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ABBO OF FLEURY (d. 1004) was one of the great scholars of tenth-century Europe, who spent two years (985–7) at the abbey of *Ramsey, and exerted considerable influence on English learning, both through books and disciplines which he brought with him, and through students whom he trained at Ramsey, notably *Byrhtferth. Abbo was born in the vicinity of Orléans; the precise date of his birth is unknown (c.945–50), but he is known to have studied at Paris, Rheims and Orléans, as a result of which he became a many-sided scholar, expert in subjects of both the trivium and the quadrivium, and has left writings on *computus, logic, *grammar, and *canon law, as well as historical and hagiographical works. Together with Gerbert of Aurillac, with whom he studied at Rheims, he was one of the first scholars in Europe to know the treatises of logic of Boethius and to have composed a comprehensive treatment of syllogisms.

In 985, having been unsuccessful in an attempt to obtain the abbacy of *Fleury, Abbo consented to come to England to teach at Ramsey Abbey. He regarded his time spent in England as an exile, and, according to the *Vita S. Abbonis* by his hagiographer Aimoin (*BHL* 3), became fat from drinking English beer; but a short poem on Ramsey which is preserved in Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi* shows that Abbo was not wholly impervious to the charms of the fenland. During his stay at Ramsey he taught the

computus to his English pupils, and the impact of this teaching is reflected in Byrhtferth's own computational writings. It was also probably at Ramsey that he composed his *Passio S. Eadmundi* (*BHL* 2392), an account of the murder of King *Edmund of East Anglia by the Danes in 869. Other compositions which date to his stay in England include a small corpus of *acrostic poems. While in England he visited *Dunstan and *Oswald, as well as influential secular persons such as King *Æthelred.

When the abbacy of Fleury became vacant in 987, Abbo returned to take up the position, and was abbot of Fleury from 988 until his death. After returning to Fleury he composed his *Quaestiones grammaticales*, a detailed treatise on the scansion of Latin verse, at the request of his former students at Ramsey. He remained in close touch with colleagues in England, and was asked by the abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury, to convert the *Vita S. Dunstani* by the unknown cleric B. into hexameters, but he died before he was able to undertake this task. Abbo was murdered by insurgent monks during an inspection of the abbey of La Réole on 13 November 1004.

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 1; *ODNB* i.10–11; PL cxxxix.417–578; A. Van de Vyver, 'Les oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury', *RB* 47 (1935), 125–69; A. Guerreau-Jalabert, *Abbo Floriacensis: Quaestiones Grammaticales* (Paris, 1982); *Abbo von Fleury, De syllogismis hypotheticis*, ed. F. Schupp (Leiden and New York, 1997); *Abbo of Fleury and Ramsey*:

Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine, ed. A. M. Peden (London, 2003); M. Winterbottom, ed., *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 67–87 [*Passio S. Eadmundi*]; R. B. Thomson, 'Two Astronomical Tractates of Abbo of Fleury', in *The Light of Nature. Essays presented to A. C. Crombie* (Dordrecht, 1985), pp. 113–33; G. R. Evans and A. M. Peden, 'Natural Science and the Liberal Arts in Abbo of Fleury's Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine', *Viator* 16 (1985), 109–27; M. Mostert, 'Le séjour d'Abbon de Fleury à Ramsey', *BEC* 144 (1986), 199–208; idem, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury* (Hilversum, 1987); E.-M. Engelen, *Zeit, Zahl und Bild. Studien zur Verbindung von Philosophie und Wissenschaft bei Abbo von Fleury* (Berlin and New York, 1993); S. Gwara, 'Three Acrostic Poems by Abbo of Fleury', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992), 203–35; A. Gransden, 'Abbo of Fleury's *Passio S. Eadmundi*', *RB* 105 (1995), 20–78; M. Lapidge and P. S. Baker, 'More Acrostic Verse by Abbo of Fleury', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (1997), 1–32; L. M. Gantier, *Un histoire des papes, en l'an mil. Labrégé du Liber Pontificalis d'Abbon de Fleury (vers 950–1004)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, Leuven and Brussels, 2004); M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 242–7; *Abbon. Un Abbé de l'An mil*, ed. A. Dufour and G. Labory (Turnhout, 2008).

MARCO MOSTERT

ABERCORN (West Lothian). During the period of aggressive Northumbrian expansion under King *Ecgrith (670–85), the English established temporary control over southern Pictland, as far as the Firth of Forth. In order to consolidate this expansion, Archbishop *Theodore took the decision to establish a bishopric in Pictland, which would have as its base a minster church (*monasterium*) at Abercorn, which is located on the Firth of Forth about 3 km west of the eastern terminus of the Antonine Wall. The first bishop appointed to this see was one Trumwine. However, following the death and destruction of Ecgrith and his army at Dunnichen (near Forfar in Angus) in 685, the English monks at Abercorn were forced to withdraw from Pictland, and the minster church was abandoned (Trumwine spent the remainder of his life at *Whitby). Several pieces of stone sculpture are the only surviving remnants of this short-lived Anglo-Saxon church.

HE i.12, iv.24; J. Romilly Allen, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 418–20; R. Cramp, *County Durham and Northumberland*, CASSS 1 (Oxford, 1984), 17, 24, 174 with pls. 266–7.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ABINGDON (Berks.), an Iron Age valley-fort and small Roman town in the upper Thames, was probably re-used for a double monastic community in the late seventh or eighth century. The name (*Æbban dūn*, 'Æbbe's hill') originally described high ground

3 miles away; a late legend that the minster itself was relocated possibly explains the shift of the name. Early charters hitherto ascribed to it are now thought to relate to the minster of Bradfield (Berks.), of which Abingdon may, however, have been a dependency under an eponymous abbess Æbbe. A late legend that the female community was at *Helnestoue*, the area around St Helen's church in a corner of the Iron Age rampart, is supported by the discovery there of an eighth-century cruciform pin.

The minster declined, and was annexed, possibly by Alfred's reign, to the West Saxon crown. In 954 King *Eadred gave it to *Æthelwold, who re-founded it as a reformed abbey and built up its estates. Æthelwold's church lay apart from *Helnestoue*, though still within the Iron Age fort; a later description suggests that it was a rotunda based on the Aachen chapel, and its magnificent furnishings included precious objects made by Æthelwold himself. The abbey remained rich and successful, and stimulated the growth of a small town around it: *Domesday Book mentions 'ten merchants dwelling before the gate of the church'.

T. Allen, 'Abingdon', *Current Archaeology* 121 (1990), 24–7; F. M. Stenton, *The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon* (Reading, 1913); M. Gelling, 'The Hill of Abingdon', *Oxonienia* 22 (1957), 54–62; M. Biddle, G. Lambrick and J. N. L. Myres, 'The Early History of Abingdon, Berkshire, and its Abbey', *MARCH* 12 (1968), 26–69; A. Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', *Æthelwold*, pp. 43–64; Blair, *AS Oxon*, pp. 64–5, 113–14; *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 7–8 (Oxford, 2000–1).

JOHN BLAIR

ABLAUT: *see* Sound Changes

ACCA (d. 740), bishop of *Hexham from 710 until he was deposed in 732. Acca was a disciple of both Bishop *Bosa and Bishop *Wilfrid and was an intimate friend of *Bede, who composed a number of exegetical treatises at Acca's prompting and dedicated several of them to him. Acca supplied Bede with the materials in *HE* iii.13 and iv.13; he also supplied material on Wilfrid to *Stephen of Ripon for use in his *Vita S. Wilfridi*, which is similarly dedicated to Acca. Of Acca's own writings nothing survives except for part of a letter to Bede preserved in the prologue to Bede's *Commentarius in Lucam*; but arguments have recently been advanced that Acca composed the (lost) exemplar of the *'Martyrology' (OE) The reasons for his deposition from the bishopric of Hexham are unknown, but were presumably politically motivated.

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 2; *ODNB* i.133; Bede, *HE* v.20; *Bedae Venerabilis Opera Exegetica III*, ed. D. Hurst, CCL cxx

(Turnhout, 1960), 5–10; Bolton, *ALL*, pp. 202–4; M. Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham and the Origin of the *Old English Martyrology*', *AB* 123 (2005), 29–78.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ACROSTICS are a form of (Greek or Latin) verse in which, in simplest form, the individual letters of the first line of the poem also supply the first letters (hence *acros*, the 'point', and *stichos*, 'verse') of each successive line of the poem, so that the poem will have as many lines as there are individual letters in its first line. More complex acrostic verses may also include a mesostich and/or telestich (in which the median and/or final letters of the verses also spell out a legend). The earliest surviving Greek acrostic poem, having the legend ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ('Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour': the first letters here spell out ΙΧΘΥΣ, the Greek word for 'fish', and a widespread early Christian symbol of Christ), was quoted in Latin translation by *Aldhelm, and was possibly translated by him as well (an illustration of the Greek learning which was available at *Theodore's school at *Canterbury, where Aldhelm was trained). Aldhelm composed acrostic verses as prefaces to his *Enigmata* and *Carmen de virginitate*, and one of his imitators, *Tatwine, used a forty-letter acrostic structure to link together all the forty poems which constitute his *Enigmata*; another imitator, *Boniface, composed twenty poems on the virtues and vices in acrostic form. Aldhelm thus established a model for later Anglo-Latin poets, and in the tenth century, both *Dunstan and *Abbo of Fleury composed complex acrostic verses. A particularly complex form of acrostic, the 'carmen figuratum', in which not only the initial, median and final verses bear legends, but other legends woven into the poem create various shapes and forms, was pioneered in Latin by the Late Latin poet Porphyrius (fl. c.325), a copy of whose poems is mentioned in a letter from Bishop *Milred of Worcester to *Lul on the occasion of Boniface's martyrdom (754); one of the greatest practitioners of *carmina figurata* in the Middle Ages was Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), lavish copies of whose poems were copied in Anglo-Saxon England (e.g. in Cambridge, Trinity College, B.16.3).

DACL i.356–72; *MGH*, AA xv.97–9, 350–2 [Aldhelm], *ES* i.245 [Milred]; *CCSL* cxxxiii.167–208 [Tatwine]; 283–343 [Boniface]; S. Gwara, 'Three Acrostic Poems by Abbo of Fleury', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992), 203–35; M. Lapidge and P. S. Baker, 'More Acrostic Verse by Abbo of Fleury', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (1997), 1–32; *Early Lives*, pp. 166–72 [Dunstan].

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ADELARD of Utrecht (fl. s. xi^{med}), a German scholar with a reputation for skill in *medicine who was one

of the twelve canons that constituted the community of secular clerics at *Harold Godwineson's foundation at *Waltham (Essex). Adelard was responsible for instituting at Waltham the rules and observances of the Lotharingian church and, although he left no writings, is a representative of the influence of continental, especially Lotharingian, scholars in England during the reign of *Edward the Confessor.

The Waltham Chronicle, ed. L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall (OMT, 1994); Freeman, *NC* ii.442, 584–5; *Vita Haroldi*, ed. W. de G. Birch (London, 1885), pp. 17–19.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ADOMNÁN (d. 704), ninth abbot of *Iona, was famous in his own time as the author of 'the Law of Innocents', promulgated to protect women and children from involvement in warfare. He is now best known as the author of the *Life of St *Columba*. The two were distant kinsmen, both belonging to Cenél Conaill, the lineage which in their time provided the kings of the Northern Uí Néill. We meet him first as a monk of Iona in the time of Abbot Failbe (669–79), another distant kinsman. Adomnán was chosen as his successor, ninth abbot of Iona and the seventh to come from the saint's lineage. In 685 the Northumbrian king *Ecgrith was defeated and killed in battle against the *Picts in eastern Scotland, and his elder half-brother *Aldfrith inherited the crown. Aldfrith, the son of King *Oswiu, was born before 634 during his father's exile among the Irish. He was a scholar and a friend of Adomnán, and it appears that he may have been in Iona when Ecgrith was killed. Within the year Adomnán acted as ambassador for the Southern Uí Néill king, visiting King Aldfrith in Northumbria and seeking the return of Irish captives held by the late King Ecgrith. He visited *Northumbria a second time, in 687 or 688, when he spent some time with Abbot *Ceolfriht at *Jarrow. It is possible that Adomnán and King Aldfrith may have hoped for a return of the Iona community to *Lindisfarne, from where they had withdrawn in 664 because of controversy over the date of *Easter. During these visits he was persuaded that Roman practice over the date of Easter should prevail, and Bede tells us that he was instrumental in spreading this view in northern Ireland, though he was unable to convert the seniors of his own community. In 692 Adomnán made a visitation of the monasteries of his community in Ireland, and in 697 the 'Law of Innocents', also known as the 'Law of Adomnán', was adopted at a major synod of the rulers and clergy of Ireland held at Birr. His *Life of St Columba* is a fundamental source for Irish monastic life in the seventh century. His only other extant work of scholarship was a book *De locis sanctis*,

ostensibly based on the experiences in the Holy Land and in Constantinople of a Frankish traveller named Arculf; written sources account for much in this treatise, which in turn was the main source of Bede's more popular work on the same subject. Bede as a child may have met Adomnán and would surely have heard about him from Ceolfriith. He described the Irish abbot as 'a good and wise man with an excellent knowledge of the scriptures' and as 'a champion of peace and unity'.

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 49; *ODNB* i.353–6; Bede, *HE* v.15–17; *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. A. O. and M. O. Anderson, 2nd ed. rev. M. O. Anderson (OMT, 1991); *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St Columba*, trans. R. Sharpe (Harmondsworth, 1995); *Adomnán's De Locis Sanctis*, ed. D. Meehan (Dublin, 1958); J. M. Picard, 'The Purpose of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 160–77; A. D. S. MacDonald, 'Aspects of the Monastery and Monastic Life in Adomnán's Life of Columba', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 271–302; M. Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *ASE* 36 (2007), 15–69, at 22–30; *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker*, ed. J. Wooding (Dublin, 2010); T. O'Loughlin, 'The Library of Iona in the Late Seventh Century: the Evidence from Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*', *Eriu* 45 (1994), 33–52; idem, 'The Library of Iona at the Time of Adomnán', *HBB* i.570–9.

RICHARD SHARPE

ADRIAN AND RITHEUS: see *Solomon and Saturn*, Prose.

ADVENT LYRICS. The *Advent Lyrics* (also called *Advent*, *Christ I* and *Christ A*) are twelve short poems which begin the *Exeter Book, formerly seen collectively as the opening 439 lines of *Christ. The group, assumed now to be the work of a single anonymous poet, begins imperfectly because of the loss of a leaf, and it is thought that perhaps three more poems may have preceded these. Each of the poems is based upon an antiphon, the 'O' antiphons (or choric responses, invocations involving biblical quotations) sung in the *liturgy during Advent and at Christmas, and each begins with the Old English equivalent, *Eala*. The poet, surely a religious, shows considerable familiarity with patristic writings, and uses the antiphons merely as a starting-point for each of his poems. They are elaborate constructs, each self-standing, but building into an extended narrative sequence in which the thought is complex, and the language and imagery appropriate to it. The seventh antiphon, which consists largely of a dialogue between Mary and Joseph, is regarded as especially fine.

ASPR iii.3–15; *The Advent Lyrics of the Exeter Book*, ed. J. J. Campbell (Princeton, NJ, 1959); R. B. Burlin, *The Old English Advent: a Typological Commentary* (New Haven, CT, 1968); S. Rankin, 'The Liturgical Background of the Old English Advent Lyrics: a Reappraisal', in Clemoes FS,

pp. 317–40; P. Clemoes, *Interactions of Thought and Language in Old English Poetry*, CSASE 12 (Cambridge, 1995), 371–80; *Old English Poems of Christ and His Saints*, ed. and trans. M. Clayton, DOML (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2013).

DONALD SCRAGG

ADVENTUS SAXONUM (also known as the 'Adventus Anglorum'). The first arrival of Germanic invaders or settlers in Britain, supposed in historical tradition to be an event which took place towards the middle of the fifth century; in effect, however, the first recorded non-event in English history (cf. Anglo-Saxon *settlement). The notion of the 'Adventus Saxonum' originated in *Gildas's need to present the arrival of Germanic peoples in Britain as a sudden and dramatic event, which in accordance with his polemical ends could be interpreted as a manifestation of divine punishment for the sins of the British. It was adopted from Gildas by *Bede, who located it during the joint reigns of the emperors Marcian and Valentinian (449–56), and thus gave it a measure of historical respectability; see *HE* i.15, 23, ii.14, and v.23. It was adopted in turn by the compiler of the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in the late ninth century, and placed in the annal for 449; and in this form it was taken over by the Anglo-Norman chroniclers, and so entered the mainstream of historical tradition. The 'Adventus Saxonum' endures to this day in the Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, which defines the Anglo-Saxon period as extending from 449 to 1066.

P. Sims-Williams, 'The Settlement of England in Bede and the *Chronicle*', *ASE* 12 (1983), 1–41; N. Higham, *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century* (Manchester, 1994); *OHASA*, pp. 3–311.

SIMON KEYNES

ÆDILUULF (fl. 803–21), Anglo-Latin poet and author of a poem of 819 hexameter lines entitled *Carmen de abbatibus* concerning the abbots and monks of an unidentified monastery in *Northumbria which was subservient to the church of *Lindisfarne (the poem is dedicated to Ecgberht, bishop of Lindisfarne, 803–21). Nothing is known of Ædiluulf save what can be gleaned from his poem, but the diction of the verse shows clearly that his technique of composition was informed by (and possibly learned at) the school of *Alcuin at *York, which may imply that the monastery in question was at Crayke, some 12 miles north of York and a dependency of Lindisfarne. The poem contains much of interest in its descriptions of the accomplishments of the various monks and abbots, and for its descriptions of various *visions (some of them involving interesting architectural detail).

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 69; MGH, PLAC i.582–604; A. Campbell, ed., *Æthelwulf De Abbatibus* (Oxford, 1967); H. J. Kamphausen, *Traum und Vision in der lateinischen Poesie der Karolingerzeit* (Bern, 1975), pp. 86–114; H. M. Taylor, 'The Architectural Interest of Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus*', *ASE* 3 (1974), 163–74; M. Lapidge, 'Ædiluulf and the School of York', in *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert. Traube-Gedenkschrift*, ed. A. Lehner and W. Berschin (St Ottilien, 1990), pp. 161–78, repr. in Lapidge, *ALL* i.381–98.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆLBERHT, archbishop of *York (767–78), known principally to history as the mentor of *Alcuin, who inherited Ælberht's vast library and who commemorated his beloved teacher at length in his poem on the bishops, kings and saints of York. On Alcuin's evidence, Ælberht established a curriculum in the *school at York which, in its range, was without parallel in Europe at that time, in its concern not only with *grammar, *rhetoric and *computus, but with *astronomy, geometry, arithmetic – and, to judge from the books he bequeathed to Alcuin – logic. According to Alcuin he made one trip to *Rome (presumably to collect his *pallium). An exchange of letters between one 'Koaena' (which may be a nickname of Ælberht) and *Lull survives as part of the Bonifatian correspondence.

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 65; *ODNB* i.378–9; MGH, PLAC i.200–7, *ES* i.261–2 (nos. 124–5); P. Godman, ed., *Alcuin: the Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York* (OMT, 1982); M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', *Clemons FS*, pp. 33–89, esp. 45–9.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆLFFLÆD of *Whitby (d. 713), was the sister of King *Aldfrith of *Northumbria and spent most of her life as a nun at Whitby, from the time of Abbess *Hild, whom she succeeded as abbess in 680. From that time Ælfflæd ruled Whitby jointly with her mother, *Eanflæd. She was the confidante of both *Cuthbert and *Wilfrid, and is described by *Stephen of Ripon in his *Vita S. Wilfridi* as 'always the source of consolation for the entire kingdom, and the best of advisers.' Of her writings a brief letter of introduction addressed to an abbess of Pfalzel (near Trier) is preserved among the corpus of Bonifatian correspondence. The anonymous *Vita S. Gregorii* was written at Whitby while she was abbess.

ODNB i.379–80; Sharpe, *Handlist*, 51; Bede, *HE* iii.24, iv.24; Stephen of Ripon, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, cc. 43, 59, 60; MGH, *ES* i.3–4 (no. 8); Bolton, *ALL*, pp. 199–200; P. Hunter Blair, 'Whitby as a Centre of Learning in the Seventh Century', *Clemons FS*, pp. 3–32.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆLFHEAH I, bishop of *Winchester (934–51), was possibly a monk (his nickname 'the Bald' may refer

to a tonsure), in which case he was in some sense a forerunner of the monastic revival which took place in later tenth-century Winchester under the impetus of Bishop *Æthelwold. Ælfheah is known to have consecrated both *Dunstan and Æthelwold; he was buried in the choir of the Old Minster, Winchester.

Wulfstan of Winchester, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 8 (ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (OMT, 1991), pp. 12–13); WMalm, *GP* i.258–61.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆLFHEAH (Alphege), St, archbishop of *Canterbury (1006–12). Initially a monk at *Deerhurst (Glos.), and perhaps for a while at *Glastonbury, Ælfheah moved to *Bath in the early 960s and became abbot there soon afterwards. He was appointed bishop of *Winchester in October 984, in succession to St *Æthelwold, and held that office until 1006. In his early years as bishop, Ælfheah brought to completion the vast programme of building works at the Old Minster, initiated by his predecessor, including the eastern porticus and a crypt, a tower and a huge organ, all of which are described in detail by *Wulfstan of Winchester in a poem dedicated to Ælfheah (the *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*). In June 993 (by which time the programme was presumably complete), Ælfheah was host to a major royal assembly at Winchester, which marked a turning-point in the reign of King *Æthelred the Unready (978–1016): it was acknowledged that Æthelwold's death in 984 had ushered in a period of wrongdoing, and the king undertook, at this meeting, to mend the errors of his ways. Not long after the assembly, eight bishops were among those who gathered again at Winchester to celebrate the second dedication of the church. In 1006 Ælfheah was appointed archbishop of Canterbury. As archbishop, in succession to *Sigeric (990–4) and *Ælfric (995–1005), Ælfheah would have been expected to take a lead in the face of Danish invasions now occurring on an unprecedented scale. In 1008, following the invasion of 1006–7, Archbishop Ælfheah and his colleague *Wulfstan, archbishop of York, were responsible for framing the royal law-code known as *V Æthelred*. Their best intentions were, however, frustrated by the arrival in August 1009 of the force known as 'Thorkell's army', which caused great disruption thereafter until 1012.

In September 1011 Canterbury was besieged by Thorkell's army, and Ælfheah was captured. In the words of a contemporary chronicler, 'He was then a captive who had been head of the English people and of Christendom' (*ASC*, *MSS CDE*, s.a. 1011). The Danes kept Ælfheah in captivity for the next seven months, probably at Greenwich (or Blackheath) on

the south side of the Thames. Ealdorman *Eadric 'and all the chief councillors of England' made a large payment of tribute to the Danes soon after Easter (13 April) in 1012; but Ælfheah refused to make any payment on his own account, or to allow himself to be ransomed. In a drunken stupor the enraged Danes brought Ælfheah to their assembly at Greenwich, on Saturday 19 April, and put him to death: 'They pelted him with bones and with ox-heads, and one of them [named Thrum] struck him on the head with the back of an axe, that he sank down with the blow, and his holy blood fell on the ground, and so he sent his holy soul to God's kingdom' (ASC). On the next morning Ælfheah's body was taken upriver to *London, and buried in St Paul's. The German chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg provides a fuller and in certain respects a rather different account of Ælfheah's martyrdom, on the authority of a certain Sewald (EHD i, no. 27); we are told, for example, that Earl Thorkell tried to intervene on the archbishop's behalf, without success. In 1023 King *Cnut authorised a public display of veneration for the martyred archbishop: on 8 June Ælfheah's body was raised from its tomb in St Paul's, taken first across the river to Southwark, thence to *Rochester, and so to Canterbury, where it arrived on 11 June and was reburied on 15 June (ASC, MS D). It may be that in the manner of his death Ælfheah had become a symbol of English resistance to the Danes, and that Cnut was concerned to move the focal point of his cult from London to Canterbury, where it might not be so highly charged; or it may be that Cnut, having recently come to terms with Earl Thorkell in Denmark, was able to countenance the promotion of a cult in a way which might help to reconcile the English to his rule. The tale of Ælfheah's martyrdom in 1012, and especially of his translation to Canterbury in 1023, was retold in the late eleventh century by Osbern, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury. The cult of St Alphege prospered, but was presently eclipsed by that of St Thomas.

Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 278–81, 283–5; ODNB i. 382–3; M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 372–551 (Wulfstan of Winchester, *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*); *Early Lives*, pp. cxxxix–cxli (Missal of Robert of Jumièges as Ælfheah's book). S. Keynes and R. Naismith, 'The *Agnus Dei* Pennies of King Æthelred the Unready', *ASE* 40 (2012), 175–223, at 181–8; S. Keynes, 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas', *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. G. R. Owen-Crocker and W. B. Schneider, PMCASS 13 (Woodbridge, 2013), 17–182, at 106–19. For Osbern's *Passio S. Ælfegi* (BHL 2518) and *Translatio S. Ælfegi* (BHL 2519), see A. R. Rumble with R. Morris, 'Textual Appendix', *Cnut*, ed.

Rumble, pp. 283–315; M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: England's Viking King* (London, 2004), pp. 140–2 and 165–7.

SIMON KEYNES

ÆLFHELM of Ely (fl. 946–55), cleric of the church of *Ely in the reign of King *Eadred, and author of an account of the miracles of St *Æthelthryth which has not survived, but which was used as a source and is quoted *in extenso* in the late twelfth-century *Liber Eliensis* (i.43–9).

Liber Eliensis, ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1962), pp. xxxii, 57–61.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆLFHERE, ealdorman of *Mercia (956–83), was a member of one of the well-connected families which came to prominence in the tenth century across the nascent kingdom of the English. Other such families are represented by *Æthelstan 'Half-King' and his son *Æthelwine of *East Anglia; by *Æthelweard of the western shires; and by Ælfgar, ealdorman of *Essex, father-in-law of Byrhtnoth, ealdorman of Essex. Ælfhere was son of Ealhhelm, ealdorman of Mercia (940–51). He was appointed an ealdorman in 956, soon after the beginning of *Eadwig's reign. Following the division of the kingdom in 957, he was accorded primacy among the ealdormen at Edgar's court; significantly, he retained this dominant position after the reunification of the kingdom in 959. The death of Edgar, on 8 July 975, precipitated a crisis of a kind which had been seen 20 years before, but in this case with effects which reverberated into the 990s. Advantage was taken of the youthfulness first of King *Edward (975–8) and then of King *Æthelred (978–1016), and deep-rooted differences found expression locally in active resentment of the growing wealth of religious houses, and no doubt at another level in political faction. Ælfhere seems to have been involved in the reaction against recently established or reformed religious houses in his own ealdordom of Mercia; reactions of a similar kind are attested at *Abingdon, *Rochester, *Ely, and elsewhere. The murder of King Edward on 18 March 978 brought Æthelred to the throne, and perhaps focused the collective mind on the need for a greater degree of order. As principal ealdorman Ælfhere played the leading part, in February 979, in the ceremonial translation of Edward's (supposed) remains from Wareham to a more honourable place of burial in Shaftesbury Abbey, paving the way for the coronation of King Æthelred at *Kingston-upon-Thames on 4 May 979. Ealdorman Ælfhere died on 22 October 983; his leading position in the hierarchy of ealdormen was assumed by Ealdorman Æthelwine.

Atlas, tables L, LVI, LVIII, and LXII; ASC 975 MSS ABC and DE. A. Williams, 'Principes Merciorum gentis: the Family, Career and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia', *ASE* 10 (1982), 143–72; *ODNB* i.383–5; S. Keynes, 'Edgar, rex admirabilis, Edgar, King of the English 959–975', ed. D. Scragg (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 3–58, at 31–2; S. Keynes, 'The Cult of King Edward the Martyr during the Reign of King Æthelred the Unready', *Gender and Historiography*, ed. J. L. Nelson et al. (London, 2012), pp. 115–25; S. E. Kelly, ed., *Charters of Glastonbury Abbey* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 153–4.

SIMON KEYNES

ÆLFRIC, archbishop of *Canterbury (995–1005), belonged to the second generation of monastic reformers. He began his career as a monk of *Abingdon, under *Æthelwold (c. 954–63) or Osgar (963–84), and became abbot of *St Albans some time in the 970s or 980s. He was appointed bishop of Ramsbury in the early 990s, and retained that office on succeeding *Sigeric as archbishop of Canterbury in 995. Like his predecessors and successors in the tenth and eleventh centuries, he travelled to *Rome not long after his ordination, in order to receive his *pallium from the pope.

There is reason to believe that Ælfric, as archbishop, exerted significant influence on the direction of the affairs of the kingdom at a critical period in the reign of King *Æthelred the Unready (978–1016). The *Viking attacks of the early 990s must have concentrated the collective mind, and those in positions of power and influence strove to understand the causes and to take appropriate action; at the same time, the king recognized that he had been led astray in his youth, and resolved to make amends. Archbishop Sigeric had played a significant part in the early 990s, and it would have fallen to Ælfric, as Sigeric's successor, to take matters further. It is possible that the appointment of *Wulfstan as bishop of *London, in 996, was in some way a part of the process, completed in 1002 with Wulfstan's advancement to the archbishopric of *York; Ælfric might also have been closely involved, as archbishop, in the negotiations which led to the king's marriage to *Emma of Normandy in 1002. There was at the same time intense activity in other spheres. The move of the community of St *Cuthbert from Chester-le-Street to Durham, in 995, and with it the translation of the saint's relics to a place of greater safety, echoes arrangements made for the see of *Cornwall in the previous year. The earliest *Lives* of the three leaders of the monastic reform movement associated above all with Edgar's reign were set down in quick succession and seemingly close association: *Wulfstan of Winchester's *Life of St Æthelwold*, was written in the

late 990s; B's *Life of St Dunstan*, dedicated to Archbishop Ælfric, was written c.1000; and *Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Life of St Oswald* was written in the early 1000s. The *Lives* of *Dunstan and *Oswald reflect increasing concern as Viking activity continued. It was a period, moreover, which saw the production of an extended series of royal diplomas for religious houses, reflecting a common purpose at one level but a variety of interests at others. At Christ Church, it seems that Ælfric presided over a late stage in the process by which the community became fully monastic; and impetus was given there to the production of manuscripts. Ælfric's will, which includes a bequest of his 'best ship' to the king, reveals the extent of the archbishop's involvement in the continuing struggle against the Vikings; in which connection his closing bequest of a pectoral cross and a psalter to Archbishop Wulfstan, and of a crucifix to *Ælfheah, bishop of *Winchester, seems almost symbolic of what was to come.

Ælfric died on 16 November 1005, perhaps at about the time of the royal assembly which had seen the production of King Æthelred's diploma for *Eynsham Abbey; he was buried, contrary to his earlier expectations, at Abingdon. An epitaph placed over his tomb at Abingdon describes him as one who had stood fast as 'guardian of the homeland of the English' and as 'defender of the kingdom', turns of phrase which with others testify in no uncertain terms to the role for which he was held in such high regard. He was succeeded as archbishop in the following year by Ælfheah, who had succeeded Æthelwold as bishop of Winchester in October 984, and who gave his own life at Greenwich in April 1012. St Ælfheah's mortal remains were translated from London to Canterbury in June 1023. It was appropriate, therefore, that Ælfric's mortal remains should have been translated from Abingdon to Canterbury also some time in Cnut's reign (6 May), perhaps soon after 1023, bringing two of Æthelwold's protégés back to their most natural home and into closer proximity with each other.

Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 257–60 and 286–7; M. Lapidge, 'B. and the *Vita S. Dunstani*', in Lapidge, *ALL* ii.279–91, at 290–1; *Early Lives*, esp. pp. cxxxvi–cxlvi; *Saints*, pp. 29–30 (no. 10); *ODNB* i.385; S. Keynes and R. Naismith, 'The *Agnus Dei* Pennies of King Æthelred the Unready', *ASE* 40 (2012), 175–223, at 181–8; S. Keynes, 'King Æthelred's Charter for Eynsham Abbey (1005)', *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. S. Baxter et al. (Farnham, 2009), pp. 451–73; idem, 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas', *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. G. R. Owen-Crocker and W. B. Schneider, *PMcASS* 13 (Woodbridge, 2013), 17–182, at 122–3.

SIMON KEYNES

ÆLFRIC BATA (fl. s. xi), a student of the more famous *Ælfric of *Eynsham, is known only as the author of Latin scholastic *colloquies. Nothing is known of his life (evidence that he might have been involved in a dispute with Canterbury over land is late and of uncertain relevance), and the significance of his epithet or cognomen, Bata, is unknown as well. From his pen we have two works: the *Colloquia*, an extensive classroom colloquy which throws fascinating light on students' life in a monastic *school (and includes extensive quotation from the Old Testament wisdom books, which were presumably required classroom reading), and the *Colloquia difficiliora*, a similar but shorter work which contains much difficult vocabulary, much of it drawn from *Aldhelm. He also produced a redaction of Ælfric's better-known *Colloquium*, although the precise extent of his redaction activity cannot be determined.

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 54; *ODNB* i.388; *Early Scholastic Colloquies*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1929), pp. 27–74; *Latin Colloquies from pre-Conquest Britain*, ed. S. Gwara (Toronto, 1996); P. Lendinara, 'Il *Colloquio* di Ælfric e il *Colloquio* di Ælfric Bata', in *Feor ond Neah*, ed. P. Lendinara and L. Melazzo (Palermo, 1983), pp. 173–249; D. Porter, 'The Latin Syllabus in Anglo-Saxon Monastic Schools', *Neophilologus* 78 (1994), 1–20; S. Gwara and D. Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: the Colloquies of Ælfric Bata* (Woodbridge, 1997).

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆLFRIC OF EYNSHAM (c.950–c.1010) was one of the most learned scholars of late Anglo-Saxon England and a prolific and elegant writer of vernacular prose whose works were widely read in his own time and later played an important part in Reformation controversy. He was educated under Bishop *Æthelwold in the monastic *school at *Winchester, and after becoming a monk and priest was sent around 987 to the abbey of Cerne Abbas, newly founded (or refounded) by the *thegn Æthelmær, son of Ealdorman *Æthelweard. In 1005 Æthelmær refounded the abbey of *Eynsham and Ælfric became the first abbot. Internal allusions suggest that he had travelled in the north of England and in Italy, and that he may have been taught by *Dunstan as well as by Æthelwold.

His earliest known works are the *Sermones Catholici* produced 990–4, comprising two series of forty *homilies on the Gospels, the saints and doctrinal themes. The prefaces and incidental notes show that he anticipated readers as well as listeners, including learned laity and clergy. The project was evidently encouraged by *Sigeric, archbishop of *Canterbury, and by Ealdorman Æthelweard, and the homilies were widely circulated: some thirty

manuscripts drawing on the collection are still extant, ranging from the late tenth century to the early thirteenth. Over the next decade or so Ælfric built on this project, revising the collection, adding about forty new homilies and organising them into different collections. The original impetus for his work, which Ælfric identified in his first preface, was the coming reign of Antichrist and the consequent need for orthodox teaching in the vernacular to replace erroneous teachings which were circulating widely in England. While the idea of the approaching millennium came to figure less in his writings as time went by, to be replaced in part by the new crisis posed by the *Vikings, the importance of knowledge and orthodoxy remained central. He made extensive use of Augustine, *Gregory the Great, Jerome, *Bede, and the Carolingians Haymo and Smaragdus (as well as a range of anonymous saints' lives), and frequently cited them as authorities; but although he presented his work as translation it was rather a process of selection, adaptation and independent argument. His homilies mostly take the form of either close interpretation of the Bible, often using allegory, or narratives of saints, but in the process they discuss a range of topics such as fatalism and free will, auguries, the Trinity, the resurrection of the body, the origin of the soul, clerical marriage, medicinal magic and the belief in the devil as a creator.

These two collections were closely followed by a third devoted mainly to the lives and passions of saints. The collection was made at the request of Ealdorman Æthelweard and his son Æthelmær and was apparently designed for reading rather than preaching. The choice of subjects and appended discussions show a particular interest in such topics as the doctrine of the just war, royal and military saints, the history of English monasticism, the problem of the Vikings, the interpretation of dreams, the careers and fates of Old Testament kings, and the gods of classical and Danish paganism. About the same time (c.998) Ælfric produced a *grammar of Latin, written in English and partially designed to explain the vernacular too, a Latin *colloquy on trades and occupations, and the first of a succession of Old Testament translations and paraphrases, written in part for the use of the more learned laity: these were subsequently combined with the work of another translator to produce an illustrated copy of the Hexateuch. His role as an authority on church practice and *canon law is evident in the pastoral letters commissioned from him by *Wulfsgige, bishop of *Sherborne, and *Wulfstan, bishop of *Worcester and archbishop of *York, for circulation to their clergy; and his importance as an adviser to the king

and his counsellors is suggested by a text, perhaps part of a letter, in which he cites the biblical and classical precedents for a king delegating leadership of the army to others.

As a scholar, Ælfric was the leading product of the tenth-century monastic reform, reflecting that movement's characteristic concerns with learning and monastic ideals and also its close relations with the leading laity. His works were in great demand and copied and read for the next two centuries and more, but often heavily adapted and selected by others. As a writer Ælfric perfected a form of Old English which has become the model for modern analysis of the language, and the manuscripts testify to his care in the use of grammar and vocabulary. He was a conscious stylist, but explicitly rejected the obscure vocabulary and convoluted syntax which was fashionable in contemporary Anglo-Latin writings and even in the vernacular, and created instead an elegant and balanced prose using simpler vocabulary and structures. In his later writings he developed a style of writing modelled in part on verse, using rhythm and *alliteration and occasional poetic language, though in a form that remained firmly prose and preserved the balance and lucidity of the earlier style. He left a few works in Latin and was a very competent Latinist, but chose to devote his energies almost entirely to writing in English.

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 53; *ODNB* i.387–8; Frank–Cameron, 1.4–1.9 (pp. 76–88); L. M. Reinsma, *Ælfric: an Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1987); H. Gneuss, *Ælfric of Eynsham: His Life, Times, and Writings*, *OEN Subsidia* 34 (Kalamazoo, 2009); *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. H. Magennis and M. Swan (Turnhout, 2009); *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. J. Wilcox (Durham, 1994); *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series*, ed. P. Clemoes, *EETS* ss 17 (Oxford, 1997); *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series*, ed. M. Godden, *EETS* ss 5 (London, 1979); M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, *EETS* ss 18 (Oxford, 2000); *Homilies of Ælfric: a Supplementary Collection*, ed. J. C. Pope, *EETS* os 259–60 (London, 1967–8); *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 4 vols., *EETS* os 76, 82, 94, and 114 (London, 1881–1900; repr. as 2 vols., 1966); *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. J. Zupitza, rev. H. Gneuss (Berlin, 1966); C. A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, *CSASE* 24 (Cambridge, 1998); M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St Æthelwold* (OMT, 1991), pp. 70–80 [*Vita S. Æthelwoldi*]; *Ælfric's De temporibus anni*, ed. M. Blake, *AST* 6 (Cambridge, 2009); *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. B. Fehr rev. P. Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1966); *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies: British Museum Royal 7.C.XII*, *EEMF* 13 (Copenhagen, 1966); G. E. MacLean, 'Ælfric's Version of Alcuini Interrogationes Sigeuulfi in Genesisim', *Anglia* 6 (1883), 425–73, 7 (1884), 1–59; *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's 'Libellus de Veteri testamento et Novo'*, I. *Introduction and Text*, ed. R. Marsden,

EETS os 330 (Oxford, 2008); P. Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 212–47; M. McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977); L. Grundy, *Books and Grace: Ælfric's Theology* (London, 1991); *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures*, ed. K. Barker (Cerne Abbas, 1988); *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds*, ed. P. E. Szarmach and B. F. Huppe (Albany, NY, 1978); *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1996); M. Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, *CSASE* 34 (Cambridge, 2004); M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 250–66; M. R. Godden, 'Ælfric's Library', *HBB* i.679–84.

M. R. GODDEN

ÆLFTHRYTH, *queen (b. probably before 944, d. 17 November, 999 × 1001), was the daughter of Ordgar, a powerful noble of south-west England, and of a royally descended mother. She was married twice, first to Æthelwold, ealdorman of *East Anglia, son of *Æthelstan Half-king; and in 964 to King *Edgar, by whom she had two sons, Edmund (d. 971) and *Æthelred. Ælfthryth was the first tenth-century queen to be certainly crowned and anointed as queen in 973, an emphasis on her status which was important to the claims of her sons. She was to attract a colourful historical reputation, beginning with accusations of her complicity in the murder of her stepson, King *Edward the Martyr. Most of the stories can be dismissed as later stereotyped elaboration, gathering around the memory of a politically active and important woman. But her involvement in Edward's death is possible; court and family politics bred such action, and he was murdered by Ælfthryth's own followers as he arrived to visit her and his young brother Æthelred at Corfe. Her landed possessions as queen in the north-east midlands and East Anglia made her an integral part of the extension of West Saxon control. Although important at Edgar's court, her greatest power came during the minority of her son, Æthelred II. His majority ended this, though she remained dowager *queen, eclipsing her son's first wife and rearing the heirs to the throne. The monastic reformers at Edgar's court gave her responsibility for *nunneries, and she exercised control over several, including Wherwell, where she lived in retirement and died.

ODNB i.389–90; C. Fell, *Edward, King and Martyr* (Leeds, 1971); C. Hart, 'Two Queens of England', *Ampleforth Journal* 82 (1977), 10–15, 54; M. A. Meyer, 'Women and the Tenth Century English Monastic Reform', *RB* 87 (1977), 34–61; S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred the Unready, 978–1016* (Cambridge, 1980); P. A. Stafford, 'The King's Wife in Wessex', *P & P* 91 (1981), 3–27; J. Nelson, 'The Second English Ordo', in Nelson, *Politics*, pp. 361–74;

M. A. Meyer, 'The Queen's "Demesne" in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *The Culture of Christendom*, ed. M. A. Meyer (London, 1993), pp. 75–113; P. A. Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries', *Medieval Queenship*, ed. J. Parsons (Stroud, 1994), pp. 143–67; eadem, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997); B. Yorke, 'The Women in Edgar's Life', in *Edgar, King of the English, 959–75: New Interpretations*, ed. D. Scragg (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 143–57; J. Barrow, 'The Chronology of the Benedictine "Reform"', *ibid.*, pp. 211–23; S. MacLean, 'Monastic Reform and Royal Ideology in the Late Tenth Century: Ælfthryth and Edgar in Continental Perspective', in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century. Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)*, ed. D. Rollason, C. Leyser and H. Williams (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 255–74.

PAULINE STAFFORD

ÆLFWINE, PRAYERBOOK OF. Ælfwine was a monk, dean and subsequently abbot of the New Minster, *Winchester (1031–57); his 'Prayerbook' (preserved in BL, Cotton Titus D.xxvi + xxvii) is a personal handbook in tiny format containing a liturgical calendar (to which have been added numerous obits, principally of the royal family, prominent churchmen and *ealdormen, against years from 978–1023), computistical and prognostic materials, a copy of the *De temporibus anni* of *Ælfric, a collector and three special liturgical Offices, and miscellaneous texts (some in Old English). The 'Prayerbook' was written by two scribes, Ælfwine himself (while he was still dean), and another named Ælfsige, probably between 1023 and 1031.

Temple, *AS MSS*, pp. 94–5 (no. 77); Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 264–6 (no. 202); *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, ed. B. Günzel, HBS 108 (London, 1993); *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. S. Keynes, EEMF 26 (Copenhagen, 1996), 68, 111–23.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

AERIAL RECONNAISSANCE, or the study of features on the ground by observation from the air, is both a means of discovering new archaeological sites and an aid to their interpretation. Archaeological remains, when only slight or poorly preserved, will often appear confused and unintelligible to a visitor on the ground; yet when seen from the air (or recorded on an air-photograph), the same remains can display a coherent plan that is full of meaning. This is even more true for those sites where all the surface traces have been levelled by ploughing and the only signs of their buried remnants are given by corresponding differences in the seasonal growth of crops. There is only one way to get an adequate view of the resulting 'crop-marks' and that is to look at

them from above: the marks then trace out (with variable degrees of clarity and completeness) a plan of the underlying features, by which they can be recognised and at least partly understood. This method of research can be applied to archaeological sites of all kinds, given a favourable combination of soil, crop and weather, but only the more substantial features can normally be expected to show up (see pl. 1).

In Anglo-Saxon England the main contribution of aerial reconnaissance has been made in relation to sites in three categories.

Some inhumation *cemeteries of the pagan period are marked by low circular mounds, typically 5–8 m in diameter and no more than 0.6 m high. Few such cemeteries survive intact; when they are ploughed, crop-marks may show the full extent of the cemetery for the first time, by revealing the position of flat graves in addition to those previously beneath mounds. Each grave is shown by a mark about 2 m long, while those that had mounds are also enclosed by the circular mark of a narrow surrounding ditch, usually interrupted at some point for an entrance. Burial-mounds of this kind are a distinctively early Saxon feature. Cemeteries without mounds are more difficult to identify without excavation or documentary evidence, since their appearance on air-photographs differs little from that of inhumation cemeteries of Roman or medieval date. A clue may nevertheless be given by their siting in relation to known *settlements. Thus, crop-marks of the *Bernician royal site at Sprouston include an extensive inhumation cemetery, presumably contemporary with some part of its history. The east–west alignment of the graves, although not necessarily Christian, has prompted some to see a possible connexion with the *conversion of *Northumbria by *Paulinus, but this can be no more than speculation.

The feature that identifies a *royal site is the presence of at least one great hall 15–30 m long, associated with a complex of other *timber buildings such as lesser halls, stores and workshops. At least seven such sites have been recognised on air-photographs from the crop-marks of their buildings, which in one instance even included a small grandstand, perhaps for public oratory. Three of the sites were found within 20 km of each other in Bernicia: at Milfield (Northumb.), at Sprouston (just across the modern Scottish border, but still south of the Tweed), and at *Yeavinger (Northumb.). Another lies near Atcham (Salop.), while a fifth is in *Wessex near *Malmesbury (Wilts.). These five have in common the presence of a particular type of hall, with annexes at each end, which at Yeavinger was dated by excavation around the beginning of the seventh century. Simple rectangular plans were also common, and these were the

only sort to feature at the two other sites: Drayton (Berks.), and Hatton Rock near Stratford-upon-Avon (Warwicks.).

Minor buildings on royal sites are like those in less important settlements elsewhere. Fortunately, the two commonest types have plans that identify them as being of Saxon date, even if known only from crop-marks. Rectangular halls with opposed entrances at the centres of their long sides are normally 8–12 m long. They are most easily detected on air-photographs when their wall-posts have been set in a continuous foundation-trench. The walls sometimes bow outwards slightly to the entrances, and these may be emphasised by the presence of large post-pits at either side of the opening. Groups of timber buildings including one or more halls of this type have been recognised on air-photographs in various contexts – both adjacent to an existing village and at a distance from it on the parish boundary. Another kind of settlement widely found in southern England is composed largely of huts with sunken floors. The huts can occur in considerable numbers (213 were excavated at *Mucking). They appear on air-photographs as rectangles of solid tone, 2–6 m long and of nearly square proportions, often with rounded ends (larger houses with sunken floors also occur, but are not limited to Anglo-Saxon contexts, being also found in some Roman villas).

D. Benson and D. Miles, 'Crop Marks near the Sutton Courtenay Saxon Site', *Antiquity* 48 (1974), 223–6 [Drayton]; P. Rahtz, 'A Possible Saxon Palace near Stratford-upon-Avon', *Antiquity* 44 (1970), 137–43; J. K. S. St Joseph, 'Air Reconnaissance: Recent Results, 35', *Antiquity* 48 (1974), 213–15 [Eastry]; idem, 'Air Reconnaissance: Recent Results, 39', *Antiquity* 49 (1975), 293–5 [Atcham]; idem,

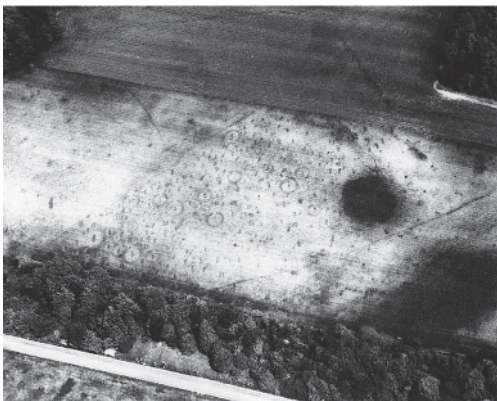


Plate 1 Aerial photograph of crop marks showing cemetery. Copyright reserved, Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography

'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: an Anglo-Saxon Settlement Discovered by Air-Reconnaissance', *ASE* 10 (1982), 191–9; D. R. Wilson, *Air Photo Interpretation for Archaeologists* (London, 1982).

D. R. WILSON

ÆTHELBALD, king of the Mercians (716–57). When cast into exile during the reign of Ceolred, king of the Mercians (709–16), Æthelbald joined the steady stream of people who came to seek solace from *Guthlac in his hollowed-out burial mound at Crowland in the fens. No doubt he was pleased to hear prophecies of his future prosperity as ruler of his people (*Felix, *Vita S. Guthlaci*, cc. 40, 49, 52), and gratified when the prophecies were fulfilled; for since the story originated in the 730s (or thereabouts), it has some authority as contemporary testimony. Æthelbald became king of the Mercians in 716, and soon began to extend his authority over the sprawling assortment of Anglian peoples in midland England. The political equilibrium which had prevailed south of the Humber in the late seventh and early eighth centuries was broken, in effect, by the death of Wihtred, king of *Kent, in 725, and by the departure of *Ine, king of *Wessex, to *Rome in 726. Æthelbald seems to have been able to take advantage of their going, and rose to great prominence during the next five or ten years. When *Bede had occasion to name the bishops holding office in 731 – in Kent, *Essex, *East Anglia, Wessex and *Mercia, as well as among 'the people who dwell west of the river Severn' (i.e. the *Magonsætan*) and among the *Hwicce, and also in *Lindsey and *Sussex – he remarked: 'all these kingdoms (*prouinciae*) and the other southern kingdoms which reach right up to the Humber, together with their various kings, are subject to Æthelbald, king of the Mercians' (*HE* v.23). It is not certain how clear was the view from Jarrow; and the view from *Worcester was not necessarily much clearer. In the famous *charter recording the king's grant of land at Ismere, Worcs., to Ealdorman Cyneberht, in 736 (*S* 89: *EHD* i, no. 67), Æthelbald is styled 'king not only of the Mercians but also of all the provinces which are called by the general name "South English": 'South English', in this context, could refer to the southern as opposed to the northern Angles, as opposed to *all* the people living south of the river Humber; but the designation of Æthelbald in the witness-list as 'king of Britain' puts him clearly enough in a special class (cf. *Bretwalda).

Much depends on the general impression created by Bede, Felix, and the draftsman of the Ismere charter, but there need be little doubt that Æthelbald's political and economic interests extended way beyond

his own kingdom of the Mercians. He seems sooner or later to have assumed control over the *metropolis* of *London, presumably at the expense of the rulers of the East Saxons; for he was able to profit from the tolls due on ships visiting London (described by Bede as 'an emporium of many peoples who come to it by land and sea' [HE ii.3]), and it appears that he made friends or repaid favours by remitting the toll on *ships belonging to certain parties, including the abbess of *Minster-in-Thanel, and the bishops of *Rochester, London, and Worcester. An act which would appear to represent Æthelbald's seizure of control in Somerset took place in 733 (ASC), which might suggest that Bede had overestimated the extent of Æthelbald's power in 731. There is no reason, however, to assume that Æthelbald's control of Wessex was sustained thereafter for any length of time. He met resistance from Cuthred, king of the West Saxons (740–56); and since he is known to have controlled the monasteries at *Bath (on the Avon) and at Cookham (on the Thames), it may well be that he posed a serious threat in border territories. In 740 Æthelbald 'treacherously devastated part of Northumbria' (HE *Continuatio*), taking full advantage of the fact that the king of the Northumbrians was occupied at the time fighting the *Picts; and a note in the 'Book of Llandaff' suggests that he was also active in securing his south-west border with Wales. One of Æthelbald's last recorded acts was to grant an estate in north-east Wiltshire to Abbot Eanberht [of ?Malmesbury] (S 96); the charter was attested by Cynewulf, king of the West Saxons (757–86), which suggests how complex was the political situation in this area at this time.

The appointment of *Cuthbert, formerly bishop of *Hereford, as archbishop of *Canterbury (740–60), is conceivably a reflection of Æthelbald's influence in Kent; and the fact that it was Cuthbert who put into effect the king's grant of Cookham to Christ Church, Canterbury (S 1258: EHD i, no. 79), points in the same direction. Certainly they made a good pair. The most striking indication of Æthelbald's dominating position among his contemporaries, and of the nature of his rule, is given in the letters sent by Boniface and his fellow-bishops, in 746–7, to Archbishop Cuthbert, and to King Æthelbald himself (EHD i, no. 177), urging both to set their respective houses in order. In a council convened at *Clofesho in 747, Cuthbert instituted various important reforms; and in a council held at Gumley, Leics., in 749, Æthelbald granted privileges to the churches in his (Mercian) realm (S 92). It would appear that both of Boniface's letters, together with the canons of the Council of Clofesho and the text of Æthelbald's charter, and an expurgated version of Pope *Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*, were circulated in association with each other as part

of a concerted programme of reform promoted by the archbishop and the king, represented by the surviving fragments of BL, Cotton Otho A.i.

King Æthelbald was responsible for embellishing the shrine of St Guthlac at Crowland (Felix, *Vita S. Guthlaci*, c. 51), and was later credited with the foundation and endowment of the abbey itself (see *Orderic, HE iv [ed. Chibnall, ii.338–40], and the twelfth-century 'Guthlac Roll' [BL Harley Roll Y.6]). Little is known of the fortunes of the abbey in the later eighth and ninth centuries, but it may well have become a place of special importance in the Mercian world. Æthelbald was killed at Seckington, near Tamworth, by members of his own bodyguard (HE *Continuatio*, s.a. 757), and was buried at *Repton, in Derbyshire. It is a pleasant thought that he may be the mounted warrior depicted on the 'Repton Stone', bearing a shield, wielding a sword, and sporting a fine moustache. Æthelbald's power as a Mercian overlord was rebuilt and extended after his death by his successor, King *Offa (757–96).

ODNB i.393–5; Stenton, ASE, pp. 202–6; P. Wormald, 'The Age of Bede and Æthelbald', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J. Campbell (Oxford, 1982), pp. 70–100; Yorke, *Kingdoms*, pp. 111–17; Kirby, *Kings*, pp. 129–36; S. E. Kelly, 'Trading Privileges from Eighth-Century England', *EME* 1 (1992), 3–27; *Making of England*, pp. 193–253; M. Biddle and B. Kjolbe-Biddle, 'The Repton Stone', ASE 14 (1985), 233–92; *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and Minster-in-Thanel*, ed. S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 4 (Oxford, 1995), nos. 49–51; S. Keynes, 'England, 700–900', *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II: c.700–c.900 (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 18–42; idem, 'The Reconstruction of a Burnt Cottonian Manuscript: the Case of Cotton MS Otho A. 1', *BLJ* 22 (1996), 113–60.

SIMON KEYNES

ÆTHELBERHT, king of *Kent (d. 616), was the first Anglo-Saxon ruler to convert to Christianity. The date at which he became king is uncertain; it may have been as early as 560 or as late as c.590. He was a member of the Kentish royal dynasty, traditionally founded by *Hengest in the fifth century, and he succeeded his father Eormenric. Æthelberht came to hold a very powerful and influential position; he was one of a small number of kings who are said to have ruled over all the English kingdoms lying south of the river Humber (HE ii.5; see *Bretwalda). At some point before 581 Æthelberht married a Christian wife, Bertha, who was a *Frank and the daughter of a former king of Paris. He himself remained pagan, but he allowed Bertha to practise her religion without interference. In 597 a Christian mission, sent from *Rome by Pope *Gregory the Great and led by *Augustine, arrived on the Isle of *Thanet in Æthelberht's kingdom. The king received the missionaries with initial

reserve, insisting on a meeting in the open air to nullify any magic spells that they might cast, but he was won over by their preaching and offered them hospitality in his capital city at *Canterbury (*HE* i.25). Soon afterwards he himself accepted Christian baptism, and with his support the Roman mission enjoyed great success in Kent and in the neighbouring kingdom of *Essex, then ruled by Æthelberht's nephew Sæberht and subject to his influence (*HE* i.26, ii.2, 3). Within a few years of the arrival of the missionaries, perhaps in 602–3, the king and his counsellors established a code of *laws for the Kentish people, which was partly designed to integrate the fledgling church and its property within the existing legal system. The law-code was written in *Old English, and was presumably prepared with the help of Augustine (since the English had no tradition of using writing); this must have been one of the first documents ever written down in the English vernacular (*HE* ii.5). The king collaborated with Augustine in renovating an ancient building in Canterbury which was to become Christ Church cathedral, the seat of the archbishops of Canterbury, and he himself is credited with building and endowing St Andrew's church in *Rochester and St Paul's church in *London. Another project in which he was deeply involved was the construction of a monastery dedicated to SS Peter and Paul on the eastern outskirts of Canterbury, which was to develop into the famous St Augustine's Abbey; the abbey church was designed as a mausoleum for the kings of Kent and the archbishops of Canterbury (*HE* i.33, ii.3). Æthelberht died on 24 February 616 and was buried in the mausoleum, alongside Bertha who had predeceased him (*HE* ii.5). In the later medieval period he came to be regarded as a saint.

ODNB i.398–400; Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 5–14; N. Brooks, 'The Creation and Early Structure of the Kingdom of Kent', in Bassett, *Origins*, pp. 55–74; *The Charters of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and Minster-in-Thane*, ed. S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 4 (Oxford, 1995).

S. E. KELLY

ÆTHELBERHT, ST, king of *East Anglia, was assassinated on the orders of King *Offa of *Mercia in 794. This much is made explicit by the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (s.a. 792 [794]), while numismatic evidence confirms his status as the official ruler of East Anglia. Why and how he came to be venerated as a martyred 'innocent' in a cult centred upon *Hereford cathedral, on the other side of Mercia, is much less clear. Though far from its natural constituency and impaired by the absence of relics – purportedly stolen by the Welsh when they sacked the cathedral in 1055 – a cult flourished, inspiring no fewer than three saints' lives.

ODNB i.396–7; M. R. James, 'Two Lives of St Ethelbert, King and Martyr', *EHR* 32 (1917), 214–44; A. T. Thacker, 'Kings, Saints and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia', *MidH* 10 (1985), 1–25, at 16–18.

PAUL ANTONY HAYWARD

ÆTHELFLÆD, 'LADY OF THE MERCIANS': see Æthelred, 'Lord of the Mercians'

ÆTHELING is used poetically for 'a good and noble man', and is applied in Old English verse to Christ, prophets, saints, and other heroes. In historical texts, *ætheling* and its Latin equivalents *filiius regis* and *clito(n)* mean 'prince of the royal house'. In the eighth century, an Oswald is called *ætheling* apparently because his great-great-grandfather was king of the West Saxons (*ASC* s.a. 728); the definitions are much narrower in the ninth century and later. Edgar the Ætheling is so called because of his grandfather, King *Edmund Ironside, but most *æthelings* in this later period are sons or brothers of reigning kings. From the ninth century to the early eleventh, *æthelings* often witness the king's *charters as members of the royal family; after the Danish conquest in 1016, the surviving English *æthelings* were in exile on the Continent. *Edward the Confessor and Alfred, sons of *Æthelred the Unready, stayed in Normandy, whence Alfred returned to his death in 1036 and Edward returned to joint kingship of England in 1041. Edmund and Edward the Exile, sons of Edmund Ironside, travelled more widely until Edward and his son Edgar returned home in 1057.

Details of the trappings of *æthelings* only appear in the late tenth and eleventh centuries: charters mention officials assigned to the *æthelings* (S 1454 notes a *discthegn*; S 1422 notes a larger train of a *discthegn*, two *cnihhtas*, and perhaps two priests), and estates set aside for the use of *æthelings* (S 937). The place-names *Æthelinga-ig* (Athelney, Somerset) and *Æthelinga-dene* (Dean, Sussex) refer to lands associated with *æthelings*: Dean was perhaps where Queen *Ælfthryth brought up her grandchildren, sons of King Æthelred. In the early eleventh century *æthelings* first appear in *law codes (II Cnut, *Norðleoda Laga, Grid*), where they are granted a special legal status, equivalent to archbishops and second only to the king.

D. Dumville, 'The Ætheling: a Study in Anglo-Saxon Constitutional History', *ASE* 8 (1979), 1–33; S. Keynes, 'The Crowland Psalter and the Sons of King Edmund Ironside', *Bodleian Library Record* 11 (1985), 359–70; idem, 'The Æthelings in Normandy', *ANS* 13 (1990), 173–205.

SEAN MILLER

ÆTHELFRIITH, king of *Bernicia (592/3–616), was a powerful warrior and founder of the Bernician royal dynasty (he was succeeded by three of his sons: Eanfrith, *Oswald, and *Oswiu, who was succeeded in turn by *his* sons *Ecgrifith and *Aldfrith). Æthelfrith extended his dominion by conquering the Irish of *Dál Riata at *Degsastan* (perhaps to be identified with Lochmaben in Dumfries-Galloway) in 603, and the Welsh of North Wales in the battle of Chester in 616; he was killed shortly afterwards by *Rædwald, king of the East Angles, in a battle on the river Idle (Lincs.) while attempting to extend his dominion southwards.

HE i.34, ii.2, 12; ODNB i.403–4; Kirby, *Kings*, pp. 52–3, 59–61; P. Hunter Blair, 'The Bernicians and their Northern Frontier', in H. M. Chadwick *et al.*, *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 137–72; N. K. Chadwick, 'The Battle of Chester: a Study of Sources', in *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 167–85.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆTHELRED, 'Lord of the Mercians' (d. 911), and Æthelflæd, 'Lady of the Mercians' (d. 918). Æthelred followed King Ceolwulf (874–9) as ruler of the Mercians. He appears to have submitted to the overlordship of King *Alfred in the early 880s; and it was probably during this period that he oppressed the rulers of the southern Welsh in ways which induced them to turn to Alfred for protection (Asser, c. 80). In 886 he was entrusted by Alfred with the control of the borough of *London. It was at about this time, or shortly before, that 'English' *Mercia was subsumed into the newly conceived 'Kingdom of the *Anglo-Saxons'. Æthelred married Alfred's daughter, Æthelflæd, and is named as a beneficiary in the king's *will. After the death of King Alfred in 899, Æthelred and Æthelflæd continued to hold power in English Mercia, acknowledging the overlordship of *Edward the Elder, king of the Anglo-Saxons (899–924), and co-operating closely with Edward in campaigns against the Scandinavian intruders. They were empowered to issue charters; but the 'Mercian' coinage of the early tenth century was struck in Edward's name. When Æthelred died, in 911, Edward succeeded to London and *Oxford 'and to all the lands which belonged to them', but Æthelflæd succeeded to her husband's position as ruler of the Mercians. When Æthelflæd died, in 918, Edward assumed direct control of English Mercia, depriving Ælfwynn, their daughter, of any power and taking her into *Wessex. Æthelred and Æthelflæd were viewed in certain quarters as 'king' and 'queen', and some may even have hoped that Ælfwynn would succeed them as ruler of the Mercians; no doubt they found the

political reality hard to accept. Æthelred and Æthelflæd were instrumental in the foundation and endowment of the 'New Minster' (St Oswald's), *Gloucester, where both were buried.

ODNB i.407–8; Stenton, *ASE*, pp. 324–30; F. T. Wainwright, 'Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians', *Scandinavian England*, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (Chichester, 1975), pp. 305–24; S. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', *Kings, Currency and Alliances: the History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M. A. S. Blackburn and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–45, at 19–34.

SIMON KEYNES

ÆTHELRED AND ÆTHELBERHT, SS, were two princes of the royal house of *Kent who were murdered during the reign of (and perhaps at the instigation of) Ecgrberht, king of Kent (664–73); in expiation of the murder, Ecgrberht founded the church of *Minster-in-Thanel. For reasons that are irrecoverable, their relics were preserved at Wakering (Essex), and from there they were translated to *Ramsey by Bishop *Oswald and Ealdorman *Æthelwine (hence before 992, when both these men died). The earliest account of the murdered princes is the *passio* by *Byrhtferth of Ramsey (*BHL* 2643), which forms cc. 1–10 of his *Historia regum*; later versions of the legend are recorded by *Goscelin (*BHL* 5960) and *William of Malmesbury.

Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., RS (London, 1882–5), ii.1–13; WMalm, *GR* ii.209; M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham', *ASE* 10 (1981), 97–122, repr. in Lapidge, *ALL* ii.317–42; D. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester, 1982), esp. pp. 15–21, 89–104; Blair, 'Handlist', p. 507.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆTHELRED THE UNREADY (d. 23 April 1016), son of *Edgar and *Ælfthryth, was king of the English (978–1016) after his half-brother *Edward the Martyr. Æthelred's epithet 'Unready' is a very late coinage, probably twelfth century. Its first certain appearance is in the early thirteenth century, as 'Unrad', a play on the literal translation of Æthelred's name, 'noble counsel', and *un-ræd*, meaning 'no counsel' or 'ill-advised counsel'. As he himself admits in 993 that advisers were able to take advantage of his ignorance, and as he supported the treacherous *Eadric Streona after 1006, the charge that he was sometimes a poor judge of advisers seems well deserved.

The facts that Æthelred was forced into exile in Normandy in 1013–14 by the Dane *Swein Forkbeard, and that by the end of 1016 Swein's son *Cnut was king of England, demonstrate that

Æthelred was not equal to the task of keeping the *Vikings out of England. This may have more to do with the strength of the Vikings than with Æthelred's alleged incompetence. Æthelred ruled for thirty-eight years and had to deal with the Viking threat for over three decades; so perhaps it is no wonder that there were major problems in the last decade of his reign. It is clear from the continuation of Edgar's reform of the coinage and the institution of **heregeld* in 1012 that the machinery of government worked well throughout Æthelred's reign. But the best-known narrative sources were written towards the end of the reign when things looked very grim, and Æthelred's reputation has suffered in consequence. The **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the whole reign was written after Æthelred's death, and was perhaps designed to explain the eventual conquest. The one contemporary annal that does survive (for 1001) is certainly less doom-laden than the later chronicle. Likewise *Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, that great catalogue of things rotten in England, is a reflection of the state of things in 1014, not the whole reign.

The internal politics of Æthelred's reign can be divided into four periods. The first period dates from Æthelred's accession in 978 to 984. These were Æthelred's teenage years, and he was probably carefully guided by Bishop *Æthelwold and Ælfthryth. Æthelwold died in 984, and in that same year Ælfthryth ceased witnessing her son's charters. In the second period, 984 to 993, Æthelred was led astray by greedy counsellors into seizing church lands and redistributing them to his nobles, as he repentantly explains in a charter of 993 (S 876). The third period, from 993 to 1006, was marked by the return of Ælfthryth and seems to be a much more stable period for English internal affairs, though Viking attacks continued. Such a stable period helps to explain the flowering of literature (works by *Ælfric, *Byrhtferth, *Wulfstan of Winchester), manuscripts, and other artwork datable to the turn of the century. The fourth period, from 1006 to 1016, was marked by an upheaval of the king's council in 1006 and the growing prominence thereafter of the notorious turncoat Eadric Streona, who became the king's chief counsellor.

The Viking attacks during Æthelred's reign can also be divided into four phases. The first phase, 980 to 991, saw the resumption of Viking activity in England after a twenty-five-year absence, though with mainly local effects. The second phase, 991 to 1005, involved much heavier Viking attacks, and could be seen as the effects of a single large Viking army on English territory from its arrival with ninety-three ships in 991 until the famine of 1005 forced it to return to Denmark. It was this army

that fought Byrhtnoth at the *Battle of Maldon, and received tribute in 991 (£10,000), 994 (£16,000), and 1002 (£24,000). The third phase, from 1006 to 1012, saw two major invasions. The first, in 1006, was only stopped by a massive payment of tribute in 1007 (£36,000). In 1008 Æthelred ordered that a huge English fleet be built, but feuds involving Eadric's kin limited its usefulness, and it did not prevent the arrival in 1009 of another immense Viking army led by Thorkell the Tall. This army ravaged much of southern England, and only stopped after the payment of tribute of £48,000 in 1012. The fourth phase, from 1013 to 1016, again saw two major invasions, both of which culminated in the conquest of England, by Swein in 1013 and Cnut in 1016.

Æthelred was twice married, and all his sons bear the names of earlier English kings. With his first wife, Ælfgifu, he had six sons (Æthelstan, Ecgberht, King *Edmund Ironside, Eadred, Eadwig, Edgar), and perhaps five daughters. In 1002 Æthelred married *Emma, sister of Richard II, duke of Normandy, and they had three children, King *Edward the Confessor, Alfred the ætheling, and Godgifu.

ODNB i.409–19; *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. D. Hill (Oxford, 1978); S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016: a Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980); idem, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready', *TRHS* 5th ser. 36 (1986), 195–217; idem, 'The Vikings in England, 790–1016', *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. P. Sawyer (Oxford, 1997), pp. 48–82; S. Keynes, 'Re-Reading King Æthelred the Unready', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. C. Crick and S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 77–97; idem, 'The Burial of King Æthelred the Unready at St Paul's', *The English and their Legacy, 900–1200*, ed. D. Roffe (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 129–48.

SEAN MILLER

ÆTHELSTAN, king of the Anglo-Saxons (924/5–27), and king of the English (927–39), succeeded in 924 or 925, in uncertain circumstances. His father, *Edward the Elder, died in July 924. Edward's son and Æthelstan's half-brother Ælfweard succeeded, but died within a month. If Æthelstan had become king immediately after that, he might have ruled from August 924, but he was not crowned king until September 925, over a year later. Contemporary sources do not explain this, but *William of Malmesbury is full of details: he notes that Æthelstan was raised at the Mercian court, and that there was a plot to have him blinded at *Winchester. Civil war between Mercians and West Saxons, with Mercians favouring Æthelstan and West Saxons favouring

Ælfward's brother Eadwine, is certainly one possible explanation of Æthelstan's delayed coronation. The 'disturbance in the kingdom' that drove Eadwine to his death in a storm at sea in 933 may have been another sign of this tension; Æthelstan's lack of known heirs, which led to the succession of his half-brother Edmund in 939, may have been a deliberate concession to end the conflict.

Æthelstan's external affairs are more clearly recorded. He had a treaty with Sihtric of York in 926, but after Sihtric's death the alliance collapsed, and Æthelstan invaded Northumbria to assert his control. In July 927, at a meeting at Eamont (near Penrith), he received the submission of the Northumbrians and the Scots, the Welsh and the Strathclyde Britons. The northerners had previously submitted to Edward, but Æthelstan was the first southern king to exercise real control over Northumbria. However, his supremacy did not go unchallenged. Æthelstan led his army into Scotland in 934, and in 937 the Scots allied with the Norse and invaded England, to be roundly defeated at the *Battle of *Brunanburh*. The Old English poem celebrating that victory is perhaps the best-known product of Æthelstan's reign.

*Charters and *law-codes throw much light on the working of royal government during Æthelstan's reign. The charters issued from 928 to 934/5 are the work of a single individual, arguably a royal scribe (see *chancery, royal). From 931 they accord the king titles which claim not only kingship of the English but lordship over all of Albion or Britannia. A similar development is seen in Æthelstan's coins, which bear the motto 'king of the whole of Britain'. The fact that various Welsh and Scottish sub-kings appear in the witness-lists adds substance to this boast. The charters also note the day and place of issue, which means that the king's itinerary can be traced more accurately than that of any other early king. Seven law-codes survive from Æthelstan's reign. Four are official royal productions, including two general proclamations of laws from the king, one issued at Grately, another issued at Exeter in response to continuing violations of the Grately code. Of the three remaining codes, one is a report back to the king from his officials in Kent on how the Grately code would be implemented and supplemented.

Foreign scholars and dignitaries flocked to the English court. *Asser notes that scholars from various lands had come to the court of King *Alfred the Great, and one of Alfred's daughters had married a count of *Flanders; but Æthelstan had more continental contacts than any of his predecessors. At least four of his half-sisters were married into continental noble families, including

the royal families of Francia (Eadgifu to King Charles the Simple) and *Germany (Edith to Emperor Otto I), as well as the family that would supplant the rulers of Francia (Eadhild to Duke Hugh). When Charles was captured by his enemies, Eadgifu brought his son and heir Louis to be fostered in England until the *Franks sued for his return in 936. Also fostered at Æthelstan's court were Alan of Brittany and Hakon, son of King Harald of Norway. Visiting scholars included Germans, Irish, Franks, Bretons, Italians, and even the Icelander Egill Skallagrímsson; perhaps the most distinguished was *Israel the Grammarian. Æthelstan was known to be a keen collector of holy relics: some came from the Continent as gifts, and others were gathered by his agents. Æthelstan was also renowned for his generosity in giving relics, books, and other treasures to religious houses throughout England. He died on 27 October 939, and was buried at *Malmesbury.

ODNB i.420–8; M. Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan' (1979), *ALL* ii.49–86; idem, 'Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England', *ALL* ii.87–104; C. Brett, 'A Breton in England in the Reign of King Æthelstan: a Letter in British Library MS Cotton Tiberius A.xv', in *France and Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. D. Dumville and G. Jondorf (Woodbridge 1991), pp. 43–70; M. Wood, 'The Making of King Aethelstan's Empire: an English Charlemagne?', *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. Wormald (Oxford, 1983), pp. 250–72; S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', *Clemoes FS*, pp. 143–201; idem, 'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 226–57, esp. 235–41; Dumville, *Wessex*, pp. 141–71; S. Foot, *Æthelstan: the First King of England* (New Haven, CT, 2011).

SEAN MILLER

ÆTHELSTAN ÆTHELING (d. 25 June 1014) was the eldest son of King *Æthelred the Unready, by his first wife Ælfifu. Æthelstan makes an early appearance among the witnesses to his father's charters in 993 (S 876), when he would have been a young boy. He was probably being brought up at this stage by his grandmother, Queen *Ælfthryth, perhaps on her estate at *Æthelingadene* (Dean, in west Sussex); he also refers in his will to his foster-mother, Ælfswith. Æthelstan continued to attest charters in the later 990s and 1000s, invariably ahead of his brothers; his last appearance is in a charter dated 1013. It is not known what became of him and of his surviving younger brothers (Edmund and Eadwig) during the reign of King *Swein Forkbeard (1013–14): one can but assume that he lay low somewhere in England, and that on his father's return from exile in

Normandy, in the spring of 1014, he resumed his accustomed position as the king's prospective successor. It seems, however, that Æthelstan became ill during the summer of 1014, and sought his father's permission to draw up his *will. Two copies of the will (S 1503) survive in single-sheet form, both from the archives of Christ Church, *Canterbury; one of them, written by two scribes, is the upper part of a *chirograph. Two copies of the will were also preserved at the Old Minster, *Winchester; one of them was the lower part of a chirograph. The second copies of the will, in each archive, may have been produced as part of the process of its publication. It emerges from the will that Æthelstan held land in at least ten counties of south-eastern England, and took special interest not only in the religious houses at Winchester and Canterbury, but also at *Shaftesbury and *Ely. A noteworthy feature is the great care taken in disposing of his personal possessions, including no fewer than eleven swords (one of which had belonged to King *Offa), a coat of mail (which had been lent to Morcar), two shields, a drinking-horn, a silver-coated trumpet, and a string of fine horses. Æthelstan's friends and associates included *Godwine (probably the person of that name who later became an earl), and Siferth (one of the leading thegns in eastern England, and a prominent figure at his father's court); he also had a mass-priest (Ælfwine), a *discthegn* (Ælfmær), a sword-polisher, and a stag-huntsman. Æthelstan's obit on 25 June (in a year not specified) was recorded at Christ Church, Canterbury (BL Arundel 68, 32r), and, independently, at the Old Minster, Winchester (BL Add. 29436, 73r). Æthelstan had received his father's permission 'on the Friday after the feast of Midsummer [24 June]'; in 1013 the Friday in question was 26 June; in 1014 it was 25 June; and in 1015 it was 1 July. So it would appear that Æthelstan received permission to make his will on 25 June 1014, and died later on the same day; he was buried at the Old Minster, Winchester. Æthelstan's death would have projected his brother, *Edmund Ironside, into prominence as the prospective successor; and it was in 1015 that Edmund took a stand against the regime personified by his ailing father, but controlled by *Eadric Streona.

ODNB i.429; *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 56–63 (no. 20), and *EHD* i, no. 129; M. Brown, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (London, 1991), pp. 42–3 [facsimile of the will]; S. Keynes, 'Queen Emma and the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell, Camden Classic Reprints 4 (Cambridge, 1998), xiii–lxxxvii, at xxi n. 1; N. J. Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 44–7, 56–9.

SIMON KEYNES

ÆTHELSTAN HALF-KING (d. after 957) was ealdorman of *East Anglia (932–56), then a monk of *Glastonbury. The byname 'Half-King' appears in *Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi*. His province was the whole eastern Danelaw, and from 943 to 956 he was the chief *ealdorman. His brothers were also ealdormen: Æthelwold in the south-east (940–6) and Eadric in Wessex (942–9). For a while, therefore, the three brothers controlled over half the country, inviting comparison with *Godwine's family in the eleventh century. Æthelstan was King *Edgar's foster-father, and his retirement coincides neatly with the division of the kingdom in 957, when Edgar became king of the Mercians. *Glastonbury, where he was buried, remembered Æthelstan as a benefactor; his son *Æthelwine, co-founder of *Ramsey and himself chief ealdorman (983–92), was a prominent supporter of the monastic reform movement.

ODNB i.428–9; C. Hart, 'Athelstan "Half King" and his Family', *ASE* 2 (1973), 115–44, repr. in his *The Danelaw* (London, 1992), pp. 569–604

SEAN MILLER

ÆTHELSTAN PSALTER, a diminutive copy of the Gallican psalter (with canticles) which possibly served as a personal *prayerbook; it was written at an unidentified centre in Northern Francia in the earlier ninth century, but was in England by the beginning of the tenth, when leaves containing an illustrated Latin *metrical calendar were added at the beginning of the manuscript (3r–20v); at a later point, in the second quarter of the tenth century, a series of psalter collects and various Greek prayers (litany, Pater Noster, Creed) were added at the end (178r–200v). The manuscript is now BL, Cotton Galba A.xviii. There is various evidence to suggest that the manuscript at one time belonged to King *Æthelstan (924–39), and that the Greek prayers were added in connection with the presence at Æthelstan's court of the Breton scholar known as *Israel the Grammarian.

Temple, *AS MSS*, pp. 36–7 (no. 5); S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', Clemoes FS, pp. 143–201, at 193–6; idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Entries in the "Liber Vitae" of Brescia', Bately FS, pp. 99–119, at 117–19; Dumville, *Wessex*, pp. 74–7, 87–8; P. McGurk, 'The Metrical Calendar of Hampson: a New Edition', *AB* 104 (1986), 79–125; M. Lapidge, 'Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England', *ALL* ii.87–104; R. Deshman, 'The Galba Psalter: Pictures, Texts and Context in an Early Medieval Prayerbook', *ASE* 26 (1997), 109–38.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆTHELTHRYTH (= Etheldreda, Audrey; d. 679), queen, and abbess, was the daughter of Anna, king of *East Anglia. In about 652 she was given in marriage

to Tondberht, ealdorman of the South Gyrwas; on his death (c.655) she retired to *Ely, but in 660 was again married, to *Ecgrith, later king of *Northumbria, who was only 15 years old. She apparently remained a virgin throughout both of these marriages; indeed, when Ecgrith finally insisted that their union be consummated, Æthelthryth, assisted by *Wilfrid, bishop of Northumbria, left her husband and became a nun at *Coldingham, under her aunt Æbbe. In 673 she returned south and founded a double monastery at Ely. She remained there as abbess, living a life of austerity, until her death, of a neck tumour, which she regarded as divine punishment for the wearing of necklaces in her youth. She was succeeded by her sister *Sexburg. Seventeen years after her burial at Ely, Æthelthryth's body was found to be incorrupt; she was translated in 695, and her shrine became a popular place of pilgrimage. Bede was deeply impressed by Æthelthryth and included a poem in praise of her in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (iv.18). In the mid-tenth century *Ælfhelm composed a Latin Life of the saint which is lost except for excerpts in the *Liber Eliensis* (i.43–9). A prose Life and a verse Life of Æthelthryth (by Gregory of Ely) were composed in Latin in the early twelfth century; these add little to Bede's account of the saint's life, but include detailed accounts of the later translations and miracles at Ely. Feast day: 23 June; translation: 17 October.

ODNB i.429–32; Bede, *HE* iv.17–18, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 392–401; E. O. Blake, ed., *Liber Eliensis*, Camden Third Series 92 (London, 1962); Blair, 'Handlist', pp. 507–8; *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: the Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ed. R. C. Love (OMT, 2004), pp. cvi–cviii, 96–131; M. Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 34 (Cambridge, 2004), 157–72, 195–231; eadem, 'Æthelthryth of Ely in a Lost Calendar from Munich', *ASE* 35 (2006), 159–77.

R. C. LOVE

ÆTHELWEARD (d. c.998), great-great-grandson of King Æthelred I, was *ealdorman 'of the western provinces' (presumably Devon, Somerset, and Dorset) in the late tenth century, the author of a Latin translation of the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and a literary patron of *Ælfric. He attested charters as ealdorman from the mid-970s, and was accorded the primacy among the ealdormen from 993; he took a leading part in negotiations with Olaf Trygvason in 994, and presumably died soon after his last appearance as a witness in 998.

After 975, and probably before 983, Æthelweard produced a Latin translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, including material not found in surviving English versions. The work was dedicated to his

cousin Matilda, abbess of Essen (in *Germany), herself a great-great-granddaughter of King *Alfred. In his prologue, Æthelweard charged Matilda to send him information about the family's continental affairs: the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 982, which included the death of the German Duke Otto, a great-grandson of King *Edward the Elder, was probably Æthelweard's rendering of news from Matilda. Æthelweard's Latin style was deplored by *William of Malmesbury, but is not untypical of its time. Æthelweard was also instrumental in encouraging Ælfric to translate Latin religious texts into Old English, as acknowledged in prefaces to Ælfric's translations of *Genesis* and *Lives of Saints*. Æthelweard was followed in this respect by his son Æthelmær, who refounded *Eynsham Abbey in the early eleventh century (S 911), and who was ealdorman in the south-west in the closing years of Æthelred's reign.

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 67; ODNB i.432–3; L. Whitbread, 'Æthelweard and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', *EHR* 74 (1959), 577–89; *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962); M. Winterbottom, 'The Style of Æthelweard', *MÆ* 36 (1967), 109–18; E. van Houts, 'Women and the Writing of History in the Early Middle Ages', *EME* 1 (1992), 53–68; *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. J. Wilcox (Durham, 1994).

SEAN MILLER

ÆTHELWINE, ealdorman of *East Anglia (962–92), was the son of *Æthelstan 'Half-King', who had been the ealdorman of East Anglia from 932 until he resigned the post in 956 in order to withdraw to *Glastonbury (where he died shortly afterwards, perhaps in 957), and was one of the most powerful men in England: the 'Half-King', with his two brothers (Æthelwold and Eadric), who were likewise ealdormen, controlled between them more than half of England. The 'Half-King' had four sons, two of whom inherited his ealdormanry in turn: first Æthelwold (II), who became ealdorman of East Anglia in succession to his father in 956, but died in 962 (his widow, Ælfthryth, then married King *Edgar), and then Æthelwine, who succeeded his brother in 962. During the thirty years he held the ealdormanry, Æthelwine rose in seniority to become the 'chief' ealdorman of England; after the death of *Ælfhere of Mercia, Æthelwine's name appears first among ealdormen in witness-lists to Anglo-Saxon *charters. Much of his wealth and prestige was inherited; but it is also probable that he owed some of it to the fact that he and King Edgar were foster-brothers. Æthelwine was a great benefactor to the church, and is remembered principally as the founder and chief benefactor of *Ramsey Abbey,

which was founded in 966 near to his principal residence at Upwood (Cambs.) and constructed at his expense; when the tower of the first church collapsed in 991, Æthelwine paid for its immediate reconstruction. At about the same time he promoted the translation of the relics of SS. *Æthelred and Æthelberht from Wakering (Essex) to Ramsey. He died on 24 Apr. 992, two months after the death of Archbishop *Oswald, Ramsey's other principal patron; he was buried at Ramsey along with many members of his family, all of whom are commemorated in Ramsey's *Liber benefactorum*.

ODNB i.433–4; *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: the Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, ed. M. Lapidge (OMT, 2009), pp. 82–6, 126–8, 130–2; *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, RS (London, 1886), pp. 30–9, 52–5, 68–70, 93–107; C. R. Hart, 'Athelstan "Half King" and his Family', *ASE* 2 (1973), 115–44, esp. 133–8.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆTHELWOLD, abbot of *Abingdon (c.954–63) and bishop of *Winchester (963–84), a scholar of considerable learning and one of the principal proponents of the reform of Benedictine *monasticism in late tenth-century England. The precise date of his birth in Winchester during the years 904 × 909 is unknown; during his adolescence he was a member of the royal household of King *Æthelstan; he was ordained a priest and monk by *Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester (934–51) sometime before 939, and following the death of Æthelstan he retired to *Glastonbury with his colleague *Dunstan, where he spent more than a decade in intensive study of texts such as the psalter, *Aldhelm, and the *Benedictine Rule. He was appointed abbot of the dilapidated monastery of *Abingdon by King *Eadred in c.954, and he took with him from Glastonbury several followers (Osgar, Foldbriht and Frithegar) who were later to accompany him to Winchester; while at Abingdon he significantly increased the abbey's endowment and rebuilt and rededicated the church there. In 963 he was appointed bishop of Winchester by King *Edgar, to whom he had once served as tutor, and with the king's support was able to expel from the Old Minster the secular canons and replace them with Benedictine monks from Abingdon. He ruled Winchester vigorously for twenty-one years, taking a leading role in King Edgar's *witan*, promoting the interests of Benedictine monks throughout the realm, and initiating a vast programme of reconstruction and refurbishment at the Old Minster; he also greatly increased the prestige of the Old Minster by his translation of the relics of St *Swithun on 15 July 971. Æthelwold

survived at least one attempt to poison him, and although he suffered bodily infirmities affecting his stomach and legs, he lived into ripe old age and died on 1 August 984.

Æthelwold was one of the leading scholars and teachers of his age. It has recently been demonstrated that the Old English psalter gloss in the 'Royal Psalter' (BL, Royal 2.B.V) is his composition, as is the corpus of glosses to Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* preserved *inter alia* in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1650. Of his known writings, he translated at the request of King Edgar and Queen *Ælfthryth the *Regula S. Benedicti* into English (the OE tract known as 'King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' was also composed by Æthelwold, almost certainly to serve as a preface to the Benedictine Rule); and the Latin customary known as the **Regularis concordia*, which was issued after the council of Winchester in 973 and which served as the norm for reformed Benedictine monasticism in England, is his composition as well. His Old English prose (in the translation of the Benedictine Rule) is a model of clarity and accuracy, whereas his Latin, particularly in the preface to the *Regularis concordia*, is a flamboyant example of the 'hermeneutic' style which was practised by Latin authors in tenth-century England. Among his pupils he numbered *Ælfric, whose Old English prose matches that of his master in clarity, and *Wulfstan, sometime precentor (*cantor*) at the Old Minster, who was one of the most prolific Latin authors of pre-Conquest England. After his death, the cult of St Æthelwold was initiated at Winchester by Wulfstan, who composed the first *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (Ælfric's *vita* of the saint is an abbreviation of Wulfstan's); it spread to a few other centres with Winchester connections, but was not widely observed in England. Feast days: 1 August (deposition); 10 September (translation).

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 68; ODNB i.434–8; *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, ed. A. Schröer, rev. H. Gneuss (Darmstadt, 1964); *Regularis concordia*, ed. T. Symons (London, 1953); *Councils & Synods* i.142–54 ['King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries']; *Wulfstan of Winchester: the Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (OMT, 1991); *Æthelwold*, ed. Yorke; M. Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England* (Munich, 1973); eadem, 'Æthelwold's Translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and its Latin Exemplar', *ASE* 3 (1974), 125–51; eadem, 'The Benedictine Rule in Old English: a Document of Bishop Æthelwold's Reform Politics', Gneuss FS, pp. 131–58; eadem, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform Movement*, CSASE 25 (Cambridge, 1998); L. Kornexl, *Die Regularis concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (Munich, 1993).

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ÆTHELWOLD, BENEDICTIONAL OF. The Benedictional of Æthelwold (BL, Add. 49598) was written for Bishop *Æthelwold of *Winchester, probably in the period 971–84. Benedictionals contain the episcopal blessings pronounced during high mass, immediately before the communion itself. As a class of book, they are very rare – the texts normally occur as part of pontificals – and Æthelwold's benedictional is the most opulent example of the genre. Its text is unusually full, combining blessings from the 'Gregorian' and 'Gallican' traditions alongside additional English material, and was probably compiled at Winchester in Æthelwold's day. The manuscript is written in a spacious, rounded, early English Caroline minuscule (the touchstone for the so-called 'Style I' of the script), golden Square capitals and Uncials being used as display scripts. The scribe was a certain *Godeman (possibly to be identified with the Godeman whom Æthelwold appointed abbot of *Thorney). The volume is lavishly decorated: there is a prefatory cycle of figures representing the choirs of heaven, while the most important feasts in the body of the book are introduced by a full page framed miniature (showing the person or event commemorated) facing an incipit page within a matching frame. While the compositions are comparatively simple, the iconography is rich, including novel features such as the earliest western representations of the Dormition of the Virgin, and the Crowned Magi. The figural style is stolid, but the paintings are animated by agitated draperies and rich swirling colours which complement the lavish foliate frames: the overall effect is highly decorative. The most important sources for decoration, style and iconography were Carolingian (notably the Metz and Franco-Saxon schools), though debts to Byzantine and earlier Anglo-Saxon art are also apparent. Nevertheless, the choice of subject matter, details of the iconography and the general aesthetic were distinctive *'Winchester school' creations. Text, script and decoration all reflect the simultaneous embracing and adaptation of continental traditions that were the hallmarks of Æthelwold's Winchester; while the intertwining of the spiritual and the political in the iconography echoes the nature of the monastic reform he fostered.

G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1910); *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold, a Masterpiece of Anglo-Saxon Art: a Facsimile*, ed. A. Prescott (London, 2002); F. Wormald, *The Benedictional of St Ethelwold* (London, 1959); A. Prescott, 'The Text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold' in *Æthelwold*, pp. 119–47; R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton, NJ, 1995).

RICHARD GAMESON

ÆTHELWULF, king of *Wessex (839–58), had the distinction of being succeeded by four of his sons, the youngest of whom was King *Alfred. His fifth and eldest son Æthelstan (who predeceased him) became king of the south-eastern provinces when Æthelwulf succeeded his father *Ecgbert as king of Wessex. Æthelwulf had to contend with increasingly severe attacks from *Vikings and won a notable victory in 851. In 855 Æthelwulf made a pilgrimage to *Rome and returned in 856 with a new wife, Judith, daughter of the Frankish king Charles the Bald. His eldest surviving son Æthelbald, who had been entrusted with control of Wessex in his absence, rebelled and Æthelwulf was obliged to end his reign ruling only part of his former kingdom.

ODNB i.438–41; Stenton, *ASE*, pp. 244–5; Kirby, *Kings*, pp. 193–204.

B. A. E. YORKE

ÆTHELWULF, POET: see Ædiluulf

ÆTHILWALD the poet was a student of *Aldhelm (who died in 709 or 710), presumably at *Malmesbury, and evidently proved a worthy disciple: his only surviving prose work, a letter to his teacher, is clearly composed in imitation of Aldhelm's idiosyncratic and highly ornate *Latin prose style, while all that survives of his verse are four Latin poems in rhythmical *octosyllables, a form which Aldhelm himself employed to great effect. Two of these octosyllabic poems are referred to by Æthilwald in his letter, to which they were apparently appended along with a third poem (now lost) seemingly composed in *Latin metre in some form of hexameters; it would appear from the somewhat insecure syntax of the extant poems that they were sent to Aldhelm as much for correction as for commendation. Æthilwald went much further than Aldhelm in his use of *alliteration in his octosyllables, and at times consciously adopts the idiosyncratic alliterative patterning of vernacular Old English verse. Apart from a poem in praise of Aldhelm and a prayer to God, Æthilwald's remaining two octosyllabic compositions are addressed to one Wihtfrith (presumably the same person to whom Aldhelm also wrote a letter), and an otherwise unknown Offa. Æthilwald has also been suggested as a possible author of the so-called **Liber monstrorum*, although the evidence is decidedly thin.

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 66; 'Carmina rhythmica II–V' and 'Epistulae VII and XI', in *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH AA xv.528–37, 495–7, 499–500; M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: the Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 147–8, 164–6, 168; A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, CSASE 8 (Cambridge, 1994), 21–7, 60–7.

ANDY ORCHARD

ÆTHILWALD, bishop of *Lindisfarne (c.731–737 or 740), who had previously been abbot of *Melrose and a student of St *Cuthbert (d. 687). He had a reputation for modest piety, and is known to have supplied anecdotes concerning St Cuthbert to the anonymous Lindisfarne author of the *Vita S. Cuthberti* (iv.4); according to Symeon of Durham, he also commissioned a stone cross in memory of Cuthbert. According to a tenth-century notice by *Aldred, Æthilwald also commissioned a lavish binding for the *Lindisfarne Gospels. He is possibly the author or compiler of an *Ympnarius Edilwaldi* recorded in a sixteenth-century booklist at Fulda, which is now lost but may have been the source of the hymns of *Bede printed by Georg Cassander in 1556. Æthilwald may also have been the addressee of an *acrostic poem preserved in the ninth-century *Book of Cerne.

Bede, *HE* v.12; *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 116, 254; *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., RS (London, 1882–5), i.39; Lapidge, *ALL* i.325–6; 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', *JTS* ns 23 (1972), 374–406.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

AGILBERT (fl. c. 650–c.680) was from a leading Frankish family, certainly connected with the family of St Audoin (St Ouen), and probably with the royal Merovingian family itself. He was the second bishop of the West Saxons and, later, bishop of Paris. Agilbert's career serves to emphasise the strong links between the Frankish and the English ruling elites in the mid seventh century. His very name was the Frankish form of Æthelberht, which may suggest that he had some family relationship with the Kentish royal house, and it was at this time, according to *Bede (*HE* iii.8), that Earcongota, daughter of Eanbald king of *Kent, and several other Anglo-Saxon princesses joined Frankish monasteries, perhaps through the agency of Agilbert himself.

According to Bede (*HE* iii.7), sometime after Cenwealh had been restored as leader of the West Saxons in 646, Agilbert arrived in *Wessex. He was a 'Gaul', or *Frank, who was already a bishop when he arrived, having been ordained in Francia, presumably without a see. Prior to his arrival in England he had been studying in Ireland. Cenwealh invited Agilbert to stay amongst the West Saxons as their bishop, in the see established by *Birinus at *Dorchester-on-Thames. This position Agilbert held 'for some years' until Cenwealh tired of his 'barbarous speech', which presumably means that

the bishop never properly mastered the language of his hosts. The West Saxon kingdom was then divided into two sees, one being given to Bishop Wine. Agilbert, we are told, was deeply offended and left the kingdom. He then seems to have headed north to the court of the Northumbrian kings *Oswiu and Alhfrith, for *Stephen's *Life of St Wilfrid* says that Agilbert ordained *Wilfrid priest at *Ripon at the king's command. This happened in 663 or 664. In 664 Agilbert appeared alongside Wilfrid and with his priest Agatho at the Synod of *Whitby where he championed the Romanist cause. It was, however, Wilfrid who spoke 'in his own tongue' for their side in the dispute, which again hints at Agilbert's poor command of English. Shortly after the synod, Agilbert is seen back in Francia where, along with eleven other bishops, he took part in Wilfrid's consecration as bishop at Compiègne (*Life of St Wilfrid*, c. 12). This also took place in 664. Although Bede refers to Agilbert in this context as bishop of Paris, he cannot have been appointed to that city until 666 or 667, for there is a charter of that date attested by Importunus his predecessor as bishop there. By 668, however, Agilbert must have become bishop since in that year he entertained *Theodore in Paris as the latter made his way from *Rome to *Canterbury to take up the archbishopric.

Agilbert's fortunes in England seem to have been governed by the tide of Mercian expansion, rather than to have been the result of his inability to speak English properly. He left southern England at around the time the Mercians acquired control of the area to the south of the Thames Valley, but at a later point (c.670), when Mercian influence in Wessex was on the wane, Cenwealh invited him back to become bishop of Winchester. Now bishop of Paris, Agilbert declined the offer and sent his nephew *Leuthere in his place. He died sometime between 679 and 690, and he was buried in the crypt which he had built at the double monastery of Jouarre, over which his sister Theodechild had presided as abbess.

ODNB i.457–8; P. Fouracre and R. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996); J. Guerot, 'Les origines et le premier siècle de l'abbaye', in Y. Chaussy et al., ed., *L'Abbaye Royale de Notre-Dame de Jouarre* (Paris, 1961); W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946); A. Lohaus, *Die Merowinger und England* (Munich, 1974); I. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450–751* (London, 1994).

P. FOURACRE

AGRICULTURE was the economic basis of Anglo-Saxon England: most people gained their livelihood, directly or indirectly, from the activity of farming

and its products. Society as a whole was essentially agrarian. The evidence for this basis is, however, fragmentary as well as diverse: it derives from documents and manuscript illustrations; from the present landscape, including its place-names; and from archaeological and related investigations (see also *field systems).

The principal documentary sources are contemporary *laws, biographies and land *charters. Of the first, the laws of King *Ine (688–726), for example, set out to regulate many of the practical matters which arise when many individuals are seeking to wrest their living from the same area of land; thus the laws refer to cornland and fences, meadows and pasture, straying animals and the felling of trees. The general impression is of an agriculture effectively, even expansively, exploiting a range of resources in the *Wessex landscape. Later codes tend to follow Ine's pattern of attempted regulation. Works such as *Felix's *Life of St Guthlac* and *Asser's *Life of King Alfred* contain topographical descriptions. Charters contain much detail pertaining to specific areas of land, including headlands and *woodland in working agrarian landscapes, mainly in Southumbria in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Manuscript illustrations include agrarian scenes, though few originate before c.1100.

Research in the later twentieth century has significantly modified both long-established views of the topic and the significance of some of the 'classic' pieces of evidence. That Anglo-Saxons brought with them proper ploughs and the 'open field' system were ideas abandoned in the 1960s. Nor is it now necessary to believe that Anglo-Saxon agriculture presents 'a general picture of uniformity' throughout England; while excavated archaeological evidence of cultivation in ridges from Gwithian, *Cornwall, and Hen Domen near Montgomery, precisely because it continues to be rare rather than typical, has seen its significance overwhelmed by the implications of widespread landscape survey elsewhere.

Anglo-Saxon agriculture developed in a landscape already long farmed and consequently littered with the cultural and environmental debris of its predecessors. The land charters clearly show that, at least later in the period, the inhabitants of the time were aware of this: they referred to old tracks, burial mounds and lynchets of fields we know were prehistoric, to *roads which we know as Roman, and to heathen burial places. Most of the mechanical technology of the Roman period had lapsed by the mid-sixth century, yet it seems highly likely that much of the agriculture being practised in England by indigenous communities at the time of the settlement was at least on a par in technological terms with the

husbandry of later pre-Roman Britain. That of the immigrants was probably similar. With it they found space to farm in a mosaic of well-farmed and derelict areas. Later, the impression is of a land with much tree cover, probably most of it regenerated and managed rather than wild-wood.

Archaeology has been very successful in demonstrating the existence and nature of agrarian settlements, especially those of the sixth to eighth centuries, usually long abandoned and characterised by many *timber buildings. In places such as *Raunds (Northants.), West Heselton and Wharram Percy (N. Yorks.), and the Middle Thames valley, excavation coupled with fieldwork has glimpsed the landscape context, and even social and tenurial links, within which early to mid Anglo-Saxon agriculture may well have operated. More widely, without settlement excavation, landscape study has successfully argued for the existence of complex *estate and tenurial arrangements providing the framework within which the routine of farming was carried out. Hints of pre-Anglo-Saxon origins for some elements of that framework have been noted throughout the country, for example in *Kent, Wiltshire and Northumberland.

Though specifically agrarian evidence remains sparse archaeologically for the earlier part of the period in particular, botanical studies of excavated plant remains, pioneered largely from urban deposits like *Winchester, *Hamwic* and *Gloucester, have now become significant in rural contexts. The main cultivars and aspects of cropping practices are emerging within an agriculture characterised by regional diversity. By the eighth century, in a pattern of what can perhaps be seen as a distinctively Anglo-Saxon crop husbandry compared to late Roman times, einkorn (*T. aestivum*), rye (*Secale cereale*), barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and oats (*Avena sativa*) were becoming the main cereals in England, supplemented by peas and beans, with different emphases between these components from region to region. With einkorn and rye apparently favoured in place of the traditional wheats, emmer and spelt, nothing in the palaeo-botanical evidence indicates any major, long term improvement in cereal farming in the period. Information about yields which might qualify such a generalisation is non-existent.

Agricultural implements are not well attested in contemporary sources, though a recently discovered hoard of carpentry tools from *Flixborough, Lincs., of tenth-century date, also contains an iron hoe-sheath and a bill-hook. Archaeologically, given the amount of relevant excavation now accomplished, the absence of unequivocal evidence of a plough from Anglo-Saxon contexts before the tenth century

is almost certainly significant. Indeed, on the rare occasions when cultivating implements have been suggested, as at *Sutton Hoo and *York, they are ards. Since land cultivation was undoubtedly the basis of Anglo-Saxon agriculture, it seems most likely that the tilling implement in use until at least the tenth century was most probably a wooden ard without iron fittings. Such was almost certainly of bow- and/or crook type, familiar in the arable fields of the first half of the first millennium AD and earlier.

The existence before the Conquest of a fully fledged plough as illustrated in medieval sources such as the Luttrell Psalter is not validated by such evidence, though a plough with mouldboard might conceivably have developed late in the period. If so, no firm evidence links it with Viking introduction or development, and a few ostensibly late Saxon iron shares could have fitted on to ards and are not in themselves proof of a framed, wheeled or mouldboard plough. The Gwithian evidence of ploughmarks and a turned furrow belonged to a pre-West Saxon context and is most likely to have occurred so far to the west precisely because it emanated from a different cultural context altogether, reminding us that the cultural reservoir in the post-Roman Celtic West may not have been confined to the religious and linguistic tradition. The *Bayeux Tapestry itself illustrates an ard, not a plough, *un araire not une charrue*. Farm carts and most other farming implements – mainly rakes, forks and spades – are also likely to have been entirely or mainly of wood throughout the period.

Probably at no time was the situation static. The emergence of towns from the eighth century would have significantly affected certain areas, particularly estates with urban centres; the growth of powerful estates, especially regal and ecclesiastical ones, and a probable rise in population in the later half of the period also imply agricultural change. The fundamental change in agrarian settlement pattern from the eighth century onwards, and possible technological improvements in such things as drainage, iron smelting, farming implements and harness, hint at a quiet rather than dramatic dynamism of an agriculture operating within a framework of non-synchronous regional diversity. It managed to maintain and develop an increasingly English countryside basically in good heart over 600 critical years in the emergence of a distinctive Insular society.

The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1.2: A.D. 43–1042, ed. H. P. R. Finberg, and *II: 1042–1350*, ed. H. E. Hallam (Cambridge 1972–88); P. J. Fowler, 'Farming in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: an Archaeologist's Review', *ASE* 9 (1982) 263–80; idem, 'Farming in Early Medieval England: some Fields for Thought', in *The Anglo-Saxons from the*

Migration Period to the Eighth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective, ed. J. Hines (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 245–61; *Environment and Economy in Anglo-Saxon England: a Review of Recent Work on the Environmental Archaeology of Rural and Urban Anglo-Saxon Settlements in England* (York, 1994); P. J. Fowler, *Farming in the First Millennium AD: British Agriculture between Julius Caesar and William the Conqueror* (Cambridge, 2002); T. Williamson, *Shaping Medieval Landscapes* (Macclesfield, 2003); OHASA pp. 315–401; D. Banham and R. Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford, 2014).

P. J. FOWLER

AIDAN (d. 651), saint and bishop of *Lindisfarne, was an Irishman, a monk of *Iona, who was chosen in 635 to answer King *Oswald's request for a bishop through whose teaching and ministry his people might learn the doctrine of the faith and receive the sacraments. He was consecrated in Iona. In *Northumbria he lived a life of personal austerity but remained moderate in his expectations of others. Among twelve English boys whom Aidan at the start of his ministry raised up to serve the church, Bede names only *Eata, abbot of *Melrose, who became the first English bishop of Lindisfarne. Aidan often stayed on royal *estates, preaching to people living nearby. Bede adds that King Oswald himself acted as interpreter for his *ealdormen and *thegns, for the king had a perfect knowledge of Irish. He used also to retire for solitary prayer to Farne Island, near the king's seat at *Bamburgh. After Oswald's death in 642 Aidan remained close to King *Oswiu, also an Irish-speaker, but Bede tells of the special warmth which existed between Aidan and Oswiu's rival, Oswine, king of *Deira, emphasising that Aidan lived only eleven days after Oswine was murdered on Oswiu's instructions. He died on an estate of Oswiu on 31 August 651 and was buried in the cemetery at Lindisfarne; at a later date his bones were moved into a newly enlarged church to a grave at the south side of the altar. When the last Irish bishop of Lindisfarne withdrew to Iona, he is said to have taken with him some of Aidan's bones. In the eleventh century *Glastonbury claimed to possess relics of St Aidan.

ODNB i.376–7; Bede, *HE* iii.3, 5, 14–17, 26.

RICHARD SHARPE

ALBINUS (d. 733 or 734), abbot of the monastery of SS Peter and Paul (later St Augustine's) in *Canterbury, who in 709 or 710 succeeded Abbot *Hadrian and remained abbot of the house until his death. He was a former student of both *Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury, and was a scholar with a considerable reputation for learning (Bede calls him *doctissimus*) in both Greek and Latin. None of his

writings survive. In the preface to his *Historia ecclesiastica*, *Bede warmly acknowledges the help of Albinus, and in fact a separate prefatory letter to Bede's work, addressed to Albinus, indicates that a copy of the *Historia ecclesiastica* was sent to Albinus soon after the work was finished; this (lost) copy, which underwent minor revision at the hands of Albinus, is the probable ancestor of the C-text of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.

ODNB i.587–8; Bede, *HE* Praef., v.20; *HE*, ed. Plummer, *VBOH*, p. clxxix; *Beda: Storia degli Inglesi*, ed. M. Lapidge, trans. P. Chiesa, 2 vols. (Rome, 2008–10), i, pp. civ–cx.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ALCUIN OF YORK (c.735–19 May 804; alias Albinus, Alchuuine, Alcuinus), Anglo-Saxon deacon, scholar, and teacher from *York who later became one of Charlemagne's chief advisers and finished his career as abbot of Tours. A man of prodigious learning and a prolific writer, Alcuin is often regarded as the architect of the Carolingian Renaissance; he was characterised by Einhard as 'a man most learned in every field'. Through his writings, his personality, and his role as a teacher he exerted a decisive influence on European literary and ecclesiastical culture. His extant works include texts of elementary instruction in orthography, *grammar, *rhetoric, dialectic, *astronomy and perhaps mathematics; biblical *exegesis, theology, basic religious instruction and saints' lives; also prayers and votive masses. In addition over 270 letters survive by Alcuin as well as a substantial corpus of verse in a wide range of genres.

Born in *Northumbria, perhaps in the 730s, Alcuin was raised and educated by the religious community at York Minster from an early age. Beyond his kinship with *Willibrord and his family's ownership of a church at Spurn Point, nothing is known of Alcuin's biological family. At York Minster, Alcuin was taught by *Ecgbert, archbishop of York (d. 766) and by *Ælberht. He accompanied Ælberht on trips to the Continent and, on his retirement, succeeded him as teacher. He also inherited his precious collection of books, a portion of which he eventually had transported to the Continent.

After Ælberht's death in 780, Alcuin was sent to Rome to collect the pallium for Ælberht's successor, Eanbald I. On his way back, in 781, he met Charlemagne in Parma. Although Alcuin had then written none of the works for which he is known, Charlemagne recognised his talents and invited Alcuin to join his court which, since the arrival of scholars from the Lombard kingdom (conquered in 774), had begun its development as an international centre of learning. Alcuin is believed to have taken

up residence at court in 781 or 782, but there is no firm evidence for this date. Alcuin remained with the Carolingian Court until 796, the date of his elevation to the abbacy of Tours; thereafter, when old age and increasing infirmity prevented his attendance at court gatherings, he remained in close touch with Charlemagne by letter. Alcuin's letters and poems from the court years offer a lively picture of intimacy with the royal family, and friendship, intellectual exchange and rivalry with fellow scholars. The nicknames that Alcuin devised for his students and colleagues illustrate the warmth and *familiaritas* of his circle.

At court, Alcuin served as teacher to the royal family (including Charlemagne himself). There and subsequently at Tours, he reintroduced texts which had been unstudied for centuries, including works of Boethius, Priscian's *Institutiones*, and the treatise *De decem categoriis*, of signal importance for the history of logic and speculative thought. His renown as a teacher ensured that pupils were sent from distant centres to study with him, with the result that he trained most of the high-ranking continental churchmen of the following generation.

Alcuin's influence beyond the classroom was no less significant. He helped to draft important statements of royal policy, including the *Admonitio generalis* and *De litteris colendis*. Alcuin also wrote energetically against the Adoptionist heresy and contributed in some way to the debate about the image controversy. He left his mark on the liturgy too, although the precise extent of his activity is still debated. He introduced votive masses and the singing of the creed during mass to the Continent; he encouraged the observance of All Saints' Day and compiled a lectionary and perhaps a homiliary, although he should probably no longer be credited with the revision of the Gregorian Sacramentary. At Charlemagne's request, Alcuin produced an emended text of the Bible and during and after his abbacy, Tours became an important centre for the production of bibles.

Although he did not use the new Caroline minuscule script himself, Alcuin insisted on new standards of accuracy and clarity in the scriptorium. He brought the same concern for clarity to the pronunciation of Latin. As a native speaker of English, Alcuin would have learnt a Latin free of vulgarisms typical of the latinity of the Latin/Romance-speaking areas of the Continent. Alcuin's imposition of a reformed system of pronunciation (in which every syllable was articulated) may ultimately have contributed to the emerging gulf between Latin and the Romance vernaculars.

Alcuin's career in Francia was interrupted by two return visits to England. In 786, Alcuin accompanied the legatine mission and perhaps helped to draft some of the chapters of the legatine council (see *councils, ecclesiastical). Alcuin was in England again in 790×793 when he was delegated to negotiate between Charlemagne and *Offa. During that interval, and after his return when he learned of the *Viking attack on *Lindisfarne, Alcuin was much troubled by the disorder and violence of English affairs and expressed his concern in numerous letters of admonition to his English associates. This concern was one factor in Alcuin's decision to finish his career on the Continent. However, he maintained contact with English correspondents in Northumbria, *Mercia and *Kent and students from England went abroad to study with him.

Alcuin's writings survive in numerous manuscripts scattered across Europe. Even during his lifetime, his letters were assiduously copied by contemporaries. Due to subsequent losses and destruction, the English tradition of Alcuin's writings is difficult to trace. *Wulfstan the Homilist had access to Alcuin's letters and Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* circulated in an Old English translation. Alcuin's letters and his poem on 'The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York' offer essential contemporary testimony for English affairs during the otherwise poorly documented interval between the death of Bede and the beginning of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as a contemporary source (in the last quarter of the ninth century). No writings by Alcuin in Old English survive and it is doubtful if any existed. Sentiments and expressions in his verse occasionally evince some resemblance to Old English poetry, but the apparent similarities can usually be credited to a shared biblical and patristic heritage. His prose style is straightforward, in the tradition of Bede rather than *Aldhelm. His verse owes much to the example of Venantius Fortunatus.

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 87; ODNB i.602–8; D. Schaller, *Verfasserslexikon* i.241–53; PL c–ci; MGH, PLAC i.160–351; MGH, Epist. iv.1–493; Alcuino: *De Orthographia*, ed. S. Bruni (Florence, 1997); W. S. Howell, *The Rhetoric of Alcuin & Charlemagne* (Princeton, NJ, 1941); Alcuin: *the Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. P. Godman (OMT, 1982); S. Allott, *Alcuin of York: his Life and Letters* (York, 1974); E. Dümmler, 'Zur Lebensgeschichte Alchvins', *Neues Archiv* 18 (1892–3), 51–70; D. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology and the Carolingian Age', in *Carolingian Essays*, ed. U.-R. Blumenthal (Washington, DC, 1983), pp. 1–69; idem, 'Aluinus deliciosus Karoli regis: Alcuin of York and the Shaping of the Early Carolingian Court', in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein*, ed. L. Fenske, W. Rösener and T. Zotz (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 73–92;

J. Fleckenstein, 'Alcuin im Kreis der Hofgelehrten Karls des Grossen', in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. P. L. Butzer and D. Lohrmann (Basel, 1993), pp. 3–22; *Alcuin of York*, ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald (Groningen, 1998); *Alcuin and Charlemagne: the Golden Age of York*, ed. M. Garrison, J. L. Nelson, and D. Tweddle (York, 2001); M. Fox, 'Alcuin as Exile and Educator', *LLEL* i.215–36; M. Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', *HBB* i.633–64.

MARY GARRISON

ALDFRITH, king of *Northumbria (686–705), illegitimate son of King *Oswiu (642–70) by an Irish mother, as a result of which he spoke Irish fluently. During the reign of *Ecgrith (670–85) he spent time in exile in Ireland, perhaps at *Iona, where through his studies he acquired a reputation for great learning (Bede calls him a *uir undecumque doctissimus*). At Iona he had perhaps known (and studied with?) *Adomnán, who subsequently came to Northumbria to redeem Irish captives and presented Aldfrith with a copy of his work *De locis sanctis*. On another occasion, he is said to have purchased a *codex cosmographiorum* for the substantial price of eight *hides and given it to the monastery of *Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. He was married at some point to *Cuthburg, a sister of King *Ine of Wessex and eventual abbess of Wimborne; through her he was also related in some way to *Aldhelm, who stood as sponsor at his baptism and who dedicated to Aldfrith his massive *Epistola ad Acircium*.

ODNB i.618–19; Bede, *HE* iv.26, v.15, 19; *Historia abbatum*, c. 15; Stenton, *ASE*, pp. 88–90; D. N. Dumville, 'Two Troublesome Abbots', *Celtica* 21 (1990), 146–52; N. J. Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350–1100* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 140–1.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ALDHELM (d. 709 or 710), abbot of *Malmesbury and bishop of *Sherborne (from 706), a scholar of immense learning and the earliest native Anglo-Saxon to have left a corpus of Latin writing. The date of Aldhelm's birth is unknown (c.640?); he was a royal prince, the son of the West Saxon king Centwine (676–85). The details of his early education are unknown, but there is suggestive evidence that he spent a period of study with *Adomnán and his kinsman *Aldfrith (later king of *Northumbria) on *Iona; what is certain is that he subsequently studied at the school of *Canterbury, from 670 onwards, under the supervision of Archbishop *Theodore and Abbot *Hadrian (part of a letter from Aldhelm to Hadrian is preserved by *William of Malmesbury), and this schooling had a profound effect on his scholarly orientation. He left Canterbury to become abbot of Malmesbury at a date unknown;

although William of Malmesbury gives the date of appointment as 675, no charter witnessed by Aldhelm as abbot carries a date earlier than 680, and there is some possibility, therefore, that Aldhelm may have spent as much as a decade studying in Canterbury (the longer the period in question, the more explicable becomes the vast range of his learning). As abbot of Malmesbury, Aldhelm increased the abbey's endowment and built several churches there, one dedicated to SS Peter and Paul (the dedication of which is commemorated in his own **titulus* on the church, *Carmen ecclesiasticum* i), and another to the Virgin Mary (perhaps the church commemorated in his *Carmen ecclesiasticum* ii). It was also at this time that Aldhelm composed a lengthy letter (his *Ep.* iv) to Geraint, king of *Domnonia*, setting out the correct principles of the Roman method of calculating Easter. When the West Saxon diocese was divided in 706, Aldhelm became the first bishop of its western part, with its episcopal see in Sherborne. According to William of Malmesbury he built a church at Sherborne (which no longer exists); it was possibly during the period of his bishopric that he built churches at **Bradford-on-Avon* (Wilts.) and **Wareham* (Dorset). Although Bede reports that Aldhelm 'presided vigorously' over his diocese, nothing further is known of this activity.

Aldhelm's literary achievements are much better known, thanks to the large corpus of his writing which has survived, which includes: a group of *tituli* for churches and altars (the so-called *Carmina ecclesiastica*); a collection of one hundred metrical **enigmata*; a prose treatise *De virginitate* and a corresponding metrical version of the same, consisting of some 2,900 hexameters; a poem in rhythmical **octosyllables* describing a journey through **Cornwall* and *Devon*; a lengthy *Epistola ad Acircium* consisting of a treatise on the arithmological significance of the number seven and of treatises on metre (*De metris*) and scansion (*De pedum regulis*); and a small corpus of letters. Of these, the *Carmina ecclesiastica* consist of the aforementioned *tituli* for churches of SS Peter and Paul and the Virgin Mary, as well as for an unidentified church built by a daughter of King Centwine (676–85) named Bugga (no. iii), and for a series of altars dedicated to the apostles, including Matthias (nos. iv–v). These *tituli* circulated widely and frequently served as models for inscriptional verse by later Anglo-Latin poets. The collection of 100 *enigmata* is ostensibly modelled on a similar, earlier collection by the anonymous Late Latin poet who calls himself 'Symposius'; but whereas the riddles of Symposius are three-line trifles built on plays of words, Aldhelm attempted in his *enigmata* ('mysteries') to evoke the life-forces

of gestation, birth and death which animate the universe; the imaginative conception in these poems exercised a powerful influence on later Anglo-Latin authors of *enigmata*, such as **Boniface*, **Tatwine* and *Eusebius*, as well as on the anonymous poets of the OE **riddles*. The *enigmata* were inserted by Aldhelm into his massive *Epistola ad Acircium* (a letter or treatise addressed to Aldfrith, king of Northumbria) ostensibly to illustrate the properties of metre explained by Aldhelm in the two metrical treatises included in the same work (of these, *De metris* provides discussion of the various kinds of metrical feet and the construction of the hexameter, whereas *De pedum regulis* is a metrical *gradus* for non-Latin speakers in which Aldhelm provides long lists of words constituting the various metrical feet, such as spondees, iambs, trochees, etc.). The prose *De virginitate* was addressed to Abbess **Hildelith* and her community of nuns at **Barking*; it consists of some chapters of theoretical discussion on virginity (drawn from Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome) illustrated by a long catalogue of examples of male virgins, beginning with Old Testament patriarchs, John the Baptist, apostles, fathers of the church, martyrs and confessors (including Martin, Antony and Benedict), followed by a sequence of female martyrs (including Cecilia, Agatha, Agnes, etc.); it concludes with an exhortation to modest dress (drawn from an earlier treatise on the subject by Cyprian). The flamboyant style of Aldhelm's prose, consisting of excessively long sentences built up of synonymous phrases often linked by alliteration and adorned by a dazzling variety of unusual grecisms, archaisms and words drawn from glossaries, also exerted a profound influence on later Anglo-Latin authors, and was ardently imitated by **Boniface*, **Æthelwold*, **Byrhtferth* and the draftsmen of the charters of King **Æthelstan*. The *Carmen de virginitate* is a contrafactum to the prose: it closely follows the structure of the prose work, but Aldhelm added various new virgins, and heightened the diction so that virginity itself is pictured as a vigorously aggressive virtue. As in the case of the prose work, the diction of the *Carmen* was often imitated by later Anglo-Latin poets, including *Boniface*, **Bede*, **Alcuin* and **Wulfstan* of Winchester. Finally, the rhythmical form of the brief octosyllabic poem concerning a journey originating in Cornwall and culminating in the description of a mighty storm at an unidentified church in Devon or Dorset (Wareham?), also influenced later poets, notably Aldhelm's own student **Æthilwald*. It is fair to say that, in the realm of diction – both prose and verse – Aldhelm was the most influential Anglo-Latin author.

Aldhelm reportedly died at Douling (Somerset) and was buried at Malmesbury. His deposition is commemorated on 25 May in Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendars. From the tenth century onwards his cult was celebrated at Malmesbury, and is reflected in two post-Conquest *vitae*: those by Faricius of Abingdon and by William of Malmesbury (whose account of Aldhelm occupies the whole of bk v of his *Gesta pontificum*).

Sharpe, *Handlist*, 89; *ODNB* i.619–23; *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH, AA 15 (Berlin, 1919); M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: the Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979); M. Lapidge and J. L. Rosier, *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works* (Cambridge, 1985); WMalm, *GP*, i.498–661; M. Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and its Origins', *ASE* 6 (1977), 39–76; S. Gwara, 'Manuscripts of Aldhelm's "Prosa de Virginitate" and the Rise of Hermeneutic Literacy in Tenth-Century England', *Studi medievali* 3rd ser. 35 (1994), 101–59; M. Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', *ALL* i.247–69; A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, CSASE 8 (Cambridge, 1994); idem, 'After Aldhelm: the Teaching and Transmission of the Anglo-Latin Hexameter', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992), 96–133; M. L. Cameron, 'Aldhelm as Naturalist', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 117–33; P. Remley, 'Aldhelm as Old English Poet: *Exodus*, Asser, and the *Dicta Ælfredi*', *LLEL* i.90–108; M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 178–91; idem, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *ASE* 36 (2007), 15–69; *Aldhelm and Sherborne*, ed. K. Barker and N. Brooks (Oxford, 2010); J. Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome', *ASE* 39 (2011), 7–20; A. Orchard, 'Aldhelm's Library', *HBB* i.591–605.

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ALDRED. A *colophon in the *Lindisfarne Gospels names 'Aldred, unworthy and most miserable priest' as the writer of the English interlinear gloss to the Latin text. This Aldred has been shown to be the same man as the 'Aldred, provost' who is named in Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19 (the 'Durham Ritual') as having added four Latin collects to that work, and who also wrote the English interlinear gloss to the main text in it. Aldred probably wrote the Lindisfarne Gospels gloss between c.950 and 970, while a priest of the community of Chester-le-Street, and that to the Durham Ritual c.970 (being by then provost). The two glosses are of great importance for the study of late Old English *dialects.

N. R. Ker, 'Aldred the Scribe', *Essays and Studies* 28 (1943 for 1942), 7–12; 'The Anglo-Saxon Gloss', ed. A. S. C. Ross and E. G. Stanley, in *Codex Lindisfarnensis*, ed. T. D. Kendrick *et al.*, 2 vols. (Olsen and Lausanne, 1960), ii.25–33; *The Durham Ritual*, ed. T. J. Brown *et al.*, EEMF 16 (Copenhagen, 1969); W. J. P. Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia* (Exeter, 1975); S. M. Pons Sanz, *Analysis of the Scandinavian Loanwords in the Aldredian Glosses to the Lindisfarne*

Gospels (Valencia, 2002); J. Roberts, 'Aldred Signs Off from Glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels', in *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. A. R. Rumble, PMCASS 5 (Cambridge, 2006), 28–43.

T. HOAD

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, LETTER TO ARISTOTLE. The *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* is one of a number of late Anglo-Saxon prose fictions that demonstrate an interest in the East. A single copy exists in the **Beowulf* manuscript, 107r–131v, written in the hand of the first scribe of *Beowulf*. The work is the earliest vernacular translation of the Latin *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*. The date suggested for the translation varies from the late ninth to the late tenth century.

The *Letter* presents itself as an epistle written by Alexander the Great to his tutor, Aristotle. In it, Alexander offers a first-hand account of his campaigns in India and his encounters with a number of monstrous creatures, from flying mice and fish-eating men to two-headed snakes as big around as columns. The Old English translation is by no means a literal rendering of the Latin, but instead focuses the narrative more clearly on Alexander rather than on his adventures. While an Anglo-Saxon interest in Alexander may seem unlikely, he also figures in the Old English **Orosius*, the **Marvels of the East*, and **Widsith*.

Three Old English Prose Texts in MS. Cotton Vitellius A.xv, ed. S. Rypins, EETS os 161 (London, 1924); G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, ed. D. J. A. Ross (Cambridge, 1956); A. Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 116–39, 204–53; *The Beowulf Manuscript*, ed. and trans. R. D. Fulk, DOML 3 (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2010), 34–83.

KATHRYN POWELL

ALFRED, king of *Wessex (871–99), successfully withstood *Viking attempts to capture his kingdom and ended his reign as 'king of the Anglo-Saxons', the dominant ruler in England. Alfred came to the throne, following the death of his brother Æthelred, in a year in which nine major engagements were fought with the Great Army of the *Vikings. A temporary peace was made at the end of the year, but at the beginning of 878 Alfred narrowly escaped capture in a surprise attack on his residence at Chippenham. He fled to the Somerset marshes and it was there (according to later apocryphal tradition) that he burnt the cakes and was comforted by a visit from St *Cuthbert. He rallied the West Saxons and won a decisive victory at Edington (Wilts). The Viking leader *Guthrum agreed to be baptised with Alfred as his sponsor and withdrew permanently

from Wessex. Alfred then set about ensuring that his kingdom was better protected from further Viking attacks. He extended the system of burghal defences and established permanent garrisons within them; the details of the arrangements are recorded in the *Burghal Hidage. The army was reorganised so that only half the force was on duty at any one time, and with *Frisian help he commissioned ships to a new design. An aggressive policy was adopted against Vikings settled in southern England which also allowed Alfred to extend his power beyond the borders of the Wessex he had inherited. In 886 Alfred 'occupied' *London which had been under Viking control, and, in the words of the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 'all the English people that were not under subjection to the Danes submitted to him'. A celebratory coinage was issued, but control of the city, which had previously been a Mercian possession, was entrusted to his son-in-law Æthelred, the ruler of western *Mercia. The value of Alfred's reforms and alliances was made clear between 892 and 896 when an invading Viking army was kept on the move by the West Saxons and Mercians working together and was ultimately frustrated in its aims.

Alfred not only physically protected his people, he also sought their moral and religious regeneration, as can be seen in his *law-code which is placed in the tradition of Old Testament legislation. In this he was undoubtedly influenced by ideals of Christian kingship developed during the Carolingian Renaissance. Two Frankish scholars, *Grimbald of Saint-Bertin and *John the Old Saxon, joined others from Mercia, and the king's biographer *Asser from St David's, to aid Alfred in the revival of Christian learning. Asser writes of the personal piety of Alfred. The king founded a nunnery at *Shaftesbury for one of his daughters and a monastery at Athelney where he had retreated in 878. But the greatest testimony to Alfred's commitment are the Old English translations he made of four major Latin works with the aid of his scholarly advisers (see *Alfredian texts). The four works, which are linked by distinctive features of style and vocabulary, are the *Regula pastoralis* of *Gregory the Great, the *De consolazione Philosophiae* by Boethius, St Augustine's *Soliloquia* and the first fifty Psalms. In addition Alfred commissioned from other scholars translations of Gregory's *Dialogi*, *Orosius's *Historiae adversus paganos* and, probably, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (see *Bede, OE). It is likely that Alfred was also directly involved in the commissioning of the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and of his own biography by Asser. Others were intended to benefit as Alfred had done from studying such works. His Preface to his translation of the *Regula pastoralis* makes it clear that he expected the bishops

to take its precepts to heart and make sure that their priests did so too. *Ealdormen and other royal officials were required to study or risk losing their offices. Alfred was no doubt aware that the respect for kings as God's representatives on earth, which Christian teaching encouraged, was very much to his own advantage.

Alfred may have been more aware than many Anglo-Saxon rulers of his responsibilities as a Christian king, but he did not neglect the traditional expectations of a Germanic ruler either. The *Alfred Jewel is testimony to the high standards of craftsmanship in works commissioned by the king, and Asser praises the king's generosity. Generous gifts required a good income, and Alfred took good care of the sources of revenue available to him. Burhs could also function as sites where trade could take place under the supervision and taxation of royal officials. The *coinage was reformed, with two major periods of re-coinage in c.875 and c.880, and new *mints opened up. Asser reveals that Alfred could act harshly if he needed to, and his law-code is concerned to extend the effectiveness of royal control and lordship. A certain ruthlessness can be seen in the manoeuvres, revealed in his *will, to ensure that his son *Edward, rather than one of his nephews, succeeded on his death. Nor did personal piety prevent Alfred from replenishing the royal coffers through the annexation of former church lands, actions which earned him a rebuke from Pope John VII. Such policies were the hallmarks of a powerful king who could command respect, and not only the English outside Wessex, but also Welsh kings and even Vikings were eager to seek his protection. In this way Alfred provided the springboard for his successors of the tenth century to become kings of England. Alfred died on 26 October 899, and was buried in *Winchester.

ODNB i.716–25; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971); Whitelock, *Bede to Alfred*; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*; J. Nelson, 'A King across the Sea': Alfred in Continental Perspective', *TRHS* 5th ser. 36 (1986), 45–68; J. R. Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred', *P & P* 123 (1989), 3–51; Dumville, *Wessex*; Bately FS; R. Abels, *Alfred the Great* (London, 1998); D. Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007); *The Brill Companion to King Alfred the Great*, ed. N. G. Discenza and P. E. Szarmach (forthcoming).

B. A. E. YORKE

ALFRED JEWEL. This remarkable object consists of an enamelled figural plaque set beneath a polished rock crystal, the whole framed in goldwork terminating in a filigree-encrusted animal head holding the socket in its mouth (see pl. 2). It was

found in 1693, 4 miles from Athelney (Somerset), and is the most elaborate of four (known so far) prestige fittings which probably served as the handles of manuscript pointers. Its modern name derives from the openwork inscription in Old English around the crystal setting. This records that '+ Alfred ordered me to be made' and is taken by most scholars to refer to King *Alfred (871–99); though not conclusive, this is a very plausible attribution on historical, stylistic and linguistic grounds.

As long ago as 1709, Thomas Hearne suggested that this enigmatic object might be the handle of one of the *æstels* which Alfred ordered to be sent out to every diocese in his kingdom, accompanying copies of his translation of *Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*; each *æstel* was worth 50 mancuses, a considerable sum, equivalent to a half-pound weight of gold. The word's context and etymology suggest that it signifies a pointer used in formal readings and teaching from manuscripts. The sumptuous nature of the Jewel suggests a courtly origin, while its

narrow socket, which it shares with several other related fittings, is more suited to holding a slender ivory or wooden rod than the more substantial shaft of a sceptre or staff of office. A suggestion that they may have been fittings on a crown is equally implausible on practical and representational grounds.

The identification of the Jewel with one of Alfred's *æstels* is supported by the iconography of the enamelled half-length figure which dominates the object. The meaning of this figure, with its prominent eyes and floriate sceptres, has attracted much speculation; the two most convincing readings identify it as the personification of Sight, or of the Wisdom of God. Both would be very appropriate to its supposed function as an instrument associated with the reading and teaching of holy texts. The use of rock crystal, traditionally a symbol of purity and of light, may also be significant here.

The related fittings, which include the Minster Lovell Jewel and four others found in recent years, are all much less ambitious in scope and scale, but share some features – blue glass or enamel, rock crystal or filigree animal heads – seen on the Alfred Jewel, as well as the distinctive small socket and flat base. Perhaps significantly, four of the six have been found within Alfred's kingdom of *Wessex; but caution argues against associating all of these directly with Alfred's particular initiative in distributing the *Pastoral Care*, since manuscript pointers are likely to have been in widespread ecclesiastical use.

E. Bakka, 'The Alfred Jewel and Sight', *AJ* 46 (1966), 277–82; D. A. Hinton, *A Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700–1100 in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 29–48; D. R. Howlett, 'The Iconography of the Alfred Jewel', *Oxoniensia* 39 (1974), 49–52; idem, 'Alfred's *Æstel*', *English Philological Studies* 14 (1975), 65–74; *Alfred the Great*, pp. 203–6; R. L. Collins, 'King Alfred's *Æstel* Reconsidered', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 16 (1985) 37–58; *The Making of England*, pp. 282–3; L. Webster, '*Ædificia Nova*: Treasures of Alfred's Reign', in *Alfred the Great*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 79–103; D. A. Hinton, *The Alfred Jewel and other Late Anglo-Saxon Metalwork* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 1–39.

LESLIE WEBSTER



Plate 2 The Alfred Jewel. AN1836p.135.371, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

ALFREDIAN TEXTS are those Old English texts associated with the reign of King *Alfred the Great of *Wessex (871–99), sponsor of the first programme of translation from Latin into Old English. Most scholars believe that the king translated four works himself, though the extent of Alfred's involvement has recently been called into question. At least two other works (Gregory's *Dialogi*, translated by *Werferth, bishop of Worcester, and *Orosius) were translated under his patronage. Two more anonymous translations (the OE

*Martyrology and the *OE Bede) may have benefited from the king's sponsorship, and some scholars link the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to him as well.

The Old English rendering of *Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*, called the *Pastoral Care*, is the best-known and probably the first of Alfred's own translations. While the dates and chronology of Alfred's works are uncertain, the *Pastoral Care* is usually assigned to the early 890s. A letter prefacing the text, addressed by Alfred to his bishops, contrasts the former greatness of England with its recent decline and proposes a programme of education and translation to recover the people's lost wealth and wisdom. The letter asks each bishop to arrange instruction in reading English for 'all free young men' with means and opportunity while Alfred and his helpers translate 'those works which are most necessary for all men to know'. The translation itself remains fairly close to its Latin source, although the Old English text has more secular colouring than the Latin; the translation frequently addresses a 'ruler' or 'teacher' instead of the 'bishop' instructed by the Latin text. Both the Latin and the Old English texts treat the proper regulation of the conduct of the leader and how that leader should tend to the spiritual needs of his subjects.

Alfred's translations of Boethius's *De consolazione Philosophiae* into the Old English *Boethius* and Augustine's *Soliloquia* into the Old English *Soliloquies* apparently followed his work on the *Pastoral Care*. Both translations sometimes diverge from their source texts, occasionally radically. The *Boethius* explores most of the same issues as the Latin text: the goal of all created things; the nature of Fortune; the distinction between worldly and true goods; the problem of evil; and the question of human free will. Yet Alfred has removed or shortened passages, especially those dealing with eternity and free will, and added other passages, particularly ones commenting upon rulers' responsibilities to their subjects. The *Boethius* also employs formal logic and philosophy less than its source text and relies more on arguments based on authority and analogy; moreover, it is explicitly Christian, unlike the Latin text. The *Soliloquies* not only diverge several times from the source text, but include an additional book based on patristic sources, including Augustine's *De videndo deo* (Ep. cxlvii), several works of Gregory the Great, Boethius's *De consolazione* (which Alfred apparently translated simultaneously or slightly earlier), and Jerome's Vulgate translation of the Bible and his *Commentary on Luke*. The direction of all three books, however, is still determined by the fundamental question asked by Augustine's *Soliloquia*: is the human soul immortal?

Alfred probably also translated the first fifty Psalms into Old English prose in the form in which they are preserved in the Paris Psalter (see *Psalter Glosses). Although his name is not attached to the manuscript and the place of this work in the chronology of Alfred's translations is uncertain, both stylistic and external evidence points to the king. The translation is fairly close to the source text, like the *Pastoral Care*, but not word for word; some passages have been slightly expanded to gloss the text.

While the Alfredian translations display a variety of translational strategies, ranging from almost word-for-word translation to the use of additional sources and the introduction of original phrases and ideas, two major themes recur in all the Alfredian texts: issues of leadership and responsibility for others, and the relation of the individual to God and the care of the soul. The translations also demonstrated that Old English could handle complex forms and ideas previously confined to Latin, thereby asserting the sophistication of Anglo-Saxon language and culture.

J. Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', *ASE* 17 (1988), 93–138 [includes references to editions of the primary texts]; A. J. Frantzen, *King Alfred* (Boston, 1986); Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*; Whitelock, *Bede to Alfred* ['The Prose of Alfred's Reign', 'William of Malmesbury on the Works of King Alfred', and 'The Genuine Asser']; G. Waite, *Old English Prose Translations of King Alfred's Reign*, Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature 6 (Woodbridge, 2000); M. Godden, *The Translations of Alfred and his Circle, and the Misappropriation of the Past*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 14 (Cambridge, 2004); idem, 'Did King Alfred Write Anything?', *MÆ* 76 (2007), 1–23; D. Pratt, 'Problems of Authorship and Audience in the Writings of King Alfred the Great', in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. P. Wormald and J. L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 162–91; idem, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007); J. Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited', *MÆ* 78 (2009), 189–215.

NICOLE GUENTHER DISCENZA

ALLITERATION, the echoing of the initial sounds of words, is perhaps the most distinctive stylistic feature of Anglo-Saxon literature, and is found widely in both Latin and Old English, in prose and especially in verse, where it has a primary structural function. Its roots are ancient, and undoubtedly derive from the prehistoric period: *Germanic languages in their earliest stages generally carried the main stress on the initial syllables of words, and alliteration (the intentional ornamentation of those initial stressed syllables) is attested widely in the earliest written records not only of Old English, but of other related languages, such as *Old Norse. Many

early Old English texts, including *laws and *genealogies, exhibit alliterative ornamentation in their phrasing, and many Anglo-Latin authors employed alliteration far more extensively than previous Latin writers had done. Such a preference for alliteration especially in Anglo-Latin verse reflects its fundamental structural importance in Old English poetry, although many poets (notably *Cynewulf) also used extra alliteration for ornamental purposes. Presumably because of its aural and memorial impact, alliteration, often combined with rhythmical effects, is also very prominent in much Old English *preaching; *Ælfric developed a highly rhetorical style based on balanced alliteration loosely resembling what is found in Old English verse, while *Wulfstan preferred to pepper his prose with highly alliterative 'purple passages'.

D. L. Hoover, 'Evidence for Primacy of Alliteration in Old English Metre', *ASE* 14 (1985), 75–96; A. Orchard, 'Artful Alliteration in Anglo-Saxon Song and Story', *Anglia* 113 (1995), 429–63.

ANDY ORCHARD

ALMS (OE *ælmesse*). Forms of payment made to churches, and to agencies of the church, for the support of charitable causes in ways which might serve the purposes of those assuming responsibility for making the payments in the first place. The distinction recognised in the tenth century between tithes, church-scot, *Romfeoh*, plough-alms and soul-scot (e.g. I Edm., ch. 2, and II Edg., chs. 1–5) represents the product of a process of development which probably originated in the seventh century. King *Offa promised to send 365 mancuses each year to the pope, 'for the support of the poor and the provision of lights' (*EHD* i, no. 205); a coin of King Offa, inscribed 'S. Petrus' and found in northern Italy, was recorded in the nineteenth century but is now lost. King *Æthelwulf ordered that 300 mancuses should be taken to Rome each year, for similar purposes (Asser, c. 16). In 883 King *Alfred made a payment of alms to *Rome, as a way of gaining God's help against the *Vikings, during the pontificate of Marinus I (882–4); a chronicler made a point of recording later payments of the 'alms of King Alfred and the West Saxons' to Rome (*ASC*, s.a. 887–90); and special coins, inscribed 'Aelfred rex Saxonum' and 'Elimo[sina]' (alms), appear to have been minted for the purpose, probably at *Exeter or *Winchester. It is not known how these early payments were raised, or how the burden was shared among the people; but by the middle of the tenth century alms-giving was a duty incumbent upon all Christian men, and payment was enforced with the full panoply of royal law. The payment known as *Romfeoh* developed into

the form of taxation known as 'Peter's Pence', levied at the rate of a penny per household payable each year by St Peter's Day (1 August). The prompt and proper payment of church-dues, tithes, and alms, is a theme which runs through the legislation drawn up on behalf of *Æthelred and *Cnut by Archbishop *Wulfstan II of York, 'so that God Almighty may have mercy upon us and grant us victory over our enemies' (VII Atr. ch. 8, perhaps with intended reference to the symbolism of the 'Agnus Dei' pennies minted in 1009).

Anglo-Saxon Coins, ed. R. H. M. Dolley (London, 1961), pp. 44–6, 77–8; H. Loyn, 'Peter's Pence' (1984), repr. in his *Society and Peoples: Studies in the History of England and Wales, c.600–1200* (London, 1992), pp. 241–58; J. Graham-Campbell and E. Okasha, 'A Pair of Inscribed Anglo-Saxon Hooked Tags from the Rome (Forum) 1883 Hoard', *ASE* 20 (1991), 221–9; A. Olson, 'Textual Representations of Almsgiving in Late Anglo-Saxon England' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of York, 2010).

SIMON KEYNES

ALPHABET. Most vernacular manuscripts are written in Insular minuscule, developed from Insular half-uncial, although late in the tenth century scribes began writing Latin in Caroline minuscule (see *script). The Anglo-Saxon alphabet was based on the Roman alphabet, and so included the ligature *æ* but lacked *j* and *v*; *q* and *z* were used only in foreign names. As it was adapted to meet the demands of the Old English sound system, a variety of *d* with a cross-stroke through the ascender, *ð* (known since the nineteenth century as *eth*) represented the sounds for which we use *th*, while two *runes were incorporated, *þ* (thorn), interchangeable with *eth*, and *ƿ* (*wynn*) for *w*. See also *spelling and pronunciation.

Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. xxv–xxxiii; A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), ch. 1.

DONALD SCRAGG

AMIATINUS, CODEX. The third of three massive Vulgate pandects (single-volume Bibles) made at *Monkwearmouth-Jarrow under the direction of Abbot *Ceolfrith. Now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence (as MS Amiatino 1), it is the oldest extant complete Latin Bible. The text was copied mostly from good Italian exemplars and was consulted during the Sixtine revision of the Vulgate (1587–90). The volume's 1,030 leaves measure 505 × 340 mm and it is 250 mm thick in its present nineteenth-century binding. The first quire contains ancillary material, including the 'Ezra miniature', apparently copied from the *Codex grandior*, an Old Latin Bible formerly in the possession of Cassiodorus at

Vivarium, Italy, but brought to Northumbria c.679. Destined for presentation to Pope Gregory II at St Peter's in Rome, Amiatinus left England in 716 with Ceolfrith and eighty monks in attendance, but the abbot died on the way. It appears to have reached Rome but perhaps as early as the end of the ninth century was at the monastery of San Salvatore at Monte Amiata in the Central Apennines. It was presumably here that Ceolfrith's original dedication was altered, thereby disguising the Bible's English origin. It was taken to Florence shortly after the dissolution of San Salvatore in 1782.

CLA iii.299; Alexander, *Insular MSS*, no. 7; R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Art of the Codex Amiatinus', Jarrow Lecture 1967 (Jarrow, [1968]); P. Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 827–83; R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 15 (Cambridge, 1995), chs. 3–5; L. G. G. Ricci, ed., *La Bibbia Amiatina / The Codex Amiatinus. Riproduzione integrale su CD-ROM del manoscritto / Complete Reproduction on CD-ROM of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1* (Florence, 2000); C. Chazelle, 'Ceolfrid's Gift to St Peter: the First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the Evidence of its Roman Destination', *EME* 12 (2003), 129–58; P. Meyvaert, 'The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and his Image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 80 (2005), 1087–1133; R. Marsden, 'Amiatinus in Italy: The Afterlife of an Anglo-Saxon Book', in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. H. Sauer and J. Story (Tempe, AZ, 2011), pp. 217–43.

RICHARD MARSDEN

AMULETS. An amulet is something kept (worn, carried or put in position, for example, in a house) for good luck, or against disease, the Evil Eye or the like. The *penitential of Archbishop *Theodore probably provides the earliest documentary evidence for Anglo-Saxon amulets since it allowed 'stones and herbs' to someone 'afflicted by an evil spirit'. *Bede related that early Christians, when suffering from the plague, resorted to amulets (*phylacteria* or *ligaturas*), and in *Alcuin's time some amulets already contained Christian ingredients. *Ælfric (quoting 'Augustine') wrote that it was permissible to take herbs as *medicine, but not to bind them on oneself, except on the sore; however, the *medical literature has several references to herbs, and rather fewer to parts of animals, worn as pendants to aid healing (see also *charms and *magic). Brief texts (often using foreign letter forms or garbled language) could themselves act as amulets, when written directly onto the patient's skin, or on vellum and hung around the neck.

For the illiterate pagan period the best evidence for amulets comes from the *cemeteries, particularly

from feminine inhumation burials. Claws and bones of birds such as eagles, and teeth of such mammals as wolves, often pierced for suspension and worn with beads on a necklace (though visually unattractive), were probably amulets, since in many cultures such objects symbolise the strength of the creature from which they came. Pendants shaped like miniature buckets might likewise symbolise the woman's part in the social and ritual role of alcohol. Ornamental beads could also have been amulets; for example, Pliny ascribed some virtues to amber – frequent in sixth-century burials – and some early preachers condemned it as superstitious. Other artifacts, like the so-called 'Hercules clubs' (also found in *Germany), fit into a general typology which begins with objects associated with a hero or deity. Some rare coin-shaped gold pendants known as bracteates (mostly imported from Scandinavia) are ornamented with mythological scenes. Fossils, however, were not worn, but kept in bags or boxes, or held in the hand (for example, an echinoid found in a woman's grave at Westgarth, *Bury St Edmunds), or kept within houses like the porosphaerae at West Stow, Suffolk.

Other possible amulets are found mainly in burials with seventh-century grave goods: for example, little models of spears and tools, worn on long chatelaine chains; and circular silver pendants in the shape of model shields. Cowry shells, whose amuletic character is known from many cultures, were imported from the Middle East; and pendants which may have been children's teething amulets were made from the strong teeth of beavers. In the later Christian period pendant crosses may usually have replaced the varieties of earlier amulets.

A. L. Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, BAR Brit. ser. 96 (1981); T. M. Dickinson, 'An Anglo-Saxon "Cunning Woman" from Bidford-on-Avon', in M. Carver, ed., *In Search of Cult* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 45–54.

AUDREY MEANEY

ANDREAS. The first poem in the *Vercelli Book is an anonymous life of St Andrew, based on a lost version of the apocryphal Latin *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos*. (An earlier view that the immediate source is Greek is now largely discounted.) Andrew, sent by God to rescue Matthew from the cannibalistic Mermedonians, survives a storm at sea, captivity and Christ-like torments, to convert the citizens and travel home triumphant. The anonymous author uses lively and vigorous heroic language extensively, with the apostles in the first section described in military terminology, the heroic diction continuing in references throughout the poem to the 'loyalty' which the 'thegn' Andrew

displays towards his Lord. Similarities to **Beowulf*, from the opening line *Hwæt we gefrunan on fyrndagum*, convinced many older critics that *Andreas* was consciously based upon it, but it is more likely that both poets drew upon a common poetic stock. A prose account of Andrew, one of the Blickling Homilies, again tells the story of his dealings with the Mermedonians and testifies to Anglo-Saxon interest in the tale, but *Ælfric's account of the saint concentrates on his martyrdom and ignores the apocryphon.

ASPR ii.3–51; *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*, ed. K. R. Brooks (Oxford, 1961); E. B. Irving, Jr, 'A Reading of *Andreas*: the Poem as Poem', *ASE* 12 (1983), 215–37; P. Clemons, *Interactions of Thought and Language in Old English Poetry*, CSASE 12 (Cambridge, 1995), 249–72; *Old English Poems of Christ and His Saints*, ed. and trans. M. Clayton, DOML (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2013).

DONALD SCRAGG

ANGELCYNN: see English People

ANGLIAN DIALECT: see Dialects

ANGLO-NORMAN (IN PRE-CONQUEST TEXTS). A difficulty attendant upon distinguishing French words in Old English is their similarity with *loan-words which are very freely borrowed from Latin. Among the few certain French words recorded in English texts dating from before the Norman Conquest are *pride* and *sot*. But others, recorded only after the Conquest, presumably entered the spoken language earlier since otherwise they would not have been intelligible in the vernacular contexts in which they are found. The **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has a number of loans in post-Conquest entries: *castle*, *prison*, *service*, and other texts have *capon*, *bacon* and the verb *serve*.

M. S. Serjeantson, *A History of Foreign Words in English* (London, 1935); A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §567.

DONALD SCRAGG

ANGLO-SAXON ART, CHRONOLOGY. Although very few works of art are closely dated, sufficient numbers are broadly datable through archaeological or historical context, or (in the case of manuscripts) on palaeographical grounds, to clarify the general outlines of stylistic and ornamental development. Nevertheless, most works can only be assigned to a wide time-band via the imprecise tools of stylistic comparison and typology; and the dating of many individual pieces, especially stone *sculpture, remains problematic.

The earliest Anglo-Saxon art, as it survives, is largely confined to objects of personal adornment, like brooches, buckles and wrist-clasps. Such items, whatever their quality, were invariably decorated, some of them outstandingly. Characteristic of the fifth century is the 'Quoit brooch style' (with motifs based on crouching animals) which is represented most splendidly on the silver quoit brooch from Sarre, Kent. While the origins of this style are disputed – it has been seen as an offshoot of provincial Roman art, as Frankish, or (more plausibly) Jutish – the two main subsequent types of decoration (Salin's Styles I and II) are unequivocally linked to the wider Germanic world. Salin's Style I, which was almost certainly imported from Scandinavia, was current in England from the late fifth century, continuing throughout the sixth, and (in the midlands) into the seventh. Used, for instance, on many Square-headed brooches, it is characterised by chip-carved patterns based on animals and masks. Style II ornament, which gradually superseded it (especially in the south-east), being employed from the second half of the sixth century into the seventh, is dominated by serpentine beasts with interlacing bodies. It is well represented on Kentish triangular buckles.

By the later sixth century the best works from the south-east are distinguished by greater use of expensive materials, above all gold and garnets, reflecting the growing prosperity of a more organised society which had greater access to imported precious materials. The point is underlined by the finer Kentish composite disc brooches and, in particular, by the buckle from the *Taplow burial and the *jewellery from that at *Sutton Hoo, interments of c.600 and c.625 respectively. While the possible symbolism of the decorative elements like interlace and beast forms that were used in these early works remains obscure, it is clear that such objects were the products of a society that invested its modest surpluses in personal display, which fostered craftsmen and jewellers of a high standard, and in which the possession of a fine brooch or buckle was a valuable status symbol – in death as much as in life.

The very large hoard of fine metalwork fragments, dominated by sword fittings, that was found near Hammerwich in Staffordshire (see *Staffordshire Hoard) demonstrates that considerable quantities of high-grade goldsmiths' work were in circulation among the upper echelons of secular society during the seventh century. It also shows that, superb though individual pieces may be in terms of craftsmanship, the value of such items as bullion and their potential roles as tribute or the spoils of war could, in a warrior society, outweigh appreciation of their integrity and artistry.

The coming of Christianity revolutionised the visual arts as well as other aspects of society – although the change during the seventh century from burial with grave goods to burial without them undoubtedly overemphasises the phenomenon. Not only were many new models now available, but art also had to fulfil new functions; moreover, whereas pagan art favoured abstraction, Christianity required legible figural iconography. The interface between the Christian and pagan traditions is occasionally apparent in seventh-century works. Examples include the Crundale buckle (a rich Kentish triangular buckle decorated with garnet-filled cloisons and Style II animal ornament, which is dominated by the Christian symbol of a fish) and the Canterbury pendant (essentially a Kentish disc brooch adapted to pendant form, whose design revolves around a cross).

In addition to fostering such reapplications of traditional metalworking skills, the imported faith stimulated work in new media – stone sculpture and manuscript illumination. Henceforth, Germanic motifs, such as interlace and animal ornament along with Celtic spiral patterns, are juxtaposed with Christian imagery and Mediterranean decoration, notably vine-scroll. The balance between these elements varied from one location to the next according to its cultural contacts. In general, works from the south are more restrained in their use of Insular ornament than are those from Northumbria – a notable exception being Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, whose classicising works such as the Codex Amiatinus reflect the foundation's direct connections with Rome and Gaul.

Though specifically Christian art was probably produced as soon as the faith was established in a given location, the oldest surviving approximately datable works come from the end of the seventh century. The jamb of the doorway at Monkwearmouth, carved with a pair of lacertine beasts, probably dates from the 680s; the golden, garnet-adorned pectoral cross of St Cuthbert was presumably made before 687; while the wooden coffin of the same saint (incised with Christ and the evangelist symbols, the Virgin and Child, archangels and apostles), the Lindisfarne Gospels, and the Codex Amiatinus all date from c.700. The fact that these works are all from Northumbria might be held to reflect the particular strength of the church in that kingdom during the second half of the century.

The full flowering of Christian art is generally associated with the eighth century, to which are assigned most of the grand decorated manuscripts and sculptures, along with 'secular' works which bear comparable ornament, like the Witham pins

and the Coppergate helmet (see pl. 3). Despite a few markers such as the 'St Petersburg Bede' (probably soon after 746) and, perhaps, the Codex Aureus (for which a mid-eighth-century date is likely on circumstantial grounds), there are precious few absolute dates here: the accepted chronology relies on inference, assumption and scholarly tradition. The flourishing of sculpture in Mercia, for instance (best exemplified by the friezes at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leics.), is believed to have occurred slightly later than in Northumbria and is dated to the second half of the eighth century – ultimately because this corresponds to the rise of the kingdom's political power. Similarly, more naturalistic work both in Mercia and Northumbria (e.g. the Breedon angel from the former, and the Easby and Rothbury crosses from the latter) is assigned to the early ninth century on the grounds that it represents a response to Carolingian art.

How far these traditions continued into the ninth century is debatable, but undoubtedly they varied according to region: continuity is most obvious in the south and the west. Some fine decorated southern books, above all the Bible fragment, BL, Royal 1.E.VI, can be securely assigned to the earlier ninth century, owing to the similarity of their script to that of charters from that period; while the Book of Cerne is probably datable on internal grounds to 818 × 830. Furthermore, certain decorated motifs used in these manuscripts, such as hunched, triangular beasts, also appear on objects from the Trewhiddle hoard (buried in the 870s) and on the rings which bear the names of King Æthelwulf (d. 858) and Queen Æthelswith (d. 888/9), which are the centre of a small corpus of fine ninth-century metalwork.

Yet despite some demonstrable continuity in the south, it is indisputable that the Viking invasions and settlement represented a watershed in England's artistic tradition. The ravages removed or destroyed much Anglo-Saxon art, while the settlement introduced new Scandinavian craftsmen and patrons. The result was to accentuate the pre-existing distinction between the art of the north and that of the south. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Viking dominated areas were characterised by stone sculpture in which the Anglo-Saxon tradition of cross shafts took on new forms, and a distinctive Anglo-Scandinavian monument, the 'hogback' tomb, was produced. The ring-headed cross type of Celtic ancestry was now favoured; some shafts, such as those at Sockburn, Co. Durham, and Middleton, Yorks., featured depictions of warriors; while others, such as that at Gosforth, included scenes from Scandinavian mythology.

The decorative motifs used on these northern carvings (as on items of personal adornment or everyday use) echo Scandinavian styles. The chronology of ornament types in Scandinavia thus provides approximate *termini post quos* for their deployment in England. The Borre style (characterised by ribbon-plait) was current in Norway from the mid-ninth century to the end of the tenth. The Jellinge style (based on a swirling ribbon-like animal), which in England is largely confined to Yorkshire and Teeside, appeared in Denmark at the end of the ninth century. Overtly Viking works are comparatively rare in the south; but those that do occur (such as the grave marker from St Paul's, London, and the brooch from Pitney, Somerset) are decorated in the Ringerike or Urnes styles, which were current in Scandinavia from the late tenth century to the late eleventh, and from the early eleventh to the twelfth respectively. The former (an adaptation of Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian foliage) is characterised by a foliate scroll with tendrilly shoots, the latter by stylised quadrupeds and ribbon-like snakes. Such items are reasonably associated with the reigns of the Danish kings in the eleventh century.

The expansion of the house of *Wessex and, subsequently, the monastic reform movement appear to have been the catalysts for the rebirth of art in southern England from the end of the ninth century. Here artists responded primarily to Carolingian art, foliage supplanting interlace as the preferred decorative motif. Key early works are the *Alfred Jewel (probably pre-899), which has fleshy leaves engraved on the back plate; and the stole and maniples of Bishop Frithestan of Winchester (c.909×916), which are ornamented with acanthus leaves, alongside figures that bear the stamp of Byzantine art (see *embroidery).

The surviving evidence highlights *Winchester and *Canterbury as the leading centres of manuscript art in the second half of the tenth century: they developed colourful paintings with lavish foliate borders, and coloured line drawings respectively. Two key datable Winchester works, the New Minster Charter (966) and the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold (971×984), provide a firm framework for the development of its style. By the early eleventh century, these two traditions had intermeshed – as the Canterbury psalter in BL, Arundel 155 (datable 1012×1023) reveals – and had spread to other centres. Though manuscripts dominate the corpus, sufficient architectural sculpture, ivory carving and metalwork survives to show that the same styles were current in secular art, and became widespread in the south at parochial level. The wealth of England in the later tenth and eleventh century is

clearly reflected in the lavish use of gold in manuscript art as well as for vessels, textiles and statues (now known only from descriptions). Widely admired, southern English art was highly influential in *Normandy, France and *Flanders from c.1000. Indeed, keen to possess it, the Normans seem to have appropriated it in large quantities in the wake of the Conquest. The *Bayeux Tapestry, probably designed by a Canterbury artist for Odo of Bayeux, is arguably the swansong of Anglo-Saxon art.

Surveying nearly 600 years of continuous change, three common strands stand out: first, a love of lavish colour, allied to a taste for rich materials; secondly, an interplay between abstract ornament and representational subject matter; and thirdly, a continuing interrelationship with Ireland, Scandinavia, the Continent, and *Byzantium. Art reflects more clearly than any other single source how far England was linked to its neighbours, not divided from them, by the sea.

B. M. Ager, 'The Smaller Variants of the Anglo-Saxon Quoit Brooch', *ASSAH* 4 (1985), 1–58; M. Pinder, 'Anglo-Saxon Garnet Cloisonné Composite Disc Brooches', *Journal of the British Archaeological Society* 148 (1995), 6–28; G. Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its Germanic Background* (Oxford, 1980); D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700–1100 in the British Museum* (London, 1964); idem, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (London, 1984); *Making of England; The Golden Age of AS Art*; R. G. Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford, 1995); R. Cramp *et al.*, *CASSS*; L. Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (London, 2012).

RICHARD GAMESON

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' is a term of convenience applied by modern scholars to a composite set of annals which provides the basis for the greater part of our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon history. The understanding of the *Chronicle* as a literary text is, however, a matter of great complexity. The original compilation is the so-called 'common stock', probably put together in the late ninth century at the court of King *Alfred the Great. The earliest material was drawn from a variety of written sources, including *Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, supplemented by *annals bearing on Kentish, South Saxon, Mercian, and above all West Saxon history; but with the notable exception of the annal for 757 (which narrates the story of King Cynwulf), the annals do not pick up momentum until they begin to tell of the Danish invasions from the late eighth century onwards. It is essentially the broad vision of an 'English' history, with its roots in Roman Britain and resolving itself in King Alfred's heroic struggle against the Danes, which commends the view that the common stock was compiled by

scholars who moved in court circles and was in that sense a court (as opposed to a 'private') production; and since the *Chronicle* was compiled in the early 890s, when the survival of the English people was still threatened by Viking invasion, it was perhaps the chronicler's purpose to create an image of the past which might help to draw people together in resistance to the common enemy.

There is reason to believe that the *Chronicle* was made available for copying and circulation in 892; and the multiplication of copies ensured that the work would be continued thereafter under a variety of different circumstances, and as a result of a variety of different initiatives. It is important, therefore, to emphasise that the *Chronicle*, as we have it, is by no means a uniform or homogeneous work. Anyone who had access to a copy (ecclesiastic or layman) might have been moved to add as little as a single annal on a parochial event or as much as a whole block of annals on a sequence of greater events; and it would then be a matter of chance whether this information found its way into the line of transmission which determined the contents of the manuscripts which happen to survive. Moreover, the chroniclers were neither objective nor necessarily authoritative, and simply recorded events from their different points of view. The first continuation of the common stock, which may have originated close to the king, represents the literary genre at its best (annals for 893–6). A second continuation covers the early stages of *Edward the Elder's campaign against the Danes (annals for 897–914), and a third picks up with coverage of the later stages (annals for 915–20, in MS A); both sets of annals are determinedly 'Edwardian' in their view of events, and must be compared with the 'Mercian Register' (a separate set of annals for 902–24, in MSS BCD). The coverage of the fifty years from c.925 to c.975 lacks the quality or continuity which might be considered commensurate with the singular interest of this period in every other respect, attested (for example) by the *charters and *law-codes which survive in good quantity for the same period; but at least we should note that the chroniclers were moved on certain occasions to break into verse (Battle of *Brunanburh, 937; Redemption of the Five Boroughs, 942; Coronation of Edgar, 973; Death of Edgar, 975). The annals describing events during the reign of King *Æthelred the Unready represent another high point (ASC, MSS CDE, s.a. 983–1022), notable for the personal intrusion of the anonymous chronicler in the sorry tale that he had to tell, but not necessarily good history; comparison with MS A, s.a. 1001, is salutary. And while the coverage for the reign of *Cnut is disappointing, matters improve from 1035, when

domestic politics breaks surface as a theme suitable for treatment in a record of this kind. The accounts of the events of the following thirty years or so, in MSS C, D, and E, share much common ground, but have a special interest in so far as the material has on occasion been 'edited' in accordance with one or other of the political positions available.

*Asser, who wrote his *Vita Ælfredi regis* in 893, was first in the long line of those who have used the *Chronicle* to provide a framework for their own historical enterprises. Another was *Æthelweard, ealdorman of the Western Provinces (d. c.998), who translated the *Chronicle* from English into Latin, probably in the 980s. The 'Northern Recension' of the *Chronicle* (which lies behind MSS DEF) was produced probably at *York in the early eleventh century, and involved the augmentation of a copy of the common stock with much additional material, including two sets of earlier northern annals. Each of the three main Anglo-Norman historians – *John of Worcester, *William of Malmesbury, and *Henry of Huntingdon – had a copy of the *Chronicle*, using and adapting the information in his own distinctive way; a fourth, working at *Bury St Edmunds, had a copy held by some to have been textually closer to the original compilation than any of the copies which survive. Some later medieval historians used the *Chronicle*, and others took their material from those who had used it before them; in this way, the *Chronicle* has long been central to the mainstream of English historical tradition.

The reliability of any part of the *Chronicle* as a record of events cannot be taken for granted, but the information which it contains can sometimes be tested by reference to independent sources (charters, annals entered in the margins of Easter Tables, or obits registered in ecclesiastical calendars), or checked scientifically (in the case of records of lunar and solar eclipses), or compared with observations made elsewhere (in the case of records of comets, plagues, and other kinds of natural phenomena), and is generally found to be accurate. The detached manner of reporting should not, however, be mistaken for objectivity: a great deal can be concealed behind its seemingly straightforward statements (and, indeed, behind its omissions).

Manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: see Ker, *Catalogue*, nos. 39 (MS A ['The Parker Chronicle']), 188 (MS B), 191 (MS C), 192 (MS D), 346 (MS E ['The Peterborough Chronicle']), 148 (MS F), 180 (MS G), and 150 (MS H). Editions and translations: MS A, ed. J. Batley, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition 3* (Cambridge, 1986); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1961); M. Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1996). General discussion:

Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 39–41, 275–81; J. Batley, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Texts and Textual Relationships*, Reading Medieval Studies, Monograph 3 (Reading, 1991). Anglo-Norman chroniclers: see separate entries, and *The Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. D. Dumville and M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition 17* (Cambridge, 1985), esp. pp. xxxi–xxxix; S. Keynes, ‘Manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*’, *HBB* i.537–52; N. P. Brooks, ‘Why is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* about Kings?’, *ASE* 39 (2011), 43–70; S. Baxter, ‘MS C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Politics of Eleventh-Century England’, *EHR* 122 (2007), 1189–1227; *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, ed. A. Jorgensen (Turnhout, 2010).

SIMON KEYNES

ANGLO-SAXONISM. The perception of the history and culture of Anglo-Saxon England at different times from the sixteenth century to the present day, developing in response to contemporary purposes or fashions, and the representation of these perceptions in word and image; or, a vast subject about which a book has yet to be written. If Anglo-Saxon England provided food for religious thought in the late sixteenth century, and material for political ideology in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it came thereafter to provide more harmless inspiration for craftsmen, poets, artists, composers, novelists, and film-makers. Richard Verstegan’s *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* (1605), on the Germanic origins of the English people, was the source for a remarkable series of near life-size sculptures representing the pagan deities made in the 1720s by J. M. Rysbrack (1694–1770), for display in a ‘Saxon Temple’ devised for the gardens at Stowe (Bucks.); sadly, the sculptures are now dispersed. It was the case, however, that there was more mileage in political history. The received view of the period, largely determined by the Anglo-Norman historians writing in the first half of the twelfth century and by their successors in the thirteenth century, was refined in the seventeenth century by John Speed’s *Historie of Great Britaine* (1611) and by John Milton’s *History of Britain* (1670), and popularised in the eighteenth century by a succession of voluminous ‘Histories of England’. A few of these histories, like Paul Rapin-Thoyras’s *History of England* (1726–31), and David Hume’s *History of England* (1754–63), were of considerable merit; but others were not, and made up for the deficiency with copious illustrations of selected events. As art, the illustrations may verge on the ephemeral; but it is interesting to see what themes were chosen, how they were treated, and whether they had any impact on later work. Engravings by Charles Grignion, and others, of drawings by

Samuel Wale (1721–86), depicting various events (or pseudo-events) in Anglo-Saxon history, appeared in a succession of popular histories published in the 1760s and 1770s; and they were joined by another series of illustrations by Messrs Hamilton and Edwards, published in the 1770s and 1780s. The respectability of ‘history painting’ was elevated to a higher plane by artists eager to exploit increasingly familiar themes as their own way of giving expression to the developing historical consciousness of the nation. Prominent among them was Benjamin West (1738–1820), who from origins in Pennsylvania rose to become Historical Painter to King George III. West’s ‘Alfred the Great divides his Loaf with a Pilgrim’ was painted for the show at the Royal Academy in 1779, and presented soon afterwards to the Worshipful Company of Stationers; it was then copied by Josiah Boydell, and engraved by William Sharp (1782). Sir David Wilkie (1785–1841) produced his striking vision of ‘Alfred Reprimanded by the Neatherd’s Wife’ in response to a private commission in 1806; the painting was engraved by James Mitchell in 1828. The paintings were complemented, of course, by works of other kinds, ranging from interminable poems on Alfred the Great to Wordsworth’s ‘Ecclesiastical Sonnets’ (one of which concerns ‘The pious Alfred, King to Justice dear! Lord of the harp and liberating spear’). From these roots (and others) sprang the high Victorian perception of the Anglo-Saxon age. Alfred continued to move the creative spirit, as the embodiment of virtue and valour, and as the personification of the nation’s view of itself; and under these circumstances the myth became a legend. Henry Taylor’s historical drama *Edwin the Fair* (1842), which focused on events during the reign of King *Eadwig, is representative of the many other themes which were found suitable for treatment. Among painters we encounter G. F. Watts (1817–1904), who produced his monumental ‘Alfred inciting the English to resist the Danes’ in 1847, for the competition to decorate the new Houses of Parliament (where it still hangs), and Daniel Maclise (1806–70), who chose to depict yet another Alfredian theme (‘King Alfred in the Camp of the Danes’) for the show at the Royal Academy in 1852, and who worked in the evenings on a series of forty-two drawings depicting the Norman Conquest, engraved and published in 1866. The more scholarly reconstruction of the Anglo-Saxon past, which can be traced back to its roots in the work of Matthew *Parker and his circle, and in the papers read at meetings of the Elizabethan ‘College of Antiquaries’, was extended in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by the prodigious labours of George *Hickes and Humfrey

*Wanley. It was then brought before a wider audience with Sharon *Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799–1805), followed by the various works of John Mitchell *Kemble in the 1830s and 1840s. It is, nonetheless, the illustrated histories, the poems, and the paintings which in combination did so much to shape the received view of Anglo-Saxon England; and while they remain of considerable interest in their own right, it could be said that historians have been trying to break free, ever since, from their pervasive influence.

A. G. Temple, *England's History as Pictured by Famous Painters* (London, 1896–7); T. S. R. Boase, 'Macklin and Bowyer', *JWCI* 26 (1963), 148–77, at 169–76 [illustrated histories]; *Daniel Maclise 1806–1870* (London, 1972); J. Sunderland, 'Mortimer, Pine and some Political Aspects of English History Painting', *Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974), 317–26; R. Strong, *And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History* (London, 1978), also published as *Recreating the Past: British History and the Victorian Painter* (New York, 1978), esp. pp. 114–18, 155–7 [paintings with historical themes from Anglo-Saxon England, exhibited at the Royal Academy 1769–1904]; S. Keynes, 'The Cult of King Alfred the Great', *ASE* 28 (1999), 225–356.

SIMON KEYNES

ANGLO-SAXONS, KINGDOM OF THE. A contemporary term for the political order transitional between the kingdom of the West Saxons and the kingdom of the English. The term 'Anglo-Saxon' appears to have originated on the Continent in the eighth century, to distinguish some part or all of the Germanic inhabitants of Britain from the 'Angles' and (Old) Saxons' who remained on the Continent. The term was, however, adopted at the court of King *Alfred the Great in a different, overtly political, sense, to express the combination or amalgamation of 'Anglian' and 'Saxon' peoples, and thereby to denote the distinctive political order established under Alfred's leadership in the early 880s. The term was arguably far more significant in political terms than the concept of the *'English People' (*gens Anglorum*), which had been freely employed by Pope *Gregory in the late sixth century, which was given wider currency by *Bede, and which became familiar in the ninth century in the form of its vernacular equivalent, **Angelcynn*. On this basis, it is King Alfred, not Gregory or Bede, who should be accorded the credit for devising the label which encapsulated and expressed the driving political vision of the day; and on the same basis it is King *Æthelstan who can take all due credit for reformulating the vision in a way of his own. The Alfredian 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' is the political order implicit on the 'English' side of the border in the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum (c.880), and

perhaps established more formally at *London in 886; it is the political order reflected in the king's law-code, and represented by the royal styles in several of the king's charters (e.g. 'king of the Anglo-Saxons', and 'king of the Angles and Saxons'); it is the political order which lies behind the portrayal of the king in *Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (893); and it is the political order which appears to lie behind the conception of kingship in the 'Second' *coronation order, and perhaps in the location of coronations in the tenth century at *Kingston-upon-Thames. *Edward the Elder succeeded Alfred as 'king of the Anglo-Saxons' (though like his father he also retained his more natural identity as 'king of the West Saxons'), and during his reign the frontier of the kingdom was extended northwards to the river Humber; see Map 11. The enlarged kingdom was taken over by Æthelstan in 924/925, who was initially designated 'king of the Anglo-Saxons' or 'king of the Anglo-Saxons and of the Danes'. In 927 Æthelstan succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, which gave him control of the kingdom of York and also, it seems, of the land extending beyond the Tees northwards to the Tyne and the Tweed. The 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' was thus superseded by the 'kingdom of the English', which itself was for some time a kingdom in the making. The 'kingdom of the English' was also reformulated in the tenth century as the 'kingdom of the whole of Britain', at once harking back to an older ideological story (see *Bretwalda), and no less premature.

W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), p. 92, n. 1 [on the term 'Anglo-Saxon']; R. H. C. Davis, 'Alfred and Guthrum's Frontier' (1982), in his *From Alfred the Great to Stephen* (London, 1991), pp. 47–54, and Dumville, *Wessex*, pp. 1–27 [on the Alfred-Guthrum boundary]; J. Campbell, 'The United Kingdom of England: the Anglo-Saxon Achievement', *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. A. Grant and K. J. Stringer (London, 1995), pp. 31–47; S. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', *Kings, Currency and Alliances: the History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M. A. S. Blackburn and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–45, at 34–9 [on the 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons']; idem, 'England, 900–1016', *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, III: c. 900–1024, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 456–84.

SIMON KEYNES

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY. Anglo-Saxon livestock consisted of horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, geese, chickens and bees (ducks were probably not domesticated until the twelfth century, and donkeys were absent or very rare). Horses were the aristocrats, associated with high-status human males; they might be worth as much as a slave, and were bred on studs,

separately from lesser livestock. People of quite low status might nevertheless own a horse for riding or carrying loads. Horses may have been pulling harrows in the eleventh century, but not ploughs or carts till the twelfth. Oxen and cows were a major repository of moveable wealth: OE *feoh*, *orf* and *ceap* mean both 'cattle' and 'wealth'. Oxen were valued especially as the major traction animal of Anglo-Saxon England, as well as for their meat, and cows for both milk and meat. Sheep and goats (the latter much less common) were also milked, as well as providing meat and, most importantly in the case of sheep, wool, which entered into long-distance trade from the time of *Offa of *Mercia, as well as providing the vast majority of Anglo-Saxon *clothing. Pigs, although a single-use animal, exploited resources such as acorns and beech-mast, as well as domestic refuse, and were thus a very economical source of meat and, very importantly, fat. Poultry were kept as much for their eggs (and feathers, in the case of geese) as for meat, and probably fed themselves without much help from humans. Bees were of vital importance, providing the only sweetening in an age before sugar manufacture and, even more importantly, mead, the strongest alcoholic drink available before distilling was introduced (see **Beowulf*, *passim*).

Age-at-death data from zooarchaeological assemblages show that most livestock were not slaughtered until they had produced at least some 'secondary products': oxen might spend between two and eight years drawing the plough before being butchered for the table. Recent isotopic studies have shown that even poorer Anglo-Saxons had more protein in their diet than would be accounted for by meat alone, highlighting the importance of 'secondary products' such as dairy foods and eggs. Many beasts, however, were eaten while still young enough to provide tender meat, especially in towns. Husbandry regimes can thus be seen as a compromise between the need for the benefits animals provided during their lifetime and the desire for 'prime' beef and mutton. All Anglo-Saxon farming was 'mixed', with livestock and arable closely integrated: animals fed on the waste from crop production, and fertilised arable land with their manure. Most importantly, cereal production was dependent on the oxen that pulled the plough; when there were cattle plagues, as reported in the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, people would die too, for want of bread, not meat.

Only the most valuable livestock (horses, cattle) are likely to have been kept under cover, even in the winter, but sheep were kept in folds at night for part of the year, probably in order to fertilise arable land with their droppings, and even animals on open pasture would be watched over by humans (including

children such as the young St *Cuthbert) and dogs. This was to protect them from predation by wild animals such as wolves ('ne lupi eos deurent', according to *Ælfric's *Colloquium*) and getting lost or, especially, stolen: both Anglo-Saxon *laws and *charms show an intense interest in cattle theft. Cattle and sheep were in many places kept near human habitation in winter and further afield in the summer; the timing and scale of such transhumance varied a good deal from place to place, according to the terrain and climate. Pigs, vast herds of them in some places, were driven to the woods in autumn, when mast was abundant, and many must have been slaughtered on their return in winter, when they were at their fattest. Some may also have been fattened in sties.

All Anglo-Saxon livestock were small by modern standards: horses less than 14 hands tall, cattle and sheep typically 113 cm and 56 cm at the shoulder respectively, pigs approaching 75 cm. Most would also have looked 'wiry' to us: recent breeding for meat production has resulted in animals with much more flesh on them than their medieval predecessors. The Anglo-Saxon chicken looked like the fighting cock from which it was descended, and the goose (although it may have been white) like its wild greylag ancestor. The colour of most animals does not seem to have been important: white sheep were valued for wool which would take dyes and look gleaming and pure when undyed, and horses of various colours are mentioned in wills and in *Beowulf*. Otherwise, the productivity of livestock mattered more than what it looked like.

The value of livestock (and even parts of animals) was regulated by Anglo-Saxon law from the time of King *Ine of Wessex onwards. In *Æthelstan's reign, a good horse was worth half a pound (120 pence) in London, an ox or a cow 20 pence, a pig 10 pence and a sheep 5 pence. By this time a market in livestock and their products was beginning to develop. Most Anglo-Saxon farmers, however, must have been self-sufficient, eating what they produced and producing what they ate, and food rents show that even landlords expected to get most of their requirements from their own lands. By the time of *Æthelred the 'Unready', cheeses and baskets of chickens and eggs were being brought into *London for sale, showing that even quite humble farmers, at least near that *emporium*, were able to sell produce. How they kept their animals, and even which animals they kept, would undoubtedly be influenced by demand from urban consumers.

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DEBBY BANHAM

ANNALS refer to entries made annually – in theory at least – and retrospectively to record significant events which occurred during the past year. It is thought that the original framework for annals during the early medieval period was paschal tables, which were set out in columns for periods of nineteen, eighty-four or 532 years (depending on time and place); in such a layout it would be easy to record, say, an obit or the outcome of a battle in the margin alongside the relevant year (a clear example is found in BL, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fols. 133–7). When the marginal entries were recopied on their own, various degrees of elaboration became possible, leading to the creation of narrative entries of various length. The **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, for example, consists mostly of annal-type entries which have been elaborated to a greater or lesser degree. Various sets of annals survive from Anglo-Saxon England: the annals for 731–4 added to the Moore manuscript of Bede's *HE*; the annals 732–66 which occur in certain manuscripts of Bede's *HE*; the so-called 'York Annals' or 'First Set of Northern Annals' for 732–802 preserved in **Byrhtferth's Historia regum*, as well as the 'Second Set of Northern Annals' preserved by Symeon of Durham. Annal collections are also a crucial source both for Welsh history (the *Annales Cambriae*) and Irish history (many collections are extant, notably the 'Annals of Ulster', the 'Annals of Innisfallen' and the 'Annals of Tigernach').

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MICHAEL LAPIDGE

ANTIPHONARY: see Liturgical Books

ANTIQUARIES. The role of individual antiquaries in the preservation of manuscripts from the pre-Conquest period is crucial because of political, cultural and technological developments in the first half of the sixteenth century. When Henry VIII came to the throne, England was a model daughter of the church, the printing press still a novelty and English humanism in its infancy. By the time he

died, the English church was fully independent, the London print trade flourishing, and the study of classics an essential part of the school and university curriculum.

The 1530s constitute the key decade. As early as 1527 Henry had decided that his marriage to Catherine of Aragon was invalid in the eyes of God and set about obtaining a divorce in the face of ecclesiastical opposition. His dissatisfaction with the papacy and desire for independence increased over the next years; in 1533 he proclaimed England an Empire, thus throwing off the yoke of Rome. Soon afterwards, he began dissolving the monasteries and transferring their financial resources to the Court of Augmentations; in 1540 when **Waltham* fell the process was complete. In order to justify his break with tradition, however, Henry had first to turn to precisely those repositories of learning with which he would soon dispense. Many of the issues raised in both his 'Great Matters' were legal ones and law by nature depends on precedent. As part of his divorce campaign he sent agents to search monastic archives and bring back relevant texts to his royal libraries (and at least one annotated list, that from Lincolnshire, survives). Utilising these resources, the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals based itself very firmly on 'divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles'. It is no coincidence either that England's first self-proclaimed 'antiquarius', John **Leland*, began to appear in the records at this time and that his commission 'to peruse and dylygentlye to searche all the lybraries of monasteries and colleges of thys youre noble realme' dates from 1533. The accounts of Leland's first library tours survive in his so-called *Collectanea* and show the influence both of Henry's political agenda and Leland's own more general concerns. A product of St Paul's School, Leland had spent the late 1520s in Paris where he had become fascinated by philology and textual edition. He witnessed the growth of the library of Francis I and modelled himself on its humanist librarians. Like many of the French and German humanists whom he emulated he was an ardent nationalist and wanted to retrieve the history of his own nation through the publication of the works of its earliest authors. His records of the contents of the English monastic libraries stand as preliminary notes to his own grander enterprises as well as useful reference tools for those involved in defining Henrician policy.

By 1536, when Leland petitioned Thomas Cromwell for a renewal of his commission, the state of the monasteries had become more precarious and he henceforth turned his energies towards collecting rather than cataloguing. By his own accounts he retrieved many ancient manuscripts for Henry

and he stated that Henry himself reorganised palace libraries at Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Westminster for the reception of monastic strays. Leland's own optimistic assurances about the success of his mission, however, do not altogether tally either with the statements of his contemporaries or with the evidence of the royal library itself. Although much more polemical than Leland, much more rigid in his views of what should or should not be retrieved, his compeer and fellow collector, John *Bale, deeply lamented the wholesale destruction of valuable records during the period of the dissolution and pleaded if not for a central depot then at least for the establishment of just 'one solempne lybrary' in every shire in England. In its surviving form, the actual collection put together by Leland is a disappointing one and there are relatively few books from the pre-Conquest period and almost none in Old English. In terms of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, then, the achievements of Leland's less 'vainglorious' contemporary, Robert *Talbot, are much more impressive. On the other hand, it is hard to know what precisely got into the collection Leland was establishing, since after Henry's death the new royal librarian Bartholomew Traheron oversaw the weeding out of many manuscripts (some of which turned up in the collections of strategically placed individuals such as Sir Thomas Pope). It is quite possible, therefore, that many monastic manuscripts, whose first known post-dissolution provenances are in the collections of the second generation of antiquaries, may have originally been rescued by Leland.

Of the first generation of English antiquaries – Leland, Bale, Sir John Prise and Talbot in particular – only Leland had royal support, and this gave him some sense of a coherent mission with the potential of a successful resolution. He had, as well, seen most of the major collections of England and Wales and had been able to decide on what was worth saving, what not. Although never completed, his *De uiris illustribus* (later published as *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*) represented for him a faithful account of England's past. Bale's access to books, on the other hand, was much more limited and his library a private one, subject to the vagaries of fate and the malice of his enemies. What characterises the antiquarian movement after Leland's descent into madness, beginning with Bale's commentary on Leland's New Year's Gift of 1546, is a sense of urgency, a concern about fragmentation and loss. These individuals had no way of knowing what might have already disappeared and they were well aware that much more might soon go, manuscripts (as Bale pointed out) being ignominiously found 'in stacyoners and bokebynders store howses, some in

grosers, sope sellers, taylers, and other occupyers shoppes, some in shyppes ready to be carried over the sea into Flaunders to be sold'. The antiquaries' collective sense of transience manifests itself most strongly in a desire to consolidate, to find some sort of permanent institution to replace the dissolved monasteries. As early as 1557 John Dee, himself a considerable collector, made a 'Supplication to Queen Mary for the Recovery and Preservation of Ancient Writers and Monuments'. Eleven years later, observing that: 'if this opportunity be not taken in our time, it will not so well be done hereafter', Matthew *Parker persuaded the Privy Council to give him the right to demand books (ostensibly on loan) from less well-placed collectors and antiquaries. In Elizabeth's reign individuals associated with the Society of Antiquaries also had this goal in mind and around 1602 there was a proposal to set up an 'Academye for the studye of Antiquity and History', the centrepiece of which was to be its library.

In fact all the great national library schemes founded (Parker gave the bulk of his manuscripts to a Cambridge college) and it was the work of well-to-do private collectors which consolidated the efforts of the early antiquaries, some of whom seem to have preserved manuscripts in concealment. From the perspective of Anglo-Saxon studies the most important of the collectors were Matthew Parker and Sir Robert *Cotton. Parker had a clearly articulated agenda and his collection was built up to promote his vision of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. For him, pre-Conquest manuscripts provided crucial historical precedents for his ecclesiastical policies and he made printed editions of several of the texts he collected so that they could be known more widely. In his enterprise his principal assistant was his chaplain and Latin secretary John Joscelyn, who put together his own collection of ancient manuscripts and who also examined Old English manuscripts *in situ* at *Exeter and *Worcester. In the mid 1560s Joscelyn also drew up a list of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and another list of writers on medieval English history. Parker's bequest of his library to Corpus Christi College gave it an institutional status: he further attempted to maintain its integrity by the imposition of strict penalties for loss.

Sir Robert Cotton began collecting thirteen years after Parker's death, and his collection was much more diffuse. He obtained manuscripts from earlier antiquaries – Thomas Allen, Robert Bowyer, Lord Burghley, William Camden, Henry Ellzing, Joseph Holland, Joscelyn, Lord Lumley and Samuel Ward, for example, provided manuscripts containing Old English – and made several complex exchanges with the royal librarian Patrick Young. Like Parker he saw

his collection as a useful ecclesiastical and political tool and he hoped that it would become a national archive; to this end he was one of the proposers of the abortive 'Academy'. Ultimately, Cotton's own motives in assembling such a vast private library came under suspicion and at the end of his life he was denied free access to it. Although the term 'antiquarius' had fallen into disrepute by Cotton's time, the very act of debaring shows a general recognition in the tempestuous years of Charles I's reign of the potential of ancient manuscripts for propaganda and manipulation of government policy.

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JAMES P. CARLEY

APOCRYPHA, BIBLICAL, IN OLD ENGLISH, include a large number of early Christian and medieval texts which attempt to supplement biblical narratives but which were never accepted as part of the Bible. (This category does not include deuterocanonical texts such as Judith, Tobit, or Ecclesiasticus which were incorporated into the Septuagint and Vulgate and were universally assumed to possess full biblical authority in the early Middle Ages.) During the tenth and eleventh centuries English scholars translated and adapted a wide variety of apocryphal texts, including the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, an account of Christ's trial before Pilate and descent into hell which survives in three Old English translations, the earliest of which is probably the first in any European vernacular. Two of these Old English versions are accompanied by translations of a second apocryphon, the *Vengeance of the Saviour*, which relates the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian and the veneration of Christ's image by St Veronica. The Old English *Jamnes and Mambres*, a pseudepigraphon concerning the two magicians who confronted Moses at Pharaoh's court, is the only medieval vernacular version of this text in existence. Of seminal importance for the development of Insular eschatology is the *Vision of St Paul*, a Latin version of the Greek *Apocalypse of Paul* which tells of St Paul's tour of hell and heaven and which functioned in Anglo-Saxon England as a virtual manual for the fate of the soul after death (see also *visions). A partial Old English translation was made in the mid-eleventh century. Five Old English translations are extant of the *Apocalypse of Thomas*, a vivid description of the cataclysmic events that will precede the end of the world. Particularly well represented are the overlapping categories of Infancy Gospels and Marian apocrypha. The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, an eighth- or ninth-century compilation of narratives about the births and childhoods of Mary and Christ, provided the main source for two Old English sermons and an entry in the *OE *Martyrology*. Two versions of the *De transitu Mariae*, an account of the death and bodily assumption of the *Virgin, were adapted for use in Old English sermons. Anglo-Saxon manuscripts also contain Latin versions of two other Infancy Gospels, the *Proteuangelium of James* and *De nativitate Mariae*.

Although wary of apocryphal texts that promoted heterodox teaching, *Ælfric made frequent use of apocryphal acts of the apostles in composing his homilies and saints' lives. Thus his *Life of St Thomas* (*Lives of Saints*, no. 36) translates portions of the originally Syriac *Passion of Thomas*, and his homily on Philip and James (*Catholic Homilies* ii.17) is based on the *Passion of Philip*. Ælfric likewise

translated excerpts from apocryphal passions of Andrew, Bartholomew, James the Greater, John, Mark, Matthew, Peter and Paul, and Simon and Jude. In addition, the poem **Andreas* paraphrases a lost Latin redaction of the apocryphal *Acts of Andrew and Matthew*, which was separately translated twice into Old English prose. Other texts typically classed as apocrypha were also translated into Old English, including the **Sunday Letter*, the *Revelation of Ezra*, and the *Letters of Abgar and Jesus*.

The Old English Vision of St Paul, ed. A. diP. Healey, *Speculum Anniversary Monographs 2* (Cambridge, MA, 1978); A. diP. Healey, 'Anglo-Saxon Use of the Apocryphal Gospel', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Synthesis and Achievement*, ed. J. D. Woods and D. A. E. Pelteret (Waterloo, Ontario, 1985), pp. 93–104; F. M. Biggs *et al.*, 'Apocrypha', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. F. M. Biggs *et al.*, *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 74* (Binghamton, NY, 1990), 22–70; *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: 'The Gospel of Nichodemus' and 'The Avenging of the Saviour'*, ed. J. E. Cross *et al.*, CSASE 19 (Cambridge, 1996); M. Clayton, *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 26 (1998); *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. K. Powell and D. Scragg, PMCASS 2 (Cambridge, 2003); F. M. Biggs, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: The Apocrypha*. *Instrumenta Anglistica Mediaevalia 1* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2007).

T. N. HALL

APOLLONIUS OF TYRE is the earliest surviving example of the romance genre in English and the only example in Old English. The prose fiction is a translation of the Latin *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, which itself may have been translated from Greek. The Old English version survives only in CCC 201, a manuscript consisting of two codices joined in the sixteenth century. *Apollonius* appears in the first codex, which can be dated to the mid-eleventh century and which also contains a large collection of *Wulfstan the Homilist's works copied in the same hand. *Apollonius of Tyre* tells of a nobleman's exile from Tyre, his marriage to a king's daughter, and a series of shipwrecks after which he is reunited with his family and his kingdom. The Old English translation follows the Latin closely, except in omitting a lengthy episode from the middle of the story. Nonetheless, the translator does make changes that lend the story an Anglo-Saxon character. For example, Apollonius is referred to as an *ealdorman and romance is downplayed in comparison with the Latin tale. The story remained popular in England throughout the Middle Ages and was a source for Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and Shakespeare's *Pericles*.

The Old English Apollonius of Tyre, ed. P. Goolden (Oxford, 1958); A. Riedinger, 'The Englishing of Arcestrate: Women in *Apollonius of Tyre*', in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. H. Damico and A. Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington, IN, 1990), pp. 292–306; E. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre: Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations* (Cambridge, 1991); D. G. Scragg, 'Secular Prose', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. P. Pulsiano and E. Trehearne (Oxford, 2001), pp. 268–80.

KATHRYN POWELL

ARCHITECTURAL STONE SCULPTURE survives almost entirely in churches, most commonly in the forms of imposts, string courses, friezes, wall-panels and the frames of openings.

The earliest sculpture is associated with a group of seventh-century Northumbrian churches at the monasteries of *Ripon, *Hexham, and *Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. Monkwearmouth had a highly decorated entrance porch: the jambs carved with Insular ribbon animals, the frieze above with naturalistic animals, as at Hexham, and in the gable a large-scale standing figure. Rectangular and chamfered imposts, decorated with fine geometric interlace, occur here and at Ripon, but a revival of Roman taste is also apparent at these sites and in the balustrade and petalled ornament on imposts, friezes, and panels, at Jarrow, Hexham, and Simonburn (Northumberland). At Jarrow, uniquely, plant-scroll ornament occurs not only on panels from the church and on crosses, but on panels and a decorated column from a domestic building.

From the eighth century, openings elaborately surrounded with plant-scrolls survive at Britford (Wilts.), *Lastingham and Ledsham (Yorks.), but the outstanding collection of sculpture is to be found at *Breedon on the Hill (Leics.). The fine and distinctive cutting as well as the *iconography of the friezes, with lively birds, animals, and human figures, betray a foreign and eastern influence, whilst the panels of human figures, some of which are paralleled at Fletton and *Peterborough, have a grace and naturalism comparable to Carolingian ivories.

The most elaborate external sculpture surviving in the next generation is to be found at Barnack church (Northants.), where there is on the western tower a window frame with paired birds in high relief, a *sundial decorated with acanthus, and, on each face, large panels, c.1.68 m high, carved with tree-scrolls topped by large birds. In addition there is a projecting beast-head above a window. Such projecting heads, others of which occur at *Escomb and *Deerhurst churches, can be paralleled in Near Eastern churches, where also there is the enrichment of openings by surrounding ornament, and of façades by the lavish application of inorganic panels

and friezes. It is possible that eastern influences were early transmitted to Anglo-Saxon England via Gaul, and then became widely accepted; certainly the forms which existed in the seventh century continue throughout the period, although ornament changes.

It is nevertheless remarkable that, despite a few early attempts to copy Roman capitals and columns at *Reculver, Hexham, and Monkwearmouth, and the isolated ninth-century capitals from *Canterbury, there is nothing before the eleventh century to match the numerous capitals, of various levels of competence, which also occur contemporaneously in Italy and France. There is however a marked increase in scale in later sculpture, as has been demonstrated from the excavated fragments from *Gloucester and *Winchester, and can be seen in the large roods, for example at *Bradford-on-Avon, *Breamore, Romsey and Langford.

Traces of paint have been identified on architectural sculpture from the seventh century onwards, so that it seems likely that it was usually polychrome.

CASSS; R. N. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 5 (Toronto, 1996); *Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England*, ed. S. Cather, D. Park and P. Williamson, BAR Brit. Ser. 216 (Oxford, 1990); E. Coatsworth, 'Late pre-Conquest Sculptures with the Crucifixion South of the Humber', in *Æthelwold*, pp. 161–93; R. Cramp, 'The Furnishing and Sculptural Decoration of Anglo-Saxon Churches', in Butler and Morris, *AS Church*, pp. 101–4; idem, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (London, 1992); C. M. Heighway, 'Excavations at Gloucester. Fifth Interim Report: St Oswald's Priory, 1977–8', *AJ* 60 (1980), 207–26; Taylor and Taylor, *AS Arch*; H. M. and J. Taylor, 'Architectural Sculpture in Pre-Norman England', *JBA* 3rd ser. 29 (1966), 3–51; F. H. Thompson, ed., *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, Society of Antiquaries, Occasional Papers (London, 1983).

ROSEMARY CRAMP

ARCHITECTURE, ECCLESIASTICAL. The building of churches in Anglo-Saxon England essentially began with *Augustine of *Canterbury in *Kent following 597; for this he probably imported workmen from Frankish Gaul. The cathedral and abbey in Canterbury, together with churches in Kent at *Minster in Sheppey (c.664) and *Reculver (669), and in Essex at Bradwell-on-Sea (653×664), define the earliest type in south-east England. A simple nave without aisles provided the setting for the main altar; east of this a chancel arch separated off the apse for use by the clergy. Flanking the apse and east end of the nave were side chambers or *porticus* serving as sacristies; further *porticus* might continue along the nave to provide for burials and other purposes. In *Wessex a comparable building is the Old Minster in *Winchester (c.648).

In *Northumbria the early development of Christianity was influenced by the Irish mission from *Iona to *Lindisfarne (633), important churches being built in *timber. Masonry churches became prominent from the late seventh century with the foundations of *Wilfrid at *Ripon and *Hexham, and of *Benedict Biscop at *Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. These buildings had long naves and small rectangular chancels; *porticus* sometimes surrounded the naves. Elaborate crypts are a feature of Wilfrid's buildings. The best preserved early Northumbrian church is *Escomb.

From the mid-eighth century to the mid-tenth there is no good historical narrative of church history, but a number of important buildings survive. One group comprises the first evidenced aisled churches: *Brixworth (mid or late eighth century?), *Wareham, St Mary's (c.800?), and *Cirencester (early or mid ninth century?); also the rebuilding of Canterbury cathedral (probably by *Wulfred in c.808–13). These buildings may be compared with aisled churches in the Carolingian empire. Other lesser churches may be dated to the late eighth and early ninth centuries on the basis of their elaborate sculptured decoration: Britford (Wilts.), Edenham (Lincs.) and Ledsham (W. Yorks.) are examples and show the continuation of simple naves with side *porticus*.

The church of *Deerhurst (fig. 5) may be dated in substantial part to the ninth century on the basis of its sculptures; to it may be related the apse of *Wing. Significant parts of *Repton are dated archaeologically prior to 873; its crypt (pl. 15) was perhaps similar to that of St Oswald's in *Gloucester (c.880×918). Together these four buildings are indicators of major church design in ninth-century *Mercia. The tower of Barnack (near *Peterborough) takes the picture forward to the West Saxon reconquest in the early tenth century. These buildings suggest that during the ninth century several of the decorative features that were to be characteristic of Late Anglo-Saxon architecture were already developed, such as narrow raised bands of stone ('pilaster strips') to surround archways and to articulate wall surfaces. In plan, however, the churches remained essentially conservative.

The monastic revival of the second half of the tenth century again provides a narrative background for church history and the construction of buildings, but only a few documented buildings actually survive or have been excavated, for example: the abbeys of *Glastonbury; Winchester, Old Minster; Romsey; Cholsey; and Peterborough. To these may plausibly be added the chapel of *Barton on Humber, which has links with *Æthelwold. *Byrhtferth's *Life of St *Oswald* describes his church at *Ramsey (966×991)

as a cruciform building with central and western towers; comparisons may be made with the surviving churches of *Breamore and St Mary de Castro at Dover (c.1000). Also of c.1000 may be the chapel of St Laurence at *Bradford-on-Avon (pl. 4).

The majority of churches that have been described as Anglo-Saxon fall into the period between the late tenth century and the early twelfth; but seldom is precise dating possible. During this period many settlements were first provided with stone churches, but timber also continued to be used, as at Greensted (datable c.1063×1108 by dendrochronology). Characteristics of this body of buildings have been analysed by authors such as Taylor.

On the Continent during the eleventh century was developed a group of interrelated Romanesque styles, associated with the rebuilding of many churches on a grand scale, made possible by a general advance in architectural technology and mason-craft. The first fully Romanesque church in England was *Edward the Confessor's abbey of *Westminster (c.1050s and following), while the main development of the style only followed the Norman Conquest. However, at Stow (Lincs.) the crossing piers of the early 1050s are clearly 'proto-Romanesque'. A more decorative interpretation of Romanesque in lesser churches can be dated only somewhere between the mid and late eleventh century, e.g. Hadstock (Essex), Clayton and Sompting (Sussex); this style continued towards the end of the century as at Milborne Port (Somerset). At St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury c.1048–61 Abbot Wulfric aimed to retain the earlier churches while linking them with an octagonal rotunda: but the concept was still essentially pre-Romanesque.

Anglo-Saxon churches of all periods would have been embellished with a range of arts: *sculpture, *wall-painting, *glass, *tiles, *metalwork, *woodwork and *textiles. They provided a setting for the *liturgy and associated *music, for the *shrines of saints and *pilgrimage.

G. Baldwin Brown, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1925); A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1930–4); Taylor and Taylor, *AS Arch*; Fernie, *Architecture*; W. Rodwell, *Archaeology of the English Church* (London, 1981); Butler and Morris, *AS Church*; J. Blair, ed., *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 17 (1988); R. D. H. Gem, 'L'architecture pré-romane et romane en Angleterre', *Bulletin monumental* 142 (1984), 233–72; idem, 'Tenth-century Architecture in England', *Settimana* 38 (1991), 803–36; idem, 'Architecture of the Anglo-Saxon Church, 735 to 870: from Archbishop Ecgerht to Archbishop Ceolnoth', *JBA* 146 (1993), 29–66.

RICHARD GEM

ARCHITECTURE, SECULAR: see Forts and Fortifications; Mills; Royal Sites; Timber Building

ARMES PRYDEIN, 'The Prophecy of Britain', a tenth-century Welsh poem in the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin. The poem (199 lines) consists of an exhortation to the Welsh to unite and expel the English, here called *Lloegrwys* 'the people of *Lloegr* (England)', from Britain; a promise that they will be aided by other non-English peoples (including the 'men of Dublin', the Irish, the Cornish, the Bretons and the men of Strathclyde); and a prediction that, with St David's help, the English will be forced to return overseas to their homeland, leaving the island to the victors. It is notable that the predicted leaders of the Welsh are Cynan and Cadwaladr (not *Arthur). Probably composed in south Wales, the poem has been linked with King *Æthelstan's exaction of tribute from the Welsh (it refers disparagingly to the 'king's stewards' and their taxes), and more particularly with the coalition of British and Norse at the *Battle of *Brunanburh*. The hope of Breton involvement does not chime well with Æthelstan's reign, but the poet probably drew upon a legendary Welsh convention of a pan-Brittonic alliance under Cynan and Cadwaladr. A date later in the tenth century (perhaps recalling the alliance of *Brunanburh*) may be equally appropriate.

Armes Prydein. The Prophecy of Britain, ed. I. Williams, transl. R. Bromwich (Dublin, 1972); D. N. Dumville, 'Brittany and "Armes Prydein Vawr"' [1983], in his *Britons and Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993), ch. XVI.

O. J. PADEL

ARMS AND ARMOUR. The evidence derives from three types of source, which are unevenly distributed chronologically and raise contrasting problems of interpretation. First, the archaeological record comprises grave goods from 'pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries' of the fifth to the seventh centuries and swords of the Viking age deposited in English rivers. It remains problematic how accurately and how fully the items that were chosen for deposit may represent those that were in actual use. Secondly, the written sources range in date from the eighth to the eleventh century. Poetry (especially **Beowulf*, **Brunanburh* and **Maldon*) provides valuable descriptions of combat, but must be used cautiously in view of its uncertain dating and the imagination involved in its composition. **Law-codes* and **wills* provide some brief and factual evidence for tenth- and eleventh-century military equipment of the nobles. Thirdly, artistic representations of armed warriors are occasionally found



Plate 3 The Coppergate Helmet, York. Photograph © York Castle Museum

in sculpture, more commonly in manuscript illustrations (especially of biblical or psalter scenes) and most notably in the detailed embroidered representation of the battle of *Hastings in the *Bayeux Tapestry. The value of such evidence, however, depends upon understanding its provenance and the artist's conventions.

Defensive armour

- a *Helmets*. Only four helmets from the Anglo-Saxon period survive: from the *Sutton Hoo ship-burial, from Coppergate in *York, and from rich barrow burials at Benty Grange (Derbyshire) and Wollaston in Northamptonshire. They all date from the seventh or early eighth centuries and are richly decorated with Germanic animal and interlace ornament, with silver-wire inlay and with bronze or tinned panels. But their segmental form, their crests, cheek-guards and flaps or mail protecting the neck all derive from late Roman parade helmets. Parallels with helmets from Vendel and Valsgärde suggest that the Sutton Hoo helmet may have been made by Swedish armourers; others have Frankish links. The Wollaston and the Benty Grange helmets are both surmounted by boars; Benty Grange also has a nose-guard decorated with a silver cross. More explicitly Christian is the Coppergate helmet, adorned with transverse brass mouldings inscribed with pious Latin invocations (see pl. 3).
- These helmets were high-status objects, perhaps suitable for early Anglo-Saxon king-making rituals (later *ordines* substitute a crown). Despite several references to helmets (and boar-helmets) in *Beowulf*, Anglo-Saxon warriors may normally have worn headgear of boiled leather, rather than iron helmets. Certainly the *heriots ('war-gear') of Anglo-Saxon nobles, detailed in their wills, routinely include helmets only from the first decade of the eleventh century, thus coinciding with *Æthelred II's order for the manufacture of helmets and byrnies in 1008. By 1066, however, the Bayeux Tapestry shows helmets to be standard equipment in the Anglo-Saxon army.
- b *Byrnies*. Mail body-armour is even rarer in pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries than are helmets, being found only at Sutton Hoo and (possibly) at Benty Grange. The 'byrnie' or shirt of mail, though part of the gear of Beowulf's noble companions, plays no role in the account of heroic English defence in the *Battle of Maldon* and is listed in heriots only from the early eleventh century. By 1066 byrnies, like helmets, were standard equipment; the Bayeux Tapestry and a frieze fragment from *Winchester cathedral suggest that they were worn closely gathered around the arm and leg – a protection devised for infantry warfare.
- c *Shields*. The round shield – normally comprising a flat wooden board with a central hole for the hand-grip protected by an iron boss – was the commonest item of defensive equipment throughout the early Middle Ages. Bosses of conical or elongated form are common in pagan burials, but since the wood has perished, we cannot confirm whether limewood construction was regular, as the term *lind* as a poetic synonym for shield suggests. The Bayeux Tapestry shows some round and convex shields in use at Hastings, but the vast majority of the English shields depicted are long and kite-shaped, like those of the Normans. A characteristic feature of

English battle tactics, both at Maldon and at Hastings, was the use of shields by densely packed foot-soldiers to form a 'shield-wall'.

Offensive weapons

- a *Spears*. The spear (whose possession, with a shield, was a sign of free status) is the commonest weapon found in male burials in pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The iron spearheads vary enormously in size and form, from the elongated and sometimes barbed 'angons' intended to penetrate and burst mail armour, to the more common leaf-shaped varieties, suitable both for piercing and for lateral cutting blows. Where residues of wood have survived attached to the socket, they prove that the poles were of ash, as the use of the term *æsc* in poetry would suggest. Though important as a throwing weapon in hunting and in battle, the primary function of the spear was to keep the enemy at a distance, beyond the reach of sword blows.
- b *Axes*. The axe was a standard woodman's tool, readily adaptable for warfare, both in its single-handed (chopping) and its double-handed (tree-felling) forms. Light throwing axes – traditionally identified as *franciscae*, the distinctive weapon of the *Franks – are found in pagan Anglo-Saxon burials. The two-handed battle-axe, later to be identified as the characteristic weapon of the Scandinavian and English troops of the Varangian guard, is shown in use in the Bayeux Tapestry, both as a ceremonial object and in the battle.
- c *Swords*. The sword was the most prized offensive weapon, associated in law with aristocratic status. In pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries swords are mainly found in the richer male burials and are outnumbered by spears by more than 20:1. In order to produce long blades (c.90–5 cm) with edges hardened to retain their sharpness, early medieval smiths had first to devise elaborate 'pattern-welding' techniques and then, from the ninth century, to improve their furnace technology. As elite weapons and ceremonial objects, some swords had their hilts and scabbards elaborately ornamented with gold or with silver and niello. Anglo-Saxon

poetry has a rich tradition of sword imagery and references to swords as heirlooms, as prestigious gifts or trophies of war abound; gold-adorned swords also feature in the wills of leading late Anglo-Saxon *ealdormen. By the time of Hastings, however, the sword had become part of the standard equipment of the well-armed English soldier.

- d *Bows*. In early medieval warfare (and perhaps even in hunting) the bow was an implement of the unfree. Occasional arrowheads in pagan burials, a reference in the *Battle of Maldon* to bows being 'busy' and a single English archer shown on the Bayeux Tapestry do little to enhance the role of the archer.
- e *Knives*. As a standard tool in general use the knife (*seax*) in warfare developed into a single-edged dagger (known by Gregory of Tours as the *scramasax*) or into fine single-edged swords, with blades up to 80 cm in length which are occasionally found in pagan burials or deposited in rivers. Some *seaxes* have elaborately decorated and inscribed blades, suggesting ceremonial use.

H. R. Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1962); M. J. Swanton, *The Spearheads of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Royal Archaeological Institute, 1973); idem, *A Corpus of Pagan Anglo-Saxon Spear-Types*, BAR Brit. ser. 7 (1974); N. P. Brooks, 'Weapons and Armour' in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. D. Scragg (Oxford, 1991), pp. 208–19; T. Dickinson and H. Härke, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Shields', *Archaeologia* 101 (1992), 1–94; I. Meadows, 'The Pioneer Helmet', *Northants Archaeology* 27 (1997), 191–3.

N. P. BROOKS

ARMY. The term *fyrð* is used both in *law-codes and in the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to connote a royal military expedition. **Here* also seems to have meant 'army', but was mainly used to describe invading forces, especially *Viking armies. Given the prevalence of war in the history of Anglo-Saxon England and its prominence in the literature of the period, it is remarkable how little evidence has survived concerning the composition and organisation of English armies before the Norman Conquest. Anglo-Saxon kings, with the notable exception of *Alfred the Great, did not maintain standing armies. The royal armies of pre-Viking England were essentially royal war bands composed of a king's noble retainers and their own followers. The core of the army was the royal household, which was supplemented by levies of free landowners who looked to

the king as their personal lord. Local forces were raised and led by royal *reeves and *ealdormen. The armies of seventh-century England were probably small in size, numbering in the hundreds or, at most, the low thousands. An often cited law issued by King *Ine of Wessex (688–726) defines an army (*here*) as any force exceeding thirty-five men (ch. 13 § 1).

As a consequence of his wars against the Vikings, King Alfred (871–99) reorganised the military forces of *Wessex. By 893 he had established a standing army. He divided those eligible for service into two rotating groups, so that half would always be in the field and half at home protecting the localities. Alfred's mobile field force was designed to be used in conjunction with a system of *fortifications that dotted Wessex with thirty garrisoned *burhs*. In the 890s perhaps one out of every five free men in Wessex was serving either in a garrison or in the king's army. These military reforms, which also included constructing a small *navy, proved effective in campaigns against Viking invaders in 892–6, and were used by Alfred's son *Edward the Elder (899–924), his daughter, Æthelflæd, 'Lady of the Mercians', and his grandsons to conquer the *Danelaw. By the reign of *Æthelred the Unready (978–1016), however, royal armies had reverted to being *ad hoc* forces raised upon the command of the king or an ealdorman. Their ineffectiveness led Æthelred to supplement them with Scandinavian mercenary troops led by Thorkell the Tall. The Danish conquest of England led to the introduction of *housecarls, a closely knit organisation of professional warriors who served in the king's household, but they may not have differed as much from earlier royal military households as formerly believed. The military administration of late Anglo-Saxon England was quite sophisticated. By 1066 the *fyrð* was raised on the basis of the assessed value of landed *estates. According to a custom in the Berkshire folios of *Domesday Book, one soldier was to be sent on expedition from every five hides of land; he was to serve at his own expense for sixty days. Although this rule could not have prevailed over all of England, since some shires were assessed in carucates rather than hides, it is likely that a similar principle was in general use in 1066. It has been suggested that in late Anglo-Saxon England all able bodied free men were obliged to fight for home defence (the 'great fyrð'), while only a select number were obliged to serve on expeditions (the 'select fyrð'), but the evidence for the existence of a 'great fyrð' as an institution is not strong. The army was organised territorially, by shire and hundred, and contained smaller units defined by loyalty to a common lord. Leadership rested upon the king's greater

officials, the earls, bishops, stallers, and sheriffs. The rank and file of the late Anglo-Saxon army was probably composed largely of sokemen and others from the 'peasant elite'. Royal lordship continued to play a crucial role in the organisation of the *fyrð*. For king's *thegns, the tenurial obligation did not so much supersede as reinforce and define more exactly their personal duty. In a sense, the Anglo-Saxon army never ceased to be a royal war band.

H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge, 1907); C. W. Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions* (Oxford, 1962); M. Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 1–25; E. John, *Orbis Britanniae* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 128–53; N. Hooper, 'Anglo-Saxon Warfare on the Eve of the Conquest: A Brief Survey', *ANS* 1 (1979), 84–93; N. Brooks, 'England in the Ninth Century: The Crucible of Defeat', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 29 (1979), 1–20; N. Hooper, 'The Housecarls in England in the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 7 (1985), 161–76; R. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Berkeley, CA, 1988).

RICHARD ABELS

ARTHUR, legendary war-leader, is first mentioned in the (ninth-century) **Historia Brittonum*, both as leader of the British resistance against the Germanic invaders in the fifth or sixth century and as the central figure in local wonder-tales of the Welsh borders. The context of Arthur as war-leader is the English *settlement led by *Hengest and opposed by Vortigern, more immediately the descent of the Kentish kings from Hengest's son Octha. 'Then Arthur fought against them in those days with the kings of the British, but he was war-leader' (*sed ipse erat dux bellorum*). The twelve battles attributed to him, at nine different sites (four at one site), cannot be identified, for lack of any further context; but there have been many attempts. The best discussion is that of Jackson. The sites include *Cat Coit Celidon* 'the battle of the Caledonian Forest', presumably in Scotland, and the battle of Mount Badon, generally supposed to have been in southern England, and named earlier by *Gildas but without any mention of Arthur. The list is likely to represent the accumulation of legend around a figure who, whether originally legendary or historical, had come to be portrayed as the leader of British resistance. However, it is notable that **Armes Prydein*, in the tenth century, made no mention of Arthur but named other heroes who should lead the anti-English forces.

Another early text which mentions Arthur is the Welsh **Annals*. The two entries are concerned with his part in the battle of Badon and his death, along with *Medraut* (the later Mordred), in the battle of Camlann, not mentioned in the *Historia Brittonum*. These

entries could date from any time between the eighth century (when the *Annals* were probably first compiled) and c.1100 (the date of their earliest manuscript), and that concerning Badon has an indirect relationship to the text of the *Historia Brittonum* (a text of which occurs in the same manuscript); but they have little or no historical value for the sixth century.

Of Arthur's two aspects in the *Historia Brittonum*, later writers, notably Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *History of the Kings of Britain* (c. 1138), emphasised the war-leader rather than the figure of local wonder-tales. Geoffrey's popularity ensured that this was the aspect which became well known internationally. However, the local legends continued in Wales, *Cornwall, Brittany and elsewhere, seemingly little affected by the international literary industry.

L. Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (Harmondsworth, 1973); T. Charles-Edwards, 'The Arthur of History', *The Arthur of the Welsh*, ed. R. Bromwich et al. (Cardiff, 1991), pp. 15–32; D. N. Dumville, 'Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend', *History* ns 62 (1977), 173–92; K. Jackson, 'Once again Arthur's Battles', *Modern Philology* 43 (1945–6), 44–57; idem, 'Arthur's Battle of Breguoin', *Antiquity* 23 (1949), 48–9; idem, 'The Site of Mount Badon', *Journal of Celtic Studies* 2 (1953–8), 152–5; J. Morris, *The Age of Arthur* (London, 1973); O. J. Padel, 'The Nature of Arthur', *CMCS* 27 (1994), 1–31.

O. J. PADEL

ASSER (d. 908/9), author of the *Vita Ælfredi regis Angul Saxonum* (*Life of Alfred, King of the Anglo-Saxons*). Asser was a native of Wales and was brought up, tonsured and ordained at the monastery of St David's in the kingdom of Dyfed. There is some possibility that he was actually bishop of St David's. He was summoned from Wales by King *Alfred, whom he met for the first time at Dean in Sussex, probably in 885. After some negotiation Asser agreed to spend six months in every year with Alfred in *Wessex and the remaining six months with his community at St David's; it is doubtful whether he adhered rigidly to this arrangement and likely that he came to spend more and more of his time in Wessex. On Christmas Eve (?)886, Alfred gave Asser the two monasteries at Congresbury and Banwell in Somerset (now Avon), and a few years later the king gave him charge of the monastery of *Exeter with all its jurisdiction in Wessex and *Cornwall; he may have acted as a suffragan bishop at Exeter within the diocese of *Sherborne. According to his own account Asser was closely involved in the process by which Alfred learnt to read Latin, and he participated fully in Alfred's programme for the revival of learning in England. He helped the king translate Pope *Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* into English, and *William of Malmesbury records that he also helped in the translation of Boethius's *Consolation*

of *Philosophy*. Asser was made bishop of Sherborne some time between 892 and 900, and he died in 908 or 909.

Asser's *Life of King Alfred* was written in 893. The narrative content of the *Life* is based on the **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (annals 851–87), to which Asser added from his own knowledge many valuable details of the king's upbringing, personality, family, and rulership. The *Life* is written in the florid Latin cultivated by many Insular Latin authors of the early Middle Ages (see *prose style, Latin); of particular interest is the Frankish element in Asser's vocabulary, which may reflect the influence of *Grimbald, another of King Alfred's literary helpers. A quotation from Einhard's *Vita Caroli* (*Life of Charlemagne*), in the *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 73, indicates that Asser was conscious of Einhard's work as a literary model. Among the other Latin works with which Asser appears to have been familiar are *Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*, *Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the anonymous *Vita Alcuini*, and the **Historia Brittonum*. He also shows familiarity with the 'Old Latin' (*Vetus Latina*) translation of the Bible, with the works of Pope Gregory the Great and St Augustine of Hippo, and with the poetry of Vergil and Caelius Sedulius. Though dedicated to the king himself it would appear that the work was intended primarily for a Welsh readership. By the time of writing all the Welsh rulers had submitted to King Alfred, and it was probably Asser's intention to give his friends in Wales some idea of the character and achievements of their new overlord, in a way which might help them to identify with the king's noble cause. The *Life* also contains disparaging remarks about the English in general, and about the Mercians in particular, which might not have been well received by a readership at Alfred's court but which would have been perfectly welcome in Wales. One cannot prove that the *Life* circulated in Wales from an early date; but there is evidence that it was known to Giralduus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales).

The authenticity of the *Life of King Alfred* has often been called into question. It should be emphasised, therefore, that there is nothing in the text which is fatal to the authenticity of the work, and that it contains detailed points of information which can be substantiated by independent and contemporary evidence (to which a forger is not likely to have had access). When Asser stands on his own, he tells stories which are calculated to achieve a particular effect, and which might well involve an element of hyperbole, exaggeration, and distortion. This is no more, however, than we should expect of a work of this nature; and while it is necessarily a matter of judgement, the genuine Asser seems in every respect to capture the genuine Alfred of the late ninth century.

The only manuscript of Asser's *Life of King Alfred* known to have survived into modern times was written c.1000 at an unknown place presumably in southern England. It passed into the hands of Sir Robert *Cotton (1571–1631), in whose library it was designated Otho A. xii; alas, the manuscript was destroyed by fire in 1731. The text can be reconstructed from two sixteenth-century transcripts of the Cottonian manuscript (CCCC 100, and BL Cotton Otho A.xii*) and from the editions published by Matthew *Parker (1574) and Francis Wise (1722). Extensive extracts from the *Life of King Alfred* occur in the historical miscellany compiled by *Byrhtferth of Ramsey in the late tenth or early eleventh century (later incorporated in the *Historia Regum* of *Symeon of Durham), in the chronicle compiled by *John of Worcester in the 1120s, and in the so-called *Annals of St Neots*, compiled at *Bury St Edmunds in the second quarter of the twelfth century. It is possible that Byrhtferth and John used the Cotton manuscript itself; the compiler of the *Annals of St Neots* seems to have used a different manuscript with some better readings. This evidence suggests that the *Life of King Alfred* had a fairly limited circulation as a separate work. That it was not better known (in the sense of more widely copied) before the Conquest may reflect the relatively belated development of the cult of King Alfred, or it may indicate that for whatever reason the *Life* had not been made formally available for copying and distribution.

ODNB ii.759–60; Sharpe, *Handlist*, 134; *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904), reissued with contr. by D. Whitelock (Oxford, 1959); D. Whitelock, *The Genuine Asser*, Stenton Lecture 1967 (Reading, 1968); D. P. Kirby, 'Asser and his Life of King Alfred', *Studia Celtica* 6 (1971), 12–35; S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred', and other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983); J. Campbell, 'Asser's *Life of Alfred*', *The Inheritance of Historiography 350–900*, ed. C. Holdsworth and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter, 1986), pp. 115–35; A. P. Smyth, *Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995), with M. Lapidge, in *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 8 Mar. 1996, p. 20, and S. Keynes, 'On the Authenticity of Asser's *Life of King Alfred*', *JEH* 47 (1996), 529–51; A. Scharer, 'The Writing of History at King Alfred's Court', *EME* 5 (1996), 177–206; S. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M. A. S. Blackburn and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–45, at 41–4; M. Lapidge, 'Asser's Reading', in *Alfred the Great*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 27–47; M. Godden, 'Alfred, Asser and Boethius', *LLEL* i.326–48; M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 237–9.

SIMON KEYNES

ASTRONOMY. 'There is a crowd of calculators who are able to continue the Easter cycles and keep the

sequences of sun, moon, month and week in the same order as before', according to *Ceolfrith, abbot of *Monkwearmouth-Jarrow in AD 706 (Bede, *HE* v.21). Therefore they must have known how sun and moon move relative to the stars, the celestial poles, and the terrestrial horizons. Many literary sources, drawings, and tables show that they did this in terms of spherical models of the heavens and of the earth. For analysis of stellar phenomena, Anglo-Saxon scholars described and used the Hellenistic five-zone model of the heavens with tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, two arctic circles, and two poles of the globe. This model could also display the ecliptic path of the sun at its extremes which defined the tropics, or at its equinoxes: twice each year in spring and autumn there would be a day when the sun was above the horizon for twelve hours and below it for the same number of hours. On such a day the sun's course would correspond with the celestial equator. Between the tropics was the Zodiac which provided a standard of reference for locating bright stars, constellations, planets, comets, colures, and milky way. The Zodiac was divided for this purpose into thirteen parts of width (*latitudo*) and twelve equal divisions of length (*longitudo*). Longitudinal divisions were each named for its brightest constellation and called signa: Aries with Libra opposite, Pisces matched with Virgo, Aquarius with Leo, Capricorn with Cancer, Sagittarius with Gemini, Scorpio with Taurus. Illustrations accompanying such works are often dismissed today as mere astrology, though they do have basic astronomical uses. In the dark of night, only half of the Zodiac or six signa could be seen at one time, while the other six were opposite and out of sight, measuring the other side of the heavens. Anglo-Saxon masters recognised some possible correspondences of human disposition with weather conditions, the heat of the sun, or the influence of moon, especially if full; after *Bede had explained the tides, the moon's force on the seas was not in doubt. Until the twelfth century, however, they did not teach judicial astrology and looked with disfavour on casting horoscopes, prognostications, or use of astrological schemata to seek medical cures.

Planets were known to have varied paths through eight parts of zodiacal latitude above the ecliptic and five parts below; drawings of these upper (northern) and lower (southern) parts of that extensive space were modified by draftsmen to appear as six parts above and six below the middle line. The moon's path went to the extremes of the Zodiac, and the course of Venus surpassed those limits. The sun's path was not necessarily a perfect circle; rather, it was said to vary by one degree north and one degree south from the ecliptic in a wavy line. The different colours of the planets assisted in identifying them.

Apses and perigees of planetary orbits were known, that is, their farthest distances from the earth, as well as their nearest. Apparent pauses and reversals in the courses of Mercury, Venus, and Mars were explained often in terms of circular paths eccentric to the earth and rarely in terms of secondary epicycles. Hipparchan and Ptolemaic ideas were not taught in Anglo-Saxon schools, and thus the orbits of planets were not assumed to be earth-centred. New ideas about planetary orbits were introduced by *Abbo of Fleury in 985–7, and in the eleventh century a manuscript was received from Limoges at a school in Wales which explained eccentric orbits of planets and exhibited drawings of the orbits of Mercury and Venus centring on the Sun.

The different periods of planetary orbits through zodiacal longitude were reported by Bede (*De natura rerum*, c. 13) and other masters according to Hellenistic estimates: Saturn (30 years), Jupiter (12 years), Mars (2 years), and Sun (365 1/4 days); periods of Venus and Mercury were usually given in varying numbers of days, more and less, relative to the sun. This probably means that some observations were done. The theory of solar and lunar eclipses was explained particularly well.

Three systems were used to locate a planet along the longitude of a zodiacal sign: for solar movement position was expressed on five parts of a sign; for lunar movement, there were four parts; but for Mercury and the other planets a sign was divided into thirty parts. In order to track the course of the sun, Bede suggested dividing a sign into three parts of ten. The use of thirty parts of each sign was soon extended to lunar and solar cycles, or 360 degrees. For latitudinal position there were two systems: six parts above, six below the theoretical ecliptic; or parts equivalent with those 360 used for longitude, that is, degrees. For example, Mercury could vary within the Zodiac as much as 22 *partes* from the Sun, Venus up to 46 *partes* or degrees.

In practice the zonal model of the heavens was often drawn on parchment as a *rota* with straight lines representing curved orbits or circular demarcations; those were also projected onto the *rota* to represent the spherical earth in several ways. The zonal model allowed for two methods of estimating position on the earth. The shadow of a stick cast by the Sun on the meridian at solstice formed a triangle whose ratio of height to length always corresponded with any position on the round earth which was the same distance from the equator or from the north pole. That ratio was always more or less than other known ratios to the north or to the south of that position. At times of equinox the shadow of a stick cast by the Sun could serve the same purpose but on a different scale of ratios. Both systems were

explained by Bede and later scholars; tables of such data are found in Latin manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon schools, sometimes in the format of *rotas*. With either system, one could use the zonal *rota* of the heavens to travel on the earth without fear of getting lost or of not finding one's way home.

The zonal model also allowed Bede to use a *horologium in terra* for careful observations of the sun, moon, and stars. He could place a stick upright and sight the sun at meridian in order to determine on the ground exact directions of true North and true South. On the north/south line, one could construct right angles for determining directions of East and West. By *horologium* Bede did not mean *sundial, as once thought, for he used the same instrument during hours of darkness to observe the stars and the North Pole. During the Anglo-Saxon period the Pole did not correspond with any star but was the geometrical point at the centre of stars revolving in circles around it. Use of the *horologium* must not have allowed for precision enough to determine the current equinox which in AD 725 was perhaps 17/18 March (rather than 21 March, as Bede supposed), but it did allow one to exclude any claim that equinox was a week later on 25 March. It seems that his calendar was also two days late. Bede's observations of the moon and those of his students allowed him to apply the regularity of an average synodical month of 29 days and twelve hours to some phenomena and the regularity of an average sidereal month of 28 days and eight hours to other phenomena. The former was good for computational tables of Easter reckoning, while the latter was more useful for planetary positions on the zodiacal scale.

Although *Aldhelm created a table for tracking planets through the Zodiac, it was based upon the *computus lunar cycles of 29 days, 12 hours, that is, coordinated with regular appearances of new moon on the horizon; and it soon ceased to be useful. On the other hand Bede created a *pagina regularum* for the same purpose based upon the position of stars in the Zodiac, for which the lunar cycle was 28 days, 8 hours; it was relatively more precise, but not enough. Bede doubted the validity of his own A–P tables for long-term observations of planetary orbits and encouraged others to produce a better system. No one could do so until new instruments and better data were introduced into England by Walter of Malvern and Petrus Alphonsus in the eleventh century.

The zonal model and the *horologium in terra* also allowed Anglo-Saxon scholars to base their time calculations on 24 parts of the day of equinox. Equinoctial hours were used in monastic *schools throughout the year, rather than the twelfth part of daylight which varied from season to season. It should not be supposed that in practice, equinoctial

hours could be observed with great precision. But the numerous masters and students trained in computus would certainly be asked to advise priors, abbots, and bishops about schedules for organising work, times of prayer, and special celebrations; when they were elected to offices responsible for such matters, they would surely not want unequal hours of a simple sundial in place of regular, equinoctial hours day and night, so far as possible. Astronomy would assist their sense of the times.

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AUGUSTINE, first archbishop of *Canterbury (597–604×609) and in effect the 'apostle of the English'. A Roman monk who was prior of the monastery of St Andrew (on the Coelian Hill) and who was chosen by Pope *Gregory to Great to lead a mission to convert the pagan English to Christianity. Our knowledge of this mission derives almost wholly from *Bede, *HE* (i.23–33, ii.2–3), who reports that Augustine and forty Roman monks left *Rome in 595 or 596, made their way slowly through Gaul, and arrived in England (probably) in spring 597. They were received hospitably by King *Æthelberht of *Kent (whose wife Bertha, a Frankish princess, was already a Christian) at a meeting on *Thanet, who with his retainers listened sympathetically to Augustine's Christian message and then granted lodging in Canterbury (and subsequently the church of St Martin) and freedom to preach in his country. In due course King Æthelberht himself was converted, and by the end of 597 Gregory could write that Augustine had baptised more than 10,000 converts to the faith. It had been Gregory's plan to divide the country into two ecclesiastical provinces,

with archiepiscopal sees at *York and *London, but in the event Augustine and his see remained in Canterbury. By 604 Augustine was able to consecrate two more Roman missionaries to English sees: *Justus to the bishopric of *Rochester, and *Mellitus to London, so that by the time of his death (on 26 May in an unknown year between 604 and 609) the ecclesiastical organisation was in place, and was able to grow from there. In the first instance the missionaries brought books and ecclesiastical furniture (including relics and vestments) to England from Rome – one such book still survives as the 'St Augustine's Gospels', now CCCC 286 – but one of their principal tasks will have been to establish *schools for the training of native English clergy. The existence of these early schools must be inferred, but there is some evidence of Augustine's own scholarly attainment in the form of replies sent by Gregory to written questions raised by Augustine on the conduct of the mission (the *Libellus responsionum*, written in 601 and preserved in Bede, *HE* i.27) and possibly in two anonymous sermons preserved in a manuscript from Mainz.

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AUGUSTINE'S GOSPELS: *see* St Augustine's Gospels

AZARIAS: *see* Daniel