

RELIGION, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS,
AND THE
LIBER VITAE OF DURHAM.
VOLUME TWO

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Appendix I - Edition of the 'Liber Vitae'.

In this edition of the text of the original portion of the Liber Vitae the names are numbered consecutively within each list. This numbering is not present in the manuscript itself, but is added here for referencing purposes. Folia-tion and columns are indicated, and whether a particular name is in gold or in silver is shown by all the gold names being underlined. Those names which are known only from the Liber Vitae are marked with an asterix. In the few cases where a name can be identified with relative certainty a brief note of the identification has been added to the text.

British Library, Cotton Domitian VII, fols. 15-84.

Folio 15.

NOMINA REGUM VEL DUCUM

Column One.

1. EDVINI - Edwin, king of Northumbria, 617-33.
2. osuald - Oswald, king of Northumbria, 634-42.
3. osuo - Oswiu, king of Northumbria, 642-70.
4. ecgfrith - Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria, 670-85.
5. alchfrith - Alchfrith, sub-king in Northumbria,
fl.c.653-664/5.
6. aelfuini - Aelfwine, son of king Oswiu, k.679.
7. anna - Anna, king of East Anglia, c.635-54.
8. oslaf.
9. eðilred.
10. eðilberct.

R-11 to R-34.

11. milred.
12. beornhaeth - Beornhaeth, "subregulus" of king Ecgfrith,
fl.c.671.
13. berctred - Berhtred, "dux regius Nordanhymbrorum", k.698.
14. altfrith - Aldfrith, king of Northumbria, 685-705.
15. alduini.
16. eaduulf - Eadwulf, king of Northumbria, 705-6.
17. coenred.
18. osred.
19. osric.
20. beornred.

Column Two.

21. tilfrith.
22. berctred.
23. eadberct.
24. helmuald.
25. coenred.
26. cynimund.
27. beornred.
28. ecgberct.
29. aeƿilmod.
30. ceolbald.
31. casaer.
32. *friƿubald.
33. eanred.
34. alchmund.

R-35 to R-58.

35. aeðilbald.

36. sigred.

37. osuulf.

38. suiðberct.

39. eðilberct.

40. eðilberct.

Column Three.

41. eanbald.

42. ricuulf.

43. unust - Oengus I, king of the Picts, c.729-61.

44. aelfuald.

45. cuthuulf.

46. eadberct.

47. *pleguulf.

48. eadred.

49. *sigsceat.

50. aelfsig.

51. uulfheard.

52. uernfrith.

53. *hysca.

54. cyniuulf - Cynewulf, Northumbrian "dux", k.778.

55. earduulf - Eardwulf, king of Northumbria, 796-806,
808/9-810.

56. alduulf - Ealdwulf, Northumbrian "dux", k.778.

57. brorda - Brorda, Mercian "dux", d.799.

58. eadbald - Eadbald, Mercian "dux", d. in or after 789.

R-59 to R-79.

59. uigfus.

60. uulfhaeth.

Folio 15v:- the running title on this page, "regum vel", shows there was a folio between fols. 15v and 16 which is now missing - this folio would have contained the end of the title, "ducum".

Column One.

61. *helmbaed.

62. *helmgils.

63. sigberct.

64. cynibald.

65. uulfheri.

66. beornuini.

67. helpric.

68. helmuini.

69. ceoluulf - Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria, 729-37.

70. sigberct.

71. eanred.

72. eðilred - Aethelred, king of Northumbria, 774-778/9,
790-96.

73. osfrith.

74. torctmund - Torhtmund, Northumbrian "dux", fl.796-801.

75. aluuini.

76. eðiluulf.

77. mægenfrith - Megenfridus, Frankish palace official,
d.800/1.

78. aelfuald.

79. karlus - Charlemagne, king of the Franks, 768-814,
emperor, 800-14.

R-80 to R-101.

80. custantin - Constantine, king of the Picts, c.789-820.
81. sigred.

Column Two:- the hand changes in this column, but it is hard to pinpoint where - the first hand goes to no. 88 at least.

82. sigred.
83. osberct.
84. tonduini.
85. alduulf.
86. eadred.
87. signulf.
88. sigred.

The second hand may start here, or lower down the column.

89. sigred.
90. alduulf.
91. uada - Wada, Northumbrian "dux", fl.798.
92. heaðured.
93. eanred.
94. eadred.
95. uulfred.
96. ofa.
97. aelfred.
98. beorn.
99. ecgbercht.
100. uoenan - Eoganán, king of the Picts, c.837-39.
101. eanred - Eanred, king of Northumbria, 810-c.843.

At least one folio is missing between fols. 15v and 16.

Q-1 to Q-20.

Folio 16.

NOMINA REGINARUM ET ABBATISSARUM

Column One.

1. RAEGNMAELD - Rieinmelth, wife of king Oswiu of Northumbria (642-70).
2. eanfled - Eanflaed, wife of king Oswiu of Northumbria (642-70); d.post 685.
3. iurminburg - Iurminburg, second wife of king Ecgfrith of Northumbria (670-85).
4. aelfled - Aelfflaed, daughter of king Oswiu, and abbess of Whitby, d.713.
5. oeðilburg.
6. cuthburg - Cuthburh, wife of king Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-705).
7. *nunnae.
8. *pendgith.
9. inguburg.
10. *ualdgith.
11. aluburg.
12. *badugyth.
13. *eaðryð.
14. *uincðryð.
15. bilsuið.
16. aestorhild.
17. uilcumae.
18. eðilgyth.
19. osgyth.
20. *ricfolcyn.

Q-21 to Q-43.

Column Two.

21. eðilhild - Aethelhild, abbess of a community near
Partney in Lindsey, fl. 697-731.
22. eangyth - Eangyth, abbess, friend of Boniface, fl.719-22.
23. eðilgyth.
24. haðuburg.
25. *blaedsuith.
26. eadgyð.
27. cyniburg.
28. osgyth.
29. *tatsuið.
30. uerburg.
31. osburg.
32. hungyth.
33. hrothuaru - Hrothwaru, abbess of Withington, fl.736-37.
34. cuoenburg.
35. berchtae.
36. aebbe.
37. *burgðryð.
38. *ðingu.
39. heregyð.
40. cyniðryth.

Column Three.

41. uilcumae.
42. *burgðryð.
43. uilðryth.

Q-44 to Q-67.

44. *ecgsuith.
45. *scirburg.
46. uilsuith.
47. cyniðryth.
48. ceolðryth.
49. eafu.
50. *uilgyth.
51. redburg.
52. redgyth.
53. cuoenðryth.
54. ricðryth.
55. *ythsuið.
56. cyniburg.
57. aldðryth.
58. berctsuið.
59. hildiðryth.
60. berctgyth.

Folio 16v.

Column One.

61. edgyth.
62. *uerngyth.
63. tidburg.
64. *uilgyth.
65. ecgburg.
66. alchsuið.
67. osburg.

Q-68 to Q-92.

68. tatae - Tetta, abbess of Wimborne, earlier C8th.
69. cyniðryð.
70. huitae.
71. uictgyth.
72. hildiburg.
73. uernðryth.
74. ricðryth.
75. aluburg.
76. cuoenðryth.
77. *cuoemlicu.
78. *aebbino.
79. aluburg.
80. beorngyth.
81. *hroeðburg.

Column Two.

82. aluchburg.
83. friðhild.
84. eðilburg.
85. bothild.
86. heregyth.
87. heaburg - Heaburg, also called Bugga, abbess, friend
of Boniface, fl. 719-c.760.
88. eanburg.
89. aldburg.
90. uerburg.
91. sigðryth.
92. cyniburg.

Q-93 to Q-118.

- 93. redburg.
- 94. helmðryth.
- 95. uernðryth.
- 96. eðilðryth.
- 97. altðryth.
- 98. eðilðryth.
- 99. uulfgyth.
- 100. cuthburg.
- 101. cuoenðryth.
- 102. *altsuith.

Column Three.

- 103. aelfgyth.
- 104. *haðugyth.
- 105. berctðryth.
- 106. al^tðryth.
- 107. eðilðryth.
- 108. eadburg.
- 109. burgsuith.
- 110. altðryth.
- 111. saegyth.
- 112. tidburg.
- 113. beorngyth.
- 114. *eardgyth.
- 115. aldgyth.
- 116. beorngyth.
- 117. berctuaru.
- 118. beorngyth.

Q-119 to Q-139.

119. cyniðryth.

120. aelfgyth.

121. aelfled - Aelfflaed, wife of king Aethelred of Northumbria.

122. saeðryth.

123. *eanðryth.

Folio 17:- the second hand starts on this page, but it is hard to tell exactly where. The change may come in the first column, perhaps at about "eanburg" (no. 139), but this is not certain.

Column One.

124. uulfhild.

125. osðryth.

126. uilðryth.

127. uilsuið.

128. *eaðryth.

129. *tondburg.

130. *eanðryth.

131. aelfðryth.

132. *badugyth.

133. *siguaru.

134. berctfled.

135. eafu.

136. *ecguaru.

137. ostðryth.

138. *badu.

The second hand may start about here, but this is not certain.

139. eanburg.

Q-140 to Q-163.

140. *eatðryð.

141. *ecgsuið.

142. *eaðryð.

143. *uilgið.

144. *badusuið.

Column Two:- the names are certainly in the second hand by
the middle of this column.

145. cyniðryd.

146. uilburg.

147. hildigið.

148. *eadu.

149. *eardgyð.

150. *haðugið.

151. edildryð.

152. redburg.

153. *daegburg.

154. uilburg.

155. cynidryð.

156. uynburg.

By now the names are certainly in the second hand.

157. *hroeðgifu.

158. aelfdryð.

159. *eatðryð.

160. *eandryð.

161. *hygðryð.

162. eadburg.

163. hygburg.

Q-164 to Q-186.

164. berhtgid.

165. eadburg.

Column Three.

166. beorngið.

167. osgið.

168. *hleoburg.

169. *hroeðgeofu.

170. *badusuið.

171. saeðryð.

172. osðryð.

173. alburg.

174. cynidryð.

175. uichtburg.

176. *bettu.

177. uulhild.

178. uildryð.

179. alburg.

180. *eatcume.

181. sigburg.

182. seliburg.

183. berhtðryð.

184. *eðilu.

185. beonnu - this name in silver is written over a name
in gold which has been rubbed out - the
gold name cannot be made out but seems
not to have been "beonnu" in gold.

186. *tidcume.

Q-187 to Q-198; A-1 to A-6.

Folio 17v:- no running title on this page.

Column One.

187. eðilsuið.
188. *eandryð.
189. *eatdryd.
190. hildidryð.
191. osgid.
192. *eardgið.
193. *eandryð.
194. ecgburg.
195. *tidhild.
196. sigðryð.
197. cynigyð.
198. osgeofu.

Folio 18.

NOMINA ANCHORITARUM

Column One.

1. OEdiluald pr - Oidiluald, hermit on Farne Island during reign of king Aldfrith (685-705).
2. uermund pbr.
3. baldhelm pbr.
4. feligeld pbr - Feligeld, hermit on Farne Island, fl.c.721.
5. uichtbercht pr - Uichtberct, hermit in Ireland, companion of St. Ecgberht; later C7th.
6. haemgils pbr - Haemgils, priest who lived near Melrose; in 731 was a hermit in Ireland.

A-7 to A-28.

7. eaduald pbr̄.
8. herebercht p̄r̄ - Hereberht, hermit on island in Derwent-water, d.687.
9. boesel pbr̄ - Boisil, prior of Melrose, fl.651-early 660's.
10. herefrid pbr̄.
11. aethuini pbr̄.
12. eadhelm pbr̄.
13. balthere pbr̄ - Balthere, hermit at Tynninghame, d.756.
14. tiluini pbr̄.
15. fronka pbr̄.
16. aldbercht p̄r̄.
17. echha pbr̄ - Echha, hermit at Crayke, d.767.
18. tilfrith pbr̄.
19. *aldhaeth pbr̄.
20. agustinus pbr̄.

Column Two.

21. bilfrith pbr̄ - Bilfrith, anchorite, associated with Lindisfarne, mid-C8th.
22. hadured pbr̄.
23. *uilthegn pbr̄.
24. garuulf pbr̄.
25. cuthred pbr̄ - Cudrad, priest of Lindisfarne, fl.793.

The last three names (nos. 26-28) are probably in the second hand.

26. uulfsig p̄r̄.
27. *hadumund p̄r̄.
28. uigbercht p̄r̄.

AP-1 to AP-19.

Folio 18v.

NOMINA ABBATUM GRADUS P̄RATUS

Column One.

1. Ceolfrith p̄r̄ - Ceolfrith, abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, 688-716.
2. Bacga p̄r̄ - this name has a gold initial, the rest of the letters being in silver.
3. elias p̄r̄ - Elias, priest of Lindisfarne, fl.699-705.
4. haduberct p̄r̄.
5. aldhelm p̄r̄ - Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury to 706, bishop of Sherborne 706-9.
6. eatfrith p̄r̄.
7. herefrith p̄r̄b - Herefrith, abbot of Lindisfarne in 687, d.post 721.
8. garuald p̄r̄.
9. tatbercht p̄r̄ - Tatberht, abbot of Ripon from 709.
10. thrythred p̄r̄ - Thrythred, abbot of Dacre in 731.
11. heardred p̄r̄.
12. uichthaeth p̄r̄.
13. cynibercht p̄r̄.
14. eorpuini p̄r̄ - Eorpuinus, second abbot of the monastery in De Abbatibus; C8th.
15. hwaetberct p̄r̄ - Hwaetberht, abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow from 716.
16. uilbercht p̄r̄.
17. ceolbercht p̄r̄.
18. alchmund p̄r̄.
19. aldred p̄r̄.

AP-20 to AP-42.

20. frehelm pbr̄ - Freohelm, abbot and priest, d.764.

Column Two.

21. tatuini pbr̄.
22. uicbercht pbr̄.
23. hygbercht pbr̄.
24. cynidegn pbr̄.
25. siguini pbr̄.
26. cyniuulf pbr̄.
27. uernbercht pbr̄.
28. eanuulf pbr̄.
29. balduini pbr̄.
30. uulfsig pbr̄.
31. cyniheard pbr̄.
32. hunsig pbr̄.
33. botuini pbr̄.
34. baldhere pbr̄.
35. albercht pbr̄.
36. botuulf pbr̄.
37. eaduald pbr̄.
38. uilfrith pbr̄.
39. torchtuini pbr̄.
40. uulfheard pbr̄.

Column Three.

41. uulfsig pbr̄.
42. uichtred pbr̄.

AP-43 to AP-64.

43. sigred pbr̄.
44. hunuini pbr̄.
45. bressal pbr̄ - Bressal mac Ségēni, abbot of Iona, 772-801.
46. beornfrið pbr̄.
47. headured pbr̄.
48. edilhech pbr̄.
49. frioduuni pbr̄ - Frithuwine, abbot of Monkwearmouth-
Jarrow, fl.793-804.
50. berchtred pbr̄.
51. signulf pbr̄.
52. cuthfrith pbr̄.
53. eanbercht pbr̄.
54. saeuald pbr̄.
55. tatuini pbr̄.
56. reduulf pbr̄.

The second hand may start at no. 57, and almost certainly by no. 58.

57. uilferð pbr̄.
58. aelfuulf pr̄.
59. berchtuini pr̄.
60. ecgheard pr̄.

Folio 19:- no running title on this page.

Column One.

61. saered pr̄.
62. ecgred pr̄.
63. eanuulf pr̄.
64. earduulf pr̄.

AP-65 to AP-68; AD-1 to AD-9; Ab-1 to Ab-2.

65. ecgred pr̄.
66. ecgheard pr̄.
67. eadmund pr̄.
68. eaduulf pr̄.

Folio 19v.

NOMINA ABBATUM GRADUS DIACONATUS

Column One:- all the names are in the first hand.

1. Beornuini diac̄.
2. berchthun diā - Berhthun, abbot of Beverley in 731.
3. cuthbercht diā - Cuthbert, abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow in 764.
4. cuthere diā.
5. sigbercht diā.
6. uulfheard diā.
7. alchuini diā - Alcuin, abbot of St. Martin's at Tours, 796-804.
8. eaduald diā.
9. ecguulf diacō.

Folio 20.

NOMINA ABBATUM

Column One.

1. Biscopus - Benedict Biscop, abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, 674-89.
2. cudda - Cudda, abbot, contemporary and friend of St. Cuthbert. (Name is in silver with gold initial).

Ab-3 to Ab-26.

3. oshere.
4. aesturuini.
5. siguini.
6. billing.
7. utta.
8. bacga.
9. *forthuio.
10. friodumund.
11. hunuald.
12. billing.
13. ecguald.
14. theodric.
15. hiudu.
16. inuald.
17. cynibercht.
18. maesuith - this is a female name.
19. uilhelm.
20. tilbercht.

Column Two:- the gold and silver are arranged the same as in
the first and third columns, which is unusual.

21. hygbald.
22. buna.
23. eanmund - Eanmund, founder and first abbot of the
monastery in De Abbatibus; fl.706-16.
24. hroðfrith.
25. ethilbald.
26. uigfrith.

Ab-27 to Ab-50.

27. herebald - Herebald, abbot of Tynemouth in 731.
28. beadheard.
29. aluuini.
30. ricred.
31. *maeginuald.
32. cuthuini.
33. eadbercht.
34. milred.
35. osmund.
36. altfrith.
37. beornuini.
38. *redbald.
39. eatfrith.
40. eðilmund.

Column Three.

41. berchtuini.
42. cuthgar.
43. heardred.
44. eadbald.
45. *gefuini.
46. uilbercht.
47. *pymma.
48. beornfrith.
49. hygbercht.
50. eadberct rex - Eadberht, king of Northumbria, 737-58;
retired to become a cleric in 758,
and d.768.

Ab-51 to Ab-73.

51. beorn.
52. bada.
53. eðilheard.
54. suiðuulf - Swithwulf, abbot, d.772.
55. uulfhaeth - Wulfhaeth, abbot of Beverley, d.773.
56. aelberct.
57. alduini.
58. bosa.
59. helmuini.
60. tilfrith.

Folio 20v.

Column One.

61. cynigils.
62. eðiluald rex - Aethelwold Moll, king of Northumbria,
759-65; lost the kingdom in 765 and
became a cleric.
63. alchmund.
64. leofuini.
65. eanuulf.
66. eanbercht.
67. eaduulf.
68. burghelm.
69. berchtuulf.
70. uilred.
71. uernbercht.
72. eatðegn.
73. saebercht.

Ab-74 to Ab-97.

- 74. osuulf.
- 75. torchtmund.
- 76. ofa.
- 77. eduini - Edwin, abbot of Gainford, d.801.
- 78. eanulf.
- 79. eðilbald - Aethelbald, abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow,
fl.c.789-96.
- 80. burghelm.
- 81. alubercht.

Column Two.

- 82. cynibald.
- 83. ecga.
- 84. eadbercht.
- 85. beornheard.
- 86. aelfsig.
- 87. osbald - Osbald, king of Northumbria for twenty-seven
days in 796; later an abbot; d.799.
- 88. berchtred.
- 89. *tatuulf.
- 90. heardberct.
- 91. berchtuulf.
- 92. reduulf.
- 93. eanfrith.
- 94. huaetred.
- 95. uulfsig.
- 96. beodufrith.
- 97. osbercht.

Ab-98 to Ab-99; P-1 to P-17.

The last two names are probably in the second hand.

98. alduulf.

99. huaetberht.

Folio 21:- left blank for additions to the list of abbots,
with a running title - "abbatum".

Folio 21v.

NOMINA PRAESBYTERORUM

Column One.

1. Demma.
2. suiðbald.
3. echha.
4. hemma.
5. *scenuulf.
6. ceolfrith.
7. *tathysi.
8. *dremka.
9. *ceolgar.
10. alda.
11. coenhere.
12. *tilisi.
13. *tidhere.
14. *maeðhelm.
15. tulla.
16. uulsig.
17. *tidhere.

P-18 to P-40.

18. sigbald.
19. brón.
20. drycghelm.

Column Two.

21. echha.
22. frood.
23. *uiuti.
24. uendilbercht.
25. faelfi.
26. tiduald.
27. beadufrith.
28. heaðuberct.
29. ʒdaeghelm.
30. cuthbercht.
31. ʒtella.
32. coenhere.
33. aldceord.
34. hygbald.
35. beda - Beda, "maior", priest who attended St. Cuthbert,
fl.687.
36. ceolbercht.
37. aescuald.
38. *suiðmer.
39. eanfrith.
40. ini.

P-41 to P-61.

Column Three.

41. eðilheard.
42. *hyni.
43. hemma.
44. tatberct.
45. *ceolhaeth.
46. badumund.
47. tella.
48. hiuddi.
49. ultan - Ultan, Irish priest, lived at monastery in
De Abbatibus in early C8th.
50. londfrith.
51. guthfrith.
52. *dycgfrith.
53. cynimund - Cynimund, monk and priest of Lindisfarne,
fl.687-c.721.
54. hygbald.
55. hyssa.
56. suitha.
57. biscop.
58. beoduca.
59. tilthegn.
60. uicfrith.

Folio 22.

Column One.

61. *adding.

P-62 to P-86.

62. plecgils - Plecgils, priest, fl.c.699-705.
63. eaduald.
64. ingild.
65. uigbald.
66. hiordi.
67. aldhelm.
68. inuald - Ingwald, priest and monk of Monkwearmouth,
fl.c.721.
69. *tilisi.
70. hildiberct.
71. tiluini.
72. bercht.
73. *ceolhere.
74. londberct.
75. pectuald.
76. berctuald.
77. *dremca.
78. beda - Bede, priest of Monkwaermouth-Jarrow, d.735.
79. badumund.
80. suiðgils.
81. hysimonn.

Column Two.

82. uilberct.
83. helmuald.
84. torchtmund.
85. *deduc.
86. Þingfrith.

P-87 to P-111.

- 87. londberct.
- 88. tilberct.
- 89. eaduald.
- 90. cuthuulf.
- 91. tiluini.
- 92. *bilhelm.
- 93. daegfrið.
- 94. *betscop.
- 95. helmuini.
- 96. eatfrith.
- 97. deneberct.
- 98. liodberct.
- 99. cynhelm.
- 100. uitgils.
- 101. frioðuald.
- 102. *tilisi.

Column Three.

- 103. cuðgar.
- 104. eðilberct.
- 105. eðilberct.
- 106. egilmund.
- 107. cynimund.
- 108. *maethcor.
- 109. *streonberct.
- 110. eðilberct.
- 111. *hroeoðlac.

P-112 to P-135.

112. aluberct.
113. tatberct.
114. tidbald.
115. folcuini.
116. hearduini.
117. beoduuini.
118. bothelm - Bothelm, monk of Hexham in 731.
119. ^tberchuald.
120. *penduulf.
121. uilfrith.
122. cuthfrið.
123. liodberct.

Folio 22v.

Column One.

124. cyniberct.
125. alduulf.
126. hildiberct.
127. *eanlac.
128. friðuini.
129. eanberct.
130. plegbrect.
131. cuthgils.
132. bercht.
133. leofuini.
134. *bedhaeth.
135. tobeas.

P-136 to P-160.

- 136. tiluini.
- 137. ualchstod.
- 138. tilberct.
- 139. cyniberct.
- 140. *dreamuulf.
- 141. haðuulf.
- 142. *forthuald.
- 143. hroðuald.
- 144. eaduini.

Column Two.

- 145. bynni.
- 146. uigbald.
- 147. tunna.
- 148. uigbald.
- 149. *hyguini.
- 150. eada.
- 151. berchthelm.
- 152. *tungils.
- 153. theodric.
- 154. aluchsig.
- 155. *maegenric.
- 156. tydi - Tydi, priest and monk of Melrose, fl.c.664-
699. x 705.
- 157. *uighaeð.
- 158. helmuald.
- 159. tiduini.
- 160. eðilric.

P-161 to P-186.

161. uerberct.

162. hygbald.

163. *ealac.

164. ceolmund.

165. eaduini.

Column Three.

166. saeuini.

167. balðhelm.

168. tiduulf.

169. *aldhaeth.

170. *piuda.

171. geruald.

172. *burgfrið.

173. cynifrið.

174. *hildiuald.

175. *garfrið.

176. torchthelm.

177. heaðuric.

178. hygberct.

179. *burgfrið.

180. uilberct.

181. hunuulf.

182. eanbercht.

183. *gyðhelm.

184. ceoluulf.

185. eðiluini.

186. cyniðegn.

P-187 to P-249.

Folio 23.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
187. uilberct.	208. <u>uulflaf.</u>	229. cyniberct.
188. <u>forðhere.</u>	209. cynhelm.	230. <u>ceoluini.</u>
189. uernberct.	210. <u>friouini.</u>	231. *bedhelm.
190. <u>tilfrið.</u>	211. eadberct.	232. <u>heardred.</u>
191. alchmund.	212. * <u>huaetgils.</u>	233. eanuulf.
192. <u>tilfrið.</u>	213. alduulf.	234. <u>hygberct.</u>
193. hyglaç.	214. <u>cyniuulf.</u>	235. eadbald.
194. <u>uulfheard.</u>	215. lagudi lect̃.	236. <u>uulfheard lect̃.</u>
195. *uilðegn.	216. <u>uuulfheard.</u>	237. hunberct.
196. <u>uigberct.</u>	217. eanfrith.	238. <u>heaðured.</u>
197. berctuini.	218. <u>abniar lect̃.</u>	239. eatdegn.
198. <u>titfrith.</u>	219. uulfsig.	240. <u>cyna.</u>
199. *tathaed lect̃. ¹	220. * <u>uilðegn.</u>	241. uulfsig.
200. <u>friðhelm.</u>	221. ecgmund.	242. <u>ceolred.</u>
201. berctgils.	222. <u>torctuulf.</u>	243. londfrið.
202. <u>hygberct.</u>	223. cynigils.	244. <u>osberct.</u>
203. cynibald.	224. <u>eadberct.</u>	245. *uilðegn.
204. <u>alberct.</u>	225. eanuini.	246. <u>berctred.</u>
205. berctuini.	226. <u>eanuulf lect̃.</u>	247. ebbi.
206. * <u>dycgfrith.</u>	227. *maegenuald.	248. <u>eðiluulf lect̃.</u>
207. sigberct.	228. <u>ecguulf.</u>	249. cuthberct.

¹ On the abbreviation "lect", see supra, pp. 17-19.

P-250 to P-267.

Folio 23v.

Column One.

250. eðilmund.
251. cynheard.
252. alduulf.
253. tilberct.
254. cuthbald.
255. *hroeðlac.
256. eaduini.
257. eatfrith - Eadfrith, priest in monastery described in
De Abbatibus, later C8th.
258. signuulf.
259. alduulf.
260. eanfrith.
261. tatuini.
262. *reachchriðe l̃ - "l̃" is very probably an abbreviation
for "lector".
263. hygberct.
264. - this name is of five or six letters. It ends
in "-ere", but the first part of the name
cannot be distinguished, even in ultra-
violet light. The first letter may be "c",
"a", or "e". The name might begin "ec-".
Hoad (1978), revising Sweet's edition of the
Liber Vitae, gives "atere" - this is possi-
ble, but not definite. The name was in gold.
265. heaðuuald.
266. heaðured.
267. frioðuulf.

P-268 to P-291.

- 268. beornred.
- 269. *hysiulf.
- 270. hygbald.

Column Two.

- 271. cuðgar.
- 272. eadberct.
- 273. alduulf.
- 274. guðmund.
- 275. cynifrið.
- 276. siguulf.
- 277. eanred.
- 278. eada.
- 279. alduulf.
- 280. tatuini.
- 281. bercthun lect.
- 282. eadmer.
- 283. baduulf.
- 284. eanred.
- 285. *tidhaeth.
- 286. ecgberct.
- 287. cuthuulf.
- 288. alberct.
- 289. tidberct.
- 290. eanuini.
- 291. alduulf.

P-292 to P-312.

Column Three.

292. eanbald lect.

293. haðuuni.

294. hunfrith.

295. uilgils.

296. baduulf.

297. beornred.

298. beornuulf.

299. uulfhaeth.

300. heaðufrith.

301. eaduulf.

302. cyniuulf.

303. cynibald.

304. eadmer.

305. alberct.

306. aella.

307. aluuni lect.

308. heaðuulf.

309. cynigils.

310. baduuald.

311. tilberct.

312. eanberct.

Folio 24:- the whole of this page is possibly in the second hand, or part of the first column may be in the first hand. It is hard to say exactly where the hand changes.

P-313 to P-334.

Column One.

- 313. eaduulf.
- 314. eaduini.
- 315. haðuuini.
- 316. eaduald.
- 317. beornuini.
- 318. earduulf.
- 319. heaðuulf.
- 320. berctmund.
- 321. eaduald.
- 322. eanred.
- 323. berctuald.
- 324. cyniuulf.
- 325. uilmund.
- 326. tiduini.
- 327. beornuulf.
- 328. ingeld.
- 329. botuulf.
- 330. hunbald.

Nos. 331-34 are a repeat of nos. 326-29. This may possibly be the start of the second hand.

- 331. tiduini.
- 332. beornuulf.
- 333. ingild.

Column Two:- the second hand has certainly started by now.

- 334. botuulf.

P-335 to P-359.

- 335. aldred.
- 336. eadred.
- 337. aelfuini.
- 338. eadred.
- 339. eaduulf.
- 340. uchtred.
- 341. saeuini.
- 342. uulfheard.
- 343. suiðred.
- 344. hildigils.
- 345. beornuulf.
- 346. cuðred.
- 347. *uilðegn.
- 348. *aluðegn.
- 349. headuulf.
- 350. cynigils.
- 351. uinibald.
- 352. helpric.
- 353. eanbald.
- 354. bercht.

Column Three.

- 355. osbald.
- 356. berhtuulf.
- 357. torhtmund.
- 358. uiluulf.
- 359. uigbercht.

P-360 to P-372.

- 360. eanred.
- 361. aldred.
- 362. alduini.
- 363. *uilðegn.
- 364. berhtuulf.
- 365. eaduulf.
- 366. berhtuulf.
- 367. eadred.
- 368. eaduulf.
- 369. berhtuulf.
- 370. uigmund.
- 371. beornuini.
- 372. alduulf.

Folio 24v:- originally left blank for additions to the list of priests. Running title in red - "praes", which suggests that there was a folio now missing with the rest of the word ("byteres") between fols. 24v and 25. Names added to fol. 24v in the 11th and 12th.

Possible missing folio(s).

Folio 25:- originally left blank for additions to the list of priests. No running title. Names added in the 12th.

Folio 25v:- originally left blank. No running title. Names added in the 12th.

D-1 to D-21.

Folio 26.

NOMINA DIACONORUM

Column One.

1. Haðuuald - Hadwald, monk of Whitby, k.685-87.
2. daeghelm.
3. daeghelm.
4. daegmund.
5. ecca.
6. eanuini.
7. eanmund.
8. iohannes.
9. tidberct.
10. aeostoruini.
11. eaduulf.
12. torchtuini.
13. eðiluini.
14. eðilmund.
15. uulfheard.
16. ebbi.
17. hunfrið.
18. cuthberct.
19. aelberct.
20. bercthaeð.

Column Two.

21. cuthred.

D-22 to D-40.

- 22. bota.
- 23. alchmund.
- 24. *sigsceat.
- 25. tidbald.
- 26. cynired.
- 27. *hygfrith.
- 28. uulfsig.
- 29. uilberct.
- 30. cuthred.
- 31. leofðegn.
- 32. alduulf.
- 33. eadred.
- 34. cuthgar.
- 35. alduulf.

No. 36 looks rather like second hand, but the two following names appear to be in the first hand. The last two names, nos. 39 and 40, may be in the second hand.

- 36. eadmaer.
- 37. cuðhelm.
- 38. tonberct.
- 39. eadmer.
- 40. beornred.

Folio 26v:- originally left blank for additions to list of deacons. Running title - "Diaconorum".
Names added in the 12th and 13th.

C-1 to C-60.

Folio 27.

NOMINA CLERICORUM

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
1. <u>Eanuulf.</u>	21. <u>cuddi.</u>	41. * <u>taðhaeð.</u>
2. <u>tutta.</u>	22. <u>friðuuald.</u>	42. * <u>tiūluuald.</u>
3. <u>byni.</u>	23. <u>berctfrith.</u>	43. <u>helpric.</u>
4. <u>cunen.</u>	24. <u>aeðuini.</u>	44. * <u>pleoualch.</u>
5. <u>hadda.</u>	25. <u>bynni.</u>	45. <u>aluych.</u>
6. <u>hiddi.</u>	26. <u>utta.</u>	46. <u>eðilhech.</u>
7. <u>cynifrith.</u>	27. <u>beorn.</u>	47. <u>snella.</u>
8. <u>huna.</u>	28. <u>uach.</u>	48. <u>hroðuini.</u>
9. <u>cyniberct.</u>	29. * <u>heruuald.</u>	49. * <u>huaetgils.</u>
10. <u>herefrith.</u>	30. <u>geruald.</u>	50. <u>uilfrith.</u>
11. <u>cynifrith.</u>	31. <u>baldhelm.</u>	51. <u>finan.</u>
12. <u>tutta.</u>	32. <u>folcuald.</u>	52. <u>aldheri.</u>
13. <u>uynhelm.</u>	33. * <u>forthhelm.</u>	53. <u>sigmund.</u>
14. * <u>kaenta.</u>	34. <u>cudda.</u>	54. <u>coenualch.</u>
15. <u>aldmon.</u>	35. <u>egilmund.</u>	55. * <u>uont.</u>
16. <u>tiduald.</u>	36. <u>torcthelm.</u>	56. <u>hygberct.</u>
17. <u>betti.</u>	37. * <u>seuua.</u>	57. * <u>hleouald.</u>
18. <u>hereberct.</u>	38. * <u>plegheri.</u>	58. * <u>hegaer.</u>
19. <u>daeghelm.</u>	39. <u>eaduald.</u>	59. * <u>uydiga.</u>
20. <u>uach.</u>	40. <u>betti.</u>	60. <u>beda.</u>

C-61 to C-123.

Folio 27v.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
61. <u>hyglac.</u>	82. eanberct.	103. <u>tatheri.</u>
62. bofa.	83. * <u>tilisi.</u>	104. alduini.
63. <u>byda.</u>	84. torcthelm.	105. <u>eadhaeð.</u>
64. uynna.	85. * <u>riuualch.</u>	106. balduini.
65. <u>friðuuald.</u>	86. bercthelm.	107. <u>aluich.</u>
66. berctfrith.	87. <u>haeðberct.</u>	108. berctuulf.
67. <u>heouald.</u>	88. lutting.	109. * <u>penduald.</u>
68. aldhun.	89. <u>taetica.</u>	110. bacca.
69. <u>hereberct.</u>	90. uigheard.	111. <u>ecguald.</u>
70. * <u>sceutuald.</u>	91. <u>eofa.</u>	112. *tilbaeth.
71. <u>hereric.</u>	92. haðuberct.	113. <u>cynifrith.</u>
72. *bilhaeth.	93. <u>tidhelm.</u>	114. *haleric.
73. <u>cuthelm.</u>	94. baeglog.	115. * <u>tathaeth.</u>
74. *ecgbaeth.	95. <u>mucca.</u>	116. iubi.
75. <u>tilli.</u>	96. aluberct.	117. <u>ecgi.</u>
76. eadgar.	97. <u>uilgils.</u>	118. hildigils.
77. * <u>friumon.</u>	98. eadberct.	119. <u>aethuini.</u>
78. *torctsig.	99. <u>liutfrith.</u>	120. alda.
79. <u>aetti.</u>	100. hecci.	121. <u>haðuberct.</u>
80. adda.	101. <u>uada.</u>	122. herefrith.
81. <u>ualch.</u>	102. *piichil.	123. <u>cissa.</u>

C-124 to C-186.

Folio 28.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

124. <u>ingild.</u>	145. hunsig.	166. <u>cuðuulf.</u>
125. bercthelm.	146. <u>eanbald.</u>	167. beornfrith.
126. <u>eanuulf.</u>	147. hunberct.	168. <u>beonna.</u>
127. beornuini.	148. <u>uidsith.</u>	169. haduulf.
128. <u>cuthfrith.</u>	149. atta.	170. <u>torctred.</u>
129. uiniberct.	150. <u>ceoluini.</u>	171. alchmund.
130. <u>tatberct.</u>	151. tatuini.	172. <u>tiluini.</u>
131. uilmund.	152. <u>geruald.</u>	173. uigbald.
132. <u>botuini.</u>	153. tatuini.	174. <u>haðumer.</u>
133. eada.	154. <u>beornuini.</u>	175. *tilhaeth.
134. <u>abba.</u>	155. hungils.	176. <u>aldheri.</u>
135. eadberct.	156. <u>ecgberct.</u>	177. <u>friðuberct.</u>
136. <u>backa.</u>	157. berctuini.	178. <u>baduini.</u>
137. alberct.	158. <u>haðured.</u>	179. uilberct.
138. <u>osuulf.</u>	159. eadberct.	180. <u>cynimund.</u>
139. eadberct.	160. <u>cuthgar.</u>	181. beornuini.
140. <u>beonna.</u>	161. <u>haðuulf.</u>	182. <u>eadberct.</u>
141. tidhelm.	162. <u>uulfheard.</u>	183. eaduulf.
142. <u>eðilberct.</u>	163. eanbald.	184. *dedhaeth.
143. ecguini.	164. <u>ingild.</u>	185. *tathelm.
144. <u>eatfrith.</u>	165. hygberct.	186. <u>liodberct.</u>

C-187 to C-249.

Folio 28v.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
187. tidhelm.	208. <u>haðuulf.</u>	229. beornfrith.
188. <u>eadbald.</u>	209. hygberct.	230. <u>pleguini.</u>
189. eatðegn.	210. <u>eadgar.</u>	231. hygberct lect.
190. <u>berctuini.</u>	211. eatfrith.	232. * <u>hyguini.</u>
191. eðilberct.	212. <u>stiðuulf.</u>	233. *daegbald.
192. <u>berctmund.</u>	213. uilgils.	234. <u>baduulf.</u>
193. *garberct.	214. <u>pleguini.</u>	235. cuthred.
194. <u>berctuini.</u>	215. *hyguini.	236. <u>hearduini.</u>
195. cuthmund.	216. <u>eanberct.</u>	237. badumund.
196. <u>blaedla.</u>	217. uigberct.	238. <u>uulfheard.</u>
197. meguini.	218. <u>uiniberct.</u>	239. cyniuulf.
198. <u>ceolfrieth.</u>	219. heremod.	240. <u>cyniðegn.</u>
199. <u>suiðuulf.</u>	220. <u>ceoluulf.</u>	241. eaduini.
200. <u>eatfrieth.</u>	221. *badhelm.	242. * <u>hyguini.</u>
201. eanberct.	222. <u>eanbald.</u>	243. beornuini.
202. <u>hunberct.</u>	223. uulfsig.	244. <u>pecthelm.</u>
203. beornuini.	224. <u>eadberct.</u>	245. beornheard.
204. <u>uitberct.</u>	225. eosturuini.	246. <u>earduulf.</u>
205. friouini.	226. <u>ead.</u>	247. uulfsig.
206. <u>ingild.</u>	227. uigbald.	248. <u>eatfrieth.</u>
207. badufrieth.	228. <u>eaduini.</u>	249. huaetred.

C-250 to C-312.

Folio 29.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
250. adamnan.	271. <u>ceolberct.</u>	292. lafa.
251. * <u>hogcin.</u>	272. berctuald.	293. <u>uigheri.</u>
252. ha ^ð uberct.	273. * <u>hleouald.</u>	294. *tiluuald.
253. <u>eaduald.</u>	274. hunberct.	295. * <u>biluuald.</u>
254. ualchstod.	275. <u>sui^ðhelm.</u>	296. caua.
255. <u>alduini.</u>	276. *plucca.	297. <u>hysimon.</u>
256. brynca.	277. * <u>dremca.</u>	298. *homund.
257. * <u>bilgils.</u>	278. tanduini.	299. <u>hecci.</u>
258. bosil.	279. * <u>honoc.</u>	300. hleoberct.
259. <u>uurmeri.</u>	280. *iuring.	301. <u>bilfrith.</u>
260. baduuald.	281. <u>halegberct.</u>	302. tiduini.
261. * <u>haethi.</u>	282. eaduald.	303. <u>imma.</u>
262. berctgils.	283. * <u>peuf.</u>	304. meguini.
263. * <u>lefilla.</u>	284. tidi.	305. <u>haemgils.</u>
264. uichtlac.	285. <u>ona.</u>	306. uicfrith.
265. <u>cynhelm.</u>	286. *tidhere.	307. <u>herefrith.</u>
266. * <u>hroe^ðlac.</u>	287. <u>ecci.</u>	308. blaedla.
267. <u>hildifrith.</u>	288. *preed.	309. * <u>beetfrith.</u>
268. coenheri.	289. * <u>beruulf.</u>	310. cunen.
269. <u>uilfrith.</u>	290. osmaer.	311. <u>hygberct.</u>
270. eedric.	291. <u>betuald.</u>	312. herebald.

C-313 to C-375.

Folio 29v.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

313. <u>cuga.</u>	334. <u>tunna.</u>	355. eada pbr̄.
314. <u>ecgberct.</u>	335. *lifna.	356. * <u>homund.</u>
315. eaduald.	336. <u>guðhelm.</u>	357. hama.
316. <u>balðhere.</u>	337. heouald.	358. <u>bercthelm pbr̄.</u>
317. sighaeth.	338. * <u>tiuuald.</u>	359. blaecmon.
318. * <u>badhelm.</u>	339. boesil.	360. * <u>tungils pbr̄.</u>
319. geruald.	340. <u>ingild.</u>	361. *tilisi.
320. * <u>bilhaeth.</u>	341. bercthelm.	362. <u>haðuuald.</u>
321. uicfrith.	342. <u>suiðberct.</u>	363. ualdfrith.
322. <u>bercthun.</u>	343. baeglog.	364. * <u>hyguald.</u>
323. uictfrith.	344. <u>plegberct.</u>	365. *riuuala.
324. <u>ceolberct.</u>	345. daeguini.	366. <u>frioðugils.</u>
325. bacga.	346. * <u>hynca.</u>	367. *hroðfor.
326. <u>eota.</u>	347. *kentuald.	368. <u>theodric pbr̄.</u>
327. haðberct.	348. <u>snella.</u>	369. ceolberct.
328. <u>aldceorl.</u>	349. *nytta.	370. <u>aluchsig pbr̄.</u>
329. uigbald pbr̄.	350. <u>frioðuulf.</u>	371. suiðgils.
330. <u>eatfrith.</u>	351. eadberct.	372. * <u>maegenric pbr̄.</u>
331. uicthelm.	352. <u>helmuald.</u>	373. suiðred.
332. <u>tunfrith.</u>	353. tunuald.	374. <u>arduini.</u>
333. <u>suiðberct.</u>	354. <u>hyguini pbr̄.</u>	375. meiuald.

C-376 to C-438.

Folio 30.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

376. <u>aelū^fini.</u>	397. *peufa.	418. <u>cutberct^h.</u>
377. *cynia.	398. * <u>ecguio.</u>	419. cyniberct.
378. <u>ualchstod.</u>	399. tunfrith.	420. <u>uitmr.</u>
379. hereberct.	400. <u>ceolhelm.</u>	421. eedgils.
380. <u>una.</u>	401. fri ð helm.	422. <u>cuda.</u>
381. ceoluald.	402. <u>baduca.</u>	423. frithhelm.
382. <u>esi.</u>	403. hunsig.	424. <u>torcthelm.</u>
383. garmund.	404. <u>offa.</u>	425. eatfer ð .
384. <u>pecthelm.</u>	405. ingild.	426. <u>bacga.</u>
385. ycca.	406. <u>brynca.</u>	427. beornheard.
386. <u>utta.</u>	407. ualchstod.	428. <u>eðilberct.</u>
387. aldmon.	408. <u>aluberct.</u>	429. *domheri.
388. <u>hildifrith.</u>	409. uilberct.	430. <u>tilfrith.</u>
389. baduuni.	410. <u>eanuini.</u>	431. *uinilac.
390. <u>bacca.</u>	411. inuald.	432. <u>haðuuald.</u>
391. alberct.	412. * <u>eoforhuaet.</u>	433. eadberct.
392. <u>bliðuald.</u>	413. *hleouald.	434. <u>ecgfrith.</u>
393. tatfrith.	414. <u>iidi.</u>	435. bryni.
394. * <u>beguini.</u>	415. *clyduini.	436. <u>celin.</u>
395. *arcanaen.	416. <u>eðiluini.</u>	437. *garfrith.
396. <u>beda.</u>	417. utta.	438. * <u>bralluc.</u>

C-439 to C-501.

Folio 30v.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

439. berctuini.	460. <u>friðugeorn.</u>	481. baduca.
440. <u>huaetberct.</u>	461. suiðhelm.	482. <u>hyglac.</u>
441. pecthun.	462. <u>eonuald.</u>	483. lictuald.
442. * <u>ceolheri.</u>	463. *hyguini.	484. * <u>uiduc.</u>
443. cynifrith.	464. <u>uicthaeth.</u>	485. helmuald.
444. <u>eonmund.</u>	465. *preed.	486. <u>etla.</u>
445. tilberct.	466. <u>hygberct.</u>	487. sighthard.
446. <u>friðumund.</u>	467. bofa.	488. <u>hygberct.</u>
447. haðuric.	468. <u>berctuald.</u>	489. herebald.
448. <u>eðiluald.</u>	469. *rimgils.	490. <u>cyniðegn.</u>
449. hearduini.	470. * <u>bilaeth.</u>	491. uigfrith.
450. <u>hunuald.</u>	471. folcheri.	492. <u>tatuini.</u>
451. hygberct.	472. * <u>cynicin.</u>	493. hilduini.
452. <u>cretta.</u>	473. *hilduald.	494. <u>hroeðuini.</u>
453. *tatuulf.	474. <u>leofrith.</u>	495. utta.
454. <u>hildigils.</u>	475. offa.	496. <u>berctfrith.</u>
455. cuthuulf.	476. <u>tumma.</u>	497. friðumund.
456. <u>suiðberct.</u>	477. hygberct.	498. * <u>tatuulf.</u>
457. alchmund.	478. <u>eoduald.</u>	499. adda.
458. <u>burra.</u>	479. cutheard.	500. <u>tuda.</u>
459. *hleouald.	480. * <u>suiðualch.</u>	501. eadberct.

C-502 to C-564.

Folio 31.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
502. <u>cuthuulf.</u>	523. eðilberct.	544. <u>sigberct.</u>
503. hereberct.	524. <u>helmuini.</u>	545. cynibald.
504. <u>cyniberct.</u>	525. berctfrith.	546. <u>cuthuulf.</u>
505. berctmund.	526. <u>daegberct.</u>	547. friðuulf.
506. <u>dengus.</u>	527. lefincg.	548. <u>tiluini.</u>
507. eanmund.	528. <u>badumund.</u>	549. hyssi.
508. <u>eanmund.</u>	529. haðuberct.	550. <u>eda.</u>
509. eatðegn.	530. <u>eanfrith.</u>	551. tidberct.
510. <u>alduulf.</u>	531. coenberct.	552. <u>tunberct.</u>
511. cynimund.	532. <u>alduulf.</u>	553. alduulf.
512. <u>berctuini.</u>	533. uulfheard.	554. <u>cyni.</u>
513. suiðhelm.	534. <u>eadberct.</u>	555. beonna.
514. <u>eaduulf.</u>	535. *uilðegn.	556. <u>herebald.</u>
515. eadberct.	536. <u>balduini.</u>	557. heaðfrith.
516. <u>uilmund.</u>	537. eadberct.	558. <u>beonna.</u>
517. beornuini.	538. <u>helpric.</u>	559. tiduald.
518. <u>sigfrith.</u>	539. eðiluulf.	560. *hyguald.
519. cuthuulf.	540. <u>berctuini.</u>	561. beornuulf.
520. <u>hygberct.</u>	541. eadbald.	562. <u>leofuini lect.</u>
521. *hygfrith.	542. <u>cuthuini.</u>	563. eanuulf.
522. <u>uigberct.</u>	543. eanuini.	564. <u>cuthuulf.</u>

C-565 to C-627.

Folio 31v.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

565. <u>hygbald.</u>	586. coenberct.	607. <u>uulfheard.</u>
566. aldgils.	587. * <u>helmgils.</u>	608. ecgred.
567. <u>eaduulf.</u>	588. uulfheard.	609. <u>alric.</u>
568. redberct.	589. <u>cyniðegn.</u>	610. earduulf.
569. <u>huaetred.</u>	590. *betgils.	611. <u>hunberct.</u>
570. ecguulf.	591. <u>cutberct.</u>	612. uulfheard.
571. <u>eaduini.</u>	592. uilmund.	613. <u>cuthberct.</u>
572. cynimund.	593. <u>eðiluini.</u>	614. uulfsig.
573. <u>uilfrith.</u>	594. berctred.	615. <u>uilberct.</u>
574. tatuini.	595. <u>eadberct.</u>	616. alberct.
575. <u>eðilberct.</u>	596. beornuulf.	617. <u>eanuini.</u>
576. helpuini.	597. <u>berctuini.</u>	618. alberct.
577. <u>eanberct.</u>	598. uulf ^f sig.	619. <u>cuthred.</u>
578. beornuini.	599. <u>berctred.</u>	620. eadred.
579. <u>baldred.</u>	600. eaduulf.	621. <u>eatðegn.</u>
580. uigmund.	601. <u>beornuulf.</u>	622. sigmund.
581. <u>eanuulf.</u>	602. eanuulf.	623. <u>beonna.</u>
582. tidbald.	603. <u>berctgils.</u>	624. ebbi.
583. <u>eama.</u>	604. *tidhaeth.	625. <u>alberct.</u>
584. haðuulf.	605. <u>eanred.</u>	626. alberct.
585. <u>berctuulf.</u>	606. uigberct.	627. <u>eanred.</u>

C-628 to C-690.

Folio 32.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

628. <u>alchuald.</u>	649. <u>hygberct.</u>	670. * <u>dycguio.</u>
629. <u>cyda.</u>	650. <u>tilfrith.</u>	671. * <u>fexstan.</u>
630. <u>ofa.</u>	651. * <u>nimstan.</u>	672. <u>berctuulf.</u>
631. <u>friðuric.</u>	652. <u>oshelm.</u>	673. <u>berctuini.</u>
632. <u>uilfrith.</u>	653. <u>cynifrith.</u>	674. <u>hildiberct.</u>
633. * <u>trumuald.</u>	654. <u>beornfrith.</u>	675. * <u>hygfrith.</u>
634. <u>eadberct.</u>	655. <u>aluchstan.</u>	676. <u>alda.</u>
635. <u>bilfrith.</u>	656. <u>cuthelm.</u>	677. <u>eðiluini.</u>
636. <u>infrith.</u>	657. <u>londfrith.</u>	678. * <u>hroeðuald.</u>
637. <u>eðilberct.</u>	658. * <u>hygfrith.</u>	679. <u>beornfrith.</u>
638. <u>uilberct.</u>	659. <u>aethan.</u>	680. <u>cynibald.</u>
639. * <u>torchtfrith.</u>	660. <u>eadred.</u>	681. <u>cynifrith.</u>
640. <u>arnan.</u>	661. <u>h^ygberct.</u>	682. <u>hada.</u>
641. <u>baga.</u>	662. * <u>huaetmod.</u>	683. <u>hygberct.</u>
642. <u>tidberct.</u>	663. <u>adda.</u>	684. <u>edilberct.</u>
643. <u>eðiluini.</u>	664. <u>blaca.</u>	685. <u>aldmon.</u>
644. <u>eadgar.</u>	665. <u>uicthaeth.</u>	686. <u>berctuini.</u>
645. <u>hiuddi.</u>	666. <u>domfrith.</u>	687. <u>aluberct.</u>
646. <u>hildiberct.</u>	667. <u>eata.</u>	688. <u>badudegn.</u>
647. <u>eaduald.</u>	668. <u>eatfrith.</u>	689. <u>suiðgils.</u>
648. <u>tunberct.</u>	669. * <u>uighaeth pbr̅.</u>	690. <u>helmr̅ic.</u>

C-691 to C-710.

Folio 32v.

Column One:- the gold names in the lower part of this column
are badly faded.

691. heardred.
692. helmuald pbr.
693. eanbald.
694. cynhelm.
695. eadgar.
696. tondberct.
697. uynfrith.
698. eadhaeth.
699. bilfrith.
700. eadhaeth.
701. aluchuald.
702. pleguini.
703. suiðgils.
704. eðiluald.
705. hygberct - this is hard to make out except under
ultra-violet light.
706. eanuald pbr.
707. a..... - all that can be made out, even under ultra-
violet light, is "ad" or "að", as the
beginning of the name. Stevenson (1841)
gives "aðilbald(?)", but this is only a
possibility; the name may have been less
faded in his day, but he does not always
read even legible names correctly.
708. eanfrith.
709. eanuini - illegible except under ultra-violet light.
710. bercthelm.

C-711 to C-732.

711. cuthberct - only "...berct" can be made out in ordinary light; the whole name is legible under ultra-violet light. Stevenson has this name correctly.

Column Two.

712. berctuald.
713. *beeduini.
714. eadberct.
715. aldheri.
716. friðuuald.
717. cuthuulf.
718. daegfrith.
719. alberct.
720. uilhaeth.
721. alduini.
722. *cuthuald.
723. balðheard.
724. cuthuini.
725. *hyguald.
726. siguald.
727. sigred.
728. ingild.
729. tilberct.
730. aldheri.
731. tatberct.
732. cuthric.

C-733 to C-753.

Column Three.

- 733. eadberct.
- 734. ceoluio.
- 735. e~~ð~~ilheri.
- 736. betti.
- 737. bilfrith.
- 738. hygberct.
- 739. *heregeorn.
- 740. hygberct.
- 741. hyglac.
- 742. *burgfrith.
- 743. cuthuulf.
- 744. cada.
- 745. eaduald.
- 746. *tiluuald.
- 747. *cotten.
- 748. *meifrith.
- 749. alberct.
- 750. alduini.
- 751. eatfrith.
- 752. bryni.
- 753. berctheri.

C-754 to C-816.

Folio 33.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

754. forðheri.	775. <u>haðuuini.</u>	796. *pleouald.
755. <u>aluberct.</u>	776. haðuberct.	797. <u>plecgils.</u>
756. *hyguini.	777. <u>cuðhelm.</u>	798. pleguini.
757. <u>badufrith.</u>	778. *giuhaep.	799. <u>hygberct.</u>
758. cuthðegn.	779. <u>baduuini.</u>	800. uictbald.
759. <u>torctuini.</u>	780. cynifrith.	801. <u>eanmund.</u>
760. beornuini.	781. <u>beornuini.</u>	802. tidberct.
761. <u>helmuini.</u>	782. eada.	803. <u>aldgils.</u>
762. uilmund.	783. <u>herebald.</u>	804. guthmund.
763. <u>tilberct.</u>	784. alberct.	805. <u>berctgils.</u>
764. uighelm.	785. <u>eadberct.</u>	806. uiniberct.
765. <u>ceolberct.</u>	786. hidda.	807. <u>buna.</u>
766. *pectgils.	787. <u>hygbald.</u>	808. alberct.
767. *betmon.	788. berecht.	809. <u>alda.</u>
768. cuthberct.	789. <u>uulfheard.</u>	810. baduuini ^{pr.}
769. <u>leofuini.</u>	790. beornhaeð.	811. <u>eadhun.</u>
770. *biluualch.	791. * <u>cueðilach.</u>	812. osmund.
771. <u>egilmund</u> ^{pr.}	792. *bilstan.	813. <u>eatfrith.</u>
772. uictfrith.	793. <u>berctuini.</u>	814. adhysi.
773. <u>baduini.</u>	794. eadgar.	815. * <u>torctgils.</u>
774. eðiluini.	795. <u>cyniberct.</u>	816. eadbald.

C-817 to C-879.

Folio 33v.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

817. <u>beda.</u>	838. eadgar.	859. <u>cuthuini.</u>
818. *bilhaeth.	839. <u>sigheard.</u>	860. tunberct.
819. <u>berctred.</u>	840. *georored.	861. *aluca.
820. eðiluini.	841. <u>tilmon.</u>	862. bercthaeth.
821. <u>milred.</u>	842. *botuald.	863. <u>badheard.</u>
822. aeðuini.	843. <u>eaduald.</u>	864. uernbald.
823. <u>aðigils.</u>	844. pechtuald.	865. <u>aldheri.</u>
824. eatðegn.	845. <u>berctuini.</u>	866. uicthelm.
825. <u>eðilric.</u>	846. hroeðberct.	867. *addul.
826. cynibald.	847. <u>eanuald.</u>	868. frehelm.
827. <u>friðumund.</u>	848. uitgils.	869. <u>eaduald.</u>
828. cuthric.	849. <u>eaduini.</u>	870. baduini.
829. <u>uulfheri.</u>	850. alberct.	871. <u>aldhun.</u>
830. *tathelm.	851. <u>haðuberct.</u>	872. eadbald.
831. <u>cuthuini.</u>	852. saeberct.	873. <u>tatberct.</u>
832. tatuini.	853. <u>uilhelm.</u>	874. alduulf.
833. <u>eadhaeth.</u>	854. berctuini.	875. <u>gutberct.</u> ^h
834. alchuald.	855. <u>unberct.</u>	876. eðilric.
835. <u>beornuini.</u>	856. eaduini.	877. <u>berctfrith.</u>
836. heardred.	857. <u>ceoluald.</u>	878. eorupuald.
837. <u>berctuald.</u>	858. cynifrith.	879. <u>tatberct.</u>

C-880 to C-942.

Folio 34.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
880. cynifrith.	901. <u>eadberct.</u>	922. berctuini.
881. <u>eanuini.</u>	902. eðilberct.	923. <u>suiðhelm.</u>
882. eðilmund.	903. <u>haðuberct.</u>	924. eanfrith.
883. <u>alduulf.</u>	904. *onboth.	925. * <u>badhelm.</u>
884. tidberct.	905. <u>geruini.</u>	926. eanmund.
885. <u>uilgils.</u>	906. eanuini.	927. * <u>cuthuald.</u>
886. sola.	907. <u>utta.</u>	928. eadberct.
887. <u>eðilmund.</u>	908. dene.	929. <u>uerberct.</u>
888. balðhun.	909. <u>sigberct.</u>	930. eadberct.
889. <u>helmuald.</u>	910. pechthelm.	931. <u>huaetberct.</u>
890. tatberct.	911. <u>pleghelm.</u>	932. uynfrith.
891. <u>eadberct.</u>	912. tiduini.	933. <u>eadberct.</u>
892. eatðegn.	913. <u>haðuuni.</u>	934. coena.
893. <u>geonuald.</u>	914. * <u>suiðuuald.</u>	935. <u>ceolberct.</u>
894. beorn.	915. <u>helpric.</u>	936. berctuald.
895. <u>badumund.</u>	916. haðuulf.	937. <u>suithuulf.</u>
896. baduuni.	917. <u>badumund.</u>	938. eðilberct.
897. <u>ceoluini.</u>	918. hygberct.	939. <u>hildiberct.</u>
898. tilfrith.	919. * <u>uergils.</u>	940. beorn.
899. <u>baeglug.</u>	920. meguini.	941. <u>eaduini.</u>
900. siglac.	921. <u>cuthuini.</u>	942. alduini.

C-943 to C-963.

Folio 34v:- a few of the names in gold on this page are badly worn.

Column One.

943. hilduini.
944. eadberct.
945. eadgar.
946. tili.
947. bercht ab̃.
948. aldhun.
949. eanberct.
950. eanuulf.
951. uilfrith.
952. bercthelm.
953. beonna.
954. aelfuald.
955. haðuuald.
956. uilfrith.
957. eadgar.
958. illegible even under ultra-violet light.
959. eðilbald.
960. - this name is uncertain even under ultra-violet light - it may have begun "stid-", or "bli-", and may have ended in "n", but little could be made out.
961. hygberct.
962. cyniðegn - only legible under ultra-violet light.
963. eanuini.

C-964 to C-986.

Column Two.

964. eanuini.
965. *beguini.
966. uigfrith.
967. berctuini.
968. ceoluini.
969. eðilric.
970. ingild.
971. cunen.
972. *streonuulf.
973. ceoluini.
974. *tatuulf.
975. uulfheard.
976. aldhelm.
977. guðhelm.
978. geruald.
979. haðuuni.
980. hygbald.
981. eatðegn.
982. tilfrith.
983. bercht.
984. alduini - first two letters only legible under
ultra-violet light.

Column Three.

985. eanbald.
986. eanuulf.

C-987 to C-1011.

987. huaetherct.
988. uilberct.
989. friðuuini.
990. alduulf.
991. cyniberct.
992. uulfhaeth.
993. tatmonn.
994. *hyguini.
995. eðiluini.
996. ualchard.
997. ercinuald.
998. cutberct.
999. eanuulf.
1000. berct.
1001. uitta.
1002. *uilðegn.
1003. *seoluini.
1004. berctfrith.
1005. uulfsig.

Folio 35.

Column One.

1006. tidberct.
1007. alduulf.
1008. eanred.
1009. cuthuulf.
1010. alduini.
1011. baduini.

C-1012 to C-1037.

- 1012. cuthberct.
- 1013. fergus.
- 1014. eadberct.
- 1015. forðred.
- 1016. betuald.
- 1017. ecgberct.
- 1018. eðilberct.
- 1019. eaduini.
- 1020. eanbald.
- 1021. uilmund.
- 1022. earduulf.
- 1023. eaduulf.
- 1024. berctuulf.
- 1025. plegheard.
- 1026. earduulf.

Column Two.

- 1027. eadgar.
- 1028. forðred.
- 1029. eadred.
- 1030. haðuulf.
- 1031. balduini.
- 1032. uilmund.
- 1033. eanuulf.
- 1034. haðured.
- 1035. botuulf.
- 1036. *plecga.
- 1037. alduulf.

C-1038 to C-1064.

1038. cuthðegn.

1039. earduulf.

1040. berctuulf.

1041. hunbald.

1042. bercthaeth.

1043. eanfrith.

1044. daegberct.

1045. *altðegn.

1046. eaduald.

1047. *hygferth.

Column Three:- the second hand may start in this column; perhaps
at the point where two names are written to-
gether in gold (nos.1055-56).

1048. plegmund.

1049. cyniuulf.

1050. beaduðegn.

1051. uigbald.

1052. eadbald.

1053. herebald.

1054. alduulf.

1055. haðuberct - the second hand may start about here.

1056. bercthaeð.

1057. aeðiluini.

1058. bercthaeð.

1059. cyniuulf.

1060. eanberct.

1061. ecgberct.

1062. salfach.

1063. aldgils.

1064. hunberct.

C-1065 to C-1131.

1065. eanberct.

1066. hygbald.

1067. eðiluulf.

1068. cuðmund.

Folio 35v:- this is in the second hand.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
1069. cyniuulf.	1090. <u>uilric.</u>	1111. berctuulf.
1070. <u>eanuulf.</u>	1091. saeberct.	1112. <u>badumund.</u>
1071. eaduulf.	1092. <u>tilberct.</u>	1113. <u>siguulf.</u>
1072. <u>eadred.</u>	1093. aldhelm.	1114. <u>eadred.</u>
1073. tilðegn.	1094. * <u>uilðegn.</u>	1115. eðilmund.
1074. <u>cuduulf.</u>	1095. hiordi.	1116. <u>baduulf.</u>
1075. hearduulf.	1096. <u>tilberct.</u>	1117. eadred.
1076. <u>eanuulf.</u>	1097. fugul.	1118. <u>haðuulf.</u>
1077. aldgils.	1098. * <u>tatuulf.</u>	1119. eadgar.
1078. <u>hunberct.</u>	1099. tidberct.	1120. * <u>betuini.</u>
1079. eanberct.	1100. <u>eadred.</u>	1121. aldred.
1080. <u>eaduulf.</u>	1101. <u>siguulf.</u>	1122. <u>siguulf.</u>
1081. hygbald.	1102. <u>cuðmund.</u>	1123. beornuulf.
1082. <u>eadred.</u>	1103. <u>cuðred.</u>	1124. <u>berctuulf.</u>
1083. ediluulf.	1104. <u>alberct.</u>	1125. eaduulf.
1084. <u>cuðmund.</u>	1105. eanuulf.	1126. * <u>hleofuini.</u>
1085. <u>cuðuulf.</u>	1106. <u>eðilberct.</u>	1127. eadgar.
1086. <u>cyniuulf.</u>	1107. berctferð.	1128. <u>eoduulf.</u>
1087. hearduulf.	1108. <u>tiluini.</u>	1129. <u>heaðured.</u>
1088. <u>eanuulf.</u>	1109. *aldmund.	1130. * <u>ceolhere.</u>
1089. botuulf.	1110. <u>cyniferð.</u>	1131. berctferð.

C-1132 to C-1175.

Folio 36:- this page is in the third hand. Some of the names
are not resting properly on the ruled lines.
The running title is in the first hand.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
1132. <u>eanbald.</u>	1153. cyniuulf.	1174. <u>sigbald.</u>
1133. aldberct.	1154. <u>hiodde.</u>	1175. haðumer.
1134. <u>hearduulf.</u>	1155. baðhun.	
1135. berhtred.	1156. <u>berhtuulf.</u>	
1136. <u>cuðred.</u>	1157. berhtuini.	
1137. hygred.	1158. <u>eanuulf.</u>	
1138. <u>tidhelm.</u>	1159. badigils.	
1139. eaduulf.	1160. <u>hyggerht.</u>	
1140. <u>eaduulf.</u>	1161. eatðegn.	
1141. berhtuulf.	1162. <u>uilmund.</u>	
1142. <u>eðilbercht.</u>	1163. uulfhard.	
1143. osberht.	1164. <u>tilberht.</u>	
1144. <u>eadbercht.</u>	1165. eaduulf.	
1145. alduulf.	1166. <u>eata.</u>	
1146. <u>uada.</u>	1167. albercht.	
1147. haðuuni.	1168. * <u>tidsig.</u>	
1148. <u>eadred.</u>	1169. uynbald.	
1149. beornred.	1170. <u>fladgus.</u>	
1150. <u>eadbercht.</u>	1171. tidferð.	
1151. eaduulf.	1172. <u>cyniuulf.</u>	
1152. <u>helmuini.</u>	1173. eadbercht.	

Folio 36v:- originally left blank for additions to the list of
clerics. No running title. A number of con-
fraternity agreements were written on this page
in the early C12th.

M-1 to M-60.

Folio 37.

NOMINA MONACHORUM

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
1. <u>Herding.</u>	21. uchred. ^t	41. <u>tatfrith.</u>
2. *aligna.	22. <u>betti.</u>	42. ylla.
3. <u>friubet.</u>	23. muul.	43. <u>berctfrith.</u>
4. hiuddi.	24. <u>cynifrith.</u>	44. siguini.
5. <u>aldceorl.</u>	25. tudda.	45. <u>baca.</u>
6. cuthelm.	26. <u>uilfrith.</u>	46. bacga.
7. * <u>betuini.</u>	27. *cu ^ð uald.	47. <u>eanuald.</u>
8. pecthaeth.	28. * <u>torchtgils.</u>	48. cuthric.
9. * <u>uerenhaeth.</u>	29. *efnuald.	49. <u>leobhelm.</u>
10. tella.	30. * <u>coluduc.</u>	50. *sui ^ð ualch.
11. * <u>tiouald.</u>	31. inta.	51. <u>ceoluulf.</u>
12. *hulan.	32. <u>folcuini.</u>	52. cynech.
13. * <u>bilhaeth.</u>	33. alda.	53. <u>e^ðilberct.</u>
14. *forthhelm.	34. <u>pega.</u>	54. ceefi.
15. <u>brynuald.</u>	35. berctuald.	55. <u>cyni.</u>
16. pecthaeth.	36. * <u>t^unlic.</u>	56. *paelli.
17. <u>hemmi.</u>	37. baduuald.	57. <u>offa.</u>
18. *cnobualch.	38. <u>e^ðiluald.</u>	58. bryni.
19. * <u>hleouald.</u>	39. eadberct.	59. * <u>cuthuald.</u>
20. *tilhaeth.	40. <u>haemgils.</u>	60. aldualch.

M-61 to M-123.

Folio 37v.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

61. bercthelm.	82. <u>suiðhelm.</u>	103. *laba.
62. * <u>haeði.</u>	83. aldhelm.	104. <u>beornfrith.</u>
63. cuna.	84. <u>betuald.</u>	105. uilberct.
64. <u>ingild.</u>	85. hunuald.	106. <u>gumuald.</u>
65. torcthelm.	86. * <u>bilhelm.</u>	107. *eadlac.
66. <u>sigbald.</u>	87. uda.	108. * <u>cuiûald.</u>
67. bosa.	88. <u>berctfrith.</u>	109. uulfhaeth.
68. <u>friðugils.</u>	89. *heregeorn.	110. <u>cynhelm.</u>
69. biuûlf.	90. <u>totta.</u>	111. uictfrith.
70. <u>arthan.</u>	91. eadberct.	112. <u>siguini.</u>
71. eaduald.	92. <u>bilfrith.</u>	113. eadgar.
72. <u>ingild.</u>	93. friðumund.	114. <u>alberct.</u>
73. ceolfrith.	94. * <u>cundigeorn.</u>	115. cynimund.
74. <u>berctgils.</u>	95. pleghelm.	116. <u>cyniberct.</u>
75. cyniðegn.	96. <u>eatðegn.</u>	117. eanuini.
76. <u>baduuald.</u>	97. badufrith.	118. <u>bercht.</u>
77. *hleouald.	98. * <u>snahard.</u>	119. hama.
78. <u>friðuberct.</u>	99. tatfrith.	120. * <u>hyguini.</u>
79. torcthaeth.	100. <u>helpuini.</u>	121. uilfrith.
80. <u>tunuald.</u>	101. cuthelm.	122. <u>alduini.</u>
81. eðiluini.	102. <u>adda.</u>	123. uynfrith.

M-124 to M-186.

Folio 38.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

124. <u>cuthfrith.</u>	145. *bilhaeth.	166. <u>pecthelm.</u>
125. titfrith.	146. <u>suiðberct.</u>	167. cynimund.
126. <u>eanberct.</u>	147. eodbald.	168. <u>eðilric.</u>
127. eodbald.	148. <u>theodric.</u>	169. uiniberct.
128. <u>haðuberct.</u>	149. eadgar.	170. <u>bercth.</u>
129. pleguini.	150. <u>eaduald.</u>	171. uynbald.
130. <u>eaduald.</u>	151. uilberct.	172. <u>berctuald.</u>
131. aldceorl.	152. <u>helpuini.</u>	173. hygberct.
132. * <u>hildiuald.</u>	153. deduini.	174. <u>liodberct.</u>
133. heardred.	154. <u>berctfrith.</u>	175. alduini.
134. <u>aldmonn.</u>	155. hygberct.	176. <u>leofuini.</u>
135. helmuald.	156. <u>cyniberct.</u>	177. *badhelm.
136. <u>berctuini.</u>	157. plecgils.	178. <u>bercthun.</u>
137. eanberct.	158. <u>hleoberct.</u>	179. lioda.
138. <u>eaduini.</u>	159. <u>friðuini.</u>	180. <u>ingild.</u>
139. * <u>friðubald.</u>	160. <u>helpric.</u>	181. tatuini.
140. <u>cynimund.</u>	161. eata.	182. <u>eanberct.</u>
141. baduca.	162. <u>haðuberct.</u>	183. haðuberct.
142. <u>hiuddi.</u>	163. alduulf.	184. <u>pecthun.</u>
143. *burgfrith.	164. * <u>isernuulf.</u>	185. eanberct.
144. <u>geruald.</u>	165. eata.	186. <u>turpen.</u>

M-187 to M-249.

Folio 38v.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

187. saeuini.	208. <u>eadberct.</u>	229. eanred.
188. <u>tatberct.</u>	209. helmuald.	230. <u>plegberct.</u>
189. beornuini.	210. <u>eanfrith.</u>	231. badumund.
190. <u>uynberct.</u>	211. cuthfrith.	232. <u>eaduald.</u>
191. botuini.	212. <u>bercthaeth.</u>	233. badumund.
192. <u>eaduald.</u>	213. hygbald.	234. <u>onna.</u>
193. eanuini.	214. <u>aberth.</u>	235. hygberct.
194. * <u>dycgberct.</u>	215. berctgils.	236. <u>tidberct.</u>
195. helmuini.	216. * <u>beduini.</u>	237. cyniuulf.
196. <u>siguulf.</u>	217. beornuini.	238. <u>ecguini.</u>
197. uinifrith.	218. <u>berctgils.</u>	239. eanuald.
198. <u>cuthuulf.</u>	219. eadberct.	240. <u>tilberct.</u>
199. berctsig.	220. <u>uigberct.</u>	241. eanberct.
200. <u>eata.</u>	221. *badhelm.	242. <u>cyniberct.</u>
201. diori.	222. <u>eaduald.</u>	243. berctuini.
202. <u>haſuuini.</u>	223. uynberct.	244. <u>uulfhaeth.</u>
203. tilfrith.	224. <u>uerenfrith.</u>	245. eanuini.
204. <u>eadberct.</u>	225. uigfrith.	246. <u>saeuini.</u>
205. berctuulf.	226. <u>uulfgar.</u>	247. daegberct.
206. <u>daegberct.</u>	227. cuthelm.	248. <u>beornuini.</u>
207. bercht.	228. <u>garuald.</u>	249. hunfrith.

M-250 to M-312.

Folio 39.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

250. * <u>beguini</u> .	271. cyniuulf.	292. <u>uulfheard</u> .
251. uulfhaeth.	272. * <u>regnhaeg</u> .	293. ingild.
252. <u>diori</u> .	273. *bilhaeth.	294. * <u>uilðegn</u> .
253. <u>guða</u> .	274. <u>plegheard</u> .	295. eaduini.
254. <u>eaduini</u> .	275. eada.	296. <u>hygberct</u> .
255. plegberct.	276. <u>alcheri</u> .	297. <u>haðuferth</u> .
256. <u>earduulf</u> .	277. alchuini.	298. <u>eatðegn</u> .
257. uermund.	278. <u>eadberct</u> .	299. eanberct.
258. <u>guðhelm</u> .	279. cynibald.	300. <u>badufrith</u> .
259. geruald.	280. <u>eaduulf</u> .	301. aluberct.
260. <u>eaduini</u> .	281. berctuini.	302. <u>badumund</u> .
261. uigfus.	282. <u>eadberct</u> .	303. cynifrith.
262. <u>cuthbald</u> .	283. uilfrith.	304. <u>beornuini</u> .
263. herebald.	284. <u>uulfsig</u> .	305. cuthgils.
264. <u>badhard</u> .	285. hygberct.	306. <u>eanuulf</u> .
265. eadberct.	286. <u>haðuberct</u> .	307. eanfrith.
266. <u>tiduald</u> .	287. cyniberct.	308. <u>tiduini</u> .
267. beonna.	288. <u>cynimund</u> .	309. helmuini.
268. <u>alberct</u> .	289. badumund.	310. * <u>tathaeth</u> .
269. tidberct.	290. <u>eaduulf</u> .	311. tiduini.
270. <u>uulfsig</u> .	291. uilfrið.	312. <u>tatmon</u> .

M-313 to M-375.

Folio 39v.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
313. suiðgils.	334. <u>uulfheard.</u>	355. berct.
314. <u>eadbald.</u>	335. cyniberct.	356. <u>bercht.</u>
315. hearduini.	336. * <u>tatuulf.</u>	357. heardlac.
316. <u>altceorl.</u>	337. alduulf.	358. <u>hygberct.</u>
317. cuthðegn.	338. <u>herebald.</u>	359. uiniberct.
318. <u>eaduulf.</u>	339. cyniuulf.	360. <u>heardred.</u>
319. tatuini.	340. <u>cuthgar.</u>	361. uulfsig.
320. <u>tidhelm.</u>	341. daegberct.	362. <u>eanfrith.</u>
321. sigberct.	342. <u>tidbercht.</u>	363. *hysica.
322. <u>titfrith.</u>	343. tiduulf.	364. <u>eadberct.</u>
323. baduini.	344. <u>berctuini.</u>	365. aldmon.
324. <u>aelli.</u>	345. suiðberct.	366. <u>helmuald.</u>
325. beorn.	346. <u>hildiberct.</u>	367. ceolred.
326. <u>bercht.</u>	347. berctuulf.	368. * <u>uilðegn.</u>
327. *pectgils.	348. <u>aldred.</u>	369. badumund.
328. <u>eðiluini.</u>	349. uulfheri.	370. <u>alric.</u>
329. cyniðegn.	350. <u>cuthuulf.</u>	371. beornuini.
330. <u>tiduini.</u>	351. haðuulf.	372. * <u>torctfrith.</u>
331. *pobbidi.	352. <u>tiduini.</u>	373. eðilhelm.
332. <u>cyniheard.</u>	353. eanuini.	374. <u>aldulf.</u>
333. alberct.	354. <u>beornuulf.</u>	375. hygberct.

M-376 to M-438.

Folio 40.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
376. <u>cyniberct.</u>	397. uigfrith.	418. <u>osuulf.</u>
377. baduuini.	398. <u>badhard.</u>	419. alduulf.
378. <u>siguini.</u>	399. cynigils.	420. * <u>betuini.</u>
379. hygbald.	400. * <u>eansig.</u>	421. eaduulf.
380. * <u>domuini.</u>	401. eaduulf.	422. <u>alduulf.</u>
381. siguulf.	402. <u>eadbald.</u>	423. uilmund.
382. * <u>tatuulf.</u>	403. eanuulf.	424. <u>ceolred.</u>
383. ha <u>ð</u> uulf.	404. <u>baduulf.</u>	425. * <u>bil<u>ð</u>egn.</u>
384. <u>cuthred.</u>	405. eaduulf.	426. <u>uulfheard.</u>
385. beornred.	406. <u>ecguulf.</u>	427. eanbald.
386. <u>bercthun.</u>	407. alberct.	428. <u>plegberct.</u>
387. koena.	408. <u>botuulf.</u>	429. berctfrith.
388. <u>eadgar.</u>	409. eada.	430. <u>uiglaf.</u>
389. hygbald.	410. <u>bercthelm.</u>	431. cu <u>ð</u> uulf.
390. <u>hygberct.</u>	411. cuthred.	432. <u>earduulf.</u>
391. e <u>ð</u> iluini.	412. <u>alduini.</u>	433. alduulf.
392. <u>tilfrith.</u>	413. hea <u>ð</u> ured.	434. <u>uighelm.</u>
393. heregils.	414. <u>earduulf.</u>	435. eanbald.
394. <u>tidberct.</u>	415. uulfsig.	436. <u>tidberct.</u>
395. sui <u>ð</u> uulf.	416. <u>haduulf.</u>	437. ha <u>ð</u> uulf.
396. <u>tidberct.</u>	417. cyni <u>ð</u> egn.	438. <u>hro<u>ð</u>uulf.</u>

M-439 to M-501.

Folio 40v.

Column One.

439. *hyguini.
440. uulfsig.
441. ceolred.
442. alberct.
443. eatðegn.
444. *hygmund.
445. uigbald.
446. herefrith.
447. uulfsig.
448. uigheard.
449. eadbald.
450. helmuald.
451. eatfrith.
452. eanred.
453. cynimund.
454. uulfsig.
455. tidhelm.
456. cyniuulf.
457. osuulf.
458. alduulf.
459. eðilberct.

Column Two.

460. alduulf.
461. cyniuulf.
462. cuthðegn.
463. uicthelm.
464. alberct.
465. beornuulf.
466. cyniheard.
467. eadberct.
468. cyniðegn.
469. tidhelm.
470. sigric.
471. haðuulf.
472. cuthgils.
473. eðilfrith.
474. eaduulf.
475. eadbald.
476. helpuini.
477. berctuini.
478. berctred.
479. beornred.
480. uigbald.

Column Three.

481. *seldred.
482. alduulf.
483. badufrith.
484. eðiluulf.
485. balduulf.
486. eofuruulf.
487. eanmund.
488. baldred.
489. tiduald.
490. altceorl.
491. berctuulf.
492. ofa.
493. *uilðegn.
494. berctuulf.
495. beornred.
496. baldhelm.
497. badufrith.
498. berctuini.
499. cuðred.
500. eaduald.
501. *gefuini.

M-502 to M-564.

Folio 41.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
502. <u>eaduulf.</u>	523. bercht.	544. <u>tidberct.</u>
503. ecguulf.	524. <u>eanuulf.</u>	545. earduulf.
504. <u>eaduulf.</u>	525. seliberct.	546. <u>cuðuulf.</u>
505. aescuulf.	526. <u>aldred.</u>	547. siguulf.
506. <u>alduulf.</u>	527. haðuberct.	548. <u>cuthgils.</u>
507. eanuulf.	528. <u>ecguulf.</u>	549. earduulf.
508. <u>huaetberct.</u>	529. *hleofrith.	550. <u>eadred.</u>
509. alduulf.	530. <u>cuthred.</u>	551. ediluulf.
510. <u>beornfrith.</u>	531. <u>cuðheard.</u>	552. <u>rudda.</u>
511. beornred.	532. <u>alberct.</u>	553. eanuini.
512. <u>moll.</u>	533. hygberct.	554. <u>hunuulf.</u>
513. sigred.	534. <u>uulfheard.</u>	555. ecgred.
514. <u>berctuulf.</u>	535. eanuulf.	556. <u>ceolla.</u>
515. eaduulf.	536. <u>eanred.</u>	557. beornuulf.
516. <u>eanuulf.</u>	537. uchtred.	558. <u>cyniuulf.</u>
517. eaduulf.	538. <u>ead.</u>	559. uulfheard.
518. <u>diori.</u>	539. ingild.	560. <u>herefrith.</u>
519. huaetred.	540. <u>beornuini.</u>	561. eadred.
520. <u>eðiluulf.</u>	541. earduulf.	562. <u>helpuini.</u>
521. eanuulf.	542. <u>eaduulf.</u>	563. cynifrith.
522. <u>uigbald.</u>	543. <u>forðred.</u>	564. <u>tiluini.</u>

M-565 to M-627.

Folio 4lv.

Column One.

Column Two.

Column Three.

565. liodfrith.	586. <u>eanuulf.</u>	607. aldgils.
566. <u>eaduini.</u>	587. hygberct.	608. <u>hygberct.</u>
567. leofuini.	588. <u>baduulf.</u>	609. alduulf.
568. <u>tidberct.</u>	589. cu ³ berct.	610. <u>sigberct.</u>
569. eanuini.	590. <u>eanred.</u>	611. uulfheard.
570. <u>cynhelm.</u>	591. aldhelm.	612. <u>ha³uuini.</u>
571. hunberct.	592. <u>ha³uberct.</u>	613. cynigils.
572. <u>tatmonn.</u>	593. uilbald.	614. <u>siguulf.</u>
573. eada.	594. <u>huita.</u>	615. eaduald.
574. <u>eanuini.</u>	595. cyniberct.	616. <u>siguulf.</u>
575. berctuulf.	596. <u>beornuini.</u>	617. meguulf.
576. <u>siguulf.</u>	597. uilhaeth.	618. <u>cuthmund.</u>
577. eanuulf.	598. <u>eada.</u>	619. eadhaeth.
578. <u>alduulf.</u>	599. eadberct.	620. <u>eaduini.</u>
579. beornuulf.	600. <u>cuthuulf.</u>	621. aelfsig.
580. * <u>tatuulf.</u>	601. eanberct.	622. <u>alduulf.</u>
581. eaduulf.	602. <u>eadhaeth.</u>	623. baduulf.
582. <u>aelfsig.</u>	603. eadgar.	624. <u>eada.</u>
583. daeghelm.	604. <u>baduuini.</u>	625. cynimund.
584. <u>eanbald.</u>	605. tatberct.	626. <u>aescuulf.</u>
585. aldred.	606. <u>liodfrith.</u>	627. ecgberct.

M-628 to M-690.

Folio 42.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
628. baldred.	649. <u>suiðred.</u>	670. eaduulf.
629. <u>badufrith.</u>	650. *cynigar.	671. <u>berctred.</u>
630. cuthred.	651. <u>eda.</u>	672. eanred.
631. <u>eaduulf.</u>	652. cyniuulf.	673. * <u>eanlac.</u>
632. eadberct.	653. <u>eadbald.</u>	674. berctuini.
633. <u>eadberct.</u>	654. haðuulf.	675. <u>alduulf.</u>
634. eaðugils.	655. <u>helmuini.</u>	676. eanred.
635. <u>uilsig.</u>	656. alchsig.	677. <u>haðuberct.</u>
636. torchtuulf.	657. <u>eðilheard.</u>	678. *cuthlac.
637. <u>eðilbald.</u>	658. beornuulf.	679. <u>haðuulf.</u>
638. cuthuulf.	659. <u>tiduulf.</u>	680. tidhelm.
639. <u>eatfrith.</u>	660. burghelm.	681. <u>uulfheard.</u>
640. beornuini.	661. <u>eadberct.</u>	682. eanuulf.
641. <u>tiduulf.</u>	662. baduulf.	683. <u>eaduulf.</u>
642. eðilbald.	663. <u>eanfrith.</u>	684. ecga.
643. <u>tondheri.</u>	664. baduini.	685. <u>helmuini.</u>
644. eanberct.	665. <u>tiduini.</u>	686. cuthred.
645. <u>tilmon.</u>	666. berctred.	687. <u>baede.</u>
646. eaduulf.	667. <u>cuðred.</u>	688. uilberct.
647. <u>hygbald.</u>	668. heaðured.	689. <u>tatfrith.</u>
648. berctuulf.	669. <u>uilhelm.</u>	690. berctfrith.

M-691 to M-753.

Folio 42v:- the first three names on this page are probably in the first hand; then the second hand starts. The arrangement of the gold and silver on this page is unusual. Usually the first and third columns are arranged the same, and the second the opposite way round. Here the first and second columns are the same, and the third is arranged differently.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
691. <u>eaduulf.</u>	712. <u>eðilmund.</u>	733. baduulf.
692. tilfrith.	713. aldred.	734. <u>eaduulf.</u>
693. <u>huaetred.</u>	714. <u>cuðuulf.</u>	735. eadred.
694. tidbald.	715. *botfrith.	736. <u>torchfred.</u>
695. <u>beornred.</u>	716. <u>heaðuberct.</u>	737. eatferð.
696. beornuulf.	717. heaðuferth.	738. <u>eaduulf.</u>
697. * <u>hygfrith.</u>	718. * <u>hyguulf.</u>	739. cyniuulf.
698. eanred.	719. liodberct.	740. <u>herred.</u>
699. <u>alberct.</u>	720. <u>hygberct.</u>	741. huita.
700. ofa.	721. hygred.	742. <u>eatðegn.</u>
701. <u>cynimund.</u>	722. <u>cuthðegn.</u>	743. tilferð.
702. cuðheard.	723. aeðilmund.	744. * <u>embe.</u>
703. <u>cuthðegn.</u>	724. <u>earduulf.</u>	745. heaðured.
704. eanferð.	725. hungils.	746. <u>eanuulf.</u>
705. <u>eanred.</u>	726. <u>haðubald.</u>	747. alduini.
706. cyniferð.	727. hereberct.	748. <u>earduulf.</u>
707. <u>eanuulf.</u>	728. <u>eðilmund.</u>	749. uiniberct.
708. heaðuulf.	729. siguulf.	750. <u>haduuni.</u>
709. <u>berctuulf.</u>	730. <u>eaduulf dux.</u>	751. tilberct.
710. aldred.	731. badured.	752. <u>alduulf.</u>
711. <u>eanuulf.</u>	732. <u>eaduulf.</u>	753. uilmund.

M-754 to M-816.

Folio 43:- this page is in the second hand. At the bottom of the first column, nos. 770-74 are a repeat of five names from the queens' list (Q-145 to 149); there are two differences in spelling. At the top of the third column the first name (no.796) is written about four spaces further to the right than the rest of the names below it.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
754. <u>beornred.</u>	775. ecgred.	796. * <u>eardhelm.</u>
755. <u>cuðuulf.</u>	776. <u>uilgils.</u>	797. <u>eðiluulf.</u>
756. * <u>hygferð.</u>	777. osuulf.	798. <u>berctred.</u>
757. <u>tilðegn.</u>	778. <u>eaduulf.</u>	799. eaduulf.
758. <u>eaduulf.</u>	779. aldred.	800. <u>reduulf.</u>
759. *hleouini.	780. <u>uigmund.</u>	801. <u>heaðuberct.</u>
760. * <u>tidhaeð.</u>	781. beadugils.	802. <u>eðiluini.</u>
761. eduini.	782. <u>heardred.</u>	803. eonuulf.
762. <u>eaduulf.</u>	783. eadred.	804. <u>uulfheard.</u>
763. <u>berctuulf.</u>	784. <u>eonuulf.</u>	805. eonuulf.
764. * <u>pechtuulf.</u>	785. eanred.	806. <u>beornhoð.</u>
765. hunberct.	786. <u>eadred.</u>	807. tilberct.
766. <u>berchtuulf.</u>	787. <u>cuðuulf.</u>	808. <u>uilmund.</u>
767. tilberct.	788. <u>herred.</u>	809. uigmund.
768. <u>uulfheord.</u>	789. <u>cyniferð.</u>	810. <u>hygbald.</u>
769. uulfheord.	790. <u>uulfred.</u>	811. eaduulf.
770. <u>cyniðryð.</u>	791. <u>cuðred.</u>	812. <u>eanred.</u>
771. uilburg.	792. <u>sigred.</u>	813. <u>heðured.</u>
772. <u>hildigyð.</u>	793. uilmund.	814. <u>balduini.</u>
773. eadu.	794. <u>eadhaeð.</u>	815. cynigils.
774. <u>eardgyð.</u>	795. *tatuulf.	816. <u>tiduini.</u>

M-817 to M-880.

Folio 43v:- no running title on this page. No.880 is in the right-hand margin of the page next to no. 878.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
817. albercht.	838. <u>siguulf.</u>	859. aldred.
818. <u>berctmund.</u>	839. uulfhard.	860. <u>hunberct.</u>
819. sigferð.	840. <u>cyniuulf.</u>	861. heardred.
820. <u>sighelm.</u>	841. hygberct.	862. <u>ingild.</u>
821. tiduulf.	842. <u>berctuulf.</u>	863. hunred.
822. <u>hleoberct.</u>	843. eadred.	864. <u>uulfhed.</u>
823. *hyguini.	844. <u>uilgils.</u>	865. ofa.
824. <u>alberct.</u>	845. haðuuini.	866. <u>uilberct.</u>
825. eanberct.	846. <u>eadred.</u>	867. berctferð.
826. * <u>tatuulf.</u>	847. haðuulf.	868. <u>frioðuuini.</u>
827. eanred.	848. <u>cuðuini.</u>	869. uigferð.
828. <u>beornred.</u>	849. hereferð.	870. <u>eanberct.</u>
829. ebbe.	850. <u>berctuulf.</u>	871. eaduulf.
830. <u>uulfheard.</u>	851. hroðuulf.	872. <u>hroðuulf.</u>
831. berctuulf.	852. <u>uilhelm.</u>	873. tidberct.
832. <u>tiduini.</u>	853. bette.	874. <u>torctuulf.</u>
833. acuulf.	854. <u>eaduulf.</u>	875. alduulf.
834. <u>alberct.</u>	855. botuulf.	876. * <u>uuheard.</u>
835. eadberct.	856. <u>pleghard.</u>	877. uilmund.
836. <u>eanberct.</u>	857. <u>frioðuini.</u>	878. <u>aldred.</u> 880. <u>eanuini.</u>
837. berctred.	858. * <u>tilne.</u>	879. eduini.

M-881 to M-943.

Folio 44:- no running title on this page. The third hand seems to start on this page, but it is hard to say exactly where - possibly about half-way down the first column.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
881. <u>burgheard.</u>	902. eanred.	923. <u>uigbeorn.</u>
882. reduulf.	903. <u>ebbe.</u>	924. uicga.
883. <u>aelfsig.</u>	904. beornhard.	925. <u>torchtmund.</u>
884. eadbald.	905. <u>aldred.</u>	926. berchtsig.
885. <u>eðiluulf.</u>	906. badumund.	927. <u>eðiluulf.</u>
886. eanuulf.	907. <u>albercht.</u>	928. aldred.
887. <u>eaduulf.</u>	908. friuðuulf.	929. <u>hunuald.</u>
888. uini.	909. *friðubald.	930. berchtred.
889. <u>reduulf.</u>	910. *hygferð.	931. <u>earduulf.</u>
890. cuðuulf.	911. <u>ecgred.</u>	932. tilbercht.
891. <u>eadbald.</u>	912. eaduulf.	933. <u>botuulf.</u>
892. baduuini.	913. <u>alduulf.</u>	934. beonna.
893. <u>eadred.</u>	914. hunbercht.	935. <u>eadred.</u>
894. huaetberct.	915. <u>uilferð.</u>	936. sigred.
895. <u>badumund.</u>	916. eadhelm.	937. <u>eadred.</u>
896. tilðegn.	917. <u>osbald.</u>	938. cuthelm.
897. <u>tidbercht.</u>	918. heardred.	939. <u>beornuini.</u>
898. eaduini.	919. <u>beornuulf.</u>	940. uulfhard.
899. <u>tidferd.</u>	920. uulfred.	941. <u>hunferd.</u>
900. cynibercht.	921. <u>beornuini.</u>	942. berchtuulf.
901. <u>eadred.</u>	922. earnuulf.	943. <u>headured.</u>

M-944 to M-1006.

Folio 44v:- no running title on this page.

Column One.	Column Two.	Column Three.
944. <u>eðilbercht.</u>	965. hygbercht.	986. <u>torchtmund.</u>
945. uigmund.	966. <u>eanuulf.</u>	987. baldred.
946. <u>uulfheard.</u>	967. uilhaeð.	988. <u>eanberht.</u>
947. hunred.	968. <u>cyniferð.</u>	989. uynbald.
948. <u>eðilheard.</u>	969. saeuini.	990. <u>coenred.</u>
949. eðiluulf.	970. <u>eanuulf.</u>	991. friouini.
950. <u>lioduini.</u>	971. herred.	992. <u>reduulf.</u>
951. aldred.	972. <u>uini.</u>	993. tiduulf.
952. <u>tilred.</u>	973. uillech.	994. <u>aelfsig.</u>
953. brada.	974. <u>alduulf.</u>	995. hygberht.
954. <u>eanbercht.</u>	975. tiduulf.	996. <u>hungils.</u>
955. cuðuulf.	976. <u>tidbald.</u>	997. aldgils.
956. <u>ecgred.</u>	977. eðilberht.	998. <u>berchtred.</u>
957. berhtred.	978. <u>badumund.</u>	999. cyniferð.
958. <u>cuðuulf.</u>	979. *tatuulf.	1000. <u>uulfsig.</u>
959. bada.	980. <u>aluberct.</u>	1001. hroðuini.
960. <u>eanred.</u>	981. siguulf.	1002. * <u>hygine.</u>
961. heardred.	982. <u>haðuulf.</u>	1003. eda.
962. <u>cyniuald.</u>	983. uulfhaeð.	1004. <u>eadred.</u>
963. hygbald.	984. <u>beornred.</u>	1005. uermund.
964. <u>aella.</u>	985. forðred.	1006. <u>gerferð.</u>

M-1007 to M-1030.

Folio 45:- no running title. This is the last page containing the original portion of the Liber Vitae.

Column One.

Column Two.

1007. berchtuald.	1028. <u>baldred</u> .
1008. <u>eðiluini</u> .	1029. *eadlac.
1009. eadgar.	1030. <u>eaduulf</u> .
1010. <u>uichtbald</u> .	
1011. eanuulf.	
1012. <u>reduulf</u> .	
1013. tidberht.	
1014. <u>cuðgils</u> .	
1015. eadred.	
1016. * <u>hyguulf</u> .	
1017. huita.	
1018. * <u>kiona</u> .	
1019. cyniferð.	
1020. <u>siguulf</u> .	
1021. earduulf.	
1022. <u>eðilmund</u> .	
1023. eadred.	
1024. * <u>hygine</u> .	
1025. berchtred.	
1026. <u>coenuulf</u> .	
1027. eðiluald.	

Folios 45v-55v originally left blank for additions to the Liber Vitae, except for fols.48-49v, which were inserted in the 12th. Folios 56-84 are later added folios.

Appendix II - Insular manuscripts using gold and silver,
dating from before 900.

1. Cambridge, University Library, Ll.1.10 - the Book of Cerne, which contains the Passion narrative from the Four Gospels, prayers, and other devotional material. First half of the ninth century. Some links in the ornamentation with the so-called "Canterbury group" of manuscripts, but origin of the Book of Cerne is uncertain. Northumbria, Mercia, and southern England have all been suggested. Only the first four initials in gold. (Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 84-85, no.66).
2. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino I - the "Codex Amiatinus", a complete copy of the Bible. Written 690-716, at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. One leaf is stained purple and written in gold (fol.3=IV). There is some gold in the miniatures. (CLA, no. 299).
3. London, British Library, Cotton Domitian VII - the Liber Vitae of Durham.
4. London, British Library, Royal 1.E.VI, + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Bibl. b.2(P), + Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Additional MS.16. The "Canterbury Gospels" - the manuscript includes the Gospels and part of the Acts of the Apostles, and seems to be a section of what was once a complete Bible. Late eighth century. Mercian or Kentish, possibly Canterbury. Mostly written in ordinary ink. Inscriptions on fols. 1v, 30, and 44 are in gold and silver. Illuminated Canon Tables use gold and various colours. There are four purple leaves in the manuscript. (CLA, nos. 214, 244).

5. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.776 - the "Lincoln Psalter". Mid-eighth century. Probably from south of England. "Canterbury type" decoration. Written in black ink, with rich decoration in various colours and gold. (CLA, no. 1661).

6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 281 and 298 - Gospels (the "Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae"). Late eighth century. Probably from south of England. Decoration linked with the "Canterbury group" by Alexander. Written in ordinary ink. Traces of gold in the illuminated initials. (CLA, no. 526; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, no. 34).

7. Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A.135 - Gospels (the "Codex Aureus"). Late eighth century. Probably from Kent. Nearly every second bifolium is purple, written in gold or white ink. Gold is only used on the versos. The rest is ordinary vellum, usually written in black ink. Gold and silver are used for the "Nomina Sacra" (gold where the ink is white; silver where the text is gold). The running titles on some of the purple leaves are in silver. Gold is used in the illuminated initials and capitals. (CLA, no. 1642).

8. Utrecht, Universiteits-Bibliotheek, MS.32 (Eccl. 484), fols. 94-105 - Gospels (fragment). Written c.716. From Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. Initials on three folios (fols. 97, 102, 105) are filled in with gold. (CLA, no. 1587).

Appendix III - Non-Germanic names in the 'Liber Vitae'.

Bibliography.

J.E. Lloyd, "The personal name-system in Old Welsh", in Y Cymmrodor, 9, 1888, pp. 39-55.

M.A. O'Brien, "Old Irish Personal Names", in Celtica, 10, 1973, pp. 211-36.

M. Redin, Studies on uncompounded personal names in Old English, University of Uppsala, 1919.

RLT - information from R.L. Thomson.

A. Celtic.

Aberth - probably Welsh; "aberth" is the Welsh noun, "sacrifice" (RLT). There was also an Old Irish name, Abbaeth (O'Brien, p. 222). (LV, M-214).

Abniar - see section C.

Adamnan - Old Irish (RLT). (LV, C-250).

Aethan - Old Irish; a form of Áedan (O'Brien, p. 226). (LV, C-659).

Arcanaen - possibly Celtic? It occurs only in the LV (OAS, p. 538). (LV, C-395).

Arnan - possibly Old Irish? (RLT). (LV, C-640).

Arthan - Welsh; from "arth" = "bear" (RLT). (LV, M-70).

Baeglog, Baeglug - may represent the Old Irish name, Báethlug (O'Brien, p. 224); or it may be another Old Irish name, derived from the word "baeglach" = "dangerous"; or it may be Welsh, derived from "bagl" = "staff", "crozier" (a loan-word from Latin "baculus")

- one of the derivatives of this Welsh word means "lay-brother". (RLT). (LV, C-94, 343, 899).

Boesel, Boesil, Bosil - uncertain origin, but may be a Celtic name (Redin, p. 141); perhaps derived from "bos", which occurs in both Welsh and Old Irish (from Celtic "*bossā", "*bostā" = "palm of the hand", "fist"). (LV, A-9, C-258, 339).

Bralluc - possibly Celtic? (Redin, p. 153). It occurs only in the LV (OAS, p. 113). (LV, C-438).

Bressal - Old Irish (O'Brien, p. 223). (LV, AP-45).

Brón - may well be Irish - "brón" is the Irish word for "sorrow", "grief", "lamentation" (RLT). There are also the Old Irish names Brión, Bróen, and Bran (O'Brien, pp. 219, 221, 223). (LV, P-19).

Cada - name-element is Welsh "cad" = "battle" (Lloyd, p. 44). (LV, C-744).

Celin - possibly Celtic. May be Old Irish name Cillíne or Cilléne (O'Brien, p. 221). Other occurrences of what might be this name in England are (1) Ceawlin, king of Wessex, 560-93 (ASC, 556, 560, 568, 577, 584, 592, 593); (2) Caelin, priest, brother of SS. Cedd and Chad, mid-C7th (HE, III, 23); (3) Caelin, prior at Ripon in 709 (Eddius Stephanus, cap. 64). (LV, C-436).

Cunen - Old Welsh name (Lloyd, p. 45). (LV, C-4, 310, 971).

Cynech - possibly Old Irish (RLT). It may represent the Old Irish name Senach, Sínach (O'Brien, p. 223). Or it may be the Welsh name, Cynawg, Cinuarch. (Lloyd, p. 44), but this is less likely. (LV, M-52).

Demma - probably Irish, though it may possibly be an Old English hypocoristic name. It may represent the Old Irish name, Dím^hmae - a hypocoristic form of Diarmait. (O'Brien, p. 220). (LV, P-1).

Dengus - Old Irish (O'Brien, p. 225 - Donngus, Dúngus). (LV, C-506).

Fael^hfi - probably represents Old Irish name, Fáilbe (O'Brien, p. 223). (LV, P-25).

Fergus - Old Irish (O'Brien, p. 225). (LV, C-1013).

Finan - Old Irish (O'Brien, p. 221). (LV, C-51).

Fladgus - Old Irish names, Flaithgius, and Flandgus (O'Brien, p. 225). (LV, C-1170).

Hiodde, Hiuddi, Hiudu - uncertain origin. The name "Hiuto" occurs in Old German. Old Saxon has "hiudu" and Old High German has "hiutu", both = "today" (connected with Latin "hodie"?). Or the element may derive from Welsh "iud-", a name-element of uncertain meaning (Lloyd, p. 49). The names "Iudiu" and "Iudic" occur in the Book of Llan Dâu. (RLT). (LV, Ab-15; P-48; C-645, 1154; M-4, 142).

Lagudi - may represent Old Irish, Lugaid, Lugdag (O'Brien, p. 225; RLT). (LV, P-215).

Maethcor - possibly Old Irish (RLT). It occurs only in the LV (OAS, p. 346). It may be a compound of the Old Irish words "maeth" = "soft, tender"; or "maith, math" = "good thing, value, good action"; or "math" = "bear"; and "córe, córae" = "righteousness, peace". (LV, P-108).

Moll - possibly Old Irish (RLT). Mole occurs once as an Old Irish name, connected with Máel, Mál (O'Brien, p. 229). However there are possible Germanic derivations too - it may be connected with to Old High German "mol" = "lizard, newt"; or to Middle English "molle, mulle" = "mole" (Redin, pp. 32-33). (LV, M-512).

Muul - possibly Celtic, or may be from Old English "mul" = "mule" (Redin, p. 21). The brother of Caedwalla, king of Wessex (685-88), was called "Mul" (ASC, 685, 686, 687), but this does not mean it was an English name, as Caedwalla is itself a Celtic name. (LV, M-23).

Piichil - with initial "p" it might possibly be a Pictish or Welsh name, as "p" is not common in Old English (RLT). There is a Welsh word "picell" = "spear", which may be connected with this name. But there are a number of possible Old English derivations too - it may be a diminutive name derived from Old English "pic" = "point"; or it may represent the Old English name "Pyttel", which comes possibly from "pyttel, pittel" = "hawk"; or it may be a diminutive name related to "Putta" (derivation uncertain - may be connected with the stem "pud" = "to swell, bulge"). (LV, C-102).

Pobbidi - possibly Welsh? (RLT; R. Müller, "Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitae", in Palaestra, 9, 1901, p. 38). (LV, M-331).

Raegnmaeld - English spelling of the British name, Rieinmelth
(RLT). (LV, Q-1).

Riuuala - possibly a Welsh name, using the elements "ri" =
"king", and "-gwallon, -wallon, -walla", which
probably = "region" (RLT; Lloyd, pp. 47, 51).
The names "Riual, Riaual", "Rioual", "Riguallaun",
and "Riuallaun", occur in the Book of Llan Dâu.
The name "Riuualo" appears in Domesday Book.
There is also the name "Riuualch" in the Liber
Vitae (C-85), which is Old English in its second
element - though interestingly it is the element
"wealh" = "Briton". (LV, C-365).

Salfach - probably represents the Old Irish name, Selbach
(O'Brien, p. 221). (LV, C-1062).

Uillech - may possibly represent Old Irish, Uilleag (O'Brien,
p. 221). The ending "-ch" is unusual in Old
English (RLT). There is also though an Old
German name, "Willich". (LV, M-973).

Ultan - Old Irish (O'Brien, p. 221). (LV, P-49).

Unust - Pictish (RLT). A form of the Old Irish name, Óengus
(O'Brien, p. 225). (LV, R-43).

Uoenan - represents the Pictish name Eoganán, Eoghenan, Uuen.
(LV, R-100).

B. Uncompounded names of uncertain origin.

Adda - probably a Germanic name, although the meaning of the element "add-" is not known. It may be connected with Old German "Addo" and Lombard "Ado", derived from Old German "adal" (the Old English equivalent of which is the common element "aethel-" = "noble"). But the name-element may possibly derive from a Celtic word, e.g. Old Irish "ád" = "good fortune"; or "aed" = "fire" (which is used as a name-element, e.g. Áedan). The names Adding (P-61) and Addul (C-867) also occur in the LV. (LV, C-80, 499, 663; M-102).

Aligna - name-element unknown; but probably Germanic. (LV, M-2).

Caua - may possibly derive from a Celtic word, e.g. Welsh "cau" = "hollow, empty" (may be derived from Latin "cavus" or from Celtic "*kouos"); or Welsh "cawr" = "giant, hero" (from British "*kouarós"). However there is an Old German name "Cawo", which suggests "Caua" may be Germanic. (Redin, p. 88). (LV, C-296).

Cissa - uncertain. May be Germanic, e.g. from Old English "cis" = "choice, nice"; or may be Celtic, e.g. from Old Irish "cís" = "tribute, tax". (LV, C-123).

Hulan - uncertain. Might be connected with Old English "hulu" = "husk", but the suffix is unusual for an Old English name. But if it is Celtic it is not known what word it could derive from. It occurs only in the LV (OAS, p. 304). The name "Holen" occurs as the name of the ruler of the Wrosns in Widsith, line 33. (LV, M-12).

Kiona - may be a misspelling of "Coena", which also occurs in the LV (C-934; M-387 - spelt "Koena"); or it may derive from some Celtic name, e.g. Old Irish Cúán,

Cúén (O'Brien, op. 221, 228). The form "Cuana" appears in the Annals of Tigernach. (Redin, p. 99). (LV, M-1018).

Mucca - may be of Celtic origin. There is the Old Irish name-element "macc-" = "son of" (O'Brien, p. 227); and also Welsh "moch" and Old Irish "mucc" = "pig". Or it may derive from the Germanic stem "muh, mug" = "heap (of corn, hay)". (LV, C-95).

Peuf, Peufa - uncertain origin (Redin, p. 34). With the initial "p" it may possibly be Pictish or Welsh (RLT). Or possibly derived from a Germanic stem "*peub, *pub" = "puff, blow". (LV, C-283; 397).

Seuua - uncertain. Possibly not Germanic (Redin, p. 108). It occurs only in the LV (it is not noted in OAS). (LV, C-37).

Sola - may derive from Latin "sol" = "the sun"; or it may be connected with Latin "solus" = "alone, single, solitary", particularly as it was probably the name of an English anchorite who lived in Germany in the eighth century (Ermanric, Life of Sola, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in MGH, Scriptores, 15, part 1, Hannover, 1887, pp. 151-63). Or the name may derive from Old English "sol" = "mire", though this seems rather unlikely. There is also the Old Welsh name-element "Sul", the name of a god (Lloyd, p. 52). (Redin, pp. 23-24). (LV, C-886).

Tuda, Tudda - may be Celtic using Welsh name-element "tud" = "country, tribe, people" (Lloyd, pp. 52-53). Or, though this is less likely, it may be connected with Old English "tude" = "shield". (LV, C-500; M-25).

Tunna - probably Old English, from "tun" = "enclosure, home, farm, village"; but may possibly derive from Latin "tunna" = "a cask" (which was borrowed into both Old Irish and Old English); or may come from Old Irish "tonn" = "a wave" (Celtic, "*tundâ"). (Redin, pp. 8, 56). (LV, P-147; C-334).

Tydi - possibly a form of Tuda (supra); though more likely to be derived from Old English "tid", "tyd" = "time". (Redin, p. 71). (LV, P-156).

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C. Other names.

Abniar - the Biblical name, Abner, in its Irish form, with a long "e" that breaks in pronunciation (RLT). (LV, P-218).

Agustinus - Latin, Augustine. (LV, A-20).

Casaer - Latin (RLT). (LV, R-31).

Coluduc - the early name of Coldingham was "Colodesbyrig" (VA, II, 3); "Coludi urbs" (VP, cap. 10; HE, IV, 19). "Colud" may have been the British name for this area. Here it is used with an Old English diminutive suffix. Perhaps it was used for a person from that area? (RLT). (LV is only source it occurs in (OAS, p. 545)). (LV, M-30).

Elias - Biblical name. Such names were rarely used by the English. They were more common among the British (RLT). This occurrence in the LV is very probably Elias, a priest at Lindisfarne in the period 699-705 (VA, I, 3). (LV, AP-3).

Iohannes - Biblical name. (LV, D-8).

Tobias - Biblical name (RLT). (LV, P-135).

Turpen - an exotic, derived from Latin. In the medieval legends of Charlemagne, Tilpin, Bishop and then Archbishop of Rheims, appears as Archbishop Turpin (RLT; DCB, IV, p.1028). (LV, M-186).

Appendix IV - Early ecclesiastical sites in Northumbria
(pre-875).

Key.

- A. Places that were definitely monasteries.
- B. Places that were definitely monasteries, but their exact site is uncertain.
- C. Hermitages, retreat houses, and chapels.
- D. Episcopal sees, probably non-monastic.
- E. Other churches - definite evidence for them.
- F. Places that were probably monasteries, but evidence less certain than for A.
- G. Places where documentary and/or archaeological evidence suggests there was possibly a monastery.
- H. Places where there is no documentary evidence, but there is sculpture of such quality (and, preferably, quantity too) to suggest that there was a monastery there.
- I. Places with sculpture, not included in any of above sections.
- J. Places where there may have been a hermitage or chapel.
- K. Places where there may have been a secular church.
- L. Places where bishops were consecrated.
- M. Places where synods were held.
- N. Other sites.

Areas covered.

Bernicia.	Dumfriesshire.
Deira.	Galloway.
Lancashire (excluding Furness).	Uncertain sites in Northumbria.
Cumbria (including Furness).	Others.

Bernicia.

- A. Abercorn (also a see) (HE, IV, 26).
Coldingham (HE, IV, 19).
Coquet Island (VP, cap. 24).
Corbridge (HR, 786).
Gainford (HR, 801).
Gateshead (HE, III, 21).
Hartlepool (HE, III, 24; IV, 23).
Hexham (also a see) (Eddius Stephanus, cap. 22; HE, IV, 12).
Jarrow (Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 11-12).
Lindisfarne (also a see) (HE, III, 3).
Melrose (VA, II, 3; HE, IV, 27).
Monkwearmouth (Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 7-9).
Norham (also a see?) (HSC, cap. 9).
Sockburn-on-Tees (ASC, "D", "E", 780; HR, 796).
Tynemouth (HE, V, 6).
Tynninghame (Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 2; HSC, cap. 4).
- B. Hild's community on the north bank of the river Wear
(HE, IV, 23).
The monastery "not far from the mouth of the Tyne, on the south side"; probably at South Shields (VP, capp. 3, 35). The 15th English Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert, translating the VP, says this monastery stood "whare saint hilde chapell' standes nowe" - this chapel later became the parish church of South Shields (The Life of St. Cuthbert in English Verse, ed. J.T. Fowler, Surtees Society, 87, 1889, publ. 1891, Book II, lines 1124-30, on p. 34).
The monastery of the De Abbatibus poem (Bywell is a suggested identification, but this is not certain - Howlett, in Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th series, 3, 1975, pp. 121-24) (for Bywell, see F. below).
Six monasteries founded in Bernicia by king Oswiu with ten hides of land each (HE, III, 24). Some may be included among the other names in this list.

- C. Farne Island (VA, III, 1; HE, III, 16; IV, 27-28).
St. Cuthbert's Isle, Lindisfarne (VP, cap. 42).
John of Beverley's retreat house near Hexham (HE, V, 2).
Suggested sites are St. John's Lee, Acomb (Plummer, Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, 2, p. 274), and St. Michael's church, Warden (Colgrave and Mynors, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, pp. 456-57, n.2; Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 2, pp. 632-34; Cramp, Corpus, p. 230).
- D. None.
- E. Bamburgh (HE, III, 6). See also G. below.
Edlingham (HSC, cap. 11; Cramp, Corpus, 1, pp. 170-71).
Eglingham (HSC, cap. 11).
Escomb (Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 234-38; Cramp, Corpus, 1, pp. 77-79).
Heddon-on-the-Wall (Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 292-94).
Jedburgh (Annales Lindisfarnensis, sa 830; HSC, cap. 9).
See also G. below.
Seaham (Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 2, pp. 534-36; Cramp, Corpus, p. 135).
Staindrop (Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 2, pp. 564-67; Cramp, Corpus, pp. 144-45).
Whittingham (HSC, cap. 11).
Woodhorn (HSC, cap. 11).
Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor, Yeavinger: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria, pp. 73-74, 164, 168, 278-79).
- Churches at royal residences in Northumbria, including one at a royal residence near Bamburgh, where St. Aidan d. in 651 (HE, III, 17).
- Church at "Heavenfield", just to the north of the Roman Wall and not far from Hexham (HE, III, 2).
Very probably St. Oswald-in-Lee (Cramp, Corpus, p.222).

Church at "Scythlescester" near the Roman Wall, dedicated to SS. Cuthbert and Oswald (HR, 788). May have been Chesters (Plummer and Earle, edition of ASC, 2, p. 60).

- F. Bywell (Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 5; Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 121-26; Cramp, Corpus, p. 168).

Ebchester (Reginald of Durham, Life of St. Ebba, in Bodleian Library, Fairfax MS. 6 (3886), ff. 164-74 (there is no printed edition of this text); Acta SS., August, 5, p. 197; Butler, Lives of the Saints, rev. Thurston and Attwater, 3, p. 402).

- G. Bamburgh (see also E. above). A tradition of a monastery at Bamburgh in the pre-Viking era is in Reginald of Durham, Vita Sancti Oswaldi Regis et Martyris, cap. 49, ed. Arnold, in Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, i, p. 375. (See also Cramp, Corpus, pp. 162-63).

Jedburgh (see also E. above). The sculpture there is of a high enough quality to suggest there was a monastery there (An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Roxburghshire, 1, Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland, pp. 206-8, 222).

- H. Auckland St. Andrew (or South Church) (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 37-41).

Rothbury (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 217-22).

- I. Aberlady (PSAS, 23, 1888-89, pp. 351-2).

Alnmouth (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 161-2).

Aycliffe (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 47-48).

Billingham (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 51-52).

Birtley (Cramp, Corpus, p. 164).

Dalton-le-Dale (Cramp, Corpus, p. 61).

- Egglescliffe (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 75-76).
- Falstone (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 171-73).
- Greatham (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 90-91).
- Hart (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 95-97; Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 287-89).
- Hulne Priory (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 193-94).
- Hurworth (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 105-6).
- Lasswade (Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments of Scotland, Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Midlothian and West Lothian, p. 98).
- Morham (PSAS, 67, 1932-33, pp. 241-43).
- Nunbykirk (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 214-15).
- Stamfordham (Cramp, Corpus, p. 225).
- Simonburn (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 223-24).
- J. Ebb's Nook, near Beadnell Harbour (Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 226-27).
- Over Kirkhope (Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland, Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Selkirkshire, pp. 35, 69-70, 73).
- K. "At Wall" (HE, III, 21-2); this probably to be identified with Walbottle (Plummer, 2, p. 176; identification suggested in John Smith's edition of the HE, Cambridge, 1722).
- Hart (see also under I. above).
- Haughton-le-Skerne (Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 2, p. 719).
- Warkworth (Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 1).
- L. Elvet (ASC, "D", "E", 763). Any connection with the later religious site at St. Oswald's, Durham? (Cramp, Corpus, pp. 66-68).
- M. "Twyford", near the river Aln (HE, IV, 28). Alnmouth has been suggested as this site (E. Bateson, A History of Northumberland, 2, 1895, pp. 467-68), and so has Whittingham (see E. above) (W. Bright, Chapters of Early English Church History, 3rd edn., Oxford, 1897, p.373).

- N. Mow - church here with "narochiis" confirmed to Kelso Abbey in the Cl2th; it may have gone back to an early period (Liber S. Marie de Calchou, Bannatyne Club, 1846, no. 416).
- Old Roxburgh - church here granted to the see of Glasgow with "capellis et parochis" in the Cl2th (Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843, no. 12).
- Peebles - apparently a British ecclesiastical centre; uncertain how long it continued in existence (Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland, Peeblesshire, An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, 1, pp. 176-77; PSAS, 101, 1968-69, publ. 1971, pp. 127-29).
- Stobo - the church here was the main church of the upper Tweed valley in the Middle Ages and had a very large parish; it may have been a pre-Cl2th religious foundation (Peeblesshire, An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments, 2, p. 212).

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Deira.

- A. Beverley (HE, V, 2, 6).
Coxwold (Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 394-96 - a letter from Pope Paul I to king Eadberht of Northumbria).
Crayke (HSC, cap. 5; HR, 767).
Gilling West ("In getlingum") (Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, cap. 2; HE, III, 14, 24).
Hackness (HE, IV, 23).
Lastingham (HE, III, 23).
Ripon (also a see) (Eddius Stephanus, cap. 17; HE, III, 25; IV, 12; V, 19).
Spurn Point (Alcuin, Life of St. Willibrord, cap. 1).

Stonegrave (Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 394-96 - a letter from Pope Paul I to king Eadberht of Northumbria).
Watton (HE, V, 3).

B. "Aet Laete" (HR, 796).

"Cella sancti Stephani", mentioned in a letter of Alcuin (Duemmler, no. 209). Acomb has been suggested as the site of this house - the church there is dedicated to St. Stephen, and the vill belonged to the Archbishop of York (Morris, in The Anglo-Saxon Church, ed. Butler and Morris, CBA research report no. 72, p. 88, n.19).

"Cornu Vallis" (Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, cap. 29). May be the same as the monastery at Spurn Point (see A. above).

A monastery in Elmet Wood (HE, II, 14).

"Streanaeshalch" (Anonymous Life of St. Gregory the Great, capp. 18-19; Bede, HE, III, 24, 25; IV, 23) - this was probably Whitby, but Strensall has also been suggested as its site.

A "monasterium" in York (Alcuin, Saints of York, lines 1217-18, 1408-31) - this seems to have been associated with, but not the same as York Minster. An abbot of York is mentioned in 852 (MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi, 4, ed. Duemmler, p. 62 - letter of Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, to Ealdsige, abbot of York).

A monastery under the jurisdiction of Ecgberht, Bishop of York, in 733-34 (Bede, Epistola ad Ecgberhtum). This may be the same as the "monasterium" mentioned by Alcuin. Its site is not mentioned.

Six monasteries founded in Deira by king Oswiu (HE, III, 24). These may be included elsewhere in the list - "Streanaeshalch" may have been one of them (Colgrave and Mynors, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, p. 290).

C. None.

D. York Minster (HE, II, 14).

- E. Bardsey (Tylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 39-40).
Conisbrough (P.F. Ryder, Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire, pp. 45-62, 109).
Kirby Hill (Tylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 354-56).
Kirk Hammerton (Tylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 361-64).
Ledsham (Tylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 378-84).
Skiowith (Tylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 2, pp. 550-54).
York - church of the Holy Wisdom (Alcuin, Saints of York, lines 1507-20; Morris, in The Anglo-Saxon Church, ed. Butler and Morris, CBA research report no. 72, pp. 80-89). May be connected with the "monasterium" in York (see B. above).
- A church at the royal residence of "Campodonum" (HE, II, 14). This was the Roman site of "Cambodunum" - this was identified as a site near Dewsbury by Richmond and Crawford, in Archaeologia, 93, 1949, p.43; a more recent suggestion is that "Cambodunum" was probably at Leeds (Rivet and Smith, Place-names of Roman Britain, pp. 292-93).
- F. None.
- G. Addingham (Simeon of Durham, Epistola de Archiepiscopis Eboraci, in Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, 2, ed. Raine, Rolls Series no. 72, p. 255 and fn.1).
Kirkdale (Tylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, pp. 357-61; YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 334).
York, Holy Trinity or Christ Church - ancient house of secular canons in 11th - uncertain how far back it went (VCH, York, 2, p. 176). May have been connected with the church of the Holy Wisdom (see E. above).

St. Heiu retired to " 'Calcaria' which the English call 'Kaelcacaestir' " - it is likely that she established a monastery here, but Bede does not actually say that she did (HE, IV, 23). "Calcaria" was Tadcaster (Rivet and Smith, Place-names of Roman Britain, pp. 288-89).

- H. Collingham (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 155-61).
Croft (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 306).
Dewsbury (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 162-71).
Easby (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 315).
Hovingham (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 337).
Ilkley (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 185-97).
Masham (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 360).
Northallerton (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 372).
Otley (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 224-31).
Thornhill (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 243-48).
- I. Aldborough/Cundall (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 315; YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 133-35).
Bedale (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 299; Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 1, p. 57).
Crofton (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 161-62).
Darfield (Ryder, Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire, pp. 109-10).
Filey (YAJ, 21, 1910-11, pp. 255, 258-59).
Great Ayton (YAJ, 19, 1907, pp. 322, 328).
High Hoyland (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 183-85).
Hunmanby (YAJ, 21, 1910-11, pp. 259-60).
Ingleby Arncliffe (YAJ, 19, 1907, pp. 337-38).
Kirkby Misperton (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 343).
Kirkheaton (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 207-9).
Kirklevington? (YAJ, 19, 1907, pp. 344-52).
Leeds (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 209-18).
Melsonby (YAJ, 19, 1907, pp. 360, 371).
Middleton-by-Pickering (YAJ, 19, 1907, pp. 371-72).
Old Malton (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, p. 258).
Patington (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 259-60).

Sheffield (YAJ, 23, 1914-15, pp. 237-39).
Stainton? (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 393).
Tanfield (YAJ, 21, 1910-11, pp. 299-301).
Wensley (YAJ, 19, 1907, pp. 407-8).
West Witton (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 407).
Wharram Percy (Medieval Archaeology, 28, 1984, pp. 88-89).
Wycliffe (YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 413; Archaeologia Aeliana,
4th series, 44, 1966, pp. 61-70).
Yarm (Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 61-62).
York, St. Mary Bishophill Junior (YAJ, 20, 1908-9, pp.
170-77, 207; Medieval Archaeology, 25, 1981, pp. 179-
80).
York, St. Mary Bishophill Senior? (Medieval Archaeology,
9, 1965, p. 176).

J. None.

K. Alne (HSC, cap. 3).
Catterick (HR, 762, 792).
Ryther? (Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 2, pp. 526-
28).

Village where James the Deacon lived near Catterick.
He may have had a church there (HE, II, 20). Could
this have been Melsonby (see I. above)? Melsonby
is about six miles from Catterick and the church is
dedicated to St. James (the Great) (VCH, York, North
Riding, 1, p. 107).

L. None.

M. Site of the synod by the river Nidd in 706 - it was on
the eastern side of the river (Eddius Stephanus, cap.
60; HE, V, 19). Raine, in his edition of Eddius
Stephanus in Historians of the Church of York, 1,
Rolls Series no. 71, p. 89, fn. 3, says this synod
may have been held at the village of Nidd.

- N. Howden (Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Kambriae, I, cap. 2; Hugh Candidus, Chronicle, ed. Mellows, p. 64).

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Lancashire (excluding Furness).

- F. Heysham (Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, I, pp. 312-16; Trans. of the Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc., 21, 1903, pp. 89-95).
- H. Halton (Trans. of the Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc., 21, 1903, pp. 78-89; Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 73-75, 107).
- Hornby (Trans. of the Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc., 21, 1903, pp. 96-103; Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 57-58, 73, 119).
- Lancaster (Trans. of the Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc., 21, 1903, pp. 44-55; Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 36-37, 59, 107-8, 111, 119, 126; Medieval Archaeology, 10, 1966, pp. 146-49).
- I. Manchester (Trans. of the Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc., 23, 1905, pp. 172-98).
- Whalley (Trans. of the Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc., 18, 1900, pp. 14-20; Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 89, 107).

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Cumbria (including Furness).

- A. Carlisle (VP, cap. 27).
Dacre (HE, IV, 32).
- C. Island in Derwentwater (VP, cap. 28; HE, IV, 29).
- F. Heversham (HSC, cap. 21; TCWAAS, 13, 1893, pp. 118-24).
Ninekirks (Antiquity, 52, 1978, pp. 237-38; Medieval Archaeology, 21, 1977, pp. 176-80; TCWAAS, 4, 1878-79, pp. 420-24; new series, 50, 1950, pp. 80-86; 55, 1955, pp. 108-11; 58, 1958, pp. 70-78; 78, 1978, pp. 23-28).
- G. St. Bees (TCWAAS, 80, 1980, pp. 23-35).
- H. Bewcastle (Baldwin Brown, Arts in Early England, 5, pp. 102-4, 112-20, 122-47, and chaps. 9 and 12; Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 19, 57, 69-71, 77, 85-86, 114, 116-19).
- I. Addingham (now under the river Eden) (TCWAAS, new series, 13, 1913, pp. 164-66; 60, 1960, pp. 37-41).
Brigham (TCWAAS, new series, 60, 1960, pp. 42-45).
Irton (Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 83, 111, 119).
Kendal (TCWAAS, new series, 4, 1904, pp. 330-33).
Kirkby Stephen (Medieval Archaeology, 16, 1972, p. 165).
Lowther (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland, p. 160 and plate 6).
Urswick? (TCWAAS, new series, 11, 1911, pp. 462-68).
Waberthwaite (TCWAAS, new series, 25, 1925, pp. 81-85).
Workington (TCWAAS, 9, 1888, pp. 458-60; 11, 1891, pp. 231, 236; 12, 1892-93, pp. 171-74; new series, 28, 1928, pp. 59-62).
- J. Ninewells, Brampton (TCWAAS, old series, 10, 1889, p.175).

N. Wighton (Rollason, pp. 70-72).

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Dumfriesshire.

- F. Hoddam (Joceline of Furness, Life of St. Kentigern; Medieval Archaeology, 11, 1967, pp. 116-17; Trans. of the Dum. and Gall. N.Hist. and Antiq. Soc., 3rd series, 31, 1952-53, pp. 174-97).
- H. Ruthwell (Baldwin Brown, Arts in Early England, 5, pp. 105-12, 120-44, 194-96, 246, 305-17; Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 19, 69, 71, 84-86, 114, 118-19).
- I. Closeburn (Trans. of the Dum. and Gall. N.Hist. and Antiq. Soc., 3rd series, 12, 1924-25, p.58).
Nith Bridge, Thornhill (ibid., pp. 57-58).
- N. Applegarth (Trans. of the Dum. and Gall. N.Hist. and Antiq. Soc., 3rd series, 35, 1956-57, pp. 14-19).

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Galloway.

A. or D.

Whithorn (was a see) (HE, III, 4; V, 23).

C. Ardwall Island (Medieval Archaeology, 11, 1967, pp. 127-88).

I. Kirkmadrine (Trans. of the Dum. and Gall. N.Hist. and Antiq. Soc., 3rd series, 21, 1936-38, pp. 275-89).

- J. Chapel Finnian (Trans. of the Dum. and Gall, N.Hist. and Antiq. Soc., 3rd series, 28, 1949-50, pp. 28-40).
St. Ninian's Cave, Physgyll (Medieval Archaeology, 11, 1967, pp. 114-16).
- N. Kirkcudbright (Reginald of Durham, Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus etc., capp. 84-85, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, vol. 1, 1835, pp. 177-79).
Kirkmaiden, Glasserton parish (Thomas, Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain, p. 84).
Kirkmaiden, in the Rinns of Galloway (*ibid.*, p. 84).

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Uncertain sites.

- A. "Donaemuthe" (Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 394-96 - a letter from Pope Paul I to king Eadberht of Northumbria). Apparently not the same as Jarrow (called "Donemuthan" in ASC, "D", "E", 794). Identified as Adlingfleet at the old mouth of the river Don in Yorkshire in YAJ, 57, 1985, pp. 15-22.
- "Paegnalaech", also called "Wagele" (HE, III, 27; ASC, "E", 664). Probably not Whalley in Lancashire - its name is given as "Hweallaege" in ASC, "D", "E", 798.
- "Tunnacaestir" (HE, IV, 22).
- E. "Osingadun" (VA, IV, 10; VP, cap. 34 (marginal note)).
- G. "Stanford" (Eddius Stephanus, cap. 8; HE, V, 19).
- L. "Cettingaham" (HR, 800). Whittingham (see Bernicia, E., above) is a suggested identification (Craster, p. 186).

"Hearrahalch" (HR, 790).

"Woodford" (HR, 797).

"Wulfeswelle" (HR, 781).

- M. "Eostrefeld"/"Ouestraefelda", also called "Aetswinapathe"
(Eddius Stephanus, capp. 46, 60). Probably Auster-
field, on the southern boundary of Yorkshire (Colgrave,
edition of Eddius Stephanus, p. 179).

"Pincanheale" (HR, 787, 798; ASC, "D", "E", 787).

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Others.

- A. Mayo, Co. Mayo, Ireland (also a see under the primacy
of York in the C8th) (HE, IV, 4; HR, 768, 773, 786;
Duemmler, no. 3).

Appendix V - Sites used in survey of Northumbria.

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|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Abercorn. | 25. Easby. |
| 2. Aberlady. | 26. Ebchester. |
| 3. Addingham, Cumbria. | 27. Edlingham. |
| 4. Ardwall Island. | 28. Eglington. |
| 5. Auckland St. Andrew. | 29. Elvet. |
| 6. Bamburgh. | 30. Escomb. |
| 7. Bardsey. | 31. Falstone. |
| 8. Beverley. | 32. Farne Island. |
| 9. Bewcastle. | 33. Gainford. |
| 10. Billingham. | 34. Gateshead. |
| 11. Brigham. | 35. Gilling West. |
| 12. Bywell. | 36. Greatham. |
| 13. Carlisle. | 37. Hackness. |
| 14. Coldingham. | 38. Halton. |
| 15. Collingham. | 39. Hart. |
| 16. Coquet Island. | 40. Hartlepool. |
| 17. Corbridge. | 41. Heddon-on-the-Wall. |
| 18. Coxwold. | 42. Heversham. |
| 19. Crayke. | 43. Hexham. |
| 20. Croft. | 44. Heysham. |
| 21. Dacre. | 45. Hoddam. |
| 22. Dalton-le-Dale. | 46. Hornby. |
| 23. Derwentwater. | 47. Hovingham. |
| 24. Dewsbury. | 48. Hulne Priory. |
| | 49. Hurworth. |

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|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 50. Ilkley. | 71. Ninekirks. |
| 51. Irton. | 72. Nith Bridge, Thornhill. |
| 52. Jarrow. | 73. Norham. |
| 53. Jedburgh. | 74. Northallerton. |
| 54. Kendal. | 75. Nunykirk. |
| 55. Kirby Hill. | 76. Otley. |
| 56. Kirkby Stephen. | 77. Patrington. |
| 57. Kirk Hammerton. | 78. Ripon. |
| 58. Lancaster. | 79. Rothbury. |
| 59. Lasswade. | 80. Ruthwell. |
| 60. Lastingham. | 81. St. Oswald-in-Lee. |
| 61. Ledsham. | 82. Seaham. |
| 62. Leeds. | 83. Sheffield. |
| 63. Lindisfarne. | 84. Simonburn. |
| 64. Lowther. | 85. Skibwith. |
| 65. Manchester. | 86. Sockburn-on-Tees. |
| 66. Masham. | 87. Spurn Point. |
| 67. Melrose. | 88. Staindrop. |
| 68. Melsonby. | 89. Stamfordham. |
| 69. Monkwearmouth. | 90. Stonegrave. |
| 70. Morham. | 91. Tanfield. |
| | 92. Thornhill, Yorkshire. |
| | 93. Tynemouth. |
| | 94. Tynninghame. |

95. Wabberthwaite.
96. Watton.
97. Wensley.
98. West Witton.
99. Wharrah Percy.
100. Whitby.
101. Whithorn.
102. Whittingham.
103. Woodhorn.
104. Wycliffe.
105. Yarm.
106. Yeavinger.
107. York.

Appendix VI - Sites used in the survey of St. Cuthbert's
"familia".

Abercorn.

Aldham.

Billingham.

Carham.

Carlisle.

Cartmel.

Cliffe.

Coldingham.

Crayke.

Derwentwater.

Edlingham.

Eglingham.

Farne Island.

Gainford.

Jedburgh.

Lindisfarne.

Melrose.

Norham.

Pefferham.

Tillmouth.

Tynninghame.

Warkworth.

Whittingham.

Woodhorn.

Wycliffe.

York.

Footnotes.

Chapter One - The 'Liber Vitae'.

1. K. Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631, Oxford, 1979, pp. 68-9; N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon, Oxford, 1957, p. liv.
2. Except that fol. 84 has been missed out and fol. 85 has been marked as "84". There is also an unnumbered folio between the two different manuscripts in the volume, i.e. between fols. 14 and 15.
3. Fols. 20v, 21, 22, 22v, 23v, 24, 24v, 38, 45, 46, 47v, 49.
4. E.g., the Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A.I.6)), has gatherings of various sizes; and all portions of the "Codex Dunelmensis" (Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.16) are formed of irregular quires, one portion in particular (fols. 103-34) having many cancels (CLA, vol. 2, 2nd edn., 1972, pp. x-xi, and nos. 274, 148 (a,b,c)).
5. Ker, Catalogue, p. xxiv.
6. Pages left blank for additions within fols. 15-46:-
fols. 21, 24v, 25, 25v, 26v, 36v, 45v, 46, 46v - ruled ready for use, but later scribes have not always used the old rulings.

The two originally blank gatherings at the end of the book, i.e. fols. 47, 50-55:-

fols. 47, 47v - later additions seem to use the original ruling.

fols. 52, 52v - may have had the old rulings but they are not used by later writers.

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fols. 50-51v, 53-55v - these pages may never have been ruled up although the original prickings can be seen on some of them (e.g. fols. 50v, 55, 55v).

7. On fols. 15, 16, 18, 18v, 19v, 20, 21v, 26, 27, 37. On fols. 19v and 20 most of the gold names in the first column are decorated a little by having their first letter blobbed with silver.
8. It is possible that the black ink is really oxidized silver, but it does appear to be black ink gone over in silver. In a few places specks of gold can be seen adhering to the black ink - this is most probably caused by the gold rubbing off onto the black, and does not indicate that some of the now black names were originally gone over in gold rather than in silver.
9. On fol. 15 the first column of the kings' list is all in gold, and on fol. 16 the six names at the head of the queens' list are all in gold too. On fol. 24 the first column has eight silver names and thirteen gold ones. Occasionally two names together are written in gold, e.g. the last two names in the kings' list on fol. 15v. These groups of gold names will be considered further in Chapter Three (infra, pp. 90-1).
10. "d" has the minuscule form; "n" has both the minuscule and uncial forms; "r" has the uncial form; "s" has the uncial form. The runic letter "ǰ" is also used, in the form of a crossed "d".
11. The second hand is so like the first that one could almost think it was the first hand making later

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additions. But the dating of the two hands some forty years apart (infra, p. 11) makes it very unlikely that they were the work of the same person. Perhaps the second hand was consciously trying to imitate the first hand.

12. Much of the following is based on ALM, p. 84, but there are some points of difference.
13. The first hand does use "p^r" very occasionally, but only because of the length of the associated name leaving no room for "p^br", e.g. the fourth name in the first column on fol.18v ("haduberct").
14. J. Raine ed., Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm, Surtees Society, 7, 1838.
15. London, British Library, Harley 6018, fol. 114v, entry no. 298.
16. HR, 875; HSC, cap. 20.
17. HSC, cap. 13.

This Scandinavian king is named in the sources as both Guthred and Guthfrith. Most sources, including the HSC and the HR, give his name as Guthred, and only Aethelweard's Chronicle, written in the late tenth century, calls him "Guthfrid". However Guthfrith is well-attested as a Scandinavian name while Guthred occurs elsewhere only as an English name (OAS, pp. 272-73), so it is probable that Aethelweard has preserved the name correctly. (The Chronicle of Aethelweard, s.a. 895, ed. A. Campbell, London and Edinburgh, 1962, p. 51).

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18. HR, 875, 883; HSC, capp. 13, 20. Although the name Eadred does not occur in the abbots' lists, it does appear a number of times in other lists, including fourteen occurrences in the monks' lists.
19. Infra, pp. 139-40.
20. CLA, no. 188.
21. ALM, p. 84.
22. HR, 934; HSC, capp. 26-7. Athelstan appears twice in the later additions, once by himself at the top of fol. 15, and once in a list of kings on fol. 15v.
23. AHT, p. xvi.
24. Supra, pp. 2-4.
25. Bede says only that Tuda was Bishop of Northumbria (HE, III, 26). ASC, "E", 664, does not give his see either. In episcopal lists Tuda appears in those for the bishopric of the Northumbrians, but not in those for the see of Lindisfarne, which go straight from Colman (661-64) to Eata (678-85) (Page, Episcopal Lists, pp. 6-7, 11-12, 16-17, 19).
26. AHT, pp. xvi-xvii.
27. Page, Episcopal Lists, pp. 6, 11, 16, 19. Eata is included in these lists even though he was not the bishop of all Northumbria and never held the see of York.
28. AHT, p. xvi.

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29. Cuthbert appears only in episcopal lists for Lindisfarne, not in those for the whole of Northumbria (Page, Episcopal Lists, pp. 6-7, 11-12, 16-17, 19).
30. AHT, p. xvii.
31. Irish church legislation accords a high status to anchorites, as high as that accorded to bishops and kings.
32. Infra, pp. 76-88.
33. This is the case even with the Liber Vitae of Salzburg, which is arranged, like the LV, by rank instead of by community. It has lists for nearly every other type of ecclesiastic.
34. Levison, p. 28.
35. ES, cap. 24.
36. Duemmler, no. 102.
37. HE, III, 24; IV, 26.
38. A.T. Thacker, "Some terms for noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England, c.650-900", in D. Brown, J. Campbell, and J. Chadwick Hawkes ed., Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History, 2, BAR no. 92, Oxford, 1981, pp. 201-36, particularly pp. 201-3, 205-7, 222-23; J. Campbell, Bede's "Reges" and "Principes", Jarrow Lecture, 1979.
39. Thacker, "Some terms for noblemen", op.cit., pp.222-23.
40. For Berhtred see HE, V, 24; A.Tig., p. 216; ES, cap. 19. For Osbald see HR, 780, 796. For Eardwulf, see HR, 790, 796.

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41. A "clericus" could be anyone in clerical orders and so not a member of the laity (DACL, 3, cols. 1902-5).
42. C-329, 354, 355, 358, 360, 368, 370, 372. There is also one occurrence on fol. 32 (C-669); two occurrences on fol. 32v (C-692, 706); and two on fol. 33 (C-771, 810).
43. C-947.
44. E. Cambridge, "The Early Church in County Durham: A Reassessment", in Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 137, 1984, pp. 79-82.
45. P-199, 215, 218, 226, 236, 248, 262, 281, 292, 307; C-231, 562.
46. DACL, 8, cols. 2241-45, 2247-49.
47. Benedict, Regula, cap. 38, ed. R. Hanslick, in CSEL, 75, Vienna, 1960, pp. 97-99.
48. VP, cap. 16. B. Colgrave ed., Two Lives of St. Cuthbert, Cambridge, 1940, p. 16, dates the VP to c.721.
49. Cuthbert, Epistola de Obitu Bedae, ed. 3, Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, Oxford, 1969, pp. 579-87.
50. Colgrave and Mynors in their edition amend "collectori" to "conlectorii".
51. As Plummer suggested (Plummer, 1, p. lxxii, fn.2).
52. Tangl, no. 75.

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53. HR, 794; Duemmler, no. 7.
54. De Abb., capp. 16, 22.
55. R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, British Academy, London, 1965, p. 272.
56. HR, 735.
57. P-193.
58. The earliest is P-199, six names after Hyglac.
59. P-248.
60. R-23; Ab-50.
61. AHT, p. xiv.
62. See Fig. 2.
63. R-63 and 65.
64. Infra, p. 66.
65. Alchfrith was old enough to be married by c.653 (HE, III, 21). Ecgfrith was born in c.645 as he was "in his fortieth year" when he was killed in 685 (HE, IV, 26).
66. HE, III, 18, 24; ASC, 654.
67. Aelfwine was born c.661 (HE, IV, 21).
68. ASC, "E", 617.
69. HE, III, 11.

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70. Milred may possibly have been connected with the royal family of the "Magonsaete", some of whom had names beginning with the element "mil-".
71. VA, III, 6; VP, cap. 24; HE, IV, 26. According to the Síl Cuind, Aldfrith was Oswiu's son by Fína, daughter of Colmán Rímid, joint high-king in the north of Ireland c.600-4. He was of the Cenél nEógain branch of the Uí Néill. The Síl Cuind is one of a number of Irish genealogies in an early 12th manuscript at Oxford (Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.502) (M.A. O'Brien ed., Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae, 1, Dublin, 1962, p. 135; F.J. Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings, London, 1973, pp. 104, 111, 280-81, 283; AU, sa 603).
72. Infra, p. 251, and fn. 24.
73. He may be of the same family as Beornhaeth and Berhtred (R-12, 13) (infra, p. 92).
74. VP, Preface.
75. The word "album" is not used much in medieval Latin in the sense it is here used by Bede. In classical Latin it meant (i) a white tablet on which anything could be inscribed; (ii) the tablets used by the Pontifex Maximus to record the main events of each year (the "Annales maxime"); (iii) the praetor's tablets on which his edicts were posted; (iv) a list of names, a roll or register. On the basis of these definitions, "album" could have been used for a diptych as well as for a manuscript "liber vitae".

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76. G.F. Warner ed., The Stowe Missal, Henry Bradshaw Society, vols. 31-32, 1906 and 1915; CLA, no. 268. (The bishops' list is on fols. 32v-33 (pp. 15-16 in Warner)).
77. Vatican Library, Codex Ottobonianus 313; H.A. Wilson ed., The Gregorian Sacramentary, Henry Bradshaw Society, 49, 1915, pp. xxxiv-xxxvii. The names are added on fols. 110v-111v.
78. *Infra*, p.82; E. Bishop, Liturgica Historica, Oxford, 1918, p. 351.
79. H.A. Wilson ed., The Calendar of St. Willibrord, Henry Bradshaw Society, 55, 1918; CLA, no. 606a. Examples of obits are on fols. 35, 36v, 37v, 38v.
80. HE, III, 1, 9.
81. CLA, no. 139. The regnal list is in Sweet, OE Texts, p. 148.
82. *Infra*, p. 83.
83. Compare with the Northumbrian regnal lists (Dumville, pp. 32, 35-6).
84. Tangl, no. 125.
85. The list was entered on fol. 15v; E.E. Barker, "Two lost documents of King Athelstan", in Anglo-Saxon England, 6, 1977, pp. 137-43.
86. *Infra*, pp. 44-46.
87. See, e.g., such folios in the LV as 17v, 24v, 25v, 26, 29, 40v, 45, 46, 46v, 47v.

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88. Oswiu married Eanflaed after he became king in 642, and their eldest son, Ecgfrith, was born c.645 (HE, III, 15; IV, 26).

89. ES, capn. 24, 34, 39.

90. HE, III, 24; IV, 26.

The monastery of which Aelfflaed was abbess and which Hild ruled before her, and where the 664 synod was held, was called "Streanaeshalch". It is usually identified with Whitby, but this is not certain, and other sites have been suggested, e.g. Strensall. The identification of "Streanaeshalch" with Whitby is first recorded in Simeon of Durham, HDE, III, cap. 22, written 1104-8. There are some points which suggest that this identification is correct:-

- (1) a Benedictine monastery was founded at Whitby in the 1070's, supposedly on the site of the earlier foundation of "Streanaeshalch". The late 11th saw the refoundation of a number of northern monasteries (e.g. Jarrow, Lindisfarne, Monkwearmouth, Tynemouth, and a failed attempt to refound Melrose), and it must be said that in all these other cases the right location was used.
- (2) there was certainly a pre-Viking monastery at the site of the later Benedictine abbey at Whitby, for part of it has been excavated. Coins found at the site suggest this house was inhabited to the 840's at least. (C.R. Peers and C.A.R. Radford, "The Saxon monastery of Whitby", in Archaeologia, 89, 1943, pp. 27-88; R.J. Cramp, "Monastic sites", in D.M. Wilson ed., The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England, London, 1976, pp. 223-29).

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(3) Bede says that "Streanaeshalch" and its daughter-house of Hackness "stand about thirteen miles apart" (HE, IV, 23). This fits in well with an identification of "Streanaeshalch" as Whitby, for the latter is thirteen and a half miles from Hackness. The other suggested site, Strensall, is twenty-eight miles from Hackness.

The identification of "Streanaeshalch" with Whitby is by no means certain, but there is not sufficient evidence to locate it at any other place in preference to Whitby. On the basis of the evidence given above, especially point (3), in this thesis I will refer to "Streanaeshalch" as Whitby, as the best candidate for the site, but it should be remembered that the identification is not definite.

91. ASC, sa 718.
92. HE, IV, 26.
93. Ibid., IV, 23.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., III, 25.
96. Ibid., IV, 23.
97. The earliest is Q-59 ("hildithryth").
98. VP, cap. 46; HE, V, 1.
99. VA, IV, 9; VP, cap. 28; HE, IV, 29.
100. VP, capp. 6, 8, 9, 22; HE, IV, 27-8; V, 9.

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101. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, ed. C. Plummer, in Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, 1, Oxford, 1896, pp. 388-404.
102. HE, V, 18; Aldhelm, De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis (also known as the Epistola ad Acircium), ed. R. Ehwald, in MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. 15, Aldhelmi Opera, Berlin, 1919, pp. 59-204, especially pp. 61-2; Aldhelm, The Prose Works, trans. M. Lapidge and M. Herren, Ipswich and Cambridge, 1979, pp. 31-47, especially pp. 31-35.
103. VP, Preface, capp. 8, 23, 37-39, 40.
104. HE, IV, 16.
105. Ibid., V, 2-4.
106. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 5-18, 20; Bede, Historia Abbatum, capp. 1-14, ed. Plummer, in Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, 1, pp. 364-87.
107. VP, cap. 37.
108. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 10, 12-13; Bede, Historia Abbatum, capp. 7-10.
109. HE, III, 15, 21.
110. Infra, p. 116.
111. AU, sa 622, 651.
112. Adamnan, I, 1; HE, III, 3, 5.

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113. HE, III, 17, 25; IV, 4.
114. AP-45; AU, sa 800, ie 801.
115. VA, IV, 3; VP, capp. 34 (marginal note), 35 (marginal note), 37. In the LV he is P-35.
116. VA, IV, 10; VP, cap. 34. According to the VA, Aelfflaed came into the church when the "Memento Domine famulorum" was being sung, which was the prayer commemorating the living. It is possible that the VA has made a mistake and she came in at the "Memento etiam", the prayer for the dead, which would be more appropriate in the circumstances (Colgrave ed., Two Lives, p. 336).
117. Colgrave ed., Two Lives, pp. 11-13.
118. Infra, pp. 80, 85.
119. The earliest is the entry "ae^ðelstan rex" in a hand of his time (924-39) on fol. 15 at the top of the page next to the title.
120. ASC, 992; A.J. Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters, Cambridge, 1939, no. 60. The entry is on fol. 47v of the LV.
121. H.H.E. Craster, "Some Anglo-Saxon Records of the See of Durham", in Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, 1, 1925, pp. 189-98. For information about manumission procedures, see EHD, pp. 383-84).
122. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 53, 64.
123. Supra, pp. 13-14.

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124. Infra, Chapter Two, fn. 39.
125. "faire rich" in the Hunter MS. 45 text of the Rites.
126. Rites of Durham, ed. J.T. Fowler, Surtees Society, vol. 107, 1902, publ. 1903, pp. 16-17; notes, p. 208.
127. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 53, 64.
128. Information from Gordon Forster.
129. Rites of Durham, pp. ix, 1, 29.
130. British Library, Harley 6018, fol. 114v; List of Cotton Catalogues, typescript in the Reading Room of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum.
131. Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, pp. 69-70, 81.
132. Ibid., pp. 49-50.
133. Ibid., p. 54.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid., p. 20.
136. Ibid., pp. 57-8.
137. Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Society, 13, 1841, London and Edinburgh.
138. Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part II, Latin, London, 1884, pp. 81-84, and plate 25.

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139. H. Sweet, The Oldest English Texts, Early English Text Society, original series, vol. 83, 1885, pp. 153-66.
140. H. Sweet, A Second Anglo-Saxon Reader, Oxford, 1887, pp. 91-96.
141. H. Sweet, A Second Anglo-Saxon Reader, 2nd edn., revised by T.F. Hoad, Oxford, 1978, pp. 108-13.
142. Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, Surtees Society, vol. 136, 1923, London and Durham.
143. *Ibid.*, p. vii.
144. A. Hamilton Thompson, The Surtees Society, 1834-1934, Surtees Society, vol. 150, for 1934, published 1939, p. 208.

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

1. AHT, p. x.
2. Stevenson, p. viii.
3. Tangl, no. 111.
4. W. de Gray Birch ed., Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Hampshire Record Society no. 5, London and Winchester, 1892, pp. 15-16.
5. On Masses for the Dead and other special masses see A. Angenendt, "Missa specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen", in Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 17, 1983, pp. 153-221.
6. B. Steuart, The Development of Christian Worship, London, New York, and Toronto, 1953, pp. 36, 132; G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, London, 2nd edn., 1945, pp. 498, 509-11.
7. Cyprian, Epistolae, no. 16, ed. G. Hartel, in CSEL, 3, part 2, Vienna, 1871, pp. 518-19.
8. E. Bishop, "The Diptychs", Appendix III in R.H. Connolly ed., The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai, Texts and Studies, 8, 1909, p. 112, fn. 2; Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 147; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 498 and fn. 4.
9. Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 104, 120, 436, 499.
10. Gesta Concilii Eliberritani, cap. 29, in España Sagrada, vol. 56, De la Santa Iglesia Apostolica de Eliberri (Granada), ed. A. Custodio Vega, Madrid, 1957, p.210;

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Bishop, "The Diptychs", p. 98, fn. 2; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 499.

11. Steuart, Christian Worship, pp. 135-36.
12. It was the job of the deacon to recite the names by the time of Isidore of Seville (c.560-633) at any rate:- Isidore, Epistolae, no. 1 (to Bishop Leudefred), part 8, in PL, 83, 1862, col. 895 - "to him (i.e. the deacon) belongs also the duty of the prayers (and) the reciting of the names".
13. Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 136; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 499.
14. Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 21; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 162.
15. Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 132; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 164.
16. Bishop, "The Diptychs", p. 101.
17. Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 132.
18. Ibid., p. 133; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 170-71, 499.
19. Steuart, Christian Worship, pp. 132-33; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 171.
20. Bishop, "The Diptychs", pp. 112-13, 114-17; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 120, 319, 476.
21. The dates of Jerome's life are those given by J.N.D. Kelly, Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies, London, 1975, pp. 1, 331-32, 337-39.

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22. Jerome, Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri quatuordecem, VI, cap. xviii, 5/9, ed. F. Glorie, in Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 75, S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera, part 1, Opera Exegetica, 4, Turnholt, 1964, p. 238; Jerome, Commentariorum in Hieremiam Prophetam libri sex, II, cap. cviii, ed. S. Reiter, in CSEL, 59, Leipzig and Vienna, 1913, p. 147.
23. The only clue is that Jerome was living in Bethlehem when he wrote both these works - the Commentary on Ezechial in 410-14, and the Commentary on Jeremiah in 414/5-16. If he is referring to the church in the area he lived in then this is the earliest reference to the mention of the names of the living being read out in the Eastern Church. However Jerome had lived in the past in Italy and travelled in Gaul, so he might have been thinking of customs he had seen there. (Kelly, Jerome, pp. 304-6, 316-17, 326-27).
24. Bishop, "The Diptychs", pp. 112-13, fn. 2; Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 148.
25. Augustine, Contra epistulam Parmeniani libri tres, in M. Petschenig ed., Scripta contra Donatistas, part 1, CSEL, 51, Vienna and Leipzig, 1908, pp. 138-39. This work is dated to 400 in P. Brown, Augustine of Hippo, London, 1967, p. 184.
26. Bishop, "The Diptychs", pp. 112-13, fn. 2.
27. Augustine, De sancta virginitate, XLV, ed. J. Zycha, in CSEL, 41, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1900, p. 290. This is dated to 401 in Brown, Augustine of Hippo, p. 184. Other references to the recital

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of the names of the martyrs are Augustine, Sermones, no. 159, cap. 1, in PL, 38, 1865, col. 868; Augustine, De civitate Dei, XXII, 10, ed. E. Hoffmann, CSEL, 40, part 2, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1900, p. 614; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 498-99, 508; J.H. Srawley, The Early History of the Liturgy, Cambridge, 1947, p. 137.

28. Gesta Conlationis Carthaginensis (anno 411), III, cap. 230, ed. S. Lancel, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, vol. 149 A, Turnholt, 1974, p. 236.
29. Augustine, Sermones, no. 359, cap. 6, in PL, 39, 1865, col. 1595.
30. Augustine, Epistulae, nos. 77 and 78, ed. A. Goldbacher, in CSEL, 34, part 2, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1898, pp. 329-45.
31. DACL, 4, cols. 1045-94.
32. Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 135.
33. Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 506-7.
34. Ibid., p. 502; Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 135; Bishop, "The Diptychs", pp. 102-4.
35. The letters are in Nicephorus Callistus, Historia Ecclesiastica, XIV, capp. 26-7, in J.P. Migne ed., Patrologia Graecia, 146, Paris, 1865, cols. 1137-49.
36. Bishop, "The Diptychs", p. 104.
37. Ibid.

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38. Ibid., pp. 104-6; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 502-4.

39. The idea of "damnatio memoriae" was familiar in the West - see, for instance, HE, III, 1, 9, which refer to the erasure of kings from a regnal list. There are some possible instances of this practice in "libri vitae". There are a number of erasures in the Remiremont Liber Memorialis, but it is uncertain whether these names were deliberately erased for some reason, or whether the names simply became so faint that later entries were written over them (G. Constable, "The Liber Memorialis of Remiremont", in Speculum, 47, part 2, 1972, p. 263, fn. 13).

In the LV of Durham there are three instances of erasure. One seems to have been merely for convenience sake, where the first line of a mid-11th manumission was scrubbed out to make room for some names entered in the 12th (fol. 47). The second is the only instance of erasure in the original portion of the LV. It is a name in the queens' list, the last but one on fol. 17. The name there now is "beonnu" written in silver, but beneath it there are the remains of a name written in gold. It could not be made out under ultra-violet light, but it did not seem to be "beonnu" written originally in gold by mistake. There was a "b" or "d" or "h" about under the second "n", and moreover the gold name was longer than "beonnu" by one or two or maybe more letters.

The third instance in the LV is on fol. 15v and is very interesting. On this page one can just make out the names "Godvini dux" and "Tosti dux". They had been written in gold as additions to the list of kings and "duces", and may have been in a hand of their period, the mid-11th. They are now almost erased and can only be made out because no later writing was made over them. There may have been other names above

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them in the column which were also erased, as the vellum of this part of the page is rather rough, but one cannot be sure as a number of names were written in here in the early twelfth century. If the names of Godwine and Tostig were erased deliberately, then this might well be a case of "damnatio memoriae". As rivals of William of Normandy, Godwine's family were "personae non gratae" after the Conquest, and Tostig was not popular in Northumbria anyway. His period as earl of Northumbria (1055-65) ended in the Northumbrians rebelling against him and forcing him into exile (ASC, 1065).

40. Bishop, "The Diptychs", pp. 106-7.
41. *Supra*, p. 41.
42. Innocent I, Epistolae, no. 25, ed. R. Cabié, La lettre du Pape Innocent Ier à Décentius de Gubbio (19 mars 416), Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Fascicule 58, Louvain, 1973, particularly p. 22; Steuart, Christian Worship, pp. 138, 141.
43. Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 137.
44. *Ibid.*; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 501, and fn.3.
45. Bishop, "The Diptychs", pp. 99-100; Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 145.
46. Venantius Fortunatus, Opera Poetica, X, Carmen 7, lines 31-38, ed. F. Leo, in MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, 4, part 1, Berlin, 1881, p. 240; see also Bishop, "The Diptychs", p. 100, fn 1.
47. Aurelian, Bishop of Arles, Regula ad Monachos, in PL, 68, 1866, cols. 395-98; see also A.A. King, Liturgies of the Past, London, 1959, p. 169.

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48. Adamnán, III, cap. 12; see also King, Liturgies of the Past, p. 258.
49. Columba d. 597 (HE, III, 4; AU, sa 594, and also sa 600; A.Tig., p. 160).
50. Adamnán d. 704 (AU, sa 703, ie 704; A.Tig., p. 219).
51. P.C. Bartrum ed., Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts, Cardiff, 1966, p. 22; F.C. Burkitt, "St. Samson of Dol", in The Journal of Theological Studies, 27, 1925, pp. 55-56; J.C. Poulin, "Hagiographie et Politique. La Première Vie de Saint Samson de Dol", in Francia, 5, 1977 (publ. 1978), pp. 1-26; J.C. Poulin, "A propos du diocèse de Dol: saint Samson et la question des enclaves", in Francia, 6, 1978 (publ. 1979), pp. 610-15.
52. Life of St. Samson, I, cap. 1, ed. R. Fawtier, La Vie de Saint Samson, in Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, Fascicule 197, Paris, 1912, pp. 99-100; Burkitt, in JTS, 27, pp. 48-49; King, Liturgies of the Past, pp. 257-58.
53. Burkitt, in JTS, 27, pp. 48-49.
54. Cummean, Paenitentiale, XI, cap. 11, ed. L. Bieler, The Irish Penitentials, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 5, Dublin, 1963, pp. 6, 130-31; King, Liturgies of the Past, p. 258; J.F. Kenney, The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, 1, "Ecclesiastical", New York, 1929, pp. 241, 420; AU, sa 661.
55. Steuart, Christian Worship, pp. 142-45; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 508.

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56. A.A. King, Liturgy of the Roman Church, London, New York and Toronto, 1957, p. 317.
57. This prayer was the "Hanc igitur" - Steuart, Christian Worship, pp. 143-45.
58. Ibid., p. 146.
59. E. Bishop, "On the Early Texts of the Roman Canon", in JTS, 4, 1903, pp. 571-72.
60. Ibid., pp. 568, 576-77.
61. CLA, no. 103; Missale Francorum, ed. L.C. Mohlberg, Rome, 1957, particularly pp. 31-33; King, Liturgies of the Past, pp. 126-27.
62. CLA, no. 653; The Bobbio Missal - A Gallican Mass-Book, ed. E.A. Lowe, Henry Bradshaw Society, vols. 53 (1917), 58 (1920, for 1919), and 61 (1924, for 1923).
63. CLA, no. 653; Bobbio Missal, ed. Lowe, 61, p. 105; King, Liturgies of the Past, pp. 127-28.
64. Information from Ian Wood.
65. Bobbio Missal, ed. Lowe, 61, p. 100.
66. King, Liturgies of the Past, pp. 128-29.
67. CLA, no. 268; Stowe Missal, ed. Warner; King, Liturgies of the Past, p. 221; Bishop, in JTS, 4, p. 566.
68. King, Liturgies of the Past, p. 221.

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69. Bishop, in JTS, 4, p. 568.
70. CLA, no. 105; The Gelasian Sacramentary, ed. H.A. Wilson, Oxford, 1894, pp. xvii, lxxiv-v, 234-36; R. McKitterick, The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895, London, 1977, pp. 124-28.
71. The Gregorian Sacramentary, ed. H.A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 49, 1915; Steuart, Christian Worship, p.26; McKitterick, Frankish Church, pp. 130-31.
72. Gregorian Sacramentary, ed. Wilson, pp. xxi-ii.
73. Ibid., p. xvii.
74. Ibid., pp. 3, 142.
75. Ibid., pp. xxiii, 3; McKitterick, Frankish Church, p. 134.
76. Gregorian Sacramentary, ed. Wilson, p. 3, fn. 14; Bishop, in JTS, 4, pp. 570-71.
77. Infra, p. 58.
78. Ordines Romani, I, in PL, 78, 1895, cols. 937-68, particularly cols. 944-45; Steuart, Christian Worship, p. 27.
79. Bishop, in JTS, 4, p. 573.
80. Ibid.
81. King, Liturgy of the Roman Church, p. 337; McKitterick, Frankish Church, p. 131.

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82. Steuart, Christian Worship, pp. 145-46; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 507.
83. Supra, pp. 50-51.
84. AHT, p. x. It may be though that if a church had a lot of names to commemorate, then it would have more than one set of diptychs, and only the most recent would be used at Mass, as was the practice at Mopsuestia in 550 (supra, p. 46). This would have tended to slow down the process by which diptychs developed into "libri vitae".
85. Testamentum Bertichramni, in Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in Urbe Degentium, cap. XI, ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru, Société des Archives Historiques du Maine, Le Mans, 1901, pp. 101-41; date of 616 in the Testamentum itself (p. 102).
86. Testamentum Bertichramni, ed. Busson and Ledru, p. 112.
87. Ibid., p. 138.
88. Supra, Chapter One, fn. 75.
89. Duemmler, no. 125.
90. Infra, pp. 76-8.
91. King, Liturgies of the Past, p. 100.
92. Supra, pp. 50-51.
93. King, Liturgies of the Past, pp. 101-2; McKitterick, Frankish Church, pp. 122-23, 125, 128-33.
94. Tangl, no. 12.

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95. Walafrid Strabo, Liber de exordiis et incrementis, cap. 26, ed. A. Knoepfler, Munich, 1899, p. 84.
96. Admonitio Generalis, in MGH, Leges, Capitularia regum Francorum, 1, ed. A. Boretius, Hannover, 1883, n. 61; King, Liturgies of the Past, p. 102.
97. Paul the Deacon, Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium, in MGH, Scriptores, 2, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannover, 1829, p. 268; King, Liturgies of the Past, n. 103.
98. Codex Carolinus (Papal letters to Charles Martel, Pippin, and Charlemagne, 739-91), no. 89, ed. W. Gundlach, in MGH, Epistolae, 3, Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi, 1, Berlin, 1892, p. 626; Gregorian Sacramentary, ed. Wilson, p. xxi; McKitterick, Frankish Church, pp. 123, 130-31.
99. McKitterick, Frankish Church, pp. 132-33.
100. Walafrid Strabo, Liber de exordiis et incrementis, cap. 23, ed. Knoepfler, p. 59; King, Liturgies of the Past, n. 104.
101. King, Liturgies of the Past, p. 105.
102. Supra, pp. 47-48.
103. Supra, pp. 50-53.
104. E. Bishop, "Silent Recitals in the Mass of the Faithful", Appendix V, in Connolly ed., Liturgical Homilies of Narsai, pp. 124-26; King, "Silent Canon" Appendix VII, in Liturgy of the Roman Church, pp. 429-31; Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 482 and fn. 3.

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105. Ordines Romani, II, 10, in PL, 78, 1895, col. 974;
King, Liturgy of the Roman Church, p. 431;
Bishop, "Silent Recitals", p. 124.
- Not all churches using the Roman rite in one of its
versions would necessarily have followed this
practice, it must be remembered, even though Rome
itself did.
106. Bishop, "Silent Recitals", p. 124.
107. Steuart, Christian Worship, pp. 149-50.
108. Gelasian Sacramentary, ed. Wilson, pp. 234-36;
Gregorian Sacramentary, ed. Wilson, pp. 2-3.
109. Bishop, in JTS, 4, p. 574; AHT, p. x.
110. McKitterick, Frankish Church, p. 1, and fn. 2.
111. Ibid., p. 1, fn. 1, pp. 3-4.
112. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
113. Admonitio Generalis, cap. 54, ed. Boretius, p. 57,
114. Supra, p. 47; Decreta Innocentii Papae, II, in PL,
67, 1865, col. 239.
115. MGH, Leges, 3, Concilia, 2, Concilia aevi Karolini,
part 1, ed. A. Werminghoff, Hannover, 1906, p. 171,
cap. 51.
116. Bishop, in JTS, 4, pp. 574-75.
117. Ibid., p. 575; King, Liturgies of the Past, p. 106;
Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, p. 583.

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118. Steuart, Christian Worship, pp. 145-46.
119. Remigius of Auxerre, Expositio de Celebratione Missae
(printed as cap. 40 of De divinis officiis liber,
a work attributed, dubiously, to Alcuin), in PL,
101, 1863, col. 1264; King, Liturgy of the Roman
Church, p. 315.
120. King, Liturgy of the Roman Church, p. 315.
121. HE, I, 27, no. 2.
122. Ibid., II, 20.
123. Ibid., IV, 2; ES, cap. 14.
124. HE, IV, 2.
125. Ibid., IV, 12.
126. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 9-10.
127. HE, IV, 18.
128. Acts of the Council of "Clovesho", cap. 13, ed.
Haddan and Stubbs, III, p. 367.
129. Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 481-82.
130. Duemmler, no. 226.
131. MGH, Necrologia Germaniae, 2, Dioecesis Salisburg-
ensis, ed. S. Herzberg-Fränk^l, Berlin, 1904,
pp. 6-7; AHT, p. xi.
132. Birch ed., Liber Vitae: New Minster and Hyde Abbey,
pp. 15-16; Bishop, Liturgica Historica, p. 352.

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133. MGH, Libri Memoriales, 1, Liber Memorialis von Remiremont, ed. E. Hlawitschka, K. Schmid, and G. Tellenbach, Dublin and Zurich, 1970, pp. 18-40, 65-78, 94-110 (fols. 10v-19r, 32r-34v, 43v-47r).
134. Stevenson, Appendix, pp. 139-52.
135. Liber Memorialis von Remiremont, p. 40 (fol. 19r).
136. Duemmler, no. 16.
137. P.H. Sawyer, From Roman Britain to Norman England, London, 1978, pp. 241-42.
138. Duemmler, no. 20.
139. Liber Memorialis von Remiremont, p. 1 (fol. 1v); Constable, in Speculum, 47, part 2, pp. 263-64.
140. HSC, cap. 26.
141. Duemmler, no. 102.
142. P-78.
143. VP, Preface.
144. The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great, by an anonymous monk of Whitby, capp. 18-19, ed. B. Colgrave, Lawrence (Kansas), 1968; HE, II, 20.
145. Supra, p. 25.
146. HE, III, 13.
147. Q-2.

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148. Duemmler, nos. 100, 101, 104.
149. Ibid., no. 100.
150. Ibid., no. 101.
151. R-79.
152. Levison, pp. 101-3.
153. E.g. Tangl, nos. 27, 104; Duemmler, nos. 15, 230.
154. Levison, pp. 101-3.
155. R. McKitterick, The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751-987, London and New York, 1983, pp. 210-11.
156. Ibid. Tangl, no. 101, a letter from the priest Wiehtberht to his old monastery of Glastonbury, is a good illustration of the way the missionaries in Germany felt that the prayers of those back in England were an important ingredient in their work.
157. Hugelburc, Vita Willibaldi, capp. 5-6, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in MGH, Scriptores, 15, part 1, Hannover, 1887, pp. 104-6.
158. Tangl, no. 106.
159. Ibid., no. 55; Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 342-43.
160. Wietberht may well be the same as the priest Wiehtberht who went from Glastonbury to work in Germany (Tangl, no. 101 - see supra, fn. 156). This letter, dated 732-54, names Ingeld as the abbot of Glastonbury at that time. Abbot Coengils of Glastonbury is mentioned in S.253 (729) and S.254 (737).

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161. Infra, p. 70.
162. Duemmler, no. 24.
163. AD-7.
164. Duemmler, no. 31.
165. MGH, Leges, 3, Concilia, 2, part 1, Concilia Aevi Karolini, 1, ed. A. Werminghoff, Hannover, 1906, pp. 72-3; Levison, pp. 101-3; McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, p. 58.
166. MGH, Leges, Concilia Aevi Karolini, 1, p. 171; Levison, p. 102, fn. 3.
167. Supra, p. 65.
168. Duemmler, no. 67.
169. Supra, p. 68.
170. Tangl, no. 114.
171. Ibid., no. 121.
172. EHD, p. 834, fn. 1.
173. Infra, p. 125.
174. AHT, pp. xiv-xv.
175. Ibid., p. xv.
176. Tangl, no. 106.

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177. Supra, p. 65.
178. Lowe, CLA, 2, 2nd edn., p. 20.
179. HR, 793.
180. R. Powell, "The Lichfield St. Chad's Gospels: Repair and Rebinding, 1961-1962", in The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, 5th series, 20, 1965, p. 261; C.D. Morris, "Northumbria and the Viking Settlement: the Evidence for Land-Holding", in Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th series, 5, 1977, p.90.
181. Of the twenty-two manuscripts written in the British Isles in the ninth century, four are smaller than the LV, and seventeen are larger. They range in size from Cambridge, University Library, Ii.6.32 (the manuscript of Gospel extracts known as the Book of Deer), which is c.6" by $4\frac{3}{8}$ ", up to the St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 904 (an Irish copy of Priscian, Institutiones Grammaticae), which is $16\frac{1}{4}$ " by 11".
182. Suggestion made by Ian Wood.
183. J.J. Alexander, "Some aesthetic principles in the use of colour in Anglo-Saxon art", in Anglo-Saxon England, 4, 1975, pp. 148-49.
184. Ibid.
185. See Appendix II.
186. Tangl, no. 35.
187. ES, cap. 17.

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188. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11947; CLA, no. 616.

189. Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek; Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions, ed. E.A. Bond and E.M. Thompson, 1, London, 1873-83, plate 118.

Other examples of manuscripts written in silver, with some gold, on purple parchment, are CLA, nos. 281, 399, 436a, 436b, 437. All are of the late fifth or early sixth centuries, all are thought to be from Italy, and all are texts of the Gospels. See also P. Hunter Blair, The World of Bede, London, 1970, p. 228.

190. Lowe, CLA, 6, p. xxvii. The manuscripts in this group are CLA, nos. 198, 517, 681, 704, 1366, 1504, 1702; also Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 8850, and Vatican Library, Palatinus Lat. 50.

Other manuscripts of this period (late 8th to early 9th) using precious metals and written on the Continent are CLA, nos. 576, 580, 768, 795, 1469.

191. Supra, p. 73.

192. Dublin, Trinity College, 57 (A.IV.5); CLA, no. 273. It measures $9\frac{5}{8}$ " by $5\frac{7}{10}$ ".

193. Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.I.2; CLA, no. 157; quote from J.J.G. Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, Sixth to Ninth Centuries, Survey of Manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles, 1, London, 1978, pp. 63-64, no. 38. It measures $8\frac{15}{16}$ " by $6\frac{3}{4}$ ".

194. CLA, nos. 149, 187.

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195. The damaged fragment is London, British Library, Additional MS. 23211 (Ker, Catalogue, no. 127).
196. East Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 553; CLA, no. 1048. It measures $13\frac{1}{2}$ " by $9\frac{7}{8}$ ".
197. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, D.II.3, fols. 12-67; CLA, no. 268. It measures $5\frac{7}{10}$ " by $4\frac{3}{10}$ ".
198. Book of Nunnaminster - London, British Library, Harley 2965; CLA, no. 199.
Book of Cerne - Cambridge, University Library, Ll.1.10; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, no. 66.
British Library, Harley 7653; CLA, no. 204.
British Library, Royal 2.A.XX; CLA, no. 215.
199. G.D. Macray, Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, 9, Oxford, 1883, pp. 64-66, no. 63; O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 3, Oxford, 1973, no. 16.
200. There is a suggestion that it might have been written at St. Bertin in north-east France rather than in Northumbria - see D.N. Dumville, "Motes and Beams: Two Insular Computistical Manuscripts", in Peritia, 2, 1983, pp. 248-56; and D. Ó Cróinín, "Sticks and Stones - A Reply", in the same volume, pp. 257-60.
201. F. Wormald ed., English Kalendars before A.D. 1100, Henry Bradshaw Society, 72, 1934, p. 10; P.H. Sawyer, "Some sources for the history of Viking Northumbria", in Viking Age York and the North, ed. R.A. Hall, CBA Research Report no. 27, London, 1978, p. 5.
202. It should be remembered that the binding of the book was also of gold and silver, by the later Middle

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Ages at least, and possibly from early on (supra, p. 34).

203. Salzburg, Stiftsarchiv St. Peter, MS. a.XI.13; MGH, Necrologia Germaniae, 2, Dioecesis Salisburgensis, ed. J. Herzberg-Fränk^lel, Berlin, 1904, pp. 4-44; K. Forstner, Das Verbrüderungsbuch von St. Peter, in Codices selecti phototypice impressi, 51, Gratz, 1974.
204. Lowe, CLA, 10, p. viii.
205. F. Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum in Frankenreich, Munich and Vienna, 1965, pp. 394-95, 399-401.
206. AHT, pp. xi-xii.
207. Supra, p. 61.
208. MGH, Necrologia Germaniae, 2, ed. Herzberg-Fränk^lel, pp. 42-3; AHT, p. xii.
209. MGH, Necrologia Germaniae, 2, ed. Herzberg-Fränk^lel, pp. 9, 22-3.
210. Ibid., pp. 42-3.
211. St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. C3 B55; MGH, Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Faba-riensis, ed. P. Piper, Berlin, 1884, pp. 9-96.
212. Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum, p. 122, fn. 8, pp. 227-31.
213. Bishop, Liturgica Historica, pp. 349-50.

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214. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS. 10; MGH, Libri Memoriales, 1, Liber Memorialis von Remiremont, ed. E. Hlawitschka, K. Schmid, and G. Tellenbach, Dublin and Zurich, 1970.
215. Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum, pp. 105, 141-42.
216. Liber Memorialis von Remiremont, pp. 78-79, 131-32 (fols. 35r, 58v).
217. Ibid., p. 4 (fol. 3v).
218. Supra, p. 64.
219. Supra, p. 62.
220. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. hist. 27, pp. 1-164; MGH, Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis, ed. P. Piper, Berlin, 1884, pp. 145-352; facsimile edition, MGH, Libri Memoriales et Necrologia, new series, 1, Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau, ed. J. Autenrieth, D. Geuenich, and K. Schmid, Hannover, 1979.
221. Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum, pp. 209-12.
222. McKitterick, Frankish Kingdoms, pp. 210-11.
223. MGH, Libri Confraternitatum, ed. Piper, p. 294; Bishop, Liturgica Historica, p. 353.
224. A. Valentini, Codice necrologico-liturgico del monastero di S. Salvatore o S. Giulia in Brescia, Brescia, 1887; O.G. Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter", in Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 10, 1976, p. 76.
225. St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Fabariensis I; MGH, Libri Confraternitatum, ed. Piper, pp. 358-94.

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226. Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum, pp. 216, 222-23, 417.
227. London, British Library, Stowe 944 (previously 960);
Birch ed., Liber Vitae: New Minster and Hyde Abbey.
228. Knowles and Hadcock, p. 81.
229. Supra, pp. 61-2.
230. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 58, 81.
231. Birch ed., Liber Vitae: New Minster and Hyde Abbey,
p. lvii.
232. Supra, pp. 60-1.
233. Though only two of the Durham LV's lists go back to
the time of Lindisfarne's foundation (supra, pp.
26-30).
234. AHT, pp. xii-xiv.

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

1. R-43, 57, 58, 79, 80, 100; Q-31, 69, 101, 108, 115, 116, 164, 181; AP-21, 22; Ab-64, 73.
2. Those names which can be identified with a high degree of certainty are noted in the edition of the LV which forms Appendix I (infra, pp. 299-379). I had intended to include a full prosopography of the ninth-century portion of the LV as another appendix to this thesis, but considerations of time and space (it would have run, I calculate, to about 170 pages) meant it had to be omitted.
3. Constable, in Speculum, 47, part 2, pp. 266-68; K. Schmid, "The structure of the nobility in the earlier Middle Ages", in T. Reuter ed., The Medieval Nobility, Amsterdam, New York, London, 1979, pp. 38-51; K.F. Werner, "Important noble families in the kingdom of Charlemagne", in Reuter ed., op. cit., pp. 149-53; T. Reuter, introduction, in Reuter ed., op. cit., pp. 3-4.

Last century H. Hahn noticed that there were groups in the Durham LV - H. Hahn, "Die Namen der Bonifazischen Briefe in Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis", in Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, 12, 1887, pp. 111-27.

4. R-100, 101.
5. P-316 to 318; P-322 to 326.
6. C-1055, 1056.
7. There is not a page of text in the ninth-century portion of the LV which has not at least one example of alliterating names on it, and usually there are a number of instances on each page. Even the list of abbots who

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were deacons, which is only nine names long, contains three instances of pairs of alliterative names (AD-1 and 2; AD-3 and 4; AD-8 and 9).

8. H.B.Woolf, The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving, Baltimore, USA, 1939, particularly pp. 1-2.
9. Ibid., p. 249.
10. Ibid., Chapters 3, 7, 9, and p. 250.
11. R-2, 3; R-18, 19; R-12, 13.
12. Though this Beornred may possibly be the man who was king of Mercia for a short time in 757 (ASC, 757; HR, 757).
13. ASC, "D", "E", 779; HR, 780.
14. R-67; infra, pp. 113-14.
15. E.g. R-81 and 82, on fol. 15v (Sigred); C-963 and 964, on fol. 34v (Eanuini).
16. HR, 796; Woolf, Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving, p. 255.
17. M-355, 356.
18. R-87, 88, 89; R-93, 94.
19. Q-47, 48; Q-51, 52; Q-76, 77; Q-126, 127.
20. Aldhaeth and Agustinus are next to each other in the list of anchorites (A-19, 20), but this is probably just coincidence. Agustinus is not a Germanic name and the owner of it is very probably Irish.

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21. AP-62 to 68.
22. Page, Episcopal Lists, p. 3.
23. Simeon of Durham, HDE, Preface.
24. La Vie de Saint Samson, capp. 29, 31, ed. Fawtier;
K. Hughes, The Church in Early Irish Society, Lon-
don, 1966, p. 76.
25. HE, III, 23.
26. Ibid., III, 11, 27. Aethelhild is in the LV (Q-21);
Aethelwine and Aldwine may be in it (both names
occur a number of times); Aethelhun is not inclu-
ded. "Rathmelsigi" has now been identified as
Clonmelsh in Co. Carlow (D. Ó Cróinín, "Rath Melsigi,
Willibrord, and the earliest Echternach Manuscripts",
in Peritia, 3, 1984, p. 23).
27. Of the 3120 names in the LV, 12% are names which occur
only there, together with a further 2.3% which are
only found in Old English in the LV, though they
also occur on the Continent. There are also a
number of unusual names, which are only found else-
where in, for example, placenames in Anglo-Saxon
charters, or as the names of people in Old English
poems. Names of this sort account for another 4%.
So 18.3% of the names in the book are rare or unique.
28. Q-7 to 10, Q-12 to 17.
29. Q-140 to 144. (Q-139 to 142 also alliterate in "e").
30. Supra, pp. 22-24.
31. R-2 to 9, R-14 to 19; Q-1 to 6.

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32. R-23 and 25.
33. Q-119 to 121.
34. R-96.
35. R-72, 74, 77, 78, 79.
36. For dating of this event see *infra*, Chapter Six, fns. 95 and 123.
37. R-83; Duemmler, no. 18.
38. R-54 to 56.
39. HR, 778; ASC, "D", "E", 778.
40. R-57, 58.
41. S.146.
42. Duemmler, no. 3.
43. G.W.S. Barrow, The Anglo-Saxon Era in Scottish History, Oxford, 1980, pp. 158-59. The confraternity agreement made between Durham and Dugald and his chaplain and Adam de Stanford is extant, on a folio inserted into Durham, Cathedral Library, B.IV.24 (a manuscript written in the late 11th and 12th) - Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the end of the twelfth century, intro. by R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1939, pp. 44-45, no. 51, and plate 33; the agreement is printed in Stevenson, p. 135.
44. Eirik I's appearance in the LV is of significance in showing that the Danish kings had not lost their

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interest in England, particularly in the north, even after the non-occurrence of the planned invasion of England by Cnut IV of Denmark in 1085 (Cnut was Eirik's older brother).

(ASC, 1069, 1070, 1075, 1085; J. Stefansson, Denmark and Sweden, London, 1916, pp. 19-20; Sawyer, Roman Britain to Norman England, p. 131).

45. AHT, p. xxvi; Bishop, Liturgica Historica, p. 356.
46. Q-59, 60.
47. Cramp, pp. 98, 100-1, nos. 1, 6.
48. AP-33, 35; HR, 786, 787; ASC, "D", "E", sa 788.
49. AD-6, 7.
50. Vita Hadriani, cap. 26, in Le Liber Pontificalis, ed. L. Duchesne, 1, Paris, 1955, pp. 494, 515; Levison, p. 154, fn. 3.
51. See, e.g., HR, 792.
52. P. Godman ed., Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York, Oxford, 1982, p. xxxvi, fn. 5.
53. HR, 773.
54. Godman, op. cit., p. xxxvi.
55. P-51; he may be in the list of abbots who were priests as well, under the name "cuthfrith" (AP-52); HE, V, 1; VP, Preface.

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56. P-53; VP, cap. 37, and possibly in a marginal note to cap. 41.
57. P-49; De Abb., cap. 8.
58. P-124; Tangl, no. 78.
59. P-126; Tangl, no. 117.
60. M-84, 93; VP, cap. 35 (marginal notes).
61. Tangl, no. 93.
62. Willibald, Wynnebald, Waldburh, Leofgyth (Leoba), and Thecla were all relatives of Boniface; Thecla and Leofgyth had both been nuns at Wimborne. Monks from Glastonbury who went to work with Boniface were Lull and Wietberht, and possibly Burgheard and Denehard.
63. Tangl, no. 101.
64. A number of Boniface's correspondents were the heads of monasteries, e.g., abbesses Eangyth, Bugga, and Eadburh, and abbots Duddo and Aldheri (Tangl, nos. 10, 14, 15, 27, 30, 34, 35, 38, 65, 94).
65. Tangl, nos. 33, 78.
66. Ibid., nos. 54, 62, 85, 90, 93, 104, 106. This list excludes Boniface's correspondence with the Popes, which begins in 719.
67. Boniface's earliest extant letter to anyone in Northumbria is Tangl, no. 32, of 735, to Penthelm, Bishop of Whithorn. Other letters to Northumbrians are

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Tangl, nos. 75, 76, 91. Boniface's first known contact with someone in Mercia was his meeting with a monk from Much Wenlock in 716 (Tangl, no. 10) - Boniface was still living in England at that time. He did not correspond with anybody in Mercia though, as far as we know, until much later on. Bishop Torhthelm of Leicester wrote to Boniface in c.738 (Tangl, no. 47), and Boniface wrote to king Aethelbald of Mercia and sent gifts to him in 745-46 (Tangl, no. 69). In 746-47 Boniface wrote again to king Aethelbald, and also to the priest Herefrith, asking him to deliver the letter to Aethelbald (Tangl, nos. 73-4). Herefrith may have lived in Northumbria or Mercia. Contact with East Anglia is represented by one letter, from king Aelfwald of the East Angles to Boniface in 747-49 (Tangl, no. 81). Its contents do suggest though that earlier letters had been exchanged.

68. Tangl, no. 32; HE, V, 18.
69. Boniface visited Rome in 719 and in 722, and on at least one other occasion (Tangl, nos. 41-44, 105). He was involved in reform of the Frankish church from c.742 onwards (see e.g. Tangl, nos. 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 77, 78, 80, 82). Willibald's residence at Monte Cassino is recorded in Hugeburc, Vita Willibaldi, ed. Holder-Egger).
70. This is the case with abbesses Eadburh, Ecgburh, Eangyth, and Bugga, abbot Duddo, and Bishop Daniel of Winchester (Tangl, nos. 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 23, 27, 30, 34, 35, 63, 64, 65, 94).
71. Tangl, no. 74.
72. *Ibid.*, no. 76.

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73. Ibid., no. 32.
74. Ibid., no. 46. This letter was written in response to an expedition against the Saxons by Charles Martel in 738, which raised hopes that their conversion might follow (see EHD, introduction to no. 174).
75. Tangl, nos. 36, 105.
76. Ibid., no. 59 - this is a letter from Boniface to Ecgberht. In it Boniface says he has received gifts and books from Ecgberht so there must have been some previous contact - whether this was initiated by Boniface or by Ecgberht is uncertain.
77. Tangl, no. 47.
78. See, e.g., Tangl, nos. 14, 15, 27, 54, 62, 78.
79. See, e.g., Tangl, nos. 34, 54, 78.
80. Supra, pp. 70-1.
81. Tangl, no. 105.
82. Duemmler, no. 100.
83. Celibacy for all clerics from the rank of sub-deacon upwards was enjoined by church councils from the 4th onwards. The practice did not always come up to the ideal however, and married clergy are found in, e.g., Frankia, Ireland, and England, in the 8th. (DACL, 2, cols. 2816, 2820-21; Bede, Epistola ad Ecgberhtum, ed. Plummer, Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, 1, pp. 405-23; Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society.)

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84. For example, P-188 (Forthhere - Tangl, no. 63); C-886 (Sola - Ermanric of Ellwangen, Vita Solae, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in MGH, Scriptores, 15, part 1, Hannover, 1887, pp. 151-63); M-556 (Ceolla - Tangl, nos. 69 and 70).
85. AP-21, 22.
86. Tangl, nos. 40, 132.
87. Ibid., nos. 40, 41.
88. Q-68, 69.
89. Rudolf, Vita Leobae, capp. 3, 4, 6, 10, ed. G. Waitz, in MGH, Scriptores, 15, part 1, Hannover, 1887, pp. 123-26; Otlohi, Vita Bonifatii, I, cap. 25, in MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 57, Vitae Sancti Bonifatii, ed. W. Levison, Hannover and Leipzig, 1905, pp. 137-38.
90. Q-65; Tangl, no. 13.
91. Q-163, 164.
92. Hugeburc, Vita Willibaldi, ed. Holder-Egger.
93. Otlohi, Vita Bonifatii, I, cap. 25, ed. Levison, pp. 137-38; Tangl, nos. 147-48. It is unclear where both Berhtgyth and Balthard were when these two letters were written - they might have been in England or Germany. Nor is the date of the letters certain. Balthard might possibly be the same as the Baldhart who was abbot of Hersfeld in Hesse (d. 798) (Annales Weissenburgenses, 798, in MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum

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separatim editi, 38, Lamperti Monachi Hersfeldensis Opera, ed. O. Holder-Egger, Hannover and Leipzig, 1894, new edn., 1956, p. 20; Lambert of Hersfeld, Libelli de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae quae supersunt, in *ibid.*, p. 348; Levison, p. 168).

94. C-723, 726; Tangl, no. 113.
95. E.g. Sigewulf, abbot of Ferrières (AP-51), and Alcuin (AD-7), are classed under "Frankia", but were both from England; the same is true of some of those classed under "Germany".
96. Uictberct, a hermit (A-5), and Gerald, abbot of Mayo (AP-8).
97. For Lindisfarne's "familia", see *infra*, Chapter Four.
98. Hygebald's monastery is said to be in Lindsey in HE, IV, 3, but its exact site is not given. Hygebald's body is said to rest at "Cecesege" on the river Ancholme in Lindsey, in the ninth-century portion of the List of Saints' Resting-Places in England (Rollason, p. 89). This may be Hibaldstow, and it may have been the site of Hygebald's monastery, but not necessarily.
99. Abbess Beorngyth's monastery was the recipient of two land-grants in the later seventh century (S.1167-68). The monastery may have been that which is known to have existed later on at Bath (S.265), because the charters mentioning Beorngyth were preserved in a cartulary of Bath Abbey, and the lands in question were held by Bath at a later period, but it may be that Bath had acquired lands once held by another community (EHD, introduction to no. 57).

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100. Suggested identifications of "Icanho" are Iken, Suffolk; Hadstock, Essex; and Grundisburgh, Suffolk. Of these, Iken seems by far the most likely:- F.S. Stevenson, "St. Botolph (Botwulf) and Iken", in Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, 18. 1924, pp. 29-52; E.A. Martin, "St. Botolph and Hadstock: A Reply", in The Antiquaries Journal, 58, 1978, pp. 153-59.
101. HE, IV, 19; ASC, 673.
102. Supra, pp. 26-30.
103. HE, III, 22.
104. Q-31, 115, 116; Aldhelm, prose De virginitate, preface, in MGH, Auctores antiquissimi, 15, Aldhelmi Opera, ed. R. Ehwald, Berlin, 1919, pp. 228-29.
105. HE, IV, 6-10.
106. ASC, 718; Aldhelm, prose De virginitate, preface, ed. Ehwald, pp. 228-29.
107. Q-6.
108. Q-5; HE, IV, 6-10; S.1171.
109. HR, 767; Tangl, nos. 121, 125; Vita Willehadi, cap. 1, and Altfred, Vita Liudgeri, both in MGH, Scriptores, 2, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannover, 1829, pp. 380, 403-19.
110. HE, III, 8.
111. Q-122.

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112. R-7.
113. Hucbald, Vita Rictrudis, in Acta SS., May, 3, pp. 81-88.
114. Vita Aldetrudis, in Acta SS., February, 3, pp. 514-16;
Rictrude and Aldetrude may be at Q-54 and 57.
115. Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum, pp. 130, 140-41, 165, 272-73,
304-5; P. Riché, "Columbanus, his followers and
the Merovingian Church", in Columbanus and Merovin-
gian Monasticism, ed. H.B. Clarke and M. Brennan,
British Archaeological Reports, International Series
no. 113, Oxford, 1981, p. 65.
116. R-67; identification suggested by Ian Wood.
117. Chilperic II was the son of Childeric II, who was
k. 675, so Chilperic must have been at least forty
years old when he became king in 715. Many of
the Merovingian kings were, by contrast, very young
when they were made king.
118. Fredegar, Chronicle, Continuation, capp. 8-10, ed.
J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, London and Edinburgh, 1960,
pp. 87-9; Liber Historiae Francorum, capp. 51-53,
in MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, 2, ed.
B. Krusch, Hannover, 1888.
119. There had already been contact between Northumbria
and the Merovingians in the later C7th, when St.
Wilfrid was involved in the restoration of king
Dagobert II to the throne of Austrasia in 676
(ES, capp. 28, 33; A. Lohaus, Die Merowinger
und England, Munich, 1974, pp. 34-39).
120. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, cap. 32.

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121. Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, capp. 9-11, ed. W. Levison, in MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, 7, part 1, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, Hannover and Leipzig, 1920, pp. 81-141.
122. R-79; AD-7.
123. Infra, pp. 260-61.
124. Supra, p. 88.
125. Infra, Chapter Four.
126. Supra, pp. 2-3.
127. This might have happened in the list of clerics in particular for this part of the document contains many half-sheets.
128. R-43, 80, 100; M.O. Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland, Edinburgh, 1973, pp. 98-99, 101, 178, 184-86, 192-94; A.P. Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80-1000, London, 1984, pp. 67, 73-75, 177-80, 184, 186-87.
129. R-43.
130. AU, sa 656; HE, III, 1; Anderson, Kings and Kingship, pp. 169, 170, 231; Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men, pp. 61-2.
131. HE, III, 24; M. Miller, "Eanfrith's Pictish Son", in Northern History, 14, 1978, pp. 47, 57, 63.
132. HE, III, 1, 9.
133. Ibid., III, 25.

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134. AP-8; AU, sa 731, ie 732.
135. A-20 (Augustine - AU, sa 779, ie 780); AP-45 (Bressal - AU, sa 800, ie 801); Ab-73 (Sóerbergg - AU, sa 790, ie 791).
136. Supra, pp. 28-29.
137. Infra, p. 232.
138. R-80; Q-1; A-20; Ab-73.
139. See Appendix III (pp. 382-90).
140. For the implications of this see supra, pp. 28-29, and infra, pp. 237-38.
141. R-99; ASC, 802, 825, 829, 830, 839.
142. HE, III, 7.
143. ES, cap. 40.
144. ASC, sa 718.
145. Q-6, 34.
146. HE, III, 21.
147. Ibid., III, 24.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid.
150. R-9; Q-125.

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151. HE, V, 24.
152. ASC, "D", "E", 716.
153. R-9, 35, 65.
154. Q-90; HR, 783; ASC, "D", "E", 782.
155. R-9, 17, 35, 65, 96, and possibly R-27.
156. ASC, 796; HR, 796.
157. *Infra*, pp. 256-57.
158. Q-101, 145, 158, 171, and possibly Q-187. (Cuoenthryth features in S.165, 1434, 1436; Cynethryth in S.188; Aelfthryth in S.163, 165, 168, 173, 182; Saethryth in S.204 and the confirmation of S.88; and Aethelswith is mentioned in ASC, 853, 888).
159. ASC, 714; Felix's Life of St. Guthlac, ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge, 1956.
160. Sawyer, Roman Britain to Norman England, p. 8.
161. Felix, Life of St. Guthlac, capp. 50-51, 53.
162. D.W. Rollason, The Mildrith Legend, Leicester, 1982, pp. 25-6, 44-5, 75, 77, 86; Rollason, p. 89; Tangl, no. 10.
163. Rollason, pp. 73-4; Rollason, Mildrith Legend.
164. S.1798-1802; H.P.R. Finberg, Early Charters of the West Midlands, Leicester, 1961, pp. 200-8.
165. AP-36 (Botwulf - ASC, 654; anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, cap. 4); AP-48 (Edelheg - S.1798).

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166. Tangl, no. 135.
167. Ibid.; S.96, S.260.
168. Supra, p. 28, and fn. 102.
169. Supra, p. 99.
170. Supra, pp. 102-3.
171. Rudolf, Vita Leobae, ed. Waitz; Tangl, nos. 29, 67, 96.
172. Q-68, 108.
173. For Thecla, see Rudolf, Vita Leobae, prologue, cap. 14, ed. Waitz, pp. 122, 128; Acta SS., October, 7, part 1, pp. 59-64.
- For Waldburh, see Vita Wynnebalidi, capp. 10, 13, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in MGH, Scriptores, 15, part 1, pp. 114, 116; Wolfhard, Miracula S. Waldburgis, ed. Holder-Egger, in same volume, pp. 538-55.
174. Eigil, Vita Sturmi, in MGH, Scriptores, 2, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannover, 1829, pp. 365-77.
175. Altfrid, Vita Liudgeri, capp. 10-12; Liudger, Vita Gregorii abbatis Traiectensis, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in MGH, Scriptores, 15, part 1, pp. 66-79.
176. Supra, p. 100.
177. HE, III, 1, 14.
178. Ibid., III, 14.
179. Aidan's friendship with both kings shown in HE, III, 14-15.

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180. HE, III, 14.
181. Oswine dismissed his army at "Wilfaresdun", ten miles north-west of Catterick. This place has not been identified but it must have been only a short distance south of the Tees. Oswine was killed at Gilling West, about five miles north-west of Catterick.
182. *Infra*, p. 139.
183. HE, III, 14, 24.
184. *Ibid.*, III, 23.
185. *Ibid.*, III. 24.
186. Alchfrith is called a "rex" by both Bede (HE, III, 25, 28) and in *ES*, capp. 7-12. His territory is never described, but as he founded a monastery at Ripon it is very probable that he had jurisdiction over Deira.
187. *Supra*, p. 117.
188. HE, III, 25; V, 19; *ES*, cap. 8; VP, capp. 7-8.
189. HE, III, 14.
190. The dispute between Oswiu and Alchfrith very probably underlies the muddled events of 664-65, which resulted in both Wilfrid and Chad being consecrated as bishop for Northumbria. The fact that Alchfrith is not heard of again after sending Wilfrid to be consecrated in Gaul, and that it was Chad, Oswiu's candidate, who actually managed

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to hold onto the bishopric until Archbishop Theodore's visitation in 669, suggests that Alchfrith fell from power during Wilfrid's absence from Northumbria (HE, III, 28; IV, 2-3; ES, capp. 11-15).

191. R-5.
192. HE, V, 24; ASC, sa 710.
193. ES, cap. 60.
194. Sawyer, Roman Britain to Norman England, p. 34; ES, cap. 19; HE, V, 24; A.Tig., p. 216.
195. Supra, p. 92.
196. R-18.
197. Ab-62; A.Tig., p. 262.
198. Infra, p. 278.
199. Ab-87.
200. HR, 799.
201. Ibid., 796.
202. Ibid., 740, 750, 791.
203. Ibid., sa 759, 769; ASC, "D", "E", 761; infra, pp. 254, 277.
204. ES, cap. 59; R-16.
205. HR, 765, 774, 788, 790; ASC, "D", "E", 765, 774, 789, 790.

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206. *Infra*, pp. 274-76.
207. HR, 792.
208. Q-198; *infra*, pp. 271, 274, 276.
209. For the dates of the ninth-century kings, see Chapter Six, fn. 123.
210. R-101.
211. Roger of Wendover, 844.
212. H3C, cap. 10.
213. ASC, 867; HR, 867; Roger of Wendover, 867.
214. HR, 867, 873, 876; Roger of Wendover, 867, 872, 873, 876; Series Regum Northymbrensiū, in Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, 2, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series no. 75, London, 1885, p. 391.
215. The connection of Ecgberht I with the Archbishop of York in 872, when they were both expelled and went into exile together in Mercia, suggests that these kings may have been associated with York (Roger of Wendover, 872) (information from Peter Sawyer).
216. *Supra*, p. 10.
217. *Infra*, p. 219.
218. HE, II, 16, 20; III, 25; IV, 2.

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219. VP, cap. 35.
220. Ibid., cap. 37.
221. M-84, 93; supra, p. 98.
222. HE, II, 14; for the site of "Campodunum", see Appendix IV, p. 398.
223. HE, V, 3.
224. Ibid., III, 21, 24.
225. Ibid., IV, 12, 28; anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 2-3.
226. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 2-3.
227. The name "cynifrith" (and its variants "cynifrið" and "cyniferð") occurs nineteen times in the LV, in the lists of priests, clerics, and monks.
228. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 2-3.
229. AP-1.
230. It is possible that Gilling came to be a possession of Lindisfarne eventually - infra, pp. 168-70.
231. Infra, p. 227.
232. HE, III, 23.
233. Ibid., IV, 3.
234. Ibid.

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235. Infra, p. 227.
- 236.. HE, III, 23.
237. J. Campbell, "The First Century of Christianity in England", in Ampleforth Journal, 76, no. 1, 1971, p. 27.
238. Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, Epistolae, nos. 61-2, ed. E. Duemmler, in MGH, Epistolae, 6, Epistolae Karolini Aevi, 4, Berlin, 1925, pp. 61-2.
239. The community had the friendship of king Guthfrith (HSC, cap. 13), and it was also successful in gaining the support of English nobles (HSC, capp. 21, 22, 24).

Chapter Four - St. Cuthbert's Community.

1. The exact date of Lindisfarne's foundation is not known. Bede, HE, III, 3, says that king Oswald, "as soon as he received the kingdom", sent to the Scots to ask them to send him a bishop. In this chapter Bede says that the Scots sent Aidan, and "on the arrival of the bishop, the king gave him a place for an episcopal see on the island of Lindisfarne, where he himself desired". In HE, III, 5, however, Bede says that "it is said that" at first the Scots sent Oswald a priest of a "harsher character" than Aidan. This man met with no success in his preaching and returned to Iona, and Aidan was then sent in his place. If this story is correct, it suggests it was some time after Oswald's accession in 634 before Aidan came and settled on Lindisfarne. However the "it is said" which introduces the tale does put it into the class of stories which Bede thought it worthwhile to relate, without being convinced of their authenticity (see also, e.g., HE, II, 1; III, 12). In HE, III, 26, Bede says Aidan was bishop in Northumbria for seventeen years - i.e. from 634 as he died in 651. He may not have settled on Lindisfarne immediately he arrived in Northumbria however, although Bede does give the impression that he did.

The ASC does not mention the foundation of Lindisfarne. It is mentioned in AU, sa 631. This is too early, but under the same year AU records "the battle of Cadwallon, king of the Britons, and Anfrith" (i.e. king Eanfrith of Bernicia, 633-34). A.Tig., p. 182, adds to this annal that "Anfrith" was beheaded, and that Oswald son of Aethelfrith won the battle, and Cadwallon was killed. The Irish annals are running together two events which occurred separately, for, according to Bede, Eanfrith went to negotiate with Cadwallon, who had him killed, and after this Oswald gathered an army and fought a battle against Cadwallon

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and defeated and killed him (HE, III, 1). Both events did occur in 634 however, and it is possible that Lindisfarne was founded in the same year, as AU and A.Tig. suggest. At any rate the Irish evidence shows the foundation of Lindisfarne following on quickly after Oswald's accession.

The date of 635, which is often given as that of the foundation of Lindisfarne, comes from Simeon of Durham, HDE, I, 2.

2. HE, III, 1, 3.

3. A. Hamilton Thompson, "Northumbrian Monasticism", in Hamilton Thompson ed., Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings, Oxford, 1935, p. 64.

4. Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, pp. 71, 87.

The word "paruchia" is generally used as a term for such a confederation in secondary works about the Irish Church, but in this thesis the word "familia" will be used. This is because this is the word used in sources of the period for such a group of monasteries, both in Ireland (AU call Iona's confederation the "familia Iae") and in England (the monasteries founded by St. Wilfrid are called a "familia" in ES, Preface). The word "paruchia" does not appear to have been used at that time in this sense. It is a variant spelling of the word "parochia", which in Late and Medieval Latin meant an area of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, particularly a diocese or a parish. Its use in secondary works on the Irish Church to describe a monastic or "monastic-type" confederation has been discussed by R. Sharpe, "Some Problems concerning the Organization of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland", in Peritia, 3, 1984, pp. 243-47; A. Souter, A Glossary of Later

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Latin to 600 A.D., Oxford, 1949, p. 287; J.F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, ed. C. van der Kieft, Leiden, 1976, pp. 407-8, 764-65; Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, pp. 185, 333.

5. Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, p. 78.
6. Ibid., pp. 78, 81-2.
7. Ibid., pp. 62-4; Hamilton Thompson, in Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings, pp. 61-2.
8. HE, III, 4.
9. Hamilton Thompson, in Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings, p. 62.
10. VP, cap. 16.
11. HE, IV, 27.
12. Ibid., III, 26; IV, 4.
13. Ibid., III, 26, 27; see also Chapter One, fn. 25.
14. HE, III, 28; ES, cap. 14.
15. HE, IV, 12.
16. VP, cap. 37.
17. P. Rousseau, Ascetics, Authority, and the Church, Oxford, 1978.
18. HE, IV, 12.

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19. Supra, pp. 131-32.
20. HE, IV, 27.
21. VP, cap. 16.
22. Colgrave ed., Two Lives, p. 347.
23. The names of only three abbots of Lindisfarne are known (not including Eata, who was abbot when there was no bishop). The three are:- Herefrith, abbot in 687 (VP, Prologue, capp. 8, 23, 37-40); Guthfrith, abbot before 731 (HE, V, 1); and Eadred, abbot in the 870's and 880's (HSC, capp. 13, 19, 20).
24. Sharpe, in Peritia, 3, pp. 230-70.
25. Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, pp. 79-81.
26. Canones Hibernenses, I, 29; IV, 1; V, 7, 11, ed. L. Bieler, The Irish Penitentials, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, 5, Dublin, 1963, pp. 163-65, 170-71, 174-75; Old Irish Penitential, V, 17, ed. E.J. Gwynn, "An Irish Penitential", in Ériu, 7, 1914, pp. 170-71 (trans. D.A. Binchy, in Bieler ed., Irish Penitentials, p. 273).
For the dating of the Canones Hibernenses, see Kenney, Sources for the Early History of Ireland, 1, pp. 247-50; for the dating of the Old Irish Penitential, see Binchy, in Bieler ed., Irish Penitentials, pp. 47-49.
27. Críth Gablach, cap. 48, ed. D.A. Binchy, Medieval and Modern Irish Series, XI, Dublin, 1941, reprinted 1970, p. 24, lines 604-6; Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, p. 80.
28. Sharpe, in Peritia, 3, pp. 235, 236-37, 252-54;

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Ríagail Phátraic, ed. J.G. O'Keeffe, "The Rule of Patrick", in Ériu, 1, 1904, pp. 216-24.

29. Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, pp. ix-x. See also Sharpe, in Peritia, 3, pp. 241-42.
30. Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, p. 83.
31. Ibid., pp. 84-5; Sharpe, in Peritia, 3, p. 262; Cogitosus, Vita Sanctae Brigitae, Preface, in PL, 72, 1878, cols. 777-78.
32. HE, III, 3.
33. Sharpe, in Peritia, 3, p. 242.
34. HE, III, 5, 26.
35. Ibid., III, 4.
36. As well as Iona the following were founded in Dál Riada in Columba's lifetime by him or his disciples - "Cella Diuni" on Loch Awe; "Hinba" (probably on Jura, or possibly Colonsay); "Mag Luinge" on Tiree. (Adamnán, I, 21, 30, 31, 41, 45; II, 15, 24, 39; III, 5, 8, 17, 18, 23).
37. HE, III, 17.
38. Ibid., III, 25.
39. Ibid., IV, 4.
40. Ibid.

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41. Ibid., III, 26.
42. It may be significant that Bede chooses the chapter about Colman's departure from Northumbria as the time to give an encomium on the Irish monks, giving the impression that this is the close of a particular era in Lindisfarne's history (H. Mayr-Harting, The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England, London, 1972, p. 111).
43. Hamilton Thompson, in Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings, p. 73.
44. ES, Preface.
45. Ibid., capp. 43, 47, 48, 51, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68; HE, V, 19.
46. Sawyer, Roman Britain to Norman England, p. 238.
47. "The kind of monastery described by the" Benedictine "Rule was an autonomous unit, economically self-supporting, and having no constitutional links with any other religious house" (C.H. Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, London and New York, 1984, p. 24).
48. E. Craster, "The Patrimony of St. Cuthbert", in English Historical Review, 69, 1954, pp. 177-78 (hereinafter referred to as Craster).
49. Ibid.; additions and interpolations comprise capp. 14-19, except for the last sentence of cap. 19, and capp. 29-33.
50. HSC, cap. 2, was probably taken from either VA, I, 5, or VP, cap. 4.

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51. Craster, p. 178; HSC, capp. 3, 4, 8, 9, for example, show signs of being based in part on charter evidence.
52. HSC, cap. 11.
53. Ibid., capp. 13, 20.
54. Ibid., capp. 10-12.
55. Craster, p. 184.
56. "Early" means that the ecclesiastical centre was in existence before c.900.
57. HE, III, 3.
58. Infra, pp. 265-89.
59. HE, III, 12.
60. Ibid., III, 26.
61. HR, 737; HSC, cap. 8.
62. Simeon of Durham, HDE, III, 2.
63. H.Brit., cap. 63.
64. HSC, cap. 9; Rollason, pp. 63, 87; Wormald ed., English Kalendars before A.D. 1100, p. 10; Craster, pp. 187-88; Sawyer, in Viking Age York and the North, ed. Hall, p. 5.
65. Sawyer, Roman Britain to Norman England, p. 116.

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66. HSC, cap. 20; Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 6; HR, 875.
67. ASC, 875, 876; Craster, p. 188.
68. Exhibit in Priory Museum, Lindisfarne.
69. HR, 941.
70. Infra, pp. 157-58.
71. Cramp, pp. 194-208.
72. Simeon of Durham, HDE, III, 15; HR, 1069.
73. LV, fol. 54.
74. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 55, 69, 476.
75. J. Raine, The History and Antiquities of North Durham, London, 1852, p. vii.
76. C.R. Peers, "The Inscribed and Sculptured Stones of Lindisfarne", in Archaeologia, 74, 1924, pp. 255, 257-58; D.M. O'Sullivan et al, "An Excavation in Holy Island Village, 1977", in Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th series, 13, 1985, pp. 27-116, particularly pp. 31-34, 112; list of excavations in 1984 in Medieval Archaeology, 29, 1985, pp. 194-95.
77. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Argyll, An Inventory of the Monuments, 4, Iona, Edinburgh, 1982; J.W. Barber, "Excavations on Iona, 1979", in PSAS, 111, 1981, pp. 282-380.
78. HE, IV, 30; VP, cap. 42; R. Cramp, The Hermitage and the Offshore Island, Occasional Lecture no. 3,

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National Maritime Museum, 1981, pp. 5-7.

79. The hermitage was situated on the island of Inner Farne.
80. HE, III, 16.
81. Ibid., IV, 27-29; VA, III, and IV, 11-13; VP, capp. 17-21, 36-40.
82. HE, V, 1; VP, cap. 46.
83. VP, cap. 46.
84. Perhaps anchorites connected with Lindisfarne, e.g. Bilfrith and Cuthred, inhabited Farne, but there is no way of knowing for certain.
85. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 54, 65, 473.
86. VA, I, 5; II, 1; VP, capp. 4, 6.
87. HE, III, 26; IV, 27.
88. Ibid., IV, 27; VP, cap. 16.
89. HE, IV, 27; VA, III, 1; VP, cap. 9.
90. HE, IV, 27; VA, III, 1; VP, cap. 16.
91. VA, IV, 4; VP, cap. 30.
92. Ibid.; also HE, V, 12.
93. HE, V, 12, 23.
94. HR, "Recapitulation", sa 854, ed. Arnold, 2, p. 101; Craster, p. 179.

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95. HSC, cap. 3; the grant is said to have been made with the permission of king Oswine, which must be a mistake or an invention, as Oswine had been killed before Cuthbert became a monk; see also *infra*, pp. 177-79.
96. Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A, in Anderson, Kings and Kingship, pp. 249-50; Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men, pp. 177, 180-85, 191-92.
97. Simeon of Durham, HDE, III, 7.
98. *Ibid.*, III, 22.
99. I.B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, 2nd edn., London and New York, 1976, pp. 51, 76.
100. HE, III, 17.
101. B. Hope-Taylor, Yeaving: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria, Department of the Environment Archaeological Reports no. 7, London, 1977, pp. 164-66, 277.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-4 (Building B), 164, 168, 278-79.
103. HE, III, 17.
104. D.H. Farmer, Oxford Dictionary of Saints, Oxford, 1978, pp. 6-7.
105. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 137, 145, 466.
106. VA, IV, 8; VP, cap. 27.
107. *Ibid.*

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108. VP, cap. 28.

109. Ibid., capp. 27-8; V. Tudor, "St. Cuthbert and Cumbria", in TCWAAS, n.s., 84, 1984, p. 67.

It is interesting to note that a description of the boundaries of the diocese of Hexham, given in the twelfth century by Richard, prior of Hexham, says that the western limit of that diocese was Wetheral, which is on the river Eden some four miles east of Carlisle. The bishopric of Hexham came to an end in the ninth century, so Richard's account is rather late to be treated as wholly reliable evidence, but it does preserve a tradition that Cumbria to the west of the river Eden was not subject to Hexham, even though it was the nearest see. (Richard of Hexham, De antiquo et moderno statu Hagustaldensis ecclesiae, cap. 5, ed. J. Raine, The Priory of Hexham, its chroniclers, endowments, and annals, 1, Surtees Society, 44, publ. 1864 for 1863, p. 20; P. Hunter Blair, "The Boundary between Bernicia and Deira", in Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, 27, 1949, pp. 55-6).

110. HSC, cap. 5.

111. Craster, pp. 180-81.

112. HSC, cap. 13.

113. Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 6.

114. HSC, cap. 20.

115. Ibid., cap. 13.

116. The hill is "Oswigesdune" ("Oswiu's down") where Guthfrith had been inaugurated as king.

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117. HSC, capp. 12-13.
118. ASC, 876; AU, sa 876, ie 877.
119. HSC, capp. 19-20.
120. The other part of Aidan's bones had been taken away with Bishop Colman when he left Lindisfarne in 664 (HE, III, 26).
121. Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 6. Elsewhere Simeon says the community also took with it a stone cross commissioned by Bishop Aethelwald (721-40) in his own lifetime "as a memorial of himself" (HDE, I, 12).
122. Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 11.
123. Ibid., II, 12.
124. Ibid., II, 13.
125. HR, 875.
126. Ibid., sa 883.
127. Information from Peter Sawyer.
128. HR, 894; Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 14; Aethelweard, Chronicle, ed. Campbell, p. 51.
129. Series Regum Northymbrensium, ed. Arnold, p. 391.
130. Infra, p. 263.
131. The bishopric of Whithorn was revived in the first half of the twelfth century by Fergus, lord of Galloway. Although subject to the kings of Scots,

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the bishops of Whithorn recognized the metropolitan authority of York until 1355 (Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, pp. 51-2, 103, 212).

132. Craster, p. 189; Morris, in Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th series, 5, p. 92.
133. E. Ekwall, Scandinavians and Celts in the north-west of England, in Lund Universitets Årsskrift, N.F., afd. I, vol. 14, no. 27, 1918.
134. ASC, "E", 1092.
135. E. Craster, "A Contemporary Record of the Pontificate of Ranulf Flambard", in Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, 7, 1930, pp. 38-39.
136. Continuation of the HDE, cap. 1, ed. Arnold, 1, p. 139.
137. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 139, 152, 469-70.
138. HSC, cap. 5.
139. HE, IV, 28.
140. HSC, cap. 5.
141. Craster, pp. 184-85.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 185; HE, IV, 28.
143. HR, 767.
144. Alcuin, Saints of York, lines 1388-93.

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145. A-17.
146. HSC, cap. 10.
147. Ibid., cap. 20.
148. LV, fol. 47v; Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters, no. 60.
149. Domesday Book, 30, Yorkshire, part 1, ed. M.L. Faull and M. Stinson, Chichester, 1986, fol. 304d; VGH, Yorkshire, 2, p. 217; Craster, p. 183,
150. Craster, p. 183.
151. Information from Richard Morris.
152. De Abb., capp. 2-4.
153. Ibid., Preface, capp. 1, 22.
154. Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 5; D.R. Howlett, "The provenance, date, and structure of 'De Abbatibus' ", in Archæologia Aeliana, 5th series, 3, 1975, pp. 121-24.
155. De Abb., ed. Campbell, introduction, p. xxvi.
156. HSC, cap. 11.
The identification of the HSC's "Wudacestre" with Woodhorn is generally made, but is not definite (Craster, p. 185; A. Mawer, The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham, Cambridge, 1920, p. 219).
157. Cramp, pp. 170-71, no. 1.
158. H.M. Taylor and J. Taylor, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 2, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 657-60.

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159. Cramp, p. 249, no. 1.
160. HR, 800; Craster, p. 186.
161. Cramp, pp. 231-32, no. 1(a)-(c).
162. Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 2, pp. 682-83.
163. M.H. Dodds ed., A History of Northumberland, 14, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1935, pp. 483, 485.
164. Ibid., p. 361; H.H.E. Craster, A History of Northumberland, 8, London and Newcastle upon Tyne, 1907, pp. 48-49, 63 note.
165. J. Raine ed., Histores Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Surtees Society, 9, 1839, Appendices, pp. liv-lv, no. 38; J.C. Hodgson, A History of Northumberland, 7, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1904, p. 144.
166. Hodgson, History of Northumberland, 7, pp. 35, 143; HR, sa 1072; De Obsessione Dunelmi, ed. T. Arnold, in Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, Rolls Series no. 75, vol. 1, p. 216.
167. Craster, p. 185.
168. HSC, cap. 9.
169. Annales Lindisfarnensis, sa 830, ed. G.H. Pertz, in MGH, Scriptores, 19, Hannover, 1866, p. 506.

These annals appear in the form of marginal notes to a set of nineteen-year cycles in a manuscript of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, which probably came from Durham - Glasgow, Hunterian Museum, MS. 95 (T.4.2.) (J. Young and P.H. Aitken, A Catalogue

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- of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1908, pp. 91-4). The notes may well have been copied from an earlier manuscript however, for there is a fragment of such a document at Münster in Westphalia. There are four folios, written possibly at Lindisfarne in the first half of the eighth century, which contain the paschal tables for A.D. 589-740 with historical notes added (Münster, Staatsarchiv, Msc. I.243, fols. 1,2,11,12; CLA, no. 1233). The notes tally with the Annales Lindisfarnensis. For more on this manuscript, see *infra*, p. 243.
170. Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland, An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Roxburghshire, 1, Edinburgh, 1956, p. 210.
171. *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 205, 206-8, 222; R.J. Cramp, "The Anglian tradition in the ninth century", in J.T. Lang ed., Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context, BAR no. 49, Oxford, 1978, p. 7.
172. HR, sa 1072.
173. Inventory of Roxburghshire, pp. 194-95; Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, pp. 49, 92. Cowan and Easson place the original church at Old Jedburgh, about five miles away from the site of the medieval monastery and town, but the Inventory, pp. 194-95, 210, says there is no need to place the old church on a different site to the later monastery. Excavation at Jedburgh Abbey in 1984 found evidence for a community on the same site before the twelfth century (list of excavations in Medieval Archaeology, 29, 1985, pp. 220-21).
174. Craster, in Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, 7, p. 39.

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175. Continuation of the HDE, cap. 1.
176. HSC, cap. 9.
177. Infra, pp. 154-55, 166-67.
178. Infra, pp. 168-70.
179. Craster, p. 186.
180. Cramp, pp. 51-2, no. 13.
181. Ibid., pp. 48-53; Taylors, Anglo-Saxon Architecture,
1, pp. 66-70.
182. HSC, cap. 10.
183. Ibid., cap. 23.
184. Ibid., capp. 22, 23.
185. LV, fols. 53-53v; also in Simeon of Durham, HDE, III,
20; IV, 3.
186. HSC, cap. 9.
187. HR, 801.
188. HSC, cap. 24; HR, 873, 876; Roger of Wendover, 873,
876; Craster, p. 187.
189. HSC, cap. 24.
190. Ibid., cap. 31.
191. Cramp, pp. 80-90.

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192. Ibid., p. 87, no. 21; pp. 88-9, no. 25.
193. HSC, cap. 9.
194. W.G. Collingwood, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire", in YAJ, 19, 1907, p. 413; J.D. Cowen and E. Barty, "A Lost Anglo-Saxon Inscription recovered", in Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, 44, 1966, pp. 61-70.
195. HSC, cap. 10; see also *infra*, p. 170.
196. Craster, p. 187.
197. *Supra*, p. 139.
198. HSC, cap. 9.
199. See, e.g., the Old Minster at Winchester and the Old Church at Glastonbury, which were not pulled down but added to (M. Biddle, "Excavations at Winchester: 8th Interim Report", in Antiquaries Journal, 50, 1970, pp. 311, 314-22; C.R. Peers, A.W. Clapham, and E. Horne, "Interim Report on the Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey", in Antiquaries Journal, 10, 1930, pp. 24-9).
200. HE, III, 25.
201. *Supra*, p. 139.
202. Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 5.
203. HE, III, 25; HR, 750.
204. HSC, cap. 21. Tilred may be the same as the Tilred who was Bishop of Chester-le-Street, 915-25 (HR, 925;

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- Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 17-18).
205. Cramp, p. 209, no. 3; pp. 210-11, nos. 7(a) and 7(b);
p. 214, no. 16; pp. 215-16, no. 18.
206. Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 1.
207. This might be Shoreswood, about three miles ESE of
Norham.
208. LV, fol. 54.
209. Raine, History and Antiquities of North Durham, p. vii.
210. Supra, p. 142.
211. HSC, cap. 4.
212. HR, 756; Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 2.
213. Alcuin, Saints of York, lines 1319-84.
214. A-13.
215. Supra, p. 140.
216. HR, 941.
217. J.T. Lang, "Hogback monuments in Scotland", in PSAS,
105, 1972-74, pp. 211-12, 233.
218. Simeon of Durham, HDE, III, 7.
219. A.C. Lawrie, Early Scottish Charters, prior to
A.D. 1153, Glasgow, 1905, p. 10, no. 12, and pp.
240-42.

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220. HR, 1072.
221. LV, fol. 15v.
222. Lawrie, Early Scottish Charters, p. 242.
223. HE, I, 12; IV, 26.
224. B. Cox, "The Place-Names of the Earliest English Records", in Journal of the English Place-Name Society, 8, 1975-76, pp. 15-16.
225. HE, IV, 12, 26.
226. C.S.T. Calder, "Three Fragments of a Sculptured Cross of Anglian Type now preserved in Abercorn Church, West Lothian", in PSAS, 72, 1937-38, pp. 217-23.
227. Lang, in PSAS, 105, p. 222.
228. J.M. MacKinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, 2, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 264.
229. HE, IV, 19, 25.
230. VA, II, 3; VP, cap. 10.
231. HE, IV, 19; VP, cap. 10; ES, cap. 39.
232. VA, II, 3; for authorship see Colgrave, Two Lives, pp. 11-13.
233. VP, cap. 10. Bede describes Aebbe as "a mother of the handmaidens of Christ".
234. HE, IV, 25; ASC, "E", sa 679.

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235. Notes on acquisitions for the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, in PSAS, 12, 1877-78, p. 569.
236. Cramp, pp. 27, 174, 197.
237. For the problems of using the evidence of sculpture to show contacts, see *infra*, pp. 213-16.
238. Morris, in Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th series, 5, p. 91, suggests that Coldingham's lands were taken over by Lindisfarne or by Tynninghame after Coldingham was destroyed by Vikings in 870. However the story of the destruction of Coldingham given by Roger of Wendover, *sa* 870, is probably legendary, and little credence can be given either to it or to the date of 870 as the year when Coldingham ceased to exist.
239. HSC, cap. 4.
240. Simeon of Durham, HDE, III, 7.
241. Lawrie, Early Scottish Charters, pp. 16-17, nos. 18 and 19; notes, pp. 253-55.
242. LV, fol. 15v.
243. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, pp. 55-58.
244. Suggested sites for the original monastery are St. Abb's Head, and Kirk Hill (about a third of a mile long the coast from the Head). (L. Alcock, "The Early Historic Fortifications of Scotland", in Current Archaeology, 7, no. 79, 1981, pp. 232, 234; list of excavations in 1967 in Medieval Archaeology, 12, 1968, pp. 171-73; list of

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- excavations in 1980 in Medieval Archaeology, 25, 1981, pp. 180-81).
245. Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, pp. 207-8.
246. See HSC, capp. 26, 29-32.
247. HSC, cap. 5.
248. Craster, p. 183.
249. Domesday Book, Yorkshire, ed. Faull and Stinson, part 1, fol. 298a; VCH, Yorkshire, 2, p. 191.
250. Ibid.
251. LV, fol. 54.
252. Domesday Book, Yorkshire, ed. Faull and Stinson, part 1, fols. 298c, 327a; VCH, Yorkshire, 2, pp. 194, 274.
253. Ibid., fol. 327a.
254. Alcuin, Saints of York, lines 1507-20.
255. R.K. Morris, "Alcuin, York, and the 'alma sophia' ", in The Anglo-Saxon church: papers on history, architecture, and archaeology in honour of Dr. H.M. Taylor, ed. L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris, CBA research report no. 60, London, 1986, pp. 80-89.
256. Domesday Book, Yorkshire, ed. Faull and Stinson, part 1, fols. 298b, 298c, 327a; VCH, Yorkshire, 2, pp. 192, 194, 274.

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257. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 58, 82, 487.
258. HSC, cap. 6.
259. ES, cap. 17.
260. Domesday Book, Yorkshire, ed. Faull and Stinson, part 1, fol. 302a; VCH, Yorkshire, 2, p. 209.
261. Ibid.
262. C.J. Crowe, "Cartmel, the earliest Christian community", in TCWAAS, n.s., 84, 1984, p. 61.
263. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 139, 153.
264. VCH, Lancashire, 2, p. 143.
265. D.M. Robinson, The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales, BAR no. 80, part 1, Oxford, 1980, pp. 7-8, 33-41.
266. Supra, pp. 143-44, 149, 153.
267. HSC, cap. 7.
268. ES, cap. 20, and HE, IV, 12, both mention this war, but neither give it a date. The date of 674 is provided by a note in the Moore MS. of Bede's HE - P. Hunter Blair, "The 'Moore Memoranda' on Northumbrian History", in C. Fox and B. Dickins eds., The Early Cultures of North-west Europe (H.M. Chadwick Memorial Studies), Cambridge, 1950, pp. 254-55, 256.
269. Cramp, pp. 169-70, nos. 1-3.

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270. Raine, History and Antiquities of North Durham, Appendix, p. 141, no. DCCLXXXV.
271. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 139, 152.
272. HSC, cap. 8; infra, pp. 182-83.
273. Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 1.
274. Cramp, pp. 230-31, nos. 1-2.
275. A. Quiney, "Warkworth Church", in Archaeological Journal, 133, 1976, p. 161.
276. HSC, cap. 10; infra, pp. 182-83, 263.
277. J.C. Hodgson, A History of Northumberland, 5, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1899, p. 170.
278. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 138, 149-50.
279. HSC, cap. 9.
280. Ibid., cap. 10; see also infra, p. 170.
281. HR, "Recapitulation", sa 854.
282. HSC, cap. 10.
283. Supra, p. 158.
284. MacKinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, 2, pp. 18-20.
285. H. Hinde ed., Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea, 1, Surtees Society, 51, publ. 1868 for 1867, p. 68, fn. "k".

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286. HE, III, 27.
287. Supra, p. 132.
288. HE, III, 15, 21.
289. Ibid., IV, 29; VA, IV, 9; VP, cap. 28.
290. Cramp, pp. 161-62, no. 1.
291. Ibid., pp. 193-94, no. 1.
292. Infra, pp. 213-16, on the problems of using sculpture to demonstrate links and contacts.

The chapel or church at Alnmouth is first heard of in 1147 as a chapel of Lesbury parish church. Alnmouth church was in decay in the seventeenth century, and in ruins by 1734. It stood on a hill near the mouth of the river Aln.

Hulne Priory lies some two and a half miles up the river Aln from Alnwick. It was a house of Carmelite friars, founded in 1242.

(E. Bateson, A History of Northumberland, 2, Newcastle upon Tyne and London, 1895, pp. 439, 462, 466-69, 490-91; Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 184-85, 233, 235).

293. HSC, cap. 6.
294. Brevis Relatio de Sancto Cuthberto, cap. 38, ed. Hinde, Surtees Society, 51, Appendix 2, p. 231.
295. Craster, p. 182; HE, III, 14, 24.
296. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 2-3.
297. Craster, p. 182.

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298. VCH, Yorkshire, North Riding, 1, pp. 483-84.
299. Arnold ed., Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, 1, p. 200, fn. "c".
300. Domesday Book, Yorkshire, ed. Faull and Stinson, part 2, fol. 332b; VCH, Yorkshire, 2, p. 291; VCH, Lancashire, 8, pp. 151, 175, 180.
301. HE, III, 14, 24.
302. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, cap. 3.
303. J.T. Lang and C.D. Morris, "Recent Finds of Pre-Norman Sculpture from Gilling West, North Yorkshire", in Medieval Archaeology, 22, 1978, pp. 127-30.
304. Domesday Book, Yorkshire, ed. Faull and Stinson, part 1, fol. 309a; VCH, Yorkshire, 2, p. 231; Craster, p. 182.
305. HSC, cap. 31; Craster, p. 182.
306. C.A. Raleigh Radford, "Hoddom" in Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 3rd series, 31, 1952-53, pp. 178-79; Radford, "Hoddom", in Antiquity, 27, 1953, p. 155; Radford, "The Early Church in Strathclyde and Galloway", in Medieval Archaeology, 11, 1967, pp. 116-17.
307. Ibid.; also W.G. Collingwood, "The Early Church in Dumfriesshire and its Monuments", in Dumfriesshire and Galloway Transactions, 3rd series, 12, 1924-25, pp. 54-57.

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308. Ibid.
309. Ibid.
310. *Infra*, p. 263.
311. Hinde ed., *Surtees Society*, 51, p. 68, fn. "f";
E. Ekwall, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of
English Place-Names, Oxford, 4th edn., 1960,
p. 246.
312. Knowles and Hadcock, pp. 113, 120.
313. Ekwall, Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-
Names, p. 246; T.H.B. Graham and W.G. Colling-
wood, "Patron Saints of the Diocese of Carlisle",
in TCWAAS, n.s., 25, 1925, pp. 14, 22; Tudor,
in TCWAAS, n.s., 84, pp. 72-3. The chapel of
St. Cuthbert at Holme St. Cuthbert was first
mentioned in the sixteenth century.
314. HSC, cap. 20.
315. Hinde ed., *Surtees Society*, 51, p. 68, fn. "h".
316. *Simeon of Durham*, HDE, II, 1.
317. J. Stevenson trans., The Historical Works of Simeon
of Durham, in The Church Historians of England,
3, part 2, London, 1855, p. 649, fn. 3.
318. Knowles and Hadcock, p. 283.
319. HSC, cap. 8; *infra*, pp. 182-83.
320. *Supra*, p. 20.

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321. VP, cap. 3.
322. HE, V, 12.
323. Alcuin, Saints of York, lines 1325-29, says Balthere lived at a place surrounded by the sea, enclosed by crags and cliffs. The tradition that this was the Bass Rock is recorded in the early sixteenth-century Breviarium Aberdonense, Bannatyne Club, 1854, 2, 3, fols. 63-4 (March 6th).
324. Entries in Lindisfarne Gospels, fols. 89v, 259, ed. F.E. Harmer, Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 36, 66, 123-25, no. 22; Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 12.
325. Simeon of Durham, HDE, III, 7.
326. Duemmler, no. 22.
327. See Fig. 10.
328. Craster, pp. 188-90.
329. HSC, cap. 22.
330. A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland, The Making of the Kingdom, Edinburgh, 1975, pp. 95-98.
331. Simeon of Durham, HDE, III, 7.
332. S.1257.
333. HSC, cap. 10.

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334. S.1453.
335. P.H. Sawyer ed., Charters of Burton Abbey, The British Academy, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 2, Oxford, 1979, p. xlv.
336. ES, cap. 41; HE, IV, 13.
337. HE, IV, 23.
338. F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, Oxford, 3rd edn., 1971, p. 279.
339. HE, IV, 23.
340. Ibid., III, 24.
341. S.1429.
342. HE, V, 19, and ES, cap. 8, say thirty hides; HE, III, 25, says forty hides.
343. S.45.
344. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 7, 11.
345. HE, IV, 3.
346. S.235.
347. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, cap. 33.
348. Laws of Ine, cap. 64, ed. F. Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, 1, Halle, 1903, pp. 88-123.
349. Ibid., cap. 70.1.

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350. Gepyncðo, cap. 2; Norðleoda laga, capp. 9-11, ed. Liebermann, Gesetze der Angelsachsen, 1, pp. 456-69.
351. HE, II, 9. The area of the Isle of Man is 227 square miles.
352. HSC, capp. 3, 6, 7, 8, 22.
353. See Fig. 11.
354. HSC, cap. 3.
355. Cuthbert entered Melrose after Aidan's death, which occurred twelve days after Oswine was killed (HE, III, 14; VA, I, 5; II, 1; VP, capp. 4, 6).
It is possible that the HSC has become confused between king Oswine (whom it calls "Osvingius") and king Oswiu (whom it calls "Oswegius"). Oswiu lived until 670, and the Cheviots were part of his kingdom.
356. Craster, p. 180.
357. Ibid.
358. Inventory of Roxburghshire, 2, p. 326, no. 633.
359. Ibid.; Liber S. Marie de Calchou, Bannatyne Club, 1846, vol. 2, pp. 320-21, no. 416.
360. HR, sa 1080.
361. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, p. 53.
362. Hexham became a separate diocese in 681 - HE, IV, 12.

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363. HE, III, 3, 17, 26.
364. HSC, cap. 4.
365. Craster, p. 178.
366. Supra, pp. 157-58.
367. See Figs. 11 and 12.
368. Supra, pp. 159-60; Craster, p. 179.
369. HSC, cap. 5.
370. Domesday Book, Yorkshire, ed. Faull and Stinson, part 1, fol. 304d; VCH, Yorkshire, 2, p. 217.
371. HSC, cap. 5.
372. A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, and B. Dickins, The Place-Names of Cumberland, 3, English Place-Name Society 22, 1952, p. xxii.
373. H.B. Wilson, "St. Cuthbert's Church, Carlisle", in TCWAAS, n.s., 41, 1941, p. 203.
374. M.R. McCarthy, "Thomas, Chadwick and Post-Roman Carlisle", in S.M. Pearce ed., The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland: studies presented to C.A. Raleigh Radford, BAR no. 102, Oxford, 1982, pp. 248-49.
375. HSC, cap. 8.
376. See Figs 11 and 12.

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377. HSC, cap. 9.
378. They are described as follows:- "from the Dunion to Jedmouth and then to Wilton, and then beyond the mountain to the south" (HSC, cap. 9).
379. Inventory of Roxburghshire, 1, pp. 210, 222.
380. Bede, Epistola ad Ecgberhtum.
381. VP, cap. 7.
382. De Abb., capp. 14, 15, 18.
383. Ibid., capp. 5, 15, 16, 22.
384. Ibid., cap. 19.
385. Supra, pp. 141-42.
386. De Abb., capp. 13, 15. Note the alliterative features of these pairs of names.
387. On family succession in monasteries, see P. Wormald, "Bede, 'Beowulf' and the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy", in Bede and Anglo-Saxon England, BAR no. 46, Oxford, 1978, pp. 51-54; Hamilton Thompson, in Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings, p. 62; Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, pp. 77, 161-64; Levison, pp. 27-33.
388. De Abb., capp. 1, 23.
389. Ibid., capp. 8, 20.
390. Ibid., capp. 10, 20.

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391. Ibid., capp. 13, 15.
392. Ibid., cap. 17.
393. Ibid., cap. 20, line 621.
394. Bede, Historia Abbatum, cap. 5; Tangl, no. 116.
395. Aldhelm, Carmina Ecclesiastica, no. 3, line 67, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, 15, Aldhelmi Opera, Berlin, 1919, p. 17; De Abb., ed. Campbell, introduction, pp. xxxi, xlvi.
396. De Abb., Preface, capp. 1, 23.
397. Ibid., cap. 4.
398. Ibid., line 72.
399. Ibid., cap. 5.
400. Ecgberht lived in Ireland until 715 or 716 (HE, III, 4; V, 22, 24).
401. De Abb., cap. 6.
402. Ibid., cap. 22.
403. Supra, pp. 141-42.
404. Adamnán, I, 30, 31, 41, 45.
The word used in the Lives of St. Cuthbert for Boisil as prior of Melrose and for Cuthbert as prior at Melrose and then at Lindisfarne, is "praepositus" (VA, III, 1; VP, capp. 6, 9, 16).
405. Adamnán, Second Preface; I, 2.

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406. Ibid., I, 45.
407. Ibid., I, 31.
408. De Abb., capp. 12, 17.
409. Adamnán, I, 30; II, 39.
410. Ibid., I, 41.
411. Ibid., II, 24; III, 5, 17, 18.
412. Ibid., I, 2.
413. Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, p. 161;
Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings, p. 95.
414. For the episcopal list of Lindisfarne, see Page, Episcopal Lists, pp. 7, 12, 17; Simeon of Durham, HDE, Preface. The list for the period 664-900 is as follows:-
- Eata (abbot 664-78, bishop 678-85),
Cuthbert,
Eadberht,
Eadfrith,
Aethelwald (spelt Ethilwald in Northumbrian dialect),
Cynewulf,
Hygebald,
Ecgberht,
Eadmund (in Cotton Vespasian B.VI, fol.109, only),
Heathured,
Ecgred,
Eanberht,
Eardwulf.

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So of thirteen bishops, nine have names beginning with "e"; two with "c"; and two with "h". Among the names beginning with "e", the commonest name-element is "ead-"/"eat-", which occurs four times. It should be remembered too that the abbot of St. Cuthbert's community in the 870's and 880's was called Eadred.

415. LV, AP-62 to 68; supra, p. 93.
416. Adamnán, I, 8, 9; III, 5.
417. HE, II, 9; III, 15, 24; IV, 23, 26.
418. ASC, sa 738.
419. De Obsessione Dunelmi, ed. Arnold, 1, p. 215.

Chapter Five - Relations with other ecclesiastical centres.

1. Supra, pp. 67-69.
2. Duemmler, no. 226.
3. Ibid., nos. 6, 7, 146; Tangl, no. 78.
4. Tangl, no. 27; Duemmler, nos. 230-32.
5. Duemmler, no. 24.
6. Ibid., nos. 84, 193-94, 254; Tangl, nos. 30, 33, 76, 91.
7. VP, Preface.
8. Tangl, no. 49; Duemmler, no. 7; HE, IV, 32.
9. Duemmler, no. 20.
10. VP, cap. 6.
11. HE, IV, 25.
12. VP, cap. 35, marginal note.
13. HE, IV, 3.
14. Ibid., V, 24.
15. The contacts discussed here are those expressly mentioned by Bede in the HE and other works. He probably had links too with Pictland, but as he does not definitely state this anywhere, these links are excluded from the present discussion. On Bede's contacts with the Picts, see A.A.M. Duncan, "Bede, Iona, and the Picts", in The Writing of History in the Middle Ages; Essays presented to R.W. Southern, ed. R.H.C. Davies and

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J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, Oxford, 1981, pp. 1-42.

Bede presumably also met Adamnán of Iona when he visited Monkwearmouth-Jarrow in the 680's, but again he does not say that he did (HE, V, 21).

16. Plummer, I, pp. x, fn.3; cxlvi, fn.2.
17. VP, Preface.
18. VP, cap. 46.
19. Infra, p. 271 and fn. 192.
20. Bede, Epistola ad Ecgberhtum.
21. HE, V, 2-3.
22. Ibid., V, 24.
23. Ibid., III, 11-12.
24. Ibid., IV, 19.
25. Ibid., Preface; IV, 3.
26. Supra, pp. 98-102.
27. See Fig. 13.
28. Decrees of the Council of "Clovesho", cap. 3, ed. Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 363-64.
29. HE, IV, 27.
30. Ibid.

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31. VA, II, 3; VP, cap. 10.
32. VA, II, 4; VP, cap. 11.
33. VA, III, 6; VP, cap. 24.
34. HE, IV, 29.
35. VA, IV, 16.
36. See Appendix V, and Fig. 14.
37. Fig. 15.
38. Fig. 16, and see Appendix IV.
39. HE, III, 2.
40. Fig. 17.
41. Fig. 18.
42. Fig. 19.
43. Fig. 20.
44. HE, II, 14.
45. Ibid., III, 14, 24.
46. Ibid., III, 15.
47. Ibid., II, 14.
48. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfriith, capp. 21-36.

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59. Fig. 27.
60. Fig. 28.
61. HSC, cap. 8; *supra*, pp. 165, 182-83.
62. Fig. 29.
63. See Fig. 23.
64. Clusters of ecclesiastical sites in Northumbria have been noted by Cambridge; in Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 137, pp. 65-85.
65. K.H. Jackson, "Edinburgh and the Anglian occupation of Lothian", in P. Clemons ed., The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some aspects of their history and culture presented to Bruce Dickins, London, 1959, pp. 35-42; P. McNeill and R. Nicholson ed., An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, St. Andrews, 1975, p. 25; A.O. Anderson, Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286, 1, Edinburgh and London, 1922, pp. 163-65; Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men, pp. 9, 18, 20-21, 29-33, 65-66; AU, sa 637; A.Tig., p. 184; HE, IV, 13, 26.
66. Ordnance Survey, Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, Southampton, 2nd edn., 1966, reprinted 1974.
67. "Scottish Long Cist Cemeteries", Appendix II, in A.S. Henshall, "A Long Cist Cemetery at Parkburn Sand Pit, Lasswade, Midlothian", in PSAS, 89, 1955-56, publ. 1958, p. 279; J.A. Smith, "Ancient Graves recently discovered on the shores of the Firth of Forth, near Hopetoun, Linlithgowshire ... ", in PSAS, 12, 1876-78, pp. 65-69.

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68. Henshall, in PSAS, 89, pp. 260, 268-70; A.C. Thomas, "The Evidence from North Britain", in M.W. Barley and R.P.C. Hanson ed., Christianity in Britain, 300-700, Leicester, 1968, p. 107; Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, introduction, pp. 25-26.
69. Thomas, in Barley and Hanson ed., Christianity in Britain, pp. 115-16.
70. HE, III, 4; V, 23.
71. H. Mytun, "The Location of Early Churches in Northern County Clare", in Pearce ed., Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland, BAR no. 102, pp. 351-61; P. Ó Riain, "Boundary Association in Early Irish Society", in Studia Celtica, 7, 1972, pp. 12-29.
72. V. Hurley, "The Early Church in the South-West of Ireland: Settlement and Organisation", in Pearce ed., Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland, BAR no. 102, pp. 307-10.
73. E.G. Bowen, The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales, Cardiff, 1954, pp. 107-9, 116.
74. Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, Chapter One.
75. Bede, Epistola ad Egberhtum.
76. Supra, p. 141.
77. Appendix IV, sites classified A.
78. For Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, see Cramp, in Medieval Archaeology, 13, pp. 21-66; also Cramp, in Wilson ed., Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England, pp. 229-41.

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For Whitby, see Peers and Radford, in Archaeologia, 89, pp. 27-88; Cramp, in Wilson, op. cit., pp. 223-29, and also pp. 453-57, 459-62.

For Dacre, see lists of excavations in 1982, 1984, 1985, in Medieval Archaeology, 27, 29-30, 1983, 1985-86; F. Hudleston, "The recent find in Dacre Churchyard", in TCWAAS, n.s., 32, 1932, pp. 75-77.

79. Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, cap. 16.

80. Cramp, in Medieval Archaeology, 13, p. 58.

81. Cramp, Corpus, p. 11; Cramp, in Lang ed., Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture, BAR no. 49, pp. 1-6; R.N. Bailey, Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England, London, 1980, pp. 80-84.

82. De Abb., cap. 10; HE, V, 14.

83. Cramp, p. 27.

Bewcastle cross - G. Baldwin Brown, The Arts in Early England, 5, London, 1921, pp. 102-4, 112-20, 122-47, and chaps. 9 and 12; W.G. Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman age, London, 1927, pp. 19, 57, 69-71, 77, 85-6, 114, 116-19; R.I. Page, "The Bewcastle Cross", in Nottingham Medieval Studies, 4, 1960, pp. 36-57.

Jedburgh sculpture - Inventory of Roxburghshire, pp. 200, 205, 206-8, 222.

Abercorn cross - Calder, in PSAS, 72, pp. 217-23.

Aberlady cross - J. Anderson, "Notices of some undescribed sculptured stones and fragments in different parts of Scotland", in PSAS, 23, 1888-89, pp. 351-52.

Coldingham cross - notes in PSAS, 12, p. 569.

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- Irton cross - Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 83, 119.
84. Cramp, pp. 24, 121.
85. Ibid., pp. 194-202, 207-8, nos. 1-2, 4, 10, 12, 14, 18, 19, 21, 40, plus nos. 3, 5-6, 9, 11, 13, 39, 42.
86. Ibid., p. 15.
87. Ibid., p. 199.
88. Cramp, in Lang ed., Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture, BAR no. 49, p. 9.
89. Cramp, pp. 208-14, nos. 1-2, 4-6, 8a, 9a, 9b, 10-16.
90. Ibid., pp. 208-10, nos. 1, 2, 4.
91. Ibid., p. 210, no. 5; see also pp. 196-97, nos. 5, 6.
92. Ibid., pp. 9, 26, 180, 186; W.G. Collingwood, "Notes on Early Crosses at Carlisle, Bewcastle, and Beckermet", in TCWAAS, n.s., 15, 1915, pp. 125-26; Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 58-9.
93. Cramp, p. xvi.
94. Ibid., pp. 18, 109, 112, nos. 8, 9, 15; W.G. Collingwood, "Fragments of an Early Cross at the Abbey, Carlisle", in TCWAAS, n.s., 1, 1901, pp. 292-94; Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 87, 95.
95. Collingwood, in YAJ, 19, p. 372; Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, pp. 23, 82, 94-95.

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96. Cramp, pp. 170-71, for the Edlingham stone; for the Jedburgh stones, see *supra*, fn. 83.
97. Cramp, p. 16.
98. This fits in with the evidence of De Abb., cap. 17, where the head of the monastery in the poem commissions a cross (*supra*, p. 185).
99. *Supra*, pp. 104-8.
100. ASC, "D", "E", 780, 803; HR, 781.
101. ASC, "D", "E", 780; HR, 781.
102. *Ibid.*
103. HR, 786; Duemmler, no. 3.
104. ASC, "D", "E", sa 788; HR, 787.
105. ASC, "D", "E", 791; HR, sa 790.
106. ASC, "D", "E", 796; HR, 796.
107. ASC, "D", "E", 797; HR, 797.
108. HR, 798.
109. HR, 800.
110. Craster, p. 186; *supra*, pp. 151-52.
111. ASC, "D", "E", 789; HR, 788.
112. ASC, "D", "E", 790; HR, 790.

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113. ASC, "D", "E", 774, 778; HR, 774, 779.
114. ASC, "D", "E", 782, 789 (HR dates other events in these annals to 783 and 788).
115. ASC, "D", "E", 735; HR, 735.
116. Archbishop Theodore attended the synod near the river Aln in 684 (HE, IV, 28); Archbishop Berhtwold attended synods in Yorkshire in c.703 (ES, capp. 46-49), and in 706 (HE, V, 19; ES, cap. 60).
117. Wilfrid, then Bishop of all Northumbria, was represented by proctors at Theodore's first synod held at Hertford in 672, and king Egfrith of Northumbria attended this synod (HE, IV, 5; V, 24). Northumbrian bishops may have attended the synod at Hatfield in 680 (HE, IV, 17).
118. S.22.
119. Supra, pp. 159-60.
120. There was a monastery on the island in 684, but the name of its abbot is not stated, nor are any monks mentioned in the sources who are said to have lived there.
121. VA, II, 3; VP, cap. 10.
122. VP, capp. 3, 35.
123. Ibid., cap. 37.
124. Ibid., capp. 34-35.

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125. VA, III, 6; VP, cap. 24.
126. VP, cap. 24.
127. HE, IV, 23.
128. Ibid.
129. Supra, pp. 27, 29-30.
130. Cramp, pp. 97-101, 202-7.
131. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
132. Ibid., p. 101.
133. Ibid., pp. xvi, 8.
134. HE, IV, 12.
135. Ibid., IV, 12; V, 19; ES, cap. 24.
136. HE, IV, 12; anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 2-3.
137. HE, III, 26.
138. VP, capp. 7-8; HE, V, 19.
139. HE, IV, 28.
140. VP, capp. 7-8.
141. HE, IV, 28.
142. Ibid., IV, 23; V, 2.

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143. ES, cap. 44; HE, V, 19.
144. VP, cap. 40; HE, IV, 29.
145. HE, IV, 12; ES, capp. 44-45.
146. ES, capp. 24, 30.
147. Ibid., cap. 45.
148. John was certainly Bishop of Hexham again in c.692
when he ordained Bede deacon at the age of nineteen
(HE, V, 24).
149. Bede, Epistola ad Ecgberhtum.
150. HE, V, 19.
151. P-118; HE, III, 2.
152. M-129; Bede, Epistola ad Pleguinam, ed. C.W. Jones,
Bedae, Opera de Temporibus, Cambridge (Massachusetts),
1943, pp. 132-35, 305-15.
153. ES, capp. 60-65; HE, V, 19.
154. HE, V, 3; ASC, "E", sa 685.
155. ES, cap. 65; HE, V, 19-20; ASC, "D", "E", 709, 710.
156. HE, III, 13; IV, 14.
157. ASC, "D", "E", sa 733; HR, sa 732; Cont.B.(Moore),
731.
158. VP, cap. 5.

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159. Ibid., Preface; supra, p. 191.
160. E.g. Baldhelm (VP, cap. 25); Cynimund (VP, cap. 36); Guthfrith (HE, V, 1; VP, Preface).
161. AP-1 (Ceolfrith); Ab-1 (Benedict Biscop); P-78 (Bede). Other Monkwearmouth-Jarrow names are, e.g., AP-15 (Hwaetberht); AP-49 (Frithuwine); AD-3 (Cuthbert); Ab-79 (Aethelbald); P-107 (Cynimund). Ingwald may be in the LV with his name in the form "inuald" (P-68).
162. London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.IV; CLA, no. 187; Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis, ed. T.D. Kendrick et al, 2 vols., Olten and Lausanne, 1959 and 1960; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, 1, pp. 35-40, no. 9; G. Henderson, From Durrow to Kells: The Insular Gospel-books 650-800, London, 1987, pp. 98-122.
163. CLA, no. 187.
164. T.J. Brown, in Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis, 2, pp. 105-6; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 35-40, no. 9.
165. Supra, p. 149.
166. Anonymous account of the translation of St. Cuthbert in Capitula de Miraculis et Translationibus Sancti Cuthberti, cap. 7, in Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, ed. Arnold, 1, Rolls Series no. 75, pp. 247-61, reference to the book on p. 251; C.F. Battiscombe ed., The Relics of St. Cuthbert, Durham Cathedral, 1956, pp. 99-107, 362-74.
167. Stonyhurst College Library S.N. (on deposit in the British Library); CLA, no. 260.

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168. VP, cap. 8.
169. This story does not appear in the VA, which does not mention Boisil.
170. CLA, no. 150.
171. Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.17, ff. 2-102, + Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepysian MS. 2981(19); CLA, no. 149; C.D. Verey et al, The Durham Gospels, Copenhagen, 1980; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 40-42, no. 10; D. Ó Cróinín, "Pride and Prejudice", in Peritia, 1, 1982, pp. 352-62; Henderson, Durrow to Kells, chap. 3.
172. Ker, Catalogue, p. 144, no. 105; CLA, no. 149.
173. HR, 968.
174. CLA, no. 235; Pacht and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 3, p. 2, no. 8.
175. Brown, in Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis, 2, pp. 32-33.
176. Supra, pp. 215-16.
177. Cramp, pp. 53-59.
178. Ibid., pp. 27, 31, 54.
179. HE, IV, 32.
180. AP-10.
181. Supra, p. 144.

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182. HE, IV, 23.
183. Ibid., III, 25.
184. Ibid., III, 24; for Oswiu's connection with Whitby
see *infra*, p. 266.
185. HE, III, 24; IV, 23, 26.
186. VP, cap. 23.
187. Supra, pp. 218-19.
188. VA, IV, 10; VP, cap. 34.
189. VP, cap. 23.
190. VA, IV, 10.
191. Q-2, 4.
192. HE, III, 23.
193. Ibid., III, 22.
194. Ibid., III, 23.
195. Ibid., III, 25-26.
196. Ibid., III, 23.
197. Ibid., III, 28; IV, 3.
198. Ibid., III, 28.
199. Supra, p. 128.

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200. VP, cap. 7.
201. Ibid., cap. 8; HE, III, 25; V, 19.
202. HE, V, 1.
203. Supra, p. 221.
204. HE, V, 1.
205. Ibid., III, 28.
206. Ibid., IV, 12.
207. ES, cap. 44.
208. Ibid., cap. 45.
209. AP-9; ES, Preface, capp. 63-66.
210. AP-33, 35, 43; HR, 786, 787; ASC, "D", "E", sa 788.
211. ES, cap. 60.
212. Supra, pp. 162-63.
213. Supra, pp. 216-17.
214. Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 615-16.
215. HR, 735; ASC, "D", "E", 735.
216. HE, I, 29; II, 17; Bede, Epistola ad Ecgberhtum.
217. Supra, p. 227.

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218. HE, III, 21.
219. Ibid., III, 22.
220. Ibid., III, 23.
221. Ibid., IV, 3.
222. Ibid., Preface.
223. VA, IV, 18.
224. HE, IV, 3.
225. Ibid., IV, 6.
226. Cambridge, University Library, Ll.1.10; A.B. Kuypers, The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, commonly called the Book of Cerne, Cambridge, 1902; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 84-85, no. 66. It was at Cerne Abbey in Dorset in the 13th-14th.
227. This manuscript, together with a number of others, may have been produced at a single centre, often identified as Canterbury, but this is not certain. The other manuscripts are CLA, nos. 191, 193, 214 and 244, 1642, 1661. The group is discussed in Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, nos. 29-33.
228. D.N. Dumville, "Liturgical Drama and Panegyric Responsory from the Eighth Century? A Re-examination of the Origin and Contents of the ninth century section of the Book of Cerne", in JTS, n.s., 23, 1972, pp. 389, 393, 398-99.
229. Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 84-85, no. 66; Bishop, Liturgica Historica, pp. 165-70, 173-74,

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192-97; Levison, "Alchfrid the Anchorite and the Book of Cerne", Appendix IX, in Levison, pp. 295-302.

230. Supra, pp. 135-36.

231. HE, III, 4, 27; V, 9, 22, 24.

232. Ibid., IV, 3.

233. De Abb., capp. 6-7.

234. Ecgberht went to Iona in 715 or 716 (HE, III, 4; V, 22.

235. Ecgberht was probably, though not definitely, a bishop. Bede never uses the word "episcopus" when referring to Ecgberht; instead he uses the ambiguous term "sacerdos" (HE, III, 4; V, 9, 22). "Sacerdos" is used by Bede sometimes to mean "bishop" and sometimes to mean "priest":- instances of the use of "sacerdos" for "bishop" are HE, II, 2, 18; III, 21, 27; IV, 5, 17. Bede uses it to mean "priest" in HE, IV, 14, 25, 27; V, 6, 10, 19, 21. In HE, III, 23, Bede uses the word to mean "priest" and to mean "bishop" in the same sentence. There is evidence, however, that in using "sacerdos" with regard to Ecgberht Bede did use it with its meaning of "bishop". Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, cap. 4, describes Ecgberht as "beatissimus pater et episcopus". De Abb., cap. 6, refers to Ecgberht as "praesul" and "pontifex", both terms meaning "bishop". The Old English version of Bede's HE twice refers to Ecgberht as a bishop (III, 27; V, 22-23). Finally, Aethelweard's Chronicle, written in the late tenth century, says Ecgberht was an "episcopus" (cap. 13, ed. Campbell, p. 21). It would seem that Ecgberht was remembered as having been a bishop. Bede perhaps did not use "episcopus"

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for Ecgberht because he was presumably a bishop without any territorial jurisdiction, of the type found in the Celtic areas, but not in England. (Plummer, 2, pp. 55-56, 285, 336-37).

The name "ecgberct" does appear in the list of priests in the LV, but it is quite far on in the list (P-286), and one would expect St. Ecgberht to be fairly near the beginning if he were included.

236. A-5.
237. HE, V, 9.
238. De Abb., cap. 8.
239. Ibid., cap. 22.
240. K. Hughes, "Evidence for contacts between the churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age", in P. Clemons and K. Hughes ed., England before the Continent: studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 49-67.
241. The Martyrology of Tallaght, ed. R.I. Best and H.J. Lawlor, Henry Bradshaw Society, 68, publ. 1931 for 1929, pp. 25, 35.
242. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee, ed. W. Stokes, Henry Bradshaw Society, 29, 1905, p. 83.
243. Ibid., pp. 174, 179.
244. HE, IV, 4.
245. Ibid.

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246. Duemmler, no. 287.
247. HR, 786.
248. Duemmler, no. 3.
249. AP-8.
250. AU, sa 731, ie 732; A.Tig., p. 236.
251. Martyrology of Tallaght, ed. Best and Lawlor, p. 22.
The Vita Sancti Geraldii is late, and inaccurate in many of its statements, but it may be correct in preserving a tradition that Gerald of Mayo was an Englishman (ed. C. Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, Oxford, 1910, reprinted 1968, 1, pp. lxxi-ii; 2, pp. 107-15).
252. Most of the Irish, except for those under the jurisdiction of Iona, had adopted the Roman Easter in the late seventh century (HE, V, 15).
253. Supra, fn. 162.
254. Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.10, ff.2-5, 338-9, + C.III.13, ff.192-95, + C.III.20; CLA, no. 147; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 29-30, no. 5.
255. CLA, no. 271.
256. Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.16, + Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepysian MS. 2981(18); CLA, no. 148; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 45-46, no. 16.
257. CLA, no. 148b.

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258. Supra, fn. 171.
259. Supra, pp. 224-25.
260. Ó Cróinín, in Peritia, 1, pp. 354-55.
261. Cambridge, Trinity College, B.10.5, + London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.VIII, ff.85-90; CLA, no. 133.
262. CLA, no. 133.
263. Supra, p. 191.
264. Book of Durrow - Dublin, Trinity College, 57 (A.IV.5); CLA, no. 273; A.A. Luce et al, Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Durmachanus, 2 vols., Olten, 1960; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 30-32, no. 6; Henderson, Durrow to Kells, Chap. 2.
- Book of Kells - Dublin, Trinity College, 58 (A.I.6); CLA, no. 274; E.H. Alton and P. Meyer, Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Cenannensis, 3 vols., 1951; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 71-76, no. 52; Henderson, Durrow to Kells, Chaps. 5 and 6.
- See also Ó Cróinín, in Peritia, 1, pp. 352-62, and in Peritia, 3, pp. 17-20, 38-39; Brown, in Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis, 2, p. 57.
265. Supra, pp. 219-20.
266. Cramp, pp. 7-8.
267. Supra, p. 116.
268. Supra, pp. 29-30.

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269. AP-45.
270. HE, V, 15.
271. VA, II, 4; VP, cap. 11.
272. HR, 796.
273. R-80.
274. R-43, 100.
275. Cramp, p. 195, no. 2.
276. VA, IV, 16; Colgrave, Two Lives, p. 13.
277. Calendar of St. Willibrord, ed. Wilson, plate III, pp. 5, 22-23; CLA, no. 606a; Ó Cróinín, in Peritia, 1, p. 361.
278. Ó Cróinín, in Peritia, 3, pp. 30-31, 35.
279. Ibid., pp. 28-36.
280. HE, V, 9-10.
281. Calendar of St. Willibrord, ed. Wilson, plate IV, pp. 6, 27.
282. CLA, no. 605; text ed. H. Quentin, in Acta SS, November, 2, part 2, pp. 153-54, 200.
283. DACL, 10, cols. 2530-32, 2534; J. Dubois, Les Martyrologes du Moyen Âge Latin, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, fasc. 26, Turnholt, 1978, pp. 29-37.

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284. DACL, 10, cols. 2539-40; Acta SS., November, 2, part 2, pp. 274, 418, 555.
285. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 9389; CLA, no. 578; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 42-43, no. 11.
286. Brown, in Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis, 2, pp. 89, 102-3.
287. Ó Cróinín, in Peritia, 1, pp. 352-62, and in Peritia, 3, pp. 17-42; Henderson, Durrow to Kells, pp. 92-97.
288. E.g. Calendar of St. Willibrord, ed. Wilson, Plates II (euda, uilfrid, suidre(d)); V (suaefgild); VII (bertuini, offa, cidda); IX (cynifrid).
In the LV there are P-150 (eata); P-121 (uilfrith); P-343 (suiðred); P-80 (suiðgils); C-629 (cyda). "Berchtuini" occurs at AP-59, and "berctuini" at P-197 and P-205. "Ofa"/"Offa" occurs once in the abbots' list, three times in the list of clerics, and four times among the monks. The name "cynifrith" and its variants occur a number of times in the lists of priests, clerics, and monks.
289. R-67.
290. Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, cap. 1.
291. Duemmler, no. 20.
292. *Ibid.*, no. 24.
293. AD-7.

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294. Duemmler, no. 124.
295. Ibid., nos. 20-22.
296. Ibid., nos. 16-19.
297. Ibid., nos. 24-25.
298. Ibid., no. 24.
299. This is shown by Duemmler, no. 184, of 799.
300. Ibid., nos. 41, 163, 211, 229, 245.
301. Ibid., nos. 156, 157, 193, 254.
302. Ibid., no. 216.
303. Ibid., Appendix, no. 2, pp. 484-90. See also *ibid.*, pp. 557-61.
304. "Uitta" occurs once (C-1001); "huita" occurs three times (M-594, 741, 1017).
305. *Supra*, pp. 102-3.
306. MGH, Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi, 2, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, 2, ed. E. Duemmler, Berlin, 1884, p. 208.
307. St. Cuthbert also appears in a martyrology written by Hrabanus Maurus, as well as in a number of other ninth-century Continental martyrologies, but as these are all derived, at one or more removes, from Bede's Martyrology, they are not evidence for any contact between Lindisfarne and

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the centres where they were written (Colgrave, Two Lives, p. 2; DACL, 10, cols. 2553, 2600-11; Dubois, Les Martyrologes de Moyen Âge Latin, pp. 37-60).

308. "Munster in Westphalia, Staatsarchiv, MSc. I.243,
+ "Bückeburg, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv,
Depot 3; CLA, nos. 1233-34.
309. Altfrid, Vita Liudgeri, ed. Pertz.
310. Ó Cróinín, in Peritia, 3, p. 28.
311. Colgrave, Two Lives, pp. 17, 43-45.
312. Ibid., pp. 17-18, 43-45.
313. Ibid., pp. 1-2, 17-20, 43-45.
314. Supra, pp. 112-14.
315. Tangl, no. 116.
316. Colgrave, Two Lives, p. 39.
317. Ibid., pp. 39-40, 42.
318. Supra, pp. 104-7.
319. HE, V, 9-10.
320. Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi, cap. 1.
321. AP-1; Ab-1.
322. Cramp, pp. 27, 196-98, nos. 5, 7, 8.

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

1. Supra, p. 69.
2. Lay people certainly could at a later date, as is shown by the confraternity agreement between Durham and king Malcolm III of Scots (1058-93) and his queen, Margaret (LV, fol. 52v; AHT, pp. xix-xx).
3. HE, III, 23, 26; VP, cap. 6.
4. Hurley, in Pearce ed., Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland, BAR no. 102, p. 327.
5. Ibid.
6. E.g. Osbald, king in 796, ended his days as an abbot.
7. Supra, p. 211.
8. R. Cramp, "Anglo-Saxon Settlement", in J.C. Chapman and H.C. Mytum ed., Settlement in North Britain, 1000 B.C. - A.D. 1000, BAR no. 118, Oxford, 1983, pp. 278-80.
9. Hurley, in Pearce ed., Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland, BAR no. 102, p. 326.
10. HE, III, 15, 21.
11. Hurley, in Pearce ed., BAR no. 102, p. 326.
12. The Visigoths, Merovingians, and Carolingians all made use of monasteries as prisons for their political opponents, and this may have occurred in England too.

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13. Tangl, no. 105.
14. S.1254.
15. Leases dating from before 875 are as follows:- S.62, S.109, S.120, S.190, S.199, S.215, S.1254, S.1255, S.1261, S.1262, S.1270, S.1272, S.1273, S.1274, S.1275, S.1278.
16. HSC, capp. 22, 24.
17. HE, III, 1, 14.
18. ES, capp. 59-60.
19. HE, V, 18, gives Osred's age.
20. ES, cap. 60; HE, V, 24; ASC, sa 710; AU, sa 710, ie 711.
21. Bede is very discreet in the HE about events, particularly political events, in his own adult lifetime. The northern annals preserved in the HR and the Conts.B., do not start until the 730's.
22. HE, V, 18, 22, 24; ASC, 716; AU, sa 715, ie 716.
23. HE, V, 22; ASC, 716.
24. HE, V, 23, does not give Osric's ancestry. He is said to be a son of king Aldfrith in the Series Regum Northymbrensi-um, ed. Arnold, 2, p. 390. Also in the LV, Osred and Osric are placed together, which suggests they were related (R-18, 19).
25. HE, V, 23-4; ASC, "D", "E", 729, and "A"- "D", sa 731.

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26. HE, IV, 26.
27. An English see was set up at Whithorn shortly before 731, and Bede implies it was in king Ceolwulf's dominions (HE, V, 23) (Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men, p. 27).
28. HE, IV, 26.
29. Ibid., V, 24; ASC, sa 699, 710; AU, sa 697, 710, ie 698, 711.
30. AU, sa 709-12, 716, 718, 724-28, 730, 732-33, 735, 738, 741 (ie 710-13, 717, 719, 725-29, 731, 733-34, 736, 739, 742); A.Tig., p. 232.
31. HE, V, 23.
32. Ibid., IV, 21; ES, cap. 24.
33. HE, V, 19, 24; ASC, 716.
34. ASC, 716.
35. HE, V, 23.
36. ASC, "D", "E", 716.
37. HR, sa 732; Cont.B.(Moore), 731; AU, sa 730, ie 731; A.Tig., p. 235.
38. HR, 737; Cont.B.(Dresden), 737; ASC, "D", "E", 737.
39. HR, 735; Cont.B.(both versions), 732; Cont.B.(Dresden), 735; ASC, "D", "E", sa 734, 735.

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40. C.S.S. Lyon, "A Reappraisal of the Sceatta and Styca coinage of Northumbria", in The British Numismatic Journal, 28, 1955-57, p. 228.
41. Cont.B.(Dresden), 740.
42. Ibid., 750.
43. Ibid., 740; ASC, "D", "E", sa 737.
44. Cont.B.(Dresden), 750.
45. HR, 756.
46. AU, sa 735, 749, ie 736, 750; Anderson, Kings and Kingship, pp. 184-86; Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men, pp. 67, 178-79.
47. In 750 king Cuthred of Wessex rebelled against king Aethelbald, and in 752 Cuthred defeated Aethelbald in battle at "Beorhford" (HR, 750; ASC, 752).
48. Some connection between Northumbria and East Anglia is suggested by the coinage of king Beonna or Beorna of East Anglia, which is imitative of the coinage of king Eadberht of Northumbria (D.M. Metcalf, "Monetary Expansion and Recession: interpreting the distribution-patterns of seventh- and eighth-century coins", in Coins and the Archaeologist, ed. J. Casey and R. Reece, BAR no. 4, 1974, pp. 211, 221).
49. Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 3.
50. HR, 750.
51. Ibid., 780; ASC, "D", "E", 779.

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52. Infra, pp. 273-74, 287.
53. ASC, 757; HR, 757; Cont.B.(Dresden), 757.
54. HR, 758; ASC, "D", "E", 758; Cont.B.(Dresden), 758.
55. AU, sa 760, ie 761; HR, sa 759; Cont.B.(Dresden), 761.
56. Aethelred, who had two reigns, is counted only once, and the same applies to Eardwulf.
57. Osred II in 792; Wada and his fellow conspirators in 798; other possibilities for attempted coups are Oswine in 761, and Earnred in 769.
58. ASC, "D", "E", 758; HR, 758; Cont.B.(Dresden), 758.
59. ASC, "D", "E", 758-59; HR, 758-59; Cont.B.(Dresden), 759.
60. ASC, "E", "D", 761; HR, sa 759; Cont.B.(Dresden), 761.
61. C. Plummer and J. Earle, Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, 2, Oxford, 1899, p. 49.

The name-element "os-" was especially associated with the Northumbrian royal families. The Bernician royal family made particular use of it, but it was used by the royal family of Deira too, e.g. king Osric (633-34); his son king Oswine (642-51); and Osfrith, son of king Edwin, k.633 (HE, II, 20; III, 1, 14). The LV shows that its use in Northumbria was confined mainly to royalty, and that it was not a common Northumbrian name-element. Of the 3120 names in the LV, only 33 begin in "os-", and of those 33, half (17) are in the first two lists (kings and "duces", and queens and abbesses).

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I would suggest that Oswine was a relative of Oswulf, perhaps, on the grounds of the double alliteration of their names, his brother (compare with the brothers, kings Oswald and Oswiu).

62. ASC, "D", "E", sa 759; HR, 765.
63. HR, 787, 798; Plummer and Earle, op.cit., p. 50.
64. ASC, "D", "E", 765; HR, 765.
65. A.Tig., p. 262; LV, Ab-62.
66. HR, 769.
67. Ibid., 774; ASC, "D", "E", 774.
68. HR, 774, says that ealdorman Eadwulf "was taken from the shipwreck of this life", and "at the same period" king Alchred was deposed. Then in HR, 775, the seizure and killing of ealdorman Eadwulf is recorded. It is possible there were two ealdormen of the same name, who d. in 774, and 775, but it may be that the same event has been recorded twice over by accident. But we cannot tell whether, in that case, 774 or 775 is the correct date for his death. The 774 annal does seem to suggest some association between his death and Alchred's deposition though.
- An "eaduulf dux" is listed in the LV among the monks (M-730).
69. ASC, "D", "E", 774; HR, 774. His parents were married in 762 (HR, 762; Duemmler, no. 105).
70. ASC, "D", "E", 778; HR, 778.
71. ASC, "D", "E", 778; HR, 779.

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72. ASC, "D", "E", 779; HR, 780.
73. ASC, "D", "E", 789; HR, 788.
74. HR, sa 788, says Osred II reigned one year. ASC and HR both give his deposition in 790, so 789 may be a better date for Aelfwold's death and Osred's accession than 788. Or perhaps Aelfwold was killed in 788 and Osred succeeded in 789.
75. ASC, "D", "E", 790; HR, 790.
76. Ibid.
77. HR, 791.
78. HR, sa 790. This event happened in Aethelred's "second year".
79. In 796 he is said to have been "recalled from exile" (HR, 796).
80. HR, 792; ASC, "D", "E", 792.
81. Ibid.
82. Duemmler, no. 122.
83. ASC, sa 794; HR, 796.
84. HR, 796.
85. Ibid.; ASC, "D", "E", sa 795.
86. ASC, "D", "E", 798; HR, 798.

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87. HR, 799.
88. Ibid., 800.
89. Rollason, pp. 63-4, 89; Farmer, Oxford Dictionary of Saints, p. 10.
90. Domesday Book, 27, Derbyshire, ed. P. Morgan, Chichester, 1978, fol. 280b.
91. Lists of excavations in Medieval Archaeology, 12, 1968, p. 155; 13, 1969, p. 231.
92. HR, 801.
93. Ibid.
94. Duemmler, nos. 232-33.
95. Supra, fn. 123, for dating of this event; ASC, "D", "E", 806; Roger of Wendover, 808.
96. Annales regni Francorum, 808-9, in MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 6, ed. F. Kurze, 1895.
97. Letters of Pope Leo III, ed. K. Hampe, nos. 2-3, in MGH, Epistolae, 5, Epistolae Karolini Aevi, 3, Berlin, 1899, pp. 89-92.
98. Ibid., pp. 90-92.
99. Supra, pp. 144, 164.
100. Bede, Epistola ad Ecgberhtum.
101. Tangl, no. 73.

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102. Duemmler, nos. 16, 18, 30, 108, 209, 232, 300.
103. Sawyer, Roman Britain to Norman England, pp. 101-2.
104. Duemmler, no. 3.
105. ES, capp. 17, 19; HR, 778, 780, 788, 796, 798, 799, 801; HE, V, 24; Thacker, in Brown, Campbell, and Hawkes ed., Anglo-Saxon Studies, 2, BAR no. 92, pp. 201-36.
106. Sawyer, Roman Britain to Norman England, pp. 175-77, 201-3.
107. J. Campbell ed., The Anglo-Saxons, 1982, pp. 63, 118; Metcalf, in Casey and Reece ed., Coins and the Archaeologist, BAR no. 4, pp. 211-17; C.E. Blunt, "The Coinage of Offa", in Anglo-Saxon Coins, ed. R.H.M. Dolley, London, 1961, pp. 39-62; M. Dolley, Anglo-Saxon Pennies, London, 1964, pp. 14-15.
108. Campbell, Anglo-Saxons, pp. 130, 135; Lyon, in British Numismatic Journal, 28, pp. 230-38.
109. AU, sa 767, ie 768; Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men, pp. 178-79.
110. Anderson, Kings and Kingship, p. 192.
111. R-80.
112. HE, I, 25; II, 9.
113. Ibid., III, 28; V, 19; ES, capp. 3-6, 12, 25-28, 33, 55-56; anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 5-6.
114. Supra, pp. 113-14.

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115. *Supra*, p. 253.
116. The battle of Tours (732) is mentioned in HE, V, 23, and Charles' Martel's death is in Cont.B.(Dresden), 741.
117. See Cont.B.(Dresden), 754; HR, 754, 768, 771, 772, 774, 775, 792, sa 794, sa 795.
118. Latin entries in ASC, "E", sa 769, 778, 788, 800, 810, 814, about Continental affairs, are late additions taken from the Annales Rotomagenses, and probably added into the ASC in the 12th (Plummer and Earle, Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, 2, pp. xlvi-vii).
119. Tangl, no. 121.
120. Duemmler, no. 100.
121. *Ibid.*
122. ASC only mentions Northumbria once between 806 and 867 - in 829.
123. The sources for the succession of the kings of Northumbria between c.800 and 866 are Roger of Wendover and Series Regum Northymbrensiūm. The latter is a regnal list for Northumbria from Ida to Henry I. The text is in Cambridge, University Library, Ff.I.27, a late twelfth-century manuscript which contains many items of northern interest, including copies of Simeon of Durham, HDE; Aethelwulf, De Abb.; and the HSC (A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge, ed. for Cambridge University Press, 2, 1857, reprinted 1980, pp. 318-29, no. 1160). Though the text is not of an early date, the Series Regum may preserve

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early material, and when it can be checked against other sources, it appears to be quite accurate. It gives the following reign lengths for the C9th, to 866:-

Eardwulf	10 years
Aelfwold II	2 years
Eanred	33 years
Aethelred II	9 years
Osberht	13 years
Aelle	no reign length given.

Roger of Wendover provides certain dates and reign lengths:-

808 - Eardwulf expelled, and Aelfwold II reigned for 2 years.

810 - Aelfwold II died, and Eanred reigned for 32 years.

840 - Eanred died, and Aethelred II reigned for 7 years.

844 - Aethelred II expelled; Raedwulf king for a short time, killed, and Aethelred reigned again.

848 - Aethelred II killed, and Osberht reigned for 18 years. And the same year there was an eclipse of the sun on 1st Oct. (Kalends of October). (There was no eclipse of the sun on that day in 848, but one did occur 4 years later on 17th Sept. 852 (15 Kal.Oct.)). Roger does sometimes misdate events by four years and this may have happened here.

Also ASC, "D", "E", record expulsion of Eardwulf in 806. The northern annals in ASC at this period are usually dated correctly. The annal for 806 in "D", "E", also records a lunar eclipse on 1st Sept. and this is correct (Plummer and Earle, Two

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of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, 2, p. 68).

None of the English sources are aware of the restoration of Eardwulf, which is known only from Continental sources (Annales regni Francorum, 808-9 - these cannot be used to date Eardwulf's expulsion, only the date of his arrival at Nijmegen in 808, after his expulsion. On their evidence he might have been expelled in 808 or at some earlier date).

The following is suggested as a possible chronology on the basis of the above evidence:-

Eardwulf	796-806, 808/9-810
Aelfwold II	806-8
Eanred	810-43
Aethelred II	843-44, 844-52
Raedwulf	844
Osberht	852-65
Aelle	865-66.

124. ASC, 823, 825, 827, 829.
125. ASC, 829; Roger of Wendover, 829.
126. ASC, 830.
127. Ibid., 829.
128. Roger of Wendover, 829.
129. ASC, "D", "E", 793, 794; HR, 793, 794; Roger of Wendover, 800.
130. Roger of Wendover, 844.
131. AU, sa 822-72, ie 823-73; ASC, 836, 838, 843/4, 845, 851, 878; Annales Cambriae, sa 853, 855, 876, ie 854, 856, 877, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel, Rolls Series no. 20, London, 1860.

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132. ASC, 835, 840-42, 851, 853, 855, 860, 865-80; AU, sa 838, 865, 877, ie 839, 866, 878; Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A, in Anderson, Kings and Kingship, pp. 249-50; Annales de Saint-Bertin, 834-65.
133. Supra, pp. 10, 139-40.
134. Lyon, in British Numismatic Journal, 28, pp. 230-31.
135. Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version A, in Anderson, Kings and Kingship, pp. 249-50.
136. The last dated appearance of a bishop of Whithorn is in 803, when Badwulf was present at the consecration of Bishop Egberht of Lindisfarne (Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 5; Badwulf became bishop of Whithorn in 790/1 (HR, 790; ASC, "D", "E", 791)). There was at least one bishop at Whithorn after Badwulf, as the episcopal lists in British Library, Cotton Vespasian B.VI, ff. 108-9, have a bishop called Heathored following Badwulf at Whithorn. Heathored's name was added to the original list by the second hand, dated to c.833 (Page, Episcopal Lists, pp. 3, 7).
137. Lyon, in British Numismatic Journal, 28, pp. 234-35.
138. Supra, p. 12.
139. HSC, cap. 10.
140. ASC, 867; HR, 867; Roger of Wendover, 867; Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 6; HSC, cap. 10.
141. Infra, p. 285.
142. ASC, 876; Roger of Wendover, 876.

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143. The three English kings who reigned under Danish domination in 867-c.878 ruled only half of Northumbria; the various Scandinavian kings who ruled from York in the period c.880-954 do not usually seem to have had any authority in Bernicia north of the Tyne; under the rule of the West Saxon kings from 954 Northumbria was usually under two or more earls or ealdormen, though generally one had overall authority.
144. Roger of Wendover, 867.
145. ASC, 875; AU, sa 874, ie 875.
146. Supra, pp. 140, 144-49.
147. AU; Sawyer, Roman Britain to Norman England, p. 115.
148. There is no definite evidence that the family of the high-reeves of Bamburgh were descendants of a Bernician royal family, but the suggestion is plausible, on the grounds that they were English; resident at the old royal capital of Bernicia; and emerge not long after the English kings of Northumbria come to an end. Also their names use the same vocalic alliteration and many of the same name-elements as the earlier Northumbrian kings. The main name-elements used by this family ("ead-", "ald-", "os-") were used by a number of pre-Viking royal lines in Northumbria, and cannot be used to connect the Bamburgh family with any one particular line. Two other names favoured by them, Uhtred and Waltheof, were not used by any earlier Northumbrian royal family, so far as is known. They were uncommon names - "uchtred" occurs only three times in the C9th portion of the LV (P- 340; M-21, 537); Waltheof does not occur in the original part of the LV.

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149. AU, sa 912, ie 913. He is called "ri Saxan Tuaiscirt"
- "king of the Saxons of the North".
150. Aethelweard, Chronicle, ed. Campbell, p. 53.
151. W.E. Kapelle, The Norman Conquest of the North, London
and university of North Carolina, 1979, pp. 42, 108,
127, 134-41, 201-2, 204, 232-33, 249.
152. For Ida see ASC, 547, and HE, V, 24. For descent of
Aethelfrith's family from Ida see Dumville, p. 30.
153. This is if Osric was a son of Aldfrith; otherwise
this family's domination ceased in 716.
154. Infra, p. 269.
155. E.g. the line of the German Carolingians died out in
911, and the French Carolingians came to an end
in 987.
156. HE, I, 34.
157. Ibid., IV, 26.
158. Both "os-" and "aelf-" were uncommon name-elements.
"Os-" has been discussed supra, fn. 61. The LV
shows that "aelf-" was even rarer in Northumbria.
It occurs only 17 times in the LV, and 9 of those
occurrences are in the two royal lists.
159. Woolf, Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving, pp. 2, 262.
160. Hild was related to king Edwin (HE, IV, 23).
161. Whitby may have been founded on one of the twelve estates
of ten hides each given to the Church by Oswiu in 655
"for the founding of monasteries". Whitby's original
endowment was ten hides. (HE, III, 24; IV, 23).

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162. HE, III, 24, 25.
163. Ibid., III, 14, 24.
164. Sawyer, Roman Britain to Norman England, pp. 30-1, 34.
165. Gilling was in existence and under the rule of at least its third abbot by c.659 (anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, capp. 2, 32; HE, III, 24).
166. HE, III, 14, 24.
167. Ibid., II, 9; III, 15, 24.
168. Ibid., IV, 26.
169. Life of Gregory the Great, by a monk of Whitby, capp. 18-19.
170. HE, III, 11.
171. Osthryth seems to have been the full sister of Ecgfrith and Aelfwine, who were the sons of Eanflaed (HE, IV, 21).
172. HE, III, 11; ASC, sa 716.
173. HE, IV, 21.
174. Ibid., III, 11.
175. ASC, sa 731 (not "E"); Dumville, p. 30; H.Brit., cap. 57; De Primo Saxonum Adventu, in Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, ed. Arnold, Rolls Series no. 75, 2, p. 374.

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176. D.N. Dumville, "Kingship, genealogies and regnal lists", in P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood ed., Early Medieval Kingship, Leeds, 1977, pp. 72-104.
177. ASC sa 731 makes Ceolwulf the grandson of Cuthwine, but Dumville, pp. 24-5, 30, is followed here as being the earliest extant source available (the oldest manuscript of the Anglian collection of genealogies was written early in the C9th). Coenred is said to be Ceolwulf's brother in HE, V, 23.
178. HE, V, 23.
179. ASC, "D", "E", 760; HR, 764.
180. HE, Preface.
181. HR, sa 732; ASC, "D", "E", sa 733; Cont.B(Moore), 731; D.P. Kirby, "Northumbria in the time of Wilfrid", in St. Wilfrid at Hexham, ed. D.P. Kirby, Newcastle, 1974, p. 24.
182. HSC, capp. 8, 11.
183. HSC, cap. 8; HR, 737.
184. R-25, 69.
185. Supra, pp. 156-57.
186. ASC, "D", "E", 737; ASC, all versions, 738; HR, 737; Dumville, p. 30.
187. Bede, Epistola ad Ecgberhtum.
188. ASC, "D", "E", 766; HR, 766; Cont.B (Dresden), 766.

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189. HR, 768.
190. Ibid., 788; ASC, "D", "E", 789.
191. Alcuin, Saints of York, lines 1428-29.
192. Egberht appears to have been a pupil of Bede, though this is not quite definite. (Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 3; Bede, Epistola ad Egberhtum; Vita Alcuini, cap. 4, in MGH, Scriptorum, 15, part 1, p. 186).
193. "Methel Wongtun" has been identified with a place called "Medilwong" in VA, IV, 6; VP, cap. 33. Suggested identifications are one of the Middletons in Ilderton, to the south of Wooler, at the edge of the Cheviots, or Middleton in Belford, which is only $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles as the crow flies from Lindisfarne (Colgrave, Two Lives, p. 333). But there are many other Middletons in the north of England.
194. Duemmler, no. 3.
195. Plummer and Earle, Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, 2, p. 60.
196. HR, 788; ASC, "D", "E", 789.
197. HE, V, 19; ES, capp. 65-66.
198. Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version D, ed. W.F. Skene, Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other early memorials of Scottish history, Scottish Record Publications no. 1, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 151.

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199. HR, 788.
200. Chronicle of Melrose, 758, facsimile edn., intro.
by A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson, Studies in
Economics and Political Science no. 100, London,
1936, p. 3.
201. HR, 766, 768; ASC, "D", "E", 766, 768.
202. ASC, sa 738 - the word used for "chapel" is "porticus".
203. HR, 750.
204. Supra, pp. 271-72.
205. Ab-50.
206. HR, 793; may be in the kings' list as one of the
names beginning in "sig-".
207. Supra, pp. 266, 271.
208. Supra, pp. 265-66.
209. Dumville, p. 30; Simeon of Durham, HDE, I, 13;
H.Brit., cap. 57; De Primo Saxonum Adventu, ed.
Arnold, 2, p. 374.
210. HR, sa 765.
211. HR, 800.
212. HR, 774.
213. HR, 792; ASC, "D", "E", 792.

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214. ASC, "D", "E", 774; HR, 790.
215. HR, 774, 792; Simeon of Durham, HDE, II, 14.
216. Supra, pp. 256-57.
217. HR, 767; Tangl, no. 121; anonymous Vita Willehadi, cap. 1, ed. G.H. Pertz, in MGH, Scriptorum, 2, Hannover, 1829, p. 380.
218. There is an "alchmund" in the kings' list (R-34), but he may be Ealhmund, king in Kent c.784 (S.38); or an Ealhmund, who witnesses Mercian charters in 748-57 (S.91, 92, 96); just as much as he may be the Northumbrian Alchmund.
219. Supra, p. 174.
220. Kirby, in St. Wilfrid at Hexham, p. 20, suggests Eadwald was descended from Oethelwald, son of Oswald, but there is no evidence to support this.
221. ES, cap. 60.
222. Ibid., capp. 45-47, 58.
223. Ibid., cap. 59.
224. Ibid.
225. Ibid.
226. R-16.
227. HSC, cap. 11.

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228. HR, 740; Cont.B(Dresden), 740.
229. Cont.B(Dresden), 740.
230. "Earn-" only occurs once in the LV (M-922); OAS, pp. 73, 213-14, 234, 551.
231. HR, 769.
232. Duemmler, nos. 231-32.
233. Cont.B(Dresden), 759. Even in fully elective Germanic monarchies like those of the Lombards and the Visigoths the person chosen to be king was apparently supposed to be of royal blood and not just anybody.
234. HR, 762, 792.
235. HR, sa 790.
236. Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 394-96.
237. See Appendix IV, p. 404.
238. Duemmler, nos. 101, 231-32.
239. R-72 to 83; Q-121.
240. Ab-62.
241. Duemmler, nos. 105-6.
242. Ecga is not in the LV.
243. Supra, p. 255.

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244. The three names are of interest too in that they all have the same second element, and the first elements of two alliterate. It is uncertain how significant these links are.
245. Aelfwold II in 806-8; and Raedwulf in 844.
246. *Supra*, pp. 11-12.
247. ASC, "D", "E", sa 795; HR, 796.
248. Eardwulf is the only king of Northumbria said to have been consecrated to the kingdom. It is not known if this was an innovation in 796, or whether this just happens to be the only occasion when it is mentioned.
249. HR, sa 790.
250. Duemmler, no. 108.
251. *Ibid*, nos. 16, 18, 30.
252. Annales Lindisfarnensis, sa 797, ed. Pertz, p. 506.
253. Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, cap. 19, ed. L. Halphen, *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 3rd edn., 1947, pp. 58-63.
254. Rollason, pp. 70-72; Hugh Candidus, Chronicle, ed. W.T. Mellows, Oxford, 1949, p. 60; A. Dornier, "The Anglo-Saxon monastery at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire", in Mercian Studies, ed. A. Dornier, Leicester, 1977, pp. 160-62.
255. R-57, 58.

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256. HR, 799.
257. Duemmler, no. 18.
258. Ibid., no. 109.
259. Supra, fn. 61.
260. Duemmler, no. 109.
261. HR, 796.
262. Ab-87.
263. HR, 799.
264. Ibid., 794.
265. The name is in the abbots' list (Ab-53), the priests' list (P-41), and twice in the monks' list (M-657, 948); the occurrence in the abbots' list is perhaps the most likely to be Aethelheard "dux".
266. The exact nature of the community attached to York Minster is unclear. See Alcuin, Saints of York, lines 1218, 1417, and the fn. to line 1218 in Godman's edn., pp. 95-97; Morris, in Butler and Morris ed., The Anglo-Saxon church, pp. 80-89.
267. HE, III, 14.
268. Supra, p. 257; Roger of Wendover, 808, says that it was Aelfwold himself who expelled Eardwulf.
269. R-78.

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270. There are however a few names in the LV in the kings' list and in the queens' list which begin with "r", which suggests that there may have been a very important family in Northumbria that used such names. In the kings' list there is "ricuulf" (R-42), and in the queens' list there are "redburg" (Q-51, 93, 152), "redgyth" (Q-52), "ricfolcyn" (Q-20), and "ricðryth" (Q-54, 74). The death of a queen and abbess called Ricthryth is recorded in HR, 786. Ricsige, who was king in Northumbria 873-76, may perhaps have been of this group.
271. A comparable situation occurred in the Ostrogothic kingdom in the 6th. When the Byzantines attacked Italy in 536, the Ostrogoths deposed their king Theodohad and elected Wittigis, because Theodohad was unwarlike, while Wittigis, was "a man who, though not of a conspicuous house, had previously won great renown in the battles about Sirmium" (Procopius of Caesarea, History of the Wars, V, cap. 11, in Loeb Classical Library, no. 107, London, 1919, with trans. by H.B. Dewing, pp. 108-9; also Jordañes, Getica, LX, 309-10, ed. T. Mommsen, in MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, 5, Berlin, 1882, p. 137).
272. ASC, 867.
273. Roger of Wendover, 867. HSC, cap. 10, says Aelle was Osberht's brother, but this seems unlikely.
274. ASC, 560, 588.
275. Supra, pp. 150, 154-55, 166-67.
276. See Fig. 32.
277. Alchred in 774, and Osbald in 796.

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278. P. Hunter Blair, "Some Observations on the 'Historia Regum' attributed to Symeon of Durham", in N.K. Chadwick ed., Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 98-99.

279. Nationality of those in the kings' list in the LV (only the more certain identifications have been included):-

	Northum- brians	Non-Northumbrians
First half of C7th	3	1 (East Anglia)
Second half of C7th	7	3 (2 Mercia, 1 Essex)
First half of C8th	7	7 (3 Mercia, 2 Kent, 1 Frankia, 1 Picts)
Second half of C8th	9	11 (4 Mercia, 2 Kent, 2 Frankia, 2 Sussex, 1 East Anglia)
First half of C9th	5	6 (2 Mercia, 2 Picts, 1 Wessex, 1 Essex).

280. Place-name evidence suggests there was not a lot of Scandinavian settlement in County Durham - G. Fellows Jensen, "Place-Name Research and Northern History: A Survey", in Northern History, 8, 1973, pp. 7, 17; D. Hill, An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England, Oxford, 1981, pp. 45-6, map no. 68.

281. Examples of people with Scandinavian names supporting the community in the late C10th and C11th can be found in HSC, capp. 29-30; LV, fol. 47v. However these peoples' ancestry may not necessarily have

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been Scandinavian. By this time the English and Scandinavians in Northumbria may have inter-married to a large extent.

282. HSC, capp. 25-28.

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Conclusion.

1. The tenth-century colophon to the Lindisfarne Gospels says they were written by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne (698 -721), "for God and for St. Cuthbert and jointly for all the saints whose relics are in the island". The production of the manuscript is often linked directly to the elevation of Cuthbert's relics in 698, but it is possible that Eadfrith worked on the book after becoming a bishop, so it might have been written any time before 721. This is assuming that the colophon is correct, but there seems no reason to doubt its accuracy. (CLA, no. 187; Alexander, Insular Manuscripts, pp. 35-40, no. 9; Kendrick et al, Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis; Henderson, Durrow to Kells, pp. 112-18).
2. HE, III, 26; IV, 4.
3. Ibid., III, 21-23.
4. Ibid., III, 25.
5. Bede says of Theodore that he "was the first among the archbishops whom the whole Church of the English

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agreed to obey" (HE, IV, 2). Theodore and his successor, Berhtwald, attended synods in Northumbria (supra, p. 218).

6. Bede's admiration for the Irish monks, in spite of their faulty Easter observance, can be seen in his description of St. Aidan (HE, III, 17); and in the two chapters following his account of the Synod of Whitby (HE, III, 26-7) - in these he stresses the links between Eata, who took over at Lindisfarne, and the Irish, telling how Eata was St. Aidan's pupil, and how Bishop Colman asked specially that Eata might be appointed abbot; he also includes a panegyric on the virtues of the Irish monks who lived in Northumbria before 664; and he mentions how the Irish welcomed many English students to their monasteries in Ireland, and fed and educated them without asking for any money. This last point leads into a story about St. Ecgberht when he was a young student in Ireland, and goes on to tell more about this saint's life. Bede's introduction of Ecgberht at this particular point was no doubt intentional, and meant to remind his readers that the Irish, through Ecgberht's work, were now united with the English "in Catholic peace and truth" (HE, V, 23).

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N.B. - if the author of a saint's Vita is known, it is entered under the initial of the author; if the Vita is anonymous, it is entered under the initial of the saint.

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