origins of the sources behind most of the lists in  
the Liber Vitae seem to be in the late seventh century, the  
680's and 690's, and not earlier. This helps to account  
for the lack of any seventh-century abbots of Iona, as well  
as the omission of Heiu and the apparent omission of Hild.  
On the other hand, the inclusion of Aldhelm in the list of

abbots who were priests suggests that the source of this list at least was begun before 706, when he became a bishop. So the material behind the majority of the lists in the Liber Vitae was probably first compiled in the reign of Aldfrith, between 685 and 705. There seems too to have been some connection between this original compilation and St. Cuthbert. The origins of the sources of the Liber Vitae may lie in Cuthbert's episcopate, or, which is perhaps more likely, in the period when his cult was being promoted after his enshrining in 698, the same period which saw the composition of the anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert by a member of his community.<sup>117</sup>

The question remains as to why the kings' list, and to a much lesser extent, the queens' list, go back further than the other lists. The reason for this may be that they, or their exemplars, were copied from some royal diptychs belonging to the church of Lindisfarne, which went back to the beginning of Christianity in the kingdom, and which may have been supplemented by, or based on, a regnal list. Also some of the names in the kings' list may have been included because their owners are prominent in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica. A comparable case can be found in the Liber Memorialis of Remiremont, which contains a copy of some royal diptychs of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings, which goes back further than any other list in the book - indeed it goes back well beyond the actual foundation of the monastery of Remiremont.<sup>118</sup> The kings' list in the Liber Vitae might have been compiled in a similar way.

As well as royal diptychs Lindisfarne may have had diptychs containing the names of its bishops, which could have been used as a source for a bishops' list in the Liber Vitae. It is unfortunate that we do not have this list, for much could have been learnt from it, and it would have been especially interesting to know whether it was headed by St. Aidan or by St. Cuthbert.

III. The later history of the 'Liber Vitae'.

The Liber Vitae remained with St. Cuthbert's community throughout its history to the sixteenth century. Additions were made to the original lists from the early tenth century.<sup>119</sup> Only a very few additions were made before the community moved to Durham in 995, the earliest being the entry "aeðelstan rex" in a hand of his time (924-39), on the first page of the kings' list. Until the mid-eleventh century the additions fit in with the layout of the original Liber Vitae, using the original columns and rulings, or attempt to do so at least.

Other items besides names also began to be added into the manuscript, and the first of these was probably written before the move to Durham. This is the record in Old English of a land grant to "s̄ce cuðberht stope" by "þureð eorl", very probably the earl Thored last heard of in 992.<sup>120</sup> Another entry of interest, dating from after the move, is a manumission of the mid-eleventh century. Manumissions apparently took place in churches in a ceremony at the high altar, and a record was then made in a book on the altar, in most cases a Gospel-book. This suggests that the Liber Vitae was being kept on the high altar by this period at least, although it was probably kept there from the start.<sup>121</sup>

The greatest number of additions were made after the re-foundation of Durham as a Benedictine house in 1083 by Bishop William of Saint-Calais.<sup>122</sup> Much of the blank space at the end of the original manuscript was filled up with names and other documents in the course of the twelfth century, as were many empty spaces among the earlier lists. The first departure from the original scheme of the book came in the later eleventh century when both male and female names were added in wobbly columns after the end of the queens' list. On the whole though the additions of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries still try to follow the old layout or at least use the original horizontal rulings.

Eventually this ceases however. The twelfth-century additions include the attempt to supply a bishops' list, mentioned above,<sup>123</sup> and, developing the main purpose of the book, confraternity agreements. It was also in the twelfth century that the manuscript was enlarged by the addition of extra folios. Entries continued to be made in the book to the early sixteenth century. Gold and silver were not used after the ninth century, with the exception of a few names added to the kings' list in the eleventh century and later erased.<sup>124</sup> All the other additions from the tenth century onwards are in ordinary inks, in a few cases black, but most now appear as various shades of brown.

In 1593 the anonymous author of the Rites of Durham recorded that before the Reformation the book lay on the high altar in Durham Cathedral. The passage is as follows:-

"There did lye on the high altar an excellent fine<sup>125</sup>  
booke uerye richly couered with gold and siluer  
conteininge the names of all the benefactors towards  
St Cuthberts church from the first originall found-  
ation thereof, the uerye letters for the most part  
beinge all gilded as is apparent in the said booke  
till this day the layinge that booke on the high  
altar did show how highly they esteemed their  
founders and benefactors, and the dayly and quotidian  
remembrance they had of them in the time of masse and  
diuine seruice did argue not onely their gratitude,  
but also a most diuine and charitable affection to  
the soules of their benefactors as well dead as  
liuinge, which booke is as yett extant declaringe  
the s<sup>d</sup> use in the inscription thereof. There is  
also another famous booke: as yett extant contein-  
inge the reliques Jewe(1)s ornaments and uestments  
that were giuen to the church by all those founders

for the further adorninge of gods seruice whose names were of record in the said booke that dyd lye upon the high altar, as also they are recorded in this booke of the afore said reliques and Jewells to the euerlastinge praise and memorye of the giuers and benefactors therof".<sup>126</sup>

Durham was suppressed in 1539 and re-established as a secular cathedral in 1540.<sup>127</sup> What happened to the Liber Vitae at this time is not known, but it may have stayed at Durham for some time. It is though unlikely to have been kept on the altar after Edward VI's reign, particularly as it seems to have been regarded as part of the church fittings rather than part of the cathedral's library.<sup>128</sup> The author of the Rites of Durham writes as if he had seen the book recently, but it is not known who he was or where he was writing. The date of 1593 is given to the Rites both within the text and in the title on one of the manuscripts,<sup>129</sup> so the author may have seen it not long before that date, but not necessarily at Durham.

The "inscription" in the Liber Vitae which declared the purpose of the book, referred to in the above passage, may refer to an entry on one of the front fly-leaves of the manuscript (fol. 3v) in a late medieval hand. It reads:-

"Ordo suie methodus huiuc libri nihil aliud est quam annualis commemoratio In sacrificio missæ animarum defunctorum omnium benefactorum aut benemeritorum erga monasticam ecclesiam beatissimi patris Cutberti tam secularium quam regularium tam Imperatorum quam presbiterorum tam Abbatum quam monachorum et singula eorum nomina in hoc libro inferius subscripta plausius et plenius demonstrant".

By the early seventeenth century the Liber Vitae was in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631). There are notes on the fly-leaves in Cotton's own hand (fols. 1 and 84v).

The manuscript is entry no. 298 in the earliest catalogue of the Cotton library, in a portion of that document written by Cotton himself.<sup>130</sup> It is not in the earliest part of the catalogue, which is dated to 1621, but that is no reason for it not to have been acquired before 1621, as this original catalogue does not seem to have been a complete list of the collection at that date.<sup>131</sup> It is not known when Cotton added the Liber Vitae to his library, nor who he got it from. He began to collect manuscripts in 1588, at the age of only seventeen,<sup>132</sup> and his interest at first was in Saxon and ecclesiastical documents,<sup>133</sup> so he may have acquired the Liber Vitae quite early on in his career, but there is nothing certain about this, as he continued to be interested in Saxon manuscripts throughout his life.<sup>134</sup> A possible date for his acquisition of the Liber Vitae is in 1600, when he travelled as assistant to his master and friend, Camden, on a tour to the North of England. Their journey lasted six months and their main purpose was following the line of Hadrian's Wall, searching for Roman monuments.<sup>135</sup> Cotton might have picked up the Liber Vitae while he was in the North. However he did receive manuscripts in other ways besides discovering them for himself; sometimes making exchanges with other collectors, being given books by friends and other antiquaries, as well as buying documents,<sup>136</sup> so he might have acquired the Liber Vitae through one of these channels.

The Liber Vitae has remained in the Cotton collection ever since. It was bound in its present form when it was in Cotton's library, and the binding is stamped with the Cotton arms. The original binding was lost, but there are two pieces of evidence that it must have been sumptuous. Firstly, there is the passage from the Rites of Durham quoted above, which says the book was "uerye richly couered with gold and siluer". And secondly there is a little verse written on fol. 3 apparently by Dr. James, who was Cotton's librarian. It reads:-

"Textus hoc argento Tegmen fulgebat et auro  
Intus vt abbatum Nomina celsa Regum".

It is unknown how old this precious binding was.

IV. Earlier editions of the 'Liber Vitae'.

The first printed edition of the Liber Vitae was that of Joseph Stevenson for the Surtees Society in 1841.<sup>137</sup> It is an edition of the whole of the manuscript from fol. 15 on, and uses the incorrect foliation of 12-79v, instead of 15-83v. It contains many errors, such as names being spelt incorrectly, and the dating given for the various hands is not always to be relied on. Stevenson seems to have thought that the original portion of the manuscript was all done by one hand. His short preface does contain some interesting points. This volume remains the only printed edition of the text of the entire Liber Vitae.

The next edition is that in the Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, published in 1884.<sup>138</sup> This comprises the original portion of the Liber Vitae only, and does not include the last four lists - priests, deacons, clerics, and monks - in full. This is a good, accurate edition, using the correct foliation, and giving identifications for many of the names in those lists which are printed in full. It also gives much useful information about the manuscript, and identifies three different hands in the original Liber Vitae. It dates the original compilation to about 840 as it considers that the whole of the kings' list is in the first hand. This edition is the only one to provide identifications for the names in the Liber Vitae.

In the next year, 1885, Henry Sweet published another edition of the manuscript in his volume The Oldest English Texts for the Early English Text Society.<sup>139</sup> This was another edition of the oldest part of the Liber Vitae only, and included all ten of the original lists. It uses the wrong foliation but is otherwise a good edition, with just one or two of the names being spelt wrongly. Sweet said that his "impression" was that the manuscript was "evidently of the beginning of the ninth century, or end of the preceding one", and that he had

been confirmed in this opinion by Messrs. Thompson and Warner at the British Museum. It is interesting that Sweet was inclined to date the book to c.800. Sweet also said that an investigation into the names in the manuscript would "be shortly made by the Museum men", and that this "would enable us to fix the date with certainty within a year or two". It may be that Sweet had studied the Liber Vitae some time before 1885 and that this investigation he refers to resulted in the edition in the Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts, which was actually published before Sweet's volume.

This edition by Sweet was republished by him in his Second Anglo-Saxon Reader of 1887.<sup>140</sup> One of the purposes of this book was "to serve as a cheap and handy abridgment" of the Oldest English Texts volume. In this Reader the original Liber Vitae is given minus the last two lists - the clerics and the monks. No folio numbers are given in the text or in the title.

Sweet's Second Anglo-Saxon Reader was republished in a second edition revised by T.F. Hoad, in 1978.<sup>141</sup> The Liber Vitae is included in this, again without the last two lists, or any folio numbers in the text. However the title of the edition does give the correct foliation, saying that the Liber Vitae is on fols. 15ff. of Cotton Domitian 7.

Finally there is the important edition by A. Hamilton Thompson for the Surtees Society in 1923.<sup>142</sup> It is a facsimile edition, in black and white, of the entire Liber Vitae from fol. 15, together with a very useful introduction. However Hamilton Thompson in the Introduction does use the incorrect foliation when referring to the manuscript. It was intended that a further volume be published by the Surtees Society giving "a complete and accurate text" of the Liber Vitae, "an introduction upon the history and palaeography of the manuscript", and "an alphabetical index of the names included in the text, with brief notes identifying, as far as



possible, their bearers". Those who were to work on this volume included J.A. Herbert, H.H.E. Craster, and William Farrer.<sup>143</sup> However this volume was never published. In the centenary volume of the Surtees Society, which finally came out in 1939, Hamilton Thompson wrote that "hitherto, owing to the difficulty of the work and the need of extensive collaboration in producing an effective index of the type required, this volume remains a project".<sup>144</sup>

Chapter Two - The Purpose of the 'Liber Vitae'.

I. The development of "libri vitae" and their place in the liturgy.

"Libri vitae" arose from the practice of reciting the names of the dead and the living during Mass.<sup>1</sup> They were also reminiscent of the Biblical image of the "Book of Life" in which are written the names of the faithful.<sup>2</sup> This occurs in both the Old Testament and the New, in such passages as:-

"Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous". (Psalm 69, v.28).

"Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another: and the Lord hearkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.

And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels; and I will spare them, as a man spareth his own son that serveth him". (Malachi, 3, vv.16-17).

"And I intreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which laboured with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and with other my fellowlabourers, whose names are in the book of life". (Philippians, 4, v.3).

"And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works". (Revelation, 20, v.12).

It would be this image that Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury had in mind when he wrote, after Boniface's death in 754, "to his very reverend brother and fellow bishop, Lullus, beloved in Christ and also to your fellow workers, bishops and priests of God, whose names are written in the book of life".<sup>3</sup> The "libri vitae" in the various churches and monasteries were reminders, lesser versions, of that heavenly book. The preface to the eleventh-century Liber Vitae of New Minster demonstrates that this was in the minds of those who compiled these books, when it says the names were entered "that by this written remembrance on earth they may be inscribed on the page of the heavenly record".<sup>4</sup>

The practice of reciting the names of individuals during Mass is of uncertain origin. It must be distinguished from interceding for particular types of people, whether alive or dead, and from the offering of Masses for the Dead.<sup>5</sup> Intercessions, that is, prayers for particular sorts of people, such as those who are sick, formed part of the liturgy long before the custom of reciting names was introduced. These intercessory prayers did not refer to any individuals personally, except for the Pope and the Emperor who did eventually receive a mention in them. When the recital of peoples' names did come into the liturgy, it seems to have been seen as a new type of intercession. Steuart describes it as "a 'call to prayer' addressed to clergy and congregation, inviting their personal prayer during the Liturgy for those whose names were thus announced".<sup>6</sup>

The earliest possible references to this practice are in the third century in the letters of St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, 248/9 - 258. The most interesting evidence is in a letter written by Cyprian in 250 to his clergy at Carthage, while he himself was in exile during the Decian persecution. In this letter Cyprian is attacking those priests who are allowing people who had disowned Christianity in the persecution, back into Communion again without penance, confession,

or absolution, while the persecution is still continuing:-

"now in an unpropitious time with a persecution still raging, with the peace of the Church itself not yet restored, they are admitted to Communion and there is an offering in their name" ("offertur nomine eorum").<sup>7</sup>

It is debateable what this means, and most authorities disregard it as evidence for the recital of names.<sup>8</sup> But it could possibly refer to a custom similar to that found later on, in Gaul, Spain, and elsewhere, of reciting the names of those members of the congregation who provided and offered the bread and wine for the Communion service. As it was then still the practice for all who took Communion to bring their own bread and wine, the names recited would in effect be the names of all the communicants at that particular service.<sup>9</sup>

It is this custom which is mentioned in the twenty-ninth canon of the Council of Elvira in Spain, which is the earliest definite reference to the recitation of names, dating from c.305. The canon is:-

"An epileptic who is harassed by an erratic spirit: his name is not to be recited at the altar with the oblation, nor is it permitted that he should minister with his hand in the church".<sup>10</sup>

Here one is dealing with a recitation of the names of living members of the congregation, and the practice is linked with the offertory.<sup>11</sup> This would not have necessitated the recording of any names in writing - probably what happened was that one of the clergy, most likely a deacon,<sup>12</sup> said aloud the name of each person as they offered their gift, or else called out all the names together after all the gifts had been made.<sup>13</sup> Presuming that the cleric would know the names of all the people who were making the offerings, no written list would be needed.

The first definite references to the reading out of names of the dead come from the Eastern Church. The earliest is in the Euchologian of Sarapion, Bishop of Thmuis in Lower Egypt, from c.339 to post-360. A "euchologian" is the Greek version of what in the West would be called a sacramentary. Sarapion's is the earliest written liturgy known from the East.<sup>14</sup> The form of service it describes includes the recital of the names of the dead, within the "anaphora" or Eucharistic prayer itself, after the consecration. After the Invocation a prayer for the dead generally is read, in which there is a pause for the names of individual dead people to be recited.<sup>15</sup> The rubric definitely says that this is done at this place.<sup>16</sup> This prayer for the dead is linked with the prayer which comes after it - the prayer for the people present who are assisting in the service as offerers and communicants.<sup>17</sup> The prayer for the living of the local congregation, unaccompanied by any reading out of names, is an early component of the Eucharistic Prayer of every liturgy, but the prayer for the dead, and the recital of the names of the dead, only seems to have been introduced into this particular part of the service in the East at about this time - the mid-fourth century. It is possible that the idea of praying for dead members of the Church was suggested by the already existing prayer for the living and was an extension of this.<sup>18</sup> The practice of commemorating the dead in this way may well have started in the Church of Jerusalem, and slowly been adopted by other churches in the East too.<sup>19</sup>

At this early period then there was a difference between the Eastern and Western Churches, in that in the East only the names of the dead were recited, and in the West only the names of the living. This may be associated with the different customs that prevailed in the offering of the bread and wine. Originally, the practice was for the people to bring these to the altar, and this continued in the West for longer than it did in the East, where it disappeared, in the main, according to Bishop, during the fourth century.<sup>20</sup> There would then be no occasion for the recital of the names of "offerers" in the Eastern rites after this time.

Another and related practice found at this time, which is of interest when considering how churches came to commemorate benefactors, is referred to by St. Jerome (331-c.420).<sup>21</sup> He says that the names of those people who had made donations to the funds of the church were read out aloud in church, together with the amount they had given. It was a custom that Jerome thought was wrong, as giving occasion for boasting and pretentious display. He does not actually say when these names were read out, but as he uses the particular word "offerentes", it is likely that it was done during Mass.<sup>22</sup> It seems to be a custom that has connections with the recital of the names of those who offered the bread and wine - possibly it developed from that, though this is not certain. Jerome does not say in which churches or areas this was practised.<sup>23</sup>

It is not long before there is evidence for the recitation of the names of the dead in a Western church. This occurs in the time of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, 395-430. There has been debate about some references in Augustine's works.<sup>24</sup> A passage in his Contra epistolam Parmeniani libri tres, an anti-Donatist work written in 400, definitely refers to a recital of names at the altar, but it is not clear whether the names were of the living Donatist leaders or of Donatists who had died.<sup>25</sup> If Augustine was referring to dead Donatist leaders, then this is the first evidence for the reading out of the names of the dead in a Western rite. However the wording of the passage is too unclear to make any definite statements on this point.<sup>26</sup>

What is certain is that the African Church was reciting the names of the martyrs in the liturgy by this period. Augustine refers to this practice a number of times. The reading of the names of dead nuns, whose vocation was regarded as a sort of martyrdom, is mentioned too in Augustine's De sancta virginitate, written in 401.<sup>27</sup>

The first definite evidence for the recital of the names of the dead in the West, other than the martyrs, dates from 411, and is in the record of the proceedings of the Council which was held at Carthage in that year to settle the Donatist controversy. Augustine was the main speaker on the orthodox side, and during the conference he referred to Caecilian, the orthodox Bishop of Carthage from 311 to c.345, opposition to whose election had led to the start of the Donatist split. Augustine said:-

"We are in the church in which Caecilian held the office of bishop, and in which he died. We recite his name at the altar, we communicate his memory" ("eius nomen ad altare recitamus, eius memoriae communicamus").<sup>28</sup>

This evidence for the reading of the names of the dead is further confirmed by Augustine in one of his sermons, in which he again mentions the practice, once more with reference to Caecilian and the Donatist controversy.<sup>29</sup> He does seem in these sources to be referring to a recital of names at ordinary Masses, and not to the offering of Masses for the Dead. As two letters of Augustine written in 404 suggest that a list of names of the living was read out in church too, the evidence of his writings is that the African Church in the early years of the fifth century had a recital of the names of both the living and the dead in its liturgy.<sup>30</sup>

The earliest mention of diptychs comes in the early fifth century, although presumably lists of names of the dead for use in the liturgy had had to be kept from the time when reciting their names first came into use. A diptych was a writing-tablet made of two leaves hinged together. It could be made of wood, ivory, or metal. Writing in ink might be made on wood or ivory diptychs, or the leaves might be waxed on their inner sides and inscribed with a stylus. They were used in the ancient world by the emperors and the consuls to record such things as titles and offices.<sup>31</sup> The Church came to use them for recording the names of the newly baptized, and also

the names of the living and the dead to be recited in the service. Using the word in this sense only, as describing an object, diptychs came to be used in both the Western and Eastern Churches. In the Eastern Church the term "the diptychs" also eventually came to mean that particular part of the service during which the names were recited. Used in this sense, "the diptychs" meant the names themselves and certain associated prayers and formulae. The word cannot be used thus when discussing the Western rites; in the West it referred only to the actual tablet.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, in the East, particularly at Constantinople, the diptychs came to have a formal character they never acquired in the West. To the church of Constantinople the "diptychs" were a "combination of lists of the eminent living and dead, officially drawn up and regulated from time to time by the higher ecclesiastical authorities".<sup>33</sup> The lists of names used by churches in the West were never supervised officially in this way.

The diptychs are first mentioned as a result of a controversy at Constantinople which went on from about 407 into the 420's.<sup>34</sup> The argument was about whether St. John Chrysostom's name should be put into the diptychs of the dead. John had been Bishop of Constantinople but he was deprived of his see and died as an exile in 407. Large numbers of people in the city had taken John's part however and there was much discontent because his name was not in the diptychs. John's name was finally entered in the 420's, after a near riot in the city. Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople (406-25), then wrote to make excuses for what he had done to Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, the nephew of John Chrysostom's main rival. The letters exchanged between Atticus and Cyril give much information about the diptychs.<sup>35</sup> From them it can be seen that although originally in the East only the names of the dead were read out, by the 420's there were diptychs for both the living and the dead at Constantinople, and the two lists were kept in separate "books". Atticus says in a letter:-



" 'there is a great difference between the cases of the living and the dead, just as the books commemorating these two classes are separate and distinct.' "

The letters also show that the diptychs of the dead at least contained both clergy and laity, for Atticus explains that,

" 'John is mentioned in the diptychs not with deceased bishops only, but with priests, deacons, laymen and women.' "

The names were obviously arranged according to class, as Cyril in his answering letter asks,

" 'How can you put a man that has been unfrocked among the priests of God? . . . how can you put a layman among the bishops?' "

And the bishops were apparently entered in sequence as in an episcopal list, for Cyril says,

" 'Let the name of Arsacius follow the name of Nectarius and order the name of John to be put out.' "

The diptychs were also already reflecting the differences between the various churches, in that the church of Antioch included John's name in its diptychs before Constantinople did, while Alexandria, under Cyril, would not include it at all. This dispute demonstrates, in Bishop's words,

"most important of all, that the contents of the diptychs were a subject on which popular predilections and passions might be easily excited, and hence it is to be concluded that the public recitation of the diptychs now formed in the East a prominent, and to the congregation interesting, part of the mass".<sup>36</sup>

This episode is the first example of what became a recurrent theme in the Eastern Church in the fifth century. During that century the diptychs increasingly became, to quote Bishop again, "a test and touchstone of orthodoxy".<sup>37</sup> This was the essence

of the controversy about John Chrysostom, and in the second half of the fifth century, in a series of arguments and splits, the names of the dead were crossed out in the diptychs, written in again, maybe even taken out again, reflecting the changing attitudes of those who were alive and arguing with each other. The names affected were of bishops and emperors, other ranks in society are not mentioned.<sup>38</sup> There is some reflection of this practice in the later "libri vitae" in the West, though not to any great extent.<sup>39</sup>

Some interesting information about diptychs in the East is contained in the Acts of the Synod of Mopsuestia in Asia Minor, held in 550.<sup>40</sup> The synod's purpose was to discover whether the name of Bishop Theodore, who died in 428, had been removed from the diptychs of the church of Mopsuestia. From the synod's records it can be ascertained that this church had two sets of diptychs of the dead - the synod was not concerned with the diptychs of the living, so they are not mentioned. The diptychs were kept with the sacred vessels, in the care of the "cimeliarcha", the church treasurer; so they were not kept on the altar all the time. Only one of the sets was in use; the other, from the names said to be on it, must have gone out of use about thirty years previously at the most. Each of the sets had two lists identical with each other in it, and the names seem to have been arranged by rank. But most significantly no names of bishops of Mopsuestia were recorded in the diptychs from before the mid-fourth century - this fits in nicely with the evidence given above for the recital of the names of the dead being a newly introduced custom at that period.<sup>41</sup> Also, and this is of interest when considering how names were arranged in "libri vitae" later on, the Acts of the Synod show that the best informed witnesses present actually knew very little about the succession of the bishops of Mopsuestia.

At about the same period as the dispute about John Chrysostom's name was carrying on in the East, comes the earliest

indication of the Roman usage as regards the recital of names. This is in a letter from Pope Innocent I (402-17) to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio in central Italy, written in 416.<sup>42</sup> Decentius had asked what he should do about certain of the customs in use at Gubbio, which he found were very different from those at Rome. One of the main points of difference was the place in the service where the names of the offerers of bread and wine were recited. At Gubbio they were read out before the offertory prayer was said - this was similar to the custom in Gaul and Spain, as later liturgical texts from these countries show, the earliest manuscripts being seventh-century.<sup>43</sup> Innocent in reply said that the names should be moved to a point further on in the liturgy, after the offertory prayer. Probably Innocent was not trying to make places like Gubbio return to a more ancient usage which had survived at Rome and been lost elsewhere, but was endeavouring to spread the use of new ideas which may only have been adopted at Rome a short while before. Churches in Gaul, Spain, and many parts of Italy were probably continuing to adhere to older traditions.<sup>44</sup> One is still dealing here as well with a recitation of the names of the living - with the exception of Africa, the Western churches do not yet seem to have taken up the Eastern idea of reading the names of the dead.

The question of when the names of the dead began to be recited in the West apart from Africa is made more complex by the difference referred to above - the difference, that is, between the usage of Rome and that of other areas such as Gaul and Spain. I will discuss the Roman rite and the non-Roman rites separately, beginning with the latter. There are manuscripts of the Gallican and Spanish rites written in the seventh century which show that the recital of the names of the dead was an established practice then.<sup>45</sup> The names of the dead were recited together with those of the living at the offertory. The adoption of this practice owed something to the propensity shown by the Gallican and Spanish rites to take over Eastern customs. Probably this custom had been introduced some time

before the seventh century, although there is no way of telling exactly when. But there are a few pieces of evidence for the recital of the names of the dead in the later sixth century in Gaul. One is a poem by Venantius Fortunatus, who lived c.530-600, addressed to king Childebert II (575-95) and his mother Brunehildis.<sup>46</sup> This refers to an ivory diptych of the church of Tours on which were the names of Childebert and Brunehildis, as well as the names of earlier patrons of Tours. This suggests that Tours had diptychs for both the living and the dead by the later sixth century. There is also a passage tacked on to the end of the text of the Regula ad Monachos of St. Aurelian, Bishop of Arles, 546-51.<sup>47</sup> The passage includes a list of the dead who were remembered at the monastery founded by Aurelian at Arles. It is of a later date than the Regula itself, which dates from c.546, as it includes the first three abbots of the community - Florentinus, Redemptus, and Constantinus. It also includes king Childebert I, who died in 558, and his wife Ultragotha. It seems to be a copy of the diptychs of the dead of the monastery dating from the later sixth century.

The Celtic rite, which was in essence an offshoot of the Gallican rite, also adopted the practice of reciting the names of the dead, presumably at about the same period as the churches of Gaul and Spain did. There is an allusion to the naming of the dead in Adamnán's Life of Columba,<sup>48</sup> and if we could be certain that the incident described did actually happen in Columba's lifetime then this would be one of the earliest references known to the use of this custom in the West.<sup>49</sup> However as it is possible that Adamnán was making the story up to illustrate some point, it can only be used to demonstrate the usage Adamnán was familiar with in his own day, a century after the time of Columba.<sup>50</sup>

There are however two pieces of evidence for the use of this practice in the Celtic Church in the seventh century. One is in the Life of St. Samson, which was probably written then, although it may possibly be later, towards the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth.<sup>51</sup> The

author of the Life says that he had often heard the names of Samson's parents read out during Mass at the altar of St. Samson, probably meaning at Llantwit-Major in Glamorgan.<sup>52</sup> If the Life was written in the seventh century, the author, who was by then at Dol in Brittany,<sup>53</sup> could be referring to a period quite early on in that century. The other piece of evidence is in the Penitential of Cummean, an Irish work of about the middle of the seventh century, written by St. Cumméne Foto, abbot of Clonfert and bishop, who died in 661/2.<sup>54</sup> This mentions the names of the dead being recited at the offertory.

The question of when the recitation of the names of the dead was introduced into the Roman rite is a very vexed one. A reference to the dead may have come into this rite in the late fifth century. The "dead" in this case were the "Blessed Dead", that is, the Virgin Mary and the Saints, not ordinary people who had died.<sup>55</sup> They appear to have come into the Roman rite as a result of changes made in the mid or later fifth century. At about this period a prayer beginning "Communicantes" was added into the Roman service, and this prayer included the recitation of the names of the "Blessed Dead". The changes in the liturgy which included the introduction of this prayer were probably made in the time of Pope Gelasius (492-96), possibly by the Pope himself. However the "Communicantes" has also been ascribed to Pope Leo the Great (440-61) and to Pope Symmachus (498-514).<sup>56</sup> The prayer was placed, interestingly, after the prayer which contained the recital of the names of the offerers of bread and wine - this was known as the "Memento" after its opening word. It is possible though that for a time another newly introduced prayer was placed between the "Memento" and the "Communicantes", but later on, from about the late sixth century, this prayer was moved and placed after the other two.<sup>57</sup> However the new "Communicantes" prayer was probably seen as being associated with the older "Memento".

The reading of the names of ordinary dead people, as distinct from the "Blessed Dead", seems to have come into the Roman rite at a rather later period. The prayer which includes their recital is known as the "Memento etiam", after its first two words, and it must be distinguished from the other "Memento" prayer which was for the living.<sup>58</sup> Bishop said that the "Memento etiam" was shown by its wording to be of "Roman origin", and not Gallican, Spanish, or Irish.<sup>59</sup> However the date of its inclusion in the Roman liturgy is uncertain. There are a number of factors which serve to complicate this issue.

Bishop showed that there were two recensions of the Eucharistic Prayer in the Roman liturgy, and it is in this part of the service that the commemoration of both the living and the dead occur in this rite.<sup>60</sup> Bishop's recension A, which is probably the older version, includes the "Memento etiam" for the dead as a part of its normal service. Recension B, on the other hand, does not include it, in most of its representative manuscripts.

Taking recension A first, this is represented by three manuscripts in particular - the Missale Francorum, the Bobbio Missal, and the Stowe Missal. The oldest of these is the Missale Francorum, which was written in Gaul in the first half of the eighth century.<sup>61</sup> There are traces of Gallican wording in its rubrics, but its contents are essentially Roman. The Bobbio Missal is of the eighth century, although most of the material it contains dates from a much earlier period, even as early as the sixth century in some cases.<sup>62</sup> The origin of the manuscript is much disputed. It may be from south-east Gaul, or other parts of Gaul, north Italy, and Spain have been suggested.<sup>63</sup> One part of the text at least, the Mass for St. Sigismund, came from the monastery of Saint-Maurice d'Againe, in the Rhône valley near Lac Léman.<sup>64</sup> The contents show Irish influence, which suggests that an Irish text or texts may also have been used in its production.<sup>65</sup>

The Masses contained in the book are of the Roman type, though with a lot of Gallican admixture.<sup>66</sup> The third manuscript, the Stowe Missal, was produced c.792, but it was probably copied from an older text, possibly of the mid-seventh century.<sup>67</sup> It was written in Ireland, probably at Tallaght, near Dublin, and its archetype was apparently Irish as well. The rite it contains is basically Roman, but it shows Gallican and Spanish elements too.<sup>68</sup> These three manuscripts all include the "Memento etiam" for the dead in their regular service. The evidence of the Bobbio Missal is that there was a commemoration of the dead in this version of the Roman rite at least as early as the second half of the sixth century.

The recension B group presents a slightly less straightforward case. This group is represented by the volume known as the "Gelasian Sacramentary" and by a number of ninth-century manuscripts.<sup>69</sup> The "Gelasian Sacramentary" was written in Gaul, possibly in north-eastern Gaul, in the mid-eighth century, but was derived in the main from an early Roman sacramentary, though it does incorporate some Gallican material too.<sup>70</sup> It contains the "Memento" prayer for the living, but no "Memento etiam" for the dead. The ninth-century manuscripts in this group all contain texts of the so-called "Gregorian Sacramentary", which was the official liturgy used in Rome, although it is no longer thought to be connected with Pope Gregory the Great (590-604).<sup>71</sup> There are three main manuscripts in this group, all Frankish, and all having their origins in the definitive text of the "Gregorian Sacramentary" sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian I in the later eighth century.<sup>72</sup> The manuscript which best reflects this definitive text is Vatican Library, Reginensis Lat. 337, dated to the first half of the ninth century.<sup>73</sup> It contains no "Memento etiam" prayer for the dead in the text of its ordinary Mass. It does however have the prayer in a special Mass for a dead bishop.<sup>74</sup> Another manuscript, at Cambrai, and dated probably to 811 or 812, which makes it the earliest extant example of a sacramentary derived from Pope Hadrian's text, also does not have

the commemoration of the dead in its regular service.<sup>75</sup> However the third manuscript, from Paris, now Vatican Library, Ottobonianus 313, which is somewhat later in date though still from before 850, and which contains a more corrupt text, does have the "Memento etiam" in its ordinary Mass.<sup>76</sup> Its inclusion here may be due to Frankish influence, about which more will be said later.<sup>77</sup> So this recension of the Roman rite did not include any recital of the names of the ordinary dead, except in masses specifically for the dead. The sole mention of dead people in this version of the liturgy was the names of the "Blessed Dead" read out in the "Communicantes". This situation is confirmed by the Ordo Romanus Primus, a document of the seventh to eighth century which describes the ceremonies to be performed during the Papal Mass.<sup>78</sup> This does not mention any reading out of diptychs, and in fact, says Bishop, "describes the recital of the Canon in a way which excludes such observance".<sup>79</sup>

A possible explanation for there being two versions of the Roman rite in existence is that there were different liturgical practices for weekdays and for Sundays. This is referred to in a ninth-century tract explaining the Roman rite. It states:-

"on week-days from Monday to Saturday masses for the dead may be said, and the names of the dead are commemorated in the mass; but such masses are not to be said on Sundays, nor are the names of the dead recited on that day, but only the names of the living".<sup>80</sup>

It is significant in the light of this that a little volume like the Stowe Missal, which would be for use every day, contains the "Memento etiam" for the dead in its ordinary service. But the manuscripts of the "Gregorian Sacramentary" in the main do not contain this, because they are descended from a text designed basically for the use of the Pope himself, and the Pope would probably only officiate at Masses on Sundays



and festivals, in other words, at the times when the names of the dead were not recited.<sup>81</sup>

So the Roman rite did make provision for the recital of names of the dead, probably from the sixth century. However, in Rome itself this did not form a part of the ordinary Sunday Mass until the ninth century or even later.<sup>82</sup> It is uncertain whether this was the case elsewhere or not, although it may have been as the manuscript of the "Gelasian Sacramentary" is Frankish, not Italian. Among places using the Roman liturgy, it may be that the recital of the names of the dead was most popular in Frankish and Irish centres, which, though following the Roman rite, were quite likely to be affected by local Gallican and Celtic practices. The Missale Francorum, the Bobbio Missal, and the Stowe Missal all show some Gallican elements in their texts; the Bobbio Missal in particular contains a lot of Gallican components. Also both the Bobbio and the Stowe Missals have Irish associations.<sup>83</sup> This point might apply to centres in Britain using the Roman liturgy, but there is no evidence on this point.

The "liber vitae" developed from the diptych as time passed, because the number of names commemorated by a church would eventually have become too long to all fit on the two leaves of a diptych. Leaves of parchment would have been put inbetween the two sides, and as time went on a normal parchment codex came to be used instead of the original tablets of wood or ivory.<sup>84</sup> There is hardly any documentary evidence to illustrate this development, but an early use of the words "liber vitae" comes in the will of Bertram or Bertichramn, Bishop of Le Mans in Gaul, 586-616. The will dates from 616.<sup>85</sup> Examples of the use of "liber vitae" in this document are:-

"I ask, father of that renowned place, that my name might be recited in the book of life" ("in libro vitae").<sup>86</sup>

"In fact I ask particularly, that in the above-written places, . . . their priests might order my name to be written in the book of life, and recited at every festival".<sup>87</sup>

It is hard to tell though whether "liber vitae" is being used here as a more fanciful name for a diptych, or whether a manuscript book is being referred to. English sources in the eighth century make use of the word "album", but this is not very helpful as it could have been used for either a diptych or a manuscript "liber vitae".<sup>88</sup>

Alcuin, in a letter to Pope Leo in 797, may have had the image of a diptych in mind when he says,

"I venture to write to your holiness and renew the memory of my name in the spiritual tablets of your heart; for it may suffer in comparison with greater persons, if you do not see it often upon the page".<sup>89</sup>

The oldest manuscript "liber vitae" extant is that of Salzburg, begun in 784,<sup>90</sup> and it may be that up until about this time diptychs were in use rather than parchment codices. If this is so, then St. Cuthbert's community was quite up-to-date in producing its Liber Vitae.

There is one other important factor to be considered in discussing the recitation of names in the liturgy and the development of "libri vitae". This is the Carolingian programme for church reform in the eighth century. One of the strands in this reform programme was the enforcement of the use of the Roman rite as the standard liturgy for the Frankish kingdom, in place of the Gallican rite.

The Roman rite had been used in some of the churches of Gaul for many years, as the Missale Francorum of the earlier eighth century demonstrates. It is uncertain when the Roman liturgy first made its way into Gaul, and what part the Popes .

played in its dissemination. On the whole, the Papacy does not seem to have had any great plan for putting an end to the Gallican and other rites.<sup>91</sup> In Frankia the Roman and Gallican usages co-existed and the liturgical texts show that each influenced the other.<sup>92</sup> The use of the Roman liturgy seems to have increased greatly in the Frankish kingdom after about 750. The work of St. Boniface on the Continent and the monasteries he founded were probably influential in this, but the Frankish clergy were also interested in promoting the use of the Roman rite, and the Carolingian kings were a major force for change.<sup>93</sup> In 719 when Boniface was commissioned as a missionary to the heathen, Pope Gregory III said to him,

"we enjoin upon you that, in admitting within the Church those who have already believed in God, you will insist upon using the sacramental discipline prescribed by the official ritual formulary of our Holy Apostolic See".<sup>94</sup>

The Roman liturgy was probably used in the various monasteries Boniface founded. King Pippin, in the mid-eighth century, encouraged the use of the Roman chant. Walafrid Strabo, abbot of Reichenau (838-49), wrote that when Pope Stephen had come to Pippin in 754 to ask for Frankish help against the Lombards, Stephen "introduced the more excellent knowledge of chanting, which now almost the whole of Frankia esteems, through his clerics", but, most importantly, that he did this "at the request of Pippin".<sup>95</sup> Charlemagne claimed that his father had "suppressed the Frankish chant, out of unanimity with the Holy See and peaceful concord in the Church of God".<sup>96</sup> Chrodegang, Archbishop of Metz (742-66), the successor to Boniface as the chief figure in the Frankish Church and a great supporter of church reform, introduced into his own cathedral "the manner and use of Rome, something that had never before been done at Metz", according to Paul the Deacon.<sup>97</sup> Charlemagne continued the work of reform, and Pope Hadrian I sent him a copy of the standard text of the Roman liturgy, as is shown by a Papal letter of 784-91.<sup>98</sup> A party in the

Frankish Church associated with Benedict of Aniane and Louis the Pious seem to have been particularly keen to promote the use of this text throughout Frankia in the earlier ninth century.<sup>99</sup> The Gallican liturgy does seem to have gone out of use fairly quickly, though Walafrid Strabo in the first half of the ninth century does say, "the churches of Gaul had their own prayers, which are still used by many".<sup>100</sup> However by the reign of Charles the Bald (843-77), when the king wanted to see a celebration of the Gallican Mass, priests using the similar Spanish rite had to be brought from Toledo for the purpose, which suggests that the Gallican rite was no longer followed anywhere in Frankia by then.<sup>101</sup>

The general changeover to the Roman rite would have had important consequences for the recital of names in the Frankish churches. The Gallican rite included the reading out of the names of both the living and the dead.<sup>102</sup> But the version of the Roman rite used in the Carolingian reform was very different.<sup>103</sup> This version was recension B, which did include a recital of the names of the living, but which had no mention of the dead at all except for the reference to the "Blessed Dead" in the "Communicantes" prayer. Also the names of the living, and the "Communicantes", came at a different place in this Roman rite to the position they occupied in the Gallican Mass, and this was of great significance for the custom of the recital of names. The reason for this is bound up with the practice of the "silent canon", a practice which started in East Syria in the fifth century and gradually spread throughout both the Eastern and Western Churches.<sup>104</sup> What it involved was the reading by the priest of a certain section of the Mass in a voice too quiet to be heard by the congregation. The section of the Mass in question was that part of the Eucharistic Prayer which comes after the "Sanctus". This custom was followed in Rome by the end of the eighth century at least, and possibly much earlier on too.<sup>105</sup> It is not certain whether it was followed in Frankia or not,<sup>106</sup> but it presumably came in in the Carolingian period with the

general adoption of the rite in use at Rome, even if it had not been introduced before. Now the significance of all this for the recital of names is that in the Gallican rite the names were read out at the offertory, that is, in a part of the service which was read aloud whether or not the "silent canon" was being used.<sup>107</sup> But in the Roman rite the names of the living, and the "Communicantes", came within that part of the Mass which was inaudible to the congregation.<sup>108</sup> The effect of the Frankish church reforms therefore, if put into practice, would have been to put an end to the recitation of names. The names of the living would still have been mentioned by the priest, but in a voice that no-one could hear. That would have been all, except that at Masses for the Dead the names of the particular dead person or people who were being remembered would have been mentioned, but again in the inaudible section of the service. The increased use of the Roman rite was the main ingredient in this movement against the recital of names, but it may be as well that the lists were getting very long and tedious to listen to by this period.<sup>109</sup>

That the reformers were concerned to ensure that the names were not read out anymore at the offertory, as in the Gallican liturgy, can be seen in Charlemagne's Admonitio Generalis of 789. This was the most comprehensive document detailing the Frankish programme of church reform, and was drawn up at court by the king and his advisers.<sup>110</sup> The first part of the Admonitio consists of a summary of the "Dionysio-Hadriana" collection of church canons, sent to Charlemagne from Rome in 774 by Pope Hadrian I.<sup>111</sup> According to Rosamund McKitterick those parts of the canon collection chosen to be in the Admonitio seem to be "those most relevant to the situation in the Frankish church at the end of the eighth century, for it was no mere reissue of these canonical regulations for the clergy, but a considered and careful re-use of a selection of them".<sup>112</sup> In this section of the Admonitio is a canon relating to the recitation of names:-

"that the names should not be recited in public before the prayer of the priest".<sup>113</sup>

This canon came into the standard collection in the time of Pope Innocent I, who, as was mentioned above, said that the names should be recited not before the offertory prayer but further on in the service.<sup>114</sup> This decree was restated at the Synod of Frankfurt in 794, in different words:-

"That the names be not recited before the oblation is offered".<sup>115</sup>

In practice, however, the reading out of the names of the living and the dead may not have come wholly to an end. There was probably quite a lot of resistance to the loss of this custom. It does seem that this was a popular part of the service in Gaul, and that this, in Bishop's words, "was just the point where difficulty would be most probably found in popularizing the Roman rite in Gaul in the seventh and eighth centuries".<sup>116</sup> The same would hold good for the ninth century. Though the Gallican rite itself did go out of use the Roman liturgy which replaced it was much affected by the Church in Gaul and its practices.<sup>117</sup> One of the many changes brought about by Frankish influence during the ninth and tenth centuries was the adoption of the "Memento etiam" for the dead as a part of the ordinary celebration of the Roman Mass.<sup>118</sup> There is evidence too that the recital of the diptychs continued in some places at least. Indeed Remigius of Auxerre, who died in 908, speaking of the "Memento etiam" even says that in this prayer, "it was the custom of the ancients, just as the Roman Church still does constantly today, that the names of the dead were recited at once from the diptychs, that is, the tablets".<sup>119</sup> There are references to the custom continuing to be used at times up until the twelfth century.<sup>120</sup>

What would the situation be in Britain, and in particular at Lindisfarne, in c.800? It would no doubt be the same in Britain as on the Continent and in Ireland, with some centres

using a basically Roman rite and others an essentially Gallican service. The Roman rite was known in England from the time of the first conversions to Christianity in the late sixth century. It was used by St. Augustine and his companions in Kent, although Pope Gregory the Great advised them to make use also of anything good they found in the Gallican or any other rite.<sup>121</sup> Roman usage eventually spread from Kent to other parts of England. James the Deacon, the fellow-missionary of St. Paulinus in Northumbria, stayed in the North when Paulinus left in 633 and he taught "to many the ecclesiastical singing according to the manner of the Romans and the men of Kent".<sup>122</sup> Later, in the period 666-69, Wilfrid brought to Northumbria from Kent two singing-masters, Aeddi surnamed Stephen, and Aeona.<sup>123</sup> Putta, Bishop of Rochester, 669-76, was said to be "especially expert in church music in the Roman manner, which he had learnt from the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory",<sup>124</sup> and after he settled in Mercia in 676 he travelled about "wherever he was asked to teach church music".<sup>125</sup> Also in the 670's Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith visited Rome, with the particular purpose of finding "teachers to teach ... the order of chants and services according to the rite of the Roman use", and they came back with Abbot John, the archchanter of St. Peter's, Rome.<sup>126</sup> John taught "the order and manner of singing and reading aloud" in the monastery of Monkwearmouth, and people came to him too "from almost all the monasteries of that province", that is, Northumbria. While John was at Monkwearmouth he also wrote down "all that was requisite throughout the whole year for the celebration of festivals; which writings are still preserved in that monastery, and have already been copied by many others round about".<sup>127</sup> This activity probably meant that the English made more use of the Roman rite in the seventh and earlier eighth centuries than the Frankish churches did. This would be the background to the enthusiasm for the Roman liturgy shown by Boniface and his fellow-missionaries. This enthusiasm contributed to the Romanising tendency present on the Continent in the eighth century and then redounded on the English Church, for the reform movement in Frankia presided over by Boniface had its counterpart in England, which served

to encourage yet further the use of the Roman rite. Boniface, it should be remembered, kept closely in touch with English affairs. The Council of "Clovesho" in 747 decreed that all the churches of the south of England should use the same liturgy, "namely, according to the exemplar which we have, written from the Roman Church".<sup>128</sup> Later in the eighth century, there was awareness of the church reforms being carried out under Charlemagne. Clergy from Britain are known to have been at the Synod of Frankfurt in 794.<sup>129</sup> A letter of Alcuin to Archbishop Eanbald II in 801 shows that there were Roman mass-books at York:-

"I don't know why you asked about the order and arrangement of the missal. Surely you have plenty of missals following the Roman rite? You have also enough of the larger missals of the old rite. What need is there for new when the old are adequate? I would have wished you to introduce the Roman order among your clergy, that you might set the precedent and church offices be carried out in a reverent and praiseworthy manner. Perhaps you say, "There are few to help". But a greater effort will be rewarded with a greater crown of joy".<sup>130</sup>

This does sound as if Eanbald was meeting with some resistance to the Roman rite from the clergy at York, and that the "old rite" was still partially in use at least, although we cannot be sure what the "old rite" was. The situation at Lindisfarne may have been similar.

"Libri vitae" may well be connected with the introduction of the Roman liturgy. Their connection may be explained in two, apparently opposed ways. It is possible that they represent a movement against the increased use of the Roman rite. Yet on the other hand they could have been used to help to reconcile people somewhat to any loss of the recital of names. A "liber vitae" could be pointed out at the appropriate part of the service, or perhaps even offered on the altar, rather



than the names being read out of it. The prefatory prayer in the Salzburg Liber Vitae of 784, which may well have been used in the service, suggests that the congregation's notice was directed to the book during Mass:-

"Deign, O Lord, to remember the servants and handmaidens who have commended themselves to our sacred prayers and confessions, and who commended themselves by their alms to (this) venerable place; the names of these thy holy servants and handmaidens are written in the book of life ('in libro vitae') and are laid upon the holy altar".<sup>131</sup>

The preface to the eleventh-century New Minster Liber Vitae is the most informative source for the use and purpose of these books. Though of a later date than the Liber Vitae of Durham it probably gives a good picture of the way that the book was used:-

"Here follow in due order ... the names of the brethren and monks ..., and of our "familiares", and benefactors, living and dead, by whose alms, through the bounty of Christ, this family is day by day supported; that by this written remembrance on earth they may be inscribed on the page of the heavenly record. And let there be entered here the names of all who commend themselves to the prayers and fraternity of this community, so that a commemoration of them may be made daily in the holy solemnities of the Mass, and in our psalmody, and their names presented daily before the holy altar, at the morning and the principal mass by the sub-deacon, and be recited by him so far as time permits in the sight of the Most High. And that, after the offering of the oblation, they may be humbly commended to Almighty God, by the placing (of this book) upon the holy altar, during the Canon, on the right hand of the cardinal, who is celebrating the mass. In order that, as commemoration is made of them on earth, so in the life beyond, by the mercy of Him who alone knows how all there are or are to be, the glory of those of

greater merit may be augmented, and the cause of those of lesser desert may be helped. Rejoice therefore and be glad, for your names are written in heaven".<sup>132</sup>

This shows that some names might be read out from the book, "so far as time permits", and also that there was some ceremonial placing of the book on the altar during the Eucharistic Prayer. It is possible that there was a system of reading out the names of particular people on their anniversary. The custom of celebrating peoples' death-days gave rise to the writing of necrologies, and it is of interest that there are three necrologies included in the ninth-century Remiremont Liber Memorialis.<sup>133</sup> The earliest necrologies from Durham date from after the Norman re-foundation.<sup>134</sup> A passage in the Remiremont volume, following a necrology and preceding the text of a "Mass to be celebrated every day in the cemetery for the dead sisters", shows that the names of the heads of the community were recited "on certain festal days". It says too that the community decided to make special supplicatory prayers on the anniversary of each brother though it does not specify whether their names were to be read out on that day.<sup>135</sup>

What has been said above helps to explain why the Liber Vitae of Durham was written when it was. There was the gradual development of "libri vitae" from diptychs, which by the end of the eighth century may have reached such a stage at Lindisfarne that a Liber Vitae was needed to accommodate all the names the community wished to remember. There was the increasing use of the Roman rite which was militating against the recitation of names. This gave an impetus to the production of such books, partly perhaps as a protest against this development, but also because they could be pointed out or mentioned or offered during the service even if no names were read out. These factors help to explain the writing of the Liber Vitae in about 800. There is though one extra factor involved in the case of St. Cuthbert's Liber Vitae.

This factor is the 793 Viking raid on Lindisfarne, the "unprecedented, unheard-of disaster", according to Alcuin. "Never before", he says, since the English came to Britain, "has such terror appeared . . . as we have now suffered from a pagan race".<sup>136</sup> The end of the eighth century and the earlier half of the ninth must have been an uneasy time for St. Cuthbert's community, although it was not yet faced with the prospect of imminent dissolution, for the worst decline in the fortunes of monastic houses seems to have come with the settlement of the Scandinavians in England rather than when they were simply raiding.<sup>137</sup> It was in these circumstances, with the community of St. Cuthbert, as with monasteries elsewhere, facing a new threat but with the world not yet collapsing around them, that the Liber Vitae was produced. Maybe the community wrote it for reassurance, looking to the past, and fortifying themselves for the future. In 793 Alcuin had asked them, "What assurance is there for the churches of Britain, if St. Cuthbert, with so great a number of saints, defends not his own?"<sup>138</sup> The Liber Vitae may be, to some extent, a response to this question, though not necessarily a direct response. In the Liber Vitae the community could look at all the help it had had in the past, see all that weight of support behind it, and could ask itself how it could fail in the future. Such an attitude may have helped St. Cuthbert's community to survive and to keep alive the memory of its past, as it managed to do.

## II. Benefactions, Prayers, and Confraternities.

A person's name could be entered in a "liber vitae" for one or more reasons. The essence of the transaction was that a person offered something to the community - lands, moveable wealth, prayers, friendship - and in return they received the community's prayers and general spiritual support. This spiritual support might be requested for the person who made the gift or on behalf of someone who had died. The preface

to the Liber Memorialis of Remiremont, of the ninth century, illustrates the various ways that people could come to be included in such a book. The community decided to celebrate mass each day for those

"who have for the love of God enriched this place with their property for the use of the nuns, have bestowed alms on us or on our predecessors, or have commended themselves to our or to their prayers, for both the living and the dead; wherefore we have written below the names of those who lived at the time of our predecessors and have always taken care to record in this commemoration-book the men and women who lived in our times. We urge the nuns who succeed us under the holy rule of our father Benedict always to write the names of their friends in this commemoration-book and to have a mass specially celebrated daily, as written above, for all the aforementioned".<sup>139</sup>

The various sorts of transactions which lie behind the names in the Liber Vitae can be shown from examples in the sources, particularly eighth-century letters. At the most straightforward level gifts were given to churches. Such gifts could take a number of forms, and not necessarily be grants of land. Money, jewellery, or clothes might be given. The gifts given to St. Cuthbert's community by king Athelstan in 934 included books, vestments, metalwork, tapestries, bells, and the vill of Bishop Wearmouth.<sup>140</sup> A letter of Alcuin mentions an instance of a present in the form of clothing - this was sent by Charlemagne's fourth wife, Liutgard, to abbess Aethelburh, the daughter of king Offa. This gift is of interest because it is specifically linked with the writing of the queen's name in the diptychs or commemoration book of the monastery:-

"The noble Liutgard has sent you a small gift of a dress - regard her as your sister in the love of God. Have her name enrolled with the names of your sisters in the records of the church. Her friendship is honourable and useful to you".<sup>141</sup>

There were other types of donations besides actual wealth. Bede's gift to St. Cuthbert's community was his Life of the saint, presented in about 721. His preface, addressed to Bishop Eadfrith and the brothers of Lindisfarne, contains a good description of the process by which a name could get into the Liber Vitae. Bede's name is in the list of priests in the present book, transferred there from the older "album".<sup>142</sup>

"Furthermore I have thought you should be reminded of that which will crown your kindness, so that, just as I myself did not delay to fulfil with promptitude the task which you thought fit to lay upon my obedience, so you also may not be slow to grant me the reward of your intercession: but reading the same book, and by the pious memory of the holy father uplifting your hearts to a more eager desire for the heavenly kingdom, you may remember also to intercede with the divine clemency on behalf of one so insignificant, that I may be worthy, now, with a pure heart to long for, and hereafter, in perfect bliss, "to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living". Moreover when I am dead, deign to pray for the redemption of my soul, and to celebrate masses as though I belonged to your family and household, and to inscribe my name among your own. For, most holy bishop, you remember that you have already promised me this, and, in witness to my future enrolment, you gave orders to our pious brother Guthfrith the sacrist that he should even now place my name in the register of your holy congregation".<sup>143</sup>

Gifts could be given by a person not only for their own sake, but also on behalf of someone else, either living or dead, especially the latter. Behind the practice of giving donations in memory of someone who had died lay the idea of the efficacy of prayers for the dead, which formed one of the basic ingredients in the development of "libri vitae". The appearance of a particular name in the Liber Vitae cannot be taken simply to mean that that person gave a donation to St. Cuthbert's.

It may even be that someone who was not themselves associated with the community could be in the book. This can be shown by the very first name in the Liber Vitae. This is Edwin, the first name in the kings' list. Edwin had died before Lindisfarne was founded, so how could he have given anything to the community? His name is not included because he was buried at Lindisfarne, because he was buried at Whitby, except for his head which was at York,<sup>144</sup> and what cult there was of him centred on those places. He was moreover of the Deiran royal family, not the Bernician. He may possibly be there because the first few names were taken from a regnal list,<sup>145</sup> or his appearance may be because he figures largely in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica. He may have been included, either c.800, or by an earlier compiler, for prestige. Yet if so, why Edwin? Except for the fact that Edwin was the first Christian king of Northumbria, Oswald would seem to be a more logical name to head the list. He was a Bernician, the founder of Lindisfarne, the community possessed a relic of him - his head - and he was the subject of a successful early cult, which was far more widespread than Edwin's.<sup>146</sup> Another possibility is that a donation was given to Lindisfarne in memory of Edwin, for his soul's sake. The most likely person to have done this is Eanflaed, Edwin's daughter, and the wife of king Oswiu. She is in the Liber Vitae herself.<sup>147</sup> If this explanation is correct then other names in the manuscript may be there because donations were given in their memory.

One instance of a gift being made to Lindisfarne for the sake of a person who had died is recorded in eighth-century sources. After the death of Pope Hadrian in December 795, Charlemagne sent gifts to all the English sees, that prayers might be said for the Pope's soul, and also for Charlemagne himself, "and the stability of his kingdom and the spread of Christianity".<sup>148</sup> The gifts consisted of dalmatics and palls.<sup>149</sup> This donation is of particular interest because Charlemagne withdrew the gifts to the Northumbrian sees when he heard of the murder of king Aethelred in 796, demonstrating the close relationship that was seen to exist between a kingdom and its bishoprics.<sup>150</sup>

In spite of this, however, Charlemagne's name is in the Liber Vitae.<sup>151</sup> It may be that he made other gifts to Lindisfarne, either at a later or an earlier period, and that is why he is there.

As well as receiving material gifts, a community could be offered spiritual support, from an individual or from another community. This leads on to the question of the development of confraternities, and the interchange of spiritual support between communities. Confraternities grew out of the notion of mutual intercession.<sup>152</sup> They seem to have originated in the private agreements between two friends to pray for each other, examples of which can be found in the letters of Boniface and of Alcuin.<sup>153</sup> The relationships shown in these letters were highly personal, almost intimate, with mutual intercession being seen as the best substitute when friends could not see each other frequently.

From private arrangements of this sort the idea of mutual intercession between communities developed, no doubt aided by the fact that many of the people who agreed to pray for each other were members, maybe the heads, of religious houses. Two abbots who were praying for each other might well have done so together with their communities. And praying for the abbot of another house would easily lead to praying for that community in general. And then gradually the idea of houses getting in touch with each other to pray for one another's welfare would grow up. It is uncertain when and where this idea developed. Levison suggested that it existed in England from an early date and was introduced from England to the Continent in the eighth century.<sup>154</sup> But such confraternities are first found on the Continent in the seventh century.<sup>155</sup> However they probably did receive a great stimulus in the eighth century from the wish of the English missionaries on the Continent to keep in touch with people back home and to have the prayers of the English for the missionary work in Germany.<sup>156</sup>

There are many examples of confraternities in eighth-century letters. An instance of two communities agreeing to join together in prayer is in Boniface's letter to the monastery of Monte Cassino and its abbot Optatus, written in 750-54. Monte Cassino had already had contact with Anglo-Saxon churchmen, because Boniface's relative, Willibald, had been a monk there from 729-39, and Willibald's friend, Tidberht, remained there when Willibald left Italy to join Boniface in Germany.<sup>157</sup> Boniface wanted to form a confraternity of prayer between those who were under him and Monte Cassino:-

"We earnestly beseech Your Gracious Holiness to receive and hold us, unworthy as we are, in unity of affection and spiritual communion, so that there may be between us one faith in thought and one fidelity in action . . . We earnestly pray that there may be between us an intimate tie of brotherly love with common prayer for the living and, for those who have passed from this life, prayers and celebrations of Masses, the names of the dead being mutually exchanged".<sup>158</sup>

This is as good a description as any of what spiritual confraternity was seen to entail. Nor did such arrangements exist between pairs of communities only. Sometimes a number of religious houses could join together all at the same time to form a confraternity. The earliest known English example of such a "communio" is found in a letter of 729-44 sent by the heads of three houses - one abbot, Aldhun, and two abbesses, Cneuburg and Coenburg - to two abbots, Ingeld and Coengils, and a priest, Wietberht.<sup>159</sup> The three latter all seem to have been connected with Glastonbury.<sup>160</sup> In the letter the two abbesses and Aldhun agree to a proposal of joining in "a partnership in prayers", which had been put to them by the three others.



It was possible too for a single person to ask for fellowship with a community. Alcuin joined the "communio" of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow,<sup>161</sup> and that of Lindisfarne, and that of Hexham also. In a letter to Bishop Hygebald of Lindisfarne in c.794 he refers to "the friendship of brotherly love ... once declared between us by a special compact".<sup>162</sup> Alcuin's name is in the Liber Vitae.<sup>163</sup> His letter to Hexham shows why individuals wanted to be part of a monastery's fellowship:-

"Longing for spiritual affection, I venture to write to your grace to renew our old friendship and commend myself to your prayers. If, as the apostle says, the prayers of one just man avail much, how much more must we believe that the prayers of a whole religious community interceding in quiet unity each day at the canonical hours reach heaven, while the private prayers of each individual undoubtedly reach the ears of Almighty God".<sup>164</sup>

In Frankia the practice grew up of organising confraternities through synods. The earliest known example of this is at the reforming council of Attigny in 760-62, when twenty-three bishops and twenty-one abbots who attended the council formed themselves into a fellowship of prayer.<sup>165</sup> In 794 the Synod of Frankfurt received Alcuin "into their association ('consortio') and into their prayers".<sup>166</sup> This practice might have happened in England too, where a number of synods are known to have met in the eighth and early ninth centuries.

In their origins confraternities had no intrinsic connection with diptychs or "libri vitae" - two or more people could pray for each other without their names being recorded anywhere. But probably almost from the start the idea of mutual intercession would get bound up with the more ancient practice of recording names to recite in the liturgy, and the act of writing a person's name in a "liber vitae" came to be taken as the visible sign that they had become part of the fellowship

of that community. One can see this in Bede's preface to his Life of St. Cuthbert quoted above.<sup>167</sup> Another example is Alcuin's request to become part of the fellowship of the monastery of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow:-

"I believe you know that the holy fathers who preceded you once ordered my humble name to be written on your roll of blessing out of gratitude to me, unworthy though I am of your friendship so that, wherever God's will took me, I might be one of you".<sup>168</sup>

As a part of the system of mutual intercession lists of names were exchanged between communities, usually of people who had died. This is mentioned in the letter of Boniface to Monte Cassino quoted above.<sup>169</sup> A letter of Cyneheard, Bishop of Winchester, to Lull of Mainz, contains an interesting passage showing how lists of names which arrived at one centre were distributed to others, in this case to the various churches and monasteries of Cyneheard's diocese:-

"And the names which you sent, of your priests and deacons and monks and nuns, and the rest, we have directed that solemn masses and the suffrages of prayer be celebrated for them, throughout the monasteries and churches of our diocese. We humbly entreat your holiness to do the same for those whose names we have sent to you, written by name with their rank".<sup>170</sup>

The laity also wanted to be involved in the benefits of mutual intercession and joined in with this interchanging of lists of names, as can be seen from a letter of king Alchred of Northumbria and his queen Osgifu, sent to Bishop Lull in 773:-

"we ask that your episcopal dignity may deign to devote care and prayers for our welfare with daily petitions, and that you will cause us, with the names of our friends and relations which are written below to be included in the safe-keeping of writing; and that we may be commended to the perpetual protection of

God in prayers and celebrations of the mass. And in the same way we have been careful to do as you asked about the names sent to us. In all the monasteries subject to our authority they are commended with the everlasting memorial of writing and offered daily to God with the help of prayers".<sup>171</sup>

This suggests that sometimes lists of names of people who were still alive might have been exchanged. Unfortunately the list of names accompanying this letter was not copied out,<sup>172</sup> so we cannot tell whether or not it found its way into the Liber Vitae. King Alchred is not in the book, though queen Osgifu is.<sup>173</sup> There is no way of telling if Lull was entered in it, as the bishops' list is missing.

These examples show that lists of names were finding their way into "libri vitae", and the fact that these lists were being passed around may well have encouraged the production of such memorial books. The interaction between the development of confraternities and the compilation of "libri vitae" was probably quite complex. Hamilton Thompson suggested that the actual "existence of the 'liber vitae' ... may have exercised a powerful influence in the formation of confraternities of intercession".<sup>174</sup> This may well have been so at the time when confraternities were first coming into being, but thereafter the situation was probably the other way about, with the popularity of confraternities acting as an impetus to the writing of "libri vitae". Moreover it was under the influence of confraternities that "libri vitae" developed into their "more specialized form" - the "libri confraternitatis".<sup>175</sup> The names included in these books were only of those who had entered into confraternity agreements with the community owning the book, and they were generally arranged according to community instead of by class.

A person could, then, be entered in a "liber vitae" while they were alive or after they had died. They might have given

a gift to the community, or have agreed to pray for the community, or a donation might have been made in their memory. They might have been a member of another house which was "in unity of affection and spiritual communion"<sup>176</sup> with the community which owned the "liber vitae". Finally, though this may be stating the obvious, it must be remembered that the most important names in the Liber Vitae of Durham were those of the members of St. Cuthbert's community itself. Bede describes it as "the register of your holy congregation", and he asks for his name to be put "among those of your holy community".<sup>177</sup>

### III. The appearance of the 'Liber Vitae' in relation to its purpose.

The Liber Vitae is an unusual manuscript in some ways. It is written in majuscule, and in gold and silver, which is very rare, which suggests that it was meant to be special. Yet it is not a manuscript "de luxe" in any other way. It is fairly small, and has hardly any decoration, except for a few little fancy initials. It also lacks one of the distinctive features of manuscripts "de luxe", which is to have each line of script contained between two ruled lines.<sup>178</sup> This does not occur in the Liber Vitae.

Probably the main reason why the Liber Vitae is only semi-sumptuous is the Viking attack on Lindisfarne in 793. The house would have been impoverished after the Vikings "laid everything waste with grievous plundering", and "seized all the treasures of the holy church".<sup>179</sup> In particular the size of the book suggests that the community was short of farm animals, for it took large numbers of sheep or cattle to produce the parchment required for just one book.<sup>180</sup> It is rather on the small side even among manuscripts made in the ninth century, when monasteries generally were getting

short of funds, a fact which would be reflected in the work they produced.<sup>181</sup> However the Liber Vitae may also have had to be fairly small because if the Lindisfarne Gospels were kept on the altar there may not have been space for another large book.<sup>182</sup>

The community of St. Cuthbert did do as well as it could however in using gold and silver in the Liber Vitae. The use of these is very unusual, both in England and on the Continent.<sup>183</sup> It was very unusual indeed in England in the ninth century and earlier, and non-existent in Ireland. Even later on in the Anglo-Saxon period, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when gold and silver were used rather more in manuscripts, they were still not a common feature. Alexander, writing of the later Anglo-Saxon period, says, "Contemporary and later accounts make it clear how highly gold was admired in works of art both on account of its intrinsic value and for its brilliance".<sup>184</sup> Also the great majority of codices using precious metals are Biblical texts, which were seen as deserving the best.

Only eight Insular manuscripts survive from before 900 which use any gold and silver.<sup>185</sup> One of these is the Liber Vitae, one is the "Codex Amiatinus", one is another manuscript also from Monkwearmouth-Jarrow - a fragment of a copy of the Gospels. The other five are a group of manuscripts ranging in date from the mid-eighth century to the early ninth, and decorated in a particular style which is often associated with Canterbury. Of these eight only four use gold and silver to any large extent, the Liber Vitae being one of these. Two other manuscripts which have not survived appear in the sources. St. Boniface in 735-36 wrote to Abbess Eadburh of Minster-in-Thanet to ask her to make him

"a copy written in gold of the Epistles of my master, St. Peter the Apostle, to impress honour and reverence for the Sacred Scriptures visibly upon the carnally minded to whom I preach".<sup>186</sup>

The other reference is to a copy of the Gospels written in gold on purple vellum, and illuminated, which St. Wilfrid had made for the church of Ripon. Eddius Stephanus said this was "a marvel of beauty hitherto unheard of in our times".<sup>187</sup> The idea of using precious metals presumably originally came from the sight of manuscripts of the type of the "Codex Purpureus" and the "Codex Argenteus". The former is a Psalter written in Italy in the sixth century.<sup>188</sup> It is written in silver on purple parchment, with the "Nomina Sacra" and titles in gold. It found its way to Gaul where it was said to have been used by St. Germanus of Paris (died 576). The "Codex Argenteus" is a manuscript of the Gospels in the Gothic translation of Ulfilas.<sup>189</sup> It too was probably written in Italy in the sixth century, and is in silver on purple vellum, with a few words in gold. Similar productions might have come to Britain or been seen by pilgrims on the Continent.

The use of gold and silver in the Liber Vitae in c.800 may be a reflection of Carolingian influence in Northumbria. There was quite a fashion for the use of precious metals in manuscripts on the Continent in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, mostly in centres connected with Charlemagne's court. There is one group of manuscripts in particular, the so-called "Ada-group", which make much use of gold and silver.<sup>190</sup> As mentioned above, there is a group of English manuscripts of this same period which also use precious metals.<sup>191</sup> It is not certain where this fashion started, and there was probably an interaction of ideas rather than a simple influencing of one area by another. The Liber Vitae does however reflect a current fashion of both England and the Continent.

What does the Liber Vitae most resemble in size and format? It can be compared with various classes of Insular manuscripts dating from before 900, such as, "de luxe" Biblical manuscripts; historical codices; and liturgical manuscripts.

The Liber Vitae itself is  $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $5\frac{7}{16}$ ". This is slightly smaller than, but similar in size to the two smallest examples of the first group mentioned above, the "de luxe" Biblical manuscripts. These two manuscripts are the Book of Durrow, the earliest surviving illuminated Gospel-book from the British Isles,<sup>192</sup> and a codex at Hereford Cathedral, which is "a less sumptuous version of the great illuminated Gospel Books".<sup>193</sup> The majority of this class of manuscript however are much larger than the Liber Vitae. The Lindisfarne Gospels, for instance, are  $13\frac{5}{16}$ " by  $9\frac{5}{8}$ ", and the Durham Gospels, which were at Lindisfarne in the eighth century, are  $13\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $10\frac{3}{8}$ ".<sup>194</sup> The Liber Vitae is also smaller than any Insular manuscript containing a historical or biographical text dating from before 900, except possibly for one damaged fragment of the late ninth century.<sup>195</sup>

The class of documents nearest in size to the Liber Vitae are the liturgical manuscripts, such as sacramentaries. Even so most of them are larger than the Liber Vitae. They range in size from the "Salaberga Psalter", which is of Northumbrian origin,<sup>196</sup> down to the Irish Stowe Missal, which is very small.<sup>197</sup> There are however a number of liturgical manuscripts measuring 8" to 9" or so in length, all of which date from the later eighth or earlier ninth century, and which form the group most nearly comparable to the Liber Vitae. They are the Book of Nunnaminster, the Book of Cerne, and two prayer books in the British Library.<sup>198</sup>

The manuscript which is nearest in size to the Liber Vitae is not one of this group however, although it is a liturgically-related manuscript, being a collection of computistical texts, plus a Calendar. This is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 64 (1664).<sup>199</sup> It is 8" by  $5\frac{3}{8}$ ", very close in size to the Liber Vitae. It too is of the ninth century, though later, dating between c.867 and 892, and it is probably from Northumbria.<sup>200</sup> The Calendar contains a translation

date for St. Cuthbert - September 4th - which must represent either the move to Norham or the move to Chester-le-Street.<sup>201</sup>

The type of manuscript the Liber Vitae most resembles is the class of liturgical manuscripts. This accords with its function, for it is not a historical document, not a list of benefactors and friends of the community kept for the sake of reference or interest, but a liturgical text, like a sacramentary or a lectionary or a collectar. It was intended for show more than for use, and one of its objects was to show the respect the community held its friends in, hence the use of precious metals in the manuscript, a rare honour.<sup>202</sup>

IV. A comparison of the 'Liber Vitae' with other early commemoration books.

There are six extant early commemoration books dating from before A.D. 1000, besides that of Durham. In this section these manuscripts will be discussed, together with the next earliest English Liber Vitae, that of New Minster at Winchester, which dates from the eleventh century. The aim of this discussion is to compare these other books with the Durham Liber Vitae to see how typical or otherwise of this type of document the latter is, and to try to explain the significance of any differences. All these books have many later additions, but here only their original entries and lay-out will be considered.

The oldest extant "liber vitae" is that of Salzburg.<sup>203</sup> The manuscript itself is an ordinary looking document, not at-all sumptuous and without decoration. It dates from 784, the last year of the episcopate of Virgilius, the Irish bishop and abbot of Salzburg.<sup>204</sup> The earliest names in the book go back to the time of the foundation of the abbey of St. Peter, in c.700.<sup>205</sup> They include St. Hrodbert or Rupert,



the founder of the abbey; Theodo, Duke of Bavaria (died 717), who gave Rupert the territory around Salzburg for his missionary work; St. Erentrudis, Rupert's niece, for whom he founded the convent of Nonnberg in Salzburg; Charles Martel (died 741); and Charles' wife, Suanahild.

The Salzburg Liber Vitae resembles a set of diptychs to a greater extent than any other early commemorative book.<sup>206</sup> Its lists begin with figures from the Old Testament, followed by the apostles, saints, martyrs, and confessors, from St. John the Baptist to St. Gregory the Great. There is then a collect, quoted above.<sup>207</sup> Ten lists of the living follow, arranged by rank, succeeded by ten lists of the dead, again by rank. The arrangement is almost, but not quite, the same for the two sets of lists. They are as follows:-

Living.	Dead.
1. Bishops and Abbots (of Salzburg).	1. Bishops and Abbots (of Salzburg).
2. Monks.	2. Monks.
3. "Pulsantes" (ie Novices).	3. "Pulsantes" and Religious Men.
4. Kings with their Wives and Children.	4. Kings with their Wives and Children.
5. "Duces" with their Wives and Children.	5. "Duces" with their Wives and Children.
6. Bishops.	6. Bishops and Abbots.
7. Abbots.	7. Priests, Deacons, and Clerics.
8. Priests, Deacons, and Clerics.	8. Nuns.
9. Nuns and Religious Women.	9. Ordinary Men.
10. Ordinary Religious Men.	10. Ordinary Women.

After the last list, there is another collect, asking God to remember and help all those who "are dead and whose names are written in the 'liber vitae' and placed on top of the sacred

altar", and also the living who deserve to obtain remission of their sins.<sup>208</sup>

The later method of arranging "libri vitae" by communities can be seen in some of the later additions to the Salzburg manuscript, where names are entered under such titles as "Congregacio S. Amandi", or "Hic nomina fratrum et monachorum de monasterio Auuug".<sup>209</sup> In one of the lists under such a heading there is a subdivision into the living and the dead of the monastery.<sup>210</sup>

The St. Gall "liber confraternitatis" was produced by the monastery named after the Irish St. Gall, a disciple of Columbanus.<sup>211</sup> Although the monastery took its name from this saint, its existence before the time of abbot Othmar (720-59) is disputed.<sup>212</sup> The manuscript itself dates from about 810, and the earliest name in it is that of king Pippin (751-68). The earliest profession book of the monastery, which dates from about 808 and which may once have been in the same volume as the "liber confraternitatis", contains professions from about 720 onwards, so the community's "horizons" only seem to go back to Othmar's abbacy.<sup>213</sup> This lends support to the theory that the monastery was not founded until that period. The "liber confraternitatis" as it now stands is incomplete, leaves having been lost from it.

The names in the St. Gall book are arranged mainly by communities. There are sections for, for example, the brothers of Tours, of Pfäfers, of Hornbach, and of Rheinau. There is one heading which says simply, "Nomina Presbiterorum", but it may be that the rest of the title was on a leaf which has been lost. There is also a separate section for bishops, and one for lay-women. Other lists of this sort, such as for laymen, may be missing. Sometimes the lists are divided into the dead and the living within the community, or are divided into the different ranks within the monastery - for instance, the community of Rheinau is in three sub-sections, monks,

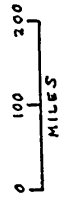
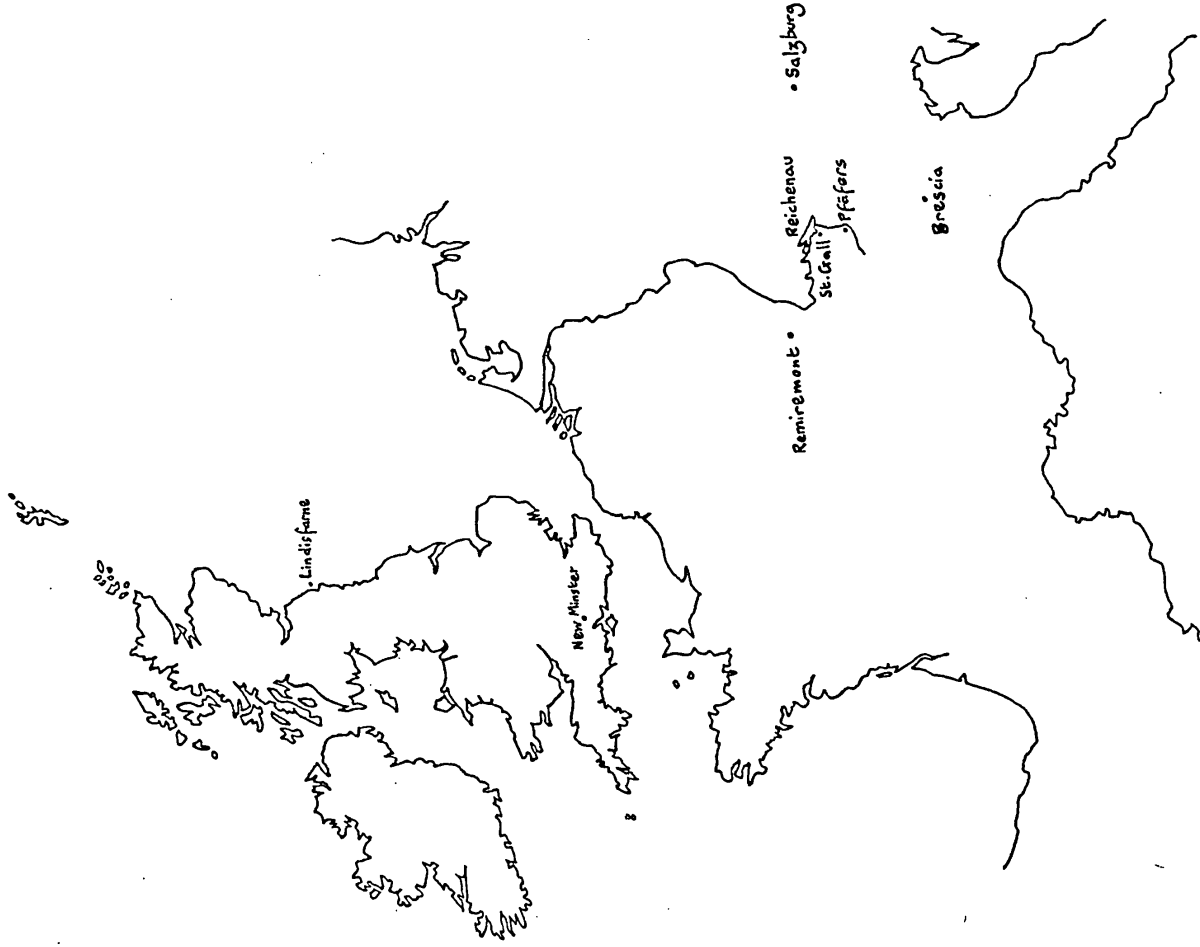


FIG. 4 :

CENTRES WHICH PRODUCED EARLY COMMEMORATION  
BOOKS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER TWO.

"conversi", and sisters. Some of the lists, for example, that of the brothers of Tours, are repeated in the later part of the book. There is no section for the community of St. Gall itself, but this may be due to the manuscript being incomplete or it may have been written in a separate volume.

The next oldest commemorative book to survive is that of Remiremont in Gaul, a community in the Southern Vosges.<sup>214</sup> This house was founded originally as a double monastery by St. Romaricus in 625, but in 817 the female half of the community moved from its old site on a hilltop into the valley, and at about the same time adopted the Benedictine Rule.<sup>215</sup> The Liber Memorialis of Remiremont dates from about the same period as well - the manuscript being of 820-21. It contains some names however that date from well before then; for instance, there are the names of sixteen abbesses of Remiremont who ruled in the period before the convent became Benedictine, and the names of fourteen previous abbots of the house are included as well.<sup>216</sup> The earliest names in the book are in a set of royal diptychs which have been copied into the manuscript - they contain a number of Merovingian kings, the earliest being Chlotar I (511-61) and Childebert I (511-58).<sup>217</sup>

The Liber Memorialis of Remiremont contains a lot of material besides lists of names. It begins with a preface about the purpose of the book,<sup>218</sup> which is followed by a "Mass to be said specially for the living and the dead of both sexes, who are united in commemoration (with this place) and whose names are to be seen written below". Two other Masses occur further on in the book, one to be "celebrated every day in the cemetery for the dead sisters", and the other headed "for our dead sisters". Before the former of these two comes another passage about the commemoration of the members of the community.<sup>219</sup> The book also includes three necrologies, a rent-book, and a cartulary.

The names themselves are arranged by communities, beginning with the nuns of Remiremont. The other houses included are Inden, Malmédy, Stavelot, Lobbes, Schienen am Bodensee, Annegray, Murbach, Prum, and Saint-Léger. Some monasteries have lists for both living and dead, some do not. The list of living nuns of Remiremont is repeated later in the book. There is also a list for "Apostolici", which begins with the name of Gregory, and a list for "Laici", which is the last in the book. A number of the lists, though not all, are enclosed by decorated columns, though the ornamentation is not of a very high standard. The diptychs of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings and queens, entered on fol. 3v after the text of the first of the Masses, and in the same hand, is of interest because an effort has been made to reproduce the form of the leaves of a diptych, with two columns of names being enclosed under rounded arches. This may possibly be an exact copy of a set of diptychs owned by the monastery.

Of the same period is the Reichenau confraternity book, the manuscript of which dates from 826.<sup>220</sup> The earliest names in the book go back to the foundation of the monastery, which was established by Charles Martel in the 720's, the missionary bishop St. Pirmin being the first abbot.<sup>221</sup> The oldest names are those of Charles Martel, his wife Swanahild, Pirmin (died c.754), and Othmar, abbot of St. Gall (720-59). Like the St. Gall book, the extant manuscript is not complete.

The Reichenau book is arranged mainly by communities, beginning with the living and then the dead of Reichenau itself, followed by the living and the dead of St. Gall. The rest of the lists either make no distinction between the living and the dead, or else divide them with a subheading in the list - they do not have two completely separate sections. Reichenau had connections with a great many communities - the original compiler at the beginning of the work listed fifty-two monasteries and four "civitates" which were to be included in the book. Among them are the other monasteries established

by Pirmin such as Hornbach, Gengenbach, Murbach, and Schwarzach, as well as religious houses in all parts of Frankia and Italy.<sup>222</sup> In among the lists of the various communities, there are two lists for the laity, male and female together. The first is of "Living Friends", beginning with the emperor Louis the Pious (814-40), his three sons Lothar, Pippin, and Louis, and his second wife, the empress Judith. The second, which appears later on in the manuscript, is of "the Dead who established the present community with their liberality". This starts with Charles Martel, king Pippin and his brother Carloman, Charlemagne and his brother Carloman, and other members of the Carolingian family. Towards the end of the book is an entry by the original scribe, hoping to cover himself if he had missed anyone out:-

"The names enjoined upon me to enter in this book, but omitted by carelessness, sloth, or forgetfulness of mine, I commend to Thee, O Christ, to Thy Mother, and all the heavenly host, that here and in life eternal their happy memory be kept in honour".<sup>223</sup>

The next two sets of memorial lists to be considered are not contained in books of their own. The commemoration lists of the monastery of S. Salvatore or S. Giulia, in Brescia, North Italy, were written in a ninth-century sacramentary.<sup>224</sup> The names remembered at Pfäfers were added into a manuscript of the Gospels.<sup>225</sup> The earliest entries in this book have been dated to about 830. The abbey of Pfäfers was founded in the 740's under the influence of Reichenau and St. Pirmin,<sup>226</sup> and, as usual, the earliest names recorded date to that period, being king Pippin and Adalbert, the first abbot of Pfäfers. Names were entered here and there in the Gospel-book, bishops, priests, monks, and deacons, and "laici", all mixed together. Sometimes male and female names appear together. Occasionally a list does have a title - when this is the case, the arrangement is by communities, for example, the brothers of Reichenau, who appear on the first page of the manuscript to which names

have been added. Two of the titles say that their lists include both living and dead, and there is a section for the dead abbots of Pfäfers. On fols. 84v-85 there is the text of a formula of confraternity, presumably that used by the monastery.

The last "liber vitae" to be looked at is about two centuries later than the others, being the commemoration book of New Minster at Winchester, which dates from c.1031.<sup>227</sup> The manuscript is often called the "Hyde Register" as the monastery moved out of the city and settled at Hyde in 1110.<sup>228</sup> The book is interesting in that it includes entries both by class, as in the Salzburg book and the Liber Vitae of Durham itself, and also by communities. Like the latter it is rather small, being 10" by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", though it has been cut down a bit by the binder. Leaves are missing, and those that remain are bound up in the wrong order in places. It does have some ornamentation - there are rubrics and initials in a variety of colours, and two fine pictures in the late Anglo-Saxon outline style of drawing. One of these is touched with colour.

The contents of the New Minster Liber Vitae include more than just names. After the pictures at the beginning of the book, there is a historical account about New Minster. This is followed by the preface, which has been quoted above.<sup>229</sup> The first list is of the kings of Wessex, starting with king Cynegils (611-41), and this is presumably a copy of a regnal list, as New Minster was not founded until the reign of Edward the Elder (899-924).<sup>230</sup> There is then a list of kings' sons, which may genuinely represent princes who were associated with the monastery, as it seems to start at about the time of the abbey's foundation. A list of the archbishops of Canterbury follows, plus a number of bishops' lists for the southern English sees. Again these seem to be copies of episcopal lists rather than records of actual associates of New Minster, as they go back, on the whole, to the first bishop of each

diocese, the earliest being St. Augustine of Canterbury. There is then a list of "duces", and one of dead benefactors. These are followed by three ecclesiastical lists - one of twelve brethren of the Old Minster at Winchester; one of "especial devotees" of New Minster, all of them men and all ecclesiastics; and one of the brethren of New Minster, including abbots, priests, monks, and "laici". Then there is a section entitled "friends and benefactors who have recommended themselves to the prayers of the brethren" - again these are all male, and the list begins with kings Aethelred and Cnut. The first female list then appears, that of "illustrious ladies", which includes queens and abbesses. Then come three lists arranged by their community - the brothers of Abingdon; the brothers of Ely; and the sisters of Romsey. The final list is of "laici", which could mean either lay-brothers or ordinary laymen. The names are all male. As can be seen, the lists in this Liber Vitae are arranged in a less orderly fashion than those in the Salzburg and Durham books.

After the lists of names a number of other articles were added to the New Minster book, forming as Birch remarked "a kind of commonplace book".<sup>231</sup> These comprise, in the original hand, a copy of the will of king Alfred, and a number of other historical articles, including the resting-place list known as the "Secgan be þam Godes sanctum", and a king-list of Wessex from Ine to Cnut. There is some liturgical material as well, part of which is missing. There is a portion of a Ritual, and the manuscript may once have contained a complete service-book. The Ritual includes a lectionary, and there are also a number of benedictions and a list of saints.

The seven manuscripts considered show a number of similarities, both with each other and with the Liber Vitae of Durham. To begin with, all of the manuscripts, except for the New Minster book, were started at a similar period -



the late eighth century and ninth century - in fact, they were all produced within a period of about seventy years, from the 780's to the middle of the ninth century. This must be more than simply an accident of survival, and must represent some trend of the time. It may perhaps be connected with the movement against the practice of reciting the names of the living and the dead at the Mass, as was discussed earlier in the chapter.<sup>232</sup>

A second point of comparison is that usually the names recorded in the books go back as far as the period of the monastery's foundation. This is so in the cases of Salzburg, Reichenau, Pfäfers, and the Liber Vitae of Durham itself.<sup>233</sup> The same is probably true of the St. Gall book for its record goes back to the period of Othmar's abbacy, and the existence of the monastery before that time is a matter of doubt. The names of the abbesses and abbots of Remiremont in its Liber Memorialis may go back to the time of the establishment of the original community, although the name of the founder, St. Romaricus, does not appear in the list of "Our Dead Brothers". The Remiremont book is one of those which contains names of people who lived before the monastery's foundation, because of its copy of a set of diptychs of kings and queens. The other commemoration book to do this, except for the mention of Edwin in the Durham Liber Vitae, is that of New Minster. In this book, the names which date from before the establishment of the community are present because of the copying of regnal and episcopal lists into the book. The names in the other lists in the New Minster Liber Vitae do seem to date only either from the original foundation in the reign of Edward the Elder or in some sections from the re-foundation in Edgar's reign (959-75).

Most of the commemoration books are similar in that originally they were predominantly ecclesiastical. The St. Gall book has only one section for laity - that for lay-women - though it is likely that it did originally have another for laymen. The Remiremont manuscript, apart from the royal

diptychs near the beginning, has only one section for the laity, headed "Nomina Laicorum", and including both male and female names. It is placed towards the end of the book. Reichenau has two lists for lay friends, one for the living and one for the dead, men and women together, among all its great number of lists for various religious communities. The Pfäfers records include some layfolk, royalty among them, but are mainly ecclesiastical. The Liber Vitae of Durham has only two lists of laity, and one of these includes abbesses together with the queens. The Salzburg and New Minster books have a higher proportion of sections for the laity - Salzburg making the most provision for them, with thirteen lists for the clergy, seven for the laity, and one for nuns and religious laywomen together.

The Durham Liber Vitae is similar in the ways mentioned above to the other early commemoration books, but there are a number of differences to be noted too. It is different in its general plan from most of the other books in that they are arranged by communities and not according to the class of people listed. The St. Gall, Remiremont, Reichenau, and Pfäfers books are all arranged basically in this way, and so is the New Minster book to quite some extent, though not entirely. The Salzburg manuscript is the one which most resembles the Durham book in its plan, though even here there are differences, with the distinction in the Salzburg book between those who were still alive and those who had died. This differentiation between the living and the dead, carried on from the diptychs, appears in most of the "libri vitae", though there are only slight traces of it in the records of New Minster and Pfäfers. It is perhaps one of the most unusual features of the Durham Liber Vitae that it makes no reference to this distinction, though of course it may be present in the contents of the manuscript. Or it may be that the Liber Vitae was the list of the dead remembered at Lindisfarne, and that there was a separate book for the living, which has not survived.

A further point of contrast, at least with the Liber Vitae as it now stands, is that bishops appear in all of the other books. The Salzburg, St. Gall, and New Minster "libri vitae" have special sections for them, and they can be found among the names in the Pfäfers, Reichenau, and Remiremont manuscripts, though there are only a very few of them in the original portion of the last-named. Many of the books also include other classes of people not mentioned in the Liber Vitae in its present form - nuns and lesser layfolk. The Salzburg manuscript, for example, which is most like the Durham book, has sections for ordinary laymen and women.

Other points of difference between the Durham Liber Vitae and other commemoration books are that some include historical and liturgical material as a part of their original plan. And on the whole the other manuscripts are less costly in their decoration than the Liber Vitae, even those of Remiremont and New Minster which do have some ornamentation.

When compared to the rest of these memorial books, the Liber Vitae appears as an example of an early stage in the development of this type of document. It, and the Salzburg Liber Vitae, still bear some resemblance to diptychs in the way they are arranged. Manuscripts such as those of St. Gall and Reichenau are essentially confraternity books, with the emphasis on links with other communities.<sup>234</sup> As the St. Gall book was produced in c.810, the Liber Vitae of Durham was being written during the period when this class of record was changing and developing. The arrangement of the Liber Vitae was most probably determined in part by the sources from which it was compiled, but there may also have been less incentive in Northumbria than on the Continent to produce a book arranged by communities. There were probably still a fair number of monasteries in Northumbria in the earlier ninth century, in spite of Viking attacks, but these houses may not have had the time or the means to do more than concentrate on their own affairs. They might not have been willing,

let alone able, to make confraternity agreements with St. Cuthbert's community. This theory is supported by a study of the numbers of names in the three different hands in the original portion of the Liber Vitae:-

Fig. 5 - Numbers of names in the different hands in the 'Liber Vitae'.

	First hand (c.800)	Second hand (c.840)	Third hand (c.840-75)
R	at least 88 (87%)	at most 13 (12%)	-
Q	at least 138 (70%)	at most 60 (30%)	-
A	25 (89%)	3 (11%)	-
AP	57 (84%)	11 (16%)	-
AD	9 (100%)	-	-
Ab	97 (98%)	2 (2%)	-
P	at least 312 (85%)	at most 60 (16%)	-
D	38 (95%)	2 (5%)	-
C	at least 1055 (90%)	at most 76 (6%)	44 (4%)
M	about 694 (67%)	about 186 (18%)	about 150 (15%)
<u>Total</u>	at least 2513	at most 413	about 194

This table shows, firstly, that the great majority of the names in the Liber Vitae are in the first hand, and that there are comparatively few names from later on in the ninth century. Secondly, very few of the abbots' names are in the second hand, and it is these names in particular which would represent contact with other communities. The last point is that the third hand additions consist only of clerics and monks, who may well all have been members of St. Cuthbert's community. If this was so, St. Cuthbert's was no longer entering into agreements with other centres then. So then the arrangement of the Liber Vitae would have been that most appropriate to the circumstances of monastic life in ninth-century Northumbria.

Chapter Three - The Information in the 'Liber Vitae'.

The Liber Vitae provides an excellent picture of Lindisfarne's connections. Though in essence it is simply a list of names much information can be gained from identifying the people in it. When this is done, the surprisingly extensive range of Lindisfarne's contacts becomes apparent. The names in the ninth-century portion of the Liber Vitae show that the community were holding in remembrance a great body of people who included among their number Pictish kings, Mercian noblemen, abbesses from Kent, missionaries in Germany, an abbot of Clonmacnois, nuns from Barking, and the emperor Charlemagne.<sup>1</sup>

However the identity of many of the people named in the Liber Vitae can be no more than conjecture. Few of the names can be identified with absolute certainty, bearing in mind the gaps in our knowledge about the period.<sup>2</sup> It is important to remember how many names there are in the Liber Vitae that there seems to be no way of identifying, even in the first six lists. In the kings' list, for instance, twenty-nine out of a total of 101 names cannot be identified; in the abbots' list the figure is thirty-two out of ninety-nine names. As for the list of queens and abbesses well over half the names are unidentifiable - 116 out of 198. It is a reminder of how incomplete our knowledge is, even for this fairly well-documented period. However some of the names in the Liber Vitae can be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty in a number of ways. For instance, the titles of the different lists in the book can be used to exclude such people from the identifications as were not of that particular class in society. One can also make use of the palaeography of the manuscript and its chronological significance, in that names in, for example, the second hand are likely to be later in date than those in the first hand. Most important of all however, the position of names within particular groupings means they can be identified with greater certainty. If the names of two people known to be linked

with each other occur near together in the Liber Vitae, then one can place more reliance on their identification than if the names appeared separately.

These groupings which can be seen in the Liber Vitae are its most important feature. This characteristic has been noted in other early commemorative books, for example, that of Remiremont, and has been recognized as their most valuable feature from a historical point of view. This is because early medieval society was based on groups and affiliations, such as kinship groups, the companies of followers that served noblemen and kings, and religious communities, both monastic, and secular, such as might be found in some cathedrals.<sup>3</sup> The confraternities discussed in Chapter Two fitted well into a society organized on these lines.

At the simplest level, one can find groups in the Liber Vitae by looking at the use of gold and silver. On the whole gold and silver are used alternately and there does not seem to be any significance in whether a particular name is in one or the other. However there are a few places where two or more names are entered in the same colour, and these occurrences may well be of some importance. The first column of the kings' list is all in gold - this may be simply because it is the first column in the book, but it may also be because it contains the names of the famous Bernician kings of the seventh century, who are moreover so prominent in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica. The first six names of the queens' list are also all in gold, and these are the wives and daughters of that family. At the end of the kings' list, the last two names, "uoenan" and "eanred", are both in gold. This suggests that they were entered into the Liber Vitae together, and may indicate that these two kings - contemporary rulers of the Picts and of Northumbria - were allies, or made some joint gift to the community of St. Cuthbert, or both.<sup>4</sup> On the first page of the priests' list (fol. 21v), the two names at the top of the second column are in gold; in the deacons' list (fol. 26) the first two names are in gold, and

possibly to balance this the first two names of the second column are both in silver. One cannot tell whether these instances have any significance or not. On fol. 24 however there are two groups of priests' names, a three, and a five, all in gold, and it does seem feasible to suggest that these are two groups of associates.<sup>5</sup> Finally, on fol. 35 in the clerics' list two names in the third column are both in gold, and interestingly they contain the same name elements - "haðuberct" and "bercthaeð".<sup>6</sup> The second hand may possibly begin at about this point in the list - perhaps these two names were entered together, the first additions to the first hand list.

Still at a fairly simple level, groups of associates can be discerned too in the clusters of alliterative names which occur in the Liber Vitae. This is connected with the Germanic system of name-giving. Frequently in the lists two or more names beginning with the same letter, and occasionally with the same first element, are placed together. If this occurred only a few times it might be simply coincidence, but there are so many instances of it that it almost certainly does have some significance.<sup>7</sup> It is likely to be an indication of kinship groups, as it is known that alliteration in names was used by the various Germanic peoples to show relationship, with a family tending to use certain initial letters or even particular first elements when naming their children.<sup>8</sup> The Anglo-Saxons made much use of this practice, more so than some of the Continental Germanic tribes.<sup>9</sup> The East Saxon royal family, for example, nearly all had names beginning with "s", with particular use being made of the element "sige-". Most of the West Saxon royalty before the later eighth century had names in "c", while the Northumbrian royal families made much use of vocalic alliteration.<sup>10</sup> There are a few examples in the Liber Vitae where people known to be related, and with alliterating names, are placed next to each other. The brothers Oswald and Oswiu are together near the head of the kings' list; Oswiu's grandsons, the brothers Osred and Osric, come next to each other a little further on in the list; and the

father and son, Beornhaeth and Berctred, also appear together.<sup>11</sup> These suggest that other instances of alliteration may also point to family groups. In the kings' list certain families may be traceable through the list, for example, a family with names alliterating in "b", using in particular "beorn-" and "berct-". This would include the Beornhaeth and Berctred mentioned above, and continue through Beornred (R-20), Berctred (R-22), Beornred (R-27),<sup>12</sup> Beornuini (R-66), to Beorn (R-98), near the end of the list, who is probably the "patricius" burnt in 779 or 780.<sup>13</sup> There may also be a family in this list with names alliterating in "h", especially in "helm-". In only one case is there a possible identification for the people in this group. The first name is Helmuald in the earlier part of the list (R-24), then there is a gap to Helmbaed and Helmgils together (R-61 and 62), both names known only in the Liber Vitae, and soon afterwards come Helpric and Helmuini (R-67 and 68) - both of these names occur only in the Liber Vitae in Old English, though they are also found in Old German. However the first of this last pair of names, Helpric, may represent the Merovingian king Chilperic II. If it does then it must be discounted as part of this alliterative group.<sup>14</sup>

There are a few instances, ten altogether, of the same name being repeated. This may sometimes be due to scribal error, especially when one of the pair of identical names is at the foot of one column and the other is at the head of the next.<sup>15</sup> But it is possible that the same name repeated does refer to two different persons, and it may possibly indicate kinship, because a parent and child could bear the same name, for example, the father of king Eardwulf of Northumbria was also called Eardwulf.<sup>16</sup> And some of the repeated names in the Liber Vitae do not appear to be simply errors of copying, because the names are given with different spellings, for example, "berct" and "bercht" on fol. 39v.<sup>17</sup> This does suggest that they belonged to different people.

Instances of alliteration occur quite frequently in the kings' list and the queens' list. There are, for instance,



in the kings' list such occurrences as "siguulf", "sigred", and "sigred", and "eanred" and "eadred" on fol. 15v,<sup>18</sup> and in the queens' list there are "cyniðryth" and "ceolðryth"; "red-burg" and "redgyth"; "cuoenðryth" and "cuoemlicu"; and "uilðryth" and "uilsuið".<sup>19</sup> There are fewer instances in the various abbots' lists, and only one example in the anchorites' list and that doubtful.<sup>20</sup> This is probably because the ties of monastic community count for rather more in these lists than the ties of family. However there are a good number of examples of alliteration in the other ecclesiastical lists, and it is in the list of abbots who were priests that the largest group of alliterating names in the Liber Vitae is to be found - a run of seven names at the end of the list, all beginning with "e" - Ecgred, Eanuulf, Earduulf, Ecgred, Ecgheard, Eadmund, and Eaduulf.<sup>21</sup> It is interesting that two, and maybe three, of these people may have become Bishops of Lindisfarne in the ninth century. One of the Ecgredds may be Ecgred, Bishop of Lindisfarne from 830 to 845, and the Eardwulf may be the man who was Bishop 854-99. Eadmund may be the same as the Eadmund who was Bishop after Ecgberht (803-21) according to the episcopal list in the contemporary manuscript, British Library, Cotton Vespasian B.6, fol. 109. His name was added to the list in c.833.<sup>22</sup> He does not appear in the episcopal list at the beginning of Simeon of Durham's Historia de Dunelmensis Ecclesiae.<sup>23</sup> Possibly he had a very short episcopate. All these men might have been abbots before becoming bishops.

It is perfectly feasible that the instances of alliteration in the ecclesiastical lists do indicate family relationships, because at this period whole families could go into the church together. An example of this occurs in the Life of the British St. Samson, which tells how Samson's father, mother, five brothers, sister, and his father's brother and his wife and three sons all took up the monastic life.<sup>24</sup> Another two instances can be found in Bede. The four brothers Cedd, Cynibill, Caelin, and Ceadda or Chad, were all "famous priests of the Lord", two of them becoming bishops. Bede said it was "a very rare thing to happen" that four

brothers should all be priests, but there are other instances, if not always on such a scale.<sup>25</sup> Bede himself mentions another family of this sort, that of Aethelwine, Aldwine, Aethelhild, and Aethelhun, who became, respectively, Bishop of Lindsey; abbot of Partney in Lindsey; abbess of a house near Partney; and a monk or student at the monastery of "Rathmelsigi" in Ireland.<sup>26</sup> Both these examples, it should be noted, show alliteration of names.

A third way of identifying groups in the Liber Vitae is by looking, oddly enough, at those names which are unidentifiable. There are a number of names in the book which are found only there.<sup>27</sup> In the queens' list, for instance, fifty-seven of its 198 names are known only in the Liber Vitae, and a further sixteen only occur in Old English in this document, though they are also found on the Continent. It is of interest that the names that appear only in the Liber Vitae tend to occur in clusters. An example of such a cluster can be found on fol. 16, in the first column of the queens' list. Here there is a run of eleven names, none of which can be identified, and of these eleven, six are found only in the Liber Vitae, and another four are found there and on the Continent.<sup>28</sup> On fol. 17, possibly at about the place where the second hand starts in the queens' list, there are five names all of which are found only in this book.<sup>29</sup> In the priests' list's first column on fol. 21v, more than half of the names are either very rare or unique. The same is the case with the first column of the monks' list as well, on fol. 37. And a certain section of the clerics' list, on fols. 29-30v, contains an unusually high proportion of rare or otherwise unknown names. So yet again, groups of associated names can be discerned in the Liber Vitae.

Above all, one can see in the arrangement of the names in the Liber Vitae the effect of known political and religious groups. This has been touched on already in the first chapter.<sup>30</sup> In the kings' list and the queens' list family groups

can be discovered. There is the Bernician royal family and their connections in the first column of the kings' list, plus the women of the family filling the first few places in the list of queens and abbesses.<sup>31</sup> In the second column of the kings' list, close together, are kings Coenred and Eadberht of Northumbria. Coenred was a member of a different branch of the Bernician royal family to the descendants of Aethelfrith who dominate the first column. He and Eadberht were first cousins.<sup>32</sup> Another instance of a family group occurs in the middle of the queens' list, where the names of Cynithryth and Aelfflaed are to be found near together, with only one name between them, and that one, interestingly, is Aelfgyth, which alliterates with Aelfflaed.<sup>33</sup> Cynithryth can be identified as the wife of Offa, king of Mercia, and Aelfflaed was their daughter, who married Aethelred, king of Northumbria. Offa himself very probably appears in the kings' list.<sup>34</sup>

King Aethelred of Northumbria himself features in a group, though not one of kinship.<sup>35</sup> A section of the kings' list contains the names of Aethelred; his ealdorman Torhtmund, who avenged his death, and who was a friend of Alcuin; Charlemagne, who withdrew gifts to the Northumbrian sees when he heard of Aethelred's murder in 796; and Megenfridus, one of Charlemagne's palace officials, and another friend of Alcuin. Between the names of Megenfridus and Charlemagne is Aelfwold, who may be either the king of Northumbria from 778/9 to 788/9, or the man who became king of Northumbria in 806 or 808.<sup>36</sup> Immediately following Charlemagne is Constantine, king of the Picts from c.789 to 820 - he may possibly have been part of this group of "allies" too. And three names further on is Osberht, probably the Northumbrian "dux" who was associated with king Aethelred - Alcuin wrote a letter in 793-96 addressed to Aethelred, the "dux" Osberht, the "patricius" Osbald, and all the kings' friends.<sup>37</sup>

Earlier on in the kings' list there is a similar group of associates where the names Cyniwulf, Eardwulf, and Aldwulf appear together.<sup>38</sup> The first and last of these are very probably the high-reeves killed in 778 on the orders of king Aethelred.<sup>39</sup> And Eardwulf is most likely the ealdorman that Aethelred ordered to be executed in 791 or 792, but who survived to become king in 796, after Aethelred had been killed. All three were apparently opponents of Aethelred, and it is interesting that they are placed separately from the group including him. Immediately following the Eardwulf group are the names of Brorda and Eadbald, two important Mercian ealdormen of Offa's reign.<sup>40</sup> They often witness the same charters. Brorda in particular seems to have been very important - he signs high among the ealdormen and other laymen, sometimes signing first after the king and clergy. On a charter of 793-96 he signs straight after the bishops and before the abbots - the rest of the laity come after the abbots.<sup>41</sup> Brorda and Eadbald both witness the decrees of the Legatine Synods in 786, which indicates their importance as the names of only a few laymen are recorded in the document - three from Northumbria and four from Mercia, apart from the two kings.<sup>42</sup> It is significant that these two Mercian nobles are placed together in the Liber Vitae, and very interesting that they come next to a party of Northumbrian "duces". It may well be that the two groups were associated with each other.

Useful illustrations appear in the later material in the Liber Vitae too. On fol. 16v, for example, there is a little group in the margin at the foot of the page - "Duuegal filius Sumerledi, et filii sui, Olaf et Dunechat et Raynald, et Adam de Stanford. Stephanus Capellanus". This is Dugald, son of Somerled, Lord of Argyll, with his sons, Olaf, Duncan, and Ranald, and their companions, on their way to York in 1175 to swear allegiance to king Henry II.<sup>43</sup> On fol. 55v there is a group entered in one hand of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, which begins with "Eiric rex Danorum, Botild regina, Toui, Modera uxor Toui", and goes

on for another twelve names. This is Eirik I of Denmark (1095-1103), with his queen and their retinue.<sup>44</sup> One can also see religious communities being entered all together in the later material, for instance, the list of the monks of Worcester in the early twelfth century on fol. 25.<sup>45</sup> It is quite possible that communities were listed all together in the original portion of the Liber Vitae too, but it is harder to demonstrate this. However there are a number of indications that people from the same community were listed close together.

There are some instances where two people known to be from the same monastery appear next or next but one to each other. Sometimes other names around them cannot be identified, but it may be that, in the last four lists at least, they were members of the same community. An example of people apparently from the same religious house placed together comes in the queens' list. There, the names of Hildithryth and Berctgyth occur next to each other.<sup>46</sup> Both these names appear on grave markers found at Hartlepool, one dating from the eighth century, the other from the mid-seventh to the mid-eighth.<sup>47</sup> In the list of abbots who were priests another instance occurs. In the second column of the list are the names of two abbots of Ripon close together - Botwine, who died in 786, and his successor, Aldberht, who died in 787.<sup>48</sup> In the next list, that of abbots who were deacons, the names "uulfheard" and "alchuini" are side by side.<sup>49</sup> The second is Alcuin, who always remained a deacon, even when he became abbot of St. Martin's at Tours. The first may possibly be Wulfard, abbot of St. Martin's at Tours in the mid-eighth century. He was an envoy of Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian I in 773, when one of the other envoys was an "Aluinus".<sup>50</sup> This may have been Alcuin, who was sometimes called by this name,<sup>51</sup> although he was still based at York then. Godman says this identification is improbable,<sup>52</sup> but it does seem quite feasible, because it was in 773 that Aethelberht, Archbishop of York, received the pallium from Pope Hadrian.<sup>53</sup> Alcuin is known

to have travelled on the Continent with Aethelberht,<sup>54</sup> and it seems plausible that Alcuin should have been sent to Rome to fetch the pallium for his teacher and friend. So again two people associated with each other and with the same monastery may appear next to each other.

A smaller proportion of the names in the last four lists can be identified, but a number of examples of people from the same community occurring close together can be found, suggesting that this was a common way of entering people in the book. In the priests' list two Lindisfarne monks come next but one to each other - Guthfrith, who was the sacrist of the monastery in c.721, and who later became the abbot,<sup>55</sup> and Cynimund, who was still alive c.721, being then very old.<sup>56</sup> Two names before Guthfrith is Ultan, an Irish priest who lived in the earlier part of the eighth century at the monastery described in the poem De Abbatibus, which was an offshoot of Lindisfarne.<sup>57</sup> Later on in this list there are two names close together - "cyniberct" and "hildiberct". The first may be Cyneberht, one of the clergy of Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was sent as a messenger to Germany in 747,<sup>58</sup> and the other is probably Hildiberht, a monk, and a messenger from Bregowine, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Lull, Bishop of Mainz, in the period 761-65.<sup>59</sup> Sometimes names come further apart, but still close enough together to have significance. In the list of monks, for instance, nine names apart, are Betuald and Frithuwald, brethren of abbess Verca's monastery, which was probably South Shields. The two were witnesses of a miracle performed by St. Cuthbert.<sup>60</sup>

What these groups meant, how they were formed, how they developed, and how they were maintained, can be discovered from a study of the group of people centred on St. Boniface. These people provide excellent supporting evidence for the existence and importance of such groups in political and ecclesiastical society. Boniface's associates included both those who worked with him as missionaries on the Continent,

and those who corresponded with him. Some of the missionary workers were disciples of Boniface who were of Continental birth, but most of them were from England, as can be seen by a letter that Boniface wrote to abbot Fulrad of St. Denis in 752, towards the end of his career. In it Boniface says of his disciples that "they are almost all foreigners".<sup>61</sup> Of these workers who came from England, where their background is known, they were nearly all either related to Boniface, or from the communities of Wimborne or Glastonbury.<sup>62</sup> These two houses were both in Wessex, Boniface's own country, and they may have had some special relationship with each other, on the evidence of a letter written by a priest called Wiehtberht. He was a member of the community at Glastonbury who went to work with Boniface at some time in the period 732-54. When he arrived in Germany he wrote back to Glastonbury to tell the monks of his safe journey. At the end of the letter he sent his greetings to his own community, and then went on, "Carry to our mother Tetta" (abbess of Wimborne) "and to those who are with her the news of our successful journey".<sup>63</sup> It seems as if Wimborne and Glastonbury were particularly involved in the provision of missionaries for Boniface's work in Germany.

Turning to Boniface's correspondents, the discussion will deal with his personal correspondence rather than with what can be classified as his official correspondence, including for instance letters to and from the Papacy. As revealed by his letters, Boniface's links were with individuals rather than with communities, although the former might involve the latter if the correspondent was the head of a monastery.<sup>64</sup> Usually the link was with someone as a person, and not because they were the holder of a particular office, though Boniface did like to be in contact with the Archbishop of Canterbury of the day, right from the time of his first going abroad as a missionary.<sup>65</sup> He had far more correspondents in England than on the Continent, and letters from people on the Continent date in the main from the later part of his career, after

c.742.<sup>66</sup> Letters were passing to and from friends in England, on the other hand, from the earliest days of Boniface's missionary work. His links with England were mainly with Wessex, his homeland, and with Kent. He was also in touch, to a lesser extent, with people in Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia, but these contacts come later on in his life, in the 730's and 740's.<sup>67</sup> It is possible too that his earliest known contact with anyone in Northumbria originated in an acquaintance in Wessex many years before, for Pethelm, Bishop of Whithorn, to whom Boniface wrote in 735, had been one of the clergy of Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, in the period 706-09, when Boniface was still resident in Wessex.<sup>68</sup> On the Continent, besides interchanging letters with his own followers in Germany, Boniface corresponded with people at Rome, Monte Cassino, and St. Denis near Paris. His friends in Rome he had presumably met during his visits there; his kinsman Willibald had lived at Monte Cassino at one time; and he probably met Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, during his work to reform the Frankish Church.<sup>69</sup>

Indeed, when one studies Boniface's correspondence, the exchange of letters is usually found to be the result of some pre-existing relationship, in many cases a friendship formed before Boniface went to the Continent.<sup>70</sup> In the few cases where Boniface appears to be instituting the correspondence, it is usually because he wanted to ask for something. He wrote to the priest Herefrith, because he wanted him to deliver a letter of admonition to king Aethelbald of Mercia, and he had heard, he says to Herefrith, "that in your fear of God you fear not 'the person of men'; and that the afore-mentioned king condescends on some occasions to listen to your advice to some extent".<sup>71</sup> He wrote to Hwaetberht, abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, mainly, it seems, because he wanted to get copies of works by Bede.<sup>72</sup> He wrote to Bishop Pethelm to ask for advice on a marriage problem he had encountered, and, as has been said, he may have known Pethelm already anyway.<sup>73</sup> Boniface did, it is true, write a general letter to the English



to ask them to pray for the conversion of the Saxons in 738, but this was in response to a particular situation,<sup>74</sup> and on the whole Boniface does not seem to have written soliciting support from people he did not know.

Occasionally Boniface's friendship was sought by others. The priest Sigebald and king Aethelberht II of Kent both did this,<sup>75</sup> and possibly Ecgberht, Archbishop of York, did too, but this is not certain.<sup>76</sup> Torthelm, Bishop of Leicester, got in touch with Boniface in response to the general letter about the conversion of the Saxons.<sup>77</sup> But both Sigebald and Aethelberht II, who wrote asking for Boniface's friendship, did not do so without any prior contact with his group of friends. Sigebald knew Bishop Daniel of Winchester, an old friend of Boniface, and he had also met Boniface's messenger, Eoban, when the latter was on a visit to England. King Aethelberht was a relation of abbess Bugga, another of Boniface's old friends, and the king knew that Bugga had once mentioned his name to Boniface. Boniface's network of friends and supporters was built up by newer contacts growing out of older ones.

Boniface's group of friends illustrates what the groups in the Liber Vitæ must have been like. It shows that the links in such a network were based on kinship and on the ties of monastic community, and grew outwards from there. It may be that friendship and the ties of community counted for rather more than kinship, but this may be because we do not always know if people were related or not, and it is surely significant that some of Boniface's most important helpers, such as Leoba, and Willibald and Wynnebald, were also his relatives. The stress in both the formation and growth of the network was on personal contacts and it seems to have spread out only gradually from its original bases, which were in Wessex and Kent among people whom Boniface knew before he became a missionary.

The network was kept up by correspondence, only a portion of which has survived. Many letters are referred to in the correspondence that we do have which are no longer extant.<sup>78</sup> As well as letters, the messengers who carried them often bore verbal messages, which sometimes seem to have been as important as the letters themselves.<sup>79</sup> The network was also maintained by the exchange of gifts, frequently referred to in the letters; by mutual prayer, and the exchanging of lists of people who were to be prayed for, as has been discussed in the last chapter;<sup>80</sup> and by occasional meetings, the practice of going on pilgrimage to Rome being of use in bringing these about. Abbess Bugga, for example, met Boniface in Rome while she was there on pilgrimage.<sup>81</sup> Boniface's group was largely, though not wholly, ecclesiastical, but mainly secular alliances were no doubt maintained in a similar way. It is likely that secular rulers kept in touch through embassies more than by letter, but some letters were exchanged between them, as is shown by one sent by Charlemagne to Offa of Mercia.<sup>82</sup> Links were also maintained by gift exchange and by a device not available to the stricter clergy at least, marriage alliances.<sup>83</sup>

The connections between the members of Boniface's group do show up in the Liber Vitae in a few cases. Unfortunately, as there is no bishops' list, we cannot tell whether Boniface himself, as well as many of his chief followers, were ever in Lindisfarne's memorial lists, nor how they were grouped. Here and there in the Liber Vitae names occur which are probably those of people who were involved in the German mission,<sup>84</sup> but there are only a few examples of these names occurring in groups. One instance is in the list of abbots who were priests. At the top of the second column of the list the names "tatuini" and "uicbercht" are together.<sup>85</sup> Tatwine can probably be identified with the man who was abbot of Fritzlar in Hesse from 737/8. Fritzlar was one of Boniface's monastic foundations. There were two Wigberhts who were abbots of Fritzlar - Wigberht I who ruled the abbey from its foundation in the period 722-32, and who died in 737/8, and Wigberht II who lived in the period 754-86, and who may well have been the same as a priest called

Wigberht who was at Fritzlar in 737/8, when the first abbot had just died.<sup>86</sup> Two letters from Boniface to Tatwine, one of the Wigberhts, and others, are still extant.<sup>87</sup> Other examples of small groupings connected with Boniface's mission occur in the list of queens and abbesses. Here there are the names "tatae" and "cyniðryð" next to each other.<sup>88</sup> The first is Tetta, abbess of Wimborne, who was closely associated with the mission, and the other is probably Chunitrud, one of Boniface's women missionary workers, who went to work in Bavaria.<sup>89</sup> Three names previously is "ecgburg", who may be the abbess Ecgburh who wrote to Boniface in 716-18, and who said to him that she was the "least of your disciples".<sup>90</sup> Further on in this list there are the names "hygburg" and "berhtgid" together.<sup>91</sup> "Hygburg" may be Hugeburc, an English nun who lived at the double monastery of Heidenheim, and who wrote the Life of the monastery's founder, St. Willibald, who was a cousin of Boniface and made by him Bishop of Eichstätt.<sup>92</sup> "Berhtgid" may be Berhtgit, another of Boniface's women missionaries, and the niece of Bishop Lull. She may be the same as an abbess Berhtgyth who wrote two letters to her brother Balthard which have been preserved among the correspondence of Boniface and Lull.<sup>93</sup> It is possible that Balthard is himself in the clerics' list, and near him is one Sigewald, who was a missionary in Thuringia in the period after 755.<sup>94</sup>

The fact that these people appear together and are known to have been associated with each other and to have been part of an important confederation in ecclesiastical society supports the idea that the other groups discernable in the Liber Vitae were of significance in the society of their day. These groups were of different types. Some were linked by kinship, some were groups of political allies. Sometimes the members of a religious community appear together, sometimes people associated in a spiritual confraternity. As has been noted in discussing Boniface's friends, members of a group could be connected in more than one way, for example by kinship and by

confraternity as well. In the kings' list there may be some chronological pattern in the way groups were entered, with kinship groups more important earlier on and groups of allies more important later. However this may be due simply to our being better informed about family relationships in the seventh century than in the eighth. Those who appear as allies in the later eighth century may have been related by birth or by marriage but we have little evidence on this subject. There does not appear to be any chronological pattern in the other lists - one type of group does not seem to have predominated over another at any time.

Having, with the help of the groups, identified a fair number of the names in the Liber Vitae with reasonable certainty, one can then use the book to show who was associated with St. Cuthbert's community, and how wide its catchment area was. The first six lists are the most useful for this purpose, for they contain a higher proportion of identifiable names than the last four lists. As can be seen from Fig. 6, of the names that can be identified with a fair degree of certainty, the majority are Northumbrian, as might be expected. Then, though with fewer names to their credit, come Mercia, the Continent, Wessex, and Kent; with some of the names classed as Continental being people of English birth.<sup>95</sup> Similarly, among the five names classified as from Ireland, two belong to Englishmen who went to live in Ireland.<sup>96</sup> To these areas can be added Essex, Pictland, Sussex, East Anglia, and Lindsey.

A survey of which religious communities are represented in the Liber Vitae gives a similar picture. Looking first at those centres which are definitely represented, again the majority are in Northumbria, and more are in Bernicia than in Deira or Cumbria. No major Bernician ecclesiastical centre is missing. Lindisfarne itself is of course well represented, together with other sites in its "familia" - Melrose, Farne Island, and the monastery described in the

Fig. 6 - Place of Residence of People in the 'Liber Vitae'.

The first six lists only are included. The figures in brackets are the more tentative identifications.

	R	Q	A	AP	AD	Ab	Totals
Northumbria	28(3)	14(3)	11(1)	16(7)	2	14(3)	85 (17)
Mercia	7(4)	12(3)		1		(6)	20 (13)
Wessex	1	1(3)		2(1)	1(1)	3(3)	8 (8)
Kent	(4)	2(2)		1		2(1)	5 (7)
Frankia	2(1)	(3)		1	2	(3)	5 (7)
Germany		3(1)		2		(5)	5 (6)
Ireland & Iona			2	2		1	5
Essex	(2)	3(1)					3 (3)
Picts	3						3
Sussex	(2)	1(1)				1(2)	2 (5)
East Anglia	1(1)	(1)		1(1)			2 (3)
Lindsey		1				1	2

De Abbatibus poem. Then there are Tynninghame, Coldingham, and Gainford. These three sites all eventually formed part of Lindisfarne's "familia", but may have been independent institutions originally.<sup>97</sup> Other Bernician centres represented are Hartlepool, Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, Tynemouth, Hexham, and abbess Verca's monastery which was probably at South Shields. In Deira are Whitby, Ripon, York, Beverley, and Crayke, this last being another of the sites in Lindisfarne's "familia". In Cumbria Carlisle is represented, this too being in the "familia", and also the monastery at Dacre and the hermitage on an island in Derwentwater. Outside Northumbria, there are, in Lindsey, abbess Aethelhild's community near Partney, and Hygebald's monastery.<sup>98</sup> There are a number of Mercian houses - Hanbury in Staffordshire, Repton, Castor, Withington, Gloucester, and abbess Beorngyth's community, which may have been that at Bath.<sup>99</sup> In East Anglia the monastery of "Icanho" can be added to the list;<sup>100</sup> in Essex, Barking; and in Kent, Canterbury, Reculver, and Minster-in-Thanel. Three West Saxon houses are represented - Wimborne, Malmesbury, and Redbridge. The Irish monasteries of Iona, Mayo, Clonmacnois, and Bangor, County Down, are also included, and four houses on the Continent - Fritzlar and Heidenheim in Germany, and Ferrières and St. Martin's at Tours in Gaul. The last two appear because of their connection with Alcuin.

This list can be extended with a number of centres that are probably represented in the Liber Vitae, though not as certain as those above. In the north are Gateshead, Falstone in Northumberland, Hackness and possibly Thornhill, both in Yorkshire, and Ardwall Island in Galloway. In Mercia are Lichfield, Peterborough, and Worcester; in East Anglia, Ely, which was founded by Aethelthryth, once queen of Northumbria;<sup>101</sup> in Kent, Rochester; and in Sussex, Selsey, one of St. Wilfrid's foundations. Two more West Saxon centres can be included - Glastonbury and Exeter. A number of additions are from the Continent - St. Willibrord's foundation of Echternach; Deventer

in the eastern Netherlands; and three houses in north-east Gaul - Marchiennes, Maubeuge, and Faremoûtier-en-Brie.

Lindisfarne was not in contact with all these areas at all times however. Fig. 7 shows the national origins of the people in the first six lists of the Liber Vitae, arranged chronologically. Few of the names date from before c.650, and of those only one, Anna, king of East Anglia, was not from Northumbria. Many more names date from the second half of the seventh century, with slightly under half of them being Northumbrian, and a little over half being from other areas. This pattern is the usual one for most of the period covered by the Liber Vitae. In the first half of the ninth century far more of the names come from outside Northumbria than from within that kingdom, but this apparent imbalance may well be due to the dearth of evidence about Northumbrian affairs at that period. Many areas are first represented in the later seventh century - Mercia, Wessex, Essex, Sussex, Ireland, and Frankia. This is the period when most of the lists in the Liber Vitae first began to be compiled.<sup>102</sup> Names from other areas do not start appearing until the eighth century - Kent, Lindsey, Pictland, and Germany, including Frisia. The total number of names increases steadily to the later eighth century, and this general trend is reflected in the numbers from many of the individual areas, with Northumbria, Mercia, Kent, Ireland, and Frankia all having their highest total of names at that time. This pattern probably partly reflects the fact that the Liber Vitae was written in about the year 800. The numbers then fall off in the first half of the ninth century, presumably mainly because of monastic decline in that period. No names at-all are known for some of the areas at this time. In the cases of East Anglia, Lindsey, and Sussex, there is the possibility that this might be due to lack of evidence, but the lack of any Irish names is probably of significance and a reflection of interrupted contacts because of Viking raiding.

Fig. 7 - Nationality of people in the 'Liber Vitae', arranged chronologically.

The first six lists only have been used. Only the more certain identifications have been used.

	600-650	650-700	700-750	750-800	800-850
Northumbria	5	22	25	34	9
Mercia		7	8	11	6
Wessex		4	5	3	2
Kent			4	6	2
Frankia		3	1	5	3
Germany			6	3	1
Ireland & Iona		1	1	3	
Essex		5			1
Picts			1		2
Sussex		3	1	3	
East Anglia	1	2	1	1	
Lindsey			2		
Total non-Northumbria	1	25	30	36	17
Total	6	47	55	70	26



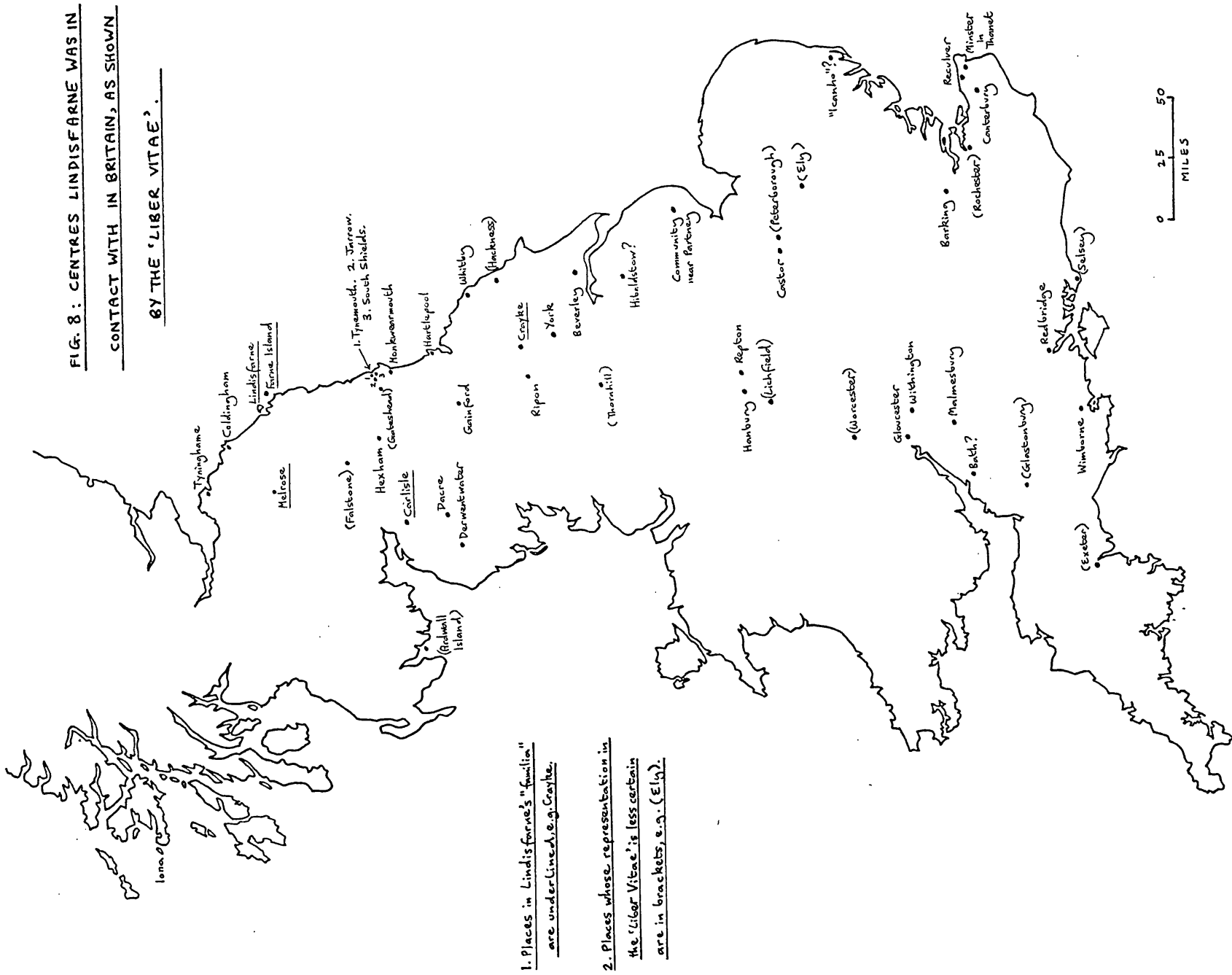


FIG. 8: CENTRES LINDISFARNE WAS IN CONTACT WITH IN BRITAIN, AS SHOWN BY THE 'LIBER VITAE'.

1. Places in Lindisfarne's "family" are underlined, e.g. Crayke.

2. Places whose representation in the 'Liber Vitae' is less certain are in brackets, e.g. (Ely).

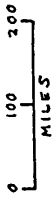


FIG. 9: CENTRES LINDISFARNE WAS IN CONTACT

WITH IN WESTERN EUROPE, AS SHOWN BY

THE 'LIBER VITAE'.

Some areas show rather unusual patterns which are worthy of comment. Nearly all the names identified as East Saxon date from the second half of the seventh century, and then there is a long gap to one identification in the early ninth century. This suggests that the contact between Northumbria and Essex, first seen in the friendship of king Oswiu and king Sigebert, and in the missionary work of Cedd,<sup>103</sup> did not last into the eighth century, probably because of the growing power of Mercia. Much of the concentration of contacts in the later seventh century may also stem from a link between Northumbria and a particular East Saxon monastery. Three of the East Saxon names are of nuns from the convent of Barking,<sup>104</sup> a place which apparently had some connections with Northumbria. Bede included a number of stories about Barking in his Historia Ecclesiastica, having found them in a "libellus" about this community.<sup>105</sup> Another point of contact is that Cuthburh, wife of king Aldfrith of Northumbria, seems to have become a nun at Barking after she parted from her husband. She later founded Wimborne, and became abbess there.<sup>106</sup> She is in the Liber Vitae,<sup>107</sup> and just before her is the name "oēðilburg". There are a number of possible identifications for this name, and it is hard to say which is the most likely, but one possibility is that she was Aethelburh, the first abbess of Barking.<sup>108</sup> Most of the stories Bede tells of Barking date from her time as abbess. But whether or not "oēðilburg" is Aethelburh there still appears to have been a link between Barking and Northumbria in the later seventh century and this is reflected in the Liber Vitae. It must be said however that Aethelburh's successor as abbess, Hildelith, who ruled the community at the time Cuthburh was there, is not in the Liber Vitae.

Within England, Wessex too shows a different pattern to the norm, with a decrease in the second half of the eighth century instead of an increase. This is most likely a reflection of the power of Offa of Mercia, cutting off contacts between the two other major English kingdoms. In the seventh century the threat of a strong Mercia meant that

Northumbria and Wessex often combined against the kingdom in the middle. Offa, in the later eighth century, more powerful than any previous English king, was able to prevent such alliances.

Germany also has a different pattern to most of the other areas. It is first represented in the Liber Vitae in the first half of the eighth century, and its highest total of names is at that period, with a decreasing number thereafter. This pattern no doubt reflects the great enthusiasm for the missions of Willibrord and then Boniface at this period. The tailing off of contacts in the late eighth and ninth centuries may have been due partly to the missions having become well established by then and less in need of support from England. This did not happen until well on in the eighth century though for the Northumbrians are known to have still been much interested in the Continental missionary work in the time of king Alchred (765-74).<sup>109</sup>

The pattern of contacts with Frankia contains some interesting points. The earliest contacts, in the second half of the seventh century, are with abbesses at religious houses in north-east Gaul. This confirms Bede's comments on contacts between England and Frankish monasteries at this period. Speaking of the mid and later seventh century he says:-

"at that time, when few monasteries had been founded in the country of the English, many persons were accustomed to go from Britain to the monasteries of the Franks or Gauls for the sake of the monastic life; and they also sent their daughters to be instructed there, and united to the Heavenly Bridegroom; especially to the monasteries in Brie, and in Chelles, and in Andelys. . . Among these was Saethryth, daughter of the wife of Anna, king of the East Angles".<sup>110</sup>

Saethryth, who eventually became abbess of the monastery of Faremoûtier-en-Brie, is in the Liber Vitae,<sup>111</sup> as is her stepfather, king Anna.<sup>112</sup> The other two houses in Gaul that

Lindisfarne was apparently in touch with at this period were Marchiennes and Maubeuge, both in the same area of Gaul. Close together in the Liber Vitae are the names "ricðryth" and "aldðryth", who may well be Rictrude, founder and abbess of Marchiennes, who died c.687,<sup>113</sup> and Aldetrude, abbess of Maubeuge from 684-96.<sup>114</sup> Both these houses have distant Irish links, for both were founded by women who had been influenced in their religious life by St. Amandus, who was himself associated with the disciples of St. Columbanus.<sup>115</sup> Such contacts seem to have come to an end however, no doubt as more and more religious houses for women were founded in England. There is only one name from Frankia in the Liber Vitae dating from the first half of the eighth century, and that is not a very certain identification. In the kings' list is the name "helpric", which may be Chilperic II, king of the Franks from 715 to 721.<sup>116</sup> If this identification is correct however, it is a very interesting one. Chilperic II differed from most of the late Merovingian kings - for one thing, he was older when he became king than was usual,<sup>117</sup> and he also seems to have had more power than the late Merovingians generally did. He was made king during a confused period following the deaths in 715 of Pippin II, the mayor of the palace, and his nominal king, Dagobert III. Neither Pippin's widow, Plectrudis, nor Pippin's illegitimate son, Charles Martel, was able to seize power, and in this unsettled situation a group of nobles opposed to the Carolingians' attempted domination of Frankia brought Chilperic II out of a monastery and made him king. Over the next few years Charles Martel was fighting to gain control over Frankia, and he achieved this in 719.<sup>118</sup> For the few years between 715 and 719 however Chilperic II and the nobles who supported him did provide a credible alternative government to that of the Carolingians, and it is conceivable that they might have tried to strengthen their position by getting in touch with centres of power and influence in England.<sup>119</sup> There is other evidence too for connections between Chilperic and Northumbria. When Ceolfrith of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow

landed in Gaul in 716 on his way to Rome,

"he was magnificently honoured by all, especially by King Hilperic himself, who, in addition to the gifts which he offered, gave him also letters through all the provinces of his kingdom, that he might everywhere be received in peace and that no one might presume to cause him delay on his journey. Moreover, he recommended him and also all his followers to the kind treatment of Liutprand, king of the Lombards".<sup>120</sup>

Also Chilperic and his supporters had an ally in Radbod, duke of the Frisians (k.718), and it was at this period that Willibrord and his companions were working in Frisia.<sup>121</sup> However apart from this one entry of Chilperic most of the Frankish names in the Liber Vitae come in the later eighth and early ninth centuries, when the Merovingians had passed from the scene. This was the time of Charlemagne and Alcuin, both of whom are in Lindisfarne's memorial lists.<sup>122</sup> This seems to have been the period of greatest contact between Frankia and Northumbria and this is certainly reflected in the Liber Vitae.<sup>123</sup>

St. Cuthbert's community was drawing its support from a very wide area. It had many contacts in Northumbria, which is unsurprising, but it had connections as well with all parts of England, with Ireland, Pictland, and the Continent. Within Northumbria it was in touch with all the other important ecclesiastical centres in Bernicia and in Cumbria that we know of from the sources, together with some of those in Deira. The community was not in touch with all these places continuously however between the seventh and ninth centuries, and in the ninth century the range of its contacts seems to have been narrowing.<sup>124</sup> The evidence of the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto though seems to suggest otherwise, for it shows St. Cuthbert's community was still in touch with a number of

centres in the ninth century, but most of these places were subject to the community, so this source and the Liber Vitae do not contradict each other.<sup>125</sup>

As well as looking at who is in the Liber Vitae it is of great interest to see who is not in it. One has to be cautious here, because there are some areas and some communities that we know hardly anything about, for the sources for this period come from only a few centres. One must bear in mind too that there are some folios missing from the Liber Vitae. Apart from the lack of a bishops' list, there are at least two folios which have been lost, and there may have been more. The two whose absence can be detected do come at the end of lists, and very probably contained no original writing,<sup>126</sup> but it is possible that some folios have been lost from within the lists too.<sup>127</sup> However some points can be made. Rather surprisingly perhaps, considering the original connection between Lindisfarne and Iona, there are no kings of Dál Riada in the book, although all three of the Pictish kings included did rule Dál Riada for periods as well as Pictland.<sup>128</sup> Nor are there any kings from Ireland. Less unexpectedly, no British rulers appear in the book, not even any connections of Rieinmelth of Rheged, wife of king Oswiu, and the first name in the list of queens. Three Pictish kings are included, the earliest being king Oengus I (729-61).<sup>129</sup> But a Pictish king one might have thought would be in is missing - this is Talorcen, king of the Picts from c.653 to c.657. He was the son of Eanfrith, king of Bernicia in 633-34, the older brother of kings Oswald and Oswiu.<sup>130</sup> The friendship of the Picts under Talorcen seems to have been of great assistance to king Oswiu in the 650's when he was very hard pressed by Penda of Mercia,<sup>131</sup> so Talorcen's omission is quite surprising. It is perhaps to be connected with the fact that his father Eanfrith, when he became king of Bernicia in 633, apostasized from the Christian faith he had learnt from the Irish while in exile. Because of this his name was removed from the Northumbrian regnal list.<sup>132</sup> This apostacy was probably not

forgotten by the monks of Iona, and in the 650's the connections between Lindisfarne and Iona were still close. The Bishop of Lindisfarne at that time was Finan, a monk who had been sent from Iona.<sup>133</sup> So it may be that the omission of Talorcen was due to disrespect for his father's memory.

There are very few Celtic ecclesiastics in the lists. There are only four definite instances of abbots of Irish monasteries in the book and one, Gerald of Mayo, was of English birth.<sup>134</sup> The other three all lived in the later eighth century - Augustine, abbot of Bangor, who died in 780; Sóerbergg, abbot of Clonmacnois, who died in 791; and Bressal, abbot of Iona, who died in 801.<sup>135</sup> As has already been mentioned, Bressal is apparently the only abbot of Iona in the Liber Vitae.<sup>136</sup> St. Egberht, the Englishman who lived among the Irish, is not in the Liber Vitae as now extant, but he would have been in the list of bishops.<sup>137</sup> In general, there are far fewer Celtic names in the book than one might have expected. Out of the 3120 names in the Liber Vitae only sixteen are definitely Celtic, plus four names which are not Celtic but which are known to belong to people who were. These four are abbot Augustine of Bangor; Constantine, king of the Picts; "raegnmaeld", which is an Anglicized form of the name of the British princess Rieinmelth; and Sóerbergg of Clonmacnois, who appears in the book under the English name of "saebercht".<sup>138</sup> There are also twelve names which are probably Celtic, and twenty-eight which might possibly be Celtic.<sup>139</sup> There may be one or two others hidden, like Rieinmelth, behind apparently English names. Added all together the Celtic names only represent 1.9% of the names in the Liber Vitae. As might be expected, of these Celtic names, many more are Irish than Welsh. But the vast majority of the people who were associated with St. Cuthbert's community had names of Germanic origin.<sup>140</sup>

There are some other noteworthy omissions in the Liber Vitae. One unexpected point is that, in spite of the connection between Bernicia and Wessex, in the seventh century



at least, there does not seem to be any West Saxon king included before Ecgberht in the earlier ninth century.<sup>141</sup>

Cynegils, king of Wessex from 611 to c.642, is not mentioned, and he was king Oswald's godson, and the father of Oswald's wife.<sup>142</sup> Also missing is Cynegils' son, Centwine, king from 676 to 685/6. He was married to the sister of Iurminburg, wife of king Ecgfrith of Northumbria, and his friendship with Ecgfrith is shown by his not allowing St. Wilfrid to settle in Wessex, when he was driven out of Northumbria by Ecgfrith and Iurminburg in 681.<sup>143</sup> Nor is king Ine of Wessex in the Liber Vitae. He ruled from 688 to 726 and was the brother of Cuthburh, the wife of king Aldfrith.<sup>144</sup> Cuthburh and her sister Cwenburh do both appear in the book.<sup>145</sup>

Also missing is Peada, son of Penda of Mercia, and king of the Middle Angles. He became a Christian mainly through his friendship with Alchfrith, king Oswiu's eldest son. Peada was baptized by Bishop Finan of Lindisfarne, in c.653, in the Northumbrian royal vill of Walbottle. Alchfrith was then already married to Peada's sister, Cyneburh, and after becoming a Christian, Peada was allowed to marry Alchflaed, the sister of Alchfrith.<sup>146</sup> A couple of years later, in 655, after Oswiu and Alchfrith had defeated and killed Penda at the battle of the "Winwaed", Oswiu took over the rule of the Mercians.<sup>147</sup> He did however allow Peada to rule the kingdom of the South Mercians, and one wonders if perhaps Peada had not helped his father in the campaign of 655, and if this was his reward. Yet in spite of all these connections with Northumbria Peada is not in the Liber Vitae, nor is his wife Alchflaed, even though she was the daughter of king Oswiu. The reason for this may lie in the events of 656. In that year, at Easter, Peada was killed, "through the treachery, it is said, of his own wife" - that is, presumably, Alchflaed.<sup>148</sup> It may be that the Northumbrians were wanting to get rid of Peada by then. Perhaps Oswiu felt strong enough to rule Mercia without the aid of any Mercian intermediaries by this time. If Peada was the victim of a Bernician royal family plot it is not surprising

that his existence was quietly ignored by the Bernician royal family's monastery. For good measure, Alchflaed was omitted from Lindisfarne's commemoration list as well.

Most of the Mercian kings after Penda, who was a pagan and an inveterate enemy of Northumbria,<sup>149</sup> do appear in the Liber Vitae. The exception is Ceolred, king from 709 to 716. This is a little unexpected, as his mother was Osthryth, a Northumbrian princess, another of the children of king Oswiu. She and her husband, king Aethelred of Mercia (675-704), are both in the Liber Vitae.<sup>150</sup> However Osthryth was assassinated in 697 by the Mercian "primates", a fact that Bede simply records in the chronological summary at the end of the Historia Ecclesiastica, without giving any explanation for it.<sup>151</sup> The result of this would be that Ceolred probably had no immediate links with Northumbria when he was king. He may have been on bad terms with the Northumbrians for the contemporary king in the north, Osred, who reigned 706-16, was killed in 716 "south of the border", that is, presumably, during an attack on Mercia.<sup>152</sup> However it must be said that other kings of Mercia, for example Wulfhere, Aethelred, and Aethelbald, fought against the Northumbrians at times, but they are still in the Liber Vitae.<sup>153</sup> Ceolred's wife, Werburh, does appear in the book, but it may be that she is in as an abbess rather than as a queen, for after Ceolred's death she became an abbess and lived a very long time, her death being in 782/3.<sup>154</sup> Presumably she had been married to Ceolred when she was very young. Apart from Ceolred, all the Mercian kings from Wulfhere to Offa do seem to be in the Liber Vitae.<sup>155</sup> Offa's successor, his son Ecgrith, is not included, no doubt because he had such a short reign - only a few months in 796.<sup>156</sup> He was succeeded by Coenwulf and he too is not in the book, probably because of the enmity there was between him and king Eardwulf of Northumbria. Eardwulf invaded Mercia in 801 because Coenwulf was giving refuge to the Northumbrian king's opponents, and in 806 or 808 Coenwulf seems to have been one of those behind the expulsion of Eardwulf from Northumbria.<sup>157</sup>

Coenwulf ruled until 821, but after his death Mercian power faded. None of the ninth-century rulers are included in the Liber Vitae - indicative probably of Mercia's decline at this period. It is interesting that it is then that the first West Saxon king appears in the book. A few Mercian queens and princesses of the ninth century do occur however;<sup>158</sup> perhaps, like Werburgh in the previous century, this was in the capacity of abbesses rather than queens.

In discussing those ecclesiastics who are not in the Liber Vitae one is greatly handicapped by the lack of a bishops' list, as the number of abbots and abbesses whose names are known is small compared to the number of bishops. Furthermore, the most famous churchmen, about whom we know most, were usually bishops. However some interesting omissions can be noted. One from Mercia is St. Guthlac, the anchorite of Crowland, who died in 714.<sup>159</sup> This is in accord with Bede, who does not mention him either.<sup>160</sup> Guthlac's sister, St. Pega, is missing as well.<sup>161</sup> It may be that there was little contact between Northumbria and this particular area of Mercia. Another person who lived in Mercia at about this same period, and who was remembered as a saint, was Mildburh, abbess of Much Wenlock in Shropshire in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. She was said to be the daughter of Merewalh, king of the "Magon-saete" in western Mercia, and his wife, Eormenburh, a Kentish princess.<sup>162</sup> Mildburh is not in the Liber Vitae, nor are her sisters - St. Mildryth, who became abbess of Minster-in-Thanet in Kent in succession to her mother, and St. Mildgyth, said to have lived in Northumbria.<sup>163</sup> Much Wenlock is another monastery about which Bede says nothing, and he does not mention Merewalh's saintly family. Much Wenlock was apparently dependent, at least at first, on the East Anglian monastery of "Icanho",<sup>164</sup> abbots of which do appear in the Liber Vitae,<sup>165</sup> so one might have expected Mildburh to be included too. Her non-appearance does suggest that there were few links between Northumbria and this western part of Mercia.

That two West Saxon abbots are not included is of significance in a different way. Abbots Eafa and Hereca, both of Malmesbury, are not in the Liber Vitae. Eafa was abbot in the earlier eighth century, when Bishop Lull was being brought up there.<sup>166</sup> Hereca was abbot later on, in the middle of the century.<sup>167</sup> At an earlier period there was some contact between Lindisfarne and Malmesbury for Aldhelm, as abbot of Malmesbury, is in the Liber Vitae. This contact no doubt resulted from Aldhelm's friendship with king Aldfrith.<sup>168</sup> The lack of later abbots suggests that this connection was not maintained, which shows that contacts between religious houses were not necessarily permanent. Sometimes too a connection might have been with a particular person rather than with their monastery, so that the relationship died when the person did. This fits in with what was said above about Boniface and his group of friends, where the stress was also on contacts with people rather than places.<sup>169</sup>

As has been seen, some of those engaged in Boniface's Continental mission do appear in the Liber Vitae.<sup>170</sup> There are, though, some who do not. One of these is Boniface's most important woman helper, St. Leofgyth or Leoba, abbess of Tauberbischofsheim.<sup>171</sup> She does not appear even though both her teachers, Tetta of Wimborne and Eadburh of Minster-in-Thamet, are in the book.<sup>172</sup> Thecla, abbess of Ochsenfurt and later of Kitzingen, another nun from Wimborne who went to work on the Continent, and a relation of both Leofgyth and Boniface, is not in the Liber Vitae either, nor is Waldburh, the sister of Willibald and Wynnebald, who became abbess of Heidenheim.<sup>173</sup> Two of Boniface's pupils who were born on the Continent, and who both became abbots, are also missing. These are Sturm, first abbot of Fulda, Boniface's most important monastic foundation;<sup>174</sup> and Gregory, abbot of Utrecht. Gregory is known to have been in contact with York in the time when Alcuin was in charge of the school there, but this connection must not have extended to other Northumbrian centres such as Lindisfarne.<sup>175</sup> So though Lindisfarne did have

links with Boniface's mission, these contacts were to some extent limited. This was probably because this mission's primary links were with centres in the south of England, in Wessex and Kent, and links with Northumbria developed later on.<sup>176</sup>

The most significant omissions though are those of Northumbrians. There is one which is particularly interesting - Oswine, king of Deira from 642 to 651, does not appear, even though he was associated with Bishop Aidan of Lindisfarne. Before 642 king Oswald had ruled both Bernicia and Deira but after his death in battle in that year the two halves of Northumbria went their own ways. Oswiu succeeded in Bernicia, and Oswine in Deira. Oswine was of the Deiran royal family, the son of king Osric, who ruled Deira in 633-34.<sup>177</sup> There seems to have been a contest for dominance between Oswiu and Oswine over the next few years - Bede says that even though Oswine was "a man of outstanding godliness and devotion", Oswiu "could not keep peace with him".<sup>178</sup> Probably each hoped to rule all Northumbria. Bishop Aidan managed to keep on good terms with both of them, although it is unlikely that Aidan's friendship with Oswine can have met with Oswiu's approval, for Oswine could have used it to increase his own influence in Bernicia.<sup>179</sup> The troubles between the two kings came to a head in 651, when they both gathered armies to fight each other.<sup>180</sup> Oswiu was able to raise a much larger army, and Oswine did not give battle, but dismissed his men and went into hiding. He was betrayed to Oswiu, who had him killed. Both the place where Oswine dismissed his army and the place where he was killed are in north Yorkshire, so it looks as if Oswiu had advanced into Deira and Oswine had been unable to stop him.<sup>181</sup> Oswine was the last known member of his family to be a king in Northumbria, which was ruled for the rest of the seventh century by the Bernician royal line. Oswiu's enmity towards Oswine helps to explain why Oswine's name is not in the Liber Vitae, in spite of his friendship with Aidan, for Lindisfarne was particularly connected with the family to which Oswiu belonged.<sup>182</sup> Oswine

represented a family which had challenged the Bernician royal line for supremacy in Northumbria, a challenge which had ended in his murder. Oswine's half-cousin, king Edwin, could appear in the Liber Vitae - Christianity had been introduced into the kingdom during his reign, and he had ruled a united Northumbria. But Oswine was probably best forgotten, in Bernicia at least. The monastery of Gilling in Yorkshire could foster his memory, to pacify the Deirans, but there was no need for Lindisfarne, in the heart of Bernicia, to remember him.<sup>183</sup>

Another king of Deira missing from the Liber Vitae is Oethelwald, the son of king Oswald. After the killing of Oswine, Oswiu ruled all Northumbria, but for a time at least he had sub-kings ruling under him in Deira. This was done no doubt to reconcile the Deirans to Bernician rule, especially after the murder of their king. However the sub-kings were not themselves Deirans, but younger members of Oswiu's own family. Oswiu may have hoped to keep his junior relatives occupied and out of trouble in this way. If this was the case he was doomed to disappointment. The first of these sub-kings was Oswiu's nephew, Oethelwald, who ruled in Deira from 651 to about 655.<sup>184</sup> In 655 when king Penda of Mercia attacked Northumbria, Oethelwald went over to the Mercians "and led them on to fight against his country and his uncle",<sup>185</sup> presumably hoping to become king of Northumbria himself if Penda defeated Oswiu. Instead Oswiu defeated Penda at the "Winwaed", and nothing more is heard of Oethelwald after this. His rebellion against Oswiu no doubt explains why his name is absent from the Liber Vitae, even though he was the son of Lindisfarne's founder.

As if to demonstrate however how complex the background could be to the appearance or non-appearance of a name in the Liber Vitae, Oethelwald's successor in Deira is in the book, even though his activities might have been expected to disqualify him. This was Oswiu's own son, Alchfrith.<sup>186</sup> He had been involved in the conversion to Christianity of Peada,

son of Penda, in c.653.<sup>187</sup> Over the decade after 655 Alchfrith was active in Northumbrian affairs, especially in his patronage of Wilfrid. However, before becoming a patron of the Roman party in the Northumbrian Church, Alchfrith had supported the Irish trained monks, and had founded the monastery of Ripon for monks from Melrose, Eata and Cuthbert being among those who went to settle there. Soon afterwards, under the influence of Wilfrid's teaching, Alchfrith asked the Ripon monks to conform to Roman practices. They refused to do so and left the monastery, which Alchfrith then granted to Wilfrid.<sup>188</sup> This occurred in the period between c.658 and 664. Melrose was part of Lindisfarne's "familia", so Ripon was presumably originally part of it too, being founded from Melrose. The loss of this house cannot have been pleasing to Lindisfarne. From a political point of view too one might have expected Alchfrith to be missing from the Liber Vitae, for, like Oethelwald before him, he eventually rebelled against king Oswiu. Exactly why and when Alchfrith quarrelled with his father is uncertain. Bede says Alchfrith attacked Oswiu, but says nothing about the date or the circumstances.<sup>189</sup> The quarrel seems to have happened in about 665, for Alchfrith is not heard of again after this date.<sup>190</sup> Yet in spite of all this, the fact of Alchfrith's being a son of Oswiu apparently outweighed other factors, and he is included in the Liber Vitae together with his father and his brothers.<sup>191</sup>

Berhtfrith, the "praefectus" who fought against the Picts in 711, is another Northumbrian who is missing.<sup>192</sup> During the succession dispute which followed the death of king Aldfrith in 705, he was one of those who supported Aldfrith's young son Osred, and after Osred had come to the throne, Berhtfrith was described as being "next in rank to the king".<sup>193</sup> It is possible, because of the "berht-" element in his name, that he was of the same family as Beornhaeth and Berhtred, who were also involved in fighting against the Picts - Beornhaeth in the early 670's, and his son Berhtred in 698.<sup>194</sup>

If this was so, it is all the more unusual that he does not figure in the Liber Vitae when other members of his family do.<sup>195</sup> King Osred, whom Berhtfrith supported, is in the book too.<sup>196</sup> Unfortunately, our knowledge of Northumbrian political history in the earlier eighth century is somewhat limited, so we cannot tell if there was some political reason for Berhtfrith's omission.

Most of the kings who ruled all Northumbria are included in the kings' list, but there are a few who are not. Aethelwold Moll, king from 759 to 765, is not in this list, though he does appear in the list of abbots, having become a cleric after he was expelled from the kingship.<sup>197</sup> He seems to have been associated mainly with Deira,<sup>198</sup> and this is presumably the reason why he did not give his support to Lindisfarne during his time as king. Osbald, king for twenty-seven days in 796, is also missing from the kings' list, but he too can be found in the abbots' list.<sup>199</sup> He died as an abbot in 799 and was buried in York Minster, so his community was probably in that city, and may have been associated with the Minster.<sup>200</sup> He was connected with Lindisfarne too however, for when he was expelled from the kingship in 796, he went first to Lindisfarne, and from there to Pictland.<sup>201</sup> His omission from the kings' list is presumably due to his having ruled for such a short time. A measure of political success seems to have been one of the necessary qualifications for getting into this list. There are a number of other members of Northumbrian royal families who failed to make the grade and who are missing from the Liber Vitae - Earnwine, son of Eadwulf, who died in 740; Offa, son of Aldfrith, who was captured by king Eadberht in 750; and Oelf and Oelfwine, the sons of king Aelfwold, who were executed by king Aethelred in 791.<sup>202</sup> To these one can probably add Oswine, who was killed in 761, and Earnred, who burnt Catterick in 769, both of whom may well have been of royal descent.<sup>203</sup> The person with the shortest reign who is in the Liber Vitae is Eadwulf, who reigned for two months in 705-6.<sup>204</sup> It may be that if Osbald had managed to hold onto power for just a few more weeks he might have got into the kings' list too.



Two Northumbrian kings who do not appear in the Liber Vitae are Alchred, who ruled 765-74, and his son, Osred II, king between 788/9 and 790.<sup>205</sup> They were of a Bernician royal line, but a different one to that of the seventh-century kings.<sup>206</sup> Osred II, who was killed in 792, was taken to be buried at Tynemouth, and it may be that this was the monastery which this family supported, rather than Lindisfarne.<sup>207</sup> King Alchred's wife, Osgifu, does appear in the Liber Vitae, but this may well be because she was a member of another branch of the Bernician royal family, many of whose members do figure in the book.<sup>208</sup>

The final point to be made about the Northumbrian kings is that none are included who reigned after the early 840's. Aethelred II is missing, who reigned c.843 to 852, except for a short while in 844.<sup>209</sup> He was the son of Eanred, the last name in the kings' list.<sup>210</sup> Also missing is Raedwulf, who replaced Aethelred II for a short time in 844, before being killed by the Vikings.<sup>211</sup> Neither Osberht nor Aelle are included, which is in accord with the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, which says that both took lands from St. Cuthbert.<sup>212</sup> Nor do any of the kings appear who ruled in Northumbria under Danish overlordship after York had fallen to the Vikings in 867.<sup>213</sup> These kings are Ecgberht I, who reigned 867-72, being expelled in the latter year; Ricsige, who ruled 873-76; and Ecgberht II, who reigned from 876 to c.878.<sup>214</sup> These kings are said to have reigned "beyond the Tyne", but it is uncertain whether this means in Deira or in Bernicia because it is not known where the annals recording their reigns were originally compiled.<sup>215</sup> If they did reign to the north of the Tyne their omission is particularly significant. It seems that St. Cuthbert's community lost the support of the Northumbrian kings in the mid-ninth century, unless it was that they had stopped making any record of their names, as they almost certainly had by the time Guthfrith was king between c.880-82 and 894-95.<sup>216</sup> The Historia

de Sancto Cuthberto supports the evidence of the Liber Vitae, for it does not record any ninth-century king as being a benefactor of Lindisfarne, except for Guthfrith.

Turning to those Northumbrian ecclesiastics who are omitted, two points have to be borne in mind; firstly, that there is no bishops' list, and secondly, that the ecclesiastical lists have their origins in the late seventh century, so that not too much can be made of the omission of many seventh-century names. For instance, the lack of the names of Heiu and Hild cannot be taken to mean that they had no connection with Lindisfarne, because the evidence of other sources is that they almost certainly did.<sup>217</sup> In the same way, little can be made of the fact that the members of the Roman party in the Northumbrian Church from the years before 664 are missing. These included James the Deacon, one of Archbishop Paulinus' clergy who stayed in Northumbria when Paulinus left in 633; Romanus, Queen Eanflaed's Kentish chaplain; and Ronan, an Irishman trained in Gaul and Italy, who argued with Bishop Finan of Lindisfarne about the dating of Easter.<sup>218</sup> James and Romanus were both on the Roman side at the Synod of Whitby. The opposition of these people to the customs of Lindisfarne makes their omission from the Liber Vitae quite explicable, but it must be said that their non-appearance is more probably due to their having lived a couple of decades too early to be included in the lists anyway. It is a great pity that the bishops' list is not extant, so that we cannot see whether or not Wilfrid was in it.

An unexpected omission is that of abbess Verca, the head of a religious house near the mouth of the river Tyne, probably South Shields. She was a friend of St. Cuthbert, who visited her monastery on one occasion.<sup>219</sup> It was Verca who had given Cuthbert the linen cloth which he asked might be used as his shroud at his burial, a request which probably marks Cuthbert's especial esteem for Verca.<sup>220</sup> On the whole people who were associated with St. Cuthbert do appear in the Liber Vitae, and two monks who lived in Verca's monastery at the time of the saint's visit are in the book, which makes her non-appearance all the more surprising.<sup>221</sup>

Most of the other Northumbrian ecclesiastics who are missing from the book were connected with Deira. Thrythwulf, the abbot of the monastery in Elmet Wood in c.731, does not appear. His monastery may have had some connection with the Deiran royal family, for preserved there was a stone altar which had come from a church built by St. Paulinus at king Edwin's royal residence of "Campodunum".<sup>222</sup> Hereburh, the abbess of a nunnery at Watton, in east Yorkshire, who lived in the early part of the eighth century, is also missing.<sup>223</sup> There are no identifications which can be connected definitely with the Deiran monasteries of Gilling and Lastingham - the only two important Northumbrian ecclesiastical centres not represented for certain in the Liber Vitae. Not too much can be made of the lack of Gilling names however, because the four people who are known to have lived at this house were there in the 650's and 660's, which is rather early for them to be likely to be in the Liber Vitae anyway. Also two of these four eventually became bishops, so they might possibly have been in that list instead. These two were Trumhere, the first abbot of Gilling, who became bishop of the Mercians;<sup>224</sup> and Tunberht, abbot of Gilling between c.659 and c.664, who held the see of Hexham between 681 and c.684.<sup>225</sup> Another of the four is Cynefrith, abbot of Gilling at some point in the 650's, who retired to go to study in Ireland, where he died of the plague, probably in 664.<sup>226</sup> He may be in the Liber Vitae in one of the lists of lesser churchmen, though this is not certain,<sup>227</sup> but he certainly does not appear in any of the lists of abbots. The fourth person was Cynefrith's brother, Ceolfrith, and he does come in the Liber Vitae, but not because of his connection with Gilling, where he was a monk from c.659 to c.664.<sup>228</sup> He is in the book in his capacity as abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow at a later period.<sup>229</sup> So no definite conclusions can be reached on this evidence as to the relations between Lindisfarne and Gilling, but it is of interest to note that Gilling was founded in memory of king Oswine of Deira, who is not in the Liber Vitae.<sup>230</sup>

The situation is similar with regard to Lastingham. The lack of a bishops' list means we cannot tell whether Cedd and Chad, the first two abbots of Lastingham, who both became bishops, were ever in the Liber Vitae or not. One might expect that they would have been as they both had strong connections with Lindisfarne.<sup>231</sup> Their brother, the priest Cynibill, who helped Cedd to dedicate the site of the monastery, is not in the book however.<sup>232</sup> Nor is Owini, a monk of Lastingham, who went with Chad to Lichfield.<sup>233</sup> Trumberht, another Lastingham monk, and one of Bede's teachers, is also missing.<sup>234</sup> It may be that any links that existed between Lindisfarne and Lastingham came to an end with the death of Chad in c.672.<sup>235</sup> It may also be of significance that Lastingham was founded by king Oethelwald, who, like Oswine, is missing from the Liber Vitae.<sup>236</sup>

The Liber Vitae, though only a list of names, can yet provide such an illustration of Lindisfarne's connections and contacts as to bring to life that community's place in ecclesiastical and secular society to an extent impossible of achievement for any other Anglo-Saxon monastery. When one considers too which people are or are not in the book, it can be seen that the Liber Vitae can reflect political realities, both in church and state, with accuracy. Often the omission of a name from the book can be explained by opposition on the part of that person to Northumbria, or sometimes more particularly to Bernicia, or to Lindisfarne. A major feature of the Liber Vitae is the groups of people that can be discerned in it. This goes together with other evidence to show the importance of such groups in society at this period, and a good example of how such a group developed and the role it played can be found in the friends and associates of St. Boniface. In particular a study of this network of friends shows how essential personal contacts were in the growth and maintenance of these affiliations. In the seventh century there were many links between the churches in England, Ireland, and Gaul, and this remained the case in the eighth century with

the addition of the new church in Germany.<sup>237</sup> One can see this situation reflected in the Liber Vitae, with support coming to Lindisfarne from people in all those areas, though the amount of support from Ireland is surprisingly small. A study of the names in the book shows though that the basis of the community's strength was in Northumbria, and especially in Bernicia. A major source of support came from the Northumbrian royal families, and the apparent loss of this in the mid-ninth century must have been a serious blow to the community. By this time too other communities in the North were probably dwindling and turning in upon themselves, as they lost resources both to the Vikings and to English kings and nobles, who needed to reward their own armies that fought against the Vikings. As monasteries declined they would no longer be able to give each other much support. Links with houses on the Continent and in Ireland would be disrupted, and sometimes entirely broken, by fighting in those parts of the world as well as in England.<sup>238</sup> So St. Cuthbert's community would have had to fall back on its resources. In the second half of the ninth century, kings, and abbots from other communities, were no longer being recorded in the Liber Vitae. The only names being entered by then were very probably those of the members of the community itself. St. Cuthbert's was now looking to its own people to support it, until such time as it could gain the good-will of the new Scandinavian ruling class, and regain that of any of the English aristocracy that had survived. The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto continues its record to show the community doing both these things in the late ninth and earlier tenth centuries,<sup>239</sup> but by then the Liber Vitae was no longer being kept up.

PART TWO - THE PLACE OF ST. CUTHBERT'S COMMUNITY IN SOCIETY.

Chapter Four - St. Cuthbert's Community.

Lindisfarne was founded from Iona in the early years of the reign of king Oswald (634-42).<sup>1</sup> One might expect that it would have been organized on similar lines to Iona, yet this does not seem to have been the case, at least not in all respects. Lindisfarne was founded both as a monastery and as a bishop's see. When Aidan came to Bernicia to be the first bishop at Lindisfarne, the type of church organization he was familiar with was monastic. This was probably also the case with his patron, king Oswald, who had been "instructed in the faith as the Irish taught it" while in exile in the lands of the Irish and the Picts.<sup>2</sup> But, though it is debatable how much Bernicia was affected by Paulinus' mission from Kent, up until a couple of years or so before the foundation of Lindisfarne the Northumbrians had known a different type of ecclesiastical organization, administered by a diocesan bishop. At Lindisfarne there seems to have been a fusion of the two.

Iona was the centre of one of the great Irish monastic confederations, indeed probably the greatest. Hamilton Thompson described such a confederation:-

"Each monastery with the communities founded from and dependent upon it, often at long distances, formed one united family over which its abbot exercised supreme jurisdiction".<sup>3</sup>

Columba's "familia", based on Durrow, Derry, and most importantly, Iona, is the best and the earliest definite example of this type of organization.<sup>4</sup> Once they were well established, they "had great powers of expansion: however far the monks travelled, they were still part of the family", to quote Kathleen Hughes.<sup>5</sup> Daughter-houses might be founded on new lands given to the community and inhabited by brothers sent from the main centre or

centres. Sometimes monasteries founded in the past might be admitted to the group or acquired by it. Such a confederation could spread beyond the limits of a particular diocese or kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Lindisfarne should be studied in the light of this to see if it built up a similar system.

One of the main features of the "familia Iae" - the group of monasteries and churches under the headship of Iona - was that it was ruled by an abbot and gave no administrative role to bishops.<sup>7</sup> Bede describes the organization of Iona thus:-

"This island always has an abbot for its ruler who is a priest, to whose authority the whole kingdom, including even bishops, have to be subject. This unusual arrangement follows the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop but a priest and a monk".<sup>8</sup>

Bishops within the Iona community were seen as holders of the highest of the orders of the Church, and fulfilled their duties of ordination, confirmation, and such, but they did not rule territorial dioceses.<sup>9</sup> It might be expected that Lindisfarne, an offshoot of Iona, would have been organized in the same way. Yet Bede describes the situation at Lindisfarne differently from that of Iona. In the prose Life of St. Cuthbert he describes it as follows:-

"And let no one be surprised that, though we have said above that in this island of Lindisfarne, small as it is, there is found the seat of a bishop, now we say also that it is the home of an abbot and monks; for it is actually so. For one and the same dwelling-place of the servants of God holds both; and indeed all are monks. Aidan, who was the first bishop of this place, was a monk and always lived according to monastic rule together with all his followers. Hence all the bishops of this place up to the present time exercise their episcopal functions in such a way that the abbot, whom they themselves have chosen by the advice of the brethren, rules the monastery;

and all the priests, deacons, singers and readers, and the other ecclesiastical grades, together with the bishop himself, keep the monastic rule in all things".<sup>10</sup>

Bede also describes the system at Lindisfarne in the Historia Ecclesiastica:-

"In fact in this monastery, even from ancient times, the bishop had been accustomed to live with his clergy and the abbot to live with the monks, who none the less belonged to the bishop's household, because Aidan who was the first bishop of this place came as a monk and established monastic life there".<sup>11</sup>

Bede follows both these descriptions with a reference to the organization of the church at Canterbury in the time of Augustine, to show that the system at Lindisfarne would have had the approval of the great pope Gregory. This objective of Bede may have coloured his description somewhat, but as the Life of St. Cuthbert was written for Lindisfarne and was checked and approved by the monks there, it must give an accurate picture of the situation in c.721 at least.

However it is possible that Bede was describing the situation as it was in his day, but not as it was in Aidan's time. The first abbot of Lindisfarne we know of is Eata, who was given this position after the Synod of Whitby in 664, when Bishop Colman left to return to Iona and Ireland.<sup>12</sup> Tuda was made Bishop of Northumbria after Colman had gone, but Bede does not specify where his see was. He was only head of the Northumbrian Church for a short while, because in the same year he died in an outbreak of plague.<sup>13</sup> For a period after this, between 664 and 678, there was no bishop residing at Lindisfarne, the see for the whole of Northumbria being fixed at York.<sup>14</sup> This was probably because of the defeat of the "Celtic" party at Whitby, and the influence of Wilfrid in Northumbria at this period. In 678, after Wilfrid was out of the way, Archbishop Theodore began the process of creating more sees in



Northumbria, and made Eata Bishop of Bernicia, with two episcopal sees - one at Lindisfarne, and one at Wilfrid's church at Hexham.<sup>15</sup> The first time that an abbot of Lindisfarne appears in the sources, contemporary with a bishop, is in 687, when Herefrith was abbot while Cuthbert was bishop.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that until Colman's departure in 664 the Bishop of Lindisfarne combined the roles of bishop and abbot. There would be nothing especially unusual in this - it was but an extension of the combination of the roles of monk and bishop which is well-attested in both the Eastern and Western Churches from the fourth century onwards.<sup>17</sup> It is interesting that when the see of Lindisfarne was revived in 678, it was the abbot of the community who became the bishop. It may be that Eata, having a second see at Hexham to look after as well, then appointed an abbot specifically to take care of Lindisfarne, and that this practice then continued, even after Lindisfarne and Hexham became separate sees in 681.<sup>18</sup> One point to set against this is that if the separation of the offices of bishop and abbot did not occur until 678 there would still have been some monks at Lindisfarne in c.721 who would remember this. But if one looks at Bede's accounts, nowhere does he state that Aidan appointed an abbot to rule the monastery; he leaves it rather vaguer than that.<sup>19</sup> It might be that Lindisfarne did have both a bishop and an abbot from the first, but there is no certainty about this.

What is clear from Bede's description is that the bishop and his clergy were all monks, and that they formed in some way one community with the abbot and the other monks. Quite how one differentiated between the monks who were the bishop's "followers" and the rest of the monks is unclear - perhaps the former were those who travelled around with the bishop when he toured his diocese. In his two accounts, Bede stresses rather different aspects when he describes the relationship of these two sections of the community to each other. In one of his accounts he emphasises that the monks and the abbot "belonged to the bishop's household".<sup>20</sup> In the other account he describes the situation from a different angle, with the emphasis on the fact that the abbot rules the monastery and that all

ranks in the community, including the bishop, are monks.<sup>21</sup> Colgrave says that this implies that the bishop was subject to the abbot,<sup>22</sup> but Bede does not go as far as that. Indeed, Bede says that it was the bishop who chose the abbot, which suggests that the abbot's office was the subordinate one. There is no evidence elsewhere suggesting that the bishop was subject to the abbot - in Bede's works and in the annals of the Historia Regum it is the bishops of Lindisfarne who emerge as the major figures; the abbots seem to be of lesser importance, indeed they are rarely mentioned.<sup>23</sup> However hard it is to define exactly the way Lindisfarne was organized, this does emerge - it was the bishop who was the main figure there, and this was the case right from its foundation, and in this it was certainly different from Iona.

It may not however have been very different from the arrangements in some other Irish ecclesiastical centres in the seventh century. It is usually held that the Irish Church was predominantly monastic by this period, but the case for this may have been overstated.<sup>24</sup> In the seventh century there were bishops in Ireland who were not connected with any monastery, and there were secular clergy not living under monastic vows. Both church and secular legislation show that bishops were accorded a very high status. A lot of the church legislation awards bishops greater distinction than abbots.<sup>25</sup> In some of the Canones Hibernenses, which date probably from the early eighth century, and in the Old Irish Penitential, of c.800, the "excelsis princeps" - the very important abbot - was seen as equivalent to the bishop; but equivalent, not higher.<sup>26</sup> A secular law tract of the early eighth century, the Críth Gablach, could say that a bishop was "more illustrious" than a king.<sup>27</sup> As well as having a high status, bishops are shown as having wide administrative powers in the Canones Hibernenses, Críth Gablach, and an eighth-century legal text called Ríagail Phátraic.<sup>28</sup> All these date from the eighth century, and do not seem to have been of purely historical interest then, but relevant to the Irish situation of that day, so their evidence probably applied with even greater force to the seventh century.

And at all times the early Irish Church showed much variety of organization. One of the things which most struck Kathleen Hughes was "the diversity existing within" this Church, "diversity of both constitution and discipline. The 'Celtic Church' was united in its doctrine, but it had no uniform method of government, liturgical practice, or standard of asceticism. Practices varied from church to church (even more than they varied in England or on the Continent), and there was recognition and tolerance of diversity". She goes on to say, "It is possible that the highly individual character of the early Irish church may have encouraged practical experiment".<sup>29</sup> There were places like Iona where the abbot dealt with all the affairs of the community and its dependencies, while the bishop or bishops, for there might have been more than one in such a monastery, had no administrative duties. There were places like Armagh where the offices of abbot and bishop were combined.<sup>30</sup> It may be that there were places organized in the way Lindisfarne was by 687, or earlier, with both a bishop with administrative powers, and an abbot. Kildare by the 680's had an "archiepiscopus" who performed administrative duties, and an abbess in charge of the community, though the situation at Kildare was a special case to some extent as the abbess could never have combined her job with that of a bishop.<sup>31</sup> But the example of Iona was not the only one for Lindisfarne to follow. King Oswald had asked for a bishop to work in his kingdom, not an abbot, because he needed a bishop to perform such tasks as the ordination of priests and confirmation.<sup>32</sup> It may have been felt that some other model of church government was more suitable in the circumstances than that of Iona. And considering "the very great degree of independence enjoyed by individual churches" in Ireland,<sup>33</sup> it is not surprising that Lindisfarne does differ in some ways from Iona.

Another question arising from a study of how Lindisfarne was organized is whether it formed part of Iona's "familia" or not. There are only snippets of information on this subject. We have no idea at all how the relationship was seen in Iona. What is known comes from Bede, who, for all his admiration of

the Irish monks,<sup>34</sup> would presumably not have approved of an episcopal see being subject to a monastery. One suspects that if such a situation had ever existed, he would have kept quiet about it. His description of Iona's confederation is as follows:-

"From both of these" (i.e. Iona and Durrow) "sprang very many monasteries which were established by his disciples in Britain and Ireland, over all of which the island monastery in which his body lies held pre-eminence".<sup>35</sup>

By "Britain" Bede here means the whole island as opposed to Ireland, so the monasteries founded "in Britain" would be those in Dál Riada, and not necessarily include Lindisfarne.<sup>36</sup> Bede gives the impression that Lindisfarne was an independent bishopric and community from the start, but there are hints here and there that, before 664 at least, links with Iona were closer than he admits. Aidan's successor as bishop, Finan, also came from Iona. In one place Bede says Finan "had also been sent from the Irish island monastery of Iona",<sup>37</sup> and in another he says "Finan succeeded him as bishop, having been consecrated and sent over by the Irish".<sup>38</sup> Finan's successor, Colman, was also from Iona, "from which he had been sent to preach the word to the English".<sup>39</sup> The impression here is not of Lindisfarne choosing members of its own community who were sent to Iona to be consecrated, but of Iona providing bishops for Lindisfarne when necessary. Then in 664, when Colman and his Irish monks, together with a number of monks of English race, and part of St. Aidan's relics, left Northumbria after the Synod of Whitby, the first thing Colman did was to go to Iona to report on what had happened.<sup>40</sup> Bede says Colman "returned to Ireland" ("Scottia", here meaning Iona) "in order to discuss with his own party what he ought to do in the matter".<sup>41</sup> It is hard to be certain, but it is possible that Lindisfarne was part of Iona's "familia" in its first decades of existence, and ceased to be so after 664. If not, it certainly maintained very close links with Iona until that date.<sup>42</sup>

Bede is also very reticent on the subject of Lindisfarne's own confederation of monasteries and churches.<sup>43</sup> In the same way one would not know from Bede that Wilfrid was head of a group of monasteries in Northumbria and Mercia, which all formed one "familia" headed by Ripon and Hexham.<sup>44</sup> This can be seen in Eddius Stephanus' Life of Wilfrid, but not in Bede's account in the Historia Ecclesiastica.<sup>45</sup> Bede was probably keeping quiet about a system which could transcend diocesan boundaries. It is noticeable in the Historia Ecclesiastica that Bede concentrates on dioceses much more than on monasteries, and tends to visualise the English Church in terms of episcopal organization.<sup>46</sup> The impression of monasteries he gives is a rather Benedictine one - of self-contained worlds, friendly towards one another, but basically independent.<sup>47</sup> But in reality the community of St. Cuthbert did not consist of just one site - Lindisfarne - but of many, spread, like her parent Iona's "familia", over a wide area, reaching beyond the boundaries of the standard-type diocese given to her by Archbishop Theodore's organizing and re-organizing in the late 670's and 680's.

Before discussing the various sites which made up Lindisfarne's "familia", a few words need to be said about a source which contains much information about many of these sites. This is the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, which was first compiled at Chester-le-Street in the mid-tenth century, in or after 945.<sup>48</sup> This original portion received additions and interpolations in the eleventh century, but these can be easily distinguished from the earlier material.<sup>49</sup> The text gives the history of the lands belonging to St. Cuthbert's community, and demonstrates the power of the saint. For the period before the community settled at Chester-le-Street in the 880's the author of the Historia seems to have been mainly reliant on oral traditions, together with the Life of St. Cuthbert,<sup>50</sup> and perhaps a few documents recording land grants.<sup>51</sup> The chronology of this section of the Historia dealing with events before c.900 is fairly poor, and the work is rather muddled and disjointed, this due in no small measure to the author's lack of

chronological knowledge. He has, for instance, king Ceolwulf and Bishop Egred making joint gifts to the community, even though they lived a century apart,<sup>52</sup> and he puts the story of the election of the Scandinavian king Guthfrith, which came at the end of the community's seven-year exile, before the story of the beginning of the exile in 875.<sup>53</sup> He also sometimes slots information in in odd places; for example, he sandwiches the record of a grant of four vills to St. Cuthbert in the eighth century inbetween two chapters relating the fall of York to the Danes in 866-67, and the devastation of Bernicia by Halfdane in 875.<sup>54</sup> The author presumably had a number of traditions and anecdotes to work on, but hardly any dates. For the period between c.900 and 945 he seems to have had more documentary evidence available, and his chronology is better, if still rather vague. The work has to be used with care, but it is of value and can be relied upon to some extent. Its record of which lands the community held in the pre-Viking period is probably fairly accurate, particularly in those parts of the account which seem to be based on documentary sources, though one has to be more cautious in accepting its statements as to who made particular grants. One's confidence in its information is increased by the fact that there is often evidence in other sources which suggests that places mentioned in the Historia were connected with St. Cuthbert's community.<sup>55</sup>

The various sites in St. Cuthbert's "familia" fall into a number of categories. Firstly, there are those sites which were definitely early ecclesiastical centres<sup>56</sup> and which were definitely associated with Lindisfarne. Then there are sites which were certainly under the community in the ninth century or earlier, but where the only evidence for ecclesiastical use dates from after c.900. There are also some sites which were associated with the community from early on, but with no known ecclesiastical use. Finally, there are those places which were definitely early religious centres, but which only possibly formed part of the community's "familia". Each of these categories will be studied in turn.

The first site to be studied is Lindisfarne itself. This was a royal foundation, the island having been given to Aidan by king Oswald in the 630's.<sup>57</sup> It continued to be associated with this royal family in particular, and also with other Northumbrian royal families until the mid-ninth century.<sup>58</sup> Lindisfarne had a relic of king Oswald, his head, given to the community by king Oswiu in 643.<sup>59</sup> In 664 it was Oswiu who appointed Eata as abbot of Lindisfarne, although it is not known whether he did this by virtue of being king or by virtue of his being the brother of the founder of the house.<sup>60</sup> King Ecgfrith and king Ceolwulf were both remembered as being great benefactors of the community, and Ceolwulf, when he abdicated in 737, became a monk at Lindisfarne.<sup>61</sup> It is possible that the descendants of one of the Northumbrian royal families still had connections with St. Cuthbert's community in the tenth century - Uhtred, a member of the family of the high-reeves of Bamburgh, helped the community to settle at Durham in 995.<sup>62</sup> Lindisfarne may have been a royal site of some sort before it was given to Aidan. Urien, king of the British kingdom of Rheged, besieged the Bernicians on the island in the later part of the sixth century on one occasion, which suggests that there was an Anglian stronghold there.<sup>63</sup>

The community of St. Cuthbert inhabited Lindisfarne until the period 830-45, the episcopate of Bishop Egred. In his time the body of St. Cuthbert, and therefore the centre of the community, was moved to Norham on the Tweed, about fifteen miles from Lindisfarne, and seven and a half miles inland from the sea.<sup>64</sup> The move was probably because of the increase in Viking attacks which occurred after c.835.<sup>65</sup> It is uncertain whether the main community moved back to Lindisfarne or not in the following years. Simeon of Durham, who suppresses the fact that St. Cuthbert was moved to Norham, and the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, which records it, both say that the seven-years' wanderings of the community, between 875 and c.882, began at Lindisfarne, and the Historia Regum says the same.<sup>66</sup>

It seems unlikely that the community would have moved back to the coast during this troubled period, having once left it, but there is no way of knowing for certain what did happen. The reason for the decision to move again in 875, whether it was from Norham or from Lindisfarne, was presumably the devastation of Bernicia by Halfdane's Vikings in 875, and the settlement of that army in Northumbria in the following year.<sup>67</sup> Lindisfarne was not completely deserted over the next two hundred years however. A silver coin of king Alfred found at Lindisfarne priory during excavations in 1924 is evidence for some continued occupation of the site.<sup>68</sup> In 941 the island was attacked by "the men of York", which probably means the Scandinavians who had settled in and around that city, and "many people" were killed.<sup>69</sup> The attack was in retaliation for the death of Olaf Guthfrithson, king at York, who died after he had attacked Tynninghame, another place associated with St. Cuthbert.<sup>70</sup> This suggests, firstly, that Lindisfarne was still inhabited, and also that it had remained a dependency of St. Cuthbert's community, as it was throughout the Middle Ages. Sculpture found on the island, dating from the late ninth century to the late tenth, together with one piece which may be of the eleventh century, provides further evidence of continued ecclesiastical occupation.<sup>71</sup> In 1069, during William I's Devastation of the North, the body of St. Cuthbert returned to Lindisfarne for a time, when the community fled from Durham to escape from the king's army. The brothers stayed on the island over the winter and returned to Durham in March 1070.<sup>72</sup> The church of Lindisfarne, together with the vill of Fenham on the mainland opposite, were confirmed to the new Benedictine foundation at Durham in 1083 by Bishop William of Saint-Calais, a grant which is recorded in the Liber Vitae.<sup>73</sup> A priory dependant on Durham was founded on the island at about this date.<sup>74</sup> The connection between Lindisfarne and Durham lasted to the nineteenth century, for down to 1844 the lands associated with Lindisfarne, known as Islandshire, formed a detached part of the County Palatine of Durham.<sup>75</sup>



The exact site of the early monastery at Lindisfarne is not known. Only a little excavation has been done and no buildings which definitely belong to the early monastery have been found.<sup>76</sup> So it is not known whether the monastery here bore any physical resemblance to its parent on Iona, where much excavation has been done.<sup>77</sup> The early monastery of Lindisfarne included a hermitage site on the tiny St. Cuthbert's Island two hundred yards off the shore of the main island. This was used by Cuthbert before he went to Farne, and later by Bishop Eadberht, who used to retire there for the seasons of Lent and Advent.<sup>78</sup>

Another hermitage site associated with the community is Farne Island.<sup>79</sup> This was in use before 651, for Bishop Aidan "often used to retire there to pray in solitude and silence".<sup>80</sup> Cuthbert went to live there as a hermit for a number of years prior to 685, when he became a bishop, and he returned there after Christmas 686 to spend the last few months of his life in his hermitage. He died there on March 20th, 687.<sup>81</sup> His successors as hermits on Farne were first, Oethelwald,<sup>82</sup> and then Feligeld, who was still alive in about 721.<sup>83</sup> Others may have lived there after Feligeld, but we do not know the names of any.<sup>84</sup> The island seems to have remained as a cell of St. Cuthbert's community. In the twelfth century two hermits were living on Farne, one of them being Thomas, who had been prior of Durham until 1163. In the 1190's a cell for two monks from Durham was set up on the island, which remained in use through the Middle Ages.<sup>85</sup>

The third monastic site associated with the community which was in existence before 651 was Melrose. Cuthbert became a monk there after seeing a vision at the time of Aidan's death in 651.<sup>86</sup> The monastery was then ruled by abbot Eata, who was one of twelve English boys who became pupils of Aidan on his first coming to Northumbria.<sup>87</sup> This suggests that Melrose was a daughter-house of Lindisfarne, Eata being sent as abbot from the parent monastery. Eata became abbot of Lindisfarne in about 664 and continued to be abbot of Melrose

as well.<sup>88</sup> Cuthbert became prior of Melrose in the early 660's after the death of his teacher, the previous prior, Boisil.<sup>89</sup> Eata later brought Cuthbert to Lindisfarne to be prior there.<sup>90</sup> The connection between Melrose and Lindisfarne is further demonstrated by the career of Aethelwald later in the seventh century. In the period 685-87, when Cuthbert was Bishop of Lindisfarne, Aethelwald was one of his servants, who travelled with him on his pastoral tours.<sup>91</sup> Later Aethelwald became prior, and then abbot, of Melrose.<sup>92</sup> In 721 he was himself made Bishop of Lindisfarne.<sup>93</sup>

The association between the two monasteries is also vouched for by a passage in the Historia Regum, added under the date 854 in the "Recapitulation" section.<sup>94</sup> Most of the information given under this year is taken from the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, but the compiler has also included a list, from some other source, of places which belonged to St. Cuthbert's church. One of the places in the list is Melrose. Though placed under 854 the true date of the list is not known, but it may represent a genuine catalogue of sites owned by St. Cuthbert's community before the Scandinavian settlement in Northumbria. The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto itself also records the link, in a rather mangled form. It says that after Cuthbert became a monk at Melrose, Boisil, miscalled abbot of that house, gave Cuthbert the monastery of Melrose, with its "appendicii", "that he should hold it as his own" after Boisil had died.<sup>95</sup> As possessions of St. Cuthbert and possessions of his community were seen as all one and the same, and bearing in mind that the Historia is essentially a record of the community's landholdings, the mention of the grant, inaccurate as it is, suggests that in the tenth century the community still laid claims to Melrose.

Melrose was burned down in the ninth century, not by Vikings, but by Kenneth mac Alpin, king of Dál Riada from c.840 to 858, and king of the Picts too from c.842.<sup>96</sup> It

is not known whether Melrose recovered from this attack or not. In the first half of the eleventh century Alfred Westou, the Durham relic hunter, brought the bones of St. Boisil from Melrose to Durham and placed them in a shrine "similar to that in which they had formerly rested",<sup>97</sup> which suggests that there was still a recognisable shrine of Boisil at Melrose at this time, and perhaps even some sort of religious use of the site. Later, in about 1074, Aldwine, a monk from Winchcombe abbey in Gloucestershire, attempted to set up a Benedictine monastery on the site of the old community, said by Simeon of Durham to be deserted.<sup>98</sup> Aldwine's attempt failed because of the hostility of Malcolm III, king of Scots, but a church dedicated to St. Cuthbert remained on the site, dependent on Durham, until 1124-36. David I, king of Scots, then acquired it from Durham and gave it to the new Cistercian monastery which he founded in 1136, two miles higher up the Tweed.<sup>99</sup> The site of the original monastery is now known as Old Melrose.

The "familia" of Lindisfarne in the time of Aidan contained a number of other churches too, which demonstrate one way in which the confederation could be built up. Aidan had "a church and a cell" ("ecclesia et cubiculum") at each of the royal estates, which he used as centres for preaching tours.<sup>100</sup> He may have had one at Yeavinger, which was probably rebuilt in Oswald's reign.<sup>101</sup> It was at this period that a Christian church, associated with a large cemetery, was built at Yeavinger.<sup>102</sup> A royal estate where Aidan is known to have had a church was situated "not far away from the city" of Bamburgh. It was in a tent put up against the wall of this church that Aidan died in 651, leaning on a buttress of the church, which eventually came to be preserved as a relic.<sup>103</sup> It is not known whether there is any connection between this church and the church of St. Aidan at Bamburgh, the only ancient parish church in England dedicated to him.<sup>104</sup> It is situated a third of a mile from the castle rock of Bamburgh. It was granted, together with the church in the castle, to the Augustinian priory of Nostell in Yorkshire in c.1121, but the canons could not get possession of

St. Aidan's church until its rector died in 1171. In c.1228 Nostell set up a priory in the church, which also continued to serve as the parish church.<sup>105</sup> Any connection with St. Cuthbert's community had presumably lapsed before the twelfth century.

Later in the seventh century there seems to have been a connection between Lindisfarne and Carlisle. In May 685 Cuthbert, who had not then been a bishop for long, was visiting the city, and had a vision of king Ecgfrith's defeat and death at the battle of "Nechtanemere" in Pictland.<sup>106</sup> There was already a monastery at Carlisle then, ruled over by the sister of Iurminburg, Ecgfrith's queen. Iurminburg was staying at this convent while Ecgfrith was away,<sup>107</sup> and after Ecgfrith's death she became a nun there, being consecrated by Cuthbert.<sup>108</sup> Carlisle was apparently part of Cuthbert's diocese as he went to ordain priests there, and was asked to dedicate a church in a monastery near the city.<sup>109</sup> The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto says that Ecgfrith gave Cuthbert "the city which is called Luel" (that is, Carlisle) "which extended fifteen 'milliaria' in circuit and in that city he founded a religious community, and ordained an abbess, and established schools".<sup>110</sup> Parts of this seem to be inference on the part of the Historia's author based on Bede's account - the monastery was already there before Cuthbert's visit and he is unlikely to have founded it at some previous time as he had spent a number of years before 685 on Farne Island. But though some of the details may be suspect, it is still quite possible that the community at Lindisfarne did hold land in Carlisle and had some connection with the monastery there.<sup>111</sup>

This connection seems to have lasted until the later ninth century. St. Cuthbert's community apparently stayed at Carlisle for a time during their seven-years' wanderings. The abbot of the community, Eadred, is called the abbot of Carlisle in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto at one point.<sup>112</sup>



Simeon of Durham says that Eadred was educated in the monastery at Carlisle and became abbot there before 875, when he was summoned to Lindisfarne by Bishop Eardwulf, becoming abbot of the main community in its travels.<sup>113</sup> This though is probably all a development by Simeon from the statement in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, trying to reconcile Eadred appearing as both abbot of Carlisle and of St. Cuthbert's community.

It is appropriate at this point to give some account of the seven-years' wandering of the community. The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto is the primary source for this, as other later accounts appear to be largely based upon it. This work has two chapters concerning this period of the community's history, and the accounts contained in these seem to contradict each other to some extent. One chapter says that Bishop Eardwulf and abbot Eadred carried the body of St. Cuthbert away from Lindisfarne, and "they wandered over the land with it, carrying it from one place to another for seven years".<sup>114</sup> Eventually they arrived at the mouth of the river Derwent in Cumberland and took ship there, intending to sail to Ireland. However they were prevented from doing so by a great storm, and returned to land. The community then went to the monastery of Crayke in Yorkshire and stayed there for four months, and then moved to Chester-le-Street. In the other chapter, which deals only with how the seven-years' wandering came to an end, abbot Eadred had a vision of St. Cuthbert giving him certain instructions.<sup>115</sup> It is at this point that Eadred is called abbot of Carlisle, which suggests that the community was then staying at Carlisle. In accordance with his orders, Eadred went "across the Tyne" to negotiate with the Danish army about the election of Guthfrith as king, and the grant of the land between the Tyne and the Wear to St. Cuthbert. With Eadred's assistance Guthfrith became king and gave the required land-grant to the saint. The Historia then goes on to say that after this "Bishop Eardwulf brought to the army and to the hill<sup>116</sup> the body of St. Cuthbert, and over it the king himself and the whole army swore peace and fidelity, for as long as they lived; and they kept this oath well". The Historia is not very helpful in dating

these events. It says only that Eadred's vision of St. Cuthbert, which led to the election of Guthfrith, happened after the Viking leader Halfdane had left Northumbria.<sup>117</sup> This must have occurred soon after his followers had settled in Yorkshire in 876, for he was killed in Ireland in 877.<sup>118</sup> The story of the beginning of the exile, which comes after the story of its end, follows on from a record of a purchase of land by abbot Eadred from king Guthfrith and the Danish army, and is simply introduced by the phrase "at this time also", which is not very useful.<sup>119</sup>

The other main record of the seven-years' wandering is Simeon of Durham's Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, written in 1104-8. His account is based on that of the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, and though it is much longer, he adds little useful information, although he arranges his story more logically. He dates the beginning of the exile to 875, and says that as well as the body of St. Cuthbert, the community took with them in the same shrine the head of king Oswald, part of the bones of St. Aidan,<sup>120</sup> and the bones of Bishops Eadberht, Eadfrith, and Aethelwald.<sup>121</sup> The other extra information Simeon provides concerns the Lindisfarne Gospels. He says that when the community tried to cross to Ireland, the Gospels were lost overboard in the storm,<sup>122</sup> but were found again three days later at a time of very low tide, while the community was in the "neighbourhood" of Whithorn.<sup>123</sup> Simeon does not mention Carlisle, but says that after the death of Halfdane the community settled at Crayke, and it was while he was there that Eadred had his vision concerning the election of Guthfrith. No date is given to this event.<sup>124</sup> To this information can be added that of the Historia Regum. This, under the year 875, says that Bishop Eardwulf and abbot Eadred took the body of St. Cuthbert from Lindisfarne, and "wandered far and wide for seven years".<sup>125</sup> This entry may come from an early set of northern annals. Under 883, this source relates the story of the election of Guthfrith and the settlement at Chester-le-Street, but its information here probably derives from the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, rather than from any independent

set of annals.<sup>126</sup> The date 883 is probably too late for Guthfrith's accession. Seven years of wandering beginning in 875 gives a date of 882 for the end of the exile and the start of Guthfrith's reign, but it is possible that the number seven is symbolic rather than factual.<sup>127</sup> According to Simeon of Durham and the Historia Regum, Guthfrith died in 894, while Aethelweard dates his death to 24th August, 895.<sup>128</sup> Guthfrith's reign-length is said to have been fourteen years, which would mean he became king in 880 or 881.<sup>129</sup>

On the basis of the information in these sources, the following is offered as an account of St. Cuthbert's travels between 875 and the early 880's. Leaving Bernicia in 875, the community went to Cumbria, then apparently relatively free from Viking attacks. The intention was probably to live on its estates in that region. It may well be that the community lived mostly at Carlisle in this period. At some point an attempt was made to cross to Ireland to settle there, but this failed. The sources place this attempted crossing at the end of the seven-years' wandering, but it might have happened earlier. It is uncertain how much credence to give to Simeon's statement that very soon after this the community was in the Whithorn area. As Northumbria had probably lost this area to the Britons of Strathclyde and the Norse by this period,<sup>130</sup> it seems unlikely that St. Cuthbert's community would choose to go there. It may perhaps represent some attempt by Durham in the twelfth century to lay claim to an interest in Whithorn.<sup>131</sup> After the failure of the move to Ireland, the community turned their attention east of the Pennines again. Here the somewhat contradictory accounts contained in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto need to be studied. One chapter says the community was at Crayke before moving to Chester-le-Street, while the other suggests that it was at Carlisle just before settling in County Durham. These two accounts can be fitted together however. What probably happened is that having decided to try to re-settle east of the Pennines, the community went from their temporary



home at Carlisle to stay at Crayke, another of their properties, while negotiations with the Danish army were going on. Crayke, about which more will be said below, would be conveniently near York for this purpose. When a settlement had been reached, the community went from Crayke to settle at their new home at Chester-le-Street, having received what may well have been the territories once belonging to Monkwearmouth-Jarrow.<sup>132</sup> These events occurred in about 880 or 881.

To return to Carlisle, Cumbria was lost to English rule in the first part of the tenth century with Norse settlement in the area and then the expansion south of the British kingdom of Strathclyde.<sup>133</sup> St. Cuthbert's community very probably lost control over Carlisle at the same time. The community attempted to revive the connection after William Rufus regained the city from the Scots in 1092,<sup>134</sup> and pressed its claim to regard Carlisle as part of the diocese of Durham, in opposition to the Scottish bishopric of Glasgow.<sup>135</sup> However Durham lost control of Carlisle during Bishop Rannulf Flambard's exile in 1101, and was never able to regain it.<sup>136</sup> A new diocese of Carlisle was set up in 1133, using the new Augustinian priory, founded 1122-23, as the cathedral.<sup>137</sup> So apart from a brief period between 1092 and 1101 the connection between Carlisle and St. Cuthbert's community came to an end in the early tenth century.

Another site which was certainly an early monastery and which was also supposedly given to St. Cuthbert in his lifetime was Crayke in Yorkshire. This was said to be given to Cuthbert by king Ecgfrith and Archbishop Theodore "so that he should have a place to stay on his way to or from York".<sup>138</sup> The author presumably envisaged the grant being made at the time of Cuthbert's consecration at York at Easter 685.<sup>139</sup> Cuthbert is said to have "founded a community of monks and ordained an abbot" there.<sup>140</sup> There seems no reason to disbelieve this account, except that it is best to be a little wary about any grants said to be made to Cuthbert by Ecgfrith.

As Craster points out, gifts made to the community from Cuthbert's time onwards tended to be made to the saint, as if he were still alive, as indeed it was believed he was, in a way.<sup>141</sup> And by the mid-tenth century, when the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto was compiled in the main, the community may in many cases have forgotten who the original donors of land grants were. Often grants may have been thought to have been made by Ecgfrith because he was alive when Cuthbert was, and was closely involved in Cuthbert's appointment as a bishop.<sup>142</sup>

Crayke next appears as the home of Echha, an anchorite who died in 767.<sup>143</sup> Echha appears briefly in Alcuin's poem on the saints of York, where no hint is given of any association with Lindisfarne.<sup>144</sup> He does appear, however, in the Liber Vitae in the list of anchorites.<sup>145</sup> A connection with St. Cuthbert's does seem to be vouched for as well by two incidents in the ninth century. In the middle of that century Aelle, king of Northumbria, "took back" Crayke from the community, together with some other villas. Aelle was said to be "staying in Crayke because of hatred of St. Cuthbert" in 866-67, when the Vikings attacked York.<sup>146</sup> Later on, the community stayed for four months at Crayke in the early 880's, being "charitably received there by the good abbot, Geve".<sup>147</sup> This residence at Crayke has been mentioned above.

The community managed to keep control of Crayke in the later Anglo-Saxon period. In the Liber Vitae itself there is the record of the gift of two hides of land at Crayke to the community by earl Thored in the late tenth century.<sup>148</sup> In Domesday Book the Bishop of Durham held Crayke, and there was a church and a priest there.<sup>149</sup> The parish church of Crayke is dedicated to St. Cuthbert,<sup>150</sup> and may well be on or near the site of the early monastery. Excavations done at Crayke near the churchyard have yielded early burials and other features.<sup>151</sup>

St. Cuthbert's confederation was enlarged by further acquisitions in the eighth century. One new monastery associated with Lindisfarne was that described in the poem De Abbatibus. This was founded in the period between 706 and 716.<sup>152</sup> The site of this monastery is unknown. One suggestion has been Bywell, on the river Tyne, mainly because Ecgberht, Bishop of Lindisfarne, to whom the poem is dedicated,<sup>153</sup> was consecrated at Bywell in 803.<sup>154</sup> However bishops were not always consecrated at churches with which they had any particular connection, as witness Cuthbert being ordained at York. A major factor in the choice of such places seems to have been accessibility, so that all the other bishops could reach them easily. So Bywell remains only a suggestion. Very little information about the site of the monastery is given in the poem, and its editor, Campbell, says, "Any place near a small hill in the north of England might be the site".<sup>155</sup> To this should be added any place near a small hill in the south of Scotland, for that region too was part of Northumbria then.

A group of sites were later remembered as having been the gifts of king Ceolwulf. The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto says that Woodhorn, Whittingham, Edlingham, and Eglingham were given by king Ceolwulf and Bishop Ecgred, and that Ecgred consecrated the churches in each of the villages.<sup>156</sup> As it stands this cannot be quite right as Ceolwulf and Ecgred lived a century apart, but it is feasible that Ceolwulf gave these places to the community, perhaps at the time he became a monk there, and that many years later Ecgred established churches in them. However Edlingham was an ecclesiastical site of some sort in the mid-eighth century, for part of a cross-shaft of that date has been found there, about 500 yards from the church.<sup>157</sup> This suggests that there was a church at this site well before Ecgred's episcopate in the ninth century. There was certainly a church at Whittingham in the late Anglo-Saxon period, for the west tower of the parish church is eleventh-century in date.<sup>158</sup> There is also a plain cross-head, of uncertain date, in the

churchyard.<sup>159</sup> It has been suggested that Whittingham is "Cettingaham", where Eanberht was consecrated Bishop of Hexham in 800. If this was so, then there was a church already there before the time of Egred at this place too.<sup>160</sup> Woodhorn has evidence of ecclesiastical use in the later Anglo-Saxon period in the form of fragments of a cross of mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century date. This cross is allied to sculpture produced by St. Cuthbert's community at this period.<sup>161</sup> Moreover the side walls of the nave of Woodhorn church are probably of the early eleventh century, and there are fragments of other stones within the church which are "appreciably earlier in character than the fabric of the nave". These stones may even date back to the pre-Viking period.<sup>162</sup>

St. Cuthbert's community eventually lost control of three of these churches, and lost the fourth for some time too. Whittingham church was held by the king in the early twelfth century. At some time before 1123 Henry I gave the church together with three other ancient churches in Northumberland, to his chaplain, Richard de Aurival. A little later he ordered that after the chaplain's death, the four churches were to go to the newly founded priory at Carlisle. This grant to Carlisle was confirmed by the Bishop of Durham in 1193-94. The advowson of Whittingham is still held by the dean and chapter of Carlisle. The other three churches were Warkworth, Corbridge, and Rothbury.<sup>163</sup> Eglington was granted to the re-founded Benedictine priory of Tynemouth between 1106 and 1116 by Winnoc, and Tynemouth also acquired Woodhorn at some time before 1119. In 1174, at the settlement of a dispute between Durham and St. Albans abbey over the ownership of Tynemouth, Durham gave up her claims to Eglington and Woodhorn, and confirmed Tynemouth's ownership of these churches.<sup>164</sup> Edlington church had come to be held by Tynemouth as well before about 1138, but Durham received this property at the settlement in 1174.<sup>165</sup> The grant by which Tynemouth had come to hold Edlington is of interest because it was made by Gospatric, son of Gospatric, earl of Northumbria, 1070-72, and so a descendant of the family of the high-reeves of Bamburgh.<sup>166</sup> It may be that this church had come back into the

hands of one of the royal or semi-royal families of Northumbria. The same might have been the case with Whittingham, which also had come into royal ownership. There might be a connection with these sites having originally been the gifts of king Ceolwulf. There is no way of telling at what date between the eighth and the twelfth centuries St. Cuthbert's community lost these churches.

Bishop Ecgred is also said to be associated with a number of other grants to the community. Probably a few benefactors - king Ecgfrith, king Ceolwulf, and Bishop Ecgred - came to be credited with donations made by other, less well-remembered people.<sup>167</sup> Ecgred is said to have given to St. Cuthbert two villas "both called Jedworth, and whatever belonged to them".<sup>168</sup> The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto says nothing about a church, but according to the Annals of Lindisfarne Ecgred was the builder of a church at "Geddeworde".<sup>169</sup> This may only be an inference from the earlier account, or it may preserve an old tradition. "Jedworth" came to be called Jedburgh after the medieval burgh had been founded there at some date before 1165.<sup>170</sup> Jedburgh was in fact an ecclesiastical site well before Ecgred's time, as there is sculpture there dating from about the mid-eighth century.<sup>171</sup> It may be that the site was associated with Lindisfarne, or perhaps Melrose, from its first foundation, and that the grant of the land there was later attached to Ecgred. Or it may be that in the ninth century Lindisfarne acquired an older monastery that had previously had no connection with St. Cuthbert's "familia", though it would presumably have been within the diocese of Lindisfarne. The church of Jedburgh is not heard of again until the late eleventh century, when Eadwulf Rus, the supposed murderer of Bishop Walcher of Durham in 1080, was buried there.<sup>172</sup> Eadwulf Rus was a member of the Bamburgh family who were so associated with St. Cuthbert's community. So Jedburgh was still in use for burials at least at that time. The church was apparently used by the Augustinian priory founded at Jedburgh in c.1138 until a new church was ready for the canons.<sup>173</sup> The connection between St. Cuthbert and Jedburgh was still remembered in the late eleventh century, for Durham was then

engaged in a dispute with the bishopric of Glasgow about who had jurisdiction over the priests of Teviotdale.<sup>174</sup> This dispute, like that over Carlisle, was lost while Bishop Rannulf Flambard was in exile in 1101.<sup>175</sup>

Billingham in Hartness is another place said to have been acquired by Bishop Ecgred.<sup>176</sup> It is one of a number of sites in the Tees Valley which apparently came into the possession of St. Cuthbert's community at this time, the others being Cliffe, Wycliffe, and Gainford.<sup>177</sup> Before this, the community does not seem to have owned any sites between the Tyne and the Tees, nor any, with the possible exception of Gilling,<sup>178</sup> in the Tees Valley area.<sup>179</sup> Presumably houses such as Monkwearmouth-Jarrow and Hartlepool were dominant in these areas. The fact that Billingham is said to be "in Hartness" suggests it may once have been associated with Hartlepool, which is some seven and a half miles away. Billingham was certainly an ecclesiastical centre well before Bishop Ecgred's day, as a grave-marker of the first half of the eighth century was found there last century.<sup>180</sup> The rest of the Anglo-Saxon sculpture there is of various dates between the mid-ninth and the eleventh centuries, and parts of the present church are of the mid or early eleventh century.<sup>181</sup> The dedication of the church to St. Cuthbert probably dates from the time of its acquisition by the saint's community. Billingham was lost by the community on at least two occasions, once in the mid-ninth century to king Aelle,<sup>182</sup> and once in the earlier tenth century to Ragnald, the Norse king of York, and his commander Scula.<sup>183</sup> On both occasions St. Cuthbert's managed to regain the vill.<sup>184</sup> It had apparently been taken from the community again by the later eleventh century as William I restored it to Durham when the monastery became Benedictine in 1083. The record of this is entered in the Liber Vitae in a twelfth-century hand.<sup>185</sup>

Gainford was another ecclesiastical centre already in existence acquired by St. Cuthbert's in the ninth century. The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto says, "the holy bishop Ecgred built a church at the vill called Gainford and he gave it, and

all that belonged to it, to St. Cuthbert".<sup>186</sup> It is doubtful whether Ecgred did build a church at Gainford - if he did, it was a rebuilding, for there was a church there before his day. By the end of the eighth century Gainford was a monastery, for the death of its abbot, Edwin, occurred in 801. He was buried in the monastery church.<sup>187</sup> However, even if Ecgred did not build Gainford church, he may still have acquired this place and given it to St. Cuthbert. The vill was certainly in the ownership of St. Cuthbert's community by the early tenth century, for in the time of Edward the Elder (899-924) Gainford was held from the community by Eadred, son of Rixing, probably the Ricsige who was king of Northumbria 873-76.<sup>188</sup> It was lost to the community for a time after the second battle of Corbridge in 918, in which Ragnald defeated the Northumbrians, and in which Eadred was killed. After the battle Ragnald seized all the lands that Eadred had held of St. Cuthbert's community, including Gainford.<sup>189</sup> However the community had regained possession of Gainford by about 1000, when it was leased with other lands to three Northumbrian earls, one of them being Uhtred, who helped the community to settle at Durham.<sup>190</sup> There is a lot of pre-Conquest sculpture at Gainford, most of it of the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>191</sup> One piece may be late ninth century, and there is another which might date from as early as the mid-ninth century, though it could be as late as the eleventh.<sup>192</sup> There is nothing which could be associated with the monastery there before the time of Bishop Ecgred.

The third ecclesiastical site in the Tees Valley said to be given to the community by Ecgred was Wycliffe. The bishop is said to have "built" this vill and granted it to St. Cuthbert.<sup>193</sup> No mention is made of his building a church there. Sculpture of the eighth to ninth centuries has been found at Wycliffe, so again this may have been an ecclesiastical centre before Ecgred's day, which was taken over by St. Cuthbert's in the ninth century.<sup>194</sup> Wycliffe was one of the vills taken from the community in the 860's by king Aelle,<sup>195</sup> and there is no evidence that it was ever regained.

The last of the sites connected with Egred by the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto is Norham. This is perhaps the best candidate for a place that was actually connected with this bishop.<sup>196</sup> As has already been mentioned, his episcopate coincided with an escalation in Viking raiding, which may well have caused the community to move inland.<sup>197</sup> Egred is said to have moved the actual church on Lindisfarne to Norham and rebuilt it there,<sup>198</sup> which would be consistent with what we know from other parts of England of the veneration the Anglo-Saxons had for old churches.<sup>199</sup> The Historia attributes this church to Aidan, but it was probably the wooden church built by Aidan's less famous successor, Finan, which was later covered "both roof and walls, . . . with sheets of lead" by Bishop Eadberht (688-98).<sup>200</sup> The bodies of both St. Cuthbert and king Ceolwulf were translated to the rebuilt church at Norham. Simeon of Durham, as has already been said,<sup>201</sup> does not include the information that Cuthbert went to Norham, perhaps lest Norham claimed still to possess the body of the saint, in opposition to Durham. Ceolwulf, who was much less important, is mentioned by Simeon as having been moved to Norham church, which he says was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Cuthbert and King Ceolwulf.<sup>202</sup> St. Peter was the dedication of the church of Lindisfarne.<sup>203</sup> The present dedication of Norham church is to St. Cuthbert alone.

Norham continued to be a monastery and a part of St. Cuthbert's "familia" after the saint's relics and the main body of the community had left. In the early tenth century, Tilred, abbot of Heversham in Westmorland, coming east over the Pennines, bought South Eden and gave half of it "to St. Cuthbert, so that he might become a brother in his monastery", and the other half "to Norham that he might be abbot there".<sup>204</sup> The community at Norham must have been regarded as part of the confederation still. Most of the sculpture at Norham is of the ninth century, but there are two tenth-century pieces, and one piece which cannot be dated nearer than mid-ninth to mid-tenth century, plus an eleventh-century stone.<sup>205</sup> This



shows there was some continuing ecclesiastical use of the site. The relics of king Ceolwulf apparently stayed at Norham when Cuthbert's were moved on, and probably formed a nucleus for the community that stayed there. Simeon says that Ceolwulf's head was "at a much later period" taken to Durham.<sup>206</sup> This must have been after 995, when the main part of the community arrived there. This suggests that there was a shrine of Ceolwulf at Norham until after 995 at least, and possibly for quite a while longer. The church of Norham with its associated vill of "Scoreswurthin"<sup>207</sup> was confirmed with other properties to the new Benedictine monastery of Durham by Bishop William of Saint-Calais in 1083, the record of this being in the Liber Vitae. This document contains the interesting addition that Norham "had become famous because the body itself rested there".<sup>208</sup> This is another piece of evidence, not usually cited, that St. Cuthbert's body was at Norham for a time. The lands associated with Norham, known as Norhamshire, remained a detached part of County Durham to 1844, just as the adjacent Islandshire did.<sup>209</sup>

The final group of early religious sites which formed part of St. Cuthbert's "familia" are mentioned in the passage in the "Recapitulation" in the Historia Regum, referred to in the discussion about Melrose.<sup>210</sup> Among the places listed in this passage are three which are known from other sources to have been early monasteries - Abercorn, Coldingham, and Tynninghame. It is uncertain whether these places had always been subject to St. Cuthbert's community, or whether these too were acquired at some point, having formerly been independent. There is some evidence that Tynninghame at least was associated with Lindisfarne from early on, as the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, in giving "the boundary of the lands of Lindisfarne", includes "all the land which belongs to the monastery of St. Balthere called Tynninghame".<sup>211</sup> St. Balthere was an anchorite who died in 756.<sup>212</sup> Like Echha of Crayke he appears in Alcuin's poem on the saints of York, without any mention of any connection with Lindisfarne.<sup>213</sup> Also like

Echha, he is to be found in the list of anchorites in the Liber Vitae.<sup>214</sup> In the tenth century Tynninghame was certainly connected with St. Cuthbert's community, as is demonstrated by the 941 incident already referred to,<sup>215</sup> in which king Olaf Guthfrithson died soon after he "had ravaged the church of St. Balthere and burnt Tynninghame".<sup>216</sup> The men of York then devastated Lindisfarne, which suggests they blamed St. Cuthbert and his community for Olaf's death. It is also evidence that the monastery of Tynninghame, and this in spite of its coastal site, was still a going concern, and presumably worth attacking, in the mid-tenth century. A late tenth-century hogback at Tynninghame shows that this 941 attack did not cause the site to be deserted.<sup>217</sup> In the earlier eleventh century Alfred Westou is said to have raised from the ground the relics of St. Balthere and enshrined them above the ground, and to have taken a part of the relics with him to Durham.<sup>218</sup> That he did not remove all the relics to Durham suggests there may still have been a community of sorts at Tynninghame. This all shows that the connection between St. Cuthbert and Tynninghame did persist, although a charter of 1094, recording the restoration of the lands of Tynninghame to Durham, is not entirely trustworthy. The grantor of this charter was Duncan II, king of Scots for a few months in 1094.<sup>219</sup> He was married to the daughter of Gospatric, earl of Northumbria 1070-72, who later became earl of Dunbar after fleeing to Scotland, and who was granted lands in Lothian by Malcolm III of Scots (1058-93).<sup>220</sup> These presumably included the lands belonging to Tynninghame. As a member of the house of Bamburgh, Gospatric was being granted lands which his family had once ruled. King Duncan II's name is in the Liber Vitae, entered in a twelfth-century hand in the kings' list.<sup>221</sup> It does seem though that Durham was not able to make anything of their claim to Tynninghame after 1094, and they never set up a priory there as happened at Lindisfarne and Coldingham.<sup>222</sup>

Abercorn was independent of Lindisfarne for a part of its existence at least. It may have been a Celtic foundation for its name, which appears as "Aebbercurnig" in Bede,<sup>223</sup> is a British name.<sup>224</sup> In 681 Trumwine, Bishop of the Picts who were under English rule, made the monastery of Abercorn his see. He had to leave it after the Northumbrians were defeated by the Picts at "Nechtanemere" in 685, and he went to live in retirement at Whitby.<sup>225</sup> The choice of Whitby may indicate that he had no particular connection with Lindisfarne. Abercorn did not remain unused however or at least not for long. Anglian sculpture found there dating from the eighth century shows that the site was then once more an ecclesiastical centre under English control.<sup>226</sup> There is no hint of any connection with St. Cuthbert until the mid-ninth century and the passage in the Historia Regum. Abercorn does not appear in the sources again after this, but three hogbacks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries show that its use as a religious site continued.<sup>227</sup> Any association it had had with St. Cuthbert's community came to an end, and later in the Middle Ages it was connected with the bishopric of Dunkeld. Nor is there any trace of any association with St. Cuthbert left in the dedication of Abercorn church. It was dedicated in the Middle Ages to an English saint, but to St. Wilfrid, not Cuthbert.<sup>228</sup>

Coldingham too appears to have been a separate institution in its early days. It is not known who founded it, but the first abbess we hear of is Aebbe, the widowed sister of king Oswiu, so it is possible that it was founded either by her or by another member of her family for her to rule.<sup>229</sup> It was in existence before Cuthbert went to be prior at Lindisfarne, which probably occurred not long after 664.<sup>230</sup> Bede and Eddius Stephanus give no indication in their writings that Coldingham had any connection with Lindisfarne.<sup>231</sup> The only possible piece of evidence for any such link is in the anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert, written by a monk of Lindisfarne.<sup>232</sup> Cuthbert, then living at Melrose, is sent for by abbess Aebbe, who is said to be "the mother of them all in Christ". It is

not clear in the passage who "them all" refers to. Bede in his version of this incident does not use these words.<sup>233</sup> The phrase may mean that Aebbe was regarded as the most important abbess in the kingdom at the time, or it may simply be referring to her being the mother of her own community. Or it may mean that Aebbe had some position as the highest female member of the community centred on Lindisfarne. But not too much should be made of this one small phrase when there is no other hint of a connection between Coldingham and Lindisfarne.

Coldingham was burnt down some time after the death of Aebbe in the later part of the seventh century, and Bede says that "most of the inhabitants" then left "because it was in ruins".<sup>234</sup> However he does not say it was completely deserted, and a piece of sculpture of the eighth to ninth centuries shows that there was some sort of religious centre there then.<sup>235</sup> This cross-shaft fragment shows the influence of Lindisfarne work,<sup>236</sup> which suggests there was some contact between the two centres.<sup>237</sup> If Coldingham was originally independent but had become subject to St. Cuthbert's community by about the mid-ninth century, as the Historia Regum passage suggests, there is no indication of exactly when this change took place.<sup>238</sup> It is interesting that the description of the boundaries of the lands belonging to Lindisfarne in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto omits that area around Coldingham later known as Coldinghamshire, while it includes the lands belonging to Tynningame.<sup>239</sup> This suggests that Coldingham came under the control of St. Cuthbert's community at a later date than Tynningame.

Once it had been formed however, Coldingham's link with St. Cuthbert persisted. As with Balthere's relics at Tynningame, Alfred Westou raised Aebbe's relics, which were very probably at Coldingham, enshrined them, and took part of them to Durham.<sup>240</sup> In about 1098 Coldinghamshire was granted to Durham by Edgar, king of Scots (1097-1107).<sup>241</sup> Like his half-brother, Duncan II, Edgar is in the kings' list in the Liber Vitae.<sup>242</sup> A church dedicated to St. Mary and St. Cuthbert

was built at Coldingham, and monks are mentioned once or twice as being in residence there in the earlier twelfth century - probably these were monks from Durham looking after the church and lands. A priory dependent on Durham was founded at some time before c.1147. Its history for much of the Middle Ages was troubled and complicated.<sup>243</sup> As happened at Melrose the new foundation was not on the same site as the early monastery, but some two miles away to the south. The exact site of the old monastery is not known.<sup>244</sup>

These then are those sites which were certainly early ecclesiastical centres and which do seem to have been connected with St. Cuthbert's community. The "familia" during Aidan's episcopate consisted of Lindisfarne, Farne Island, Melrose, and a church with a cell at the various royal residences in the kingdom. At a rather later period, possibly in the later seventh century, although this is not certain, houses at Crayke and Carlisle were founded from or came to be connected with Lindisfarne, and in the early eighth century the De Abbatibus monastery was founded as another dependency of the community. Edlingham, Eglingham, Whittingham, and Woodhorn may well have been given by king Ceolwulf in c.737, and they each eventually received a church. There is then a group of sites which first appear under the control of St. Cuthbert's community in the ninth century. All of them, except for Norham, were ecclesiastical centres well before St. Cuthbert's is first found in control of them. Whether Norham had been owned by the community before 830-45 is not known, but during that period it became the new centre of the "familia" for a time. Of the other sites, Tynningame, and possibly Jedburgh, may have been connected with St. Cuthbert's from an early period. The rest - Billingham, Gainford, Wycliffe, Abercorn, and Coldingham - were apparently originally either independent communities or perhaps sites associated with some other monastery, which were taken over by the more successful St. Cuthbert's community. It is feasible to suggest that this happened in the ninth century as religious houses struggled to

survive in the face of attacks from both the Vikings and English rulers. The situation in Northumbria at this time may have been similar to that in Ireland in this same century, described by Kathleen Hughes as follows:-

"Some churches were more successful in this fight" (for survival) "than others. It is noticeable that, in the later ninth century, some of the churches decline, while other more distinguished ones remain in positions of comparative power. .... It looks as if the effect of the Viking raids was to depress the smaller monastic houses. Those with greater resources, though attacked with equal savagery, were able to recuperate more readily, and emerged in the tenth century to positions of even greater power in comparison with the rest. The indirect effect of the Viking settlement was to emphasize the material disparities already existing between monastic houses, a tendency which becomes more apparent in the tenth century".<sup>245</sup>

St. Cuthbert's community may have been in a similar situation in Northumbria, and managed to survive partly through taking over less successful houses and their lands. One can see this process continuing in the tenth and eleventh centuries with St. Cuthbert's community going on taking over other old religious sites.<sup>246</sup>

The next set of sites to be studied are those which were certainly subject to St. Cuthbert's community in the pre-Viking period, but where there is only later evidence for any ecclesiastical use. Three of these sites are said to have been given to St. Cuthbert himself by king Ecgfrith, but as has already been seen, not too much weight can be laid on such claims. But these grants may still have been made to the community at an early period, even if not by Ecgfrith. Firstly, Ecgfrith and Archbishop Theodore are said to have given Cuthbert "all the land in the city of York which extends from the wall of the church of St. Peter up to the

great western gate, and from the wall of the church of St. Peter up to the south wall of the city".<sup>247</sup> As Craster points out, it is unlikely that the whole of the south-western quarter of the city, presumably here meaning the Roman legionary fortress, would have been given to Lindisfarne.<sup>248</sup> This is particularly so considering that York too was an episcopal see. One cannot see the Bishop of York looking favourably on a grant which gave a substantial part of "his" city to another bishop. However the Bishop of Lindisfarne probably did have some holding in York from an early date. In the eleventh century the Bishop of Durham had in York "one house which he always had, as many say, quit of all custom; but the burgesses say that it was not quit TRE, unless as a (house) of the burgesses, save only that on account of it he had his own toll and (that) of the canons". This is in the description of the city of York in Domesday Book.<sup>249</sup> Other possessions of the Bishop of Durham in York recorded in this are the church of All Saints, Pavement, "and what (things) belong to it", and all of the land of Uhtred, and the land of Ernuin. These holdings may all have been recent acquisitions as they are said to have been given to Durham by William I.<sup>250</sup> The new Benedictine establishment at Durham also acquired the old church of Holy Trinity or Christ-Church in York for a short time. It was given by Bishop William of Saint-Calais in 1083.<sup>251</sup> This church, which seems to have been a pre-Conquest secular college, with land holdings to the east of York and a small amount of property in the city free of all custom,<sup>252</sup> was situated in the area of the Roman "colonia" to the south-west of the river Ouse. Among the lands held by this church was the vill of "Monechetune", now Moor and Nun Monkton.<sup>253</sup> The name does suggest that this was once the land belonging to a monastery. There may also be a connection between Holy Trinity and a church built in York in the eighth century and mentioned in Alcuin's poem about the saints of York. This was the church of the Holy Wisdom ("alma sophia") built by Archbishop Aethelberht or Aelberht, and consecrated in 780.<sup>254</sup> Richard Morris has suggested that this was located in the "colonia", at or near the site of Holy

Trinity.<sup>255</sup> This then may be another example of an early ecclesiastical site being acquired by the community of St. Cuthbert. In this case however it was not able to hold onto its acquisition. Durham very soon lost control of this church, for in Domesday Book the church of Holy Trinity and its lands were held by Richard, son of Erfast.<sup>256</sup> In 1089 it came into the hands of Ralph Paynell who founded a Benedictine priory there in c.1090-1100, dependent on the abbey of Marmoutier in France.<sup>257</sup>

Ecgfrith is also supposed to have given Cuthbert "the land called Cartmel and all the Britons with it".<sup>258</sup> There is no reason why Lindisfarne should not have held this area in southern Cumbria, which could have been donated to it after being taken over from the British kingdom of Rheged. It would be a similar grant to that made to Wilfrid and Ripon in the 670's, of former British areas in the West Riding.<sup>259</sup> The grant of Carlisle may have been another donation of this sort. St. Cuthbert's community probably lost control of Cartmel in the early tenth century, at the same time as it lost Carlisle. It does not appear to have ever regained it. By the late Anglo-Saxon period this area was a part of the diocese of York. In the reign of Edward the Confessor it was among the lands of Tostig, earl of Northumbria, and by 1086 it was held by the king.<sup>260</sup> It is not known whether St. Cuthbert's community ever had a church in Cartmel. However there must have been a church there by the later eleventh century because the name given for Cartmel in Domesday Book is "Cherchebi".<sup>261</sup> That this name contains the Old English "cirice" for "church" rather than Old Norse "kirkja", together with the Scandinavian suffix "-by", suggests that there might have been a church in existence here when the Norse settled in the area in the tenth century.<sup>262</sup> In 1189-94 an Augustinian priory was founded at Cartmel,<sup>263</sup> the foundation grant for which included the parish church, dedicated to St. Michael, and its chapels.<sup>264</sup> That it was an Augustinian foundation is further evidence for there being an old-established church at Cartmel, as the Augustinian



canons tended to make use of older churches.<sup>265</sup> This can be seen at Jedburgh and Bamburgh, and may also have happened at Carlisle.<sup>266</sup> But if this older church had ever had any connection with St. Cuthbert's, the link would have been broken for a long time by the late twelfth century.

The third of these grants supposedly made by Ecgfrith is of Carham, on the river Tweed. Ecgfrith is said to have given this to Cuthbert after a war in which he defeated Wulfhere, king of Mercia.<sup>267</sup> This took place in 674, when Cuthbert would have been either living at Lindisfarne as prior or in his hermitage on Farne.<sup>268</sup> It is rather unlikely that the king would have given anything to Cuthbert in particular at this date, though he might have made some gift to Lindisfarne in thanksgiving for the victory, and this was later seen as having been a gift to Cuthbert. Or of course this may be a grant by an unremembered donor which was attributed to king Ecgfrith. Carham is one of the properties listed in the "Recapitulation" passage as being owned by the community in the ninth century. The association between Carham and St. Cuthbert's lasted until the twelfth century. The earliest evidence for a church on the site is in the tenth century, for some sculpture of that date has been found there.<sup>269</sup> The church of Carham is dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and between 1106 and 1116 the right of Durham to hold Carham was confirmed by Matilda, queen of Henry I, who was acting as his regent in England.<sup>270</sup> At some time after this however Durham lost control of the property, and at a date after 1131 the church and its lands were granted to the Augustinian priory of Kirkham in Yorkshire, who set up a small cell of two or three canons in the church.<sup>271</sup>

The other two sites in this category were said to be given to Lindisfarne by king Ceolwulf when he became a monk there in 737. His main gift was the vill of Warkworth "with its appurtenances", which included the "civitas" of Brinkburn, which may have been termed so because it was a royal centre.<sup>272</sup> Warkworth has not been put into the group

of sites whose early ecclesiastical use is certain, even though Simeon does say that Ceolwulf built a church there.<sup>273</sup> This may be just a development by Simeon from the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto account, and there is no other evidence from the pre-Viking period to support his statement. The earliest indications of a church at Warkworth are in the later Anglo-Saxon period - there is a grave-marker there of the tenth to eleventh centuries, and a cross-head of the first half of the eleventh.<sup>274</sup> Also during restoration of the church of St. Lawrence at Warkworth in 1860 the remains of a pre-Conquest stone church were said to have been found at the east end of the nave, which itself is of the early twelfth century.<sup>275</sup> It is uncertain how long the connection with St. Cuthbert's community lasted. In the mid-ninth century king Osberht took the vill of Warkworth from the community, and the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto gives no indication whether the community ever regained it or not.<sup>276</sup> There is no post-Conquest evidence for any connection. In the early twelfth century the church was owned by the king. How long it had been the king's property is not known, but it may possibly have been in royal ownership since Osberht took it in the ninth century. Warkworth was one of the churches, like Whittingham, given by Henry I to his chaplain and later held by Carlisle priory. The advowson of Warkworth was held by the Bishop of Carlisle to as late as 1886.<sup>277</sup> Whittingham too had been associated with Ceolwulf.

Brinkburn, included in Ceolwulf's grant, became an Augustinian priory before 1135. This suggests that there was some older church there, but this priory had no connection with Durham. It was founded by William Bertram of Mitford in Northumberland, and was originally subject to an Augustinian house at Pentney in Norfolk.<sup>278</sup>

The third group of sites are those which were definitely owned by St. Cuthbert's community before c.875, but which show no evidence of ecclesiastical use before the later Middle Ages. One of these properties, the vill of Cliffe, on the south bank of the river Tees, may have been acquired at the same time as

Gainford, Wycliffe, and Billingham. The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto says that it was one of Bishop Ecgred's gifts.<sup>279</sup> Together with Billingham, Wycliffe, and Crayke, it was seized by king Aelle.<sup>280</sup> St. Cuthbert's later regained Billingham and Crayke, but no more is heard of Cliffe and Wycliffe. The other sites in this category are in the list in the "Recapitulation" - they are Tillmouth in Northumberland; and Pefferham and Aldham in the parish of Tynninghame.<sup>281</sup> Tillmouth was taken from the community by king Osberht, together with Warkworth, and nothing more is known about it.<sup>282</sup> However there is a hamlet called St. Cuthberts near Tillmouth, so some connection may have continued. The other two sites, being near Tynninghame, may well have been associated with that monastery, and so may have remained under the control of St. Cuthbert's while Tynninghame did. Aldham was included in the grant of Tynninghame to Durham in 1094.<sup>283</sup> The pre-Reformation parish church of Aldham was dedicated to St. Baldred, as Balthere's name had come to be spelt by then. The old parish church of Tynninghame had the same dedication.<sup>284</sup> Pefferham no longer exists as a settlement, but the name survives in the Peffer Burn which runs into the sea about one and a half miles north of Tynninghame.<sup>285</sup>

There are also a few known early monastic sites which may possibly have been associated with the Lindisfarne "familia". One of these is the monastery of "Paegnalaech" where Bishop Tuda of Northumbria was buried in 664.<sup>286</sup> Its location is unknown but it was presumably in Northumbria. If Tuda was Bishop of Lindisfarne then it is feasible that the monastery where he rested was connected with Lindisfarne. However, as was mentioned above,<sup>287</sup> it is not certain that Tuda did have his see there, so any connection between "Paegnalaech" and Lindisfarne must remain doubtful. Gateshead is another monastery which may have been founded from Lindisfarne as its abbot, Utta, was a friend of Aidan and went to ask for his blessing and prayers before going on a journey.<sup>288</sup> The hermitage on an island in Derwentwater may also have been considered as a part of the

confederation because of the close connection between its occupant, Hereberht, and St. Cuthbert.<sup>289</sup> There are as well two sites in Northumberland which have produced pieces of sculpture which show the influence of Lindisfarne or Norham work. One of these late Anglian pieces is from Alnmouth, and the other from Hulne Priory, near Alnwick. Part of a cross-shaft was found in 1789 near a ruined old church at Alnmouth. It has been dated as late ninth to early tenth-century work, and it is "clearly linked with Lindisfarne in its layout" and in its pattern types.<sup>290</sup> The other stone was found in 1889 during excavations at Hulne Priory. It too is part of a cross-shaft, dating from the first half of the ninth century, and it has similarities to work at Norham.<sup>291</sup> Both pieces might demonstrate the spread of a fashion using features connected with St. Cuthbert's community, but it is possible that these stones mark sites which formed part of the "familia" in the ninth century, although there is no other evidence to support this suggestion.<sup>292</sup>

There are finally four sites of uncertain identification which should be discussed. All of them are stated to have belonged to the community. The first of these is in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto where it is called "Suth-gedluit".<sup>293</sup> In another Durham work, mainly based on older texts, including the Historia, the name appears as "Suth-gedling".<sup>294</sup> It is another vill said to have been given to St. Cuthbert by king Ecgfrith, and its grant is linked with that of Cartmel. After the statement of the grant of these two places, the Historia has the somewhat unclear sentence - "All these things undertaken by St. Cuthbert, the good abbot Cyneforth, son of Cygning, wisely arranged just as he wished". Craster thought "Suth-gedluit" must have been "In getlingum", that is, Gilling West in Yorkshire.<sup>295</sup> One of the early abbots of Gilling, in the 650's, was called Cynefrith. He went to Ireland in c.659 and died there of the plague, probably in 664,<sup>296</sup> so it is unlikely that he had any contact with St. Cuthbert; and he obviously could not have been made an abbot by him as he was dead long

before Cuthbert became a bishop.<sup>297</sup> However the author of the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, whose sense of chronology is not noticeably good, presumably did not know all this, and the fact that he brings Cynefrith in here suggests that the site he was writing about was Gilling. There are two other possible identifications however. One is the other Yorkshire Gilling - Gilling East, sixteen miles to the north of York. There is no evidence of any connection with St. Cuthbert, but it is south of the other Gilling, which fits in with the "Suth" in "Suth-gedluit". Also it is not far from Crayke, just over five miles away. The church at Gilling East is dedicated to the Holy Cross, and dates from an early period - the earliest parts of the church are eleventh-century, and there is a fragment of sculpture dating from the tenth century in the church tower.<sup>298</sup> The other possible site is on the other side of the Pennines. The association with Cartmel does not quite fit either of the Yorkshire Gillings, and another suggested identification for "Suth-gedluit" is Yealand, in north Lancashire, just on the opposite side of the Kent estuary to Cartmel.<sup>299</sup> The earliest recorded name-form for Yealand is "Jalant", in Domesday Book.<sup>300</sup> However it may be that the author of the Historia has put the grant of Cartmel and the grant of "Suth-gedluit" together without there being any real connection between them. If this is the case then the location of Cartmel cannot be used as a possible guide to the location of the other. Gilling West remains the most likely of the three sites to be "Suth-gedluit", but the identification is far from certain.

If Gilling is the site meant by the author of the Historia, then it certainly was not associated with Lindisfarne from the beginning. The monastery there was founded by king Oswiu to atone for the murder of king Oswine of Deira.<sup>301</sup> In the 660's Tunberht, the abbot of Gilling, and some of his monks went to live at the monastery of Ripon, at the request of Wilfrid.<sup>302</sup> Little is known about what happened to Gilling after the 660's, though the discovery of a fragment of Anglian sculpture there

shows that the site was not deserted.<sup>303</sup> It is possible that Lindisfarne did in time come to have control over it, perhaps by the gift of one of the Northumbrian kings, for Gilling was a royal monastery. It is interesting that Wycliffe and Cliffe, both of which were held by St. Cuthbert's community in the ninth century, were soke of the manor of Gilling in Domesday Book.<sup>304</sup> And a number of places associated with Gilling were in the possession of St. Cuthbert's in the time of Bishop Aldhun (990-1018), including Barforth, a berewick of Gilling, and "Cuthbertestun", now Cotherstone, which was in the medieval parish of Gilling.<sup>305</sup> It must be said though that there is no such later evidence for any connection between St. Cuthbert's and Gilling itself. If Gilling was "Suth-gedluit" this is another case of a monastery which was originally independent coming under the control of St. Cuthbert's community for a time at least. As not too much should be made of the attribution of the grant to king Ecgfrith, the date of the acquisition of this site remains uncertain.

The second unidentified site is "Tigbrethingham", which is in the "Recapitulation" list. C.A.R. Radford said that this may have been Hoddom in Dumfriesshire, but gave no evidence to support this suggestion.<sup>306</sup> Hoddom was certainly an ecclesiastical centre in the eighth and ninth centuries, and the Anglian sculpture which demonstrates this is of such a type and quality as to suggest that Hoddom was a monastery.<sup>307</sup> Sculpture of the tenth and eleventh centuries show that the site continued in use as a religious centre after the Norse and the Britons of Strathclyde between them took control of this region.<sup>308</sup> In the twelfth century the area became part of the kingdom of Scotland and Hoddom part of the diocese of Glasgow.<sup>309</sup> Throughout these centuries there is no evidence of any connection with St. Cuthbert's community, and even if there had been such a link, it would very probably have come to an end in about the ninth century when Dumfriesshire and Galloway were lost to Northumbria.<sup>310</sup> The identification of "Tigbrethingham" remains unknown, and there is nothing to connect it with Hoddam. It might not necessarily have been a monastery for not

all the places in the "Recapitulation" list were - Pefferham and Aldham, for instance, were probably no more than vills owned by the community at Tynninghame.

The third uncertain site is also in this list. This is "Culterham", which, it has been suggested, is Holm Cultram in north-west Cumberland near the Solway coast.<sup>311</sup> This place, now called Abbey Town, was the site of a Cistercian abbey, founded from Melrose in 1150, by Henry, son of David I, king of Scots, who was in control of Cumberland at that time.<sup>312</sup> Except for the similarity in the names "Culterham" and Holm Cultram, there is only one little piece of evidence to connect this site with St. Cuthbert. This is that the abbey of Holm Cultram founded a chapel of St. Cuthbert near the coast in the Middle Ages, at a hamlet now called Holme St. Cuthbert.<sup>313</sup> It is feasible that Lindisfarne held land in this part of Cumberland, seeing that it had connections with Carlisle and Derwentwater, and, further south, Cartmel. Also it was from "Deruntmuhe", that is, the mouth of the river Derwent on the west coast of Cumberland, that the community attempted to sail across to Ireland.<sup>314</sup> The mouth of the Derwent is about seventeen miles from Holm Cultram however.

One other way of trying to identify "Tigbrethingham" and "Culterham" is to look at where they come in the "Recapitulation" list. The list does seem to be arranged in a certain order, naming sites in a clockwise circle starting and finishing at the Tweed. The sites are as follows:- Carham, "Culterham", two Jedburghs, Melrose, "Tigbrethingham", Abercorn, Pefferham, Aldham, Tynninghame, Coldingham, Tillmouth, Norham. There are a couple of slight discrepancies in that Pefferham would have been nearer to Tynninghame than Aldham is, and if one is being strict, Norham should come before Tillmouth. But the general pattern is that the sites are listed in a definite order. So it may be that the site of "Culterham" should be looked for in the area between Carham and Jedburgh, and "Tigbrethingham" somewhere between Melrose and Abercorn. It is

interesting to note that Hodgson Hinde in his edition of the Historia Regum suggested that the "-breth-" part of the name came from the little river Breich, which flows into the river Almond about nine miles south-south-west of Abercorn.<sup>315</sup> This would fit in well with a site somewhere between Melrose and Abercorn.

The final uncertain identification is in Simeon of Durham's Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae. He says that as well as Warkworth king Ceolwulf gave Lindisfarne an estate called "Bregesne".<sup>316</sup> The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, which Simeon is basing his work on at this place, does not mention this estate. Stevenson suggested that "Bregesne" might perhaps be Brainshaugh, on the river Coquet, about three miles upriver from Warkworth.<sup>317</sup> There was a church at Brainshaugh which was granted to the Premonstratensian abbey of Alnwick in c.1147. A priory of canonesses was established in this church in c.1147-52.<sup>318</sup> Brainshaugh would have been within the estate of Warkworth, as it is described in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto,<sup>319</sup> but by the time of Simeon of Durham in the early twelfth century it may have become a separate centre. So Simeon may have made what had been the grant of one estate into the grant of two, but covering the same area. Or it may be that "Bregesne" is some other, unidentified site.

A few general points can be made about St. Cuthbert's "familia" before c.900. Firstly, the monasteries in it were nearly all male only. This fits in well with the Liber Vitae, which has no section for nuns.<sup>320</sup> The only two female houses connected with the community of St. Cuthbert were Carlisle and Coldingham. However in the period when Coldingham is known to have been a double monastery, in the seventh century, it may not have been part of the "familia". It is not known what type of house it was when it was associated with St. Cuthbert's community. The constitution of religious houses did not always remain unchanged over the years, as can be seen by an example in Bede's Life of St.



Cuthbert. The monastery he is describing was probably at South Shields:-

"Now there is a monastery not far from the mouth of the Tyne, on the south side, filled with a noble company, in those days of men but now, changed like all else by time, of virgins who serve Christ".<sup>321</sup>

So if monasteries could change, Coldingham may not have been a female house when it became part of St. Cuthbert's "familia". The only definite example of a nunnery associated with the community is Carlisle.

Secondly, there is the eremitical element noticeable in the community. Many of the anchorites whose names are known in the pre-Viking period were connected with the Lindisfarne group of monasteries. Lindisfarne itself had a hermitage associated with the monastery, and so did Melrose, for when Drythelm lived there he "was given a more secret retreat in the monastery", this retreat being on the banks of the river Tweed.<sup>322</sup> There was also the hermitage on Farne Island, one of the earliest sites in the "familia". Hereberht, the anchorite who lived on an island in Derwentwater, was a great friend of St. Cuthbert. And the two best-known anchorites of the mid-eighth century, Balthere and Echha, both lived at places connected with the community. Furthermore if the later tradition that Balthere lived as a hermit on the Bass Rock near Tynninghame is correct, then this fits in with the custom of retiring to islands, such as St. Cuthbert's Island and Farne Island.<sup>323</sup> There was too the anchorite Bilfrith, who decorated the Lindisfarne Gospels with gold and jewels at the wish of Aethelwald, Bishop of Lindisfarne (721-40).<sup>324</sup> Bilfrith was presumably a member of the community at Lindisfarne or one of its cells. His relics were among those raised and enshrined by Alfred Westou in the earlier eleventh century, a part of them being taken to Durham.<sup>325</sup> Another anchorite, Cuthred, was a member of the Lindisfarne community in the late eighth century.<sup>326</sup>

The distribution of sites in the "familia" shows a certain pattern. Before c.875 the majority of sites were in Bernicia, with a few in Cumbria and Deira. Within Bernicia most were on or north of the river Coquet.<sup>327</sup> Until the acquisition of four villas in the Tees Valley in the ninth century, St. Cuthbert's community is not known to have held any estates between the Wansbeck in Northumberland and the Tees, except possibly Bywell and Gateshead, both of whose connection with Lindisfarne is far from certain. The valley of the Tyne, where these two sites are, was probably dominated by Hexham and by Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. As for the central group of the "familia", that is, the sites in Bernicia from Woodhorn northwards, they are all, without exception, situated either on or very near the coast, or on one of three river systems - the Coquet, the Aln and its tributary streams, and, especially, the Tweed and its tributaries.

This situation is in marked contrast to that which developed after c.880-82. Then, after the centre of the "familia" had settled at Chester-le-Street, the community's estates and interests came to be concentrated to a large extent in what became County Durham and in the Tees Valley. The seven-years' wandering of the community does mark a definite break in the community's history, followed by a re-organization on newly-acquired lands.<sup>328</sup> This re-organization would be rendered even more necessary by the loss of the lands held by the community in Cumbria in the early part of the tenth century. Cumbria was apparently part of the diocese belonging to the see of St. Cuthbert in the pre-Viking period, and the community's involvement in Cumbria is reflected in the interest shown in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto in people who came east over the Pennines in the earlier tenth century. Alfred, son of Brihtwulfing, who "came from the west over the mountains" in the time of Bishop Cutheard (900-15), may well have been a tenant of St. Cuthbert's community in Cumbria, for he is said to have "sought the mercy of St. Cuthbert and Bishop Cutheard, that they might grant him other lands". He was given a number of

vills in County Durham, one of them being Billingham.<sup>329</sup> Though losing its estates west of the Pennines, the community did manage to keep hold of some of its old possessions in northern Bernicia - Lindisfarne, Norham, and Tynningham for instance remained under St. Cuthbert. But some of the northern estates do seem to have been lost. Nothing more is heard of Warkworth and Tillmouth, for example, after they were taken by king Osberht in the mid-ninth century. And Eglington, Woodhorn, and Whittingham were eventually lost to the community too. Though no doubt trying to keep possession of everything they could, the focus of the community's attention after c.882 was no longer to the north of the Coquet, and there would be some ready to take advantage of that. It may well be that some of the community's northern estates were lost with the take-over of Lothian by the Scots in the later tenth and early eleventh centuries.<sup>330</sup> This may have been one of the factors behind Alfred Westou's translation of relics from various older sites to Durham in the earlier eleventh century,<sup>331</sup> after Lothian had finally been lost to the Scots in 1018.

Having defined which sites belonged to St. Cuthbert's "familia" before c.875, the next subject to look at is how much land was held by the community. One point to be noted is that a monastery's possessions were not static - all through the Anglo-Saxon period monasteries were constantly having difficulties holding onto their lands. Eighth-century charters show this happening in Mercia, and unfortunately we have none to show this in Northumbria. One example from Mercia will demonstrate what could happen. In 781 a dispute between the cathedral community of Worcester and king Offa was settled.<sup>332</sup> Offa had taken from Worcester a number of estates because "he said that we were wrongly holding in our power without hereditary right the inheritance of his kinsman, to wit king Aethelbald". To get the lands back from Offa the community had to return to him the monastery of Bath, which may have belonged to his family before, and give him some land by the river Avon as a sort of peace-offering. One can look at king Aelle's

seizure of Billingham, Cliffe, Wycliffe, and Crayke from St. Cuthbert's in the light of this Mercian dispute. Aelle is said to have "taken back" these estates from the community, which hints at the possibility that they were lands which had once belonged to either the king of Northumbria or Aelle's family.<sup>333</sup> To look on to the later Anglo-Saxon period, communities faced the same problems then, as witness the number of estates which Archbishop Oswald of York said his church had lost in the time of earl Thored (975-c.992).<sup>334</sup> And of the landed endowment of Burton Abbey at its foundation in 1002-4, less than a third was still held by the abbey in 1086.<sup>335</sup>

Another point to be considered is how much land did a monastery need to be viable? The amounts of land given to particular religious houses at their foundation, as recorded in Bede, in early saints' Lives, and in charters of the seventh and eighth centuries, range from eighty-seven hides at Selsey in Sussex<sup>336</sup> down to abbess Hild's first monastery endowed with one hide of land on the north side of the river Wear.<sup>337</sup> A hide was the amount of land needed to support one family, and so varied in size from one part of the country to another.<sup>338</sup> Abbess Hild and her "small band of companions" would have formed the ecclesiastical equivalent of a family. Most monasteries were founded with a larger land-holding than this however, and Hild's little community by the Wear only lived on their one hide for a year.<sup>339</sup> The twelve estates of ten hides each, given by king Oswiu in 655 for the building of monasteries, were considered to be on the small side - Bede calls them "small estates" ("possessiunculis terrarum").<sup>340</sup> Other monasteries were endowed at their foundation with between twenty and sixty hides. Withington in Gloucestershire was founded on an estate of twenty hides;<sup>341</sup> Ripon had originally either thirty or forty hides;<sup>342</sup> a monastery in Sussex thirty-eight hides.<sup>343</sup> Jarrow's original endowment was forty hides, and Monkwearmouth's fifty hides, with more being added later.<sup>344</sup> The monastery of Barrow-on-Humber was also founded with fifty hides,<sup>345</sup> and sixty hides were given at Farnham in Surrey for the building of a monastery.<sup>346</sup> These original grants might be added to by further gifts of land. The estates held by Monkwearmouth-

Jarrow had increased by 716 to almost 150 hides.<sup>347</sup> It is hard to visualise exactly what these figures meant. But it gives some idea of the large amounts of land involved when one considers that the largest estate the Laws of king Ine of Wessex (688-726) envisage even a nobleman holding was twenty hides.<sup>348</sup> The Laws of Ine also give the amount of food-rent required from ten hides of land, the same as the "small estates" given by king Oswiu:-

"10 vats of honey, 300 loaves, 12 'ambers' of Welsh ale, 30 of clear ale, 2 full-grown cows, or 10 wethers, 10 geese, 20 hens, 10 cheeses, an 'amber' full of butter, 5 salmon, 20 pounds of fodder and 100 eels".<sup>349</sup>

If rents of this size could be provided by ten hides of land, a monastery established even on such a "small estate" was not going to be too badly off. When the possession of only five hides qualified a man for noble status,<sup>350</sup> the grants being made to monasteries were large. Monkwearmouth-Jarrow's holdings of 150 hides, for instance, were roughly equivalent to an area half the size of the Isle of Man, which is said by Bede to have been assessed at over 300 hides.<sup>351</sup>

For St. Cuthbert's community we are fortunate in that we have the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, which gives quite a lot of information about some of the estates held by the community. As the descriptions are not expressed in terms of hides one can get a much better idea of how much land was being held. One can see too which places were the centres of estates because certain sites are said to have been granted "with their appurtenances". Among the sites in the "familia" before c.875 those said to have appurtenances were Melrose, "Suth-gedluit", Carham, Warkworth, the two Jedburghs, Gainford, and Billingham.<sup>352</sup> The dependent vills are not listed for any of these, but Warkworth, Gainford, and the Jedburghs are among the places the extent of whose lands is described. The only grant in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto from the pre-Viking period which does include a list of vills is one of an area around the Bowmont Water, on the north side of the Cheviots.<sup>353</sup>



"Then the king and all the nobility of the Angles gave to St. Cuthbert all that land that lies near the river Bowmont, along with these vills, Sourhope, and Hesterheugh, and Gateshaw, and Whitton and Clifton, and Morebattle, and 'Colwela', and Halterburn, and 'Thornburnum', and Shotton, and Yetholm, and Mindrum".<sup>354</sup>

The king is said to be king Oswine (642-51) and the grant is supposed to have been made when Cuthbert first entered Melrose in 651. This must be wrong because Oswine was already dead when Cuthbert became a monk, and also he was king of Deira alone and would not have been able to give away areas of land in the Cheviots.<sup>355</sup> The list of vills itself however does look, as Craster says, "like a mutilated version of a genuine land-boc",<sup>356</sup> which the author of the Historia has tried to incorporate in his work. It may well have been a grant made to Lindisfarne or perhaps to Melrose, but it is not possible to say when it was made or by whom.<sup>357</sup> One interesting point however is that in the area covered by this grant is the old church of Mow. This church, of which only the graveyard and traces of the foundations are left, is sited on the banks of the Bowmont Water.<sup>358</sup> It is of interest because at a date before 1152 it was granted, together with its "parochiis", to the abbey of Kelso by Uhtred, son of Ligulf.<sup>359</sup> Uhtred was yet another member of the Bamburg family, being the grandson of Aldred, earl of Northumbria north of the Tees to 1038.<sup>360</sup> The grant of the church with dependencies suggests that one may be dealing here with the remains of an old religious foundation of some sort.<sup>361</sup> The connection with the Bamburg family may be significant too for they seem to have picked up quite a number of sites once associated with St. Cuthbert's community. Their relationship with the community seems to have been a close and complex one.

The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto gives a description of the "lands of Lindisfarne". This presumably meant the estates owned by the monastery rather than the bounds of the diocese, because the diocese would have covered a wider area than that described, even after the creation of the separate see at Hexham.<sup>362</sup> It is not certain if the areas described represent

the original endowment of Lindisfarne in the 630's or the holdings of the monastery as they had come to be in about the early ninth century. The latter is probably more likely, especially as Bede gives the impression that Lindisfarne did not have a large landed endowment in its early days.<sup>363</sup> The description of the lands is as follows:-

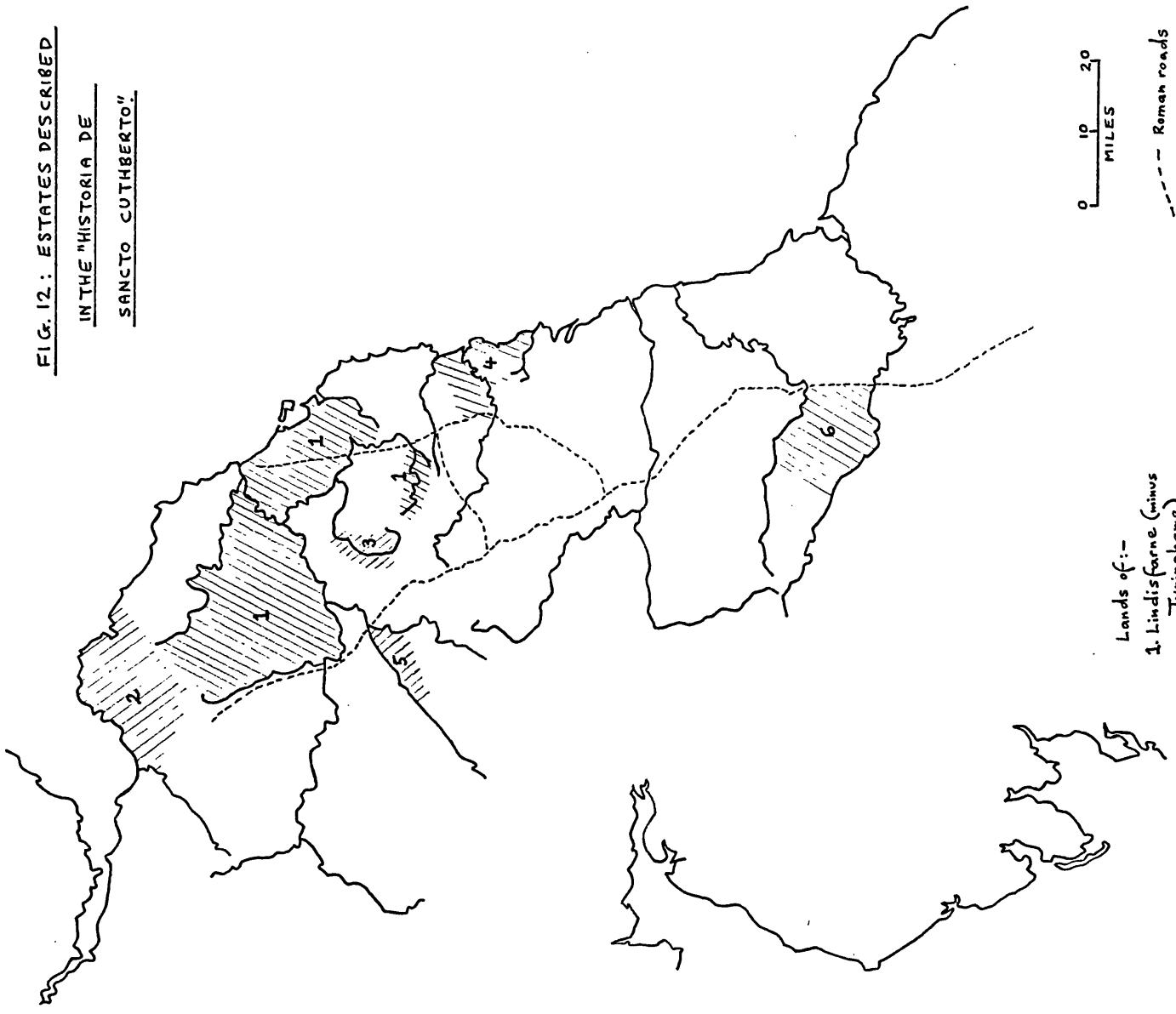
"And this is the boundary of the lands of Lindisfarne:

From the river Tweed to Warenmouth, and then over to the place where the river which is called Waren Burn has its source, near mount Hepburn, and from the aforesaid mountain over to the river called Breamish, and thence to the river called Till. And all the land which lies on either side of the river Breamish up to its source. And that land beyond the Tweed from that place in the north where the river Adder has its source to the point where it flows into the Tweed, and all the land lying between the river Adder, and another river to the west called Leader, and all the land which lies on the eastern side of the river Leader to the place where it flows into the Tweed to the south. And all the land which belongs to the monastery of St. Balthere called Tynninghame from Lammermuir to Eskmouth".<sup>364</sup>

This description includes three main blocks of land. The first to be described and probably the earliest to be acquired by the monastery is the block whose boundaries are the Waren Burn, the Till, the Tweed, and the sea, plus the land in the Breamish valley. This may have been the original endowment of Lindisfarne, for it includes the area on the mainland facing the island.<sup>365</sup> The second block is the land to the north of the Tweed, bounded by the Whiteadder Water, the Lammermuir Hills, the Leader Water, and the Tweed. The lands of Tynninghame, which as was said above, may have been subject to Lindisfarne from early on,<sup>366</sup> formed a distinct block between the Lammermuirs and the sea, with the Esk as its western boundary - an area which included both upland grazing and lower-lying farmland, as well as much coastline and the whole of the valley



FIG. 12. : ESTATES DESCRIBED  
IN THE "HISTORIA DE  
SANCTO CUTHBERTO"



- Lands of:-
- 1. Lindisfarne (minus Tynninghame).
  - 2. Tynninghame.
  - 3. Bowmont Water.
  - 4. Warkwerth.
  - 5. Jedburgh.
  - 6. Grainford.

--- Roman roads

of the Lothian Tyne.<sup>367</sup> Even separately these areas covered a lot of land. The first block, that nearest Lindisfarne, comprised about 200 square miles of territory; the area between the Whiteadder and the Leader was even larger, about 350 square miles; and the lands of Tynninghame covered about 235 square miles. This gives a total of 785 square miles, an enormous amount of land, including most of north-east Bernicia, except for the area around Coldingham, which probably formed an originally separate area.<sup>368</sup>

Not all the estates described in the Historia are quite as large as this. The smallest is the grant of Crayke, together with an area extending to three miles out from the vill.<sup>369</sup> This may have been the same as the manor of Crayke described in Domesday Book, which was said to be two leagues long and two leagues broad.<sup>370</sup> The grant of Carlisle must have covered a similar sort of area, as its boundaries are said to have been fifteen miles round.<sup>371</sup> It has been suggested that this estate survived in the form of the parish of St. Cuthbert Without.<sup>372</sup> St. Cuthbert's was one of the two ancient parish churches of Carlisle.<sup>373</sup> It is not mentioned in the sources before the twelfth century, but it may well represent an early religious site, for it seems to be on the Roman alignment of the city, and Anglian sculpture has been found in the vicinity of this church and of the cathedral, which stand fairly close together on the western side of Carlisle.<sup>374</sup>

Warkworth was presumably a royal estate given to Lindisfarne. Warkworth itself is in an excellent strategic position a little way upstream from the mouth of the Coquet and surrounded on three sides by a loop of the river. The boundaries of the Warkworth estate are given in the Historia:-

"from the stream called Lyne to Coquet and then to the city called Brinkburn, and from Coquet to Hauxley to the east, and from the Aln to the middle of the road between Coquet and Aln".<sup>375</sup>

This description is not entirely clear when one tries to trace the boundaries on a map, but the estate seems to have comprised the land between the Lyne and the Coquet, and an area of land to the north of the Coquet, bounded on the west by the Roman road known as the Devil's Causeway, and extending north about as far as the mouth of the Aln. Brinkburn, which is just to the west of the Roman road where it crosses the Coquet, was also included.<sup>376</sup> This may have been added on to the rest of the estate because it was a royal vill, as is suggested by its being called a "civitas" in the Historia. This whole estate covers about eighty square miles of territory.

The estates described in the Historia can be used to give an idea of how much land one particular monastery might hold. The lands of Tynninghame, as has been seen, comprised an area of about 235 square miles. The lands of Gainford, described as being bounded by the Tees, the Wear, Dere Street, and the Pennines to the west, form a block of about 190 square miles.<sup>377</sup> The lands belonging to the two Jedburghs cannot be defined exactly,<sup>378</sup> but they must have comprised a sizeable estate to the south of the Teviot and to the west of the Jed Water. The two Jedburghs themselves, it has been suggested, were situated on either side of the Jed Water - one on the site of the later abbey and medieval burgh, and the other probably to the north, in the Bongate area, on the other bank of the river.<sup>379</sup> The large areas of land associated with these northern monasteries may have been so extensive because of the poverty of the land relative to parts of southern England, or even Deira, so that a community needed large estates to survive and prosper. The extent of these land-holdings provides some background to Bede's fears about the amount of territory held by monasteries - often sham monasteries in his eyes - and the resulting lack of provision of estates for the king and his thegns.<sup>380</sup> It also illustrates why English kings in the ninth century, needing land to support their armies who fought against the Vikings, and against each other too, should have been taking estates such as Warkworth from the monasteries.

The final subject to be studied in this chapter is the relationship between Lindisfarne and the other houses in the "familia". This might have differed according to how the dependencies came to be in the confederation. A house which had been founded on land belonging to Lindisfarne by monks sent out from there might have had a different relationship with its parent to that of a house founded by a noble and then placed under Lindisfarne, or that of a once independent house eventually acquired by Lindisfarne. However there is too little evidence to allow one to do more than point out the possibility of such differences.

Two sources in particular are of use in studying the relationship between Lindisfarne and its satellites. Firstly, there is the poem De Abbatibus, which gives a view of the relationship as seen from a daughter-house, and, which is especially useful, from a daughter-house of Lindisfarne too. The other source is Adamnán's Life of St. Columba, which gives much information about the relations between the centre of a "familia" and other sites within it, as viewed from the centre. One has to be aware though that there might have been differences between Iona's connections with her daughter-houses and Lindisfarne's with hers, but some useful points can be gained from this work. On one aspect another source is of use - this is Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert. It shows that daughter-houses were organized in a similar manner to their head, for it says that when Eata went to Ripon from Melrose, he "founded there the desired monastery, instituting therein the same rules of discipline as were observed at Melrose".<sup>381</sup>

The daughter-house described in De Abbatibus appears in many ways fairly independent of Lindisfarne. The monastery had its own officers. It was ruled by abbots, not just by priors, although Aethelwulf, the author of the poem, rarely refers to them as "abbas" - in fact that word appears only in the titles to some of the chapters.<sup>382</sup> In the poem itself the following words are used - "pater", "pastor", "parens",

"princeps", "genitor", and "procer". The monastery also had its own teachers - "doctores" and "lectores".<sup>383</sup> There were probably other officers too; one at least is mentioned, the monk in charge of the brothers' clothes.<sup>384</sup> However although this monastery had its own abbot, it must be added that it was known in the Lindisfarne confederation for two of the houses to have the same abbot, for Eata was head of Melrose and Lindisfarne together at one time.<sup>385</sup> Nor is there any indication in the poem that there was any involvement by Lindisfarne in the process of choosing an abbot for this daughter-house. To a large extent the succession to the headship of this community was determined by kinship. Of the six abbots who feature in the poem, the second and the third, Eorpwine and Aldwine, were brothers, and the fourth and the fifth, Sigbald and Sigwine, were also brothers.<sup>386</sup> It is possible, considering what is known about other family monasteries, that the abbots were related in some way to the family of the founder and first abbot, Eanmund, although there is no evidence for this.<sup>387</sup> The only relationships mentioned in the poem are those of the two sets of brothers, and the interesting fact that the abbots of the poem were relatives of Ecgberht, Bishop of Lindisfarne (803-c.821), to whom the work is dedicated.<sup>388</sup> So there were ties of kinship not only between abbots of the monastery but also between the monastery and Lindisfarne.

The De Abbatibus monastery appears to have been a fairly independent institution in other ways too. It had its own scriptorium,<sup>389</sup> and its own metalwork department.<sup>390</sup> It seems to have been responsible for running its own estates and administering its own finances.<sup>391</sup> It probably had a sculpture workshop for abbot Sigwine is said to have set up a high cross in the monastery.<sup>392</sup> However such a monument could have been executed by a visiting sculptor commissioned for that one particular piece. The monastic church is said to have had glass windows,<sup>393</sup> so there may have been glass-workers at the site, but they would most likely only be temporary residents, borrowed from elsewhere, for glass-workers in England at this period were usually imported specially from the Continent.<sup>394</sup>

It must be said however that the phrase in the poem referring to the glass windows is borrowed from one of Aldhelm's Carmina Ecclesiastica, so it may not be an exact description of the church of the monastery in De Abbatibus.<sup>395</sup>

What association between the daughter-house and Lindisfarne does the poem show? As has been seen, there was a family connection between the two communities. The poet, Aethelwulf, calls the Bishop of Lindisfarne "father", though it is not certain whether he means this in a personal sense, seeing the bishop as his own spiritual father, or in a wider sense, seeing the bishop as father of the community in the poem.<sup>396</sup> Lindisfarne was involved in the foundation of the monastery, although the prime mover in this was Eanmund, a "dux" who became first abbot of the house. What seems to have happened is that Eanmund gave his property to Christ and to St. Peter, which probably means to Lindisfarne, and then received it back from them to found a cell on it.<sup>397</sup> Eanmund already had a group of men wishing to become monks before this, for the poem says that when he decided to become a monk, many others followed him into religion. These men may well have been those who had earlier been his retainers when he was a "dux". This is suggested by the word used to describe their following him into religion - "comitantur" - which is reminiscent of the "comitatus" of a great noble.<sup>398</sup> When he was in the process of founding his monastery Eanmund also visited Lindisfarne to ask Bishop Eadfrith for advice.<sup>399</sup> However he did not get help from Lindisfarne alone. He also asked for advice from St. Ecgberht who was then living in Ireland,<sup>400</sup> and it was from him that he received counsel about where to build the monastery church. And it was Ecgberht who consecrated the altar for the church, not the Bishop of Lindisfarne.<sup>401</sup> So from the start others were involved in the organization of the community besides Lindisfarne.

Other contacts with Lindisfarne appear in the poem. Aethelwulf must have visited Lindisfarne for he says that he had seen his teacher, Eadfrith, praying at the tomb of St.

Cuthbert.<sup>402</sup> It is not clear if Eadfrith was a monk at Lindisfarne to whom Aethelwulf went for instruction as a boy, or a member of Aethelwulf's own community who visited Lindisfarne at the same time as Aethelwulf did. In either case it suggests a degree of interchange and contact between Lindisfarne and Aethelwulf's house. Interchange between houses in the "familia" can be seen too in the careers of Eata, Cuthbert, and Aethelwald, who all moved from Melrose to Lindisfarne.<sup>403</sup>

The picture gained from Adamnán's Life of St. Columba is rather different. Here the daughter-houses appear to have been much less independent. This might be because Iona's relations with its "familia" were different to Lindisfarne's, or it might well be because the relationship is here being viewed from the central house not from one of the other cells. The heads of the daughter-houses are given by Adamnán the title of "praepositus", which would usually be translated as "prior".<sup>404</sup> This suggests that they were not seen as abbots but only as deputies under the rule of Columba, who was abbot for the whole "familia". Columba himself is called an abbot - "abbas" and "pater".<sup>405</sup> Columba was involved in the appointment of the heads of his daughter-houses - it was he who sent Ernan to be in charge of the cell on "Hinba".<sup>406</sup> In different circumstances Columba sent for Cailtan, the "praepositus" of "Cella Diuni" by Loch Awe, to come to Iona that he might die there rather than in his own monastery, and that they might be together until Cailtan died.<sup>407</sup> By contrast, two at least of the abbots of the De Abbatibus monastery,<sup>408</sup> Eanmund and Sigwine, were buried in their own monastery. Columba is shown in Adamnán's Life as having authority over all the affairs of his confederation. Men who came to Iona to join the community might be sent to other houses - on two occasions men were sent on to "Mag Luinge" on Tiree.<sup>409</sup> Columba also once told the head of "Mag Luinge" to send a sheep and some corn to someone on Colonsay, which suggests that the lands of all the daughter-houses were seen as being part of the estates of Iona.<sup>410</sup>

Adamnán's Life shows that there was a lot of contact between sites in the "familia". Columba seems to have stayed for quite long visits on "Hinba", and it may be that in Northumbria the Bishops of Lindisfarne did the same, though we hear nothing of it in De Abbatibus.<sup>411</sup> Adamnán also shows monks from Iona travelling to other monasteries, among them Derry. This was just after the death of Columba and the succession of Baithine, so these monks might have been touring round the houses in the "familia" to tell them the news.<sup>412</sup> And in general when a monk went on a journey it was probably normal to stay at other houses of one's own confederation if possible.

There do appear to have been differences between Iona's "familia" and Lindisfarne's, with the daughter-houses of the latter being allowed a greater degree of independence than seems to have been the case in the Columban confederation. There was an important point of similarity however, at least between Iona and Lindisfarne's daughter-house in De Abbatibus. The same point might possibly have applied to Lindisfarne itself, if the organization of the monastery in the poem was in any way a reflection of the organization of Lindisfarne. This point of similarity is that both Iona and the De Abbatibus community were celibate houses, but at both the succession to the rule of the house was determined largely by kinship. This has already been shown for the De Abbatibus house, and at Iona, up to the death of Adamnán in 704, all the abbots except one were members of the same family as St. Columba, the Cenél Conaill branch of the northern Uí Néill.<sup>413</sup> The succession to the rule of Lindisfarne may also possibly have been affected by kinship, although the only scrap of information we have about this, and it is only a scrap, is that the majority of the names of the Bishops of Lindisfarne between 664 and 900 alliterate in "e". This is particularly the case in the ninth century,<sup>414</sup> and it is interesting that two or three of the ninth-century bishops may appear in a group of names alliterating in "e" in the Liber Vitae.<sup>415</sup> There is nothing certain about this, but it does tend to suggest a family domination of the appointments to the bishopric.



If this was the case, it may be that the family was that of Eata, the first English abbot and bishop of Lindisfarne, and a pupil of St. Aidan. What we do know is that one of these bishops whose name begins with an "e", Ecgberht, was related to some at least of the abbots of the De Abbatibus house. It is possible that he was of the same family as Eanmund, the founder of the house. Unfortunately we do not know if any other daughter-houses were ruled by relatives of a Bishop of Lindisfarne.

In another way too the ties of kinship had importance for Lindisfarne. The community was particularly connected with the branch of the Northumbrian royal family to which king Oswald, its founder, belonged, and with other Northumbrian royal clans as well. This subject will be studied in more detail in Chapter Six. In the same way Iona was associated with the kings of Dál Riada, particularly with the Cenél nGabráin branch of the royal family.<sup>416</sup> It is not known if any of the bishops and abbots were members of the Northumbrian royal families, as happened, for example, at Whitby<sup>417</sup> and at York.<sup>418</sup> In the later Anglo-Saxon period a special relationship existed between St. Cuthbert's community and the family of the high-reeves of Bamburgh, no doubt facilitated by the fact that the clergy of St. Cuthbert were no longer celibate by then. This connection is demonstrated very neatly by the first wife of Uhtred, earl of all Northumbria 1006-16, being Ecgfrida, daughter of Aldhun, Bishop of St. Cuthbert, 990-1018.<sup>419</sup> The re-foundation of Durham as a Benedictine house in 1083 was probably in part an attempt by William I and his Norman bishops to break this connection between the see of St. Cuthbert and the Bamburgh family - a connection which, if the lords of Bamburgh were descended from an old royal family, had lasted from the earliest period of the community's existence.

Chapter Five - Relations with other ecclesiastical centres.

The sites which together made up the community of St. Cuthbert were not only in contact with one another; they had relations with other religious centres in Northumbria and beyond. It was such contacts which brought many of the names of people associated with places outside the "familia" into the Liber Vitae. This chapter will study the range of contacts a community could have, and the benefits these could bring, as well as looking in particular at the other ecclesiastical centres which were in touch with St. Cuthbert's community.

The advantages of contacts with other religious houses were many and various. As well as the general spiritual support which communities gave to each other, and which has been discussed in Chapter Two,<sup>1</sup> there were benefits of a more practical kind. People in one monastery could ask for advice from people in another community on some particular matter, for example, church services.<sup>2</sup> Contacts between houses were useful for keeping people up-to-date with the news, both of secular and ecclesiastical matters;<sup>3</sup> for providing help for members of communities going on pilgrimage;<sup>4</sup> and for educational purposes, for students could go to study for a time at other monasteries besides their own.<sup>5</sup> Communities could use the links between them to build up their libraries - they lent books to each other, copied books for each other, sent books as presents,<sup>6</sup> and could commission new works from someone in another monastery, as Lindisfarne asked Bede to write a new Life of St. Cuthbert.<sup>7</sup> The continual swapping of presents which went on, and which served to reinforce the contacts between communities, was useful in providing people with goods they could not acquire near at hand, for example, spices, or the oil used for consecrating bishops, or relics of the saints.<sup>8</sup> Churchmen also helped each other to gain the support of the secular authorities - Alcuin, for instance, in his letter of condolence to Lindisfarne after the 793 raid, said he would ask Charlemagne to give any aid to the community

that might be required.<sup>9</sup> In all these different ways religious houses could be of use to one another.

Contact with other communities could occur through monks moving about from one monastery to another. This, as has been seen, could happen within a particular monastic confederation, but some monks did move to houses unconnected with their old monastery. At Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, for instance, in Bede's time, there lived Sigfrith, who had once been at Melrose,<sup>10</sup> Eadgisl, who had come from Coldingham,<sup>11</sup> and Fridumund, formerly at Verca's monastery, which was probably at South Shields.<sup>12</sup> There was also Trumberht, who had been a monk at "Chad's monastery", presumably Lastingham.<sup>13</sup> He had been one of Bede's teachers, so he too had probably come to live at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, as Bede says he himself spent all his life there from the age of seven, which suggests that he had not been to Lastingham to be educated by Trumberht there.<sup>14</sup>

Of greater importance though in the formation and upkeep of relations between different houses would be the contacts, both through visiting and by letter, between people who remained members of their own communities. One way of looking at the range of contacts an ecclesiastic could have is to study those people that Bede says he had met or with whom he corresponded. Twenty-nine such people are known, not counting people from Monkwearmouth-Jarrow itself.<sup>15</sup> As well as these individuals, Bede also mentions being in touch with the communities of Lastingham and Lindisfarne. The majority of his contacts were in Northumbria, with a particular concentration on Lindisfarne and Hexham. He also knew Herebald, abbot of Tynemouth, not far from Jarrow, on the far side of the Tyne. Monkwearmouth-Jarrow was in the diocese of Hexham,<sup>16</sup> so it was natural for Bede to be in communication with people there. The other centre where Bede knew a number of people was Lindisfarne. This is one of the very few places that Bede is known to have visited, for he went there in about 721 to present his Life of St. Cuthbert to the community.<sup>17</sup> It was presumably during

this visit that he met Feligeld, the hermit of Farne Island, though it is uncertain whether they met on Lindisfarne, or whether Bede was taken to see him on Farne Island.<sup>18</sup> So in Bernicia Bede knew people at Hexham, Tynemouth, Lindisfarne, and Farne Island.

Bede's contacts with Deira were more limited. He was in touch with Ecgberht, Bishop and then Archbishop of York. Ecgberht may have been Bede's pupil, and if so, presumably had once lived at Jarrow.<sup>19</sup> Another of Bede's rare visits was made in 733 to a monastery under Ecgberht's jurisdiction, though it is uncertain whether or not this house was at York. Ecgberht wanted Bede to come and visit him again at this place in 734, but Bede's poor state of health prevented this.<sup>20</sup> Another centre in Deira with which Bede was in communication was Lastingham. His contact with this monastery probably again came about through someone he knew at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, in this case his teacher Trumberht. Bede's link with Berhthun, abbot of Beverley, probably came about through Bede's contact with Hexham, for Berhthun had once been one of the clergy of St. John of Beverley, who was bishop first of Hexham, then of York.<sup>21</sup> It was John, while Bishop of Hexham, who had ordained Bede both as a deacon and as a priest.<sup>22</sup> All Bede's links with Deiran centres then seem to have arisen through his contacts with places nearer to home.

Bede was in touch with eight people known to come from outside Northumbria. Of these, three were from Lindsey, two from East Anglia, one from Winchester, one from Canterbury, and one from London. Those known by Bede to the south of the Humber were in the main important people - two bishops, a king, a future archbishop, and two abbots, one being the head of the famous monastery founded by St. Augustine at Canterbury. His two more humdrum acquaintances from outside Northumbria, a monk from Bardney and a doctor from Ely, both came from places with Northumbrian connections - Bardney because a large portion of king Oswald was buried there,<sup>23</sup> and Ely because it was founded by Aethelthryth, once queen of Northumbria.<sup>24</sup>

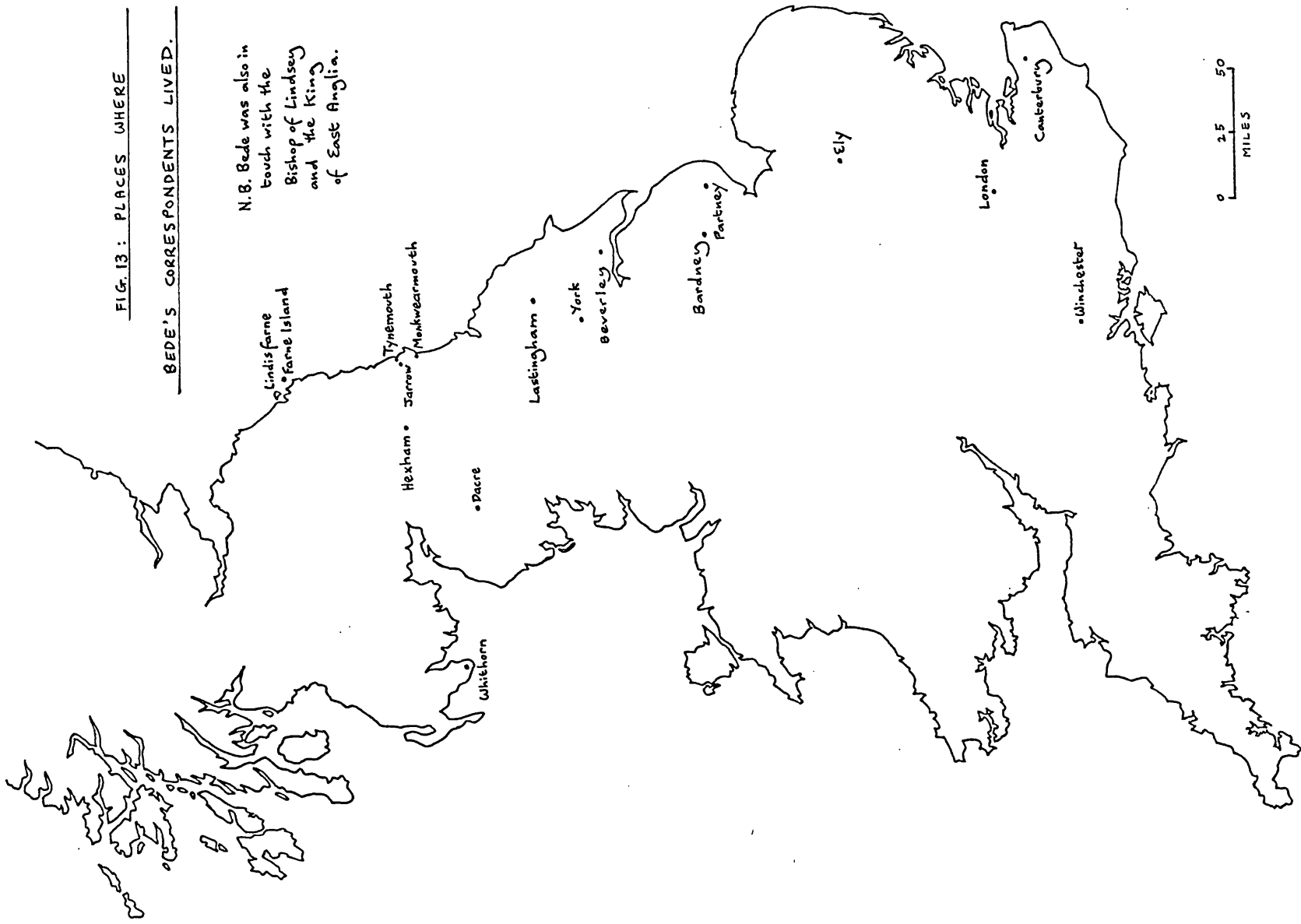


FIG. 13: PLACES WHERE

BEDE'S CORRESPONDENTS LIVED.

N.B. Bede was also in touch with the Bishop of Lindsey and the King of East Anglia.

This shows both the range of Bede's contacts and also its limitations. He was in touch with people at some important places - Canterbury, London, Winchester, as well as Hexham, Lindisfarne, and York in Northumbria - but there were many places that he probably had little or no contact with. We know of no Mercian correspondent, for example; what Bede knew of Mercia came from Lastingham, as Chad had been Bishop of Lichfield.<sup>25</sup> Even within Northumbria, his connections with Deiran centres seem to have come mainly through his Bernician contacts, but then that would be how such things did develop, as friends moved to other places, or put one in touch with a friend of theirs somewhere else. Boniface's group of friends and supporters grew up in a similar way, as was shown in Chapter Three.<sup>26</sup> It should also be noted that most of the places Bede was in touch with were either on or near the eastern coast of England, or on rivers flowing to that coast.<sup>27</sup> But though Bede's contacts were circumscribed to some extent, they do demonstrate how a person in a particular monastery, who did not travel much himself, could still know people at centres in many other parts of England, and especially in his own kingdom.

Other ecclesiastics travelled about a lot more than Bede did. Bishops were expected, as part of their work, to travel around, baptizing, confirming, preaching, ordaining priests and attending synods. The Council of "Clovesho" in 747 decreed that bishops should go all round their diocese every year.<sup>28</sup> But other ecclesiastics besides bishops could travel about too. Cuthbert, when he was prior of Melrose, often used to go and preach in the surrounding area, staying away "often ... for a whole week, sometimes even for two or three weeks, and even occasionally for a full month".<sup>29</sup> Boisil, prior at Melrose before Cuthbert, had also gone out like this on preaching tours.<sup>30</sup> Cuthbert while at Melrose also went on a trip to Coldingham,<sup>31</sup> and with two other monks to "the land of the Picts who are called Niduari", travelling there by boat.<sup>32</sup> Later when he was living as a hermit on Farne Island, he went to meet Aelfflaed on Coquet Island.<sup>33</sup>

We hear of another hermit going on journeys too - Cuthbert's friend, Hereberht, was accustomed to come and visit Cuthbert frequently; Bede says they met every year. The place of their last meeting was Carlisle.<sup>34</sup> Visitors could also come to a monastery from overseas - for example, a brother from the "familia" of Willibrord in Frisia came to stay at Lindisfarne.<sup>35</sup>

An important question in discussing relations between ecclesiastical centres is how easy was it in practice for places to keep in touch with each other? The more accessible centres were to one another, the more contacts between them could flourish. To study this question, five features of Northumbrian monasteries and other religious sites will be investigated - a site's height above sea level; whether it was on a river, or on or near the coast; whether it was on or near a Roman road; its proximity to known royal sites; and finally, the distances sites were from each other. For this survey, 107 ecclesiastical sites in northern England and southern Scotland dating from before 875 were studied.<sup>36</sup> It must be remembered that various places rose and declined over the years, and these sites may not necessarily have all been in existence at the same time. However we know little about the foundation dates of most churches and monasteries, and their lifespans are similarly uncertain, so a survey that included changes in the ecclesiastical map over time is unfortunately not feasible.

The first point that can be made about these sites is that nearly all of them are in fairly lowland areas.<sup>37</sup> A third of them are below 100' O.D., and three-quarters are below 300', while only a very few places are sited over 500'. This is all the more to be remarked upon when one considers how much high ground there is in Northumbria. If one takes only those sites which were definitely monasteries or diocesan sees, then the pattern is even clearer, with nearly half of them below 100', and the great majority below 300'.<sup>38</sup> Only

FIG. 14: SITES USED IN SURVEY

OF NORTUMBRIA.

(Site numbers refer to Appendix V).

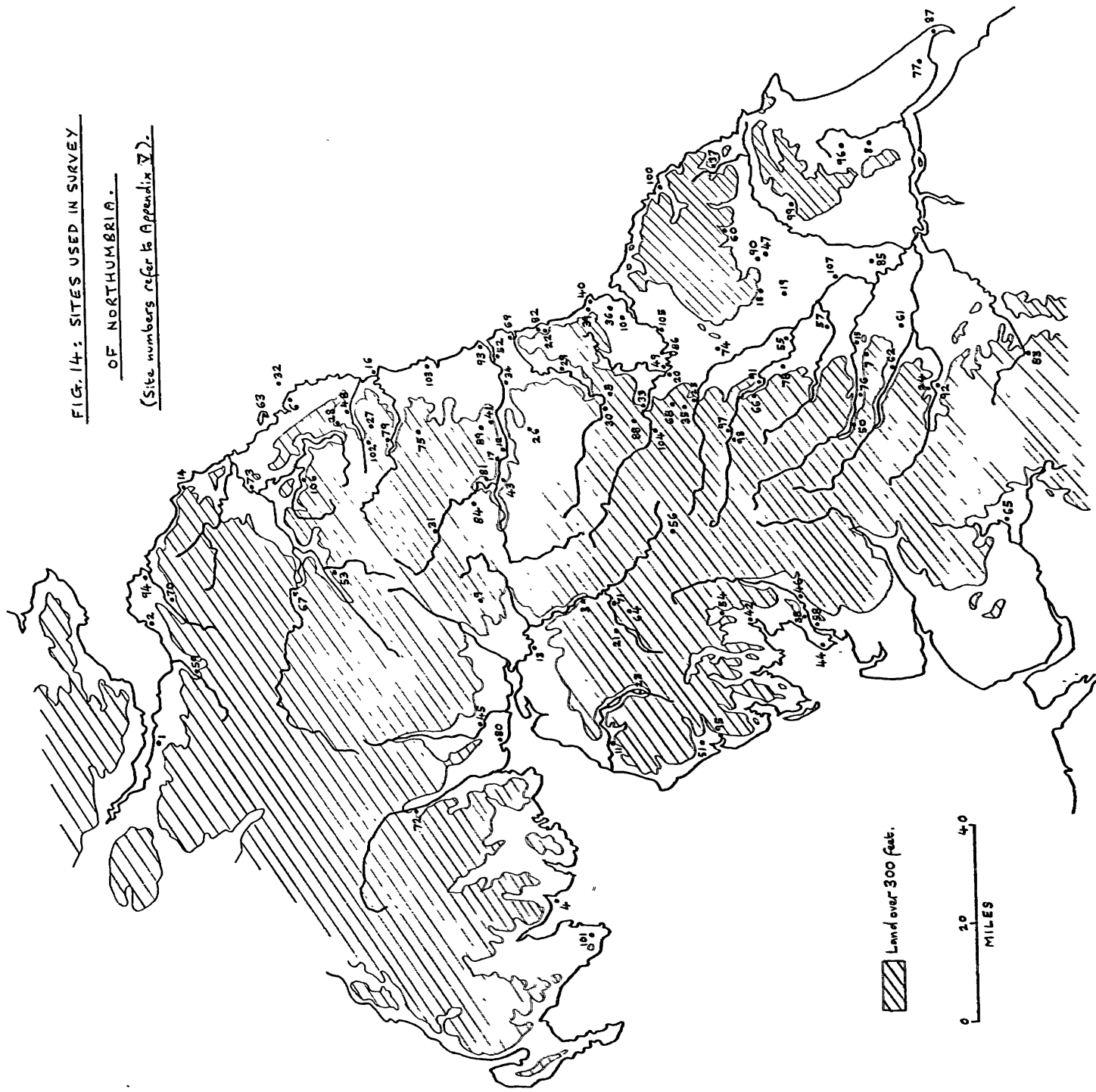




Fig. 15:- Height of sites above sea level.

<u>Height O.D.</u>	<u>Number of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
Under 50'	15	14%
50' - 99'	20	19%
100' - 199'	25	23%
200' - 299'	20	19%
300' - 399'	15	14%
400' - 499'	7	6%
Over 500'	5	5%

Percentage below 100':- 33%

Percentage below 200':- 56%

Percentage below 300':- 75%

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Fig. 16:- Height of sites classified as "A" and "D"  
in Appendix IV.

<u>Height O.D.</u>	<u>Number of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
Under 50'	10	32%
50' - 99'	5	16%
100' - 199'	7	23%
200' - 299'	4	13%
300' - 399'	4	13%
400' - 499'	None	-
Over 500'	1	3%

Percentage below 100':- 48%

Percentage below 200':- 71%

Percentage below 300':- 84%

Fig. 17:- Sites on the coast and on rivers.

<u>Situation.</u>	<u>No. of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
On coast.	7	6%
On coast, at estuary.	5	5%
Offshore island.	4	4%
Within 5 miles of the coast.	8	7%
Within 5 miles of the coast, and on a river.	7	6%
On a river inland.	47	44%
Island in lake.	1	1%
Others.	28	26%
<u>Percentage of sites on coast:-</u>		15%
<u>Percentage of sites in coastal zone:-</u>		28%
<u>Percentage of sites on rivers:-</u>		56%

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Fig. 18:- Sites on particular rivers and their  
tributaries.

<u>River system.</u>	<u>No. of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
Tweed.	4	4%
Tyne.	10	9%
Wear.	4	4%
Tees.	10	9%
Ouse/Humber.	3	3%
Western feeders of Ouse.	18	17%
Eastern feeders of Ouse.	7	6%
Eden.	6	6%
<u>Total:-</u>	62	58%

one monastery, Dacre in Cumbria, was situated above 500'. Of all the 107 sites the highest was St. Oswald-in-Lee, near Hadrian's Wall, at about 710', and the location of this church probably had little to do with the factors which generally influenced the siting of monasteries and churches. St. Oswald-in-Lee is probably the site of "Heavenfield", where king Oswald set up a wooden cross not long before he defeated Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd, in 634.<sup>39</sup> The monks of Hexham eventually built a church at this place. The site of this church then was influenced solely by the fact that Oswald and his army happened to spend the night before a battle there. The location of most ecclesiastical centres was probably affected by other and more practical considerations.

When one looks at the location of ecclesiastical sites in relation to the coastline and to rivers, one finds that three-quarters of them were on or near the coast, or on a fairly major river.<sup>40</sup> Quite a number fell into both categories. More than a quarter of the sites were in what might be termed the "coastal zone", that is, either on the coast, or within five miles of the coast. Four of the sites were on offshore islands - Lindisfarne, Farne Island, Coquet Island, and Ardwall Island. There was more of a concentration along rivers. Over half the sites were on fairly large rivers, and, moreover, there tended to be a concentration of sites along a particular few rivers and their tributaries. Nearly half the sites were associated with just three river systems - the Tyne, the Tees, and the feeders of the Humber.<sup>41</sup> The proximity of sites to Roman roads seems to have been less important.<sup>42</sup> There was some tendency for sites to be near Roman roads, but no marked preference for actually being on them. Only 13% of the sites were on a Roman road, but half of the sites were three miles or less from a road. So while many places were in reach of a road, river systems and the coast were more important factors in the location of ecclesiastical sites.

The placing of churches and monasteries near to royal centres does not appear to have been a factor of general importance, although it probably had relevance in specific cases.<sup>43</sup>

Fig. 19:- Proximity of sites to Roman roads.

(N.B. Counting Hadrian's Wall as if it were a road).

	<u>No. of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
On a road.	14	13%
1 mile or less from a road.	21	19%
1-2 miles from a road.	8	7%
2-3 miles from a road.	12	11%
<u>Total:-</u>	55	50%

Fig. 20:- Proximity of sites to royal centres.

	<u>No. of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
At a royal site.	3	3%
Within 6 miles of a royal site.	8	7%
<u>Total:-</u>	11	10%

There are three sites among those surveyed which were also royal sites - there were churches at Yeavinger and at Bamburgh, and the episcopal see at York. There were a further eight sites within six miles of a royal centre, including Gilling West, Gateshead, and Lindisfarne and its dependency of Farne Island. York had an early connection with the Deiran royal family, for king Edwin was baptized there,<sup>44</sup> and Lindisfarne was connected with the Bernician rulers. Gilling, near the royal vill of Catterick, was also a royal monastery.<sup>45</sup> Gateshead, which is in the same area as the royal vill at Walbottle, had as its abbot Utta, who was said to be "honoured by all, including the secular rulers", and who was commissioned to bring Eanflaed from Kent to be Oswiu's queen.<sup>46</sup>

There were, however, doubtless more royal vills than those we hear about in the sources, and the sites of some, such as "Campodonum" and its replacement in the Leeds region,<sup>47</sup> are uncertain. So there might have been more sites near royal vills than we know of.

Before discussing the question of the distances between ecclesiastical sites, one needs to have an idea of how far people could travel in a day. Without this information a study of the distances between sites is not very meaningful. Some useful evidence can be found in the anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, written probably not long after 716.<sup>48</sup> This gives a detailed description of Ceolfrith's departure from Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in 716, when he resigned the abbacy and set off to go to Rome. He made all his plans for the journey before telling the brethren of the monastery, intending to leave immediately he had told them. He told the brethren at Monkwearmouth what he was going to do on Tuesday, June 2nd, 716. They begged him to stay with them for one more day at the least, so he "remained with them that day and night". Then on the next morning he "set out with many companions to the brethren living in the monastery of the blessed Paul" at Jarrow. They too were very upset at his going, and he and they talked for "no little time". He then "set out the same day, whether burning with desire to journey, or driven by weariness at the distress of the brethren", and returned to Monkwearmouth. It is not quite clear when he arrived back there, but he was certainly there at daybreak on the Thursday, June 4th, and after speaking to the brethren there again, he set off on his journey, first by ship across the Wear and then going on south on horseback. All this was done before the midday mealtime.

A number of points can be made about this. Monkwearmouth and Jarrow are about six miles apart as the crow flies, but the route between them that was used by the monks is not known, and would almost certainly have been longer than six miles, as

there was probably marshland to the south-east and east of Jarrow at this period.<sup>49</sup> Ceolfrith was able to get from Monkwearmouth to Jarrow and back within twenty-four hours, spending quite a long time at Jarrow in the middle. However, the way the author stresses that Ceolfrith set out back to Monkwearmouth on the same day suggests that this was not what usually happened, and that Ceolfrith only did it because he was in such a hurry to get away.

The Life of St. Ceolfrith then goes on to say that Ceolfrith travelled down to the mouth of the Humber, a distance of about 110 miles, and put out to sea from there, on the 4th July, a month after he had left Monkwearmouth. He had been to at least one monastery en route, and had probably stayed there for a time - this was Aelfberht's monastery at "Cornu Vallis". As this might be the same as the monastery that is known to have existed near Spurn Point,<sup>50</sup> it may be that Ceolfrith waited there for an opportunity to set sail for Gaul. We do not know how many days Ceolfrith actually spent travelling between the 4th June and the 4th July. Probably he would not have travelled on a Sunday, and especially not on the Sunday immediately following his departure from Monkwearmouth, for that was Whit Sunday.<sup>51</sup> He might have tried to spend that day in a monastery or major church if he could, say at Hartlepool, which is about eighteen miles down the coast from Monkwearmouth. Other major festival days when he might not have travelled which fall between 4th June and 4th July are St. Barnabas on June 11th; the Nativity of St. John the Baptist on June 24th; SS. John and Paul, martyrs, on June 26th; and SS. Peter and Paul on June 29th.<sup>52</sup> Even allowing for not travelling on these festivals and on Sundays, Ceolfrith's progress was very slow, an average of a little under five miles a day. It is possible that he stayed at a number of monasteries on his way, perhaps spending a few days at each. He was travelling so slowly that his successor, Hwaetberht, was able to set off after him and catch him up, to give him the news of his election.<sup>53</sup>

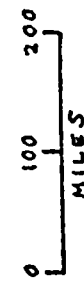
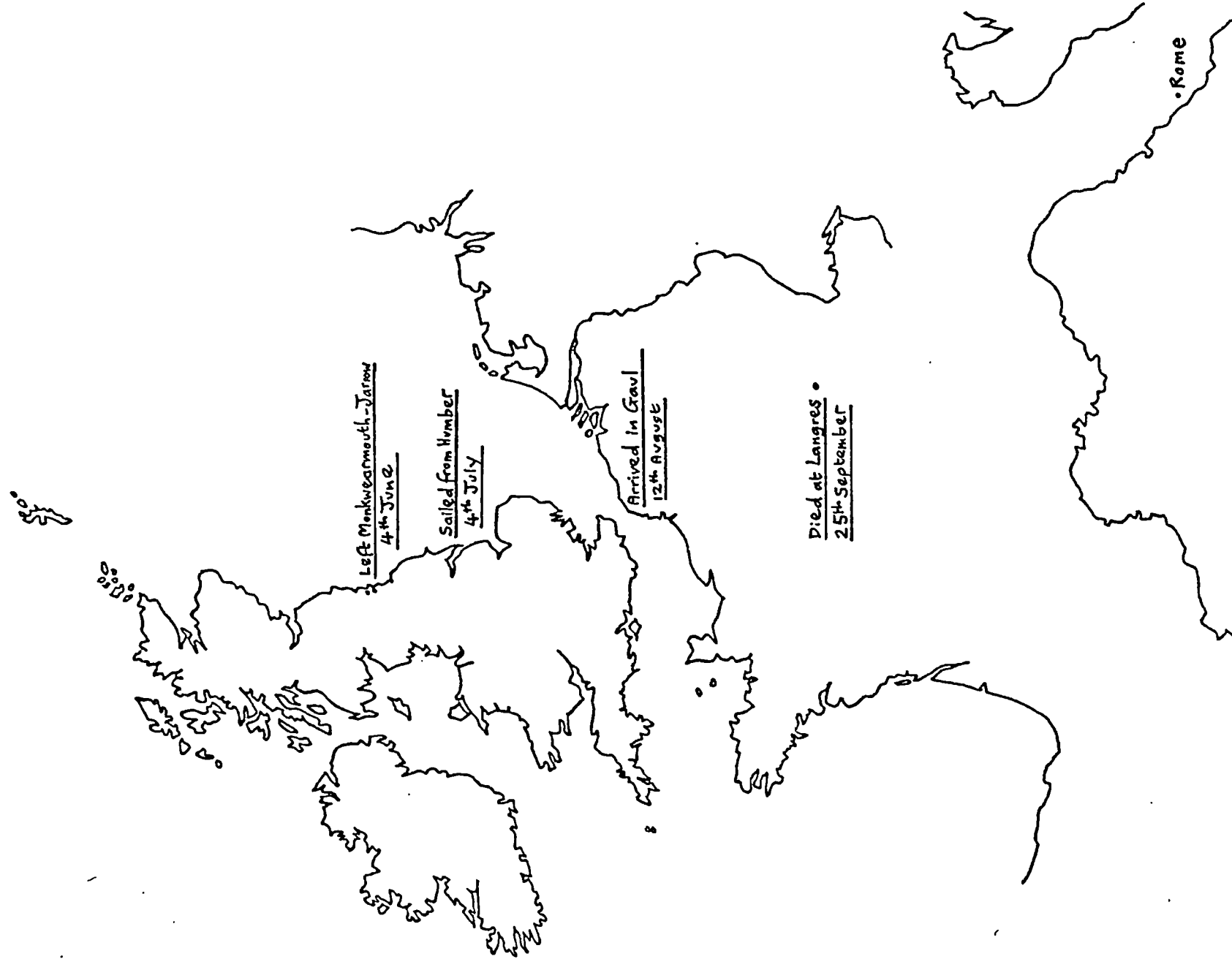


FIG. 21: CEOLFRITH'S JOURNEY.

The voyage from the mouth of the Humber to Gaul was also a slow affair. It took more than a month, mainly because the ship visited three "provinces" on the way - probably Lindsey, East Anglia, and Kent. Ceolfrith reached Gaul on 12th August 716. He then took six weeks and a few days to reach Langres in Burgundy, a distance of about 270 miles in a direct line, and probably quite a bit further than that on the ground. He was travelling right up until the day he died, at Langres on the 25th September. Again allowing for not travelling on Sundays and major festivals,<sup>54</sup> Ceolfrith was covering an average of eight miles a day. Allowance must be made for the fact that he was old - seventy-four years of age - and not in good health. He was said to be "tired out equally by great age and sickness", and had eventually to travel in a horse-drawn litter because he was no longer able to ride. He also went with a large company of eighty followers, which would tend to move more slowly than a small group. However his slow progress was probably typical of the speed of travel at this time.

With travel being slow, places needed to be quite close together to be in fairly regular contact. For someone to visit a place and get home again on the same day, a distance of six miles apart, like Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, would be about the limit. To go somewhere and stay overnight and then return home, this distance could be pushed up to about ten or twelve miles. These distances have been used in a survey of how far apart ecclesiastical sites are from each other. There is a problem with the method used in this survey, however, which is that all distances have been taken as the crow flies, ignoring the topography of an area. This is certainly not a very satisfactory method, but any other would be more or less impossible because so little is known about the routes people used. However the survey which follows does give a useful general picture.

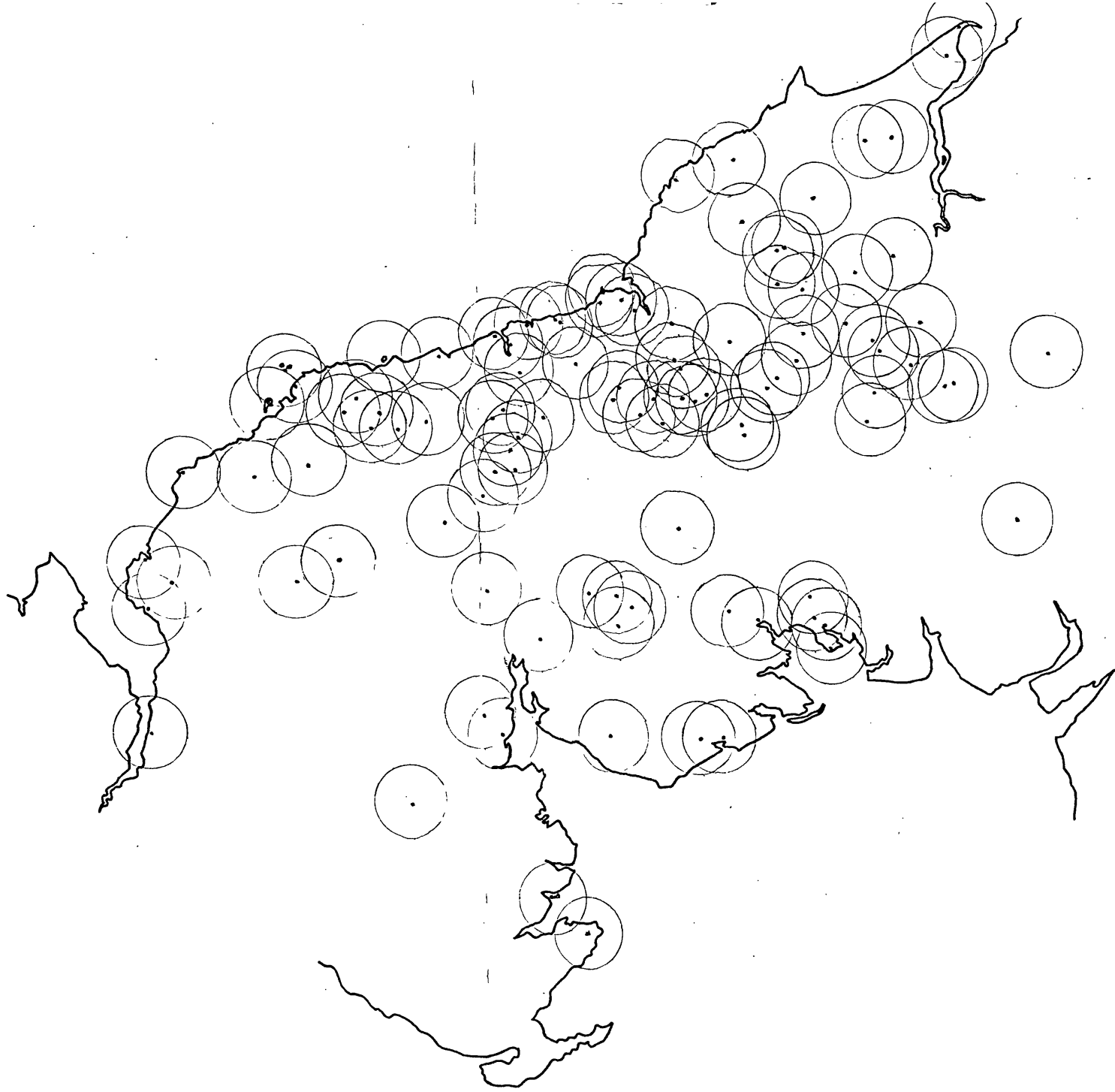


Fig. 22:- Distances between Northumbrian ecclesiastical sites.

	<u>Within 6 miles</u>		<u>Within 10 miles</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Sites with no other sites	39	36%	17	16%
Sites with 1 other site	36	34%	24	22%
Sites with 2 other sites	23	21%	13	12%
Sites with 3 other sites	8	7%	23	21%
Sites with 4 other sites	1	1%	13	12%
Sites with 5 other sites			9	8%
Sites with 6 other sites			4	4%
Sites with 7 other sites			2	2%
Sites with 8 other sites			2	2%

The survey contained the same 107 sites.<sup>55</sup> For each place the number of other sites also in the survey were counted within a six-mile radius, and within a ten-mile radius. A fair proportion of the sites, more than a third, had no other sites within a six-mile radius, but only 16% had nothing within ten miles. The usual picture is for a place to have one or two other sites within six miles of it - more than this number was rare. Nowhere had more than four other sites within six miles. The pattern with the ten-mile radii was on similar lines. The majority of places, three-quarters of all the sites considered, had between one and five other sites within ten miles. Nowhere had more than eight sites within this distance. The overall picture is that ecclesiastical centres were on the whole quite accessible to each other. Nearly two-thirds of sites had other places near enough to make a day's visit to them, and the great majority, 83%, had other sites an easy day's journey away.

It is interesting to compare the results of the general surveys with similar surveys of the pre-875 "familia" of St. Cuthbert. In many ways a study of the sites in the "familia" reinforces the overall picture. Again they are nearly all in



0 10 20  
MILES

FIG. 23: DISTANCES BETWEEN SITES  
(circles show a 7-mile radius).

Fig. 24:- Sites in St. Cuthbert's "familia" - height above sea level.

<u>Height O.D.</u>	<u>Number of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
Under 50'	5	19%
50' - 99'	6	23%
100' - 199'	4	15%
200' - 299'	6	23%
300' - 399'	5	19%
Over 400'	None	-
<u>Percentage below 100':-</u>	42%	
<u>Percentage below 200':-</u>	57%	
<u>Percentage below 300':-</u>	80%	

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Fig. 25:- Sites in St. Cuthbert's "familia" on coasts and rivers.

<u>Situation.</u>	<u>No. of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
On coast.	3	11.5%
On coast, at estuary.	1	4%
Offshore island.	2	8%
Within 5 miles of the coast.	2	8%
Within 5 miles of the coast, and on a river.	2	8%
On a river inland.	13	50%
Island in lake.	1	4%
Others.	2	8%
<u>Percentage of sites on coast:-</u>	23.5%	
<u>Percentage of sites in coastal zone:-</u>	39.5%	
<u>Percentage of sites on rivers:-</u>	66%	

Fig. 26:- Sites in St. Cuthbert's "familia" on particular river systems.

<u>River system.</u>	<u>No. of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
Tweed.	5	19%
Aln.	3	11.5%
Tees.	4	15%
<u>Total:-</u>	12	46%

fairly lowland areas, and indeed there is even more of a concentration on lower ground than that found in the general survey.<sup>56</sup> 80% of the sites are located below 300' O.D. The highest site is Crayke, and that is only at about 350'. A similar situation prevails when one looks at the location of sites in relation to the coast and rivers.<sup>57</sup> Again the pattern of the general survey is reinforced and amplified. Over 90% of the sites in the "familia" are on or near the coast or on a river. A fair number were sited on just two river systems - the Tweed and the Aln.<sup>58</sup> The coast and rivers were more important in St. Cuthbert's "familia" than Roman roads - the total of sites on or near such roads is less than in the general survey.<sup>59</sup> This may be partly because there were fewer Roman roads in the north of Bernicia, where the community had most of its sites, than there were to the south of Hadrian's Wall.

Proximity to royal sites was probably a factor in determining the location of the early centres in the "familia", with both Lindisfarne and Farne Island within six miles of Bamburgh, and Bishop Aidan's foundation of churches at the various royal villas. There was also the grant of some property in the royal city of York. But apart from these there does not appear to be much connection between royal sites and the places in the "familia".<sup>60</sup> As in the general survey

Fig. 27:- Proximity of sites in St. Cuthbert's "familia" to Roman roads.

	<u>No. of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
On a road.	5	19%
1 mile or less from a road.	1	4%
1-2 miles from a road.	3	11.5%
2-3 miles from a road.	2	8%
<u>Total:-</u>	11	42.5%

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Fig. 28:- Proximity of sites in St. Cuthbert's "familia" to royal sites.

	<u>No. of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
At a royal site.	1 +	4% +
Within 6 miles of a royal site.	3	11.5%
<u>Total:-</u>	4 +	15.5% +

N.B. One church at a royal residence is known from the sources and there were said to be others at other royal villis.

though this is probably partly because we know so little about the location of royal villis in Northumbria. For instance, it is possible that Brinkburn was a royal vill, and this formed part of a land grant to Lindisfarne made by king Ceolwulf.<sup>61</sup> So there may be more connection between the geography of the "familia" and the location of royal villis than we can now discern.

Fig. 29:- Distance between sites in St. Cuthbert's "familia".

<u>Distance of next nearest site in "familia".</u>	<u>No. of sites.</u>	<u>Percentages.</u>
Under 5 miles.	10	38%
5-10 miles.	6	23%
10-15 miles.	6	23%
15-20 miles.	2	8%
Over 20 miles.	2	8%

Finally, one can look at how far apart the sites in the "familia" were from each other.<sup>62</sup> 46% had at least one other site connected with St. Cuthbert's community within six miles, and a further 19% were within six to ten miles of their next nearest centre. The site most remote from any other known centre in the "familia" was Abercorn, about thirty-four miles away from its nearest neighbour, Tynninghame. The average distance between the sites in the "familia" was just under ten miles. If one takes only those places in the region most dominated by the community, that is, the sites in north-east Bernicia between Woodhorn and Tynninghame, then the average distance between sites drops to just under six miles. So the various places in the "familia" would have been able to keep in touch with each other reasonably easily. The distribution pattern of the centres connected with St. Cuthbert's community corresponds well with the general ecclesiastical geography of Northumbria.

Ecclesiastical centres, then, tended to be in accessible situations, and it would have been fairly easy for places to keep in touch with each other. Within this general pattern other features emerge too.<sup>63</sup> In some areas there are groups of sites particularly close together - either on quite a large scale as in the Tyne valley, or in the middle Tees valley, or smaller groups such as the one in the Lune valley in Lancashire.<sup>64</sup>

Elsewhere there may be a more even scattering of sites, such as in the Vale of York and into the Pennine foothills. Occasionally one finds two sites fairly close together and not very near anything else, such as Beverley and Watton in the East Riding, or Irton and Waberthwaite on the Cumbrian coast. And there are a few places that seem to be out on their own, such as Abercorn.

Those sites which were some distance from other Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical centres may have served a particular purpose. Sites such as Abercorn, Carlisle, and Whithorn may have served partly as outposts in debateable territory, centres of Northumbrian royal authority in newly conquered areas - a comparable situation to that of reformed monasteries in the tenth century, which were centres of royal influence. Abercorn is a good example of such a site. It was in an area which was probably seen as remote by the Anglo-Saxons, though it was controlled by the Northumbrians for part of the seventh century.<sup>65</sup> There are no signs of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area, but the land on the south side of the Firth of Forth contains many signs of Celtic occupation of the post-Roman period.<sup>66</sup> There are seven long-cist cemeteries within six miles of Abercorn. The nearest is at Hopetoun, about one and a half miles from Abercorn.<sup>67</sup> These long-cist cemeteries are very probably Christian and more likely to be Celtic than Anglian, although unfortunately their dating is uncertain.<sup>68</sup> Abercorn seems to have been an Anglian site planted in an area of British population. Its Celtic name may mean it was taken over from the Britons.<sup>69</sup> Whithorn too was an old British ecclesiastical site which became an Anglian see.<sup>70</sup> This situation can be compared with a feature of some early church sites in Ireland, which tend to be placed on the boundaries of tribes, partly as a means of showing where such boundaries were.<sup>71</sup>

The Northumbrian ecclesiastical map agrees with that of Celtic areas in other ways too. A study of church sites in south-west Ireland has found that their distribution pattern

is very similar to that found in Northumbria - most churches were located below 400' O.D., and very few were above 600'. There was also a concentration along rivers and the coast, and very few churches were in "isolated or remote areas".<sup>72</sup> A study of early church sites in Wales has found a similar situation there too, with a preference for lower ground, valleys, and, in particular, coastal sites.<sup>73</sup>

Literary sources of the period tend to make much of how lonely and unfrequented the sites of monasteries were. The idea of settling in a "desert" place was a part of the monastic mind, inherited from the earliest communities which grew up in the deserts of the Middle East.<sup>74</sup> As has been seen this stress on remoteness must be due more to tradition and a mode of thought than a statement of reality in many cases. It refers more to things unseen than to things seen. To be "in the desert" meant being in a certain state of mind and spirit rather than being in a particular physical place.

How far the general accessibility of ecclesiastical sites was intentional on the part of their founders is hard to say. It must be emphasized that the single most important factor in the siting of monasteries and churches was where the person who gave the land for the institution had land to give. But the general distribution of sites shows that patrons were endowing churches with good lands, not just giving them poor areas in the hills that nobody else wanted. Some communities might have acquired good land because they were sham institutions of the type described by Bede.<sup>75</sup> Obviously such places would not be interested in living off poor estates. But generally it is an indication of the enthusiasm that existed for the Church and for monasticism in particular that prime settlement sites could be handed over to religious communities by their benefactors.

Having established that ecclesiastical sites were well able to be in contact with each other, the next subject to be discussed is what other religious centres was Lindisfarne in



touch with. Contacts between Lindisfarne and other centres can be discovered in a variety of ways - through the evidence of literary sources, manuscripts, and sculpture. Archaeology is of less help. This is because, in the first place, the early monastery of Lindisfarne itself has not been excavated,<sup>76</sup> so there is no basis for making comparisons with other sites. And only a relatively small number of early Anglo-Saxon monasteries have been excavated anyway. In Northumbria, of thirty sites which were definitely monasteries before 875,<sup>77</sup> excavation has taken place at fifteen, but only at four - Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Whitby, and Dacre - on any large scale.<sup>78</sup> So again the basis for any comparisons is rather limited. What does emerge from the work that has been done, moreover, is that though there were certain common component parts of a monastery, those excavated all seem to have been different from each other. Even Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, which were "one monastery in all things, although situated in two places",<sup>79</sup> were not really very alike.<sup>80</sup> This diversity is very interesting, but it tells us little about contacts between the various sites.

There are problems as well in trying to discover connections between sites by using the evidence of sculpture, which in the Anglian period seems to be associated only with monasteries.<sup>81</sup> Firstly, there is the question of who actually made the sculpture. There are three main possibilities, and there is no knowing which is the correct one. The monks themselves may have been the sculptors. This is feasible as monks are known to have worked as craftsmen at this period.<sup>82</sup> The second possibility is that the sculptors were workmen who were not monks, but who were associated with and worked for a particular monastery, and who were a part of that monastery. Or, thirdly, it may be that the stones were carved by workmen who were not attached to any one community but who were employed by a monastery to do some work for them and who over the years may have worked for a number of monasteries. Another problem is that it is not known how much the design of a

monument depended on the person or persons who commissioned it and how much on the person who actually carved it. The emphasis one can put on any parallels between carved stones at different sites differs depending who the sculptors were. Much less could be made of similarities if the stones were made by "outsiders" rather than by people who were a part of a particular monastery.

There is another reason too for being careful as to how much stress to lay on any similarities. It is not certain what parallels between stones at different places indicates. Do they indicate an actual administrative connection, or do they show a more general influence of one place over another? Did similarities in sculpture result from a relationship of friendliness between two places, or were they simply a reflection of the fashion of the time? Each of these answers might be true in different instances. There are some pieces of sculpture in Northumbria which show motifs from a number of different schools of carving so that they are hard to classify. They contain features in their decoration which are also found on stones on Lindisfarne, as well as features which are associated particularly with Hexham and with Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. This group includes work at Bewcastle, Jedburgh, Abercorn, Aberlady, Coldingham, and Irton.<sup>83</sup> How is one to interpret the relationship between these sites and the centres of Hexham, Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, and Lindisfarne? To take their relationship with Lindisfarne, some of these places eventually did come to be in St. Cuthbert's "familia"; the history of others is uncertain. In those cases where the sites did become part of the "familia", it is not known whether the sculpture was produced before or after that event. Lindisfarne influence on this group of sculpture may be due to direct contact with these various places, or it may be that Lindisfarne motifs went into a common stock drawn on by carvers working at these sites. One should be careful not to assume that similarities in sculptural decoration inevitably indicate a close relationship between different sites.

The situation is made even more confusing when one discovers that some places that are known to have been connected with each other do not always display many parallels in their sculpture. For example, the baluster shafts dating from the seventh to eighth centuries which are at Jarrow are, surprisingly, different from the late seventh-century ones at Monkwearmouth. And these balusters are "the only sculptural link" between the two halves of this monastery.<sup>84</sup>

This leads on to the question of whether the "familia" of St. Cuthbert had a distinctive sculptural style. Lindisfarne work is basically Insular in style,<sup>85</sup> and tends to show very little influence of other styles of sculpture. For instance, plant-scrolls, typical of the Hexham school of carving, and derived from models from the Mediterranean or the Near East,<sup>86</sup> are unusual on stones at Lindisfarne.<sup>87</sup> Lindisfarne also did not adopt new fashions in sculpture in the ninth century as every other centre did.<sup>88</sup> But at other centres in the "familia" the situation was very different. Norham, for example, was much more open to outside influences than Lindisfarne seems to have been, particularly to the influence of the Deiran and Mercian styles fashionable in the ninth century.<sup>89</sup> Lindisfarne was the only place which does not seem to have been affected by this fashion. Unlike Lindisfarne, plant-scrolls appear on stones at Norham, probably because of the Deiran influence rather than because of any influence from Hexham. Norham sculpture also contains features which can be compared with work at Jarrow, Rothbury, and Halton and Heysham in Lancashire.<sup>90</sup> Oddly enough, only one Norham piece shows any "affinity" with Lindisfarne work, and this may be because this Norham piece had an effect on later work at Lindisfarne, rather than because of any Lindisfarne influence at Norham.<sup>91</sup> There are other sites in the "familia" which show influence from other centres besides Lindisfarne or instead of Lindisfarne. At Carlisle there is an inscribed cross-head with a rosette as its central feature which is connected with work at Hexham.<sup>92</sup> The shape of this head, that classified by Rosemary Cramp as A10,<sup>93</sup> is also of

a type associated with Hexham. Another Carlisle cross-head shows a border of zig-zags, which is seen also on pieces at Jarrow<sup>94</sup> and at Northallerton in Yorkshire.<sup>95</sup> Stones at Jedburgh and Edlingham also show the influence of Jarrow work.<sup>96</sup> They both contain inhabited scroll patterns, which are comparatively scarce in Northumbrian sculpture and appear on work of a high quality. They seem to be linked particularly with Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, and with Jarrow especially.<sup>97</sup> However it must be remembered that both Jedburgh and Edlingham may have been religious sites before St. Cuthbert's community acquired them, and these stones may date from that period. If though they were produced after these centres became part of the "familia" they suggest that dependencies of St. Cuthbert's did not have links only with their head monastery. The sculpture at Carlisle, a site known to have been linked with Lindisfarne from early on, suggests the same. It seems that the Lindisfarne "familia" did not have a sculptural style peculiar to it, even if Lindisfarne itself did, and that sites within the "familia" were free to commission their own works of sculpture in whatever style they pleased.<sup>98</sup> It can be seen from all this that the evidence of sculpture is only of limited utility in the discovery of contacts between different sites, but within these limitations, it can still occasionally be useful.

The area with which Lindisfarne seems to have had most contacts was, as would be expected, Northumbria. The Liber Vitae shows this to have been the case,<sup>99</sup> and so do other literary sources. The Bishops of Lindisfarne met the other Northumbrian bishops at synods and consecrations, and in this way would have had fairly regular contact with them. One can look at the career of Hygebald, Bishop from 780 or 781 to 803.<sup>100</sup> His episcopate coincides with the period when the Northumbrian annals contained in the Historia Regum and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are at their most informative, and one can gain some idea of how often he met the other bishops, and no doubt lesser church dignitaries as well. There was, firstly, Hygebald's own episcopal consecration at Sockburn in 780 or 781.<sup>101</sup>

Later that same year, on 2nd October, a new Bishop of Hexham, Tilberht, was consecrated at "Wulfeswelle", and Hygebald probably attended that ceremony.<sup>102</sup> There is then a gap to 786, when Hygebald went to two meetings, the first being the consecration of Ealdwulf as Bishop of Mayo, which took place at Corbridge, and the second being the Northumbrian Legatine Synod. Hygebald is recorded as having attended both these gatherings.<sup>103</sup> In 787 another synod was held at "Pincanheale" in Northumbria, which Hygebald presumably attended.<sup>104</sup> In 791 there was the consecration of Badwulf as Bishop of Whithorn at "Hearrahalth". Hygebald may have gone to this ceremony although the Chronicle only mentions the names of Archbishop Eanbald of York and Bishop Aethelberht of Hexham as having been present.<sup>105</sup> In 796 Hygebald attended two ceremonies, the coronation of Eardwulf as king of Northumbria at York on 26th May, and the consecration of Eanbald II, Archbishop of York, at Sockburn on 14th August.<sup>106</sup> He went to another consecration in the following year at Woodford, when Heardred was made Bishop of Hexham.<sup>107</sup> The year after that, 798, another synod met at "Pincanheale", which Hygebald probably attended.<sup>108</sup> And in 800 there was a further consecration, that of Eanberht as Bishop of Hexham, which took place at "Cettingaham",<sup>109</sup> which may have been Whittingham, one of the churches belonging to Lindisfarne.<sup>110</sup> As well as these seven episcopal consecrations, three synods, and the one coronation he is known to have attended, Hygebald may also have been to the coronations of Osred II in 788 or 789,<sup>111</sup> and Aethelred in 790,<sup>112</sup> although Aethelred may not have gone through any ceremony then as he had already reigned in Northumbria before, between 774 and 778/9.<sup>113</sup> There were also synods in 782 or 783, and in 788 or 789, at a place called "Aclea". These are recorded in the northern recension of the Chronicle, but not in the Historia Regum, so it is not certain whether or not they were held in Northumbria.<sup>114</sup> The general picture is that the Bishop of Lindisfarne had frequent opportunities to meet other church leaders in Northumbria at synods and other gatherings. He may not have met bishops or abbots from south of the Humber however, as Northumbrian ecclesiastics did not attend the councils held in the

south of England. This seems to have been the case to a large extent even before York became an archbishopric in 735.<sup>115</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury sometimes came to Northumbria to attend synods there,<sup>116</sup> but Northumbrian churchmen do not appear to have gone south to councils held elsewhere, except during a period of Theodore's archiepiscopate,<sup>117</sup> and the one later exception of Bishop Acca of Hexham, who attended a council at "Clovesho" in 716.<sup>118</sup>

There is plenty of evidence for contacts between Lindisfarne and various Northumbrian monasteries. The houses that St. Cuthbert's community was in touch with in Bernicia will be studied first. These were Coldingham, which was probably not part of Lindisfarne's "familia" in the seventh century at least;<sup>119</sup> Hartlepool; Verca's monastery, probably at South Shields; Coquet Island; Hexham; and, most importantly, Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. All these communities are certainly represented in the Liber Vitae, except for Coquet Island. We cannot tell if that is represented or not because none of its monks' names are known.<sup>120</sup> Contact with Coldingham can be seen in abbess Aebbe inviting Cuthbert, when prior of Melrose, to come and preach to her community.<sup>121</sup> The links between Lindisfarne and two other Bernician monasteries also appear in the Lives of Cuthbert. One of these houses is Verca's monastery near the mouth of the Tyne, probably at South Shields.<sup>122</sup> Cuthbert was very friendly with abbess Verca, and he kept a cover which she sent to him and asked that it be used as his shroud.<sup>123</sup> Before he died, Cuthbert went on a tour not only of his own diocese, but also of "the other dwellings of the faithful in the neighbourhood", and one of those he visited was Verca's house, which would presumably have been in the diocese of Hexham.<sup>124</sup> Another monastery which Cuthbert visited, this time in about 684, before he became a bishop, was Coquet Island. This island, "famous for its companies of monks", may have been linked in some way with Whitby, for Aelfflaed, abbess of Whitby, asked Cuthbert to meet her there.<sup>125</sup> Or Aelfflaed may have chosen this monastery as a meeting-place because it was convenient

for both Cuthbert and herself to sail to it, and perhaps because she knew that monks of Lindisfarne sometimes visited this house. When Cuthbert went to meet Aelfflaed, he travelled on a ship with other monks from Lindisfarne, who may have called at Farne Island to pick him up.<sup>126</sup> It may have been a fairly regular occurrence for Lindisfarne ships to go to Coquet Island.

Lindisfarne's relations with Hartlepool were probably close. Heiu, the founder of Hartlepool, who was said to be the first woman in Northumbria to become a nun, was consecrated by Aidan of Lindisfarne.<sup>127</sup> Her successor as abbess of Hartlepool was Hild, who had been converted to Christianity by St. Paulinus at the same time as king Edwin, who was her kinsman. She had later intended to go to Gaul to become a nun at Chelles. However she was recalled to Northumbria by Aidan, and after a year was made abbess at Hartlepool, where she introduced a monastic rule taught her by Aidan and others who "visited her frequently, instructed her assiduously, and loved her heartily for her innate wisdom and her devotion to the service of God".<sup>128</sup> Aidan's involvement in the establishment of Hartlepool may have resulted in continued contacts between the two houses. The omission of Heiu and, apparently, Hild from the Liber Vitae is one of the pieces of evidence which points to a late seventh-century origin for most of the lists in the book.<sup>129</sup>

Lindisfarne and Hartlepool have another feature in common, which is that at both centres series of small name-stones used as grave-markers have been found.<sup>130</sup> The earliest of these may go back to the mid-seventh century. They are the earliest work on stone found at Lindisfarne, and the only type of sculpture found so far at Hartlepool. Similar stones also occur in Ireland and on Iona.<sup>131</sup> There are points of similarity between the Lindisfarne and the Hartlepool stones. They are similar in date, and in size, and they use both runes and Anglo-Saxon capitals, though not mixed together in the same sentence.<sup>132</sup> But there are differences too:- in shape - Lindisfarne stones are typically round-headed, Hartlepool

stones are rectangular; and in the type of cross incised on the slab - the characteristic Lindisfarne cross is that classified by Rosemary Cramp as G1, and the typical Hartlepool cross is that classified as F1.<sup>133</sup> There was very probably some interaction between these two centres, but each developed its own traditions as well.

Another Bernician centre that Lindisfarne is known to have had some contact with is Hexham. The relationship between these two places was somewhat complex. Eata, then abbot of Lindisfarne and Melrose, was made Bishop of Bernicia in 678 with sees at Hexham and Lindisfarne.<sup>134</sup> It may well be that he had some trouble coping with the community at Hexham, whose founder, Wilfrid, had just been expelled as Bishop of all Northumbria.<sup>135</sup> This may be why Eata was allowed to have a second see at his own church of Lindisfarne. In 681 Hexham became a separate diocese and Tunberht, from Ripon, was put over it, Eata remaining as Bishop of Lindisfarne.<sup>136</sup> Tunberht, having been at Wilfrid's other monastery of Ripon, would no doubt have been more acceptable to Hexham than Eata, who, although he had accepted the Roman Easter after 664, would have been very much identified with the Irish monks who had brought him up.<sup>137</sup> And it had been Eata who had been head of the monks who had had to leave Ripon in the early 660's, after which Ripon was given to Wilfrid.<sup>138</sup> The connection between Hexham and Lindisfarne was renewed for a short time in 685. Cuthbert was elected as Bishop of Hexham but persuaded Eata to swap dioceses so that he could have Lindisfarne.<sup>139</sup> Cuthbert's reluctance to take on Wilfrid's church may have had the same source as Eata's, for Cuthbert had been one of the monks who had left Ripon with Eata.<sup>140</sup> Also the situation at Hexham in 685 was again rather troubled, for Tunberht had been deposed as bishop in about 684 - Bede does not say why.<sup>141</sup> One cannot imagine that Eata was overjoyed at the prospect of taking over Hexham again, but he was presumably willing to do it to oblige an old friend. Eata died soon afterwards, either later in 685 or in 686, and John of Beverley, who had been educated at Whitby, was then made Bishop of Hexham.<sup>142</sup>



Not long after this Wilfrid was reconciled with Archbishop Theodore and with king Aldfrith, and returned to Northumbria. He received Hexham back in 686/7 and held it for the next five years - John presumably went into retirement for this period.<sup>143</sup> During this time, in 687, Cuthbert died, and Wilfrid gained control of the see of Lindisfarne for a year. This year seems to have been a particularly unhappy time for the Lindisfarne community - Bede refers to a "great" "blast of trial" which followed Cuthbert's death, but this ended after a year when Eadberht was made Bishop of Lindisfarne.<sup>144</sup> Eadberht's appointment must have been a great blow to Wilfrid, for in the year 687-88 he had managed to become Bishop of the whole of Northumbria again. As well as regaining Hexham, he had also received back the see of York and his monastery of Ripon, which had been made into a bishopric in his absence.<sup>145</sup> Bishop Bosa of York, and Eadhaed, who had been given the see at Ripon, presumably went, like John at Hexham, into temporary retirement. Eddius Stephanus says that York and Ripon were restored to Wilfrid at a somewhat later date than Hexham, but as he says that Wilfrid held them all for five years, he must have received them back before he gained control of Lindisfarne. In these circumstances, with Wilfrid having regained the position he held before 678, and having reversed Archbishop Theodore's process of multiplying bishoprics in Northumbria, the appointment of a new Bishop of Lindisfarne must have been very unwelcome to him. It was on the question of dividing up Wilfrid's vast diocese that Wilfrid and Theodore had quarrelled in the 670's.<sup>146</sup> Until 691/2, when Wilfrid was expelled again, Lindisfarne remained as the only bishopric independent of his jurisdiction in Northumbria.<sup>147</sup> Once Wilfrid had gone, John and Bosa took over the sees of Hexham and York once more.<sup>148</sup> It is interesting that Bede, who agreed with the policy of creating more dioceses,<sup>149</sup> says hardly anything about this whole episode in the Historia Ecclesiastica.<sup>150</sup>

The events of 685 to 691/2 probably did nothing to improve relations between Lindisfarne and Hexham. However the feeling between the two centres may have benefited from the presence of

John at Hexham over the fourteen or so years after Wilfrid's banishment. Having been educated by Hild at Whitby, John would probably be on much better terms with Lindisfarne than Wilfrid had been. The Liber Vitae shows that the two centres were in contact with each other in the earlier eighth century, for the book contains the name of Bothelm, a monk of Hexham who was living in c.731.<sup>151</sup> Also in the book is Plegwine, another monk of Hexham and a friend of Bede, who wrote a treatise on chronology for him in 708.<sup>152</sup> Their presence in the Liber Vitae suggests that Hexham and Lindisfarne had come to be on reasonably good terms with each other, and this friendlier relationship may have had its origins in John's tenure of the Hexham see. If this was so, this better feeling had survived Wilfrid's return from exile in 706. He received back the see of Hexham at his homecoming, but seems to have been content to live quietly for the last few years of his life.<sup>153</sup> John was translated to the see of York, so he lost nothing through Wilfrid's return.<sup>154</sup> Wilfrid died in 709, and was succeeded as Bishop of Hexham by his priest, Acca.<sup>155</sup> As there is no bishops' list in the Liber Vitae, we cannot tell whether Acca was in the book or not, but his apparent encouragement of the cult of St. Oswald, one of the saints held in special regard at Lindisfarne, does suggest that his attitude was more conciliatory than Wilfrid's had been.<sup>156</sup> Even so, however, Acca was expelled from Hexham in 731, so he was not without opponents.<sup>157</sup> The short-lived attempts to form an administrative connection between the two centres in the later seventh century were not productive of much good-will, but once their independence of each other was recognized there was probably no obstacle to their being on good terms, except perhaps for Wilfrid's personality, and even he seems to have accepted, towards the end of his life, that he could not rule the entire Northumbrian church anymore.

The centre in Bernicia with which Lindisfarne seems to have had most contact was Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. There is a lot of evidence for these two centres being in touch with

each other. Ingwald, a priest at Monkwearmouth, met St. Cuthbert when he was a bishop, that is, in 685-87, though we do not hear where this happened, whether at Lindisfarne or at Monkwearmouth or at some other centre.<sup>158</sup> Later on, Bede was asked by the community at Lindisfarne to write a new Life of St. Cuthbert, and this gave rise to many contacts between the two monasteries. Herefrith, a priest of Lindisfarne, who had formerly been abbot there but who had retired before c.721, came to visit Bede at Jarrow more than once, and Bede, as was mentioned earlier, went to Lindisfarne to present the book to the community himself.<sup>159</sup> He mentions the names of a number of Lindisfarne brethren in his works.<sup>160</sup> Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrith, Bede, and other members of the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow community are to be found in the Liber Vitae.<sup>161</sup>

Manuscripts provide further evidence for contacts between Lindisfarne and Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. The text and layout of the Lindisfarne Gospels, which are certainly a product of the Lindisfarne scriptorium,<sup>162</sup> are derived from a Neapolitan Gospel-book, which was probably lent to St. Cuthbert's community by Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, as the text is very close to that of the "Codex Amiatinus", which was written in Ceolfrith's monastery between 688 and 716. The texts of the two manuscripts agree "even in errors", as Lowe notes.<sup>163</sup> The Canon Tables and the Evangelist portraits of the Lindisfarne Gospels also show Italian influence. The Lindisfarne Matthew portrait (fol. 25v) is from the same exemplar as the Ezra portrait (fol. V) in the "Codex Amiatinus". The exemplar of both was a portrait of Cassiodorus, probably from his nine-volume Bible, the "Novem Codices".<sup>164</sup>

Some Monkwearmouth-Jarrow manuscripts came eventually to be held by Durham Cathedral, but it cannot be proved that they were owned by St. Cuthbert's community before the tenth to eleventh centuries. They may have come to the community at Chester-le-Street together with the lands of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow in c.880-82.<sup>165</sup> But it is possible they were acquired

by the community before then. The first of these manuscripts is the Stonyhurst Gospel of St. John. This book was found placed on the inner lid of St. Cuthbert's coffin at the translation of the saint into the new cathedral at Durham on 29th August, 1104.<sup>166</sup> The Gospel was written at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, probably during Ceolfrith's abbacy, which lasted from 688 to 716, as the uncial script is of the same type as that used in the "Capitula" in the "Codex Amiatinus".<sup>167</sup> If this dating is correct, the Gospel could not have been a personal possession of St. Cuthbert. It is uncertain when St. Cuthbert's community acquired it, or when it was put in the shrine. It may possibly have been put in at the translation and elevation of the saint in 698, but there is no knowing whether this was the case or not. The Gospel of John was probably felt to be particularly appropriate as a companion to Cuthbert in his shrine, because the saint had a special association with that book, it having been the one he and Boisil read together at Melrose during the last week of Boisil's life.<sup>168</sup> It may be that Bede laid stress on this story in his Life because he knew the Gospel was in the shrine, or perhaps the manuscript was placed in the coffin later on by someone inspired by the story.<sup>169</sup>

Another Monkwearmouth-Jarrow manuscript which came to be owned by St. Cuthbert's community is Durham Cathedral Library A.II.17, ff.103-111.<sup>170</sup> This contains part of the Gospel of St. Luke and dates from the late seventh or early eighth century. It is written in uncial which is very similar to that of the main text of the "Codex Amiatinus". It is bound up with a manuscript of the Gospels (ff.2-102) of about the same date, which may have been written at Lindisfarne, or if not, was certainly owned by Lindisfarne in the eighth century, for corrections were entered in it in the same hand that made corrections in the Lindisfarne Gospels.<sup>171</sup> The two manuscripts were bound up together at least as early as the mid-tenth century, as there are entries, all in the same hand, on ff. 80 and 80\*v in the first part of the volume, and on fol. 106 in the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow section.<sup>172</sup> These entries

mention Boge the priest, and Aldred, Bishop of Chester-le-Street, who died in 968.<sup>173</sup> Again, though, there is no way of knowing for how long before the tenth century ff.103-111 had been owned by St. Cuthbert's community.

The same is true of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819, which contains Bede's commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon.<sup>174</sup> This was very probably written at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, as though the main text is in minuscule, the lemmata are in uncial of the same type as that used in the Stonyhurst Gospel and the "Capitula" of the "Codex Amiatinus". Lowe has dated the manuscript as c.800. It was owned by St. Cuthbert's community by the mid-tenth century at least, as an interlinear gloss was added to it by Aldred, who also glossed the Lindisfarne Gospels during the second half of the tenth century.<sup>175</sup> Moreover a direct copy of this manuscript was made at Durham in the twelfth century. The copy is still in existence as British Library, Harley 4688.

Contacts between St. Cuthbert's community and Monkwearmouth-Jarrow are confirmed still further by the evidence of sculpture. As was mentioned earlier, sculpture at various sites in St. Cuthbert's "familia" - Norham, Jedburgh, Edlingham, and Carlisle - shows the influence of Jarrow work.<sup>176</sup> It must be remembered though that these sculptural parallels cannot be taken as definite evidence for direct contact between these centres and Jarrow, at least not on their own. Added to the testimony of literary sources and manuscripts, however, their significance is enhanced. It may be that other sites in the "familia" were in touch with Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, besides the chief site at Lindisfarne. There are no links with Jarrow in the sculpture produced at Lindisfarne, but the stones carved at Chester-le-Street after the main part of the community had settled there do show the influence of late Jarrow work.<sup>177</sup> This may perhaps be connected with the community's taking over the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow estates.<sup>178</sup>

As well as being in touch with all these Bernician centres, Lindisfarne had contacts with Dacre, a monastery in Cumbria. One of the members of this community, Thrythred, who was abbot there in 731, possessed some of St. Cuthbert's hair. The monks of Lindisfarne, at Cuthbert's elevation in 698, had taken some of the saint's hair "either to give as relics to their friends who asked for them or to show as a proof of the miracle" of the incorrupt body of the saint.<sup>179</sup> Thrythred's ownership of some of the hair points therefore to his being one of the "friends" of the Lindisfarne community, and his name can be found in the Liber Vitae.<sup>180</sup> A connection between Dacre and Lindisfarne is quite likely when one considers that a number of sites in St. Cuthbert's "familia" were in Cumbria, so there would be regular contact between that area and Lindisfarne. It is probable too that Cumbria formed part of Lindisfarne's diocese in this early period.<sup>181</sup>

There is less evidence for contacts between Lindisfarne and Deiran centres. The literary sources show Whitby as being the main religious centre in Yorkshire that Lindisfarne was in touch with. This is likely enough since it was Hild who founded, or possibly re-founded, Whitby in c.657.<sup>182</sup> As has been seen already, Hild had close connections with Aidan, and she introduced the same rule at Whitby as that at Hartlepool, formulated under Aidan's tuition. In 664 Hild was a supporter of the Celtic side, together with Colman of Lindisfarne, at the synod held in her monastery.<sup>183</sup> Hild's successor as abbess of Whitby was Aelfflaed, daughter of king Oswiu, who may have given the land on which Whitby was founded.<sup>184</sup> Aelfflaed was also a relative of Hild through her mother Eanflaed, daughter of king Edwin.<sup>185</sup> Aelfflaed had many contacts with Lindisfarne, being particularly friendly with Cuthbert. She was on one occasion healed of an illness by means of a girdle that he had sent her as a present.<sup>186</sup> As well as their meeting on Coquet Island, referred to above,<sup>187</sup> they also met after Cuthbert became a bishop, at a place called "Osingadun", which was an estate belonging to Whitby.<sup>188</sup> Aelfflaed also met Herefrith, abbot of Lindisfarne for a time,<sup>189</sup> and the monk

who was the author of the anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert,<sup>190</sup> so her contacts with the community did not cease with Cuthbert's death. Aelfflaed, and her mother Eanflaed, who helped to run Whitby after she was widowed, are both in the Liber Vitae.<sup>191</sup>

It would seem likely that Lindisfarne had some contact with the Yorkshire monastery of Lastingham. Cedd, the founder of Lastingham, and his brother and successor as abbot, Chad, had close connections with Lindisfarne. Cedd was brought up there,<sup>192</sup> and later, when he was sent as a missionary to Essex, he returned to take advice from Bishop Finan of Lindisfarne. It was Finan who consecrated him as Bishop for the East Saxons.<sup>193</sup> When, some time after this, Cedd founded Lastingham, he "established in it the religious observances according to the usage of Lindisfarne".<sup>194</sup> At the synod at Whitby in 664 he was a supporter of Bishop Colman and the Irish, though he was one of those who accepted the Roman Easter after the synod.<sup>195</sup> He died of the plague later in 664, and was succeeded as head of Lastingham by his brother Chad.<sup>196</sup> Chad had been a pupil of Bishop Aidan and had also spent some time when young living in an Irish monastery, together with St. Ecgberht.<sup>197</sup> When Chad became Bishop of Northumbria however, in c.664/5, he seems to have had his see at York, not at Lindisfarne, although he tried as a bishop to follow Irish traditions and "sought to instruct his hearers in the ways and customs of his master (Aidan) and of his brother Cedd".<sup>198</sup> Cedd and Chad are not in the Liber Vitae, but they would have been in the missing part - the bishops' list - if they were in. However considering the personal connections between Cedd and Chad and Lindisfarne it is odd that no-one else known to be a member of the Lastingham community appears in the Liber Vitae.<sup>199</sup> Possibly the association with Lindisfarne lapsed after Chad died in about 672.

Another Deiran monastery was originally a daughter-house of the Lindisfarne "familia". This was Ripon, occupied at first by Eata and other monks from Melrose, who established there the same rule as that observed at Melrose.<sup>200</sup> This

connection soon ceased however as not long afterwards Wilfrid received Ripon instead, Eata and his monks having left rather than accept Roman customs.<sup>201</sup> As might be expected there is little sign of contact between Lindisfarne and Ripon for many years after this, except for one surprising instance. This is Oethelwald, who succeeded Cuthbert as hermit on Farne Island. He had spent many years as a monk at Ripon before he came to Farne, where he lived for twelve years.<sup>202</sup> It is not certain whether he followed Cuthbert immediately in 687 or after some time had passed. It is possible that he came to Lindisfarne when Wilfrid did, that is, during the year after Cuthbert's death when Wilfrid had charge of the bishopric of Lindisfarne.<sup>203</sup> If this was the case, however, the Lindisfarne community's attitude to Oethelwald was very different to what one imagines their feelings about Wilfrid would be. The Lindisfarne monks seem to have had a high regard for Oethelwald, and accepted him as part of the community. When he died on Farne, he was buried in the church on Lindisfarne, near Cuthbert's shrine.<sup>204</sup> His is the first name in the list of anchorites in the Liber Vitae. It must be remembered that from 679 Ripon was placed under Eadhaed, who had been king Oswiu's chaplain and who was Chad's companion in c.664/5 when Chad went to the south of England to be consecrated.<sup>205</sup> Eadhaed was one of three bishops consecrated to parts of Wilfrid's diocese in 678, after Wilfrid had been expelled from Northumbria. He received Lindsey, but was driven out in the next year when the Mercians regained that province from the Northumbrians. He was then given a see at Ripon,<sup>206</sup> and he held it until Wilfrid returned from exile in about 686/7.<sup>207</sup> If Oethelwald had come under the influence of Eadhaed at Ripon rather than that of Wilfrid it might help to explain why the Lindisfarne monks accepted him.

As with Wilfrid's other foundation at Hexham however, Ripon does seem to have established friendly relations with Lindisfarne by the earlier eighth century. The use of Ripon as an episcopal see, which had been greatly resented by Wilfrid,<sup>208</sup> was discontinued, Eadhaed being the only Bishop of



Ripon known from the Anglo-Saxon period. After Wilfrid died, his kinsman Tatberht became head of the monastery of Ripon, and he is in the Liber Vitae in the list of abbots who were priests.<sup>209</sup> Three other eighth-century abbots of Ripon whose names are known from the sources can also be found in this list - Botwine, who died in 786; Aldberht, who died in 787; and Sigred, who was abbot from 787.<sup>210</sup> It does seem that the "complete peace" made between Wilfrid and the rest of the Northumbrian Church in 706 did work and did last.<sup>211</sup>

The fourth Deiran centre with which Lindisfarne is known to have had contact is York. As has been seen, Lindisfarne owned some property in that city, though probably not as much as is claimed for it by the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto.<sup>212</sup> The evidence for contact that we have is at a diocesan level. The Bishop of Lindisfarne, as has been said, met the Archbishop of York at various synods and ordinations,<sup>213</sup> and there is a letter extant dating from between 830 and 837, from Bishop Ecgred of Lindisfarne to Archbishop Wulfsige of York. It is about a heresy being spread by one Pehfred, and its contents show that this was not the first contact between the two bishops.<sup>214</sup> There is no evidence as to how the Bishops of Lindisfarne viewed the re-elevation of York into a metropolitan see in 735.<sup>215</sup> Lindisfarne may have regarded itself as the more important see, because it had been responsible for the lasting conversion of Northumbria, and other parts of England too. However York had been made a see again after 664, and Lindisfarne must have known that it had no historical claim to being a metropolitanate, which York did have.<sup>216</sup> By the earlier ninth century when Ecgred wrote to Wulfsige, the Bishop of Lindisfarne had accepted the primacy of York in Northumbria, as the letter shows. Ecgred speaks of Wulfsige's "authority", and generally addresses the Archbishop as his superior, though he is quite ready to give Wulfsige advice as well. Ecgred's letter is a reply to an earlier one of Wulfsige which has not been preserved, but one can gather from what Ecgred says that Wulfsige must have been warning him against the heresy of Pehfred. This shows that the Archbishop

of York did see it as part of his duty to oversee affairs in other Northumbrian dioceses such as Lindisfarne, and that he did carry out this duty. The Bishop of Lindisfarne accepted that the Archbishop was within his rights to do this. The two seem to have been on good terms. It would be interesting to know if the position of monasteries like Crayke ever gave rise to any trouble. Crayke, though a part of the Lindisfarne "familia", was in the diocese of York and therefore technically under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop. Unfortunately we have no evidence about how such a situation worked out in practice.

There is some literary evidence for contacts between Lindisfarne and centres to the south of the Humber. Those that can be discovered are mainly with Mercia and arise through connections with Northumbrians. As has been said, Lindisfarne had links with Cedd and Chad,<sup>217</sup> and they worked in Essex and in Mercia. Cedd was one of the Northumbrian priests who went with king Peada of the Middle Angles to work in his territory after Peada's baptism in c.653.<sup>218</sup> Soon afterwards, Cedd was recalled from Middle Anglia by king Oswiu and sent as a missionary to Essex. He was eventually made Bishop of the East Saxons, being consecrated by Finan and two other bishops. He worked in Essex for a number of years, and founded monasteries at Bradwell and Tilbury.<sup>219</sup> It is possible that these centres had some contact with Lindisfarne through Cedd, although after the foundation of Lastingham their main link with the north was probably with that community.<sup>220</sup> The same is probably the case with the centres that Cedd's brother, Chad, founded in Mercia, after he became Bishop of the Mercians in c.669. He established a monastery at Barrow, on the south side of the river Humber, and he had monks with him at his episcopal see at Lichfield, although the exact nature of his community there is uncertain.<sup>221</sup> Both these centres were founded after Chad's main association had come to be with Lastingham rather than Lindisfarne. It is significant that Bede received his information about Mercia from Lastingham, as well as some of his information about Essex.<sup>222</sup> But there was some contact between

Chad's Mercian centres and Lindisfarne too. The anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert says that a deacon of Bishop Winfrith was healed on two occasions by relics of St. Cuthbert - unfortunately the author does not give this story in full but only refers to it briefly at the end of his work.<sup>223</sup> Bishop Winfrith had been one of Chad's clergy, and succeeded Chad as Bishop of Lichfield in c.672.<sup>224</sup> In c.674 Winfrith was deposed by Archbishop Theodore, because of "some act of disobedience", and he then "lived a very holy life until his death" at "his own monastery of Barrow".<sup>225</sup> It may be then that Winfrith's deacon who was healed by St. Cuthbert's relics lived at Barrow. It is not known where this man was when he was healed - he may have been on a visit to Lindisfarne, or his own community might have owned the relics, but either way it shows there was some contact between Lindisfarne and a group of clergy in Mercia.

Contact between Lindisfarne and a centre to the south of the Humber is hinted at as well by the evidence of a manuscript. This is the illuminated volume of Gospel extracts, prayers, and other liturgical pieces, known as the Book of Cerne.<sup>226</sup> It was written in the south of England, but it is not certain whereabouts.<sup>227</sup> It seems though to have some textual connection with Lindisfarne. The name "Aedelvaldus episcopus" appears in an acrostic poem on fol. 21, and the name "Oethelwald" in another inscription on fol. 87v. It may be that these refer to Aethelweald, Bishop of Lichfield from 818 to 830, and this would fit in with the dating of the manuscript, which was written in the earlier ninth century. However it is much more likely that the person referred to is Aethelwald, Bishop of Lindisfarne 721-40, and that the inscriptions have been copied from the exemplar. This is because the text of the acrostic poem is corrupt enough to suggest that it has been copied, and probably recopied, and so is unlikely to have been a new composition of the period when the Book of Cerne was produced.<sup>228</sup> It is possible that a Lindisfarne work lies at one, or maybe more, removes behind the Book as it now stands, or behind parts of it at least. This might also help to explain other

Northumbrian and Irish associations in the manuscript,<sup>229</sup> though this is not certain, as they might be the result of other texts having gone into the compilation of the Book. It does seem however that a text or texts from Lindisfarne had found their way to a centre in the south of England. It cannot though be used as evidence for any direct contact between St. Cuthbert's community and the south, for the text or texts might have travelled via one or more intermediaries.

The next question to be considered is how much contact was there between Lindisfarne and Iona and Ireland. This is a somewhat complex matter. As was seen in the last chapter, there were close contacts with Iona until 664.<sup>230</sup> After 664 links with Iona and Ireland seem to have been much less close, though some remained. One link that existed in the early eighth century was with St. Egberht, an Englishman who spent most of his long life in voluntary exile among the Irish. This is of significance for Egberht was an adherent of the Roman Easter and the person eventually responsible for converting Iona to Roman customs.<sup>231</sup> Lindisfarne's contact with Egberht may go back to the period before 664, for he was already living in Ireland then, and had as a companion for a time Chad, who was a pupil of Aidan of Lindisfarne.<sup>232</sup> The evidence for St. Cuthbert's community being in touch with Egberht in the early eighth century is in De Abbatibus. Eanmund, the first abbot of the daughter-house of Lindisfarne in the poem, sent a messenger to Egberht in Ireland to ask for advice and an altar for the monastery church.<sup>233</sup> This was in the period 706-16, and so before Egberht went to live on Iona.<sup>234</sup> Egberht himself is not in the Liber Vitae, but he would have been in the bishops' list which is missing.<sup>235</sup> However Egberht's companion, Wictberht, another Englishman who lived as an exile in Ireland, and who was sent by Egberht to work in Frisia, is in the Liber Vitae in the list of anchorites.<sup>236</sup> Wictberht worked in Frisia as a missionary for two years without success, and then returned to his life as a hermit in Ireland.<sup>237</sup> Other examples of links with Ireland can be

found in the De Abbatibus poem. One of the monks during Eanmund's abbacy was from Ireland, a scribe and priest called Ultan.<sup>238</sup> Later in the eighth century another priest connected with this cell of Lindisfarne was said to be "from Ireland" - this was Eadfrith, who taught Aethelwulf, the author of the poem.<sup>239</sup> As his name is English, it is likely that he was another of the Englishmen who went to Ireland for a time to live in the monasteries there, though there is less evidence for this happening in the eighth century than in the seventh.<sup>240</sup> Some contact between Lindisfarne and Ireland is also suggested by the spread of the cult of St. Cuthbert to Ireland by c.800. The Martyrology of Tallaght, of about that date, includes the celebration of St. Cuthbert's day, and also the festival of another Lindisfarne saint of the post-664 period - Oethelwald, the hermit of Farne Island.<sup>241</sup> However the Martyrology of Oengus, also of c.800, does not mention Cuthbert, so his cult was not general in Ireland by then.<sup>242</sup> This martyrology does however include two Northumbrian saints from the period before 664 - king Oswald on August 5th, and St. Aidan on August 31st.<sup>243</sup>

One monastery in Ireland with which Lindisfarne was apparently in touch was Mayo, which was founded by Bishop Colman in c.671 for the English monks who had come with him from Lindisfarne after the Synod of Whitby.<sup>244</sup> The circumstances of its foundation mean that there was probably little or no contact between Mayo and Lindisfarne at first, but the connection between England and this community persisted. Bede, in the Historia Ecclesiastica, says of Mayo:-

"That monastery is to this day held by the English inhabitants; and it is the same which, having now grown large from a small beginning, is usually called Mayo; and, as all were long ago converted to better customs, it contains an excellent band of monks, who are gathered there from the province of the English, and according to the example of the venerable fathers live under a rule and a canonical abbot in great continence and sincerity, by labour of their hands".<sup>245</sup>

Mayo continued to be occupied by English monks to the time of Alcuin at least - he wrote to them, calling them "exiles for love of Christ's Name".<sup>246</sup> In the later eighth century Mayo was apparently subject to the Northumbrian Church. Three Bishops of Mayo are mentioned in the eighth-century northern annals in the Historia Regum, and one of them, Ealdwulf, was consecrated at Corbridge by the other Northumbrian bishops.<sup>247</sup> This was in 786, and later in the same year Ealdwulf attended the Legatine Synod in Northumbria.<sup>248</sup> The evidence for a connection between Lindisfarne and Mayo is in the Liber Vitae, and dates to the early eighth century. In the list of abbots who were priests is the name "garuald".<sup>249</sup> This may well be the "Garaalt" who was "pontifex" of Mayo and died in 732.<sup>250</sup> He appears too in the Martyrology of Tallaght - under March 12th is the entry "Garalt Maigi Eó cum suis".<sup>251</sup> If the abbot in the Liber Vitae is this "Garaalt" of Mayo, it is interesting that this connection between Lindisfarne and Mayo dates from the period when, as Bede's account shows, the latter community had adopted Roman customs. It is uncertain if Mayo was ever considered to be part of the Columban "familia", and it is quite possible that it was not. However even if it was seen as such originally, because of Bishop Colman's links with Iona, it does not seem to have been so any longer in the eighth century. It may well be, therefore, that Mayo accepted Roman customs at an earlier date than Iona.<sup>252</sup>

The use of manuscripts to demonstrate contacts between Lindisfarne and the Irish is fraught with difficulty. The evidence on this subject will be set out first, and then its meaning considered. Irish influence is obvious in the script and decoration of the Lindisfarne Gospels, which is certainly a Lindisfarne manuscript.<sup>253</sup> There are as well four manuscripts which were owned by the community at Durham in the Middle Ages - three of them are still in Durham Cathedral Library. The centre or centres where these were written are not known, although it is likely that all of them were produced in Northumbria, and it is possible that they were associated

with St. Cuthbert's community from a very early period. One was definitely at Lindisfarne in the eighth century, even if it is not certain that it was written there. All these four manuscripts contain some Irish features.

The first of these manuscripts is a fragment of a Gospel-book, or it may possibly be part of a codex which contained the entire New Testament. It is Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.10, ff.2-5, 338-39, plus some other leaves in other Durham volumes.<sup>254</sup> The manuscript is one of the earliest in the series of Insular Gospel-books, and is dated to the mid-seventh century. The script has, according to Lowe, "a distinct Irish flavour", and he suggests that it was written in Northumbria "by a scribe trained in the pure Irish tradition". The Gospel-text in this manuscript is also of Irish type, and is closely related in places to the text of the "Codex Usserianus Primus", of the early seventh century, the earliest extant Irish manuscript of the Gospels.<sup>255</sup> The next volume to be discussed is Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.16, the Gospel-book known as the "Codex Dunelmensis".<sup>256</sup> It was written in three sections, all of which have been dated to the eighth century. The second section, which comprises ff.24-33, 87-101, has a script "with a strong Irish flavour",<sup>257</sup> and the text of the first two sections of the manuscript, which contain between them the first three Gospels, is of the Irish family. The third of the Durham manuscripts is A.II.17, ff.2-102, the volume often referred to as the Durham Gospels.<sup>258</sup> This is the manuscript which was definitely at Lindisfarne in the eighth century, although it may have been produced elsewhere. It has already been mentioned in this chapter, because it is bound up with a manuscript which came from Monkwearmouth-Jarrow.<sup>259</sup> Irish influence is clear in the script of the Durham Gospels, and although its text is not of the Irish type, it does conform to Irish usage in a number of ways, as, for instance, in the way its introductory material is arranged.<sup>260</sup> The fourth manuscript was at Durham in the late fourteenth century, but is now at Cambridge - Trinity College B.10.5.<sup>261</sup>

It contains the Epistles of St. Paul and was written in about the first half of the eighth century. It too shows Irish influence on the script, and has an "elaborate system of points employed as reference-signs" which "recalls Irish habits".<sup>262</sup>

The question then arises as to how much this evidence of Irish influence in manuscripts associated with St. Cuthbert's community can be used to show contact between Lindisfarne and the Irish. Firstly, it must be stressed that only one of these manuscripts, the Lindisfarne Gospels, was definitely written by the Lindisfarne community. The others might have been but there is no certainty on this point. Then there is the important fact that the scriptorium at Lindisfarne received its script, and style of manuscript decoration, from Iona and Ireland. So there was an Irish element built into Lindisfarne manuscript production from the start. This inbuilt Irish influence could account for Irish features in manuscripts without the need to postulate direct links with Ireland at the time the manuscripts were written. The links may have been there, but the manuscripts cannot be used to prove it. And it is moreover doubtful how far the handwriting of a manuscript can be used to indicate the centre where the document was written. The script more probably tells us at which centre the scribe received his training, but, as has been seen, monks did not always stay in the same house all their lives, and their script would move around with them.<sup>263</sup> All this means that all the Irish features discernable in manuscripts connected with St. Cuthbert's community can really tell us is that at some time Lindisfarne had links with the Irish, and we know that that was so anyway. It may however perhaps be significant that the most "Irish" of the manuscripts discussed - Durham A.II.10 - is also the earliest, being dated to the mid-seventh century; in other words, it might date from before 664, when contact between Northumbria and Iona was still close.



In the same way caution is needed when dealing with the question of Lindisfarne influence in Irish manuscripts. Such influence has been noted in the script and the decoration of the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells. The origins of both are matters of endless argument, but both are connected by their provenance to the Columban "familia", and may have been produced within it.<sup>264</sup> The Lindisfarne features discerned in these books may be the result of the connection between Iona and Lindisfarne before 664, or they may stem from later contacts too, but we cannot tell which.

Similarly, the Insular style of the sculpture at Lindisfarne cannot be used as proof of direct links with Ireland at the time the sculpture was produced. It shows only that there was a strong Insular inheritance in the style of art used by St. Cuthbert's community. On the subject of contact with the Irish the most significant work on stone at Lindisfarne consists of the little name-stones. The only other place they occur in Northumbria is at Hartlepool, as has been mentioned earlier on,<sup>265</sup> and they also occur on Iona and in Ireland. If anything these little recumbent slabs first developed in Bernicia; the Irish ones do not seem to be any earlier anyway.<sup>266</sup> Their appearance on Lindisfarne and on Iona and in Ireland does suggest there was contact between these places, especially as the only other centre they occur at, Hartlepool, was also certainly in touch with Lindisfarne. However as these stones seem to have originated in about the mid-seventh century, they probably developed at a period when there was still plenty of contact between Lindisfarne and the Irish.

To this discussion should be added the evidence of the Liber Vitae. As was seen in Chapter Three, the Celtic element in the book is small - only 1.9% of the names at most are Celtic.<sup>267</sup> And not all of the Celtic names are Irish - a number are Welsh and Pictish. This does suggest that Lindisfarne's connections with the Irish were not numerous

in the period covered by the Liber Vitae. Most of the book's lists began to be compiled in the later seventh century,<sup>268</sup> so the close links with Iona and the Irish which existed before 664 do not show up in it. On the evidence of the Liber Vitae alone no-one could tell that Lindisfarne had ever had any special relationship with Iona - only one abbot of Iona appears, Bressal, who died in 801.<sup>269</sup> Even Adamnán, who visited Northumbria during the reign of king Aldfrith, and who tried to convert Iona to the Roman Easter, though without success, does not appear in the Liber Vitae.<sup>270</sup> Some contact with the Irish and also with Englishmen settled in Ireland did exist in the later seventh and eighth centuries - both the literary sources and the appearance of some Irish names in the Liber Vitae show that this was so, but these connections seem to have been much less important than was the case before 664. The sculpture and manuscripts associated with Lindisfarne do not disprove this. They demonstrate the strong Insular tradition of St. Cuthbert's community, but they do not provide evidence for persistent close links with Iona and Ireland. Lindisfarne's Insular traditions may soon have become theirs, home-based, so to speak, and not dependent on initiatives from the Irish.

There is some evidence for contacts between the Lindisfarne "familia" and another Celtic region, Pictland. In the mid-seventh century three monks from Melrose, one of them being Cuthbert, went on a voyage to Pictland.<sup>271</sup> The information occurs incidentally in an account about a miracle and a prophecy of the saint. Unfortunately the reason for the monks' journey is not given, but there is nothing in the account to suggest that there was anything unusual in members of the Melrose community going to Pictland. The other piece of literary evidence for contact with the Picts is in 796, when Osbald, king of Northumbria for twenty-seven days, was expelled. He went to Lindisfarne and from there sailed to the king of the Picts, taking with him "certain of the brethren".<sup>272</sup> It may be that Osbald wanted their help in gaining the support of the Pictish king. If this was so, it suggests

that Lindisfarne had some regular contact with the Picts, whose king at this time was Constantine, whose name is in the Liber Vitae.<sup>273</sup> Two other Pictish kings are also in the book - Oengus I (729-61), and Eoganán (c.837-39).<sup>274</sup> Contact with Pictland is also hinted at by a piece of sculpture at Lindisfarne which shows some Pictish influence.<sup>275</sup>

The evidence for contacts between Lindisfarne and the Continent shows that these are mainly Northumbrian based, being largely with Willibrord's mission, and with Alcuin. The anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert tells of an incident which happened "lately", that is, during or not long before the period 699-705, when the anonymous Life was written.<sup>276</sup> The Life tells how a brother of the "familia" of Bishop Willibrord "came across the sea to us" and stayed at Lindisfarne for a time. While there, he became very ill, but was healed at the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and a few days later he was able to continue on his journey. This shows that Lindisfarne was in touch with Willibrord's Frisian mission. It may be that Lindisfarne was a landing-place for people coming from Frisia to visit Bernicia - the story in the anonymous Life does suggest that.

St. Cuthbert is in the Calendar of St. Willibrord, which was Willibrord's personal possession.<sup>277</sup> The entry relating to Cuthbert is in the original hand of the Calendar, which was written, probably at Willibrord's monastery at Echternach, probably at some date between 701 and 709.<sup>278</sup> It has been suggested that the text of the Calendar is derived from an Irish exemplar,<sup>279</sup> and this is certainly feasible seeing that Willibrord's mission to Frisia went from Ireland in 690, and not directly from Northumbria.<sup>280</sup> Such an Irish exemplar, if such a one does lie behind Willibrord's Calendar, would probably not have contained St. Cuthbert so soon after his death - and this is particularly so if it was a manuscript which went with the missionaries in 690, when Cuthbert had only been dead three years. So it may well be that St. Cuthbert's inclusion in the Calendar is due to Willibrord's

Northumbrian connections, and is further evidence of some contact between Lindisfarne and the Frisian mission. The Calendar also provides another piece of evidence for such contact in the inclusion of "Oedilualdi monachi" on April 21st. His name is apparently written in the original hand of the Calendar but added in at a later date than the original writing.<sup>281</sup> This entry refers to Oethelwald, the hermit of Farne Island, and it is likely that his name was added into the Calendar after news of his death came to Frisia from Northumbria.

Both Cuthbert and Oethelwald also appear in the manuscript which has been bound up with the Calendar since the eighth century. This is a copy of the Martyrologium Hieronymianum and it was written at Echternach by a scribe called Laurentius in the early part of the eighth century.<sup>282</sup> It is the oldest extant manuscript of this text, whose origins go back to the fourth century.<sup>283</sup> Both names are in the first hand of the manuscript, and may have been in the exemplar, which probably came from England, as Augustine of Canterbury, Paulinus of York, and king Oswald are also included in it.<sup>284</sup> However it may be that Cuthbert and Oethelwald were first added into the Martyrologium at Echternach at this period. If this latter is correct, and it does seem likely, particularly in the case of Oethelwald, then this again is evidence for friendship with Lindisfarne.

It has as well been suggested that a manuscript was sent from Lindisfarne to the Frisian mission. Brown has put forward the idea that the Echternach Gospels<sup>285</sup> were written at Lindisfarne in c.700 and went at an early date to Willibrord's mission.<sup>286</sup> The volume was certainly at Echternach later in the Middle Ages, but it is not certain if it was written at Lindisfarne. The origin of these Gospels is a matter of dispute - the book may have been produced in Ireland or at Lindisfarne or in some other Northumbrian centre or at Echternach by an Insular scribe.<sup>287</sup> So there is no definite evidence that Lindisfarne manuscripts were sent to Willibrord's mission.

Willibrord's name is not in the Liber Vitae, but he would have been in the missing list of bishops. However a number of names appear in the book of people who were associated with the mission, including some who feature as names added into Willibrord's Calendar. These additions very probably represent the obits of members of the mission.<sup>288</sup> It is also noteworthy that one of the Frankish kings who lived at the same period as Willibrord is in the kings' list in the Liber Vitae - Chilperic II, who reigned 715-21.<sup>289</sup>

The other main connection that can be seen between Lindisfarne and the Continent is the community's link with Alcuin, who was, perhaps significantly, a kinsman of Willibrord.<sup>290</sup> It is not known when Alcuin's friendship with the community was formed, whether it was while he was at York, or if it developed after he was based on the Continent. Alcuin had stayed at Lindisfarne at some time before 793, but it is not certain if this was during his stay in England in 790-93, or on some earlier occasion.<sup>291</sup> He had also entered into "a special compact" of friendship with Bishop Hygebald of Lindisfarne, and probably with the community as a whole too,<sup>292</sup> and it would be this that led to Alcuin's name being entered in the Liber Vitae.<sup>293</sup> Hygebald and Alcuin were sufficiently close for Hygebald to receive one of the nicknames which Alcuin loved to use - in a letter written in 797 Alcuin addresses him as "Speratus". This letter also seems to suggest that Alcuin and Hygebald were in fairly frequent communication with each other.<sup>294</sup> The Viking raid on Lindisfarne in 793 upset Alcuin very much and he wrote three letters to St. Cuthbert's community in that year,<sup>295</sup> as well as letters about the disaster to others in England.<sup>296</sup> It may have been in the following year that Alcuin wrote to Hygebald about their "common son", Witto, who came from Lindisfarne, and who was nicknamed "Candidus" by Alcuin. He had visited Alcuin for a year and then returned to Lindisfarne.<sup>297</sup> Alcuin wrote to Hygebald that "if you decide he is to return to us again, we shall willingly do whatever we believe will

be for the advancement of our holy church. For whatever I received from my teachers for the use of the holy churches of God I delight in passing on, especially to men of our nation".<sup>298</sup> Candidus later returned to Alcuin and became one of his favourite pupils and best friends.<sup>299</sup> He acted as a messenger from Alcuin to Charlemagne,<sup>300</sup> and also to Arno, Bishop of Salzburg.<sup>301</sup> In c.800-01 Candidus was in Rome with Charlemagne.<sup>302</sup> It is possible that a letter dating from between c.801 and 814 and written by a priest living among the "Sclavos" to his friends in Italy, was written by Candidus.<sup>303</sup> If this letter is by Candidus, he had probably gone as a missionary worker to the eastern borders of the Carolingian Empire - perhaps after Alcuin's death in 804, which was also the year in which Charlemagne finally subdued the Saxons. It is not known whether Candidus ever revisited Lindisfarne or corresponded with the community there, but it is possible that he formed another link between Lindisfarne and the Continent, besides that which existed with Alcuin. He may possibly be in the Liber Vitae.<sup>304</sup>

Although Lindisfarne's main associations may have been with Northumbrians on the Continent, there is evidence too of some contact with Boniface's mission. As has already been discussed in Chapter Three, some of those involved in the mission are in the Liber Vitae.<sup>305</sup> There is moreover some evidence of contact between Lindisfarne and Fulda, founded by Boniface in 744. In the earlier ninth century Fulda owned some relics of St. Cuthbert. They are mentioned in a poem by Hrabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda from 822 to 842. This describes the translation of the relics of St. Boniface and others into the new church of St. Saviour at Fulda, on the day of its dedication in 819.<sup>306</sup> In the crypt of the western apse the relics included some of Cuthbert, Bede, and Columbanus. Boniface himself was in the apse above. Hrabanus Maurus was another of Alcuin's pupils, having been sent from Fulda to work under him for a time. He eventually became Archbishop of Mainz.<sup>307</sup>

Further evidence for a connection between Lindisfarne and the Continent is provided by a manuscript. There are no definite examples of books written at Lindisfarne going to Continental centres, but one possible instance is a manuscript at Münster in Westphalia.<sup>308</sup> This contains twelve folios, four of which were written in Northumbria in the first half of the eighth century. They contain Easter tables for A.D. 589 to 740, together with historical notes added in the same hand. These notes, which refer to Northumbria, form the earliest portion of what came to be known as the Annals of Lindisfarne, and on the basis of these entries Lowe thought these four folios might possibly have been written at Lindisfarne. They were at Fulda by the late eighth century, for the other eight folios, containing Easter tables for A.D. 779-1063, were written there then. A copy of the Annals of Lindisfarne was also made there. The manuscript seems to have been at Münster or Werden in the first half of the ninth century, and historical entries made on the portion written at Fulda suggest that the document was at the monastery of Corvey, also in Westphalia, by the second half of the ninth century. Some of these places had Insular connections. Fulda was St. Boniface's most important foundation. The monastery and see of Münster were founded by St. Liudger, a Frisian who worked as a missionary among the Old Saxons. Liudger was a pupil of Gregory of Utrecht, one of Boniface's disciples, and he also studied at York under Alcuin.<sup>309</sup> The monastery of Werden was another of his foundations, and the early bishops of Münster were always abbots of Werden as well. This manuscript at Münster may then have been a Lindisfarne production sent out to the Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany. It is interesting that it contains Easter tables, as these would have been one of the basic documents needed by missionary workers.<sup>310</sup>

The surviving copies of the anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert, which was written by a Lindisfarne monk, also suggest contact with the Continent. The oldest extant copy of the

Life was written in the late ninth or early tenth century, probably at the monastery of St. Bertin in north-east France, in an Insular hand. It is now in the library at St. Omer.<sup>311</sup> The version of the anonymous Life found in this manuscript occurs as well in two other manuscripts, and it is interesting that these were both written in north-east France. One was written in the twelfth century, again probably at the monastery of St. Bertin, and the other dates from the late tenth century and belonged to the monastery of St. Vaast at Arras in the eleventh century.<sup>312</sup> So there is evidence that a manuscript of the anonymous Life went to north-east France early on. It might not necessarily have been sent directly from Lindisfarne, but it was a Lindisfarne work, and it did tend to be overshadowed by Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, so the occurrence of an early copy of the work does strongly suggest contact with Lindisfarne. It is interesting that the seven known manuscripts of the anonymous Life were all written on the Continent,<sup>313</sup> providing further evidence for connections between Lindisfarne and Continental centres. The particular connection with north-east France ties in nicely with the evidence of the Liber Vitae, discussed in Chapter Three, for contact between Lindisfarne and centres in this part of France in the later seventh century.<sup>314</sup>

There were copies of Lives of St. Cuthbert in Continental libraries at an early date, although usually one cannot tell whether they were the anonymous Life or one of Bede's two Lives. If they were Bede's Lives, then their presence cannot be taken as evidence for a centre being in touch with Lindisfarne, because the wide dissemination of these works, particularly the prose Life, was due in part to Bede's own fame, and copies of the books would be produced at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow rather than at Lindisfarne.<sup>315</sup> A mid-ninth century catalogue of the library of the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland shows that the community there had a copy of the Life of St. Cuthbert, but, by comparing this catalogue with a St. Gall catalogue of 1461,



it is probable that this book was Bede's metrical Life, and not the anonymous Life.<sup>316</sup> A Life of St. Cuthbert is mentioned in a catalogue of Cologne Cathedral Library dated to 833, and Lives of St. Cuthbert appear in tenth-century library catalogues from the monasteries of Bobbio in north Italy and Lorsch in Germany.<sup>317</sup> However it is not known which Lives these were.

The contacts between Lindisfarne and other religious centres discussed in this chapter are those which can be discovered from evidence other than that of the Liber Vitae. Many of these contacts are confirmed by the Liber Vitae, which also provides information about some links which would not otherwise be known. The information in the Liber Vitae has been discussed in Chapter Three, but so as to give a complete picture of Lindisfarne's contacts, some points may be mentioned here. In Northumbria most of the connections shown by the Liber Vitae can be found in other evidence as well, but links with Tynemouth, Beverley, and Gainford - at a period before it became part of the "familia" - only appear in this one book.<sup>318</sup> So too do the Irish monasteries of Clonmacnois and Bangor. The Liber Vitae is particularly useful in demonstrating contacts with England south of the Humber, contacts which do not show up much in other types of evidence. Centres in Lindsey, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Wessex, and possibly Sussex too, are all represented in the book's lists, and extend considerably our knowledge of Lindisfarne's connections.

The evidence gained from manuscripts, sculpture, and, most importantly, literary sources, leads to a number of conclusions. Firstly, they demonstrate the Insular traditions of St. Cuthbert's community. All the different types of evidence are in agreement that until 664 Lindisfarne had close links with Iona and Ireland. After that date the Liber Vitae shows that contact with the Irish had been greatly reduced. Other literary sources mention a few links, often with Englishmen living in Ireland, but provide no

evidence that could confute that of the Liber Vitae. Lindisfarne's sculpture and manuscripts, on the other hand, suggest a continuing strong Insular tradition, but this may not necessarily have equalled continuing strong ties with Ireland. Lindisfarne's art was Insular in style, and was an inheritance from the Irish, but it was well able to flourish without persistent contact with the Irish, and so it should not be used as definite evidence for links between Lindisfarne and Ireland at the time when the art was produced.

There are some signs of contact between Lindisfarne and the Picts, and these do show up a little in the Liber Vitae, with the inclusion of three Pictish kings in the kings' list. Contacts with the south of England are harder to see. In the seventh century there were links with Northumbrians who had gone to work in kingdoms to the south of the Humber. In the eighth century the Liber Vitae shows that there were a number of links with religious centres in the south but there is little other evidence to illustrate these contacts more fully. Contacts with the Continent were also mainly with Northumbrians - with Willibrord's mission earlier on, and later with Alcuin. The link with Willibrord ties in too with Lindisfarne's contact with Egberht in Ireland, for it was Egberht who sent Willibrord and his company to work as missionaries in Frisia.<sup>319</sup> It may also be significant that Alcuin and Willibrord were kinsmen, although of different generations.<sup>320</sup> There was as well some contact between Lindisfarne and Boniface's mission in Germany.

In Northumbria the main centre Lindisfarne was in touch with seems to have been Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. The next most important contacts were with Hartlepool and Whitby. Lindisfarne seems to have been somewhat determined not to be affected by outside influences, and those influences that did manage to get in seem to have come mainly from Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. This being so it is interesting that Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith head two of the abbots' lists in the Liber Vitae.<sup>321</sup> It is also of interest that it is the lands

of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow that St. Cuthbert's community eventually settled on. And though the spread of the cult of St. Cuthbert is to some extent an indication of Lindisfarne's own influence, its spread was helped a lot by Bede's popularity, and his Lives of St. Cuthbert were copied and disseminated along with others of his works by Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. The Lindisfarne community's resistance to outside influences does not seem to have been shared by all the sites in the "familia", and appears to change significantly with the move to Norham in the ninth century - the community there became much more open to the trends of the time, though whatever part of the community was left on Lindisfarne did not change in the same way.<sup>322</sup> This resistance could not have been because of lack of contact with other centres in Northumbria and elsewhere, but stemmed rather from a confidence in Lindisfarne's own tradition being perfectly satisfactory. St. Cuthbert's community had a longer and more venerable continuous history than any other ecclesiastical centre in Northumbria, and its wish to remember and preserve its past and its traditions were constant themes in the community's history to the eleventh century.

Chapter Six - Northumbrian politics and the community of  
St. Cuthbert.

This chapter will deal with the relations between St. Cuthbert's community and secular society. A short introductory section will consider the benefits the laity received from giving their support to monasteries, and the remainder will be concerned with Northumbrian politics in the seventh to ninth centuries and the role of the community in the political world.

Why did lay people give donations to monasteries, and what did they hope to receive in return? Firstly, they wanted to have the spiritual support provided by a monastery. People no doubt felt that the prayers of a group of holy men were more effective than their own personal prayers.<sup>1</sup> Monasteries made intercession for the laity, from private individuals up to the king and the well-being of the kingdom as a whole. It may be too that already at this period lay people could enter into confraternity with a monastic community, in the same way that churches could.<sup>2</sup> Supporting monasteries also enabled the laity to make use of monastic churches, an important point at a period when there were very few secular churches.<sup>3</sup>

Monasteries were closely involved with aristocratic society and often connected with particular families. The natural outcome of this situation was that monasteries could act as centres of influence for those who founded or supported them. Because of this, they could become involved in power struggles. If somebody was trying to expand their authority, they might try to get control of other peoples' monasteries, as is known to have happened in Ireland.<sup>4</sup> Irish evidence also shows that abbacies often went to losing sides in power struggles as a consolation prize.<sup>5</sup> Monasteries were certainly useful places for those defeated in disputes to retire to.<sup>6</sup> They might as well, as mentioned

in Chapter Five,<sup>7</sup> have been used to help define the limits of a ruler's power, and the siting of religious houses at strategically important sites, such as river mouths, was probably of significance too.<sup>8</sup> Rulers would want to safeguard such sites by having them in the hands of loyal supporters, and it would be safer to have them held by monasteries than by nobles who might turn out to be opponents in power struggles. Moreover the greatest monasteries were powerful institutions in their own right, and an alliance with such an institution could serve to increase the power and prestige of a king or noble in the same way as an alliance with another secular ruler would.<sup>9</sup>

The laity could as well receive benefits of a more practical sort from their patronage of monasteries. Ecclesiastics could be used by rulers to undertake diplomatic missions, and abbots, as persons of high standing, might have been especially suitable for such work.<sup>10</sup> Monasteries served as hotels; as mausolea; as banks;<sup>11</sup> as educational establishments; and possibly even as prisons.<sup>12</sup> The monastic network was found to be very useful as a means of getting goods, probably usually luxury goods, for the laity.<sup>13</sup> Finally, supporting religious houses brought to the laity the prospect of being able to lease monastic lands, and so probably avoid the obligations on landholding, because technically the land would still belong to the monastery and be immune from secular dues. Leasing land would have been useful to the monasteries too, because then they themselves would not have to administer all their estates, which might cover large areas. The great danger would have been that they might not be able to get their lands back from the leaseholders, particularly if the lease was for more than one life. The earliest surviving English lease was made by an ecclesiastic - Bishop Wilfrid of Worcester, in the period 718-45<sup>14</sup> - and the majority of leases extant from the eighth and ninth centuries were granted by the Church, many of them to laymen.<sup>15</sup> The two earliest known leases extant from the records of the community of St. Cuthbert are in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, and date from the period 899-924.<sup>16</sup>

The laity were wanting a mixture of spiritual and material support from monasteries. The monasteries received from the laity in return the benefits of lands, wealth, protection, and immunities from the obligations that went with land-holding. Religious communities and the lay people who supported them were joined in an alliance to their mutual advantage.

The history of Northumbria in the seventh to ninth centuries is the background to any discussion of the role of St. Cuthbert's community in the politics of the period. Northumbrian history in the seventh century is well-documented and well-known, and a detailed narrative is not necessary here. The events of the eighth and ninth centuries are rather less familiar, and so that the people discussed in this chapter may be more than just names, there follows an outline of Northumbrian history from 705 to the later ninth century.

By 705 the sons and grandsons of king Aethelfrith (592/3-617) had reigned in Northumbria without a break for the past seventy years. All the days of Lindisfarne's existence, since it had been founded by a member of this family in the 630's, this Bernician dynasty had been in power. After the death of king Aldfrith in 705, there came the first interruption in the control of the kingship by this family since 634 in Bernicia and since 651 in Deira.<sup>17</sup> A succession dispute followed Aldfrith's death, and one Eadwulf, of unknown origin, became king for a couple of months in 705-6.<sup>18</sup> The other side in the dispute supported the claims of Osred, son of Aldfrith, who was only about eight years old.<sup>19</sup> This side was in the end victorious and Osred became king in 706, the first instance of a king succeeding in Northumbria who was not of full age and capable of being a warleader. Probably the real power in the kingdom for much of Osred's reign was the "dux" Berhtfrith. He had been Osred's main supporter in the succession dispute, he played a significant part in the general reconciliation with Wilfrid in 706, and in 711 he fought a battle against the Picts.<sup>20</sup>

Information about Northumbrian history in the first few decades of the eighth century is somewhat scanty in comparison to what is known about the seventh century and the later eighth.<sup>21</sup> The succession of the kings is known however. Osred reigned to 716, when he was killed.<sup>22</sup> He was succeeded by Coenred, who was not a descendant of Aethelfrith.<sup>23</sup> In 718 Coenred was followed by Osric, who was probably, though not definitely, a son of king Aldfrith.<sup>24</sup> He died in 729, after appointing as his successor Ceolwulf, brother of Coenred.<sup>25</sup> Taking it that Osric was a son of Aldfrith, his death signalled the end of the domination of Northumbria by Aethelfrith's dynasty.

Little is known of Northumbria's relations with other powers during this period. The defeat of Northumbria by the Picts at "Nechtanesmere" in 685 had marked the end, to a large extent, of Northumbrian expansion and overlordship in the north.<sup>26</sup> Some acquisition of lands along the north shore of the Solway did occur after 685,<sup>27</sup> but on the whole the boundaries of Northumbria which were established in the late seventh century were those she kept from then until c.900. Northumbria never occupied any more Pictish territory, and the Scots of Dál Riada and "a proportion of the Britons", probably those of Strathclyde, had maintained their independence from 685 to the time when Bede wrote in 731.<sup>28</sup> Northumbria had lost Pictish friendship as well as supremacy over them in 685, and there were battles between the Picts and the English in 698 and 711.<sup>29</sup> After 711 however, no other conflicts between Northumbria and the peoples to the north are recorded for thirty years. The various northern kingdoms were involved at this time in fighting against each other and within themselves,<sup>30</sup> and may not have had time to spare for attacking Northumbria. The Northumbrians managed to get onto good terms with the Picts again, and in 731 were at peace with all the northern kingdoms.<sup>31</sup>

To the south of the Humber, Mercian power had for many years prevented the Northumbrians establishing any supremacy over the southern English. Since the battle of the Trent in 679,<sup>32</sup> Northumbria had increasingly turned its attention north and

become less involved in southern English affairs. The domination of the Mercian kingship by Penda's descendants came to an end in 716, with the death of king Ceolred,<sup>33</sup> an oddly parallel situation to the eclipse of Aethelfrith's descendants, their great opponents, at this same era in Northumbria. Ceolred was succeeded by a very distant relative, Aethelbald,<sup>34</sup> who gradually built up his power over the following years until by 731 he was overlord of the southern English.<sup>35</sup> He never gained any authority in Northumbria though. In 716 king Osred of Northumbria was killed "south of the border"<sup>36</sup> - this is the only hint of Northumbrian involvement in southern affairs at this period. Otherwise nothing is known of Northumbria's relations with the south. Throughout the eighth century Mercian power probably had the effect of preventing Northumbria having much influence in southern affairs, though Mercia never had much success at gaining influence in Northumbria.

In 731 there came a foretaste of the future in Northumbrian affairs with the incident in which king Ceolwulf was taken prisoner and tonsured.<sup>37</sup> This attempted deposition failed and Ceolwulf regained his kingdom, but some years later, in 737, he abdicated and became a monk, this time "at his own request".<sup>38</sup> He retired to Lindisfarne, leaving the kingdom to his cousin Eadberht, whose brother Ecgberht was already an important figure, having become Bishop of York in 732 and Archbishop in 735.<sup>39</sup> The link between Church and State in the persons of the brothers was symbolized by the joint coinage they issued.<sup>40</sup>

Eadberht began Northumbrian expansion northwards again - in 740 he was fighting against the Picts,<sup>41</sup> and in 750 he "added the plain of Kyle and other lands to his kingdom",<sup>42</sup> taking them probably from the Strathclyde Britons. He always had to face the threat of Aethelbald of Mercia on his southern border however. In 740 while Eadberht was busy fighting the Picts, Aethelbald "treacherously devastated part of Northumbria",<sup>43</sup> and in 750 Aethelbald was allied with Oengus, king of the Picts, which meant Eadberht was in a difficult position, caught between



them.<sup>44</sup> In 756 however Oengus appears as Eadberht's ally in a joint attack on Strathclyde.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps this change was because Oengus was in a weaker position by then, having lost the overlordship of Dál Riada which he had had from c.736 to c.750.<sup>46</sup> The 756 expedition, though it had some success at first, ended in disaster, and after this no more is heard of Northumbrian attempts to expand northwards. Aethelbald prevented any expansion southwards, although he never gained any power over Northumbria, and from 750 his own overlordship in the south of England was in decline.<sup>47</sup> It is possible that Eadberht had an alliance with East Anglia and this would have strengthened his position against Aethelbald.<sup>48</sup> Eadberht also formed a friendship with Pippin, mayor of the palace in Frankia from 741 to 751, and king of the Franks from 751 to 768.<sup>49</sup> This would enhance Eadberht's prestige even if it brought him little practical help.

Within Northumbria there is only one recorded incident of opposition to Eadberht. That one is of great interest though, especially to the history of St. Cuthbert's community. In 750 Eadberht imprisoned Cynewulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, in Bamburgh, and laid siege to the church of St. Peter on Lindisfarne, where Offa, a son of king Aldfrith, had taken refuge. "Though innocent", says the Historia Regum, he was pulled out of the church "almost dead with hunger".<sup>50</sup> Nothing is said about what happened to Offa afterwards, nor what he was supposed to have done. Nothing is said about what happened to Bishop Cynewulf either, but he continued in office, and had a long episcopate, finally resigning his see in 779 or 780.<sup>51</sup> The implications of this incident will be discussed later in this chapter.<sup>52</sup>

The end of the reigns of Eadberht, Aethelbald, and Oengus all came fairly close together. Aethelbald was assassinated in 757;<sup>53</sup> Eadberht abdicated to become a cleric in 758, perhaps because he felt it was safe to resign once Aethelbald had gone;<sup>54</sup> and Oengus died in 761.<sup>55</sup>

The half-century after 758 is the period that has given eighth-century Northumbria a bad name. From the abdication of Eadberht to the accession of Eanred in 810, Northumbria saw eight kings,<sup>56</sup> six depositions, three assassinations, and at least two attempted coups that failed.<sup>57</sup> As well as all this, the annals record quite a number of Northumbrian noblemen who came to a bad end. The gloom of the picture might be partly due to the unusually full Northumbrian annals for this period - we do not know as much about what was going on at other periods and in other kingdoms. Also Northumbria suffers to some extent from the comparison with Mercia and king Offa in this same half-century. But even so, the record does seem to have been an unusually bad one.

Eadberht, on his abdication in 758, gave the kingdom to his son Oswulf.<sup>58</sup> The next year Oswulf was killed by his own household, and twelve days later Aethelwold Moll was "elected" as king - his ancestry is not known.<sup>59</sup> In 761 there was a dispute within Northumbria, in which Aethelwold was opposed by one Oswine. After "a very severe battle" at Eildon, Oswine was killed and Aethelwold victorious.<sup>60</sup> There is no way of knowing for certain, but it may be that Oswine was a member of one of the Northumbrian royal lines - his name would suggest that this was so. He might, for instance, have been related to Aethelwold's predecessor, Oswulf.<sup>61</sup> If Oswine was of a royal family, it is probable that in 761 he was making a bid for the throne. Aethelwold was successful in dealing with this threat, but in 765 he "lost the kingdom" at "Pincanheale".<sup>62</sup> As "Pincanheale" is known to have been the meeting place of synods,<sup>63</sup> it is possible that Aethelwold was deposed by an assembly of the notables of the kingdom, rather than in a palace coup. Aethelwold's successor was Alchred,<sup>64</sup> while Aethelwold himself became a cleric and eventually an abbot.<sup>65</sup> During Alchred's reign, in 769, an attack was made against the royal vill of Catterick by Eanred, who is described as a "tyrant"<sup>66</sup> - perhaps this was another attempted seizure of the kingship, like that of 761. In 774, Alchred, like Aethelwold

Moll before him, was deposed "by the counsel and consent of all his people".<sup>67</sup> He went into exile at the court of Ciniod, king of the Picts. It is possible that Alchred's deposition was connected in some way with the killing of an ealdorman Eadwulf, but this is only speculation.<sup>68</sup> The new king of Northumbria was Aethelred, son of Aethelwold Moll, who can only have been eleven years old at the most at his accession.<sup>69</sup> In 778, on king Aethelred's orders, the "principes" Aethelbald and Heardberht killed three men, Ealdwulf, Cynewulf, and Ecga, variously described as "duces" and as "high-reeves".<sup>70</sup> Either in that same year or the next, king Aethelred was expelled and driven into exile, and Aelfwold, son of king Oswulf (758-59), became king.<sup>71</sup> The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle links Aethelred's expulsion with the killing of the three "high-reeves", and says it was Aelfwold who drove out Aethelred.

More trouble followed in either 779 or 780, when the "duces" Osbald and Aethelheard collected an army and burnt Bearn, who is described as "a 'patricius' of king Aelfwold"<sup>72</sup> - this may have been a private feud, or it may signify opposition to the new king and his supporters. There is no evidence of any more opposition to Aelfwold recorded until the end of his reign. Then, in 788 or 789, a conspiracy was organized by Aelfwold's "patricius", Sicga, and Aelfwold was killed at "Scythlescester" near Hadrian's Wall.<sup>73</sup> He was succeeded by his nephew, Osred II, the son of king Alchred (765-74).<sup>74</sup> Osred's reign was very short; in 790 he was captured and deposed.<sup>75</sup> According to the Historia Regum, he was "deceived by the guile of his nobles". He was tonsured in York and then went into exile in the Isle of Man. King Aethelred, who had reigned 774-78/9, returned from exile and became king again.<sup>76</sup> Over the next few years Aethelred apparently made a determined effort to get rid of his political opponents. In 791 the sons of king Aelfwold, Oelf and Oelfwine, were lured "by false promises" out of York Minster, where they had presumably taken sanctuary, captured, and put to death by Aethelred.<sup>77</sup> In 791 or 792 ealdorman Eardwulf was taken prisoner and brought

to Ripon, where Aethelred ordered that he be killed. His body was taken into the monastery there, and the next day he was found to be still alive.<sup>78</sup> He must then have gone into exile.<sup>79</sup> In 792 ex-king Osred returned secretly from the Isle of Man, apparently as part of an aristocratic conspiracy, but his soldiers began to desert him, and he was captured by king Aethelred and executed on his orders.<sup>80</sup> Fifteen days after Osred's execution, Aethelred married Aelfflaed, daughter of king Offa of Mercia,<sup>81</sup> and it may be that the elimination of opponents such as Osred was connected in some way with the marriage. Offa was himself assiduous in getting rid of his own political opponents.<sup>82</sup>

In spite of all his precautions however Aethelred did not end his reign peacefully. He was killed "by his own people" in 796 near the river Cover in Yorkshire.<sup>83</sup> Osbald, a "patricius", was made king "by some nobles of the nation", but after twenty-seven days he was deserted by everybody and sent into exile. He went to Lindisfarne, and then to king Constantine of the Picts.<sup>84</sup> Eardwulf, who had survived his execution a few years before, was recalled from exile and made king.<sup>85</sup> A couple of years later, in 798, "the murderers of king Aethelred" conspired against Eardwulf. They were joined by the "dux" Wada, who then fought "a great battle" against Eardwulf at Billington Moor, near Whalley, in Lancashire. Eardwulf won, and Wada and his men fled.<sup>86</sup> The names of the other conspirators are not given, but one of them was presumably Ealdred "dux", described as "the murderer of king Aethelred" by the Historia Regum. He was killed in 799 by Torhtmund "dux", avenging Aethelred's death.<sup>87</sup> In 800 Eardwulf rid himself of another opponent, when his guards captured Alchmund, said to be the son of king Alchred, and killed him "along with his fellow fugitives".<sup>88</sup> In the original portion of the List of Saints' Resting-Places in England a saint called Ealhmund is said to rest at "Norðworþig", that is, Derby. He has been identified with this Northumbrian prince Alchmund killed in 800.<sup>89</sup> He is said to have been buried at first at Lilleshall in Shropshire, and translated

later on to Derby. This translation must have occurred in the ninth century as the earlier portion of the List of Saints' Resting-Places dates from that period. There was a secular college of St. Alkmund in Derby at the time of Domesday Book,<sup>90</sup> and excavations at the site of the church of St. Alkmund have produced ninth-century sculpture.<sup>91</sup> The reference to Alchmund being a "fugitive", and this evidence that he was buried in the Midlands, suggest that he was in exile in Mercia when he was killed. In 801 Eardwulf attacked king Coenwulf of Mercia "because of his harbouring of his enemies".<sup>92</sup> This may refer to Alchmund and his companions, or Coenwulf may well have been giving shelter to other opponents of Eardwulf too. There was a long campaign between Eardwulf and Coenwulf which ended in a draw and a peace treaty.<sup>93</sup> At this same period the Archbishop of York, Eanbald II, was in trouble with Eardwulf for helping the king's enemies and was considering flying the country.<sup>94</sup> This is significant in view of events a few years later. In 806 or 808 king Eardwulf was expelled from Northumbria, and replaced by Aelfwold II, whose ancestry is unknown.<sup>95</sup> In 808 Eardwulf came to Charlemagne at Nijmegen, and then went on to Rome. Envoys from Pope Leo III and from Charlemagne escorted Eardwulf back to Northumbria, and late in 808 or in 809 he was restored to the throne.<sup>96</sup> Letters of Pope Leo to Charlemagne on the subject show that he suspected Coenwulf of Mercia and Archbishop Eanbald of causing Eardwulf's exile.<sup>97</sup> Coenwulf, Eanbald, and one Wado - very likely Wada who was defeated by Eardwulf in 798 - had all been writing letters to the Pope about the situation in Northumbria, and an envoy from Eanbald was in Rome in 808.<sup>98</sup> It is not recorded how Eardwulf's reign came to an end, whether he died or abdicated or was killed or was deposed again. All that is known is that his son, Eanred, succeeded to the throne in 810, which does suggest a peaceful transfer of power, as the last time a son had followed immediately after his father as king of Northumbria had been in 758.

The instability of this period between 758 and 810 was due to three main factors. Firstly, there was competition

for the resources of the kingdom. The background to the rule of the seventh-century Northumbrian kings had been the Anglian expansion against the Britons of Elmet, Rheged, the Gododdin, and Strathclyde, and against the Picts. This, together with the formation of overlordships over the Picts, Scots, and Britons whose lands were not taken over, were essential ingredients in the success of the Northumbrian kings, providing them with lands, wealth and tribute with which to reward their armies. And not only their armies, for religious communities had benefited too, as witness Lindisfarne's acquisition of lands in Cumbria.<sup>99</sup> After Eadberht's reign however there was no more expansion, and indeed the main period of expansion had ceased in 685. So the Northumbrian kings had to rely on the resources of their own kingdom to reward their followers, and probably found difficulty in doing so. The situation was aggravated by the large amount of land given to monasteries - the problem was already apparent to Bede in the earlier eighth century,<sup>100</sup> and king Osred (706-16) is said to have been the first king of Northumbria to violate monastic privileges.<sup>101</sup> Alcuin's letters show that Aethelred and other Northumbrian kings were engaged in taking the property of others - no doubt their political opponents - and were also apparently attacking the lands of the Church.<sup>102</sup>

Northumbria was also faced in the second half of the eighth century by pressure from Offa of Mercia. This pressure was probably even worse than that of Aethelbald earlier in the century, although Offa's domination of the south of England took time to build up, and fluctuated over the years.<sup>103</sup> Offa never succeeded in dominating Northumbria however. The nearest he seems to have got to gaining influence there was in 792 when his daughter married king Aethelred. Northumbrian independence survived. In 786 when the Papal legates visited England, they promulgated their decrees first at a council held in Northumbria, and these decrees were then taken on to Mercia and agreed to there.<sup>104</sup> And in 801 the two kingdoms fought as equals, nor was Coenwulf of Mercia able to defeat Northumbria then.

Thirdly, there were divisions within Northumbria. The king of Northumbria was an overlord in his own kingdom. There was an ever-present tension between Deira and Bernicia, an important factor in the history of Northumbria on into the late Anglo-Saxon period. The two halves of the kingdom were always pulling apart, given the opportunity. And there were lesser divisions within the country too. We know very little about them, but they were presumably ruled by the "subreguli", "patricii", "principes", and "duces" who appear in the sources.<sup>105</sup> A king of Northumbria, to rule effectively, would have had to cope with a lot of local particularism. The problem was doubtless compounded by the fact that some of these "duces" were potential "reges" - men like Osbald, for instance, king in 796. These divisions within the kingdom would come more to the fore in the later eighth century because of the other stresses of the time.

One factor which made for some stability however, and which may help to explain why Northumbria managed to survive, is that the Northumbrian kings do not seem to have developed their powers as the Mercian kings, and Offa in particular, did in the eighth century. Possibly the kings of Northumbria could not do the same because of the problems of resistance from local rulers, but on the other hand their inability to exploit all their resources fully meant that fewer resentments would have built up against their rule. It may well be that it was at this period, when resisting the threat of Mercia, that Northumbria started to become cut off from developments in the south of England and go its own way, with the result that it was unusually old-fashioned in many ways in the later Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>106</sup> One example of this is Northumbria's coinage. The kingdom did not share in the coinage reform which occurred in the south of England under the rule of Offa in the later eighth century,<sup>107</sup> and in the ninth century Northumbria was using a different system of coinage to that of the rest of England.<sup>108</sup>

Another factor which may have helped the Northumbrians is that they seem not to have had problems on the northern borders in the second half of the eighth century. After the death of Oengus in 761, there was probably little pressure from the Picts, even though the Northumbrians were not able to expand against them. Very little is known about the history of Pictland or of Dál Riada at this period, but it is possible that the Picts were having problems with the Scots - this seems to have been the case in the reign of Áed Finn of Dál Riada (741-78) at any rate. There was a battle in Pictland between Áed Finn and the king of the Picts, Ciniod, in 768.<sup>109</sup> There were some notable kings of the Picts, in particular Constantine, who reigned from 789 to 820, and who ruled Dál Riada too from 811 to 820.<sup>110</sup> He had dealings with Northumbria and is in the Liber Vitae.<sup>111</sup> But that the Picts and the Scots were apparently becoming increasingly preoccupied with each other in the second half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth, was no doubt of benefit to Northumbria.

One other aspect of the second half of the eighth century which ought to be mentioned is that this was apparently the period of greatest contact between Northumbria and the Franks. This was not a new feature - king Edwin (617-33) had been connected with the Merovingians by his marriage to Aethelburh;<sup>112</sup> there had been ecclesiastical contacts in the seventh century through such churchmen as Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid;<sup>113</sup> king Chilperic II (715-21) appears in the Liber Vitae, and had other contacts with Northumbrians;<sup>114</sup> and king Eadberht had had friendly relations with Pippin a little later in the eighth century.<sup>115</sup> Some news of events on the Continent does appear in the sources before 750,<sup>116</sup> but the northern annals in the Historia Regum in the later eighth century display an unusual amount of interest in Continental, and particularly in Frankish, affairs,<sup>117</sup> an interest which is not shared incidentally by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, not even in its northern versions.<sup>118</sup> This interest was not due only to the involvement of Alcuin and



others in Continental affairs. The Northumbrian kings no doubt hoped to acquire Charlemagne's friendship to counter-balance the power of Offa. King Alchred, for example, sent embassies to Charlemagne in or before 773.<sup>119</sup> Offa too was wanting an alliance with Charlemagne.<sup>120</sup> Charlemagne, who seems to have seen England as basically divided into two - Mercia and its tributary kingdoms, and Northumbria<sup>121</sup> - was probably willing to aid either against the other as it suited his own interests, while extending his own influence in England as much as possible. His influence was of service to the Northumbrian kings; for instance, in the help he gave to Eardwulf in 808-9.

In the first half of the ninth century there was more stability in Northumbria. We know very little about the kingdom at this period though - the northern annals more or less cease for the period 810-66.<sup>122</sup> Very little is known beyond the succession of kings and bishops, and there is no certainty even about that.<sup>123</sup> But dynastic stability did return for a while - Eardwulf was followed by his son, Eanred, who, after a long reign, was followed by his son, Aethelred II. This was probably due in part to the easing of Mercian pressure - after the death of Coenwulf in 821, Mercia was unstable and contracting.<sup>124</sup> Wessex's power was increasing, and king Egberht of the West Saxons managed to gain the submission of Northumbria in 829, after he had become overlord of the southern English.<sup>125</sup> This was a momentary lapse on the Northumbrians' part, and once Mercia had regained its independence of Wessex in 830,<sup>126</sup> Wessex's influence over Northumbria probably went too. There seems to have been more behind the submission of Northumbria to Egberht than the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with its West Saxon viewpoint, reveals. The Chronicle gives the impression that Egberht came to Dore on the southern border of Northumbria and the Northumbrians could hardly wait to fall down before him. It goes as follows:-

"And that year King Egberht conquered the kingdom of the Mercians, and everything south of the Humber; and he was the eighth king who was 'Bretwalda'.

. . . And Ecgberht led an army to Dore, against the Northumbrians, and they offered him submission and peace there, and on that they separated".<sup>127</sup>

Roger of Wendover, who used northern material, gives a different picture:-

"When Ecgberht, king of the West Saxons, had obtained all the southern kingdoms of England, he led a large army into Northumbria, and laid waste that province with a severe pillaging, and made King Eanred pay tribute".<sup>128</sup>

This account is not impossible to reconcile with that of the Chronicle, which does not go so far as to say the submission of Northumbria was accomplished without any violence. But by omitting all reference to any devastation, it conveys the impression that the transaction was peaceful. Certainly, after the Northumbrians had resisted Offa for so long in the eighth century, it seems likely that Ecgberht would have had to exert a lot of pressure on them to make them submit.

Northumbria had at this period to face too the problem of the Vikings. After the shock of the first few raids in 793-800,<sup>129</sup> Northumbria, and England generally, do not seem to have had much trouble with the Vikings until the 830's, though again, there is the problem of lack of evidence with regard to Northumbria. Only one battle against the Vikings is recorded there in the first half of the ninth century - that at "Alutthelia" in 844.<sup>130</sup> This Viking attack was also the occasion for instability in the kingship to break out again, with the substitution of Raedwulf for Aethelred II, presumably in response to the immediate threat. Raedwulf was killed in the battle, and Aethelred was then restored to the throne. It is likely however that there were other attacks on Northumbria besides this one before the Great Army descended in 866. All the Viking raiding around the Irish Sea in the period 823-73 would probably have touched Northumbria sometimes.<sup>131</sup> In the same way raiding around the

North Sea and Channel coasts, which became serious about a decade later than the raiding in the west, is unlikely to have missed Northumbria all the time either.<sup>132</sup> Apart from the 844 battle, there are two other pieces of evidence that Northumbria did suffer from Viking raids in the 830's and 840's. There is the move of St. Cuthbert's community inland from Lindisfarne to Norham in the period 830-45,<sup>133</sup> and there is the evidence of the Hexham hoard, an enormous number of coins hidden in a bucket, which was deposited in c.845-46.<sup>134</sup>

In the mid-ninth century Northumbria was becoming unstable again. Viking raiding no doubt contributed to this but there were other ingredients too. There were attacks from the north - Kenneth mac Alpin, who united the Picts and the Scots of Dál Riada permanently into one kingdom, is said to have attacked Northumbria six times in his reign (c.842-58), and to have burnt Melrose and Dunbar.<sup>135</sup> Northumbria seems to have been losing control over Galloway and Dumfriesshire well before the main Viking attack on Northumbria in the 860's and 870's, for the Anglian bishopric of Whithorn apparently came to an end quite early on in the ninth century.<sup>136</sup> Northumbria's coinage system seems to have been collapsing in the reign of Osberht in the 850's.<sup>137</sup> Instability from the 840's onwards is suggested by the Liber Vitae too, for most of its lists stop in c.840.<sup>138</sup> King Osberht and his successor Aelle were both remembered for taking lands from the Church<sup>139</sup> - probably a sign that royal resources were getting low, though in some cases, as for example, the seizure of Warkworth, lands were most likely taken for strategic reasons. Dynastic conflict returned with the "great civil strife" between Osberht and Aelle, which provided the opportunity for the Great Army to seize York in 866.<sup>140</sup> It is possible moreover that in the dispute between Osberht and Aelle the division between Bernicia and Deira had arisen once more.<sup>141</sup> The Viking conquest of Northumbria in 866-67, followed by the Viking settlement in 876,<sup>142</sup> served greatly to emphasise this old division,

so that for much of the next hundred years the two halves of the old kingdom were under separate rule.<sup>143</sup>

Northern Bernicia, the seat of Lindisfarne's power, escaped the worst of the Viking depredations for a while after 866. In 867 the Great Army devastated "as far as the mouth of the Tyne", but not beyond.<sup>144</sup> In the autumn of 874 however, Halfdane, with part of the Great Army, took up winter-quarters on the Tyne, and in 875 plundered in Northumbria, Pictland, and Strathclyde.<sup>145</sup> It was at this period that St. Cuthbert's community felt the situation was so bad that if left Northumberland and went west into Cumbria.<sup>146</sup> The decision while in Cumbria to take St. Cuthbert's body across to Ireland and settle there was a more sensible decision than might appear at first sight, for Viking attacks on Ireland ceased for many years after c.873.<sup>147</sup> Failing to cross to Ireland however, the community eventually returned to the east side of the Pennines, and were involved in the election of Guthfrith to be king of Northumbria. Guthfrith was associated with York, and must also have had authority over the area between the Tyne and the Tees, for it was he who gave the community lands there. In their involvement with Guthfrith, the members of St. Cuthbert's community, part of the old order in Northumbria, can be seen coming to terms with the new order, and doing rather well out of it too. The community also linked themselves with the other main survivor of the old order, the English family which ruled northern Bernicia from Bamburgh. They were probably descended from a Northumbrian royal family, although we do not know which one,<sup>148</sup> and they seem to have been more or less independent rulers in the north. Eadwulf of Bamburgh is called a "king" by the Annals of Ulster in the notice of his death in 913,<sup>149</sup> although the West Saxon Aethelweard is more circumspect, describing Eadwulf as "actor" or steward of the town of Bamburgh.<sup>150</sup> The family proved to be very tenacious, surviving as rulers of northern Northumbria, with a large amount of independence, through many changes of government, down to the later eleventh century.<sup>151</sup>

The preceding narrative shows that in the eighth and ninth centuries there were a number of royal lines competing for the kingship in Northumbria. At least seven groups were involved in this contest, though not all at the same time. The first of these royal lines is that which was descended from Ida, the traditional founder of Bernicia, through Aethelric and Aethelfrith.<sup>152</sup> This branch of the royal family dominated Northumbria in the seventh century, reigning in Bernicia continuously from 633 to 705, and ruling Deira too for the greater part of that period. Except for breaks of a few months in 705-6, and two years in 716-18, this line continued to control Northumbria until 729.<sup>153</sup> Their domination seems to have ended with some abruptness in the first half of the eighth century. Osric, who died in 729, may have had no offspring of his own or maybe none old enough to succeed him, for he appointed as his successor a very distant relative, Ceolwulf.<sup>154</sup> After this no known descendant of Aethelfrith ruled in Northumbria, and this branch of the royal family is last definitely heard of in 750, when Offa, son of Aldfrith, was involved in the dispute with king Eadberht, which culminated in Eadberht's besieging the church of Lindisfarne. Offa's removal from the church is the last we hear of this, the most famous of the Northumbrian royal lines. Why their power should have waned so suddenly in the eighth century is uncertain. It may simply have been biological, the family dying out, as families do sometimes.<sup>155</sup> Or it may be that they wasted their resources in their efforts to hold onto the kingdom, and that the end of Northumbria's expansion hit them, the family in power, particularly hard. A large part of their success earlier on was due no doubt to Aethelfrith's prowess in acquiring lands and tribute.<sup>156</sup> One can perhaps already discern a slightly frantic grabbing after resources in Ecgfrith's over-aggressive policy towards the kingdoms of the north, particularly towards the end of his reign (670-85).<sup>157</sup>

However it is possible that though no descendant of Aethelfrith in the male line ever reigned again, later rulers could have been derived from him in the female line, because

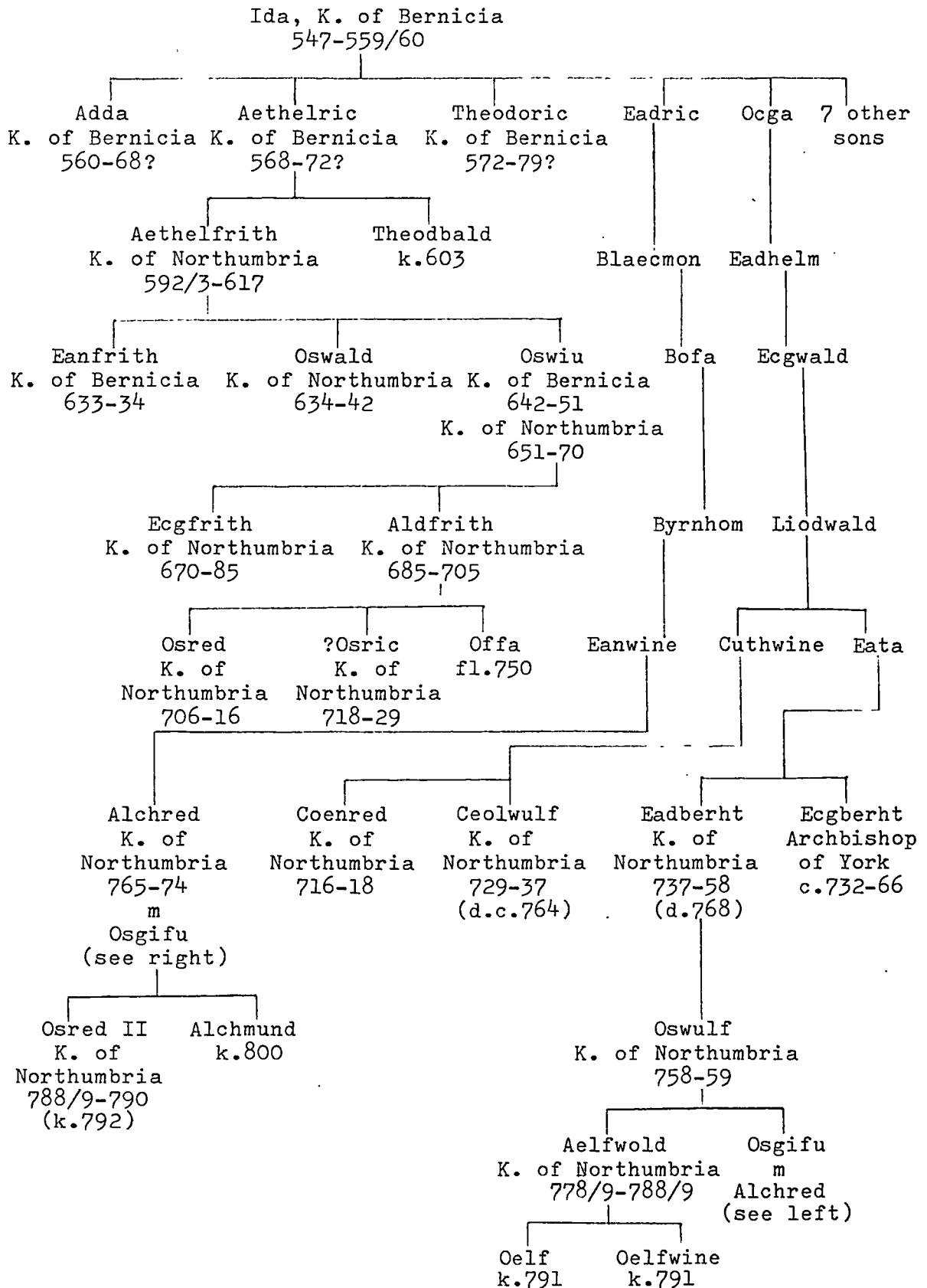
of intermarriage between this and other branches of the royal family. A little piece of evidence for this can be found in the personal names of the Northumbrian kings. The Eata branch, who will be discussed more fully later on, have, at first, names beginning with the elements "eat-", "ead-", and "ecg-". Later generations of this line though have names using "os-", and "aelf-", and its variant "oelf-". "Os-" and "aelf-" were elements used by Aethelfrith's family, and seem to be peculiar to it.<sup>158</sup> There is no knowing for certain, but it may be that the use of these elements came into the Eata branch of the royal family by a marriage alliance with Aethelfrith's descendants. It is worthy of note that the element "os-" was later carried in this way into a third royal line, by the marriage of Osgifu, daughter of king Oswulf, to king Alchred. Their elder son was called Osred, the first element being from his mother's name and the second from his father's.<sup>159</sup>

As descendants of Ida, Aethelfrith's family were Bernician, and the centre of their power lay in the north. They were associated in particular with Bamburgh and with Lindisfarne, which they had founded. They are very well represented in the Liber Vitae. They tried though to associate themselves with other parts of their kingdom as well. They linked themselves with Whitby, with its Deiran royal associations with Hild.<sup>160</sup> Indeed, it is probable, though not quite certain, that Oswiu founded this house, after his defeat of Penda in 655.<sup>161</sup> It was chosen as the meeting-place for the 664 synod, which Oswiu presided over; Oswiu's daughter, Aelfflaed, became abbess there; and Oswiu himself was buried there.<sup>162</sup> Also in Deira was the monastery of Gilling, founded by Oswiu in memory of king Oswine, killed on his orders in 651.<sup>163</sup> Oswine's death marked the end of the struggle for supremacy in Northumbria between his family and that of Aethelfrith.<sup>164</sup> The monastery was no doubt a symbol to mark the ending of this feud, and, more generally, a sign of reconciliation between the two halves of the kingdom. Unfortunately the exact date of its foundation is not known,<sup>165</sup> so it is uncertain whether Oswiu founded it before the battle of the "Winwaed"

in 655, or after that event. If it was founded before the battle, it dates from a period when Oswiu's control of Deira was of very recent origin and not well-established. His relationship with the sub-king of Deira, his nephew Oethelwald, was an uneasy one. Oswiu was also under pressure at this time from Penda of Mercia, with whom Oethelwald eventually allied himself.<sup>166</sup> After the battle, in which Penda was killed, the Mercian threat was gone, and Oswiu's control of Deira was probably much stronger. It is perhaps more likely that the foundation of Gilling would have come before 655, when Oswiu had great need to win Deiran support. An important part in the association of Oswiu and his family with both Whitby and Gilling was played by his queen, Eanflaed, daughter of king Edwin, and thus kin to both abbess Hild and king Oswine.<sup>167</sup> She persuaded Oswiu to found Gilling, and later in life she retired to Whitby, where she helped her daughter Aelfflaed to rule the monastery.<sup>168</sup> It was in the period when Eanflaed and Aelfflaed were in charge of Whitby that the relics of king Edwin were brought there from Hatfield Chase.<sup>169</sup>

Royal relics were also involved in the association between Aethelfrith's family and Bardney in Lindsey, where Oswiu's daughter Osthryth had the bones of her uncle, king Oswald, enshrined.<sup>170</sup> This was done at about the same period as Edwin's relics were taken to Whitby, and the two events may be linked, especially as Osthryth was probably another of Eanflaed's children.<sup>171</sup> Osthryth was married to king Aethelred of Mercia and her promotion of the cult of a royal Northumbrian saint, especially in a sensitive border province like Lindsey, which both Mercia and Northumbria wanted to control, is very interesting. Her husband was also a great patron of Bardney,<sup>172</sup> and it may be that they were trying in this way to signal an improvement in relations between Northumbria and Mercia in the period after the battle of the Trent in 679. This battle had nearly led to a blood feud between the kings of Northumbria and Mercia, until Archbishop Theodore intervened and managed to make peace between them.<sup>173</sup> The enshrining of Oswald's

Fig. 30:- Family Tree of the descendants of Ida.





relics at Bardney might, in such circumstances, have fulfilled a similar role to Oswiu's foundation of Gilling, and helped in the reconciliation of peoples previously at variance. Bede's story of how the monks of Bardney themselves had first to be reconciled to the idea of Oswald's relics being placed in their monastery is of significance in this context.<sup>174</sup> In all these transactions, at Whitby, Gilling, and Bardney, it is interesting to note the involvement of royal women, which provides a background to the many names of queens and abbesses listed in the Liber Vitae.

The second royal line to be discussed is the family of Cuthwine. This line claimed to be descended from Ida through one of his younger sons, Ocgá, who was not remembered as one of the early kings of Northumbria, and who was supposed to have been one of Ida's sons by a concubine instead of by his queen.<sup>175</sup> Cuthwine was supposed to be a great-great-grandson of Ocgá - in other words he was put in the same generation as king Osred (706-16). Though the royal genealogies cannot be taken as wholly factual guides,<sup>176</sup> it is at least obvious that this royal line was only distantly related to Aethelfrith's family. It was Cuthwine's two sons who became kings of Northumbria.<sup>177</sup> One of the sons was Coenred, who reigned 716-18. Hardly anything is known about him, and Bede says nothing as to how he was chosen as king. More is known about his brother Ceolwulf who ruled 729-37. Ceolwulf was chosen by Osríc as his successor, so the passing of power from one royal line to another was apparently peaceful in this instance.<sup>178</sup> It is unfortunate that we do not know who was responsible for the brief deposition of Ceolwulf in 731. This branch of the royal family did not hold onto power for long however, as Ceolwulf abdicated in 737, and no more is heard of this line after Ceolwulf's death a number of years later, in either 760 or 764.<sup>179</sup> That this group claimed descent from Ida shows that they were probably Bernicians, and all the places known to be associated with them are in Bernicia. Ceolwulf had a connection with Jarrow, as Bede dedicated the Historia Ecclesiastica to him.<sup>180</sup> It is possible that Ceolwulf was also

associated with Hexham, as there may have been a link between his deposition in 731 and the expulsion of Bishop Acca from Hexham in the same year.<sup>181</sup> And Ceolwulf was certainly a supporter of Lindisfarne. He gave lands, all of which were in Bernicia,<sup>182</sup> to the community, and when he abdicated he went to be a monk on Lindisfarne.<sup>183</sup> Both he and Coenred are in the Liber Vitae.<sup>184</sup> Ceolwulf was buried on Lindisfarne, and seems to have been venerated there as a saint. He was important enough to be moved by the community to Norham together with St. Cuthbert, although he was left behind when St. Cuthbert moved on again later in the ninth century.<sup>185</sup>

The third royal line was closely related to Cuthwine's family, and power seems to have passed on to them peacefully, Ceolwulf at his abdication apparently recognising as his successor Eadberht, who was his first cousin. Eadberht's father was Eata, said, both in the genealogies and the annals, to be the brother of Cuthwine, Ceolwulf's father.<sup>186</sup> The non-alliteration of the names of Cuthwine and Eata, which is a highly unusual occurrence in the Northumbrian royal family, does just raise the question as to whether they really were brothers, but it might be accounted for by their being the sons of different mothers. The two lines were linked in some way though, because Bede says that king Ceolwulf was the relative of Archbishop Ecgberht.<sup>187</sup>

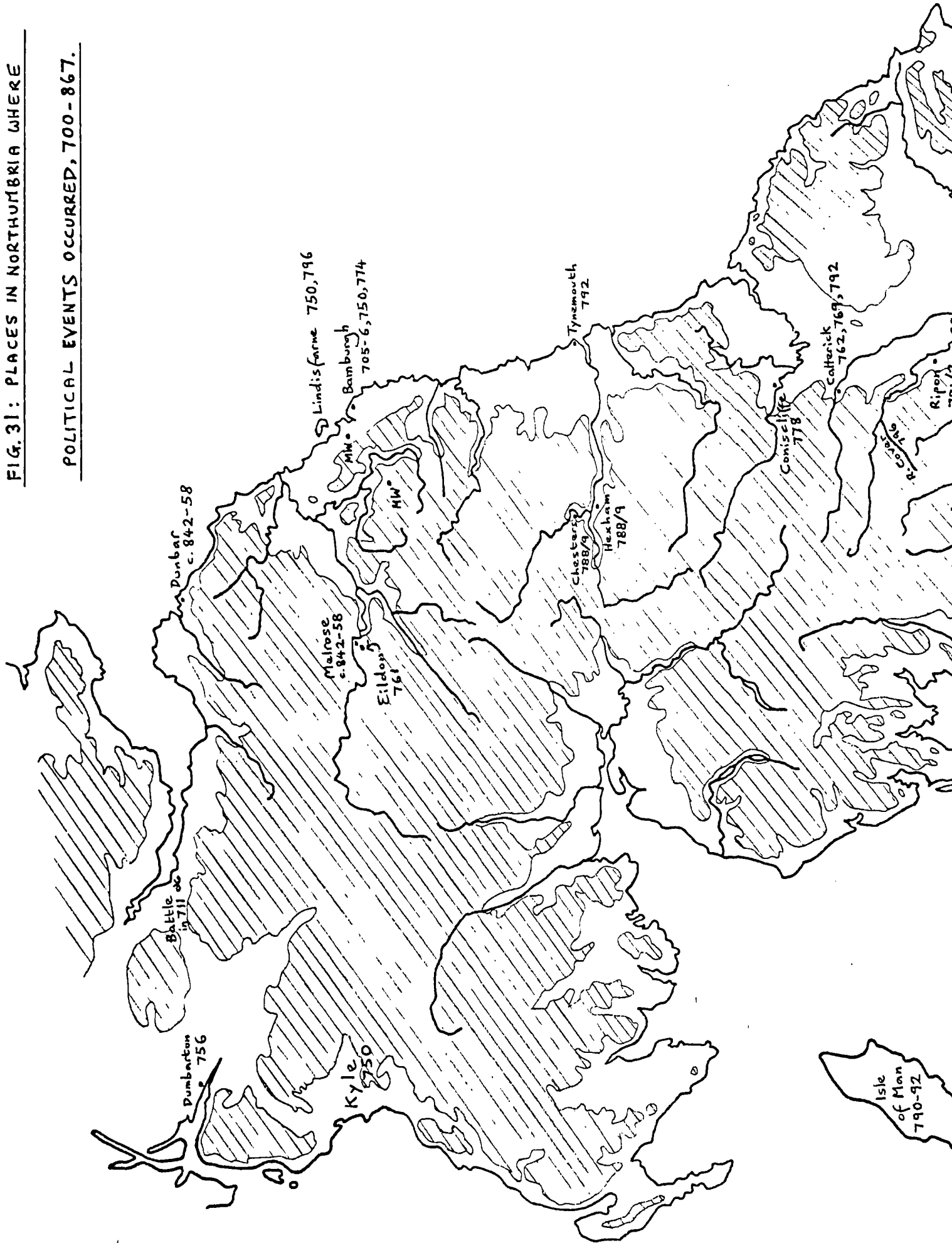
Eata's family first comes to prominence in the sources in 732 when Ecgberht, son of Eata, was made Bishop of York. He became Archbishop, the first since Paulinus, in 735. His brother Eadberht became king in 737, and he and his descendants reigned in Northumbria from then until 759, and again from 778/9 to 788/9. The family is last definitely heard of in 791, when Oelf and Oelfwine were killed by king Aethelred. The period of greatest dominance by this family was over the middle of the eighth century, with Eadberht as king to 758, and Ecgberht as Archbishop to 766.<sup>188</sup> The other members of

the family were king Oswulf, son of Eadberht, killed in 759; his son, king Aelfwold, killed in 788 or 789; and his sons, Oelf and Oelfwine, killed in 791. There was also Osgifu, who married king Alchred in 768.<sup>189</sup> She was very probably king Oswulf's daughter, as her son Osred was said to be the nephew of king Aelfwold.<sup>190</sup> Ecgberht's successor in the see of York, Archbishop Aethelberht or Aelberht (767-779/80), was a relative too,<sup>191</sup> which meant that this family had dominated the archbishopric for nearly fifty years by the end of Aethelberht's episcopate.

As, like Cuthwine's family, the Eata branch claimed to be descended from Ocgga, son of Ida, they were most likely Bernicians rather than Deirans. And most of the places they are known to have been associated with are in Bernicia. Eadberht had control of Bamburgh in 750 for he imprisoned Bishop Cynewulf of Lindisfarne there. This shows that Bamburgh was a specifically royal site, that went with the kingdom, and that it was not still held by the descendants of Aethelfrith, who had been associated with it for so long. Archbishop Ecgberht may possibly have been educated at Jarrow,<sup>192</sup> and Eadberht's son Oswulf was killed near a place called "Methel Wongtun", which was probably in Northumberland.<sup>193</sup> King Aelfwold was said to be "dwelling far to the north" in 786 when the Papal legates came to York.<sup>194</sup> Aelfwold was killed at "Scythlescester" near Hadrian's Wall - this may have been Chesters, a fort situated at the point where the river North Tyne crosses the line of the Wall.<sup>195</sup> It is possible that it was an old Roman site being used as a royal residence, in the same way, though on a lesser scale, as York was. Aelfwold was taken by the monks of Hexham to be buried in their church.<sup>196</sup> This may have been because it was conveniently near to the place of Aelfwold's death, but it might indicate that Aelfwold had a special connection with that monastery, for people seem to have placed much importance on being buried in a place with which they had special links. Far from people being buried in the nearest convenient place,

FIG. 31: PLACES IN NORTHUMBRIA WHERE

POLITICAL EVENTS OCCURRED, 700-867.



this emphasis often led to bodies being transported considerable distances. St. Wilfrid's body, for instance, was carried 125 miles from Oundle in Northamptonshire to Ripon for burial.<sup>197</sup> And Kenneth mac Alpin, king of the Picts and Scots, when he died in 858, was carried from Forteviot near Perth to Iona, a journey of 125 miles through mountainous terrain and involving two sea crossings.<sup>198</sup> So it may be that Aelfwold had had in his lifetime an association with Hexham. A church was also built at the site of his murder, and this was dedicated to St. Cuthbert and St. Oswald, which suggests that Aelfwold and his family had been trying to cultivate links with older power bases in Northumbria.<sup>199</sup>

As well as all their connections with Bernicia however Eata's family had a particular association with York. Ecgberht, and then Aethelberht, held the see there for some forty-seven years between them, and king Eadberht, when he abdicated in 758, became a cleric there.<sup>200</sup> Ecgberht and Eadberht, who died within two years of each other,<sup>201</sup> were buried in the same chapel at York - probably a side-chapel of York Minster.<sup>202</sup> It was from York Minster that the sons of king Aelfwold, Oelf and Oelfwine, were lured in 791, before being killed by king Aethelred. No doubt they had taken sanctuary there out of fear of the king, and in so doing they had gone to a church which was specially associated with the members of their family.

The relationship between this branch of the royal family and Lindisfarne does not seem to have been of the best. This is demonstrated by the events of 750, when Eadberht imprisoned the Bishop of Lindisfarne and removed Offa, son of Aldfrith, from the monastery church.<sup>203</sup> What lay behind this episode was most likely a power struggle between the new royal family, in the person of Eadberht, and the descendants of Aethelfrith, here represented by Offa. Offa lost this conflict and no more is heard of his family. In this dispute the community of St. Cuthbert supported the side one would expect them to support, the group with which they had always been associated.

In this case however it turned out to be the losing side - an unusual event in the history of the community. Efforts seem to have been made on both sides to repair the breach however. St. Cuthbert's community would have wanted to have the support of the family in power, and Eata's family also appear to have seen the wisdom of cultivating links with a centre of influence which had been established longer than they had. The dedication of the church at "Scythlescester" to St. Cuthbert and St. Oswald, already mentioned, is one indication of this repairing of relations.<sup>204</sup> Also the names of Eadberht, Oswulf, Aelfwold, and Osgifu are in the Liber Vitae. One cannot know whether Eadberht's name was entered in the kings' list before or after the dispute of 750, but the other members of the family would almost certainly have been associated with the community after this date. And Eadberht's second appearance in the Liber Vitae, in the abbots' list, must date from after his abdication in 758.<sup>205</sup> Oelf and Oelfwine do not appear in the Liber Vitae, perhaps because they never reached the status where they qualified to be remembered in a list of "reges" and "duces". However the connection between Lindisfarne and Sicga, king Aelfwold's murderer, does suggest some strain still in the relations between St. Cuthbert's community and Eata's family. Sicga, when he killed himself in 793, was buried on Lindisfarne, and it is possible that his name may be in the Liber Vitae.<sup>206</sup>

Finally, Eata's family was, as has been mentioned,<sup>207</sup> allied by marriage with another of the groups contending for the kingship, by the marriage of Osgifu to king Alchred. There is also the suggestion, no more, already discussed, that Eata's family intermarried at some point with the descendants of Aethelfrith.<sup>208</sup>

It is the family of which king Alchred was a member that will be discussed next. The genealogies make them descendants of Ida through a son called Eadric, who was not supposed ever to have been a king in Northumbria.<sup>209</sup> This may have been the case, but that there were some doubts about it is

suggested by the notice of Alchred's accession in the Historia Regum, which says that Alchred was "sprung, as some say, from the stock of king Ida".<sup>210</sup> It may be that this family's claim to be descended from Ida was put forward as a legitimization of their rule rather than as a statement of fact. And even if they were of Ida's "stock", they were certainly distant from other royal lines. The members of this family were Alchred, who ruled 765-74, his son Osred II, who ruled 788/9-90, and a second son Alchmund.<sup>211</sup> The family is last definitely heard of in 800, when Alchmund was killed. Alchred's marriage to Osgifu in 768 was probably an attempt to strengthen his position by allying himself to another branch of the royal family.

The claim to descent from Ida suggests that this family was Bernician, unless it be that the claim was simply a way of establishing the family's right to rule. However the few places they were associated with do suggest a Bernician rather than a Deiran origin. They are heard of in connection with Bamburgh and with Tynemouth. After Alchred was deposed in 774, he fled first to Bamburgh, before going into exile in Pictland.<sup>212</sup> His son Osred, after being killed on the orders of king Aethelred in 792, was taken to the monastery of Tynemouth and buried in the church there.<sup>213</sup> This suggests that he had a particular association with that monastery. In Deira the two references to this family in connection with York are not in the happiest of circumstances. It was from York that Alchred was expelled in 774, and Osred, after being deposed in 790, was forced to take the tonsure in York.<sup>214</sup> The family does seem to have had contacts with a number of foreign powers, again probably in an effort to strengthen their position in Northumbria. Alchred went into exile at the court of king Ciniod of the Picts, and Osred was in exile between 790 and 792 in the Isle of Man.<sup>215</sup> Osred's brother Alchmund seems to have been in exile in Mercia when he was killed in 800.<sup>216</sup> Alchred is also known to have been in touch with Charlemagne, and to have co-operated with him in supporting missionary work among the Saxons.<sup>217</sup>

The connection with Tynemouth may help to explain why this royal line, alone among those discussed, is not represented in the Liber Vitae. Neither Alchred nor Osred II is in the kings' list, nor, probably, is Alchmund.<sup>218</sup> Alchred's wife Osgifu is in the queens' list, but this is probably because of her being a member of the Eata family. It may be that in Alchred and his children we have a royal family of Bernician origin who were associated with Tynemouth rather than with Lindisfarne, and whose power base lay farther to the south than that of Aethelfrith's descendants, in the Tyne valley, an area where Lindisfarne held little or no land in the pre-Viking period.<sup>219</sup>

The four groups discussed so far were all, or claimed to be, descended from Ida. The descent of the other three groups to be studied is unknown, for no genealogies of them survive. Two at least of these groups were probably connected mainly with Deira; we know too little about the third to say where the basis of its power lay. This latter group was the family of Eadwulf, and was the first to challenge the supremacy of Aethelfrith's descendants over Northumbria. Eadwulf ruled for a couple of months in 705-6, and we know nothing about him either before or after that date. His father is never named, and it is more likely that he had no connection with Aethelfrith's family, rather than being a member of a lesser branch of that clan.<sup>220</sup> A small piece of evidence in support of his being of another family is that the line of Aethelfrith did not use the element "ead-" in naming their children. There is little evidence as to which places in Northumbria Eadwulf was associated with. He failed to get control of Bamburgh, which was held by the supporters of Osred,<sup>221</sup> and he also lost the support of St. Wilfrid, who was disposed to help him when he first took the throne. This is not surprising considering that there had been little love lost between Wilfrid and Aldfrith, Eadwulf's predecessor and the father of Osred, Eadwulf's rival for the kingship.<sup>222</sup> It may be that before becoming king Eadwulf had been associated with Wilfrid, for a son of Eadwulf accompanied Wilfrid when he came from



Mercia to Ripon after king Aldfrith's death.<sup>223</sup> Eadwulf, however, for some reason turned against Wilfrid and expelled him again from Northumbria.<sup>224</sup> Eddius Stephanus' fulminations against Eadwulf because of this are natural from so partisan a supporter of Wilfrid, but they may too arise in part from anger at the defection of an erstwhile ally of Wilfrid.<sup>225</sup> Eadwulf must also have tried to gain the support of Lindisfarne, and had some measure of success there, for his name is in the Liber Vitae.<sup>226</sup> Unfortunately there is no way of knowing if his association with Lindisfarne shown by his appearance in the Liber did date from the brief period when he was king, but it is most likely that it did. It is possible too that Eadwulf's name appears in Edlingham, one of the vills in Northumberland given to Lindisfarne by king Ceolwulf - in the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto the name appears as "Eadwulfincham".<sup>227</sup> This suggests that Eadwulf may have been connected with one of the Bernician royal lines.

The family is last heard of for certain in 740, when Earnwine, son of Eadwulf, was killed.<sup>228</sup> He does not feature in the Liber Vitae, and it is not known if he was the same person as the son of Eadwulf who was associated with Wilfrid in 705-6. In one version of the northern annals a man called Eadberht is said to have been killed in 740 apparently at the same time as Earnwine,<sup>229</sup> and it is possible that he was another member of this family. Another possible relation, on the basis of the "earn-" element in his name, which is not a very common name-element,<sup>230</sup> is Earnred, the "tyrant" who burnt Catterick in 769, and was killed in the same year.<sup>231</sup> He, like Earnwine, does not appear in the Liber Vitae. It may be that in Eadwulf, and perhaps in Earnred in his attack on Catterick, we catch sight of a group on the fringes of kingship who never succeeded in getting to the top and staying there. There were doubtless other such groups in Northumbria, and some of them are probably represented in the "duces" who appear in entries in the northern annals and among the names in the Liber Vitae.

Another group whose descent is unknown, and who do seem to be connected mainly with Deira, is the family of Aethelwold Moll. Aethelwold reigned 759-65, and his son Aethelred's two reigns covered 774-78/9, and 790-96. The members of this group last appear in the sources in 801, when Torhtmund, the "dux" of king Aethelred, is mentioned in letters of Alcuin.<sup>232</sup> Aethelwold's ancestry is not known. Nothing is said in the annals as to his descent, and no genealogy is extant for him, while one does survive for his successor Alchred. This suggests that Aethelwold did not claim to be descended from Ida, but as to whether he was a member of some other royal line or was considered not to be of royal blood at-all, we cannot tell. The statement that he was "elected" to the throne in 759 may tell us something about the circumstances of his accession after the assassination of his predecessor Oswulf, but cannot be used to suggest that he was not royal.<sup>233</sup> The emphasis on descent from Ida may have obscured the fact that there were other families in Northumbria who could also be seen as being "of royal blood".

This family apparently had a particular association with Deira. Both Aethelwold and Aethelred were married at Catterick.<sup>234</sup> In 791/2 Aethelred was presumably at Ripon when he ordered that ealdorman Eardwulf be executed there, though it is not quite clear from the Historia Regum if Aethelred was actually present or not.<sup>235</sup> Aethelred was killed in 796 near the river Cover, a tributary of the river Ure in north-west Yorkshire, and only some ten to fifteen miles from Catterick. If too Aethelwold Moll was the same person as a "dux" called Moll who lived in the later part of king Eadberht's reign, then he and his family were associated with three monasteries - Coxwold, Stonegrave, and "Donaemuthe".<sup>236</sup> The first two of these are in Yorkshire and the identity of the third is uncertain, but may also have been in Yorkshire.<sup>237</sup> The only certain occasion when a member of this family is found in the far north of the kingdom is in 761, when Aethelwold defeated Oswine at Eildon, near Melrose.

The family connected itself, particularly during Aethelred's second reign, both with Mercia and with Charlemagne. In 792 Aethelred married Offa's daughter, Aelfflaed. The connection with Charlemagne is illustrated by the way the king of the Franks withdrew the gifts he had sent to the northern sees when he heard of king Aethelred's murder, and the help he apparently gave to Aethelred's avenger Torhtmund in 801.<sup>238</sup> Charlemagne and his palace official Megenfridus both feature in the Liber Vitae, together with Aethelred, Torhtmund, and another of Aethelred's "duces", Osberht. King Constantine of the Picts is in the list next to Charlemagne and may have been another of Aethelred's allies. Aethelred's wife Aelfflaed is in the queens' list.<sup>239</sup> Earlier on however the family does not seem to have associated itself with Lindisfarne - Aethelwold does not appear in the Liber Vitae in the kings' list, though he does come later on in the list of abbots, an entry which must date from after his deposition in 765.<sup>240</sup> Aethelwold's wife Aethelthryth is in the list of queens and abbesses, though this entry could date from well after Aethelwold's reign, for Aethelthryth eventually became an abbess, and was still alive in 796 when her son Aethelred was assassinated.<sup>241</sup> Aethelred's own support for Lindisfarne seems to date from the time of his second reign (790-96), and this fits in well with what we know of this period of his rule, when he appears to have felt particularly insecure and was no doubt in need of all the support he could get.

The last of the seven groups to be discussed in that of the family of Eardwulf. Like Aethelwold Moll's family, this group is of unknown ancestry and probably connected mainly with Deira. The family is first heard of in 791/2 when Eardwulf survived his "execution" at Ripon. However it is possible that this family and those who supported it were already prominent well before that date. The evidence for this is in the Liber Vitae. In the kings' list Eardwulf appears together with two other "duces" called Ealdwulf and Cynewulf. These are the two men who, together with a third called Ecga,<sup>242</sup>

were killed on the orders of king Aethelred in 778, and it seems that these killings were connected with Aethelred's expulsion in 778 or 779.<sup>243</sup> The association of the names of Eardwulf, Ealdwulf, and Cynewulf in the Liber Vitae,<sup>244</sup> and the animosity between all three and Aethelred suggests that these three were members of a group who were important in Northumbrian politics well before Eardwulf became king in 796.

This family proved more successful at holding onto the kingship than any royal line since that of Aethelfrith. This was partly due to circumstances in that the period of their rule coincided with the easing of Mercian pressure on Northumbria, but presumably some of the credit should go to Eardwulf and his family themselves. From 796 they ruled until either 848 or 852, with only two brief interludes when others took over the kingship.<sup>245</sup> So this family dominated the kingship of Northumbria for about half a century - a very creditable performance after the events of the eighth century. They are not heard of anymore after the killing of Aethelred II, the grandson of Eardwulf, in 848 or 852, but then one is coming by that time to the period when many of the English royalty and nobility disappear into the confusion caused by the attacks and the settlement of the Vikings, and very few links can be traced between the English nobles who appear in the sources in the tenth century and those who lived at an earlier period. This is not to say that the links did not exist but simply that we can hardly begin to trace them.

There are few indications in the sources as to which places Eardwulf's family were associated with. As has been mentioned, Eardwulf was a supporter of Lindisfarne, apparently well before he became king. His son Eanred also appears in the Liber Vitae, but Eanred's son, Aethelred II, does not, as new names were not added to the kings' list after about 840.<sup>246</sup> The other places connected with Eardwulf are in southern Northumbria. He was consecrated as king in York Minster in 796,

though it is uncertain whether this shows a special connection with York or whether all Northumbrian kings were inaugurated there.<sup>247</sup> Eardwulf is the first king of Northumbria whose place of inauguration is named.<sup>248</sup> Eardwulf may also have been associated with Ripon, as king Aethelred in 791/2 ordered that he be executed "outside the gate of the monastery" there.<sup>249</sup> It may be that Eardwulf was brought to Ripon just because Aethelred happened to be there at that time, but the unusual note about the gate of the monastery does suggest that Aethelred arranged the execution to be held just there for some reason - the most likely being to impress the monks with his power. Eardwulf's body was taken into the monastery afterwards and it was there that he was found to be still alive. The whole incident is most easily explained by assuming that Eardwulf had a special connection with Ripon, and that Aethelred arranged for him to be executed there in a bid to overawe the monks, who were presumably not wholeheartedly in favour of Aethelred's rule. As well as York and Ripon, Eardwulf is also found in Lancashire, when he defeated the army of Wada near Whalley - this is one of the very few references to events in Lancashire in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Like the family of Aethelwold Moll, Eardwulf tried to gain the friendship of Charlemagne. In this Eardwulf may have been helped by Alcuin, who wrote to Eardwulf as an "old friend" in 796.<sup>250</sup> It must be said however that Alcuin also wrote to king Aethelred, but his advice does not seem to have had much influence with him.<sup>251</sup> And as has been seen, Charlemagne was friendly towards Aethelred and turned against the Northumbrians when Aethelred was assassinated. However Eardwulf must have succeeded in gaining Charlemagne's support, for the emperor helped him regain his throne in 808-9. One fairly late source says that Eardwulf married a daughter of Charlemagne.<sup>252</sup> This sounds highly unlikely as Charlemagne, so far as is known, refused to let any of his daughters get married,<sup>253</sup>

but that the suggestion could be made shows that Eardwulf and Charlemagne were remembered as being specially associated with each other.

Eardwulf's attitude towards Mercia was more hostile than Aethelred's had been, and king Coenwulf helped those who were opposed to Eardwulf, a policy which led to Eardwulf's invasion of Mercia in 801. Coenwulf may also have been involved in the conspiracy which expelled Eardwulf a few years later. Yet there remains the odd fact that Eardwulf may well have been buried in Mercia, in the important monastery of Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire. The church of Breedon, which contains high-quality Anglo-Saxon sculpture, is dedicated to St. Mary and St. Hardulf. Nothing is known about Hardulf except that a list of saints' relics written by Hugh Candidus in the mid-twelfth century says that "Ærdulf rex" rests at Breedon-on-the-Hill. The only known Anglo-Saxon king with such a name is Eardwulf of Northumbria, so it may be that he was buried there.<sup>254</sup> The date and circumstances of Eardwulf's death are unknown, and there is no way of knowing how he might have come to be buried in a Mercian monastery. But it does suggest that there was some connection between Eardwulf and Mercia. And a further piece of evidence to support some association with Mercia is in the Liber Vitae, where two very important Mercian ealdormen, Brorda and Eadbald, appear close to the group of three Northumbrian nobles - Eardwulf, Ealdwulf, and Cynewulf.<sup>255</sup> The death of one of these Mercian ealdormen, Brorda, in 799, was entered in the northern annals, in the Historia Regum,<sup>256</sup> which suggests that he was well-known in Northumbria.

Besides these seven groups, a number of people who cannot be fitted into any group held the kingship of Northumbria. The first is Osbald, "patricius" and "dux", who was king for twenty-seven days in 796. He was earlier a supporter of king Aethelred, and is associated with him in a letter from Alcuin,<sup>257</sup>

but he apparently turned against Aethelred in 796. It is not quite certain whether he was involved in the conspiracy to murder Aethelred or not. Alcuin wrote a letter of admonition to Osbald after he had gone into exile in Pictland, which shows that Alcuin suspected Osbald of complicity in the murder, but had no definite information on the point.<sup>258</sup>

It seems likely that Ealdred and the other murderers of Aethelred killed him with the intention of making Osbald king, but it is possible that another group of nobles took advantage of Aethelred's death to put Osbald into power. Osbald's descent is not known, but his name, with its first element "os-", that peculiarly royal element,<sup>259</sup> suggests that he was a member of a royal family, may be one of those discussed above. The three groups which used the element "os-" were the descendants of Aethelfrith, Eata's family, and Alchred's family, but there is no way of knowing if Osbald was a member of any of those royal lines. Further evidence that Osbald was of a very important, if not royal, Northumbrian family is provided by Alcuin's letter to him, in which he says:-

"Do not pile sin upon sin by ravaging the land, by shedding blood. Consider how much blood of kings, princes and people has been shed through you or through your kinsfolk. An unhappy line, through which such great evils have befallen the country!"<sup>260</sup>

This does not help in deciding which line Osbald belonged to however, as it could apply to almost any of them.

Osbald was associated with both Lindisfarne and York. When he was expelled from the kingship, he fled to Lindisfarne and went from there to Pictland with some of the monks, which suggests a close relationship between him and the community of St. Cuthbert.<sup>261</sup> He does not appear in the kings' list in the Liber Vitae though, but he is in the abbots' list, for he later became an abbot, apparently at York.<sup>262</sup> He died in 799 and was buried "in the church of the city of York", presumably the Minster.<sup>263</sup> Interestingly, Aethelheard, who

was associated with Osbald in the killing of the "patricius" Bearn in 779 or 780, had also died as a cleric in York, in 794.<sup>264</sup> He too may be in the Liber Vitae.<sup>265</sup> Possibly Osbald and Aethelheard both became members of the community with which king Eadberht had been connected years before, a community which seems to have been associated with York Minster, if not the Minster's own "familia".<sup>266</sup> This suggests that Osbald may have had links with Eadberht's family, although it must be said that Bearn, whom he and Aethelheard killed, was apparently a supporter of that royal group. However that does not preclude Osbald from being associated with Eadberht's line, for infighting within families was not uncommon, as witness the quarrelling within the Bernician royal family in Oswiu's reign.<sup>267</sup>

The second king whose background is unknown is Aelfwold II, who ruled during the time of Eardwulf's deposition. Little is known about him. He was an opponent of Eardwulf, whom he expelled from the throne, and he may have had the help in doing this of Archbishop Eanbald II, king Coenwulf of Mercia, and the "dux" Wada.<sup>268</sup> It is possible that he is the Aelfwold whose name is in the Liber Vitae, in the same group as king Aethelred and Charlemagne.<sup>269</sup> So he may, at one time at any rate, have been a supporter of Aethelred. His name however suggests a different set of connections, for the element "aelf-" hints at his being related to Eata's family, which included king Aelfwold I and his sons Oelf and Oelfwine. Of course, there is nothing to prevent Aelfwold having been linked with both groups, just as Osbald possibly was too.

The next Northumbrian king of uncertain background was Raedwulf, who ruled for a few months in 844, before being killed in battle against the Vikings. His descent is not known, and his name shows no connection with any earlier member of any Northumbrian royal line.<sup>270</sup> It may be that he was chosen, in the face of a Viking attack, for his fighting ability, rather than for his royal blood.<sup>271</sup>



The antecedents of the last two kings of Northumbria before the Viking attack of 866 are also unknown. Osberht, on the evidence of the royal "os-" element in his name, may have been a member of some royal family. Aelle, though, who replaced him not long before the Vikings attacked York, was said to have "no hereditary right",<sup>272</sup> and to be "not born of the royal line".<sup>273</sup> The name Aelle is unusual, this being the first occurrence of this name since king Aelle of Deira in the later sixth century.<sup>274</sup> It may be that Aelle claimed to be of a Deiran royal house rather than of the family of Ida of Bernicia. Certainly Aelle seems to have been connected with Deira, while Osberht was apparently from Bernicia, for the lands Osberht took from St. Cuthbert's community were in Northumberland, while those Aelle took were mostly in Yorkshire, together with Billingham in Hartness.<sup>275</sup>

All these various groups who competed for the kingship in the eighth century, and to a lesser extent in the ninth, may not necessarily have been in being simultaneously. In the eighth century however, at any one date there were always at least two, and usually more, competing groups in existence.<sup>276</sup> The fierceness of the contest for the kingship was intensified in the eighth century by the threat of a powerful Mercia, the period of greatest instability being from 759 to c.810, which coincides with the reigns of Offa and Coenwulf. At this period there were certainly four, and possibly more, groups competing for the Northumbrian throne, and two of them - Eata's family and Alchred's - were allied by marriage. The situation eased in the earlier ninth century with the decline of Mercia, and worsened in the middle of the century with the threat this time of the Vikings.

Usually these competing groups can be linked mainly with either Deira or Bernicia, though to be successful it was best to try to cultivate links with both areas. Eata's family, for instance, though Bernician in origin, had close links with York too. Outside support was useful as well; for example,



two kings on being expelled apparently attempted to get help from the Picts.<sup>277</sup> And in the later eighth century the family of Aethelwold Moll and the family of Eardwulf, who were opposed to each other, both tried to get Mercian and Frankish support. The descent of both these families is unknown, but both seem to be associated mainly with Deira. Deira apparently became more important within Northumbria than Bernicia as the eighth century went on, though this may be largely a reflection of the fact that the northern annals of this period probably originated at York.<sup>278</sup> But, among the groups competing for the kingship, it is in the second half of the eighth century that groups connected mainly with Deira emerge.

What then was the role of St. Cuthbert's community in this political world? On the evidence of the Liber Vitae nearly all these groups tried to gain the support of Lindisfarne - the only family that did not was that of Alchred, whose power base, it has been suggested, lay in the Tyne valley. The main royal line with which the community was associated was the family of Aethelfrith, which was natural as king Oswald had founded Lindisfarne. This association caused problems eventually though, with the decline of that group. This was brought home to the community in 750, when their support of Offa, son of Aldfrith, brought them into conflict with the new ruling family of Northumbria. The community had to adjust to new conditions, to "their" royal family not being "the" royal family anymore.

The community reacted to the challenge by trying to gain the support of the various new ruling families which were springing up, and with the exception of Alchred's family, it succeeded in doing this. There was too another factor, which worked in the community's favour. The community was independent and well-endowed and well-established enough to

be a power in its own right, and one whose backing was worth having in a world of fierce competition. It is likely that its support was often sought by the different royal groups as that of a useful ally. With the decline of Aethelfrith's branch of the royal family, the community may have cultivated its own independence and strength, and not relied too much on one particular ruling family anymore. The evidence of the kings' list in the Liber Vitae also suggests that the community's base of support widened in the eighth century to include more non-Northumbrian rulers.<sup>279</sup>

St. Cuthbert's community was used to being associated with royalty. This can be seen in the later ninth century when it became involved with the new power in Northumbria, in the person of Guthfrith, very quickly. Monasteries, which depended on others for their physical protection, preferred political stability. St. Cuthbert's community was no doubt trying to achieve this in 880-82. Although the community had not done badly out of the ninth century compared to most religious houses, unsettled times were not really to its benefit. It must have been an anxious time for the community in the middle of the ninth century when it apparently lost the support of the Northumbrian kings, and an alliance with the new Scandinavian king must have been all the more eagerly sought because of that experience. Guthfrith, for his part, probably hoped to gain a useful ally in a part of Northumbria where there was little Scandinavian settlement, and strengthen his own hold on that area by so doing.<sup>280</sup> By gaining the patronage of Guthfrith, the community helped to ensure its own survival, but at the same time it continued to cultivate its own position and strength, based on the power of St. Cuthbert. After Guthfrith, the community seems to have gained little support from the Scandinavian kings in Northumbria, and to have relied more on the native English nobility who were left in the north, and on its own power as the guardian and steward of St. Cuthbert.<sup>281</sup> It was as such that its support

was sought by the West Saxon kings in the tenth century.<sup>282</sup> In the later Anglo-Saxon period the community's main connection was with the family of the high-reeves of Bamburgh. This connection was in a way a throwback to the situation in the seventh century and the community's close relationship with the Bernician royal dynasty. The difference now was that St. Cuthbert's community was based in County Durham, not on Lindisfarne. More than the Northumbrian nobility, St. Cuthbert and his community had taken over from the Northumbrian kings as the focus of loyalty for many in the north of England.

Conclusion.

The Liber Vitae of Durham is not the most immediately informative of texts. A mere list of names might seem to be of the same species of text as a glossary - of more use to linguists than to historians - and though historians have often given it an honourable mention, they have used it much less than linguists have. But as a historical source it does have much to offer, and the opportunities for enquiring why certain people do appear in it and why certain other people do not are almost endless. Such inquiry begins with the very first name in the book, for one has to decide why king Edwin appears in the commemoration book of a community founded after his death by a member of a rival royal family. At the other end of the book, on the last page in the original portion, one can speculate as to whether one of the two Eadreds who appear there might be the monk who eventually became abbot of St. Cuthbert's community and was instrumental in bringing about the election of king Guthfrith and the settling of the community at Chester-le-Street. He is not in the list of abbots for additions were no longer being made to the Liber Vitae by the 880's.

An important conclusion I came to in studying the Liber Vitae is that its production has generally been dated a few decades too late. Most writers have followed the dating of c.840 given in the Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, which was based on the identification of the last few names in the kings' list. The authors of the Catalogue believed that these names were written in the first of the three hands in the original portion of the manuscript, but the names seem to me to be in the second hand, and it is that hand that should be dated to c.840. The first hand, in which the great majority of the names in the original portion were entered, dates from c.800. This fits in well both with the history of Northumbria in the ninth century and with the evidence from the Continent relating to other early commemoration books. The earliest "liber vitae", of

Salzburg, dates from 784; the St. Gall book from c.810; the Remiremont Liber Memorialis from 820-21; the Reichenau book from 826; and the earliest commemoration entries from Pfäfers date to c.830. It may well be that the Liber Vitae of St. Cuthbert's community was written within the same period as these other manuscripts. The production of all these commemoration books within a comparatively short space of time is probably to be connected with the liturgical reforms carried out in Frankia under the Carolingians - these may have affected English practices too. The period around about 800 seems as well to have been a more suitable time than c.840 for the community of St. Cuthbert to have considered producing such a work as the Liber Vitae. In the first years of the ninth century there was a great sense of shock at the early Viking raids on monasteries, particularly that of 793 on Lindisfarne, and a feeling on the part of that community of a need to be reassured that St. Cuthbert would protect his own in future, but there was still sufficient stability and security to sit down and compile the Liber Vitae. The shock of the 793 attack may well have been the motive power behind the production of the book. In c.840 the situation in Northumbria was much more dangerous and unstable - this was the period of the community's move inland to Norham. The additions made in the second hand at about this time might perhaps have been written in the Liber Vitae before the move to Norham. The names are few in number compared to those entered in the first hand - the community's contacts were shrinking. The third hand, writing probably at Norham, and almost certainly before the community's wanderings began in 875, recorded no names except those of clerics and monks - probably those belonging to the community. The great range of contacts revealed by the earlier parts of the lists had shrunk indeed.

As well as dating the period at which the manuscript was produced, a study of its contents reveals interesting information as to the date of the original compilation of the

sources of most of the lists. The two royal lists go back earlier than the others probably because some royal diptychs going back to the period of Lindisfarne's foundation were used in their compilation, or in the compilation of the kings' list at least. But with the exception of the kings' list, and to a much lesser extent the queens' list, the origins of the lists go back not to the foundation of the community in the 630's but to the 680's and 690's - to the time either of St. Cuthbert himself or of the promotion of his cult from 698 onwards. The latter is perhaps the most likely of the two, and the list or lists which lie behind the present Liber Vitae can thus be linked to the activity in support of Cuthbert's cult. They were probably compiled at the same period as the Lindisfarne community was producing the anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert and the Lindisfarne Gospels.<sup>1</sup>

A significant feature of the Liber Vitae is that it shows in its arrangement the influence of groups of friends, allies, and relations. Groups of this sort were of great importance in religion, society, and politics. Again and again when studying these groups, both in the Liber Vitae and in other sources, two features emerge - the importance of personal, rather than institutional, contacts, and the importance of kinship. The ties of kinship could operate negatively as well as positively - often one finds that a person's friends and associates were also his relations, and sometimes, particularly in politics, one finds that a person's enemies were related to him too. But for good or ill, peoples' family links mattered. Family connections were as important in the Church as in any other aspect of society, and it is in this context that the possibility that the succession to the see of Lindisfarne was dominated by a particular family should be mentioned. The evidence is slight, but worth noting. If one family was dominating Lindisfarne, I would suggest it was that of Eata, the first English bishop, and the first bishop after the hiatus caused by the events of 664, about which more will be said below.



Lindisfarne was involved in Northumbrian politics. It was one of the greatest institutions in Northumbria, largely dependent on lay support, and existing in a world where religion and politics were closely interconnected. Northumbrian politics were complex, never more so than in the eighth century, when many groups were competing for the kingship of Northumbria. Lindisfarne's support was sought by nearly all these groups, as is illustrated by the Liber Vitae's list of kings and "duces". Probably the greatest adaptation the community had to make in this century was to adjust to a situation where Northumbria was no longer ruled by that branch of the royal family which had founded Lindisfarne and supported it for so long. The period of adjustment was not without its troubles, as witness the dispute with king Eadberht in 750, but the community adapted to the new conditions successfully, gaining the support of most of the royal groups in Northumbria, and apparently widening its range of contacts to include a greater proportion of non-Northumbrian rulers.

More than anything the Liber Vitae demonstrates how wide the range of Lindisfarne's connections was. And this being so leads on to its most surprising feature - the small number of Irish names in the book. This leads to the conclusion that the defeat of the "Celtic party" at the Synod of Whitby in 664 was of profound significance for Lindisfarne in more ways than one. The Synod appears as a major event in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, and though he may have stressed it primarily because it was a great victory for the Roman Easter, it was a major event in other respects too. For Lindisfarne it signalled a more or less complete break with the Irish and with Iona in particular. Bede says that after the Synod Bishop Colman of Lindisfarne, "seeing his doctrine spurned and his party despised", returned to Iona, taking with him "all the Scots whom he had gathered together in the island of Lindisfarne, and also about thirty men of the race of the English".<sup>2</sup> Bede's statement that all the Irish monks at Lindisfarne left is not always given the emphasis it should

be given. Before 664 the links between Lindisfarne and Iona were close and constantly renewed; after 664 there are no signs of any such links for many years. No abbot of Iona appears in the Liber Vitae until the late eighth century. Even Adamnán, who was converted to the Roman Easter in Northumbria, is not in the Liber Vitae. In 664 part of the community at Lindisfarne rejected the traditions which St. Columba had followed, and which were assiduously upheld by Iona for the next half-century, even when the rest of the Irish had conformed to Roman customs. Those contacts between Lindisfarne and Ireland which do appear in the period after 664 seem to have been mainly with Englishmen living in Ireland, in particular with St. Ecgberht, the champion of the Roman Easter, who eventually converted even Iona. But the common assumption that Lindisfarne was continuously in close communication with Iona, and the Irish in general, needs to be rethought.

In another respect as well 664 was a significant year for Lindisfarne. The community sustained a defeat in that year from which it took some time to recover. Before 664 Lindisfarne was the see for the whole of Northumbria, and was looked to as a source of support and guidance by the new churches in Essex and Mercia.<sup>3</sup> After 664 there was no bishop of Lindisfarne for fourteen years. The first bishop of Northumbria to be consecrated after Colman's departure, does not seem to have had his see at Lindisfarne. His successor, Wilfrid, intended to move the see of Northumbria to York, and when Chad was consecrated as bishop for the kingdom as well, because of the quarrel between king Oswiu and his son Alchfrith, Chad's see was at York, and not at Lindisfarne, even though his links with the latter were close. Chad may have done this to prevent Wilfrid occupying York as bishop when he eventually returned to Northumbria from Gaul. The loss of status sustained by Lindisfarne is a measure of its defeat in 664. In 678 however Lindisfarne became a bishopric again, with the splitting of the Northumbrian diocese by Archbishop

Theodore after the expulsion of Wilfrid. In the later seventh century Lindisfarne was recovering its position, building itself up again. It may have been in about 678 that Theodore dedicated the church on Lindisfarne to St. Peter. The church had been built by Bishop Finan (651-61), and was "fit for an episcopal see", though built of wood, "after the custom of the Scots".<sup>4</sup> We are not told what its earlier dedication was. The dedication to St. Peter probably signalled the fact that the old Celtic bishopric was now starting out in life again as a Roman see. But one notes that the same cathedral church was used, no new one was built.

Wilfrid, in the five years between 686/7 and 691/2 when he was again pre-eminent in the Northumbrian Church, seems to have opposed this recovery by Lindisfarne. For a year after the death of St. Cuthbert in 687 Wilfrid held the whole of Northumbria again as one diocese, but this caused such trouble at Lindisfarne that a new bishop was appointed there, independent of Wilfrid, and from then on St. Cuthbert's community was never without a bishop of its own. Except for this one year when Wilfrid held all the Northumbrian sees, the period between 678 and 735 was a time when there was no one head bishopric in the North. For some fifty years there was equality of status, in theory at least, and probably in practice. Archbishop Theodore may have intended the whole of England to be subject to the primacy of Canterbury.<sup>5</sup> This did not work out, and in 735 the situation was resolved by York being made an archbishopric. It was during this half-century of organization and reorganization that St. Cuthbert was a bishop, and that Lindisfarne began promoting his cult as a perfect example of all that was best in both the Celtic and the Roman traditions in Northumbria. As such Cuthbert was a particularly attractive figure to Bede, as he attempted to produce a synthesis of the two traditions present in the history of the Northumbrian Church. He combined an admiration for the scholarship and organizational powers of Archbishop Theodore, and especially his

policy of creating more dioceses, with an admiration for the fervour and austerity of the Celtic monks.<sup>6</sup> Bede felt all these varied qualities were sadly lacking in the Church of his own day. He was involved in the promotion of St. Cuthbert's cult, his reward for which was a place in the community's prayers and in the predecessor of the Liber Vitae, and he advocated the raising of York to an archbishopric - this was done in the year he died. Out of the period of change in the late seventh and early eighth centuries came the two enduring features of the Northumbrian Church - the archbishopric of York and the community of St. Cuthbert. York received the primacy of the North and St. Cuthbert's community had the saint.