VENERABILIS BAEDAE
OPERA HISTORICA

PLUMMER
VENERABILIS BAEDAE

HISTORIAM ECCLESIASTICAM
GENTIS ANGLORUM
HISTORIAM ABBATUM
EPISTOLAM AD ECGBERCTUM
UNA CUM
HISTORIA ABBATUM AUCTORE ANONYMO

AD FIDEM CODICUM MANUSCRIPTORUM
DENUO RECOGNOVIT
COMMENTARIO TAM CRITICO QUAM HISTORICO
INSTRUXIT

CAROLUS PLUMMER, A.M.
COLLEGII CORPORIS CHRISTI
SOCIUS ET CAPELLANUS

TOMUS POSTERIOR
COMMENTARIIUM ET INDICES CONTINENS

OXONII
E TYPOGRAPHEO CLARENDONIANO
MDCCC XCVI
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chronological Table</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addenda and Corrigenda</td>
<td>xxxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>xxxvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to the Ecclesiastical History</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excursus on the Paschal Controversy and Tonsure</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Bede’s Lives of the Abbots</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to the Anonymous Lives of the Abbots</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Bede’s Epistle to Egbert</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I.—On the Oldest Life of Gregory the Great</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix II.—On Bede’s Biblical Quotations</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF EVENTS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT OR NOTES

OF THE PRESENT VOLUMES
The following symbols are used in this table:
- **c.** = *circa*.
- *>* means not earlier than.
- *<* means not later than.
- *×* means that an event took place between two dates.
- *—* means that an event lasted from the first date to the second.

Where the date given in this table differs from that given by Bede, the latter date is generally added in square brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</th>
<th>Britain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. C.</td>
<td>Lex Vatinia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Caesar's first invasion of Britain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Caesar's second invasion of Britain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. D.</td>
<td>Claudius' invasion of Britain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Accession of M. Aurelius.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Death of Verus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 171</td>
<td>Accession of Eleutherus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Accession of Severus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284</td>
<td>Accession of Diocletian.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>306</td>
<td>Death of Constantius.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325</td>
<td>Council of Nicaea.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>Death of Valens.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381–2</td>
<td>Council of Constantinople.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395 [394]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>397 × 401</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 403</td>
<td>Birth of Prosper of Aquitaine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
<td>407. Gratianus and Constantinus emperors in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Britain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>408</td>
<td>First siege of Rome by Alaric.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>409</td>
<td>Second siege of Rome by Alaric.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>410</td>
<td>Third siege and capture of Rome by Alaric.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>418</td>
<td>Julianus of Eclanum and other bishops deposed by Pope Zosimus. Germanus becomes bishop of Auxerre.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>423</td>
<td>Death of Honorius.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>427</td>
<td>Lupus becomes bishop of Troyes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>429</td>
<td>First mission of Germanus to Britain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>444</td>
<td>Death of Bleda, king of the Huns.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>448</td>
<td>July 31. Death of Germanus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>449</td>
<td>November, Synod of Constantinople.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 449</td>
<td>Robber Synod of Ephesus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>Accession of Marcian.</td>
<td>c. 449, Settlement of the Saxons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>454</td>
<td>Assassination of Aetius.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 454</td>
<td>Death of Julianus of Eclanum.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>455</td>
<td>Death of Severus of Trèves. March 16.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 463</td>
<td>Death of Prosper of Aquitaine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>476</td>
<td>Fall of Romulus Augustulus, and end of the Western Empire.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>479</td>
<td>Death of Lupus of Troyes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 493</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>506</td>
<td>Council of Agde.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 537</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Chronological Table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</th>
<th>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs</th>
<th>Essex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>547</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>553</td>
<td>Council of Constantinople.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>557</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>559 × 560 c. 560</td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession of Ethelbert.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>565</td>
<td>Nov. Accession of Justinus Minor.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>565 × 566</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>568</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ethelbert defeated by Ceawlin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>573 × 574</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574</td>
<td>Accession of Benedict I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574</td>
<td>Convention of Druim Cett.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>578</td>
<td>Death of Benedict I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>579</td>
<td>Accession of Pelagius II.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>585</td>
<td>Gregory sees the Anglian boys in the Roman Forum.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>585 × 588</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588</td>
<td>Columban goes to Gaul.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>585 × 590</td>
<td>Death of Pelagius II.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. Accession of Gregory I.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590 [591]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>592 × 593</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 596, July 23</td>
<td>Gregory sends Augustine to Britain.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;597, Dec. 25</td>
<td></td>
<td>Consecration of Augustine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>568</td>
<td>Ceawlin defeats Ethelbert.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>547</td>
<td>Accession of Ida. Foundation of Bamborough.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>557</td>
<td>Accession of Brude, king of the Picts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 560</td>
<td>Defeat of the Dalriadic Scots by the Picts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>565</td>
<td>Coming of Columba to Britain.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>565-566</td>
<td>Foundation of Iona.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>573-574</td>
<td>Death of Conall mac Comgaill, king of the Dalriadic Scots.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574</td>
<td>Accession of Aedan mac Gabrain.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>579</td>
<td>Aedan attacks the Orkneys.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>582</td>
<td>Aedan attacks the Isle of Man.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>585</td>
<td>Birth of Edwin.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588</td>
<td>Death of Ælle of Deira.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590</td>
<td>Battle of Leithrig.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>592-593</td>
<td>Accession of Ethelfrid.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs</td>
<td>Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>602 x 603</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mellitus bishop of the East Saxons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>603</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>603, June 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>604 [605]</td>
<td>Death of Gregory I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>604 x 605,</td>
<td>Accession of Boniface IV.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 26</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>Accession of Boniface IV.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>608</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>Accession of Boniface IV.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>610, Feb. 27</td>
<td>Mellitus present at Council of Rome.</td>
<td></td>
<td>? 608. Mellitus leaves Britain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>610, Oct. 5</td>
<td>Accession of Heraclius. Columban expelled from Gaul.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>610</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>Accession of Heraclius. Columban expelled from Gaul.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>611</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 612</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Brunhild.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>613</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>614</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>615</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 616</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>613 x 617</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616 x 617</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>618, Nov.</td>
<td>Death of Deusdedit.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>619, Feb. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year(s)</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>611</td>
<td>Accession of Cynewulf to Mercia.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>603</td>
<td>Battle of Degsastan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>604-605</td>
<td>Birth of Oswald.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;612</td>
<td>Birth of Osfrid.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>613-614</td>
<td>Birth of Oswy.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>614</td>
<td>Birth of Hild.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?616</td>
<td>Battle of Chester.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>613-617</td>
<td>Vision of Edwin at the court of Edwin.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616-617</td>
<td>Battle of the Idle; death of Ethelfrith and accession of Edwin.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs</td>
<td>Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>619 X 624</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>623</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>624, April 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625, July 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>626</td>
<td>Death of Boniface V; accession of Honorius I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>627</td>
<td>Faro becomes bishop of Meaux.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?626</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Rufinianus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>628</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>627, Nov. 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Justus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>627 X 628</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>628</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>630</td>
<td>Asterius becomes Archbishop of Milan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?630</td>
<td>First South Irish Synod.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>630 X 631</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;630 X 631</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>631</td>
<td>Irish delegates at Rome. Heracleonas made Caesar.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?632</td>
<td>Second South Irish Synod.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?632 X 633</td>
<td>Southern Irish adopt the Roman Easter.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>630 X 633</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;633</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>633, Oct. 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>629 X 634 ?</td>
<td>Letter of Honorius to the Irish.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>634, June 11</td>
<td>Letters of Honorius to Edwin and Honorius. Pallium sent to Paulinus.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>635</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;635</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 635. Birth of Ethelwald of Deira.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs</td>
<td>Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>636</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>638</td>
<td>Accession of Clovis II. Death of Honorius I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>639</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 639</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>641</td>
<td>Accession of Heracleonas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>642</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 642</td>
<td>641 × 643</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>644</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>644 × 645</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>645 × 646</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 646, May 21&lt; 647</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>647</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 647</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>647 × 648</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>648</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>649</td>
<td>First Lateran Council.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wessex</td>
<td>Mercia</td>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>Northumbria and Northern Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>636. Baptism of Cwichelm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>641 x 643. Death of Cynegils. Building of the old Minster at Winchester.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>648. War of Oswald, &amp; against Mercia.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 644. Accession of Anna.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 647. Here-swith takes the veil. 647 x 648. Death of Felix; consecration of Thomas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>648. Wilfrid enters Lindisfarne.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs</td>
<td>Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 649</td>
<td>Death of Fursa. Faillan and Ultan go to Gaul.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>648 x 650</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>649 x 650</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>652</td>
<td>Wilfrid arrives in Kent.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>652 x 653</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 653</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Sigbert Paruns; accession of Sigbert Bonus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>654 x 655</td>
<td>Wilfrid at Lyons. Foillan martyred. Death of Martin I (Sept. 16).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>655</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 655</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>656</td>
<td>Death of Clovis II.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 656</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>657 x 658</td>
<td>Murder of Annemundus.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>658</td>
<td>Accession of John, archbishop of Arles, and of Emmo, bishop of Sens.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>648-650</td>
<td>Death of Birinus.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>649-650</td>
<td>Agilbert bishop of the West Saxons.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650</td>
<td>Birth of Eosterwine.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>652</td>
<td>Marriage of Ethelthryth and Tondbert.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>652-653</td>
<td>Death of Thomas; consecration of Boniface.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>653</td>
<td>Conversion of Peada and the Middle Angles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>654</td>
<td>Death of Anna. Foundation of Icanhoe by Botulf.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>655</td>
<td>Battle of the Winwaed. Death of Penda.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>655</td>
<td>Death of Tondbert.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>656</td>
<td>Spring. Murder of Peada.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>656</td>
<td>Diuma bishop of the Mercians.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>658</td>
<td>Rebellion of Mercia against Oswy. Wulfhere king.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650</td>
<td>Birth of Elfled.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>655</td>
<td>Battle of the Winwaed.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>657</td>
<td>Foundation of Whitby. Culmine Ailbe abbot of Iona.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>657-658</td>
<td>Birth of Wilbrord.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chronological Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</th>
<th>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs</th>
<th>Essex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?658</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>659</td>
<td>Baldhild makes St. Leger bishop of Autun.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?659</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>660</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>658 × 661</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>661</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?661</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>662</td>
<td>Restoration of Chelles by Baldhild.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?663</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>663 × 664</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 664</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?664</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>666</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>665–667</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?667</td>
<td>Wighard sent to Rome by Egbert and Oswy.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wessex</td>
<td>Mercia</td>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>Northumbria and Northern Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?661. Wulfhere conquers Wight.</td>
<td></td>
<td>658 x 661. Grant of Stamford to Wilfrid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>663 x 664. Accession of Aldwulf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?663.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wilfrid ordained priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>664.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Britain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?666.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>666. Wilfrid returns to Britain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expulsion of Wine.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>667. Colman’s settlement at Inisbofin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs.</td>
<td>Essex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>666–669</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>669</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>669 × 670</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 670</td>
<td>Arculfus' pilgrimage.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. 670</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>669 × 671</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>671</td>
<td>Benedict Biscop's fourth visit to Rome.</td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;671 Hadrian abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, Canterbury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 671</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>672</td>
<td>Deaths of Vitalian, and of Faro bishop of Meaux.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>672</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>672 × 673</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?672</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>669 × 673</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>671 × 675</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 675</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>675</td>
<td>Deaths of John bishop of Arles, and Emmo bishop of Sens.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?675</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>675 × 676</td>
<td>Benedict Biscop goes to Gaul.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs</td>
<td>Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>676</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kent ravaged and Rochester sacked by Ethelred of Mercia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 677</td>
<td>Wilfrid goes to Ireland.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>671 x 678</td>
<td>Pope Agatho consecrated. Fifth visit of Benedict Biscop to Rome with Ceolfrid. Wilfrid winters in Frisia.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>672 x 678</td>
<td></td>
<td>Drought in Sussex, followed by famine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>678</td>
<td></td>
<td>Consecration of Gebmund.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>679</td>
<td>Wilfrid at Rome.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>679, Dec.</td>
<td>Death of Dagobert II.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>679 x 680</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deaths of Baldhild, Ebroin, and Agilbert.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>680</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 680</td>
<td>Death of Ultan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>681</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>681 x 682</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>684</td>
<td>Council of Toledo.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 684</td>
<td>Benedict Biscop's sixth visit to Rome.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>675 x 685</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>685</td>
<td>Feb. 6. Death of Hlothhere.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 685</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>676. Putta takes refuge with Sexwulf.</td>
<td></td>
<td>676. Cuthbert retires to Farne.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>671-678. Church at Ripon built.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>672-678. Church at Hexham built.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>680.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, d.c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs</td>
<td>Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>681 × 686</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>681–686</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 686</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>686 × 687</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>687</td>
<td>Battle of Testry.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accession of Sergius I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>687–688</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>688</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>688 × 689</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>689, April</td>
<td>Baptism and death of Cædwalla at Rome.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>689 × 690</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 690</td>
<td>Abortive attempt of Egbert to evangelise Germany.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>691 × 692</td>
<td>Second voyage of Adamnan to Ireland.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 692</td>
<td>First visit of Wilfrord to Rome.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>691 × 693</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692 × 693</td>
<td>Swidbert consecrated by Wilfrid as bishop of the Frisians.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>693</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercia</td>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>Northumbria and Northern Britain</td>
<td>History of Wearmouth and Jarrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

686. First visit of Adamnan to Northumbria, and voyage to Ireland with the released prisoners. Last interview of Cuthbert and Herbert.  
686. Death of Eata.  
686 × 687. Restoration of Wilfrid. He administers the see of Hexham for a year.  
687 < March. Cuthbert resigns his see.  
March 20. Deaths of Cuthbert and Herbert.  
687–688. Wilfrid administers Lindisfarne.  
688. Second visit of Adamnan to Northumbria.  

688. Death of Putta, bishop of Hereford.  
689 × 690. Death of Benedict Biscop (Jan. 12).  

691 × 692. Second expulsion of Wilfrid.  
692. Death of Brude mac Bili, king of the Picts.  

691 × 693. Consecration of Ottfor, bishop of the Hwiccas.  
Bede ordained deacon.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</th>
<th>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs.</th>
<th>Essex.</th>
<th>Wessex.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 693</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692 × 694</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>694</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 695</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>696</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>697</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>698</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>699</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>691 × 703</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701</td>
<td>Death of Sergius I. Coelfrid’s monks, including Hwaetbert, at Rome.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>702 × 703</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>703 × 704</td>
<td>Wilfrid and Acca with Wilbrord in Frisia.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>704</td>
<td>Wilfrid at Rome. Second appeal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 705</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>705</td>
<td>Death of John VI (Jan.).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>705</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>705</td>
<td>Aldhelm’s letter to Geraint.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>705</td>
<td>Death of Hædde.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 693. Death of Oftfor.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>702 × 703. Great Council.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>703 × 704. Death of Adamnan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>704. Ethelred becomes a monk. Succession of Cenred.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>704. Hwætbert ordained priest.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs</td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>Wessex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>705</td>
<td>Wilfrid ill at Meaux.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Division of the Wessex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>diocese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>706</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aldhelm bishop of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>708</td>
<td>Accession of Constantine I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sherborne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 709</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>709</td>
<td>Cenred and Offa go to Rome.</td>
<td>c. 709. Eadbert, bp. of Selsey (Sussex).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 709</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; 709. Death of Hildilid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>709 × 710</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Abbot Hadrian.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>713</td>
<td>Mission of the He-walds.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>690 × 714</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>713 × 714</td>
<td>Death of Pippin of Héristal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>715. Battle Ini and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>714</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>713 × 715</td>
<td>Death of Swidbert.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>715</td>
<td>Death of Constantine I; accession of Gregory II.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>690 × 716</td>
<td></td>
<td>Witenagemót of Bapchild.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>709 × 716</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 716</td>
<td></td>
<td>Council of Clovesho.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>716</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 716</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>717</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>718</td>
<td>Boniface goes to Frisia.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>719</td>
<td>Death of Radbod of Frisia.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 720</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercia</td>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>Northumbria and Northern Britain</td>
<td>History of Wearmouth and Jarrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>709. Resignation of</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wilfrid restored to Hexham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cenred; accession of</td>
<td></td>
<td>and Ripon.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceolred.</td>
<td></td>
<td>706. Death of Brude mac Derili,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>king of the Picts; accession of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>713. Death of Aldwulf</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nechtan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>713 × 714. Death of</td>
<td></td>
<td>709. Death of Wilfrid.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elfled.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>716. Death of Cenred;</td>
<td>716. Death of Osred; accession</td>
<td>700 × 716. Bede writes In Acta,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iona.</td>
<td>&lt; 716. Bede writes In Apocalypse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Resignation and death of Cenred.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Election of Hwetbert. Translation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of Eosterwine and Sigfrid.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bede writes In Samualem, De</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mansionibus fil. Israel, De eo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>quod ait Isaias, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of Egwin of the</td>
<td>clergy from the Picts.</td>
<td>In Marcum.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwiccas.</td>
<td>718. Death of Cenred; accession</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of Osric.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 720. Bede writes In Genesis.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, d.c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs</td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>Wessex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>721</td>
<td>Visit of Daniel to Rome. Defeat of the Saracens.</td>
<td></td>
<td>721</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>722</td>
<td>Grant of Utrecht to Wilbrord by Charles Martel.</td>
<td></td>
<td>722</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>724</td>
<td>&lt; 725</td>
<td></td>
<td>724</td>
<td>&lt; 725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>725</td>
<td>Defeat of the Saracens.</td>
<td>April 23. Death of Witred.</td>
<td>725</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>726</td>
<td>? 726</td>
<td>Death of Tobias.</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>? 726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>727</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Tobius.</td>
<td>727</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>728</td>
<td></td>
<td>Consecration of Aldwulf.</td>
<td>728</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>729</td>
<td>Comets.</td>
<td></td>
<td>729</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>715 × 731</td>
<td>Visit of Nothelm to Rome.</td>
<td></td>
<td>715 × 731</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>725 × 731</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>725 × 731</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>729 × 731</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>729 × 731</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>731</td>
<td>Death of Gregory II; accession of Gregory III.</td>
<td>Jan. Death of Bertwald.</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? 731</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>? 731</td>
<td>731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>732</td>
<td>Battle of Tours.</td>
<td></td>
<td>732</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>733</td>
<td>Aug. Solar eclipse.</td>
<td>733. Sigfrid bishop of Selsey (Sussex).</td>
<td>733</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>731 × 734</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>731 × 734</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>734</td>
<td>Jan. Lunar eclipse.</td>
<td>734. Deaths of Aldwulf and Tatwin.</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>734 × 735</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>734 × 735</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercia</td>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>Northumbria and Northern Britain</td>
<td>History of Wearmouth and Jarrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>732. Death of Nechtan. Resignation of Wilfrid II. Election of Egbert of York.</td>
<td>[For other works of Bede which can only be dated &lt;731, v. Int. pp. cli-clv.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>734, Nov. Bede’s letter to Egbert.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland)</td>
<td>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs</td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>Wessex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>737</td>
<td>Death of Wilbrord.</td>
<td>Death of Nothelm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>738-739</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>740</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>744</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>743-745</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>744-745</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>745</td>
<td></td>
<td>745. Death of Ingwald, bishop of London.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>746</td>
<td>Council of Clovesho.</td>
<td>746. Selred of Essex slain.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>747</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>757</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>758</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>760-764</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chronological Table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>737. Death of Aldwine.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>735. Death of Bede.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

P. 78, l. 4 from bottom, after ‘Opp. Min. p. 193’ add ‘and so the oldest Life of Gregory, App. I. § 11.’
P. 79, l. 10 from bottom, add ‘cf. Crawford Charters, pp. 13, 93.’
P. 88, l. 3 from bottom. Other instances of these shortened names are ‘Tuma’ for Trumwine, p. 268; ‘Siegga’ for Sigfrid, Fl. Wig. i. 234; cf. Stark, Die Kosenamen der Germanen.
P. 95, l. 24, add ‘On the name Lilla, cf. Crawford Charters, p. 51.’
P. 111, bottom line, add ‘The date a. d. is probably an addition of Bede’s own to the letter; cf. Crawford Charters, p. 45.’
P. 136, l. 4 from bottom, add ‘This was also a trait in the practice of Sir W. W. Hunter’s “Old Missionary.”’
P. 185, l. 6, read ‘She played an important part both in the second and in the final restoration,’ &c.
P. 219, l. 15 from bottom, for ‘the abbess’ read ‘Eadburg abbess’; and this Eadburg is identical with the Bugga mentioned on p. 289, and also with the English abbess mentioned on pp. 282, 339.
P. 237, bottom line, after ‘festival’ add ‘and so in the Roman Breviary.’
P. 270, l. 10, add ‘On the name Cudda, cf. Crawford Charters, p. 68.’
P. 342, l. 6 from bottom. In some MSS. the prologue of Felix’s Life of Guthlac is addressed to Alfwold, in others to Ethelbald king of the East Angles. The former attribution is of course quite possible. But I have little doubt that the person really meant is Ethelbald of Mercia; especially as, in the body of the work, the author makes the analogous mistake of calling Ethelred king of the East Angles, instead of king of the Mercians. With this agrees the tradition that Felix was himself a monk of Croyland. To whom should a monk of Croyland dedicate the life of his patron saint rather than to the founder of his house?
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED.

AA. SS. = Acta Sanctorum. When cited simply thus, the reference is to the great Bollandist collection; when Mabillon or Mab. is prefixed, it refers to Mabillon’s Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedictini; and when Colgan is prefixed, Colgan’s Lives of the Irish Saints are meant.

Ad. Col. = Adamnan’s Life of St. Columba; v. Rs. Ad. During the printing of the present work a very convenient edition has appeared, by Dr. J. T. Fowler, of Durham; Clarendon Press.

a. l. = ad locum.


Ann. Wig. = Annales Wigornienses. R. S.


Art de Vérif. = Art de Vérifier les Dates, &c. 3 vols. fol. 1783-1787.

AS. vers. = The Anglo-Saxon version of Bede’s H. E., ed. Dr. T. Miller, E. E. T. S.


Birch = Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum.

Bouquet = Recueil des Historiens de la Gaule et de la France. (The whole series is thus cited, although the later volumes are not edited by Dom Bouquet.)

Bright = Dr. W. Bright’s Chapters of Early English Church History. 1878.


Chron. Scot. or C. S. = Chronicon Scotorum. R. S.

Colgan, v. AA. SS.

### List of Abbreviations

Ducange = Ducange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis. 4to. 1884–1887.

Eddius = Vita Wilfridi, auctore Eddio Stephano; in Raine’s Historians of the Church of York, i. R. S.
E. H. S. = English Historical Society.
Elmham = Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, ed. Hardwick. R. S.


E. T. = English Translation.

Felire = The Féliare or Calendar of Oengus the Culdee; ed. Dr. Whitley Stokes for the Royal Irish Academy.

F. N. C. = Freeman’s History of the Norman Conquest.


G. P. = William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, ed. Hamilton. R. S.

G. R. = Gesta Regum, v. W. M.


Haa., Hab.; in the indices, and occasionally in the notes, the Anonymous History of the Abbots and Bede’s History of the Abbots are thus cited.

Hardy, Cat. = Sir T. Duffus Hardy, Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. R. S.

H. E. = Historia Ecclesiastica; generally Bede’s, but occasionally Eusebius’ is meant.

Hexham = The Priory of Hexham, its Chronicles . . . and Annals, ed. Raine. S. S.

H. H. = Henry of Huntingdon, ed. T. Arnold. R. S.

H. & S. = Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland.

H. Y. = Historians of the Church of York, ed. Raine. R. S.

List of Abbreviations.


Lanigan = Lanigan’s Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. 1829.
L. Br. = Lebar Brec, ‘The Speckled Book.’ Published in Facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy.
LL. = The Book of Leinster. Published in Facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy.
LU. = Lebar na h-uidri, ‘The Book of the Dun Cow.’ Published in Facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy.

M. H. B. = Monumenta Historica Britannica, vol. i. (all published).
Migne, Pat. Lat. = Migne, Patrologia Latina.

Orosius, AS. vers. F. E. T. S.

Pertz = Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, folio series.
Pertz 4to. = Monumenta Historiae Germaniae, 4to series.
List of Abbreviations.

Rawl. = Rawlinson Collection of MSS. in Bodleian Library.
Rhŷs, C. B. = Rhŷs, Celtic Britain.  S. P. C. K.

s. a. = sub anno.
Sax. Chron. = Saxon Chronicle.  Owing to variations of reading it is often necessary to cite the six MSS. A. B. C. D. E. F. separately.
S. C. S. = Skene, Celtic Scotland, 1876–1880.
S. D. = Simeon of Durham, ed. T. Arnold.  R. S.
Sig. Gembl. = Sigebertus Gemblacensis; in Pertz, vi.
S. S. = Surtees Society.
SS. RR. II. = Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, ed. Muratori.
Stubbs, Dunstan = Memorials of St. Dunstan, ed. Stubbs.  R. S.

s. v. = sub voce.

Tigh. = The Annals of Tigernach.  Printed (very incorrectly) in O’Connor, Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum; and (imperfectly) in P. & S.  I have generally used the Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 488.


Werner = Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit, von Dr. Karl Werner.  1875.
W. M. = William of Malmesbury’s Gesta Regum, ed. Stubbs.  R. S.
Wülker, Grundriss = Grundriss der angelsächsischen Litteratur, von R. Wülker.  1885.

NOTES.

THE PREFACE.

P. 5. Historiam . . . edideram] i.e. in the case of this as of most Bede's books, the preface was the last thing to be written. We get from this address to Ceolwulf an insight into Bede's manner of working. He first sends to his correspondent a rough draft of the work for criticism; and then lends the completed work for transcription. In this lending of copies for purposes of transcription consisted the medieaval process of publication; 'edideram.' Cf. the letter to Albinus printed above. And hence, too, the existence of what may be called quite truly different editions of medieaval works; for it is evident that copies might be multiplied at different stages in the process of revision. A striking instance of this phenomenon exists in the case of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum. See Dr. Stubbs' Preface, I. xliii-xc. On the editions of the present work see Introduction, §§ 27-28. Bede's mode of working comes out still more clearly in the preface to the prose life of St. Cuthbert. He says: 'nec sine certissima exquisitione rerum gestarum aliquid de tanto uiro scribere, nec . . . ea, quae scripseram, sine subtilissima examinatione testium indubiorum passim transcribenda quibusdam dare praesumpsi. Quin potius primo diligenter . . . progressum . . . uitar illius ab his, qui nouerant, inuestigans, quorum etiam nomina . . . ob indicium certum cognitae ueritatis apponenda iudieai, sic demum ad schedulas manum mittere incipio. At, digesto opusculo, sed adhuc retento in schedulis, frequenter et . . . Herefrido et alius, qui . . . uitar illius optime nouerant, quae scripsi legenda atque . . . retractanda praestiti, ac nonnulla ad arbitrium eorum . . . sedu-
lus emendavi; sicque... certam ueritatis indaginem... commendare membranulis... curaii... Quod cum... patrarem, et coram senioribus... uestrae congregationis [i.e. Lindisfarne] libellus biduo legeretur,... cuncta... decernebantur absque ulla dubietate legenda, et... ad transscribendum esse tradenda,' Opp. Min. pp. 45-47. On Ceolwulf, see v. 23 note.


sic enim, &c.] On Bede's desire to benefit his readers see the Introduction, § 7, and cf. R. W. i. 4.

p. 6. ut autem... curabo] Cf. the passage given above from the Vita Cudb.: 'quorum etiam nomina,' &c., and Werner, pp. 211, 212.

Albinus, Albinus] He succeeded Hadrian as abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury in 709 or 710, see v. 20, p. 331. Elmham says: 'successit uenerabilis pater Albinus natione Anglicus, primus qui de gente nostra ad regimen istius monasterii est electus,' p. 294. He says that he died in 732 after an abbacy of twenty-four years, p. 301. But as he places his succession in 708, which is certainly a year too early at the least, it is possible that he did not die till 733 or 734. Anyhow, his death falls just outside the limits of Bede's work. The letter in which Bede thanks him for his help, and sends him copies of the Ecclesiastical History and of the De Templo for transcription is given above, I. p. 3. Elmham quotes his epitaph, p. 301. The Saxon version adds: 'se ăng wide gefaren 7 gelærd,' 'he was far travelled and learned.'

monimentis litterarum] This is interesting as showing that Albinus was in possession of documentary evidence connected with the mission of Augustine. We cannot tell how far the documents connected with that mission which Bede gives came from Canterbury, and how far from Rome through Nothelm. See on i. 27.

Documents.

Nothelm, Nothermum] He was, as Bede says here, a priest of the church of London. Bede's 'Quaestiones in Libros Regum' were written in answer to inquiries from him; and are prefaced by a letter in which Bede addresses him as 'frater dilectissime,' Opp. viii. 232, 233; see also Introd. p. xlix, note 2. His visit to Rome and his researches in the papal archives must be placed 715 x 731, during the pontificate of Gregory II, who is obviously the pope referred to below as 'Gregorius qui nunc praeeest.' (If the letters in i. 29 and ii. 19 came from the papal archives, and the latter at any rate probably did, even if Ewald's view be adopted that Bede obtained the letters of Gregory I, not from Rome, but from the originals at Canterbury, Neues Archiv, III. 542 ff., Nothelm's visit to Rome must be earlier than 725, as Bede certainly seems to allude to these letters in his
Chron., Opp. Min. pp. 194–196). Gregory II died in Feb. 731. Bede finished his history in that year, but in what month is not clear; with the exception of the allusion to the defeat of the Saracens in 732, v. 23, p. 349, which may have been added later (v. note a. l.), the last event mentioned appears to be the consecration of Tatwin, June 10, 731, ib. p. 350. The news of the Pope’s death would take some time to reach Britain. As Gregory II had before his elevation been librarian of the Church of Rome (Stevenson), he would be eminently qualified to direct Nothelm’s researches. Obviously Gregory III cannot be meant, for he was not consecrated till March 731, and there would be no time for Nothelm to make researches at Rome under him and communicate them to Bede before the latter finished his work. It is also clear from this passage, and from the letter to Albinus given above, that Nothelm had at some time after his Roman journey visited Bede. Unfortunately we have no means of fixing the date of that visit. In 735 Nothelm became Archbishop of Canterbury; in 736 he received the pallium; Chron.; S. D. ii. 31, 32; Fl. Wig. He died in 739 according to Cont. Baed., infr. p. 362; S. D. ii. 32 (so H. & S. iii. 335); in 740, Chron. F; Elmham, p. 312; on Oct. 17, 741, Fl. Wig. The other MSS. of the Chron. do not mention his death; A. B. place the accession of Cuthbert in 741, C. D. E. in 740. Elmham, u. s., gives Nothelm’s epitaph, and etymologises his name into ‘Notus almus.’ Cf. Werner, p. 87.

A principio ... didicimus] Here Bede, though he gives no names, does acknowledge generally his obligations in the earlier chapters of this work. Cf. Introduction, p. xxiv note; and notes to i. i, p. 8.

p. 7. hortatu ... Albini] Cf. the letter printed i. p. 3.

Danihel] See on v. 18, p. 320.

Ceddi et Ceadda] In iii. 21, 23, Bede does not associate Ceadda (Chad) with Cedd in the evangelisation of Mercia, the re-conversion of Essex, or the foundation of Lastingham.

Læstingæu] See on iii. 23.

Esi] Nothing appears to be known of him.

successio sacerdotalis] ‘episcopal succession.’ See note on i. 28.

Cynibercti] See on iv. 12.

aliorum ... uirorum] One of these is mentioned by name in ii. 16; Deda, a monk of Partenay.

partim ex eis ... adsumpsi] This is a reference to the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert printed by the Bollandists, and by Stevenson, Opp. Min. pp. 259–284.

p. 8. quod uera lex ... studuimus] So commenting on Luke ii. The law of 33, Bede says: ‘neque enim oblivitus evangelista quod eam de Spiritu Hist. Sancto concepisse ... narrarit, sed opinionem uulgi exprimens,
The first twenty-two chapters of this first book are in the nature of an introduction to Bede's main subject, which is 'the ecclesiastical history of the people of the English.' As preliminary to this he gives, chiefly from second-hand authorities, (1) a description of Britain, c. 1; (2) an account of the Roman conquest and government of Britain, cc. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 11; (3) of the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, and of the state of the island after their departure, cc. 12-14; (4) such particulars as he was able to glean as to the condition of British Christianity up to the time of the conquest of Britain by the Saxons, cc. 4, 7, 8, 10, 17-21; (5) the coming of the Saxons and the struggles of the Britons against them, cc. 15, 16, 22. With the coming of Augustine in c. 23, Bede reaches his proper subject.

p. 9. Britannia] The marginal references and notes will show that Bede derived a large part of this chapter from earlier writers. We can hardly therefore agree with Sim. Dun. when he says: 'terrarum regionumque diuersarum situs, naturas, qualitates, subtiliter aesi cuncta ipse peragrasset, plerumque deseribit,' i. 41. We could indeed heartily wish that Bede had given us more of his own observation and less of ancient writers. But it is a good illustration of the way in which authority dominated the mediaeval mind. Bede in turn became an authority. William of Tyre (xiii. 18) discussing the question of the sources of the Jordan, a question which he could easily have solved by a visit to the spot, after quoting various opinions, says: 'Beda tamen et quidam alii nostri doctores, auctoritatis praeceipuae, utrunque fontem iuxta Caesareae Philippi . . . originem dicunt habere,' &c., and so leaves the matter. I owe this interesting illustration to my friend Mr. T. A. Archer. For the extracts from classical authors printed in the notes to this chapter I am very largely indebted to the collection of passages.
at the beginning of the M. H. B. This chapter is much abbreviated in the AS. version. It is sometimes found separately with the title ‘De situBritanniae,’ e.g. MS. Rouen, No. 1398.

Oceani insula] So at the end of book i. of the Cant. Cant. Bede Britain an speaks of himself and his countrymen as ‘longius extra orbiem, ‘alter orbis.’

Oceani insula] So at the end of book i. of the Cant. Cant. Bede Britain an speaks of himself and his countrymen as ‘longius extra orbiem, ‘alter orbis.’

hoce est in insula maris oceani nati et nutriti,’ Opp. ix. 200. For Britain as the end of the world, as in some sort an ‘alter orbis,’ see the passages in H. & S. i. 3-5, 10, 11, 13; ii. xxi; cf. infra. c. 8, and the passages cited on c. 2 ad init. This first sentence is from Pliny Pliny, whom Bede cites largely in his scientific works: Opp. vi. 106, 198, ‘in opere pulcherrimo naturalis historiae’; 204, 208, 209, 211, 214, 216, ‘solertissimus naturalium inquisitor’; and also in his theological works, vii. 45; ix. 310; xii. 142, 149; cf. Introduction, pp. xxxvii f., lli f. For the way in which Bede in these early Bede’s au-chapters ignores the authorities he follows, see Introduction, p. xxiv thorities. note.

Hispaniae] This implies that Spain projects very much further Spain. to the west than is really the case; a mistake very common in ancient writers, e.g. Tac. Agr. c. 10, ‘Britannia ... in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur,’ and see the maps of the world according to Strabo and Ptolemy. Cf. Orosius, i. 2, ed. Zangemeister, pp. 11, 12. milia passuum DCCC] The references to Gildas are to the edition of Stevenson.

habet a meridie] Orosius, i. 2; almost verbally identical with the Orbis Descriptio given M. H. B. p. xix a.

Rutubi portus] Richborough, near Sandwich, in Kent; now Rich-silted up, but in Roman times one of the chief ports of embarkation for the Continent; Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 396, 397; Scarth, Roman Britain, pp. 154 ff.

Gessoriaco] Gessoriaeum is Boulogne, cf. Scarth, u.s. p. 36, and Boulogne, for the Morini and their nearness to Britain, c. 2 ad init.

ut quidam ... CCCCL] This is the estimate of Dio Cassius, M. H. B. p. li a, and of the Itinerarium Antonini, ib. xx b, to which Bede possibly alludes. M. B. N. read CCCL.

Orcadas] See on c. 3.

p. 10. uineas] The culture of the vine was more extensive in Culture of England formerly than now, especially in some of the monasteries the vine in England. Henry VI used to stay at Bury St. Edmund’s ‘propter ... uineae odorem delicatibarem,’ Lappenberg-Pauli, Gesch. Engl. v. 281. ‘The Vineyard’ may still be seen as the name of streets in old English towns. Malmesbury says of the Vale of Gloucester: ‘Regio plus quam aliae Anglieae prouintiae uinearum frequentia densior, prouentu uерior, sapore iocundior. Vina enim ipsa bibentum ora.
tristi non torquent acredine, quippe quae parum debeant Gallicis dulcedine,' G. P. p. 292. When Fortescue says of wine 'that commodite we have not,' he only means that the manufacture of wine was not sufficiently extensive to make the taxation of it a source of revenue; Governance of England, pp. 132, 268. Cf. H. H.: 'Brittania uineae ... fertilis est, sed raro.' He gives Winchester the palm for its wine. On vineyards and wine-making in England, and on recent attempts to revive the industry, see Spectator, Sept. 22, 1894. Tacitus, however, says: 'solum praeter olem uitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum,' Agr. c. 12.

'Issicius' and 'esox.' 'Issicius' is a derivative of 'isix' (Ducange), which is a collateral form of 'esox,' from which also we get the derivative 'esocius.' 'Esox' and its derivatives are often taken to mean 'pike.' But in mediaeval Latin at any rate they mean 'salmon.'

In the Celtic languages 'esox' becomes Irish 'eó, O. Welsh ehawc, Mod. Welsh eog, Cornish ehoc, all of which mean 'salmon'; e.g. 'isicius uel salmo, ehoc,' Zeuss, G. C. p. 1074. More to the point are the Anglo-Saxon vocabularies: 'isic, laex' (= Germ. lachs, salmon), Wülker, col. 28; 'esocius uel salmo, lex,' ib. col. 180; 'esox, leax,' ib. col. 394. In Elfric's colloquy, in a list of sea fishes, we find 'alleces et isicios, delfinos et sturias' glossed 'hæringas 7 leaxas, mere-swyn (lit. sea-swine) 7 stirian,' ib. col. 94. Cf. Rs. Ad. p. 129 note.

 uituli marini] 'seals,' cf. iv. 13 ad fin.

 exceptis] 'besides, in addition to.'

 Pearls in Britain. [Bk. I.

margaritam] On the pearls of Britain, see the extracts in M. H. B. viii (Pliny), x (Solinus), xliii (Tacitus), xciv (Aelian). Suetonius mentions a tradition that Julius Caesar invaded Britain 'spe margaritarum,' ib. xlix, and Pliny, copied by Solinus, (u. s.) says that he dedicated, in the temple of Venus Genitrix, a breastplate set with British pearls. Most of these authors, however, do not agree with Bede in praising the colour of the British pearls. Pliny calls them 'decolores,' Tacitus, 'sub fusca et liuentia,' u. s. They are commonly found still at Whitstable in mussels.

St. Basil's Hexameron. [Bk. I.

Basilius] The Hexameron of St. Basil the Great 'is the most celebrated of all his works,' D. C. B. i. 296. It is a treatise on the six days' work of creation, Gen. i. 'It was translated into Latin by Eustathius Afer,' c. 440, ib. and ii. 391. Cf. Aldhelm, Opp. ed. Giles, p. 32. '[Basilli] ... ἐργα τὰ ἐφαέρον, id est, opera sex dierum ... in Latinum translata leguntur.' This translation was used by Bede, and the present passage is taken from it, v. Migne, Pat. Lat. liii. 907. Cf. 'Basilius Caesariensis quem Eustathius interpres de Graeco fecit esse Latinum,' Opp. vii. i. Bede also quotes
the Hexameron, Opp. vi. 151, 200, 208; vii. 7. Origen, Ambrose, and Hippolytus wrote works with the same title; Lttft., App. Ff. i. ii. 327, 331, 413. Bede, in his own Hexameron on Gen. i. 2, says: ‘ignem ardentem terrae interioribus insitum, calidi aquarum fontes produnt, quae cum per certa quaedam metalla in profundo aquarum transcurrunt, non solum calidae sed et feruentes insuper faciem telluris emanant,’ Opp. vii. 5. There is an Anglo-Saxon Hexameron attributed to Ælfric, based partly on Basil and partly on Bede, ed. H. W. Norman, Lond. 1849. Cf. Wülker, Grundriss, p. 466.

argent(i) [‘Fert Britannia aurum et argentum, et alia metalla, pretium victoriae,’ Tac. Agr. c. 12. Cicero, on the other hand, writing c. b.c. 55, says: ‘In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti.’ And again: ‘Etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argent(i) scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem praedae, nisi ex mancipiis,’ v. M. H. B. lxxxvii f. The Life of St. Caineach speaks of Britain as the source whence the Irish obtained their gold; Cod. Salmant, ed. de Smedt and de Backer, col. 388, cited by Zimmer.

firmissimis [‘butan oðrum læssan unrim eastr,’ ‘besides innumerous other lesser towns,’ adds the AS. version. Cf. the Panegyrist in M. H. B. p. lxviiia: ‘Britannia ... tanto frugum ubere, tanto laeta munere pastionum, tot metallorum fluens riuis, tot uectigalibus quaeestuosa, tot accincta portubus, tanto immensa circuitu.’


p. 11. iuxta numerum librorum] On the symbolism of the number five, see Introduction, p. lx.

quinque gentium lingu(i) Bede is speaking of the existence in Britain of five languages, rather than of five nations; and more particularly of languages employed in the service of religion, as Professor Earle has rightly remarked, Sax. Chron. p. 279. Hence Bede was obliged to include Latin, the most important of them all from this point of view. He does not mean that in his day there were descendants of the Roman legionaries existing in such distinctness in Britain as to form a separate ‘gens.’ H. H., copying Bede, says distinctly: ‘quinque lingu(i) utitut Britannia,’ and adds: ‘quamuis Pieti iam uideantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita omnino destructa, ut iam fabula uideatur quod in ueterum scriptis eorum mentio inuenitur,’ p. 12. Nennius, § 7, speaking of nations
only, rightly omits 'Latini': 'in ea habitant quattuor gentes, Scotti, Picti, Saxones, atque Brittones.' MSS. D, E, F, of the Sax. Chron. have, ad init., a short summary of this chapter of Bede. Of these, D translates the present passage correctly: 'there are in the island five languages, English, Brit-Welsh, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin.' F turns the languages (gecéódu) into 'peoples' (déóda), omits Latin, and redresses the balance by breaking up 'Brit-Welsh' into 'British and Welsh'; a mode of action for which MS. E had prepared the way. Geoffrey of Monmouth gives 'Romani' as the first of the five 'populi'; i. 2, but his Welsh translator turns these 'Romans' into 'Normans,' Welsh Bruts, ed. Evans & Rhŷs, p. 41. Where Bede treats of the languages of Britain without any ecclesiastical reference he speaks of them as four, iii. 6.

Armorica. de tractu Armorican] The name 'Armorica' (=the district by the sea, cf. Caesar, B. G. vii. 57, 'uniuersae ciuitates quae oceanum attingunt ... Armoricae appellantur') was originally applied to nearly the whole of the northern seaboard of Gaul. But in Gaul, as in Britain, the Celtic inhabitants were driven further and further towards the west, and the name Armorica retreated with them into the north-western angle of the country, the modern Brittany, cf. H. & S. ii. 70-73. It was this close connexion of the populations on the two sides of the Channel which obliged the Romans to attack Britain. Mommsen, The Provinces, E. T. i. 173. Note that Bede knows nothing of the Brutus legend, which appears in Nennius, § 7, and reaches its most developed form in Geo. Mon. lib. i. The Chron. D, E, F, turns 'Armorica' into 'Armenia.'

Pictorum de Scythia] 'Scythia citerior siue Scandia,' Smith. And in a passage cited above, p. 7, Bede evidently uses 'Scythea' for the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula. Note that Bede only gives this as a tradition: 'ut perhibent.' Nennius, §§ 13-15, drawing from Irish sources, 'sic mihi peritissimi Scottorum nunciae- runt,' brings the Scotti to Ireland from Scythia by way of Spain; and this is the ordinary Irish account; cf. e.g. the poem of Maelmura, Irish Nennius, pp. 221 ff. It is based on a wild identification of 'Scotti' and 'Seythea.' Bede does not profess to know anything of the Scotti prior to their settlement in Ireland. For an account of the early legends, &c., of the Picts and Scots, cf. S. C. S. i. 123-144, 192 ff.; iii. ch. 3. As to the Picts, the most probable view is that they were a pre-Aryan race, like the Basques. The name has nothing to do with the Latin 'pictus,' 'painted,' v. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 51-55, 95-98, 102-106; Proceedings, Antiquaries of Scotland, pp. 305, 306. In the latter monograph Professor Rhŷs has made an attempt to solve the vexed question of the Pictish language.
Hiberniam] 'Scotland,' AS. vers. Cf. Orosius, AS. vers. 'Ig-
bernia haet we Scotland hata&,' 'Hibernia which we call Scotland,' p. 24.

contra Hispaniae], Cf. Orosius, i. 2, pp. 11, 12. His phrase that Ireland and Spain front one another at a great distance, 'procul spectant,' was improved by Irish legend into the statement that Ireland is visible from Spain; and hence the migration of the 'Scots' or 'Gaels' from Spain to Ireland, Irish Nennius, pp. 238 ff. and notes.

p. 12. de feminea regum prosapia] This is the famous law of Pictish succession, whereby brothers, sons of the same mother, succeeded one another, and on their failure the succession passed to the children of their sisters or the nearest male kinsman whose relationship was traced through a female. This law has its origin in tribal customs prior to the institution of monogamy; but when its origin was forgotten, legends were invented to account for it. Cf. P. & S., pp. xcviii ff., 122, 123, 199, 319, 329, 381; S. C. S. i. 177, 232 ff.; iii. 96, 97. Zimmer, Früheste Berührungen, p. 286, refers to Zeitschr. für franz. Sprache u. Litteratur, xiii. 101.

quod ... seruatum] 'haet get to dæg is mid Peoltum healden,' Its dura-
'tion.

which is still to-day observed among the Picts,' AS. vers. It certainly lasted until the union of the Pictish and Scottish lines of kings in the person of Kenneth Mac Alpin, in the middle of the ninth century; and attempts were made to revive it subsequently. P. & S. pp. cxxxiii ff. The Sax. Chron. says: 'haet hy heoldon swa lange sybjan,' 'that they so observed for a long time afterwards.'

Scottorurn nationem ... recepit, &c.] The northern part of the Settlement of Scotti in Britain.

modern county of Antrim was called Dal Riada, and traced its origin to an eponymous hero Cairbre Riada, son of Conaire, whose (Conaire's) death is placed in 165 A.D. From this Irish district a settlement was made on the west coast of the modern Scotland; and thus the name Dal Riada was transplanted from Irish to British soil. According to what seems the most historical account, this settlement was made about 500 A.D. under the sons of Erc. But another form of the legend, followed apparently by Bede here, makes Cairbre Riada himself lead a colony to Britain contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the settlement in Ulster; i.e. c. 200 A.D. This is probably an attempt to account for the name Dal Riada on British soil without reference to the Irish district. Certainly the first permanent settlement of the Irish Scots in Britain was c. 500. Earlier (like the Saxons and Danes) they appear as marauders. Ammianus Marcellinus shows us Picts, Saxons, and Scots all fighting against the Romans in Britain about the year 363,
M. H. B. p. lxii. Stilicho towards the end of the century repulsed them for a time:

'Maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule; Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Ierne.'

Claudian, in M. H. B. xcvi (cf. the other extracts there given). But they soon resumed their ravages; and first the Saxons and then the Scots effected permanent lodgements. Cf. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 87, 88; C. B. pp. 91, 244, 272. But for the coming of the Saxons the Scots might have had a wider dominion in Britain; their advance southward was finally checked by Ethelfrid in the battle of Dægsastan, 603 A.D., c. 34; but they ultimately gave their name to the northern kingdom, while the Picts were absorbed leaving hardly any trace behind them. Cf. S. C. S. i. 137 ff.; P. & S. pp. cix-cxi; Rs. Ad. pp. 184, 433 ff.; Zimmer, Kelt. Beitr. iii. 6. On the spread of the Gaelic language in Scotland, see some very interesting remarks in Rhŷs' Rhind Lectures, pp. 81-98.

Hibernia] 'Hibernia, Scotta ealond,' 'Ireland, the island of the Scots,' AS. vers., and so very frequently.

usque hodie ... uocantur] 'jaet cynn nu geond to dæg Dalreadings waeron gehatene,' 'up to this day that race were called Dalreadings,' where the translator has combined the Irish 'Dal' with the Saxon patronymic in 'ing.'

daal] 'dál,' 'a division,' occurs frequently in Irish names of districts: see e.g. the indices to the Four Masters, to the Irish Nennius, &c.

Hibernia . . . praestat, &c.] Cf. Solinus: 'Hibernia . . . ita pabulosa, ut pecua ibi nisi interdum a pascuis arceantur, in periculum agat satias. Illic nullus anguis . . . Adtanatos insula (Thanet) . . . quum nullo serpatur angue, asportata inde terra quoquo gentium inuecta sit, angues neeat,' M. H. B. p. xα. Isidore, who copies Solinus, actually derives the name Thanet from θάβαρος, ib. eiiβ. Irish legend attributes this immunity of Ireland to St. Patrick. St. Columba obtained a similar blessing for Iona. There is a basis of fact for these legends. Very few reptiles and batrachians are native to Ireland, v. M. C. Cooke, Our Reptiles and Batrachians, pp. 23, 49, 47, 67, 91, 113, 156; and Fowler's Adamnan, pp. xxxii, 97; Rs. Ad. p. 142. There is a very interesting notice of Ireland in Tacitus, Agr. c. 24: 'Spatium eius, si Britanniae compararetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum, caelumque, et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsu seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ae specie
amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo auduii legione una et modicis auxilliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam aduersus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et uclut e conspectu libertas tolleretur. We see here the same causes which led the Romans from Gaul to Britain, drawing them from Britain to Ireland. That Ireland was never conquered by the Romans is one of the reasons why she has always lagged behind the sister island. We see here also the chronic tendency of Ireland to discord and the invocation of the foreigner, which culminated in the application of Dermot Mac Murrough (‘Diarmait na n-Gall,’ ‘Dermot of the Strangers,’ as the Irish call him) to Henry II in the twelfth century.


rasuram aquae inmissam] For similar modes of treatment, cf. iii. 2, 9, 13 ad fin., 17; iv. 3 ad fin.; v. 18, pp. 129, 145, 153, 161, 212, 218, 320; Vit. Cuthb. c. 41.

haec autem proprie patria Scottorum est] Cf. ii. 4, p. 87: Ireland the home of the Scotti.

It cannot be too clearly realised that at the time when Bede wrote, and for more than two centuries after, the term ‘Scottia’ refers to Ireland, and Ireland alone. It was only towards the end of the tenth century that it began to be used of any part of Britain; and even then it was applied to a very limited district, and only gradually during two more centuries was the application extended to the whole of the northern kingdom. Thus in ii. 4, p. 87, the letter of Laurentius, &c., is addressed ‘episcopis uel abbatibus per uniuersam Scottiam,’ whom earlier in the chapter Bede had spoken of as ‘Scotti qui Hiberniam ... incolunt ... in praefata ipsorum patria.’

So in iv. 26, p. 266, Bede says that Egfrid ‘Hiberniam ... uastauit,’ and then a little lower down tells how Egbert exhorted him ‘ne Scottiam ... inpuigaret,’ p. 267. Cf. P. & S. p. 197: ‘Scotois ... lour propre pays est Ireland, lour coustom et patoys acordaunt, qi puis furount mellez od Picos,’ ‘The Scots ... their proper country is Ireland, their customs and language agreeing thereto, though they afterwards became mingled with the Picts.’ Cf. ib. 380: ‘Yat cunte, yat now is callit Irland ... [Iber] callit it ... Scotia; ye quhilk it in ald eronyelis ... is callit Scotia Maior, to ye tymme yat sum part of ws comme out of it in oure Scotland, ... and it was callyt Scotia Minor.’ I know no authority for this latter statement, and believe it to be a mere bookman’s analogy from the use of Britannia Minor for Brittany as opposed to Britain. It illustrates the point in question that when Bede uses the term ‘Hibernia’ the AS. translator nearly
always adds the explanation 'Scotta ealand,' 'the island of the Scots.' Of course the tribe name 'Scotti' would apply to any members of the Irish race, whether living in Ireland or in Britain, and where Bede is speaking of matters common to both branches, such as their paschal customs, it is often to be understood as including both. Still, as Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, says, writing to Calixtus II in 1119: 'saepenumero [Beda] in eodem uolumine euidenter distinguist inter Scottos qui Britanniam, et illos qui incollunt Hiberniam,' H. & S. ii. 194. For the latter, cf. (in addition to the passages already quoted) i. 13; ii. 19; iii. 3, 26 (Scotti australi); v. 15. For the former, cf. i. 34; ii. 5; iv. 26; v. 23 ad fin. Bede also distinguishes the Scots in Britain by coupling them with the Picts: 'Scotti siue [=et] Picti,' iii. 1, 27 ad fin. On the difference of usage between Bede and Adamnan as to the inclusion of Iona in the term Scottia, see iii. 24 note. Cf. on the whole subject, S. C. S. i. 1-7, 398; P. & S. pp. Ixxv ff., and note on iii. 19, p. 167.

Alcuin] See on c. 12 infra.

CHAPTER 2.

It is no part of my plan to discuss the history of Roman Britain; especially as Bede's account of it is based almost entirely on second-hand authorities. I must confine myself as a rule to pointing out Bede's sources, and the slight additions which he has made to them. This chapter is very briefly summarised in the AS. vers., MS. B of that version omitting it altogether. It is almost wholly taken from Orosius. Cf. Werner, pp. 23, 31.

inacessa atque incognita] Cf. the extracts in M. H. B. pp. xxxv, xlix, lxxii; Bede, Opp. vi. 299 (from Eutropius). On the invasion of Julius Caesar there is an interesting article by Dr. Guest in the Archaeological Journal, xxi. 220; reprinted in Origines Celticae, ii. 331-372.

qui anno, &c.] The year a. u. c. 693 is taken from Orosius, who gives it as the year of the passing of the Lex Vatinia, whereby the command in Gaul was conferred on Caesar for a period of five years. The year corresponding to a. u. c. 693 is B. C. 61, not 60 as Bede gives it. But the date is wrong. The year of the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus and of the Lex Vatinia was a. u. c. 695 or B. C. 59. The expeditions to Britain were in a. u. c. 699 and 700; B. C. 55 and 54.

p. 14 in hiberna] Both here and at the end of the chapter there is a various reading 'hibernia.' See critical notes. This has misled
the epitomator of the Sax. Chron. MSS. D, E, F, who writes: 'hae forlet his here gebidan mid Scottum,' 'then he left his army to remain among the Scots' (=Irish). The same variety occurs in the MSS. of H. H. p. 18.

quarum ... infixa] This sentence is Bede's own. There is no reason to believe that Bede had ever been in the south of England. He may have received the information from some of his south-country friends, such as Albinus or Nothelm. Dr. Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 281, decides in favour of the latter. The site of the ford he places at Halliford, at the Coway Stakes, ib. 388. So Smith ad loc. Bede has omitted an erroneous statement of Orosius, that the Thames is fordable only at one point.

CHAPTER 3.

P. 15. Anno, &c.] The date of Claudius's invasion of Britain is Invasion of A. u. c. 796, A. d. 43. The reason why he reaped his laurels so easily was that the way had been prepared for him by Aulus Plautius, on whose campaign see Guest, u.s. ii. 381 ff. Cf. the extracts in M. H. B. pp. xliia; xlix; lxix. It was while celebrating games in honour of Claudius' return from Britain, that Agrippa I was stricken down in the manner narrated in the Acts, c. 12, v. Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, i. 469 f. It is interesting to find the history of our own island thus brought into direct connexion with that of the early Church. For inscriptions relating to Claudius' conquest of Britain, cf. Searth, u.s. pp. 241, 242; and compare with this chapter Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. pp. 170, 171.


plurimam insulae partem] The Sax. Chron. D. E. sub ann. 47 interprets this by 'ealle Pihtas 7 Walas,' 'all the Picts and Welsh.'

Orcadas ... adiecit imperio] He may have nominally annexed the them; there was no real conquest. Tacitus expressly says of Orkneys. Agricola, c. 10: 'incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas uocant, inuenit domitique.' The Orkneys were constantly a rendezvous and basis for attacks on Britain from the north. Hence the need for reducing them. Nennius represents the Picts as thus using them: 'Pieti uenerunt, et occupauerunt insulas, quae uocantur Orcadas, et postea ex insulis uastauerunt regiones multas,' § 12. Claudian, in a line already quoted, represents the Saxons as defeated there:

'maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades.'

Aedan mac Gabrain (c. 34), King of the Scots of Dalriada, attacked

**Vespasianus** 'quod initium uenturae mox fortunae fuit; domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus,' Tac. Agr. c. 13. 'Duas ualidissimas gentes, superque xx oppida et insulam Uectam Britanniae proximam in ditionem redegit,' Suet. Vesp. c. 4; M. H. B. pp. xliii, 1.

**Uectam**] On Wight, cf. iv. 13, 16.

**CHAPTER 4.**

**P. 16. Anno, &c.]** Orosius gives A. u. c. 811 as the date of Marcus Antoninus (better known as Marcus Aurelius). This would be A. D. 158. The real date is A. D. 161. Lucius Verus (here called Aurelius Commodus) died in 169. Eleutherus did not succeed till 171 at the earliest, possibly not till 177. The alleged event cannot therefore strictly have taken place 'horum temporibus.' Bede, in his Chronicon, places it under the year 180, Opp. Min. pp. 173, 174; the Saxon Chron. under 167.

**Lucius**] The earliest authority for this story is the recension of the Liber Pontificalis known as the ‘Catalogus Felicianus,’ attributed to the year 530. Thence Bede probably got it, either through his friend Nothelm, or through his brother monks who visited Rome in 701 (Opp. vi. 242, Introduction, p. xvii; Liber Pont. ed. Duchesne, I. cxxii f.), or in 716, Haa. §§ 37, 38. Gildas knows nothing of it. It may safely be pronounced fabulous. Liber Pont. u. s. I. cii; H. & S. i. 25, 26. Cf. Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 180: 'nobis tanti non sunt fabulae uctumque splendidae, ut earum gratia in Cimmeriis tenebris lucemur.' Nennius, § 22, makes the Pope 'Eucharistus,' an obviously fictitious name. The fable was largely developed in later times; W. M. makes Eleutherus' missionaries found a church at Glastonbury, i. 23, 24; while Rudborne makes Lucius endow the bishop and monks of Winchester with various lands, &c.; Ang. Sac. i. 182, cf. N. & K. pp. 183, 208; D. C. B. article 'Eleutherus'; Bright, pp. 3–5, who is inclined to think that the tale may have some foundation; so Lappenberg, i. 46, 47; E. T. i. 48, 49; Werner, pp. 208–210. In v. 24, p. 352, Bede gives the length of Eleutherus' reign as fifteen years.

**Diocletiani**] 'œs yfelan Caseres,' 'the bad emperor,' adds AS. vers.
CHAPTER 5.

Anno, &c.] Orosius gives A.D.C. 944 as the date of Severus’s accession (= A.D. 191). The real date is 193.

Non muro, ut quidam] I do not know to whom Bede is alluding Roman walls in Britain here. Of the authors cited in M. H. B. Eutropius, p. lxxii], Orosius, p. lxxix], Eusebius’s Lat. Chron. p. lxxxi], Cassiodorus, p. lxxxi], all use uallum. Aelianus Spartanus once uses murus, in another passage he speaks of ‘murus aut uallum,’ p. lxv]. In the text of Sextus Aurelius Victor the word is murus, p. lxxi], but in the epitome it is uallum, p. lxxi]. The explanation of the difference between a uallum and a ‘murus’ is Bede’s own. The AS. vers. merely says ‘mid dice 7 mid cawalle,’ ‘with a ditch and earth-wall.’ On the Roman fortifications in Britain I have received the following interesting note from Mr. Haverfield, of Christ Church. I print it here as a valuable contribution by one who has made an independent study of the original authorities, which I cannot pretend to have done.

The northern frontier of Roman Britain was defended by two fortified lines, one joining the Solway and the Tyne, the other the Clyde and the Firth of Forth. The southern line consists of two parts. The most striking part is a stone wall, with a ditch, large and small forts, and a connecting road, which is plainly meant to repel northern attack and stretches for a distance of about 85 miles from Bowness-on-Solway to Wallsend-on-Tyne. South of this, and separated from it by an interval which varies from 30 to 1,300 yards, is the so-called Vallum, an earthwork comprising a ditch and three ramparts of upcast earth. It appears to have no military object, but runs parallel to the Wall for its whole length with the exception of five or six miles at each extremity. The origin of the Wall is known. The Life of Hadrian, attributed to Spartanus, says that Hadrian built a wall for 80,000 paces to divide Romans and barbarians (c. xi, 2), and the inscriptions of the Wall show that it, with its forts, dates mainly, if not wholly, from Hadrian’s reign (Proceedings of the London Society of Antiquaries, xiv. (1892) 44-55). The origin and object of the Vallum are disputed, and our evidence is purely a priori. Presumably it was either built in connexion with the Wall (Mommsen, Westdeutsche Zeit schrift, xiii. 134) or formed an earlier frontier, afterwards superseded by a fortified wall. The lines between the Clyde and the Forth are simpler. They consist of an earthen rampart built of regularly laid sods, with a foss, large forts, and a connecting road, the whole being
about 35 miles in length. The origin of the work is known; the life of Pius attributed to Capitolinus (c. 5; 4) and the inscriptions agree in referring it to Pius. It was apparently intended not to supersede Hadrian's Wall, but to act as a breakwater and relieve the pressure upon it. Its subsequent history is unknown; no inscription or historical reference occurs except in relation to its building, and it is a fair inference that it was speedily abandoned. The wall of Hadrian, on the other hand, was certainly held till the middle of the fourth century; in the first half of the third century the Romans also held several fortresses to the north of it.

'So far we have a consistent, intelligible, and well-supported account of the Roman frontier lines. Unfortunately the harmony is disturbed by certain historians who credit Septimius Severus with the erection of a wall from sea to sea. According to Eutropius, who wrote about A.D. 370, he built a vallum across Britain for a length of 132 miles, or, as some MSS. read, of 32 miles (viii. 19), and the statement is repeated almost verbally by Aurelius Victor (Epit. 20), Jerome (Chron. a. Abr. 2221), Orosius (vii. 17), Cassiodorus (Chron. a. 207), the author of the Historia Brittonum, usually called Nennius (c. 23, Mommsen, p. 165'; and Bede (Chron.). An almost identical statement, with omission of the wall's length, appears in the life of Severus ascribed to Spartanus (c. 18), the Caesares of Victor (20, 18), and Bede's history (i. 5'). These accounts have been referred by English antiquaries to a building or rebuilding of the southern wall, by Mommsen to a reconstruction of the Wall of Pius, but both explanations are open to serious objections. The inscriptions of Hadrian's Wall indicate that Severus was not active in this region, while the very existence of the other wall in the reign of that emperor is unproven, and perhaps improbable. So far as we can judge from the epitome of Xiphilinus, the narrative of Cassius Dio contained no reference to any wall erected by Severus, though it did mention some earlier fortification (76, 12). It seems possible that the fourth-century story which begins with Eutropius and the life of Severus—the date of which is uncertain—may be wholly false; it may be a mistaken inference from some passage in Dio where Hadrian's wall was mentioned. If the story be true, we must say that, at present, we have not sufficient knowledge to reconcile it with our other and better attested evidence as to the history of the frontier lines.

'Bede's own references to the walls (i. 5; i. 12) in the historia are based partly on Orosius and Gildas, partly on local knowledge, and testify to an effort to explain the difficulties relating to the origin of the works, as he saw them and read about them. He supposes
that Severus built the earthwork of the lines between Tyne and Solway, and thus interprets the text of Orosius. He then borrows from Gildas references to walls built after 400 A.D. and supposes that the Roman aid sent to Britain was directly or indirectly responsible for the stone wall which we now believe to be Hadrian’s, and for the earthen wall of Pius. His views are interesting as the earliest conjectures on the subject, but they are plainly conjectures.’

Cf. C. J. Bates, History of Northumberland, chs. 1, 2.

De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 19, 20, says of it:
‘Hanc Romana manus muris et turribus altam
Fundavit primo.’
Geta hostis punicus] Inscriptions exist from which the name of Geta has been erased. Searth, u.s. pp. 245, 246; Bates, u.s. p. 33.

CHAPTER 6.

Anno, &c.] Orosius gives a.u.c. 1041 (=a.d. 288) as the date of Diocletian’s accession. The real date is 284. Cf. with this chapter Bede’s Chron. Opp. Min. pp. 179, 180.

socium . . . imperii] ‘geselde him west dæl middan eardes,’
‘gave him the western part of the world.’ AS. vers.; which then omits from ‘quorum tempore’ down to ‘iusus occidi’; thus making ‘purpuram sumpsit,’ &c. refer to Maximianus instead of to Carausius. For a sketch of the Roman occupation of Britain from the revolt of Carausius to the final withdrawal of the legions v. S.C. S. i. 91–113; cf. especially the table of events in parallel columns on p. 113 derived (a) from Greek and Roman authors; (b) from Gildas (who is largely embodied by Bede). This sketch covers cc. 6, 8–9, 11–14 of Bede’s narrative.

CHAPTER 7.

It is tolerably certain that this chapter of Bede is based on some Lives of earlier acts of St. Alban, but so far these have not been discovered. Various lives of St. Alban are catalogued by Hardy, Cat. i. 3–34, but they are all later than Bede. Many of these lives are mixed up with the acts and miracles of St. Amphibalus, the cleric who converted St. Alban. This name first occurs in Geoffrey of Monmouth, v. 5. Cf. Hardy, u.s. p. 5; Ang. Sac. i. 183–185, and is probably created out of St. Alban’s ‘amphibalus’ or cloak. Bright, p. 6; Rs. Ad. p. 114; Hardy, u.s. It is curious how many of the lives call Alban ‘Protomartyr Anglorum,’ ib. 6–12, 14–16, 27, 30;
cf. pp. 24, 25; so Misc. Biogr. S. S. pp. 15, 24. One writer, Hardy, p. 22, says: 'confidenter dico nostrum [Albanum], calumniae (= claims) Britonum non formidans.' Elmham, on the other hand, says very justly: 'quod autem sanctus Albanus protomartyr Anglorum notatur ... hoc omnino dicit operet ... per anticipationem, quia necdum Angli in Britanniam uenerant,' p. 182. (By the same sort of 'anticipation' Vortigern is called 'Dux Anglorum' in some curious verses printed in Muratori, SS. RR. II. vii. 469 ff.). About 983-991, the Empress Theophanu translated the body of a certain martyr, Albinus, to St. Pantaleon's in Cologne. As nothing was known of this saint, the acts of the British St. Alban were transferred to him, Pertz, xv. 686 ff. Hence the heading of one of the lives: 'Albani, quem in Germania et Gallia Albinum uocant, passio,' &c. Hardy, p. 30. And MS. N here spells the name Albinus, at least four times, v. critical notes. Some of the lives belong to a certain St. Alban of Mainz in the ninth century, ib. 31, 32. We may hope that the following hagiological Oedipus is not 'noster Albanus'; 'Vita ... Sancti Albani; qui natus fuit ex patre et filia, postea acceptat matrem in uxorem, post haec occidit patrem et matrem, demum sanctus,' ib. 33; cf. pp. 31, 32. This may actually be a transference of the Oedipus myth, cf. Introduction, § 16. Ælfric's homily on St. Alban is wholly taken from Bede, Lives of Saints, pp. 414 ff.

Fortunatus [Carm. VIII. iii. 155, 156.]

'Egregium Albanum fecunda Britannia profert,
Massilia Victor martyr ab urbe uenit.'

Fortunatus was 'the last representative of Latin poetry in Gaul.' D. C. B. He was born c. 530 at Ceneda, and died bishop of Poitiers at the beginning of the seventh century. Bede quotes him; Opp. vi. 39, 45, 61, 67-69; xii. 348; cf. Manitius, Aldhelm, und Baeda, p. 92. 'Perfidus.' 'Perfidorium principium' 'Perfidus,' 'peridia' are constantly used in Bede and other ecclesiastical writers in the sense of 'heathen,' 'heathenism,' 'unbelieving,' 'unbelief,' as opposed to 'fides,' 'fidelis,' which mean 'belief,' and 'believing' or 'believer.' So ii. 5 of Eadbald; iii. 1 of Osric and Eanfrid; iii. 7 ad fin. of Cenwalh; iii. 24 of Penda; iii. 30 ad fin. of the relapse of the East Saxons into Paganism; v. 23 of the Saracens, pp. 90, 128, 141, 177, 179, 200, 349. Bede applies the term also to various forms of
Chap. 7. ]

Notes.

19

hersy. Thus in ii. 2, p. 84, it is applied to the Britons because of their paschal and other heresies; in i. 8 to Arianism; in i. 10, 17
ad fin. to Pelagianism; in v. 21, p. 344, to simony. It is often
used in this sense of the Jews; thus in the great passage of
Jerome on the ruin of Jerusalem and the Jews, Comm. in Zoph.
i. 15: Opp. vi. 692, ed. Vallarsi: ‘usque ad praesentem diem
perfidii coloni... prohibentur ingredi Jerusalem.’ So too
in the Roman Liturgy for Good Friday: ‘Oremus et pro per-
fidis Iudaeis.’ It is extraordinary that a man of Dr. Döllinger’s
vast learning should misinterpret this as implying that they were
regarded as ‘deserving neither of truth nor trust.’ Akadem.
Vorträge i. 216; E. T. p. 217; cf. Pseudo-Ign. ad Philad. e.
6, ὃ τοιοῦτος ἡρμητή ἡ πίστιν οὐχ ἤττον τῶν χριστοφόρων Ἰουδαίων.
principis] ‘aldormannes,’ ‘alderman,’ AS. vers.
milites] ‘pagnas,’ ‘thanes,’ AS. vers.
caracalla] ‘Vestis clericorum talaris.’ Ducange, ‘munuc-geyre-
lan,’ ‘monk’s habit,’ AS. vers.
p. 19. cuius familiae... es?] ‘hwylcere meaghe cart ḫu?’
Ælfric, u.s. p. 416, ‘hwylces hiredes ḫ hwylces cynnes,’ AS. vers.
p. 20. ad flumen... diuidebatur] This passage seems corrupt;
but there is no variation in the MSS. It would mend matters
slightly to read, ‘quo murus ab harena.’ The AS. vers. has: ‘to
swīdstremer ēa, seo floweð neah ðære ceastre wealle,’ ‘to a swift
river which floweth near the city wall.’
ad obsequium... sine obsequio] ‘tó ēnunge... bútan
ĕnunge,’ AS. vers. The word ‘obsequium’ has here a concrete
meaning, ‘escort,’ ‘train.’ ‘Obsequium, famularum et amicorum
comitatus, pompa,’ Ducange. Cf. ‘perlatus obsequentum manibus
episopus,’ ii. 7, p. 94. So: ‘regum non est esse sine comitum
obsequio,’ Opp. x. 270; ‘uidebat [Lazarus] procedentem duiitem
obsequentibus cuneis fulciri,’ xi. 232. Cf. the use of ‘ministerium’
in iii. 14, p. 156, note.

ut... transire uix posset] Ælfric states this as a fact, u.s.
p. 418.
sine obsequio] Ælfric lays stress on the fact that he was dinner-
less: ‘ungereordod sæt.’ u.s., p. 420.
uidit undam... uuestigiis] See next note.
p. 21. in huius ergo... reuersus est ad naturam] It is evident
that in this passage, which has to do with the second miracle
worked by St. Alban, viz. the producing of a spring on the summit
of the hill, some phrases have been incorporated which really
belong to the previous miracle, the arresting of the river; viz.
‘incluso meatu,’ ‘ut omnes... detulisse,’ ‘qui uidelicet... ad
naturam.’ We might remove these, and insert them in the former

Emenda-
tion of text.

C 2
passage thus: 'uidit undam, inclusu meatu, suis ... uestigiis; ut omnes ... detulisse. Quí uidelicet ... ad naturam. Quod cum,' &c. Both passages will then gain very much in clearness.

intulit manus] '7 his head of asloh,' and smote off his head,' adds AS. vers.

gaudere ... non est permissus] Cf. Bede on Prov. xxi. 18: 'pro iusto datur impius, cum pro martyre persecutor, qui eum morti dedit, punitur,' Opp. ix. 134.

die X. Kal. Int.] June 22. So Bede, Mart. Opp. iv. 83, 84. Note that Bede does not attempt to fix the year.

Uæclingaæstir] This name was no doubt given to the town from its position on the 'Watling Street,' which runs from London to Wroxeter. The name 'Wætlinga ceaster' occurs in a charter of Ethelred's of the year 996, in which also St. Alban figures as 'proto-martyr Anglorum,' K. C. D. No. 696; Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 235.

ecclesia] On the alleged foundation of the monastery of St. Alban's by Offa, v. H. & S. iii. 469, 470; Hardy, Cat. i. 27; W. M. i. 85; R. W. i. 252 ff.

Legionum urbis] Caerleon-on-Usk. The story of Aaron and Julius must be considered extremely doubtful; v. H. & S. i. 6; cf. Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. p. 18o.

CHAPTER 8.

P. 22. renouant ecclesias] Rudborne places here the second building of the Church of Winchester; the first having been under Lucius. Ang. Sac. i. 185; cf. on c. 4, sup.

Arianism.

Arrianæ usanæae] 'It is evident ... that Gildas and Bede following him have greatly exaggerated the influence of Arianism in Britain,' Bright, pp. 11-13; cf. H. & S. i. 8. Bede sees the progress of Arianism foreshadowed in the pale horse of Rev. vi. 7: 'Ecco Arrii usania de Alexandria naseens, ad Gallicum usque peruenit oceanum, non fame tantum uerbi Dei, sed et gladio corporali bestialiter pios inequens,' Opp. xii. 363. The passage 'quae corrupto ... infudit' is omitted by the AS. vers.

noui semper aliquld] This seems to hint at the existence of various heresies in Britain.

Constantius.

uir summae mansuetudinis] διακομένων γὰρ τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίας, μόνος Κωνστάντιος ὁ Κωνσταντῖνου πατὴρ ἄδεως θρησκείας συνεχόμενος τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς. Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. i. 6, in H. & S. i. 4.

Constantinum filium] ‘iam godam casere,’ ‘the good emperor,’ inserts AS. vers. This is Constantine the Great.

in Britannia creatus imperator] The AS. translator misunderstanding here and elsewhere the word ‘creatus,’ makes Constantine born in Britain: ‘on Breetone acenned.’ He was really born at Nissa in Upper Moesia. Chisflct, by an analogous error, reads ‘pro-creatum.’

sed et insularum] ‘eac swylee on pís ealand,’ ‘likewise in this island,’ AS. vers.

CHAPTER 9.

P. 23. This chapter is not in the AS. vers.; but the heading is in the capitula, where ‘creatus’ is again mistranslated ‘acenned,’ ‘born.’ The Sax. Chron. ad ann. 381 has the same mistake.

Anno, &c.] Orosius gives A. V. C. 1132 (=A. D. 379) as the date of the death of Valens. The real date is 378.

Maximus] Cf. Opp. Min. p. 184; Rhüs, C. B. p. 104; and on the Maximus legends which have gathered round his name, see the article in D. C. B.

uir ... probus] Gildas, as Smith remarks, gives him a very different character, § 13.

CHAPTER 10.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers.; though the heading is in the capitula.

Anno ... CCCXCI] The true year is 395.


p. 24. Ituliano de Campania] This is the person against whom Julianus, the first or introductory book of Bede’s Commentary on the Song of Eclanum, of Songs is directed. Opp. ix. 186 ff.; cf. ib. 310, x. 140, xii. 292. He was bishop of Eclanum near Beneventum, and was one of eighteen Italian bishops deposed by Pope Zosimus in 418, for refusing to sign the circular letter in which the Pope condemned the doctrines of Pelagius. He himself wrote on the Song of Songs, which is the reason why Bede thinks it necessary to refute him: ‘ne per copiam eloquentiae blandientes, [lector] in foueam incidat doctrinae nocentis ... Est enim ... rhetor peritissimus,’ ix. 186. Besides his writings on the Song of Songs, Bede mentions among his works
a 'Libellus de Amore,' 'De Bono Constantiae,' 'Dialogus Attici et Critobuli,' ib. 186, 194, 195. He also ascribes to him 'Liber ad Demetriadem de Institutione Virginis,' which however, in spite of Bede's vehement denial, seems really to be by Jerome; ib. 195-197. Bede (ib. 186) calls him 'Iulianus Celanensis episcopus de Campania'; where 'Celanensis' is a mistake for 'Eclanensis.' Julian was a man of high character, learned and pious; superior in temper and judgement to many of his opponents. He occupied an intermediate position between Augustine and Pelagius, and is regarded by Milman as the founder of Semi-Pelagianism. He died c. 454, the teacher of a school in a small town in Sicily. v. Ince and Milman, u. s., and article Julianus, D. C. B.


Prosper rethor] Commonly called Prosper of Aquitaine; born c. 403, and died after 463. He was a strong partisan of Augustine against the Pelagians. Besides shorter poems like the one in the text, he wrote a long poem against them entitled 'De Ingratis,' meaning by ingrati 'opponents of the grace of God.' He is best known as the author of the longer chronicle which bears the name of Prosper, from which some of the statements in the text are taken; ed. 1711, col. 740, 747. The shorter chronicle which bears the name of Prosper Tiro, is probably by a different hand. v. D. C. B., s. v. Prosper. Bede cites the Epigrammata of Prosper in his de Arte Metrica, Opp. vi. 46-48, 56, 60, 62-66, 75. Cf. Manitius, Aldhelm, und Baeda, pp. 83, 89, 97.

eaquorei ... Britanni] Mr. Stevenson, a. l., ingeniously suggests that this is an allusion to the name of Pelagius; 'aequoreus' = 'πελάγιος.'

CHAPTER 11.

This chapter is in the AS. vers., but very much abbreviated. In the heading 'creati' is again mistranslated 'acende,' 'born.'

Anno ... CCCCVII] The date is correct.

minoris] So the MSS., but the reading required is 'minore.' Honorius was the second son of Theodosius I. O₉ reads 'maioris,' a less probable correction.

ante biennium] The first siege of Rome was in 408, the second in 409; the third siege and capture in 410. Bede probably refers to the first; dating it, as he does the third, a year too late.

in Gallias transit] Mr. Skene (S. C. i. 104) has remarked that had these local emperors, Carausius, &c., been content to maintain themselves in Britain, they might not impossibly have been successful, and the subsequent history of the island might have
been very different. But their attempts to seize the whole of the western part of the Empire not only led to their own failure, but stripped Britain of troops, and left it open to the attacks of the barbarians. Cf. c. 12, ad init.

p. 25. Gerontius] He was a Briton, one of Constantine’s ablest Gerontius. generals; but turned against him, inviting the Germans to invade Gaul and Britain; thus playing in real history the part which legend assigns to Vortigern. The name, in the form Geraint, is known to all readers of Tennyson. See Rhys, C. B. pp. 96, 97, 298.


habitant] The AS. vers. entirely perverts the meaning by translating ‘eadædon Bryticas, ‘Britons dwelt,’ &c.


usque hoc die testantur] ‘Ja we to dæg sceawian magon,’ ‘which we may see to this day,’ AS. vers.

CHAPTER 12.


tyrannorum] Gildas says ‘tyranni’ in the singular, meaning Maximus. But Bede is quite justified in generalising the remark.

transmarinas . . . dicimus, &c.] This is Bede’s own gloss on the words of Gildas, and it seems a very forced one. It is true that according to the tradition probably followed by Bede the settlement of the Dalriadic Scots in Alba had already taken place (see on c. i), and therefore he is not inconsistent in making the invading Scotti come from thence. But Gildas in using the term meant not only to imply that the invading Scotti came from Ireland, but also that the Picts now (i.e. after the death of Maximus, v. s.) first settled in Britain from beyond sea. Bede, as we have seen (c. i, note), brings the Picts from Scythia to Britain; but he makes no attempt to fix the date of their settlement. In c. 14, p. 29, he unconsciously slips into the other view both as to the Scots and Picts; for, following what is the reading of some MSS. of Gildas, he calls the former ‘grassatores Hiberni,’ and ‘Hibernus’ is never
used of the Scots in Britain; while of the Picts, also following Gildas, he says: 'Picti in extrema parte insulae tune primum et deinceps quieuerunt.' If the Dalriadic settlement had taken place at this time, its members may have co-operated with their kinsmen from Ireland in attacking the Britons. Nennius says: 'Scotti ab occidente, et Picti ab aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra Brittones, nam et ipsi pacem inter se habeabant,' § 23. Cf. Ethelwold, M. H. B. p. 501.

urbem Giudi] Commonly said to be Inchkeith in the Forth. That Giudi was an important name in that region is proved by a passage in the Book of Lecan given by Reeves, Culdees, p. 124, in which the Forth is called 'muir n-Giudan,' 'the sea of Giude.' Cf. Rhŷs, C. B. p. 151. Professor Rhŷs hesitates as to the common identification of Bede's Giudi with Nennius' Iudeu; ib. and Rhind Lectures, pp. 99-102. See iii. 24, notes.

p. 26. Alculuith ... petram Cluith] From Celtic 'ail,' a rock. In the Würzburg MS. f. 11*, the 'spiritalis petra' of 1 Cor. x. 4 is glossed: 'ind aìl rûnde.' Now Dumbarton, i.e. 'Dun na m-Bretan,' 'fort of the (Strathclyde) Britons.'

Legatos ... mittentes] From the fact that Bede in his Chron. Opp. vi. 316, 317; Opp. Min. pp. 186, 187 (q. v.) places the two embassies of the Britons between the discovery of St. Stephen's relics and the death of Jerome, Smith, on that passage, p. 26, argues that they must fall between those two events, i.e. 415 and 420. But this is a rather hazardous argument.

inter duo freta] i.e. the line of the northern wall. See on c. i.

Aebbercurnig] Abercorn on the Forth. It was in this monastery that Bishop Trumwine had his see. v. iv. 12, 26; pp. 229, 267.

Peanfahel] Professor Rhŷs sees in this word evidence of a Brythonic language affected by Pictish influence. It is clearly not pure Pictish. Rhind Lectures, p. 82; C. B. pp. 152, 153, 197.

p. 27. tempore autumni] Gildas has: 'casibus foliorum tempore certo assimulandam ... peragunt stragem,' a metaphor which Bede has understood as a fact. So Moberly on Bede, and Stevenson on Gildas.

inter urbes] i.e. the line of the southern wall.

usque hodie ... clarum est] 'done man nu to daeg sceawian mæg,' 'which may still be seen at the present day,' AS. vers.

reuersuri] '7 hi sigefaste ofer sæ ferdon,' 'and they victoriously fared over sea,' adds AS. vers.

p. 28. a feris] 'from wulfum 7 wildeorum,' 'by wolves and wild beasts,' AS. vers.
CHAPTER 13.


Anno ... ececcxxiii] This is right for the death of Honorius.

Palladius ... episcopus] This notice of Palladius is taken from Palladius the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine, ann. 431, v. s. i. 10 note. It is to be noted that the Irish to whom Palladius is sent are already Christians: "in Christum credentes." This at once cuts the ground from under all later developments of the story of Palladius, which represent him as an unsuccessful forerunner of St. Patrick in the work of christianising Ireland. The way for this idea was perhaps prepared by a very rhetorical passage of Prosper, Contra Collatorem, c. 21, in which he says of Celestine: "ordinato Scotis episcopo ... fecit ... barbaram [insulam] Christianam." In the so-called collections of Tirechan in the Book of Armagh, which profess to rest on seventh century evidence, but which Zimmer, Kelt. Beitr. iii. 77, 78, has shown to be not earlier than the first half of the ninth century, it is said: "a Celestino ... papa ... Patricius episcopus ad doctrinam Scottorum mittitur. ... Palladius episcopus primo mittitur, qui Patricius alio nomine appelabatur, qui martyr-rum passus est apud Scottos, ut tradunt sancti antiqui. Deinde Patricius secundus ... mittitur, cui Hibernia tota credidit, qui eam pene totam baptizavit," Stokes, Vita Tripartita, p. 332. The notes of Muirchu Maccu-Machtheni, also in the Book of Armagh, of which the real and pretended dates are about the same as in the case of Tirechan, represent PallADIUS as sent to convert Ireland, but failing even to land he returns Romeward, and dies "in Britonum finibus," ib. 272. Nennius, §§ 50, 51, gives much the same account, but makes him die "in terra Pictorum." The annals of Ulster place the mission of Palladius correctly in 431, and they place that of Patrick in 432. If Patrick, as Tirechan and Nennius represent, was sent by Pope Celestine, his mission cannot be later than 432, as Celestine died in that year. But if Prosper and Bede knew of the unsuccessful mission of Palladius, is it conceivable that they should have been unaware, or, if aware, should have made no mention of the triumphant mission of Patrick? On the whole I am inclined to agree with those who, beginning with Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland (1790), cited Vita Trip. p. cxiv, have doubted the very existence of St. Patrick. It is true that Patrick is mentioned in the so-called Martyrology of Bede at March 17. But this Martyrology has been so largely interpolated by later writers, that it is unsafe to argue from it. He is mentioned in the second preface
to Adamnan’s Life of St. Columba; and earlier still in Cummian’s letter on the Easter question. But even this is two hundred years later than his supposed mission. It is possible that the statement of Tirechan, ‘Paladius... qui Patricius alio nomine appelabatur,’ may ultimately rest on some confused reminiscence of the present chapter of Bede, and that the words ‘qui et patricius fuit,’ which belong to Aetius, have got attached to Palladius, and this may be the starting-point of later developments. Saints have been created out of less. We have seen the origin of St. Amphibalus from St. Alban’s cloak (c. 7); and a St. Pontiolius has been evolved from a false reading of ποιτίωλφ for ποτίωλων (=Puteoli) in the Antiochene Acts of St. Ignatius; Lttf. App. Ff. II. ii. 488. It is worthy of note that the earlier MSS. of the Sax. Chron. A.B. C. (D is defective) have the right version: ‘Here Palladius... was sent to the Irish by Pope Celestine to confirm their faith’; i.e. they were already Christian; whereas E. has: ‘Here Patricius was sent by Pope Celestine to preach baptism to the Irish’; i.e. they were heathen. Ethelwerd (M. H. B. p. 503) is midway between the two; retaining Palladius, but representing him as ‘Christi nuncius evangelium.’ Of the origin of Irish Christianity we know absolutely nothing. Zimmer, u. s., has shown that the documents in the Book of Armagh which have been relied on as the earliest authorities for the history of Patrick are forgeries. In later times the ‘Scoti’ to whom Palladius was sent were taken to be Scots in the modern sense; so N. & K. p. 246. Cf.: ‘433. Haly Palladius prechit ye fayth to Scottis men... 434. Sanct Patrice prechit ye faith to Irlandis menn.’ P. & S. p. 387. Cf. ib. 200, where he is joined with St. Columba (whose mission was more than a century and a half later!) in the conversion of the Pictish king.

anno... XXIII] The twenty-third year from 423 would be 446, and this is the date of the third Consulship of Aetius.

patricius] ‘heah ealdorman,’ ‘high alderman,’ AS. vers.
gessit consulatum] ‘wæs... consul 7 cyning,’ ‘was consul and king,’ AS. vers.

p. 29. Blaedla et Attila] These notices of the invasion of the Huns, the famine and pestilence at Constantinople, &c., are taken from the chronicle of Marcellinus Comes, which extends from 379 to 534. From its cessation at 534 it is inferred that Marcellinus died soon after, but nothing is known of him. Bede cites Marcellinus in his Commentary on St. Mark, Opp. x. 95; and in that on St. James, xii. 184.

anno... proximo] It was really two years previous; 444 A.D.

hisdem temporibus] 446 A.D.
CHAPTER 14.

confidentes ... auxilium] Gildas, § 20, says: 'secundum illud exemplum Philonis, “Necesse est adesse diuinum, ubi humanum cessat auxilium.”' It is quoted also as from Philo in Eginhard's letters, Bouquet, vi. 375. (Eginhard died in 839.)

reueruntur ... quiueerunt] See on c. 12.

cessante ... hostili] 'after þyssum com gód gear,' 'after this came a good year,' AS. vers.


initium ... consilium] 'he gesomnedon hi gemot, 7 þeahtedon 7 ræddon,' 'then they assembled a moot, and deliberated and advised,' AS. vers. Nennius has a totally different tradition: 'uenerunt tres ciuæ a Germania expulsæ in exilium, &c. . . . Guorthigirnus suscepit eos beneigne, &c.' § 31.

CHAPTER 15.

Anno . . . CCCXLVIII] The true date of Marcian's accession is 450. That the following tune is not to be taken (as is commonly done by historians) as fixing the settlement of the Saxons to the definite year 449 or 450 is shown by the chronological summary, v. 24, p. 352, where, placing, as here, the beginning of Marcianus' association with Valentinianus in the empire in the year 449 (459, Opp. Min. pp. 188, 189, q. v.), Bede adds: 'quorum tempore Angli . . . Britanniam adierunt.' (Marcian died in 457.) So the Sax. Chron. 449: 'On heora dagum,' 'in their days': 'quorum tempore,' Ethelw. M. H. B. p. 503. Bede never professes to know the exact year of the first settlement of the Saxons. He always uses the word 'circiter' in reference to it. Thus in i. 23, p. 42, and v. 23, ad fin. he places it 'about' 446; in ii. 14, ad init. 'about' 447 (so S. D. i. 19). Cf. also i. 16. Lappenberg thinks that this fluctuation is due to the use of a double source, Kentish and Northumbrian, by Bede, i. 74, 120; E. T. i. 76, 118; so Werner, p. 207. But in view of the use of the word 'circiter' this must be regarded as very doubtful. Bede's reason for placing the coming of the Saxons 'about' this time, 446 x 457, is that copying Gildas he makes it follow the mission of the Britons to Aetius in the latter's third consulship, 446. M. de la Borderie has shown in his monograph on Nennius, pp. 52-65, 79, that if the confused and interpolated chronology of that work be rightly interpreted, it is in favour of the date 449; but that work can add nothing to nor
detract anything from the authority of Gildas and Bede, whose credibility must be judged on other grounds. Prosper Tiro places the reduction of Britain by the Saxons in 441: 'Britanniae usque ad hoc tempus uariis cladibus...laceratae, in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur.' Bouquet, i. 639. Where Bede writes independently of Gildas he is no doubt embodying the Kentish traditions which he would learn from his friends Albinus and Nothelm. (See Notes on Bede's Preface and on c. 2 supra.)

Of the leaders of the invaders Bede says below (p. 31), 'fuisse perhibentur...Hengist et Horsa.' And though it is going too far to say that this phrase implies critical doubts (in the modern sense) on the part of Bede, yet it does undoubtedly imply that he gives that part of the story as a tradition and nothing more. (Hengist is called 'Anschis' by the Ravenna geographer. M. H. B. p. xxiv.) It is curious that the words of the Sax. Chron. with reference to the first coming of the Danes have been misinterpreted exactly in the same way as Bede's words about the Saxons here. See notes to the year 787, or the Preface to my smaller edition, p. xii. Of course Bede is speaking here of the first settlement of the Saxons. He fully recognises the fact of earlier attacks by them (on which cf. S. C. S. i. 92, 99, 101, 106, 111). See on cc. 1, 6. Sidonius Apollinaris (431-489) gives a vivid picture of the Saxon ravages on the coast of Gaul in this century. Ep. viii. 6 (translated in Green, M. E. pp. 16-19). Cf. Ethelweard: 'agilem audierunt esse piratico in opere gentem Saxonum in tota maritima a Rheno fluuo usque in Doniam urbem, quae nunc uulgo Danmarc nunecupatur.' M. H. B. p. 501. The question whether there were earlier Saxon settlements in Britain turns largely on the interpretation to be given to the phrase 'Comes Limitis (or Littoris) Saxonici.' The majority of recent critics, Guest, Stubbs, Freeman, Green (Skene is an exception) are in favour of explaining it as the shore exposed to Saxon attacks, rather than the shore occupied by Saxon settlers. The subject of the Saxon Conquest of Britain cannot be dealt with here. I may refer to, without professing wholly to endorse, the papers of Dr. Guest republished in Origines Celticae, vol. ii, and the early chapters of Mr. Green's Making of England. I confess to doubting whether the foundation is strong enough to bear the elaborate superstructure which has been reared upon it. Mr. Green indeed writes as if he had been present at the landing of the Saxons, and had watched every step of their subsequent progress. This certainty is very favourable to picturesque writing. I wish I could feel equally sure that it was justified by the quality of the evidence. In the Translatio S. Alexandri, Pertz, ii. 674, there is a curiously
inverted form of the legend, according to which the Continental Saxons came from Britain.

p. 31. segnitia Brettonum] 'Brytwalana nahtstice,' 'the British naughtness of the Brit-Welsh.' Sax. Chron. E. This phrase is perhaps the basis of the ordinary view that the Britons were easily vanquished by the Saxons, e.g. Lappenberg, i. 63, 64, 103; E. T. i. 66, 100. That the contest really was long and obstinate, see Green, M. E. p. 133; Scarth, u. s., pp. 224-229.

Germaniae] 'Terra quae ... sub septentrionali axe iacet, quia Mediaeval tantum hominum germinat, non injuria Germania uocatur.' W. M. etymologies.

i. 8. This, like many mediaeval etymologies, comes from Isidore, Origines, xiv. 4. The Chronicon Holzatiae, Pertz, xxi. 276, anticipating the Anglo-Israelite craze, derives the 'Iutae' from 'Iudei,' and the 'Dani' from the tribe of Dan. But even these feats are outdone by Mr. Skene, who derives 'Iutae' from 'Teutones.' C. S. i. 190.

Iutis, &c.] 'of Geatum,' AS. vers. Elmham in borrowing this The Jutes passage (p. 138) writes throughout 'Wictis,' 'Wictarum' for 'Iutis,' &c., perhaps with the idea of bringing it nearer in form to 'Vic-tuarii,' 'Vecta'; cf. a citation in Lappenberg, i. 101.

Iutiarum natio] 'Iutna cynn.' Sax. Chron. E. Fl. Wig., speaking of the death of William II, says that it occurred 'in prouincia Iutarum, in Noua Foresta,' i. 276. And again (ii. 44, 45), 'in Noua Foresta, quae lingua Anglorum Ytene [i.e. Iutena cynn or land] nuncupatur.'

Orientales Saxones] See article in D. C. B. ii. 20, 21.

Angulus] On the mediaeval derivation of 'Anglia' from 'an- 'Angulus' gulus,' cf. my notes to Fortescue, p. 287. F. N. C. i. 348, 772; and H. & S. iii. 12, 447. A curious polemical use is made of this derivation by a Scottish Chronicler: 'Sed veritas non quaerit angulos iuxta veritatem evangeli, thirfor thai may nevir be trew that comme fra Angulo.' P. & S. p. 385.


Humbri fluminis] For the Humber as the boundary between The Humber Northern and Southern English, cf. i. 25, ad init.; ii. 3, ad init. 5, ad init.; 9, ad init.; 16, ad init.; v. 23, sub fin. Eddius uses the terms 'Ultra-Umbrenses,' 'Citra-Umbrenses,' H. Y. i. 63, 64, 67, 87, 103. Cf. M. & L. p. 213. In Hist. Abb. § 4, p. 367, Bede uses the term 'Transhumbrana regio' of the Northumbrian kingdom. So 'Transhumbrana gens,' iii. 14, p. 155; H. & S. iii. 459. 'Hymbronensis' and 'Umbrensis' are also used in the sense of Northumbrian. See on
iv. 17, p. 239. The terms Northumbria, Northumbrian, are of course common enough. In the Sax. Chron. we have also 'Sūđanhymbre,' 'Southumbrians.' In 449 this seems to be used in a general sense; in 697, 702, it means specifically the Mercians; cf. 'Mercii qui dicuntur Suthumbri,' R. W. i. 189. (The suggestion, D. C. B. ii. 590, that it means the Lindisfaris, has nothing to recommend it.) S. D. has also the term 'Suthymbria' in a general sense, ii. 189, 267. (Cf. Suthanglia, ib. 298, 309; Sutangli, K. C. D. Nos. 80, 83. Cf. Nos. 88, 89; Birch, Nos. 154, 157, 163, 164.) In one Welsh authority the Humber is called the Sea of Humber, 'mor Humyr.' P. & S. p. 121. A mediaeval etymologist derives the name from the Huns! ib. 222. Asser speaks of York as 'in aequotonari ripa Humbrensis fluminis sita.' M. H. B. p. 474. In that case the name extended much more than it does now.


initio . . . foedere cum Pictis] Constantius also, as cited by Bede, c. 20, ad init., represents the Saxons as combining with the Picts. Lappenberg needlessly questions this statement, i. 70; E. T. i. 72.

p. 33. suspecta . . . mento] 'with anxious mind.' So c. 32, p. 69.

CHAPTER 16.

'Here, and hostilis exercitus] 'Se here,' AS. vers., which is the term always used in the Sax. Chron. of the army of the invading Danes as opposed to the national force, the 'fyrd.'

domum reuersus est] 'Domum,' apparently refers to their settlement in Thanet; for what follows seems inconsistent with the idea that the Saxons quitted Britain even temporarily at this time. R.W. makes them retire first to Thanet, and then to Germany, i. 15.

Ambrosio Aureliano] Cf. Opp. Min. pp. 190, 191. Palgrave cites, 'without venturing to maintain, the opinion of Baronius, that Ambrosius confirmed the legitimate succession of the Empire of the West.' E. C. p. 397. Perhaps a better mode of stating this view would be to say that he was the last of those so-called tyrants or usurpers, who, from Maximus downwards, attempted to exercise Roman authority in Britain. Cf. Rhỳs, C. B. pp. 103, 105, 107.

Date of the battle of 'Mons Badonicus.'] Taking 449, not as the exact but as the approximate date assigned by Bede to the settlement of the Saxons, we get 493 as his approximate date for the battle of
the 'Mons Badonicus.' The Annales Cambriæ place it in 516. Gildas tells us that the year of that battle was also the year of his own birth; § 26: 'usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur, ... quique quadragesimus quartus, ut noui, oritur annus mensce iam primo emenso, qui iam et [?etiam] meae natinitatis est.' There has been much controversy as to which of these dates, 493 or 516, should be adopted for the battle, and the birth of Gildas. There is an article by M. de la Borderie on this question in Rev. Celt. vi. 1-13. I agree with him, (i) that the date 493 accords much better than 516 with what we know of the chronology of Gildas' life; (ii) that Bede's authority is much higher than that of the Ann. Camb.; (iii) that it is unlikely that Bede's date is due to a mere misunderstanding of Gildas' words, as has been commonly asserted from the time of Ussher onwards. I cannot however agree with him in his very forced explanation of the passage of Gildas, which makes Gildas' forty-four years, like Bede's, date from the coming of the Saxons, and necessitates the insertion in Gildas of words for which there is no MS. authority. The present tense, 'oritur,' shows that Gildas refers to the time at which he was writing, and he says that it was 'at the end of the first month of the forty-fourth year [from the year of that event], which is also the year of my birth.' (So I would construe the passage.) Hence Gildas wrote the 'De Excidio,' c. 537, which is a perfectly possible date. Hence if Bede's date is neither due to a misunderstanding of Gildas (Ussher), nor taken from him (de la Borderie), it must be based on independent data; and the occurrence of the same number, 44, in both cases is a mere coincidence. Is there any reason why two events should not be, one of them forty-four years before, and the other forty-four years after a third event? Mr. Anscome (in his monograph on St. Gildas of Ruys, pp. 58 ff.) thinks that he has discovered internal evidence that the Epistle of Gildas was compiled 'within ... three years ... from Nov. 22, 498.' If so, it must be by a different author from the De Excidio; possibly 'by some one else of the same name.'

CHAPTER 17.

Chapters 17-22 are not in the text of the AS. version, though Life of St. Germanus by Constantius the headings are in the Capitula. Chapters 17-21 are, with the exception of the beginning of c. 17, taken almost verbatim from Constantius' Life of St. Germanus, printed by Surius and the Bollandists at July 31. Constantius was a presbyter of Lyons,
a friend and correspondent of Sidonius Apollinaris, whom he induced to collect and publish his correspondence, thus doing a great service to historical literature. His own life of Germanus is addressed to Patiens, Bishop of Lyons (451-491), and Censorius, Bishop of Auxerre (472-502), and therefore must have been written 472 × 491. The date given in Gallia Christiana, xii. 265 is c. 488. The extracts given by Bede are sufficient to show how largely the miraculous element enters into Constantius’ composition, and there are many more miracles which Bede has omitted. On this and other lives of St. Germanus, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 47-57.

Ante paucos ... annos] Cf. Opp. Min. p. 189. Here Bede, following Gildas, has brought the history of the contest between the Britons and the Saxons to the battle of the ‘Mons Badonicus,’ c. 493. He now reverts to ‘a few years before their [the Saxons] coming’; viz. to 429 according to Prosper Aquit., from whose chronicle the opening words of this chapter are taken. I cannot therefore see on what grounds Dr. Bright (following Smith) says: ‘this mission is wrongly placed by Bede at A.D. 446’ (p. 16). The phrase ‘ante paucos annos’ may well cover a period of twenty years, 429-449. (In iv. 18, p. 242, the phrase ‘non multo ante’ indicates an interval of almost thirty years; cf. c. 21, ad init. note.) Prosper’s words are as follows: ‘Agricola Pelagianus, Seueriani Pelagiani episcopi filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corrupit. Sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi, Papa Caelestinus Germanum Antisdorensem episcopum uice sua mittit, et, deturbatis haereticis, Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit.’ I have not been able to discover anything about Severianus and his son Agricola. Palladius is very likely the same whose mission to the Irish Prosper relates two years later. It will be noted that Prosper represents Germanus as sent by the Pope, whereas Constantius followed by Bede, infra, states that he and Lupus were sent by a Gallican Synod at the request of the Britons. On the various suggestions which have been made with a view to reconciling these statements, see Bright, p. 16. Prosper is the earlier authority, and as he was in Rome about 431, he had means of knowing; cf. what he says Contra Collatorem, c. 21 (also in M. H. B. p. ci).

p. 34. sacerdotes] ‘bishops,’ as often. See note on c. 28.

Germanus ... Lupus ... episcopi] Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, 418-448; Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, 427-479. Four of Sidonius Apollinaris’ letters are addressed to Lupus (vi. 1, 4, 9; ix. 11). In a letter to Sulpicius (vii. 13) he speaks of Lupus as ‘facile principem pontificem Gallicanorum’; while in a letter to Prosper, bishop of Orleans, he couples Germanus and Lupus to-
gether as models of excellence, speaking of another prelate as 'Lupo parem, Germanoque non imparem,' viii. 15. On lives of Lupus, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 60, 61. His day is July 29; cf. Bede's Martyrology at that day: 'Depositio S. Lupi... qui cum Germano unuit Britanniam, et l. annos sacerdotio [=episcopate] functus est; qui tempore Attilae, qui Galliam uastabat, sicut in hymno eius canitur,

Dum bella cuncta perderent,
Orando Trecas muniit.' (Cf. AA. SS., ut infra.)

There are two churches in Glamorganshire dedicated to Lupus under the Welsh name of Bleiddian (=wolf-cub); H. & S. i. 21. Churches dedicated to St. Germanus are in Wales and Cornwall, ib. The abbey of Selby was also dedicated to him, and claimed to possess one of his fingers; Hardy, Cat. ii. 446, 447; cf. Introduction, p. cxxi. Both Lupus and Germanus were disciples of the school of Lérins; Werner, pp. 25, 26. On Lérins, cf. infra, Hab. § 2, p. 365, note.

*inimica uis daemonum* This incident is cited by Adamnan in his life of Columba, ii. 34. If, as the ancient life of Lupus states, AA. SS. Jul. vii. 69, the two prelates left Gaul 'temporibus hibernis,' this is probably sufficient to account for the storms without any further hypothesis.

CHAPTER 18.


CHAPTER 19.

Compare with this chapter the story told of Mellitus in ii. 7.
P. 37. quae... tegebantur] See note on ii. 14, p. 114.

CHAPTER 20.

P. 38. Saxones Pictique] As Bede distinctly says, c. 17, that the mission of Germanus was prior to the permanent settlement of the Saxons in Britain, this junction of the Saxons and Picts must be
CHAPTER 21.

**Nec multo... tempore**] About seventeen years. This second mission of Germanus is fixed to the year 447, if Constantius is right in making his journey to Italy and his death there in 448 follow immediately on his second return from Britain.

**p. 40. Seuero**] The date of his accession to the See of Trèves does not seem to be known. He is said to have died in 455.

**primae Germaniae**] 'Germania prima,' or 'Superior,' is the district immediately to the west of the Rhine from about Neuwied to Colmar.

**p. 41. pro pace Armoricanae gentis**] Aetius had ordered Eocharich, chief of the Alani, whom he had settled at Orleans, to attack the revolted Armoricans. Germanus, according to Constantius, overawed Eocharich, and forced him to retire; and then set off to plead the cause of the Armoricans at the imperial court at Ravenna. His efforts were frustrated by their renewed revolt; cf. Martin, Hist. de France, i. 362, 363. He died at Ravenna, July 31, 448; though Bede in his Martyrology gives his day as Aug. 1, where he says of him: 'Britonum fidem per duas uices a Pelagiana haeresi defendit.' Other martyrologies give his day as Oct. 1, and Wandalbertus Prumiensis, at that date, says of him:
CHAPTER 22.

exteres, ciuilibus... bellis] ‘utgeseolhte, ingeseohtum,’ ‘out-fight and in-fights,’ AS. vers.

Inter ea, &c.] It is not quite clear where Bede places this period of immunity from foreign war. Possibly between the Hallelujah victory in 430 and the permanent settlement of the Saxons, c. 449.

In Gildas' narrative this passage comes after the mention of the battle of the Mons Badonicus, c. 493. But the Sax. Chron. assuredly gives no countenance to the view that there was any cessation in the attacks of the Saxons after 493. It records their unresting advance during the sixth century.

p. 42. Gildus] On the lives of Gildas v. Hardy, Cat. i. 151-156; Gildas. S. C. S. i. 116-118. They are all several centuries later than Gildas' time, and it may be doubted whether we know any fact with reference to him beyond what he has told us, viz. that he was born in the year of the battle of Mons Badonicus, and wrote the De Excidio in the forty-fourth year after that event; v. s. c. 16, note. W. M. says of him: ‘eui Britannii debent si quid notitiae inter ceteras gentes habent,’ i. 24. It is a pity that he could not write a little more clearly.

fiebili sermone] The work is entitled ‘liber querulus.’ Gildas' denunciations of the Britons are quoted in Wulfstan's homilies (ed. Napier, p. 166) as a warning to the English of that time: ‘an peodwita wæs on Brytta tidum, Gildas hatte; se awrat be heora misdædum, hu hi... swa... God gegraemedon, þæt he let æt
nyhstan Engla here heora eard gewinnan, and Brytta dugeðe fordon mid ealle. And þæt wæs geworden þurh gelæredra regolbryce, and þurh lewedra lahbryce . . . Ac utan . . . warnian us be swilcan; and soð is þæt ic sege, wyrsan dæda we witan mid Englum some gewordene, ponne we mid Bryttan ahwar gehyrdan.’ ‘There was a prophet of the people in the time of the Britons called Gildas. He wrote about their misdeeds, how they so angered God, that at the last He caused the army of the English to conquer their land, and utterly destroy the strength of the Britons. And that came about through the irregularity of the clergy, and the lawlessness of the laity. Come then, let us take warning by such, and sooth is it that I say; we know of worse deeds done among the English than we ever heard of among the Britons.’ Alcuin uses Gildas similarly in writing to Archbishop Ethelhard in 793. H. & S. iii. 476; Mon. Alc. p. 206.

hoc addeabant] This is a constant charge against the Britons. Cf. ii. 2, v. 22.

sed non tamen . . . destinavit] With these words Bede leads up to his proper subject.

CHAPTER 23.

With this chapter begins the real subject of Bede’s work, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, to which the preceding chapters have been introductory.

XX et I] So Bede, Chron. Opp. Min. p. 193. It was really only a little over twenty years, Aug. 582 to Nov. 602; Gibbon.

anno . . . X] Gibbon gives Aug. 13, 582, as the date of Maurice’s accession. His tenth year would be from Aug. 13, 591, to Aug. 12, 592. Bede says that Gregory died in 605; ii. i, p. 73; v. 24, p. 353. He was buried on March 12; ii. i, p. 79. At this time burial on the day of death was the rule (see on iv. 14, 19), and therefore Fl. Wig. i. 12 is right in treating this as the date of Gregory’s death; cf. App. i. § 32. Both here and in ii. i, p. 73, Bede gives the length of Gregory’s reign as thirteen years, six months, ten days. This would give Sept. 3, 591, for his accession, which agrees with the statement here, that it was in the tenth year of the Emperor Maurice. But it appears that Bede is a year wrong in both dates, and that Gregory really ruled from 590 to 604. The latter date agrees with Bede’s statement, ii. i, p. 79, and in his Chron. Opp. Min. p. 194, that Gregory died in the second year of Phocas. See Bright, p. 36, and refi.

and many-sided activity see the notes to ii. 1, where the well-known story of the origin of the mission to Britain is given. Gregory’s first idea for the conversion of the Teutonic tribes in Britain was to purchase and educate Angle slave boys for the purpose. In a letter to Candidus, ‘cunti ad patrimonium Galliae, Gregory directs him, ‘quatenus solidi Galliarum in terra nostra expendi non possunt,’ to devote any money which he may have in hand to purchasing ‘pueros Anglos, qui sunt ab annis decem et septem, uel decem et octo, ut in monasteriis dati Dee proficiant.’ He is to send a priest with them, to baptize any of them who might fall ill on the way. H. & S. iii. 4-5 date this letter 590 x 595. Jaffé. R. P. p. 115, fixes it to Sept. 595. Bede himself notices how ‘gentiles ab errore conuersi, atque ad veritatem evangelii transformati, melius ipsos gentium errores nouerant, et, quo certius nouerant, eo artificiosius hos expugnare atque euacuare didicerunt.’ Opp. viii. 267, 268. Aidan adopted the same plan, iii. 5, p. 136, and Wilbrord; see on v. 11; and it has played a great part in the work of the Central African mission.

circiter] See on c. 15.


alios . . . monachos] One of these was a certain John, Bede, Chron. u. s. (following Lib. Pontif. i. 312), who according to the Canterbury tradition, afterwards became abbot of St. Augustine’s; Elmham, pp. 127, 147. On the impulse given by Gregory to monasticism, cf. Werner, p. 27.


aliquantulum] He got at any rate far enough to hear news of, perhaps to have interviews with Stephen, Abbot of Lérins, Prota-

sian. Bishop of Aix, and Arigius, Patricius of Burgundy, whose seat was either at Marseilles or Arles. For in the letters to those persons which Gregory sent by Augustine on his second departure from Rome, he speaks of the good report which A. had made to him of them; Opp. Min. pp. 231, 232; H. & S. iii. 8, 9. That there is nothing similar in the other commendatory letters sent at the same time (v. infra, p. 39) would seem to show that A. did not get much beyond Aix, or Arles at the furthest.

barbaram . . . gentem] Much the same complaint was made by the first missionary sent from Iona to Northumbria, iii. 5, p. 137.
p. 43. Gregorius] The AS. version, which usually omits all documents, gives a short summary of this letter in oratio obliqua.

'seruus seruorum Dei'] Gregory was the first Pope to assume this style, which he did as a rebuke to the pride of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had assumed the title of Universal Bishop. Cf. R. W. i. 108. Gregory did not use the title by any means uniformly, as may be seen by a reference to his letters. Cf. also my notes to Fortescue, pp. 252, 253. The style was not at first peculiar to Popes; cf. e.g. the letter of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus in ii. 4. Other instances are given by M. & L. p. 287. An abbot uses it in relation to his own monks: 'Frater R. seruus seruorum Dei apud Melros seruiencium,' N. & K. p. 308.

praepositus'] On the monastic sense of this title, v. Introduction, pp. xxviii f. It is used here in a more general sense. It is used similarly of an abbot in Hist. Abb. Anon. § 1, infr. p. 388. Augustine had, however, been 'praepositus' of the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, which Gregory had founded 'in eliio Scauri;' Ioann. Diaec. i. 6, from which also his companions were mainly, if not wholly, taken, ib. ii. 30; cf. H. & S. iii. 13. A doubtful letter of Pope Vitalian to Archbishop Theodore, G. P. p. 51, speaks of Augustine as Gregory's 'sincellus, i. e. ' eiusdem cellae socius' (gloss ad loc.).

die X kal. Aug. . . . anno XIliii] i.e. July 23, 596, v. s. The indication is also right for 596. Therefore Augustine must have left Rome the second time not earlier than July 23, 596. The mode of dating by imperial regnal years was introduced into papal documents by Pope Vigilius (537-555 A. D.); Jaffé, R. P. p. 76.

post consulatum] See the critical notes at the end of cc. 28, 30, 32; cf. Opp. vi. r. P. C. patres conscripti, siue post consulatum.' The phrase is due to the fact that from the beginning of the fourth century the yearly appointment of consuls became irregular, and from time to time the designation of the year, instead of 'Coss. M. et N.' became 'post consulatum M. et N.'; D. C. A. i. 833.

Indicione XIliii] The indications are cycles of fifteen years; the origin of the system is not known. It has been traced to the quinquennial revisions of the Roman census (cf. Opp. vi. 244; Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, i. 431, ed. 2). There are three kinds of indications which come into consideration here: 1. The Constantinopolitan, which began on Sept. 1; 2. the imperial or Caesarean, which began on Sept. 24; 3. the Roman or pontifical, which began with the commencement of the year, whether Dec. 25 or Jan. 1. We must keep apart two questions which are sometimes confused, viz. the question as to the indication used by Bede himself, and the question of that used in any document quoted by him.
As to the former, Kemble (C. D. I. lxxxi, followed by H. & S. iii. 14) asserts that Bede used the pontifical indiction, but he is clearly wrong. (a) It is doubtful if that system had been introduced in Bede's time; cf. Bright, p. 42; Nicolas, Chron. Hist. p. 7. (b) The author of the Hist. Anon. Abb. § 35 certainly uses the Caesarean indiction, 'viii kal. Oct. (Sept. 24) incipiente indictione xv'; and it is unlikely that two systems would be in use in the same monastery. (c) Bede's own words are decisive: 'Incipiant indictiones ab vii kal. Oct. ibidemque terminantur,' Opp. vi. 244. Bede therefore used the Caesarean indiction. But this proves nothing as to Gregory's usage. He was the first pope to reckon by indictions, and he used the Constantinopolitan system (Bright, p. 42, following Bened. Edd. in Greg. Ep. i. 1; so Jaffé, R. P. pp. 93 ff.'). The question does not affect the date of the present document, as on any system July, 596, is in the fourteenth indiction. In Opp. vi. 130 Bede gives the rule for finding the indiction: 'Si uis scire quota sit indictio, sume annos Domini, et adiice tria, partire per xv, et quod remanserit, ipsa est indictio anni praesentis.' Cf. Ducange, s. v. 'indictio,' D. C. A. i. 832-834.

CHAPTER 24.

The whole of this chapter is omitted in the AS. vers.; and the heading is not even in the Capitula.

Etherium Arelatense archiepiscopum] Etherius was bishop Etherius of Lyons, c. 586-602; Gams; Bouquet, iii. 110; cf. ib. 325; D. C. B. ii. 231. Vergilius was archbishop of Arles. This is however the letter to Etherius; the mistake is in the title, not in the name. The letter to Vergilius is given from Greg. Epp. vi. 53 by Stevenson, Opp. Min. p. 230; H. & S. iii. 7. Letters almost identical with Commentaries of Etherius were sent at the same time to Palladius, Bishop of Saintes, Pelagius of Tours, and Serenus of Marseilles; H. & S. iii. 6. Other commendatory letters to Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, Syagrius of Autun, Protasius of Aix in Provence, Stephen, Abbot of Lérins, Arigius, Patrician of Burgundy, Theoderic and Theodebert, Kings respectively of Burgundy with Orleans, and of Austrasia; and to Brunhild, their grandmother, are in Opp. Min. pp. 231-235; H. & S. iii. 7-11; cf. Bright, p. 43. When the second mission started under Mellitus in 601, Gregory furnished them with commendatory letters to Theoderic, Theodebert, Brunhild, and Clo-
Aigulfus of Metz, Simplicius of Paris, Melanius of Rouen, Licinius of Angers, Desiderius of Vienne, Vergilius of Arles, Etherius of Lyons, Arigius of Gap. H. & S. iii. 33-37; Opp. Min. pp. 236-238. (Names of persons and places which occur in the earlier list are given in Italics.) These letters, except that to the Bishop of Gap, which is rather far to the East, and Saintes, which is a great deal too far to the West, seem intended to provide for the reception of the missionaries along the various routes open to them, the final choice being left to be determined by circumstances. For Theodore’s route in 668, 669, v. iv. i, p. 203.

p. 44. sacerdotes] Probably here, as often, means ‘bishops,’ v. note, c. 28. So ‘sacerdotali,’ ‘episcopal,’ a little lower down.

Candidum] This is the same to whom the directions were sent about purchasing Angle slave boys; v. s. p. 37, and cf. D. C. B.

ad gubernationem patrimonioli eccl.] For these posts Gregory preferred to employ ecclesiastics; cf. Ep. ix. 65: ‘Cauendum ne secularibus uiris . . . res ecclesiasticae committantur, sed probatis de uestro officio clericis.’ On the property of the Roman Church and Gregory’s administration of it, cf. Milman, Lat. Christ., bk. iii. c. 7; Church, Miscellaneous Essays, pp. 228-238.

CHAPTER 25.

peruenit Brittaniam] In 597; v. 24, p. 353. The coming of Augustine ‘was in one sense a return of the Roman legions,’ Green, M. E. p. 221.

Aedilberct . . . potentissimus] On Ethelbert’s reign and power, v. notes to ii. 5, p. 89.


familiarum] ‘hida,’ AS. vers. If, as both the Latin and Saxon names suggest (for híd is probably connected with híwan, hígan, ‘members of a family’), the hide was originally as much land as would support a family, the extent of it would necessarily vary in different parts with the quality of the land, with the ‘standard of comfort,’ to use a modern term, of the different tribes, and with the varying circumstances of the conquests of the different districts. Hence there is a strong antecedent presumption against all attempts to find a uniform measurement for the hide throughout England. Kemble, Saxons, i. 101-104, 117, 118, has compared the hidage of some of the districts given by Bede here and in iv. 13, 16, pp. 231, 237. He puts aside as irrelevant the measurements for Anglesey and Man given in ii. 9, p. 97; where the former is said
Notes.

Chap. 25.

Notes.

Anglesey, Gregorio and.

regni.' Sax. 41

presbyteros not were says of to Theodebert otherwise, Bede speech is limits. Green, Memorials reall- utilised the the

Gregory of Anglesey, which owing to its comparatively level character was the granary of North Wales, will go far to account for this discrepancy. Iona again Bede estimates at five 'families,' iii. 4, p. 153, the acreage being about 1630. The hidge of the North and South Mercians given in iii. 24, p. 186, can hardly be utilised without more knowledge than we possess as to the exact limits of the districts occupied by them.

Tanatos] Isidore's etymology of the name has been given above Thanet. on c. 1. It must be borne in mind that Thanet at that time was really an island, entirely separated from the mainland. Cf. Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, pp. 28-30, and the map, ib. p. 55. See also the curious old map of Thanet prefixed to Elmham. In the life of St. Mildred, Thanet is called 'flos et thalamus ... regni.' Hardy, Cat. i. 377, 380.

adplicuit] Probably at Ebbsfleet, the traditional landing-place of Hengist and Horsa. Sax. Chron., 449 A.D.; v. Bright, p. 45; and Stanley, u. s.

ferme XL.] Whether these forty represent the original comrades of Augustine only, or include the 'interpretes de gente Francorum,' is not quite clear. Probably the former.

acceperunt . . . Gregorio . . . interpretes] The prima facie meaning of this passage seems to be that at this time the Frankish speech and the Kentish dialect were still so near akin that they were mutually intelligible. Fifty years later in Wessex this was not the case. Cenwalt got rid of the Frankish bishop Agilbert, 'pertaesus barbarae loquellae,' iii. 7, p. 140—a good instance of the common tendency to regard all foreign speech as barbarous. W. M. says: 'naturalis . . . lingua Francorum communicat cum Anglis, quod de Germania gentes ambae germinauerint.' This passage of Bede has however been understood as meaning only that these missionaries took with them some persons who, through trade or otherwise, had acquired some knowledge of the dialect of Kent. So Green, M. E. p. 112; Werner, p. 40. In his letter to Theoderic and Theodebert (u. s. p. 39) Gregory says that he had given directions to Augustine and his fellows 'ut aliquos secum e uicino debeant presbyteros ducere.' In the same letter, and in that to Brunhild, Gregory says that the Angles had shown a desire for Christianity, 'sed sacerdotes (i.e. bishops) e uicino negligere.' It is therefore the Frankish and not the British bishops who are aimed at in this reproach; and it would seem that no attempt had been made by
them to utilise the marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha as an opening for missionary effort.

\[ \text{acceperunt . . . et mittens} \] A very loose construction.

\[ \text{antea fama . . . peruenerat} \] v. last note but one.

\[ \text{Bertha} \] daughter of Charibert, King of Paris. Cf. Greg. Tur, iv. 26: 'Charibertus rex Ingobergam accepit uxorem, de qua filiam habuit, quae postea in Ganthia urum accipiens est deducta;' ib. ix. 26: 'Anno xiii Childeberti regis Ingoberga regina, Charibethi quondam relicta, migravit saeculo, . . . reliquens filiam unicum quam in Ganthia regis ciusdam filius matrimonio copulavit.'

A note on the former passage in the ed. of G.T. in the M.H.G. (4to series) says that she was also called Ethelberg. No authority is given, but if it is true, it looks as if it were a name taken to indicate her adoption into her husband's family. On the significance of the marriage, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 210, 211; Lappenberg, i. 118; E. T. i. 115, 116.

\[ \text{Lindhard} \] Lindhardo] The later legendary lives call him 'praecursor et ianitoruenturi Augustini.' Hardy, Cat. i. 175, 176. Radborne says: 'et haec erat causa quare tam cito Rex Ethelbyrtus paruit praedicationi S. Augustini.' Ang. Sac. i. 251, cf. Elmham, p. 109; W. M. i. 13: 'uita . . . regem ad Christi cognitionem inuitabat.'

In other respects W. M., perhaps from the analogy of his own day, absurdly overestimates the Frankish influence. Lindhard does not seem really to have effected much; v. s. In the additions to Bede's martyrology he is mentioned at Feb. 4: 'Passio S. Liphardi [i.e. Liwhardi] martyr Cantorbeiae archiepiscopi,' Opp. iv. 33. But the story of his death as given in the lives, and implied in this entry, is clearly mythical and chronologically impossible. Nor can he ever have been archbishop of Canterbury. He was merely private chaplain to the queen. According to Canterbury tradition Laurentius removed his body into the church of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, where it was placed with that of Bertha in the 'porticus' of St. Martin. Elmham, p. 132; Thorn, ii. 2; cf. Stanley, u. s. p. 45.

\[ \text{malificae artis} \] See notes on c. 30, for Anglo-Saxon heathenism.

\[ \text{p. 46. laetaniasque canentes} \] '7 waron haligra naman rimende, 7 gebedo singende,' 'and they were telling the names of saints and singing prayers.' AS. version.

\[ \text{nerbum . . . utiae} \] According to Ælfric, Hom. ii. 128, the substance of Augustine's preaching to Ethelbert was: 'hu se mild-heorta Hælend, mid his ēgenre Ærowunge, þysne seylidgan middan-ecard alysde, 7 geleaffullum mannnum heofanan rices infar geop- penode,' 'how the merciful Saviour by His own passion redeemed
this guilty world, and opened the kingdom of Heaven to all believers.' (Cited H. & S. iii. 11.)

Cum omni Anglorum gente] This must not be taken as implying any feeling of national unity, which was a much later growth (cf. 'Anglorum populi,' at beginning of this chapter), but only as referring to the common heathenism of the Teutonic tribes settled in Britain.

Mansionem] 'in parochia S. Aelphegi ex opposito regiae stratae Their residence versus aquilonem,' Thorn, col. 1759. 'Mansion signatur quae dence. Stabelgate notatur,' Elmham, p. 91.

Imperii sui] i.e. of his overlordship which extended to the Ethelbert's Humber; not merely of his regnum of Kent; v. ii. 5 note. So in 'imperium.' c. 32, Gregory addresses Ethelbert as 'Rex Anglorum,' and speaks of 'regibus ac populis sibimet subjectis.'

Hanc laetaniam] 'Jeosne laetaniam 7 ontemn,' 'this litany and antiphon (anthem),' AS. version. On the antiphon itself, which is founded on Daniel ix. 16, and belongs to the Rogation Days, v. Bright, p. 48. It will be found in Martene, De Antiquis Ritibus (1788), iii. 189; and it, with several other of these antiphons, is embodied in the Latin hymn or prayer ascribed to St. Mugint. Liber Hymnorum, ed. Todd, i. 94 ff.

Alleluia] Omitted in AS. version.

CHAPTER 26.

datam . . . mansionem] See note to last chapter.

p. 47. secundum ea, quae docebant . . . uiuendo] On this see Introduction, p. xxxvi.

Sancti Martini] Cf. Stanley, u. s. pp. 31, 32, 53, 54; Bright, St. Martin. p. 48. St. Martin died 397 x 401 (cf. Introduction, p. c, which would give 399), so that the dedication of this church must be later than 400; H. & S. i. 15, 37. There is no real authority for the statement often made that this church was the seat of a separate bishopric; H. & S. iii. 658. A document printed Ang. Sac. i. 150, boldly asserts that this see survived to the time of Lanfranc. To the popularity of the cultus of St. Martin in Britain Venantius Fortunatus (see on i. 7, p. 18) bears striking testimony, saying of him: 'Quem Hispanus, Maurus, Persa, Britannus amat;' cited H. & S. i. 13, where see note for references illustrating the connexion of St. Martin with the British Isles. Cf. Ven. Fort, Vita S. Martini, Lib. iv. vv. 621 ff. (M. H. G. 410). For the legend of a church at Ely founded by St. Augustine, see Lib. Eliensis, p. 48; and cf. Elmham, p. 100.
missas facere] 'massesong don,' AS. vers. On the Latin phrase cf. Bright, p. 50; according to whom it appears first in St. Ambrose, Ep. xx. 4, 'ego tamen mansi in munere, missam facere coepli.'
miraculorum . . . ostensione] On Augustine's miracles cf. infra, i. 31, ii. 1, 3, pp. 66-67, 78, 86. One definite instance, the healing of a blind man, is given in ii. 2, p. 82.

baptizatus est] Traditionally on Whitsunday, June 2, 597; Elmham, pp. 78, 137. As to the place, Stanley, u. s. p. 36, conjectures St. Martin's; Elmham, p. 84, says Christchurch, which at that time was not built. On Whitsuntide and Easter as the regular times for baptisms v. note on ii. 9, p. 99. There is an AS. tract on Ethelbert's baptism in MS. C.C.C. 201, on which see Hardy, Cat. i. 176.

plures . . . confluere] In a letter to Eulogius, Bp. of Alexandria, written June, 598, Gregory says that the preceding Christmas Augustine, 'coepiscopus noster,' had baptized more than 10,000 Angli; H. & S. iii. 12, cf. ib. 4, note e. On the value and effects of such wholesale conversions, see notes to c. 30; ii. 14, 20.
nullum . . . cogeret ad Christianismum] So Bede on Ezra vii. 13 says: 'Omnibus qui uelint ire Hierosolymam licentiam tribuit, nullum uel compellit; et Christiani principes nullum cogentes, ne sit incerta aut dubia voluntas fidei, uniuersis quibus placerit de suo regno Christum colere permittunt;' Opp. viii. 436. Yet infra, ii. 5, p. 90, he admits that some in Kent may have conformed 'uel funore uel timore regio.' Eddius, speaking of Wilfrid's conversion of the South Saxons, says that the pagans deserted idolatry 'quidam voluntarie, alii uero coacti regis imperio'; Vita Wilf. c. 41. He breathes no hint of disapproval.

in Doruerni metropoli sua] The story that Ethelbert transferred his capital to Reculver, leaving Canterbury entirely to Augustine, Ang. Sac. i. 1, seems to me an obvious myth, based on that greatest of ecclesiastical myths, the Donation of Constantine; cf. the words of Gocelin's life of Augustine: 'baptizat nouum Constantinum Siluester nouum;' ib. ii. 61. Bede's words 'in D. metropoli sua' are distinctly against the idea that the capital was changed.

**CHAPTER 27.**

P. 48. Interea] It must have been before Christmas 597, as at that date Gregory speaks of him as 'co-episcopus noster'; v. s. c. 26 note. According to Thorn, col. 1760, Augustine was consecrated on Nov. 16, but this was not a Sunday in 597.
ab . . . Aetherio] A converse mistake to that noted above, c. 24. Here the office is right, the name wrong; it should be Vergilius. At the beginning of c. 28 Bede tries to solve the difficulty created by his own mistake by making Vergilius succeed Etherius as archbishop of Arles; cf. on Vergilius, Bright, p. 53. Gregory (in H. & S. iii. 12) speaks of Augustine as 'data a me licentia a Germaniarum episcopis episcopus factus;' cf. App. I. § 11, which speaks as if Gregory had consecrated Augustine.

Laurentium . . . & Petrum] On the former c. ii. 4, p. 86; on Laurentius and Peter the latter, i. 33, p. 70. Both are mentioned in the letter of Gregory to Bertha which was sent at the same time as the responsa; H. & S. iii. 17; Opp. Min. p. 251. As Laurentius is styled 'presbyter' while Peter is called 'monachus,' it is probable that the former was not a monk; D. C. B. iii. 631.

nec mora . . . recepit] If Augustine sent off Laurentius and Peter 'continuo' after his own consecration, it is certainly not true that the answers to his questions were received 'without delay'; as the letters which accompanied them are dated June 22, 601. The Preface to the responsa, which is not in Bede (see it in H. & S. iii. 18), attempts to account for this delay by saying that at the time of the arrival of Laurentius and Peter Gregory was ill of the gout (cf. Jaffé, R. P. pp. 137, 142, 150), and could not compose the responsa in time for their departure, as they were anxious to set out at once; and he had no opportunity of sending them till the mission under Mellitus started in 601. As however four of the nine letters sent with Mellitus speak of Laurentius as accompanying him, H. & S. iii. 33 36; and as Bede, c. 29 ad init., clearly implies that Laurentius and Peter accompanied Mellitus and brought the responsa. I am strongly of opinion that the Preface is a forgery.

In 736, St. Boniface applied to Nothelm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, for a copy of the responsa, as none could be found in the Roman archives; II. & S. iii. 336. The document may have been re-discovered at Rome after 736; and it does not therefore follow that this was not one of the documents copied by Nothelm for Bede at Rome; Pref. p. 6, sup. On the other hand, the original or a copy may have been preserved at Canterbury, and Nothelm or Albinus may have transcribed this. Anyhow, Bede's copy is the most ancient and authentic in existence, and the additions to it in other MSS. and editions are of no authority, and some of them are palpable and clumsy forgeries; II. & S. iii. 32, 33. A little later, 744 × 747, Boniface sends to Egbert of York some letters of Gregory which he believed to be unknown in Britain; ib. 359. Similar answers of Gregory II and Gregory III to questions addressed
to them by St. Boniface are in Mon. Mag. pp. 88-94. We are reminded of the questions addressed to the Roman Emperors by the governors of provinces, and the imperial rescripts founded thereon; e.g. the famous rescript of Trajan in answer to Pliny’s questions as to the treatment of the Christians. It is curious that all MSS. of the AS. version place these responsa at the end of Book iii. I have found no Latin MS. which favours this arrangement, so that it must be due to the translator’s own fancy; who also abridges considerably.

mos . . . sedis apostolicae] This was the case as early as Gelasio I (492-496 A.D.); in Mansi, viii. 45. For this and for the decrees of various councils on the subject, v. Bright, p. 56.

quia tua fraternitas . . . suis] And therefore the separate provision for the bishop would not be necessary in Augustinian’s case. This part of Gregory’s answer is cited by Bede in the prose life of Cuthbert, c. 16; Opp. Min. p. 80. Gregory himself when at Constantinople organised his household on the monastic pattern; v. ii. 1, p. 75, and note.

p. 49. clerici extra sacros ordinés constitutí] ‘preostas 7 Godes þeowas butan halgum hadum gesette,’ ‘priests and servants of God appointed outside of holy orders,’ AS. version. It really means those in minor orders below the subdiaconate; v. Bright, p. 56. For another instance of the AS. ‘preostas’ meaning persons in minor orders, cf. Birch, i. 520.

canendís psalmís] On the importance of the psalter at this time see note on iii. 5, p. 136.

quod superest] Gregory treats the ‘quod superest’ of the Vulgate, which is really an adverbial phrase translating the πάντως of the original, as if it meant ‘what remains,’ ‘the surplus.’ (Cf. the AS. vers.: ‘þætte ofer seo 7 to lafe, sellað ælmesse,’ ‘what is over and remains, give as alms.’) Bede in his commentary on the passage does the same: ‘quod necessario uictui et uestimento superest, date pauperibus.’ Opp. xi. 150. The interpretation became traditional in the English Church, and is found in the AS. version of the Gospels: ‘ðæt to láfe is, syllaþ ælmesan,’ ‘what is over, give as alms’; also in Wycliffe: ‘that thing that is over, gyne ye almes.’

diuersee consuetudines] On the differences of ritual which Augustine might have observed on his journeys through Gaul, v. Bright, p. 57; D. C.A. ii. 962. With Gregory’s answer here cf. Ep. i. 43; where, speaking of the question of single or trine immersion in baptism, he says: ‘quia in una fide nihil officit sanctae ecclesiae consuetudo diuersa.’ With reference to this answer Gocelin, Ang. Sac. ii. 63, very beautifully paraphrases this

de ecclesia furtu] This was one of the subjects of Ethelbert's Thefts legislation; ii. 5, p. 90, and note a. l. According to Theodore's Penitential, iii. 2, restitution was to be made fourfold; H. & S. iii. 179. In Egbert's Penitential penance only is enjoined (three years in the case of a layman).

p. 50. damnis] 'Fines.' Cf. Cic. de Off. iii. 5, 'eos morte, exsilio, uinilcis, damno coercent.' So 'magnae pecuniae dampno obnoxius erit'; Raine's Hexham, i. 20.

quaerere] We should expect quaerat, and so the AS. version translates; but there is no variation in the MSS. The Benedictine Editors read: 'Lucrum de damnis quaerat.'

frater et soror'] We should certainly read 'fratris et sororis.' Prohibited degrees. But here again there is no variation in the MSS. The AS. version is ambiguous, as brōdror, sweostor, may be either nom. or gen. The civil law, 'terrena lex in Romana república,' varied at different times as to the legality of marriages between first cousins. On the steps by which they were forbidden in the Church, v. Bright, p. 58. The 'quaedam terrena lex' alluded to by Gregory is a Constitution of Arcadius and Honorius passed in 405, and permanently embodied in Justinian's Code, legalising these marriages; D.C.A. i. 436; and on this and the whole subject of prohibited degrees cf. ib. ii. 1725 ff.

p. 51. tertia uel quarta generatio] i.e. second and third cousins. It was especially as to the authenticity of this permission of Gregory that St. Boniface desired to be informed by Nothelm; v. s. p. 45. There is a letter of Felix, Bishop of Messana, to Gregory himself on the subject, and Gregory in his answer explains away his permission as being a concession to a newly converted race. After they are firmly established in the faith they are to be forbidden to marry up to the seventh generation H. & S. iii. 32, 33; Opp. Min. pp. 239-248. The authenticity of Gregory's letter is however somewhat doubtful (H. & S. u. s.), and it was a subject on which the tempta-
tion to forgery was very strong after the views on consanguinity had become stricter, and Gregory's permission was felt to be a stumbling-block. In favour of the view that the permission was temporary is the fact that the English Church did not continue to make use of it. Boniface, writing in 742, says that a Synod of London had condemned marriage within the third degree as incest; H. & S. iii. 51. Theodore's Penitential says that the Greeks allowed marriage within the third degree, the Romans within the fifth, though they do not dissolve marriages when made within the fourth degree: 'ergo in quinta generatione coniungantur; in quarta, si inuenti fuerint, non separantur;' H. & S. iii. 201. (It should be noted that this tells equally against Gregory's alleged prohibition of marriages within the seventh degree, as does the fact that Gregory II, writing to St. Boniface in 726, says: 'post quartam generationem iungantur;' Mon. Mog. p. 89.) On the other hand, as late as 1015 A.D. this permission of Gregory was quoted with effect against Gerard, Bishop of Cambrai, who wished to prevent the marriage of Rainer II, Count of Hainault, with the daughter of Hermann, Count of Verdun; Pertz, vi. 469. It would be interesting to know what was the 'inlicitum coniugium' of one of the 'gesiòs' of Sigbert of Essex, which Bishop Cedd visited with excommunication; iii. 22, p. 173.

cum nouerca] It seems strange that Augustine should have thought it necessary to ask the question in view not only of the O.T. passages which Gregory cites, but of 1 Cor. v. 1. But the question caused trouble elsewhere (cf. D.C.A. ii. 1727, 1728), and perhaps difficulties like that with Eadbald, ii. 5, p. 90, may have already arisen; and Augustine may have wished to have the weight of Gregory's authority to back him; cf. the final words of the eighth question, and the first words of the answer to it.

'Cognatus.' cognata] 'Sister-in-law,' broðor wiif, AS. vers., as is plain from the context, and the reference to John the Baptist; so in the interrogation above cognatis means brothers- and sisters-in-law. Cf. Italian 'cognato,' 'cognata.' Another clear instance of this sense is in iii. 21, p. 170. In iii. 18, p. 162, the meaning is doubtful. In ii. 12, p. 109, it is used in its ordinary sense of 'relation.' It might be suggested that the clause above, 'et sacra lex... reuelare' should come in here after 'fuerat facta.' Then 'cognatio' would be the abstract of 'cognatus' in this specific sense (it is so used in ii. 9, p. 97), and the reference would be to Levit. xviii. 16. But there is no MS. authority for the alteration. Cf. Johannes Ianuensis, cited by Ducange, 'et est Leuir Cognatus, scilicet frater mariti uel uxoris.'
Iohannes Baptist[a] Cf. Bede himself, Opp. xi. 327: 'Iohannes Baptist[a, qui non pro Christi confessione, sed pro defensione ueritatis occubuit, ideo tamen pro Christo, quia pro ueritate martyrum suscipit.' So of Abel; Opp. v. 128. See on iii. 14, p. 157.

in hoc enim tempore, &c.] If Gregory had intended the regulation as to prohibited degrees to be only temporary, would he not have added some words like these?

p. 52. an debeat ... episcopus ordinari] Consecration by a single bishop seems to have been common in the Celtic Churches. H. & S. i. 155; Rs. Ad. p. 349. That it was not universal, see on iii. 22, p. 173. St. Kentigern is said to have been consecrated by a single bishop from Ireland 'more Britonum et Scottorum tune temporis.' And the decision of his biographer is, 'licet consecratio Britonibus assuetæ sacris canonibus minus consona uideatur, non tamen uim aut effectum diuinì misterii, aut episcopalis ministerii amittere comprobatur.' N. & K. p. 182; cf. ib. 335-340. This is evidently Gregory's view; he regards it as valid but irregular; Bright, pp. 58, 59, who gives the decisions of various councils on the point. Honorius was consecrated by Paulinus alone, Deusdedit by Ithamar alone, ii. 16, p. 117; iii. 20.

et quidem ... debeant conuenire] The text is certainly corrupt. The readings of A₂ and O₃ (see additional critical notes) improve the sense somewhat, but these and other readings are probably only the expedients of scribes and editors to emend a text which they found unintelligible. If conjectures be admitted we might put a comma after 'potes,' and a full stop after 'adsistant,' reading 'nisi' for 'nam,' and omitting the words 'nulla sit necessitas ut' altogether. The AS. version reads: 'ne meah þu on oðre wisan biscoþ halgian buton oðrum bispocum. Ac þe sculon of Gallia rice bispocas cuman,' i.e. 'thou canst not consecrate a bishop otherwise (than) without other bishops. But bishops ought to come to thee from Gaul.' The rest of the answer is much abbreviated.

pallium] This word has various usages in ecclesiastical Latin; the only one with which we are concerned is that which denotes a vestment bestowed by the pope on archbishops as a special mark of their rank, indicating that they represent the Roman See. The form of it varied at different times. Ultimately it became fixed to the form in which it appears in the arms of several archiepiscopal sees; a circular band passing over the shoulders, with pendants hanging down behind and before, so that the front and back views of it present the appearance of the letter Y. It was ornamented with a varying number of purple crosses, now fixed to four. It was and is composed of the wool of lambs reared in the

VOL. II.
The bestowal of the pallium had no legal significance, but was merely a general mark of honour and favour conferred at first by the emperor, then by the pope in the emperor's name, at his desire, or at least with his consent, on certain distinguished prelates. Nor was the right to bestow confined at first to the popes, nor its reception to metropolitans. Other patriarchs conferred it upon their metropolitans; and there are instances of its reception by simple bishops. Ultimately it became one of the chief instruments whereby the popes built up the fabric of their power. They gradually established the principles (a) that the pallium could only be bestowed by themselves; (b) that its possession was necessary to the exercise of metropolitan functions, and that till it was received none of those functions could be legally performed. Hence they acquired the power of confirming the appointment of all metropolitans, and of exacting submission from them as the price of confirmation. The pallium was sometimes refused to an unworthy prelate. Thus Mauger of Rouen 'tota uita pallii usus caruit, quod negaret sedes apostolica honoris huiusce priulegium homini qui sacratum negligebat officium;' W. M. ii. 327. It was not, however, without a struggle that these results were achieved. John VIII in 878 complains: 'cum in Galliae partibus essemus... unum ulde prohibendum inuenimus; metropolitae, antequam pallium a sede apostolica suscipiant, consecrationem facere praesumunt, quod antecessores et nos canonico decreto ne fieret interdiximus;' Bouquet, ix. 162. (John VIII had in the previous year, 877, in the synod of Ravenna, ordered that all metropolitans must, under pain of deprivation, apply for the pallium within three months from their consecration.) There are not many known instances of the bestowal of the pallium by popes prior to Gregory the Great. Most of the earliest cases are in connexion with the see of Arles, which bears out Gregory's words here: 'In Galliarum episcopis nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus; quia ab antiquis praedecessorum meorum temporibus pallium Arletensis episcopus accepit, quem nos priuare auctoritate percepta minime debemus.' Here the bestowal of the pallium certainly involves such an increase of authority, as would make it impossible to place the recipient under the jurisdiction of another prelate; and the archbishop of Arles was in some sense primate of Gaul at this time; cf. D. C. B. iv. 1160. In i. 29, p. 63, Gregory seems certainly to treat the reception of the pallium as necessary to enable Augustine to consecrate
bishops. Pope Honorius sent pallia to Honorius of Canterbury and Paulinus of York, to enable the survivor of them to consecrate the other's successor; ii. 17, 18. Alcuin in 797 begs Leo III to send the pallium to Eanbald II of York: 'quia ualde illis in partibus saeri pallii auoritas necessaria est ad opprimendam impro- borum peruersitatem, et sanetae ecclesiae auctoritatem conser- uandam.' Mon. Alc. p. 359. At certain periods, especially in the eleventh century, the popes attempted to enforce the rule that archbishops must come to Rome to receive the pallium in person; and it is noteworthy that the author of the Anglo-Saxon homily on St. Gregory represents him as commanding Augustine, 'jacet his aetetengas symle jacet pallium done erechade aet pam aposto- linean setle Romanisre gelaunde feecan seeoldon,' 'that his successors should always fetch the pall and archiepiscopal autho- rity from the apostolic see of the Roman Church;' ed. Elstob, p. 34. As early as 865 the English bishops remonstrated against this claim; which certainly had no basis in the history of Canter- bury and York up to that time, and they hint pretty plainly that pecuniary exaction was the papal motive; H. & S. iii. 559-561. (Gregory I, in a synod of 595, had forbidden any payment to be made for the pallium; R. P. p. 114.) From the end of the tenth century we find many archbishops of Canterbury and York going to Rome for the pallium—Ælfric, Ælfheah (Alphege), Ethelnoth, Robert, Lanfranc, of Canterbury (Sax. Chr. s. a. 997, 1007, 1022, 1050, 1072); Ælfric, Kinsy, Ealdred, of York (ib. 1026, 1055, 1061). So of Dunstan: 'suscepto sacerdotio, prolixa itinera quae summis sunt sacerdotibus solita, Romanam ... tetendit ad urbem;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 38. Gregory VII refused to grant the pallium to Lan- franc and to Bruno of Verona unless they came for it; Baronius, ad ann. 1070; R. P. p. 407. In March, 1095, Urban II writes to Guy of Vienne: 'contra ecclesiae morem absenti tibi pallium contribui- mus;' ib. 462. In the next century there was a great contest between Honorius II (1124-1130) and Anselm V, Archbishop of Milan (1126-1135), on this point. 'Papa... dixit...: si uis frui auoriti- tate archiepiscopi,... necesse est ut stolam suscipias a manibus meis ad altare Sancti Petri.' Anselm consulted Robaldo, the adminis- trator of the see of Alba, who replied: 'quod prius sustineret nasum suum seindi usque ad oculos, quam daret sibi consilium, ut susciperet Romae stolam, et ecclesiae Mediolanensi praepararet hanc nouam et grauiissiam... mensuram;'' SS. RR. II. v. 510. The popes ultimately abandoned this pretension, and the pallium is usually sent by a papal Nuncio. There was a tendency also on the part of the popes to restrict the use of the pallium to certain
special occasions. Thus Gregory I grants it to Augustine 'ad sola missarum solemnia agenda,' i. 29. So to Vergilius of Arles; Bouquet, iv. 14. So Boniface V to Justus, ii. 8. Honorius I (625-638) decreed that metropolitans who wear their pallium 'per plateas nee in litiinias' [i.e. in processions], shall be deprived of it; R. P. p. 158. Nicolas I in 866 rebukes Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, for the too indiscriminate use of his pallium; ib. 249, 250. John XII in 960 grants the pallium to Dunstan to be used only on certain great festivals and other high occasions, and asserts that this had been the custom of his predecessors; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 297. See on the whole subject Ducange, s. v. Pallium; D. C. A. s. v. Metropolitan, Omophorion, Pallium, Pope; Bright, pp. 60, 61, 67. See also the index to vol. ii. of the Benedictine edition of Gregory the Great's Works, where many references will be found to letters of his, in which the pallium is mentioned. Very strict rules about the pallium are found in the Pontificale Romanum, ed. Venice, 1572, ff. 36, 37.

p. 53. epistulas] This is the letter given in c. 28.

Brittaniarum... omnes episcopos] The reference to the need for instruction and correction shows that Gregory is thinking mainly of the bishops of the Celtic Churches in Britain, the British, and perhaps the Irish Church at Iona. But the phrase does not refer to them exclusively; it would include all bishops consecrated by Augustine and his future colleague of York (cf. the expression in c. 29, p. 64). This concession, like that of c. 29, giving Augustine authority over the occupant of the see of York, was a purely personal concession to Augustine in consideration of his great services; the ultimate arrangement was to be equal division of authority between London (eventually Canterbury) and York. Of course the partisans of the claims of Canterbury tried to interpret both as permanent concessions to that see. London and York, with their history dating from Roman times, would naturally be the cities best known to Gregory; cf. Elmham, p. 95: 'eo quod ad illud tempus alterius obscurae urbis notitia Romanos non attigisset.' Cf. H. Y. I. xxii. It was largely owing to the apostasy of Essex, ii. 5, 6, that this plan was not carried out. By the time Essex was reconverted, iii. 22, the primacy was too firmly established at Canterbury to be removed. H. & S. iii. 67; cf. ib. 51. With the substitution of Canterbury for London this arrangement, itself probably based on Severus' division of the island into the provinces of Upper and Lower Britain (cf. Bates' Northumberland, p. 30), was carried out in the case of Honorius and Paulinus, ii. 17, 18. Then came the flight of Paulinus from Northumbria, and
no northern prelate received the pallium till Egbert in 735, *infra*, p. 361, Ec. § 1, note. Hence from 633 to 735; a date beyond the limits of Bede’s history, the question of the relation between the two metropolitans could not arise; Theodore quietly stepped into the vacant place, and freely exercised metropolitan jurisdiction over the whole of that part of Britain occupied by the Teutonic settlers: ‘Isque primus erat in archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia manus dare consentiret;’ iv. 2, p. 204; cf. iv. 5. 17. Cenulf, King of Mercia, writing to Leo III in 798, speaks as if the primacy had been fixed at Canterbury by some formal decree: ‘uisum est cunctis gentis nostrae sapientibus quatenus in illa ciuitate metropolitanus honor haberetur, ubi corpore pausat, qui his partibus fidei ueriatatem inseruit,’ i.e. Augustine; H. & S. iii. 522. But it was circumstances, not any formal resolution, which fixed the primacy at Canterbury.

How far the Celtic churches at this time admitted the jurisdiction of Rome is a very obscure point. Cf. Bright, pp. 61-63, 83. The British Church emphatically rejected Augustine’s authority at Augustine’s Oak; ii. 2, and notes; and as long as the Celtic Churches retained their separate Easter they were treated by Rome as schismatical. See Excursus on Easter question.

p. 54. *prohibere* [‘bewered beon’; i.e. prohiberi, AS. vers.; a better reading, found in some MSS.

si donum ... uidetur] ‘þæte seyle þære godecundan gife wið- cweten beon,’ ib., which points to a reading ‘si dono ... contradici,’ &c., which certainly yields a better sense. It is difficult to get much meaning out of the text as it stands.

nullo peccati pondere grauatur] Theodore’s penitential, however, forbids a woman to enter a church for forty days after childbirth; H. & S. iii. 189.

p. 55. *quoadusque ... ablactatur*] The time fixed in Egbert’s penitential is forty days; H. & S. iii. 423.

prohiberi ecclesiam intrare non debet] Here again Theodore’s rule is stricter: ‘Mulieres menstruo tempore non intrent in æcclesiam neque commonicent, nec sanctimoniales, nec laicae;’ H. & S. iii. 188, 189.

p. 56. sanctae ... communionis] See last note.

*religiosae uitae*] This would seem to show that Gregory is thinking mainly of nuns; cf. last note but one.

p. 57. nec ... culpam deputamus esse coniugium] Cf. Theodore, Marriage *u. s.*, where marriage seems to be distinctly treated as sinful, and *and virginitas* is enjoined for it. Bede’s own view is that of Gregory. The command ‘be fruitful and multiply’ was given by God, ‘ne
The Ecclesiastical History.

quis honorabili connubio inesse peccatum . . . putaret,' Opp. vii. 22; cf. x. 116. Those who forbid marriage are 'maledictione digni,' vii. 26. Yet he regards continence (i.e. the abstinence of widowed persons from further marriage), and still more virginity, as a higher estate than marriage. 'In infimo habitat pudicitia coniugalis, supra uidualis, atque hae superior virginalis,' vii. 102; cf. ib. 26, 208, 254, 255; ix. 107, 133; xi. 189; xii. 224, 225, 368. Yet virginity is not to be regarded as the whole of virtue: 'quia nil castimoniae custodia absque aliorum augmento bonorum ualeat,' vii. 346; viii. 282; x. 324. (Aldhelm's views are very similar, though more rhetorically expressed; Opp., ed. Giles, pp. 10, 14, 15, 20.) It is hard to see how any one can condemn Bede's views on this subject without also condemning St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 25-40. The only point in which Bede differs from St. Paul is where, as in iv. 19, he commends the withdrawal of one party from the marriage bond without the consent of the other. This is in flat contradiction of 1 Cor. vii. 1-7, and is clearly unscriptural; cf. M. & L. on iv. 19. It is noteworthy that Bede, following Jerome (Aduersus Heluidium, sub fin.), maintains the perpetual virginity not merely of Mary, but also of Joseph: 'nos . . . absque ulius scrupulo questionis seire et confiteri oportet, non tantum beatam Dei genitricem, sed et beatissimum castitatis eius testem atque custodem Joseph ab omni prorsus actione coniugali mansisse semper immunem;' Opp. v. 405; cf. ib. 385; x. 54, 83.

p. 58. ecce enim, &c.] Bede quotes this verse in the same form, Opp. vii. 388; x. 291. The text as commonly printed alters 'delictis peperit' into 'peccatis concepit' in conformity with the Vulgate. The reading of the text is that of the Roman Psalter; see on v. 19. 

portat] 'portat arbor,' several MSS.

Oportet . . . copulam] A verb seems wanting after 'oportet.'

p. 59. abstinere] The AS. version inserts from the Bible narrative: 'pet heo heora hrægl woosec 7 clænsode,' 'that they should wash and cleanse their garments, and abstain, &c.'

per sacerdotem dicitur] Cf. Bede on this passage, Opp. viii. 144, 145.

post inlusionem] Cf. Opp. viii. 134; Egbert's Penitential, ix. 6 ff.; H. & S. iii. 425, 426; Vita Fursei, i. 17; Cod. Salmant., col. 91.

lotum . . . ei] Anacoluthic. Perhaps he had sinit or some similar word in his mind in beginning the sentence.

p. 60. nescientem pertulisse . . . quam fecisse] So Bede, of Lot: 'tale scelus . . . nesciens pertulit, magis quam fecit,' Opp. vii. 211.

p. 61. tribus . . . modis] Bede, on James i. 15, 16, follows Gregory very closely. 'Tribus modis tentatio agitetur; suggestione, delecta-
tione, consensus. Suggestione hostis, delectatione autem, uel etiam consensus nostrae fragilitatis. Quod si, hoste suggerente, delectari aut consentire pecato nolumus, tentatio ipsa nobis ad uictoriam prouenit . . . Si uero . . . hostis suggestione . . . in uitio incipimus illice delectari, delectando quidem offendimus, sed neendum lapsum mortis incurrimus. At si delectationem concepti corde facinoris etiam partus prauae sequitur actionis, nobis iam mortis reis uictor hostis abscedit,‘ Opp. xii. 164, 165; cf. x. 81, 82 (in Marc.; repeated xi. 87, 88 in Luc.). In the Moralia, iv. 49, Gregory adds a fourth mode of sin: ‘defensionis audacia.’ I owe the reference to Moberly.

semen] This correction (v. critical notes) is strongly supported by Bede, Opp. vii. 60, ‘semen [diaboli] est peruersa suggestio.’ It was also suggested by Stevenson.

CHAPTER 28.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor is the heading in the Capitula.

P. 62. commemorat] i. 27, p. 53.

Uergilium . . . sucessorem] v. note on i. 27, p. 48.

sacerdotum] A comparison with c. 27, pp. 52, 53, shows that ‘Sacerdos,’ here as often ‘sacerdos’ means bishop; as its derivatives ‘sacerdotalis,’ ‘sacerdotium’ often mean ‘episcopal,’ ‘episcopal office.’ This is certainly the case, i. 24; i. 29, p. 64; ii. 2, p. 82 (‘biscopum,’ AS. vers.); ii. 4, p. 88; ii. 17, p. 119; ii. 18, p. 120; iii. 5, p. 137 (‘biscope’); iii. 27, p. 193 (‘biscophad,’ cf. v. 22, p. 346); iv. 17, p. 238 (‘biscopa’). So iii. 27, p. 140, ‘sacerdotali iure’ (‘on episcopal onwealde’); ‘sacerdotalis cura,’ ii. 10, p. 101, of the pope. In many cases the AS. vers. retains the Latin word ‘sacerd,’ which is of course ambiguous like the original. It means, however, bishop in the following cases: iii. 17, p. 161; iii. 21, p. 171 (though just before, p. 170, ‘sacerdotes,’ ‘sacerdotibus’ occur, meaning presbyters); iv. 5, p. 215, ‘consacerdos,’ of various bishops. In iii. 23, p. 176, four brothers are mentioned who were priests, ‘sacerdotes’ (‘sacerdas’), two of whom became bishops, ‘summi sacerdotii gradu functi’ (‘biscopas’). [In a passage cited above, p. 51, ‘summi sacerdotides’ are archbishops.] On the other hand ‘sacerdos’ clearly means presbyter in the following cases: i. 27, pp. 59, 60 (‘sacerd’); iv. 25, p. 263; v. 6, p. 291; v. 10, p. 300; v. 19, p. 325 (‘maesse preost’); iv. 14, p. 233; v. 21, p. 344 (not translated in AS. vers.). In iv. 27, p. 269, ‘sacerdos,’ as applied to Boisil, is translated ‘maesse preost’ by the AS. vers. Elfric, however, understood it
the other way; see note on iv. 28, p. 272. The meaning is doubtful in ii. 9, p. 98 (not translated); iii. 3, p. 132; iii. 19, p. 166 (‘sacerd- had’). In iii. 30 ad fin. it seems to include both bishops and priests. In. ii. 2, p. 84, ‘sacerdotes’ is expanded in the AS. vers. into ‘sacredas, 7 bispocas, 7 muneas,’ ‘priests, and bishops, and monks.’ At the Council of Estrefeld in 702 x 703, Wilfrid’s enemies endeavoured to induce him to promise that he would retire to Ripon, ‘nec aliquid sacerdotalis officii attingeret,’ i.e. ‘and not attempt to discharge any episcopal function,’ H. Y. i. 68; a passage which Canon Raine has misunderstood. A good instance of this meaning is Vita Fursei, i. 19; Cod. Salmant., col. 92: ‘Populus contra regentem erigitur, clerus contra sacerdotem, monachi contra abbatem.’

die X . . . XIX] i.e. June 22, 601.

CHAPTER 29.

P. 63. cum praefatis legatariis] i.e. Laurentius and Peter, v. i. 27, p. 48, note.

primi et praecipui] Of all these except Rufinianus we shall hear again in Bede. Elmham wrongly speaks of Rufinianus as accompanying Augustine and the first mission to Britain. He afterwards became abbot of SS. Peter and Paul’s (or St. Augustine’s) monastery, ib. 148, 150. He is said to have died 626, ib. 153, and his epitaph is given ib. 154.

universa . . . codices plurimos] A list of these gifts is in Elmham, pp. 96-102; but ‘is too late in date to be of any authority,’ H. & S. iii. 60. On the strength of this list two MSS., Bodl. Auct. D. ii. 14, and C.C.C.C. 286, both copies of the Gospels, have been thought to belong to Gregory’s benefaction; Elmham, pp.xxv-xxvii; Bosworth, Anglo-Saxon Gospels, p.x; H. & S. u.s. But the former was pronounced by Mr. Coxe to be not earlier than 650, Bright, p. 68. These ‘codices plurimi’ Elmham speaks of as ‘primitiae librorum totius ecclesiae Anglicanae’; an interesting remark, which cannot, however, be literally true. Augustine must have brought some books with him, one of which, according to King Alfred, was Gregory’s Pastoral Care, see on ii. 1; and Egbert in his Dialogue says that the English Church kept the first Ember Fast, ‘ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius in suo Antiphonario et Missali Libro, per pedagogum nostrum beatum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum;’ H. & S. iii. 411; cf. ib. 412. A passage in a spurious charter of Ethelbert speaks of Augustine having deposited some at
least of Gregory's gifts in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul (St. Augustine's). The tradition may be true, though the charter is spurious; K. C. D. No. 4; Birch, No. 6; H. & S. iii. 55.

sacerdotalia] 'episcopal,' v. c. 28, note.

quarum litterarum] This letter is cited by Bede, Ee. § 9, pp. 412, 413; it is omitted in the AS. vers.

pallii] See note on c. 27, p. 52.

p. 64. quem tamen ... subiacere] This, however, as the next Primacy. words show, was a purely personal grant to Augustine. On this and on the primacy question generally v. note on c. 27, p. 53.

die X ... anno XVIII] Cf. the reference to this letter in Bede, Date. Chron. Opp. vi. 323, Opp. Min. p. 194: 'Gregorius xvii anno Mauricii indictione iii scribens Augustino, Londini quoque et Eboracii episcopos, accepto a sede apostolica pallio metropolitanos esse debere decernit.' The eighteenth year of Maurice would give 600 A.D., which is clearly wrong, and inconsistent with the indiction; Stevenson reads 'decimo nono.' Cenulf, King of Mercia, cites this letter, when writing to Leo III in 798 with reference to the attempts of Offa to diminish the rights of Canterbury by converting Lichfield into a metropolitan see for Mercia.

CHAPTER 30.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor is the heading in the Capitula.


p. 65. quid diu mecum ... tractauit] There is an interesting Treatment of heathenism by Christian mission-aries.


p. 65. quid diu mecum ... tractauit] There is an interesting Treatment of heathenism by Christian mission-aries.


p. 65. quid diu mecum ... tractauit] There is an interesting Treatment of heathenism by Christian mission-aries.
phetarum fidel non recipiebant.' 'Magnae quippe scientiae est, dare in tempore cibaria consoruis, et audientium considerare personas;' Opp. xii. 70-72. (The letter of Boniface V to Edwin, ii. 10, violates this wise rule in the most fatuous manner.) At the same time Bede, speaking of the circumcision of Timothy by St. Paul, Acts xvi. 1 ff., remarks truly that, though the Apostles often conformed to the 'umbrae legales, quasi a Domino aliquando constitutae,' yet 'gentilis instituto, ut uere a Satana reperta, nunquam a sanctis est attacta'; ib. 67. The difficulty is one of the most serious that Christian missionaries have to solve. It is probable that they have erred more often on the side of compromise than of iconoclasm. The way in which heathen practices and modes of thought continue to subsist alongside of, and enter into composition with popular Christianity, is a most fruitful subject for study; cf. D. C. A. ii. 1542, and an interesting note in N. & K. pp. 315-318). The degree to which this is the case will depend very much on the period at which a people is converted, on the question whether their conversion is the result of individual conviction or of mere wholesale conformity, on the strength of the popular heathenism at the time, on the tact and courage of their teachers. Sometimes the heathen nature of these practices is dimly realised, and they are carefully kept out of view. Sometimes they are done openly, their real meaning having been utterly forgotten, or being veiled under a thin disguise of Christianity. (Thus the Council of Ratisbon in 742 complains of various ceremonies: 'quas stulti homines iuxta ecclesias ritu pagano faciunt, sub nomine sanctorum martyrum uel, confessorum;' H. & S. iii. 385; v. next note, and note on ii. 15.) It is usually assumed that this letter, sent after Mellitus had started, indicates that Gregory had radically changed his view since writing the letter to Ethelbert in c. 32, which Mellitus took with him. I do not think that this is certain. Gregory might well urge on Ethelbert the desirability of destruction, and on Augustine the need for caution and compromise. In Kent the final steps were taken by Ethelbert's grandson, Erconbert, iii. 8. On the need of royal assistance to put down idolatry, cf. St. Boniface to Daniel, bishop of Winchester: 'sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec . . . presbiteros . . . defendere possum, nec ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum . . . sine illius mandato et timore prohibere ualeo;' H. & S. iii. 344; Mon. Mog. p. 159; cf. the procedure of Wilfrord, v. 11, note. In Northumbria the temples were destroyed, if we may judge from ii. 13, p. 113. A contrary instance, and one in conformity with Gregory's principles as stated here, would be the case of Ethelbert's idol fane outside the
walls of Canterbury, converted by Augustine into the Church of St. Pancras, if the Canterbury tradition may be trusted; Thorn, col. 1760; Elmham, pp. 79-81; Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, pp. 37, 38. In this policy of compromise, papal Rome perhaps inherited something from heathen Rome, which readily equated the gods of other peoples with members of her own pantheon; cf. Scarth, u. s. p. 233.

_ fana idolorum_] Nothing in the religious observances of the Jews struck the classical world with greater astonishment than the absence of any sculptured representation of the Deity (see Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, ii. 551 ff.). Tacitus in a well-known passage, Germ. c. 9, attributes the same peculiarity to the Germans: ‘ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimulare ex magnitudine cælestium arbitrantur; ... deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reuerentia uident.’ (Cf. Hdt. i. 131, of the Persians.) Whatever may have been the case in Tacitus’ time, this had certainly ceased to be true of our Saxon forefathers in the sixth century. We constantly hear of idols and idolatry in all the Saxon kingdoms—Kent, i. 30, 32; ii. 6; Essex, ii. 5; iii. 22, 30; Northumbria, ii. 10, 11, 13; iii. 1; East Anglia, ii. 15; Mercia, ii. 20; Sussex, iv. 13; v. 19; of the Saxons generally, ii. 1. We could have wished that Bede had told us more about these Saxon deities; but doubtless he would have thought it worse than idle to do so. In the De Temp. Ratione, c. 15, he does tell us of two Saxon goddesses, Rheda and Eostre, who gave their names to the months of March and April. Kent, as it was the first kingdom to be converted, so it was the first in which idolatry was forbidden by law under Eæconbert, iii. 8. We hear of ‘fana’ or heathen temples, i. 30, 32; ii. 10, 11, 13, 15; iii. 30; of heathen sacrifices, i. 30; ii. 15. Ethelbert will not meet Augustine in a house for fear of magic arts, i. 25; the practice of augury is mentioned in ii. 10, 11, and charms and incantations in iv. 22, 27. Cf. the striking scene in Eddius, c. 13, where Wilfrid returning from Gaul after his consecration, is driven on to the coast of Sussex, and assailed by the heathen inhabitants: ‘stans quoque princeps sacerdotum idolatriae ... in tumulo excelso ... maledicere populum Dei, et suis magicis artibus manus eorum alligare nitebatur.’ The evidence of the Laws and Penitentials shows how hard these customs died; some of them indeed have survived to our own day (see last note). The following references do not go beyond the eighth century, because later enactments may be concerned with heathen customs introduced by the Danes. Theodore’s Penitential (668 x 690) forbids sacrifice to idols, and various forms of divination and augury;
H. & S. iii. 188–190. The Council of Clovesho (747) forbids: 'paganas observationes, id est diuinios, sortilegos, auguria, auspicia, fylacteria, incantationes, siue omnes spurciitas impiorum, gentiliumque errata,' ib. 364; cf. the very similar enactment of the Council of Ratisbon, held under St. Boniface in 742, ib. 385, cited above, p. 58. Among criminals who are never to be ordained, or if ordained are to be deposed, the dialogue of Egbert (732 x 766) enumerates 'idola . . . adorantes, per aruspices et . . . incantatores captinos se diabolo tradentes,' ib. 410. Egbert's Penitential, in addition to sacrifice to idols, augury and divination, condemns 'emissores tempestatum,' ib. 420; and those 'qui . . . quarumcunque scripturarum inspectione futura promittunt, uel uotum uoerit in arbore, uel in qualibet re excepto ecclesiam . . . uel V. feriam in honore Louis, uel kalendas Ianuarias secundum paganam causam honora[uerit],' ib. 424. To much the same effect the legatine synod of 787, ib. 449, 458, 459. Kemble, Saxons, i. 523 ff., has collected some of the provisions of the secular law on this subject, but the only ones which fall within the limits named above are those of Witred of Kent, 696, against sacrifice to idols. On Saxon heathenism, cf. Kemble, u. s. pp. 327–444; and on witchcraft, &c. generally, Sir A. Lyall's interesting essay in his Asiatic Studies.

'Altar' and 'ara.' Christian altars, as opposed to the heathen 'arae.' Bede always observes this distinction; thus 'arae' of heathen altars, i. 7, p. 19; ii. 13, ad fin.; iii. 30, ad fin.; 'altaria' of Christian altars, i. 15, ad fin. Only once is 'altaria' used of heathen altars, and then in the mouth of a heathen, ii. 13, sub fin. In ii. 15, the two things are instructively contrasted: 'altare ad sacrificium Christi, et arulum ad uictimas daemoniorum.'

Reliquiae ponantur] On relics regarded as essential to the consecration of a church, cf. D. C. A. i. 431; ii. 1774, 1775. On relics generally, ib. 1768 ff. Relics were among the things sent by Gregory to Augustine by Mellitus, c. 29. Cf. the interesting parallel of Wilbrord in Frisia, v. 11, p. 301.

natalicii] v. Introduction, pp. lxvii, lxviii, infr. v. 24, p. 359. sollemnitatem celebrent] Cf. an interesting passage in the De Temp. Rat. c. 12; Opp. vi. 174, where Bede distinctly approves of the conversion of the lustrations of the Lupercalia into the Candlemas ceremonies of the same month of February. So in Syria the cultus of the sun-god Ἡλας was transformed into that of the prophet Ἡλας; Schürer, u. s. ii. 20, 21; and Welsh saints named Mabon are possibly only the Celtic Apollo Maponos in a Christian garb; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 302. On the transference of heathen myths and folk-tales to the ecclesiastical sphere, v. Introduction, p. lxiv.
gradibus... non... saltibus] This is a truth on which Bede is very fond of dwelling: 'paulatim deficere ad uitia, sicut et ad uirtutes proficere solet animus humanus,' Opp. viii. 133; 'nemo repente fit summus,' vii. 315; xi. 241; cf. ib. 188, and fq.

se quidem innotuit [i. e. 'siquidem' in H. H. p. 71. The change 'Innotesco' was probably made through not observing that innoteco is here used transitively; a sense noted by Salmasius, as cited in Andrewes' Dictionary.

solebat] i.e. 'populus,' though 'eis' has intervened.

ipsa... ipsa] = the same.

p. 66. Iuliarum] This word is omitted by two out of the four Date, oldest MSS., M and N, and is clearly wrong, as it would make this letter earlier, instead of later, than those which Mellitus took with him. Probably the scribe carelessly copied 'Iuliarum' from the date of one of the other letters, or ignorantly inserted it, finding the month omitted in his archetype. But unless we are prepared to give up the whole date, it is not true that 'there are no means of correcting it,' H. & S. iii. 38. The last day of the nineteenth year of Maurice was Aug. 12, 601. 'Augustarum' therefore is the only possible correction, a correction actually made by O6, followed by O16; the true date is July 18, and the question of the indication mercifully does not come in.

CHAPTER 31.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers. nor in the Capitula.

Quo in tempore misit] i.e. the letter was sent with Mellitus, though it may have been written earlier. The Benedictine editors note that in some collections it is dated Jan. 1, but without any year or indication. Bede only gives extracts from the letter. The whole is in H. & S. iii. 14-17. It begins and ends with the 'Gloria in excelsis,' and in the portions omitted by Bede, Gregory warns Augustine, firstly by the example of Moses, secondly by the fact that many who can say 'Domine... in tuo nomine multas uirtutes fecimus,' will hear at the last day the sentence 'recedite a me;' cf. iii. 25, p. 187. The true 'sign' is 'si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem,' John xiii. 35. On Augustine's miracles, cf. sup. c. 26, p. 47, note; H. & S. iii. 36.

CHAPTER 32.

P. 67. Misit... eodem tempore] i.e. with Mellitus. exemplar] The letter is omitted in the AS. vers.

quaque uos ammonet] 'Quisque' for 'quisquis' as commonly in the Latinity of this period; e.g. ii. 4, p. 88; iii. 11, p. 150; iii. 19, ad fin. The confusion probably arose in the first instance from the similarity of the plurals 'quaeque' and 'quaque,' which in many MSS. would be indistinguishable, and then spread from the plural to the singular; 'quisquis' is, however, used quite correctly, v. 21, P. 334.

p. 69. adpropinquante ... mundi termino] So Gregory in a letter to the clergy of Milan, dated April, 593; Jaffé, R. P. p. 103; and in one to Venantius, Aug. 599, ib. 135. So Bede himself: 'huius mysteria lectionis et hodie ... innumer per loca compleri uidemus et audimus; sed adpropinquante mundi termino, crescentibus malorum cumulis, magis magisque complenda ... tremula expectatione formidamus,' Opp. viii. 217; and on Luke xiv. 17, 'quid hora coenae nisi finis est mundi? in quo nimirum nos sumus,' xi. 199; cf. vii. 35; ix. 295; Mon. Mog. p. 307. Charters frequently begin with the words 'Adpropinquante iam mundi termino,' or similar phrases; e.g. K. C. D. Nos. 11, 128, 672; Birch, Nos. 37, 205; spurious charters probably, but the phrase would not have been inserted had it not been characteristic of genuine documents. In the Formulae Marculfi, and in the Formulae Veteres Sirmondicae, the formula for the 'donatio ecclesiae' begins: 'mundi terminum adpropinquantem ruinis cibrescentibus iam eerta signa manifestant. Idecirco, &c.'; Bouquet, iv. 487, 523; cf. H. H. p. xix. About the year 1000 A.D. the belief that the end of the world was near was very strong, it being thought that that year would mark the end of the thousand years of Rev. xx. 2, 3, 7; cf. Wulfstan's homilies, ed. Napier, pp. 18, 19, 25, 79, 91, 92, 95, 151, 156, 189, 191, 192, 202, 272, 297, and especially ib. 83, 243, where Rev. xx. 7 is expressly cited. For other references, cf. Napier's dissertation on Wulfstan, pp. 64, 65.


de animabus ... praeparati] How consonant this is to Bede's own cast of thought is shown in Introduction, pp. lxvi, lxvii.
suspecti] 'alert,' 'expectant,' cf. i. 15.

parua ... exenia] The charter cited above, c. 29, professes to give a list of these presents, and says that Ethelbert gave them to the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul: 'missurium ... argentem, scapton aureum, ... sellam cum fraeno, armilcaisia oloserca, camisiam ornatam, quod mihi xenium de domino papa Gregorio
... directum fuerat.' Here again a true tradition may be embodied, or it may be an invention based on c. 33: 'diuersis donis ditauit,' p. 70. With the list of presents, cf. ii. 10, 11, ad fin. pp. 104, 106. At the same time with this letter to Ethelbert, Gregory sent one to his wife Bertha, thanking her for her kindness to Augustine, of which he had heard from Laurentius and Peter, and saying that her good deeds had reached not only to the ears of the Romans, but even to the Emperor at Constantinople; H. & S. iii. 17, 18; Opp. Min. p. 251.

CHAPTER 33.

P. 70. ut praediximus] c. 26, ad fin.

in nomine ... sacrauit] This is Christ Church, Canterbury. According to MS. F of the Saxon Chr. s. a. 995, the dedication took place on the mass-day of SS. Primus and Felicianus, June 9, after the return of the emissaries who brought Gregory's responsa, c. 27. This MS. of the Chronicle is very late (twelfth century), but being a Canterbury book it may preserve a true tradition as to the date. If so, the dedication cannot be earlier than 602, as the messengers did not leave Rome till after June 22, 601: v. s. on c. 27. June 9 was a Sunday in 603, which might point to that year. The further story that Ethelbert sent special messengers of his own with those of Augustine, to consult Gregory as to whether the new church should be filled with clerks or monks, and that the pope, to his great joy, decided in favour of monks, bears too obviously the mark of later controversies to be worth anything. The statement that the Church was dedicated 'in the name of Christ and St. Mary,' may also be a later development. Cf. my edition of the Chron. I. xii. 128, 129, 285, 286. On the original Christ Church, Canterbury, cf. Stanley, Memorials, pp. 39 ff.; Bright, pp. 53, 54.

monasterium] This is the monastery better known by its later name of St. Augustine's. As being intended for a burial place it had to be outside the city. Elmham's work so often cited is a history of this monastery, to which he belonged; cf. especially pp. 77, 81, 83, 111, 115, 117, 118; Stanley, pp. 41-43; Bright, pp. 91, 92.

poni corpora possent. Quam ... consecrauit] v. inf. on ii. 3, p. 86; v. 8, p. 294. There is a spurious bull professing to be addressed by Boniface IV to Ethelbert in 611 on this subject; H. & S. iii. 67-69; from Elmham, pp. 129-131; cf. the spurious charter, ib. p. 319.

Petrus presbiter] He had been one of Augustine's messengers Abbot to Gregory; c. 27, and notes. It was perhaps on some similar...
errand that he met his death, which is said to have taken place in 607; Elmham, p. 126, who also gives his epitaph. There is a life of him by Eadmer in MS. C. C. C. C. 371, f. 416; Hardy, Cat. i. 206, 207. Elmham cites a life of Peter, probably Eadmer's, p. 111. His day is given as Jan. 6 in some authorities; in others as Dec. 30. AA. SS. Jan. i. 334; Mab. AA. SS. ii. i.

Aedan mac Gabrain, Aedan mac Gabrain, King of the Dalriadic colony of Scots or Irish, which settled in Alba c. 500 A.D.; v.s. c. i, note. About 560 the Scottish (Irish) colonists under Gabran, the father of Aedan, seem to have experienced a severe check at the hands of the Picts, Gabran himself apparently being slain; Tigh. sub anno. Aedan, who came to the throne in 574, re-established their power. He was the first of the Dalriadic princes of Alba who underwent a solemn ecclesiastical inauguration. This he received at the hands of Columba, Abbot of Iona;

CHAPTER 34.

This fragment of Northumbrian history comes in rather awkwardly in the midst of the account of the conversion of South-Eastern Britain. It would have come in better before ii. 9, in connexion with the mission to Northumbria. But Bede no doubt wished to prepare the way for the connexion of Ethelfrid with the fulfilment of Augustine's prophecy in ii. 2, pp. 83-85.

Aedilfrid . . . Brettonum] This character of Ethelfrid as a cruel enemy of the Britons has survived in a curious way in Welsh tradition. The Triads represent him as a cannibal. Cf. Rhûs, Arthurian Legend, pp. 73, 74; D. C B. ii. 222, 223. The pedigrees in Nennius, § 57, call him Ældifred Flesaur, an epithet the meaning of which is unknown. Henry of Huntingdon speaks as if 'ferus,' 'the fierce,' had become his standing epithet; pp. 54, 78. Cf. W. M.'s rhetorical amplification of Bede, i. 46-48, and the character given of him in the twelfth-century life of St. Oswald; S. D. i. 362, 363. Mr. Skene, C. S. i. 236, 237, gives the extent of his dominions; but he cites no authority.

tribunis] 'aldormonna,' 'aldermen,' AS. vers. Aedan . . . inhabitant] i.e. Aedan mac Gabrain, King of the Dalriadic colony of Scots or Irish, which settled in Alba c. 500 A.D.; v.s. c. i, note. About 560 the Scottish (Irish) colonists under Gabran, the father of Aedan, seem to have experienced a severe check at the hands of the Picts, Gabran himself apparently being slain; Tigh. sub anno. Aedan, who came to the throne in 574, re-established their power. He was the first of the Dalriadic princes of Alba who underwent a solemn ecclesiastical inauguration. This he received at the hands of Columba, Abbot of Iona;
a fact which illustrates the conventual and non-episcopal organisation of the Irish Church at this time (see on iii. 3, 4). Columba, it is said, acted in obedience to a direct revelation, being himself in favour of Eogan, Aedan's brother, whose death is mentioned by Tighernach, sub anno 595; Rs. Ad. pp. 197-199. He was also the first prince who made himself independent of the mother-country.

According to the traditional account preserved in the preface to the Amra Coluimcille (elegy on Columba), by Dallan mac Forgaill (in LU. facs. pp. 5 ff.; Rawl. B. 502, ff. 54a-56a, MSS. of the eleventh century, but made up of earlier materials), an arrangement was come to at the convention of Druim Cett in 574, partly through the mediation of Columba, by which the Dalriads in Alba were freed from tribute to the king of Ireland, but continued liable to military service; cf. Rs. Ad. pp. 37, 92. We find Aedan giving hostages to Baedan mac Carell, king of Ulster; P. & S. pp. 127-129.

It is probably in consequence of these two facts, the ecclesiastical coronation and the emancipation from the mother-country, that some later authorities speak of Aedan as the first to establish a monarchy in Britain, e.g. Vita Tripart. p. 162; P. & S. p. cxxi. He certainly is not the first who bears the title of king, as Dr. Reeves seems to imply; Adann. p. 436; cf. Tigh., sub ann. 505, 538, 560, 574. Aedan was evidently an enterprising and aggressive prince. We find him making an expedition to the Orkneys in 579 or 580, Ann. Ult.; to Man in 582 or 583; Tigh., cf. P. & S. pp. 167, 345, 401. He fought a battle at Leithrig in 590, Tigh., cf. P. & S. p. 345, the result of which is not stated, and the locality of which is not known; and one in Circhend, in 596, in which four of his sons were slain, and he himself defeated according to Tigh.; though Adannman says that he was victorious, 'quamlibet infelix'; ed. Reeves, pp. 33-36 and notes; if the two accounts are rightly referred to the same event. On the importance of this struggle, v. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 62-64, 78, 86, 90, 91; cf. also S. C. S. i. 143, 160-163, 229, 239; P. & S. pp. cix-exii; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 170. It was inevitable that Aedan should be alarmed at the growing power of Elthelfrid, and try to check it. But the result was disastrous to himself. His death is placed in 605 by the Ann. Ult.; in 606 by Tigh. and Chron. Scotorum; in 607 by Ann. Camb.; cf. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 84-87.

Aedan figures largely in Irish tradition. There is a curious Irish tale about his birth in Rawl. B. 502, f. 47 b, which exists, as far as I know, nowhere else. A lost tale called 'Echtra Aedain mic Gabrain,' 'The adventures of Aedan, son of Gabran,' is cited in an ancient list of tales printed by O'Curry, MS. Materials, p. 589. In
Welsh tradition he is known as 'Aeddan Fradwr o'r Gogledd,' 'Aedan the traitor of the North,' one of the three traitors (with Ethelfrid himself and the mythical Gwrgi) through whom the Cymry lost the crown of the Isle of Britain; Triads, iii. 45.

**Degrastan**] Probably Dawston, in Liddesdale; S. C. S. i. 162, 163. Dalston near Carlisle has also been suggested, but philology is against this. (Cf. the form 'Daisastan' in some of the later MSS.) It is just possible that the name Degrastan may be due to the battle, and be a corruption of 'at Ægðanes stane,' 'at Aedan's stone'; cf. the form of the name in Chron. 603, MSS. B. C. 'at Egesan stane.' Pearson, Historical Maps, suggests Theekstone, north of Ripon; and Mr. Bates, Dissington, north-west of Newcastle; History of Northumberland, p. 53; cf. Bright, p. 85.

*in qua... peremptus est*] Tighernach's entry of the battle is as follows: 'Cath (praelium) Saxanum la (per) h-Ædan, ubi cecidit Eanfraich frater Etalfraich la Maeluma mac Baedain, in quo uictus erat'; s. a. 600. He evidently confuses Theodbald, Ethelfrid's brother (slain, as Bede relates'), with Eanfrid, his eldest son; iii. i, p. 127. The presence of Maeluma, evidently a son of the Baedan, king of Ulster, mentioned above (cf. F. M. 606; Ann. Ult. 609 for Maeluma's death; on his name cf. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 27, 28), shows that Aedan had help from the mother-country; and Degrastan was to some extent an anticipation of Brunanburh; especially if there is any truth in the tradition preserved by Fordun, iii. 30, that Aedan was allied with the Britons under a king Malgo [Maelgwn]. And it may have been Aedan's loss of this battle which caused him to be regarded in Welsh tradition as one of 'the three base traitors of the Isle of Britain'; Triads, u. s. Sig. Gembl. confuses this battle with that of Chester, and places it in 615. His entry, 'Edilfridus... regem Scottorum Ean... in bello extinguit,' is interesting for the phonetic writing of Aedan's name; Pertz, vi. 322.

**p. 72. quod... perfecit**] If the battle took place in 603 in Ethelfrid's eleventh year, we must place his accession in 592 or 593, and his death in 616 or 617; ii. 14, p. 113, would place his death between April, 616, and April, 617; ii. 20, *ad init.*, taken strictly, would fix it to 616; 593 and 617 are the dates given in the Sax. Chron. MS. E., which makes a curious addition to Bede's account of the battle; *v. note a.*

**Focatis**] Phocas succeeded Nov. 2, 601; Gibbon.

**regum Scottorum**] This must be interpreted strictly of the kings of the Dalriadic colony; *v. c. i., note*. It would not, of course, be true of the kings of the Picts; *v. infra*, iv. 26.

There does not seem any very natural reason for dividing the
books here. But as Bede says, twice quoting St. Augustine: 'Nescio quo enim modo, ut Augustinus ait, ita libri termino reficitur lectoris intentio, sicut labor iuatoris hospitio,' Opp. x. 374; xii. 341; cf. xi. 52: 'Historia quae tertii nostri... caput est libri, etsi ob laborum legentium minuendum a nouo inchoatur exordio, rerum tamen nectura secundii libri finem respicet'; and Dante, Conv. iv. 4, ad fin.: 'li lunghi capitoli sono nemici della memoria.'

BOOK II. CHAPTER 1.

P. 73. His temporibus] On the date of Gregory's accession and Gregory's death see i. 23, p. 42, note. It is noteworthy that the Annales Laureshamenses and the Chronicon Moissiacense both make Gregory's death a date from which to reckon other dates; at 785 both have the entry: 'a transitu Gregorii Papae usque praesentem sunt clxxx,' Pertz, i. 32, 297, which gives 605.

de quo nos conuenit] From here to 'grege numerari,' p. 78, is omitted by the AS. vers.

nostrum ... apostolum] The Church of England long retained a grateful sense of what she owed to Gregory. Bede speaks of him as 'uigilantissimus, iuxta suum nomen, nostrae gentis apostolus.' Opp. x. 268. Aldhelm, Bede's contemporary, calls him 'peruigil pastor et paedagogus noster; noster inquam, qui nostris parentibus errorem tetrae gentilitatis abstulit, et regenerantis gratiae normam tradidit'; Opp. ed. Giles, pp. 74, 55, 160. In 747 the Council of Clovesho, repeating unconsciously a phrase of Bede's, Opp. ix. 388, ordered that the 'dies natalitius' of Gregory, 'Papa, et pater noster,' should be kept as a festival in the English Church; H. & S. iii. 368; cf. App. I. § 32. Archbishop Egbert, Bede's pupil, speaks of him in his dialogue as 'noster didascalus'; H. & S. iii. 411. Alcuin in a letter written 797-798 calls him 'praedicator noster'; H. & S. iii. 519; Mon. Ale. p. 367; and an episcopal profession of c. 800 quotes him as 'pater noster in Deo'; H. & S. iii. 530. Cf. Pertz, xii. 883, 911. And this personal gratitude of the English Church to Gregory resulted in a feeling of grateful devotion to the see over which he presided, which it took long years of oppression and plunder to obliterate from English minds. The author of the Gesta Abbatum Fontanelensium speaks of 'Angli, qui maxime familiares apostolicae sedis semper existunt'; Pertz, ii. 289. Thietmar in his Chronicle calls the English 'tributarii Sancti Petri... et Sancti Gregorii spirituales filii,' and resents on that ground their payment of tribute to the Danes; Pertz, iii. 847, 848.
Cf. Jaffé, R. P. p. 312. The Chronicle two centuries later, 785 D. E., speaks of 'the peace which St. Gregory sent us through Augustine.'


erat autem, &c.] On the lives of Gregory v. Hardy, i. 202–206. His mother's name was Silvia, ib. 203; Sax. Chron. B. C. 606; App. I. § 1. In the notes to the Félibre of Aengus, ed. Stokes, p. 63, there seems to be an attempt to give Gregory an Irish pedigree.

Felix] Felix III (or II), Bishop of Rome, 483–492. The term 'ataus' is not, however, to be taken strictly ; Smith and Stev.

defectum . . . per curam pastoralem] Cf. the reluctance of Cuthbert to undertake the episcopal office, iv. 28, p. 272. Aldhelm's biographer Faricius says of him: 'is sane impeditus rebus saecularibus, in episcopio, ut mos est omnium, uti de B. Martino Turonensi praesule temptatur, hau postea tantum ualuit in uirtutibus, quantum prius ualebat;' Opp. ed. Giles, p. 369; so St. Kentigern, N. & K. pp. 181, 182. There seems to us something unworthy in this tendency to depreciate and to decline the practical work of the Church; and the words of Synesius (the hunting bishop of Kingsley's Hypatia) have to our ears a healthier ring about them: 'Since God has laid upon me not what I sought, but what He willed, I pray that He . . . will guide me through the life He has assigned me. How shall I that have spent my youth in philosophical . . . contemplation . . . bear the continued pressure of anxiety? . . . How shall I still turn my thoughts to those intellectual beauties . . . without which life is no life to me? . . . I know not. But to God . . . all things are possible. . . . If He abandon me not, I shall realise that the episcopacy is not a descent from philosophy, but an ascent to a higher form of it'; D. C. B. iv. 776. But the superiority of the contemplative life (uita contemplativa, theorica, speculativa) over the practical life (uita actiua, actualis) was an accepted doctrine all through the Middle Ages. Bede himself holds it, Opp. vii. 229, 421–424; viii. 206; ix. 241, 250; x. 329; xii. 127, 443; though with his usual good sense he maintains that the two ought not to be disrevered. Commenting on Luke v. 16, he says: 'quod in urbe miracula facit, in deserto . . . orando pernoctat, utrinque uitae nobis, et actiua . . . et contemplativa, documenta praemonstrat; ut nec contemplationis studio quis proximorum curam negligat, nec cura proximorum immoderatus obligatus, contemplationis studia derelinquat'; Opp. x. 398, cf. xi. 64,
and what he says below of Gregory: 'sed nos credere decet,' &c. The two lives are commonly figured by the two sisters, Mary and Martha, Opp. xi. 129, 131; occasionally by SS. John and Peter, v. 262, 263. The monastery offered to some extent a sphere for the contemplative life, but its full realisation was only reached by the anchorite, or the still more rigorous 'inclusus,' compared with whom the monk was regarded as belonging to the active life; 'ita diuinae speculationis illos maxime recipit, qui post longa monasticae rudimenta uirtutis secreti ab hominibus degere norunt,' Opp. v. 263. And so when Cuthbert retired from the monastery of Lindisfarne to become an anchorite on Farne Island, Bede says that he rejoiced, 'quia de longa perfectione conversationis actiue ad otium diuinae speculationis iam mereretur ascendere'; Vita Cudb. Pros. c. 17; cf. Introduction, p. xxx, and Morison's St. Bernard, pp. 192 ff.

cum diacono suo Petro] Dial. i. prologus; cf. Ep. i. 6, 'Dum contemplationis dulcedinem alte describitis, ruinae meae mihi gemitum renouastis, quia audiu quid intus perdidi, dum foris ad culmen regimini imperitus ascendi.'

domum ... curavit] i.e. he organised his pontifical household on the monastic model; cf. this and what follows with his advice to Augustine, i. 27, p. 48.

p. 75. apocrisiarius] 'nuntius, legatus ... Nomen inditum legatis 'Apocrisiarius,' quod ἀποκρίσεως seu responsa principum deferrent,' Ducange. The Latin name is 'responsalis,' which is found as a gloss here in some MSS. In the case of the Roman see it meant a standing official, like the later nuncio, who represented the see at the court of Constantinople. The post was usually held by a deacon. Gregory held it both under Benedict I and Pelagius II. In the letter to Leander, bishop of Seville, prefixed to the Moralia, Gregory says: 'cum me in urbe Constantinopolitana sedis apostolicae resposta constringerent.' On Gregory's sojourn at Constantinople, cf. the parallel passage, Opp. Min. pp. 192, 193.

regularis] i.e. monastic.

sicut ipse scribit] In the letter to Leander cited above.


librum ... Iob ... mystica interpretatione] This is the famous Gregory's 'Moralia' of Gregory. In Irish sources he is sometimes called 'Grigoir moralium,' 'Gregory of the Moralia,' Lismore Lives of Saints, p. 299; Mart. Doneg. Nov. 12. He began it, as Bede says, at Constantinople, and finished it afterwards. For a curious legend

**Eutychius.**

Eutychius] This passage occurs in almost identical words in the commentary on Lk. xxiv. 39, which Bede quotes here; Opp. xi. 384, 385; cf. vi. 322; and Ignat. ad Smyrn. e. 3, with Lightfoot's notes. 

**Gregory's 'Cura Pastoralis.'**

p. 76. *Pastoralis*] The 'Regula curae Pastoralis.' This is one of the works which Bede urges Archbishop Egbert to study, *infra* p. 406. Alcuin, writing in 796 to Eanbald II, one of Egbert's successors, says: 'quocunque uadas, liber Sancti Gregorii Pastoralis tecum perget'; H. & S. iii. 550; Mon. Alc. p. 339. In 797 he urges its use on Hgbald, bp. of Lindisfarne, ib. 355. He recommends it to Arno of Salzburg, ib. 330, Calvinus, ib. 566, and an unnamed correspondent, ib. 882. Its study 'was enjoined upon all bishops at their ordination in France under Hincmar,' H. & S. u.s. Theganus in his 'Vita Hludowici Imp.' (*i.e.* Louis I, 'le Debonnaire,' †840), gives as one of the characteristics of bad prelates: 'librum Sancti Gregorii qui prætителatur Pastoralis nolunt accipere'; Pertz, ii. 595. Alfred translated it into Anglo-Saxon; and in the preface which he prefixed to it he breaks into something like verse in praise of Gregory. He says that Augustine brought the book with him to Britain, which is likely enough; ed. Sweet, pp. 8, 9.

libros . . . *Dialogorum*] Just as the Irish called him 'Gregory of the Moralia,' so the Euchologium Graecum calls him ὁ δοῦλος σου Ἐγγράφων τοῦ Διδάκτου: cited Ltft. App. Ff. ii. i. 6; and in the 'Liudprandi Legatio' he is quoted as 'Gregorius, qui a ubis appellatus est Dialogus'; Pertz, iii. 351. On the character of this work and its vogue in the Middle Ages, see Milman, u.s. This also was translated into Anglo-Saxon under Alfred, but the translation has not yet been printed; Earle, Anglo-Saxon Literature, pp. 193 ff.; Wülker, Grundriß, pp. 437 ff.

excepto] *i.e.* 'besides,' 'not counting.'

**Gregory's Dialogues.**

**inserentes**] i. 27.


tanta condere uolumina] Gregory, among his other accomplishments, seems to have been a great scribe: 'Papa Innocentius [1203] . . . bibliotecam [= bible] beati Gregorii manu scriptam episcopo Lyuoniensi mittit'; Pertz, xxiii. 247.

dare pauperibus] On Gregory's charities, cf. Bright, pp. 35, 36; His Church, Misc. Essays; Stanley, Memorials, p. 22: 'The long marble table is still shown at Rome where he used to feed twelve beggars every day. There is a legend that on one occasion a thirteenth appeared among them, an unbidden guest, an angel whom he had thus entertained unawares.'


p. 78. ipse dicit] Moralia, xxvii. 11. That this really refers to Augustine's success, and not to the Hallelujah victory under Germanus more than a century and a half previously, i. 20, as Ussher thought, is clear. Whatever may be the exact date at which Gregory finished the 'Moralia,' v. s., such a passage might easily have been added after the news of Augustine's success had reached Rome. It is quoted in this sense by both of Gregory's biographers, Paul. Diac. c. 21; Iohan. Diac. ii. 39. So Aimon of Fleury, Bouquet, iii. 104; cf. ib. 253. And the words 'clarescentibus miraculis' seem, as Bede remarks, to allude to Augustine's miracles, i. 26, 31; cf. Elmham, p. 107, who also notices the frequent references to the mission of Augustine in Gregory's letters.

alleluia resonare] In fulfilment of his own prophecy, infr. p. 80.

tria uerba . . . superadiecit] This addition to the Canon of the Mass was part of Gregory's revision of the Gelasian Sacramentary. Greg. Opp. iii. 3, 285; Palmer, Orig. Liturg. c. 1, § 6; cf. Sax. Chron. E. 591; supr. i. 27, p. 49, note.

p. 79. secretarium] This 'was a Roman law-term for the justice-room of a magistrate. . . . Ecclesiastically, the word has two senses: (1) a room where bishops received the greetings of their people, transacted business, held meetings of clergy, or sat in synod.' (Wilfrid's first appeal to Rome was heard in the 'secretarium' of St. John Lateran; Eddius, c. 29 ad fin.) (2) 'a vestry or sacristy'; Bright, p. 293, who gives many illustrations. It is in the latter sense that it is used here, and in iii. 14, 26, pp. 154, 190. Bede uses the word metaphorically in the former sense of the courts of heaven: 'eclestium mansionum secretaria,' 'secretarium laudis aeternae'; Opp. ix. 327; xii. 363. The AS. vers. has here 'beforan ham husul portice.' Cf. D. C. A. s. v.
quarto Id. Mart.] March 12.

epitaphium] 'byrgenleo3,' AS. vers., which, contrary to its usual practice, translates the epitaph. It is printed in the Appendix to Avitus' Works; M. H. G. Auct. Ant. VI. ii. 190; cf. Gruteri Inscriptt. n. 1175; Liber Pontif. i. 313, 314; Dei Rossi, Inser. Christ. Urbis Romae, ii. 52, 78, 79, 112, 209. Two small fragments of the epitaph have been discovered in recent times. Cf. ib. for the fate of Gregory's tomb.

implebatque actu, &c.] Cf. Introduction, p. xxxvi.

magistra] -ri; Avitus, u.s.

hisque Dei] H. H. p. 77, gives the last two lines thus:

'Sic Consul Domini factus, lactare, Gregori;
Namque triumphalis iam tibi laburus adest.'

aduenientibus... mercatoribus, &c.] Cf. the quaint story in the Monk of St. Gallen's Gesta Caroli, i. 1: 'contigit duos Scottos de Hibernia cum mercatoribus Britannis ad litus Galliae deuenire, uiros et in saecularibus et in sacris scripturis incomparabiliter eruditos. Qui cum nihil ostenderent uenale, ad conuenientes emendi gratia turbas clamare solebant: si quis sapientiae cupidus est, ueniat ad nos et accipiat eam; nam uenalis est apud nos.'

Pertz, ii. 731; Mon. Carol. p. 631.

pueros uenales] Canterbury tradition fixed the number to three; Thorn, col. 1757. 'The date... is fixed to 585 x 588 by the fact that after his long stay at Constantinople he returned to Rome in 585 or 586... On the other hand, Ælla, whom the slaves owned as their king, died in 588'; Green, M. E. p. 216. Bede, in a rather condensed passage in his Chron., seems to speak as if Ælla was still alive at the time of Augustine's mission; Opp. Min. p. 193. Bede is the first to represent the fair-haired strangers as slaves. The old life, App. I. § 9, does not call them so.


angelicam... faciem] Thietmar Chron. 1016 a.d.: 'Angli, ab angelica facie, ... siue quod in angulo istius terrae siti sunt, dicti';
Pertz, iii. 847, a passage copied by the Saxon Annalist, ib. vi. 669. Cf. sup. note on i. 15, p. 31.

Deiri] On the relations of Bernicia and Deira, v. iii. 1, note. In the Chron. Monast. Watinensis (Watten between Calais and St. Omer) we find the phrase 'Britannia Deirorum insula'; Pertz, xiv. 164. It is curious to find this tribal name surviving in such prominence in an eleventh-century Chronicle.


at ille adludens, &c.] The AS. vers. is here very quaint and
beautiful: 'and þa þegode he mid his wordum to þæm noman,' 'and then he played with his words upon the name.'

ad pontificem] Paul the Deacon says the pope was Pelagius II (578-590); John the Deacon (following App. I. § 10) makes him Benedict I (574-578). Of course, if the note cited above from Green is correct, it must be Pelagius.

concedere . . . uoluit] The AS. vers. here distinctly perverts the meaning of the original: 'þa ne wolde se papa þæt þafian, ne þa burgware þon ma, þette swa æðele wer, 7 swa gebungen, 7 swa gelærd, swa fœr fram him gewite,' 'Then would not the pope permit that, much less the citizens, that so noble a man and so capable, and so learned, should depart so far from them.' Did the translator misread 'noluit' for 'uoluit'?

p. 81. adiuuans] 'to Godes willan 7 to ōæde Ongolcynne,' 'to Gōd's will and the profit of the English race,' adds the AS. vers.

CHAPTER 2.

Interea] After and probably in consequence of the reception Date. of Gregory's 'responsa,' perhaps in 602 or 603. It is most unsafe to argue from the order of Bede's chapters that it must have been after the battle of Dëgsastan in 603; i. 34. The object of that chapter is to lead up, not to this conference, but to the battle of Chester. See note on i. 34, ad init.

adiutorio . . . regis] So Ethelbert's supremacy would seem to Ethelbert's supremacy. have extended not only over the Saxon kingdoms, but over the Britons also. Palgrave remarked this long ago, E. C. p. 454. Mr. Green sees traces of a political revival of the Britons about this time; M. E. pp. 229 ff.

colloquium . . . prouinciae] We must distinguish between this preliminary conference at Augustine's Oak, at which only bishops and teachers (siue = et, as constantly in Bede; v. note on c. 4) of the 'nearest province of the Britons' were present, and the later conference, p. 82, the place of which is not mentioned, at which a much greater portion of the British Church, including the northern monastery of Bangor, was represented. It is commonly assumed that by 'proxima provincia' is meant what we call South Wales, though up till a much later time than the present the whole of modern Wales was included in the territory of the North Welsh, the term South or West Welsh being applied to the Britons of Cornwall. It is a question whether the latter may not have been represented at one or both of these conferences, though the possibility does not seem to have occurred to those who have written on the subject, and it would much upset their learned speculations.
as to who the seven British bishops were who attended the second conference. The advance of the West Saxons had by this time broken the territorial continuity of the North and the West or South Welsh; see map in F. N. C. i. 34.

in loco . . . appellatur] We have nothing to guide us to the position of ‘Augustine’s Oak,’ except the vague statement of Bede that it was on the border of the West Saxons and the Hwiccas, as that border existed in his day. Aust, on the Severn, opposite Chepstow, has been most commonly suggested, and it suits Bede’s description and the conditions of the case fairly well; H. & S. iii. 40, 41: ‘Aust itself probably derives its name from Traiectus Augusti.’ It is, however, ‘called æt Austin in a charter of 691 or 692; K. C. D. No. 32’ (= Birch No. 75); H. & S. v. 3. So that it is possible that two totally different series of events may have combined to preserve the name; cf. D. C. A. i. 152. Mr. Green, however, would place it somewhere near Malmesbury; M. E. pp. 224, 225; and Mr. Moberly kindly sends me the following note: ‘Perhaps the spot called “The Oak” in Down Ampney, near Cricklade. This would be on the border-line between the Hwiccas and Wessex; about a mile north of the Thames, at the south-east corner of the Hwiccas; at their nearest point to Kent, from which Augustine came. Close by is a spring still thought to be curative of weak eyes (cf. Augustine’s miracle in the text).’ Smith, a. l., speaks of two letters on the subject as existing among Fulman’s Collectanea, but I cannot find them.

Hwicciorum] On the Hwiccas see Green, M. E. pp. 129, 130; D. C. B. iii. 181, 182.


alia plurima] v. note infra.

suas . . . uniusris] This is a common form of argument on this question; cf. c. 19, p. 122; iii. 25, pp. 181, 184, 188; v. 15, p. 315. But how would it have worked e. g. in the Arian controversy, when it was ‘Athanasius contra mundum,’ and ‘ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est’? (Jerome).

habitare . . . domu] This is a favourite text with Bede; e. g. Opp. viii. 377. It is not the Vulgate version, which has ‘qui inhabitare facit unius moris in domo,’ but it is that of the so-called Roman Psalter; see on v. 19, p. 323.

p. 82. unerunt] Some time would be required to make known the result of the first conference, and to arrange the second. Nothing is said as to the place of the latter. The impression is given that it was at the same place as the first, and this is commonly assumed, e. g. D. C. A. i. 152.
VII Brettonum episcopi] Much has been written on the question who these seven bishops were, and what seems existed in Wales at this time; H. & S. i. 121-123, 142-149; Bright, pp. 75, 76, and reff. But it is all in the highest degree uncertain, and rests largely upon the statements of lives of saints written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which are quite valueless as evidence for the state of things existing in the sixth and seventh centuries. Bede himself only gives the number seven as traditional, 'ut perhibent.' We do not know the extent of the district from which they came; whether e. g. it included the West Welsh (v. s.), and what was the eastern boundary of the North Welsh at this time. The statement of H. H. p. 78, and Sig. Gembl. s. a. 602, that Scots and Picts were present at the conference deserves no credence. Bede would certainly have mentioned their presence had it been a fact, and he always carefully distinguishes them from the Britons, e. g. ii. 4, p. 87. The power of Ethelfrid of Northumbria would have effectually barred their coming. Representatives of the Strathclyde Britons might be included under the term 'Brettonum episcopi.' They were not at this time cut off from the North Welsh. That was the result of the battle of Chester and the events which followed it; cf. Rhŷs, Celt. Britain, pp. 126 ff. On the whole, the conclusion of H. & S. iii. 41, is the only safe one: 'there is no trustworthy evidence to show who these bishops were.'

Ban-cornaburg] This is perhaps a contraction of 'Bancorwarena-burg,' i. e. the 'burg' of the inhabitants of Bancor, v. infra, p. 84, i. e. Bangor-is-coed in Flint, about twelve miles south of Chester. Nothing seems to be known of the subsequent history of the monastery; Dugdale, Monast. vi. 1628. Possibly it never recovered from this blow.

Dinoot] A document exists in Welsh which professes to contain Dinoot, the substance of his answer to Augustine, but it is clearly spurious, and posterior to the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth; H. & S. i. 122, 149. His name is the Latin Donatus; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 304.

anachoreticam ... uitam] See on c. i, above p. 69.

p. 83. in multis] Cf. 'alia plurima,' supra. Among these points would be the tonsure, v. 22, p. 347; consecration of bishops by a single bishop, and certain peculiarities of ritual in the Mass and in the Ordinal which have been traced in the British Church; H. & S. i. 102, 112, 113, 140, 141, 154, 155. But Gregory’s responsa, Nos. 2 and 6, would warrant Augustine in treating these as unessential.

compleatis] What the defect of the British Church was in the matter of baptism has never been made out. The suggestions made are: (1) Single instead of trine immersion. But Gregory him-
self leaves this an open question; Epp. i. 43, cited above on i. 27, p. 49. (2) The omission of chrism, or of confirmation. The argument against this view from Patrick’s Epistle to Coroticus in H. & S. i. 154 is of doubtful value, for that letter resembles closely some of the spurious Patrician documents; v. Zimmer, Kelt. Beiträge, iii. 76 ff.; Vita Tripartita, p. c. (3) The points suggested by Dr. Rock, cited H. & S. II. xxii, come so obviously under Gregory’s permissible variations of ritual as not to be worth discussing. The use of the word ‘conpleatis’ here, and the fact that confirmation was distinctly regarded as a completion of the rite of baptism (see note on Ep. ad Egb. § 8) inclines me to think that the omission of confirmation is what is hinted at.

genti Anglorum ... praedicitis] This was of course a question not of ecclesiastical discipline, but of religious policy. Bede is very strong on this neglect of the British Church to convert her conquerors; v. 22, p. 347. And ‘it is remarkable that while Scots (Irish) were the missionaries par excellence of nearly all Europe north of the Alps, and in particular of all Saxon England north of the Thames, not one Cumbrian, Welsh, or Cornish missionary to any non-Celtic nation is mentioned anywhere. ... The same remark applies also to the Armorican Britons’; H. & S. i. 154. Nynias is, however, a notable exception, iii. 4, and some others are mentioned; Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 172, 173. For ‘genti Anglorum,’ Elmham has ‘nationi A.’ p. 105; so Bede below.

neque illum ... habituros] Bede does not record any formal discussion on this point, but it lay at the root of the whole situation; and these words show that Augustine’s claim, whether formally or informally raised, was emphatically rejected, and with it the authority of the Roman see on which that claim rested.

fertur ... praedixisse] The fact that the battle of Chester took place ‘multo tempore’ after Augustine’s death is sufficient to refute the absurd charge that he had anything to do with the fulfilment of his own prophecy; Milman, Bk. iv. ch. 3; Stanley, p. 53; to say nothing of the fact that he could have had no relations with the heathen Ethelfrid. It required no great gift of prophecy to perceive that the Saxons were gaining upon the Britons, and that the best chance of improving the relations between them lay in the conversion of the invaders. And as a fact the character of the conflict was greatly changed by the conversion of the Saxons, v. F. N. C. i. 32–34; though the exterminatory character of even the earlier contests has been very much exaggerated by Mr. Freeman and his school; cf. Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 110, 111.

post haec] Beyond this and the fact that it was ‘multo tempore’
after Augustine's death, Bede gives us no means of dating the battle of Chester. The date 605 in Sax. Chron. E. is a mere inference, and a wrong one, from the order of Bede's narrative. Tighernach and Ann. Camb. date it 613. The former says: 'Cath Caire Legion ubi sancti occisi sunt, et eecdit Solon mac Conain Rex Bretannorum et Cetula rex eecidit. Etalfraid uictor erat, qui post statim obit.' The former prince appears in Ann. Camb. as 'Selim filius Cinan.' He was apparently king of North Wales. Who Cetula was I am unable to say. Now, as we have seen, p. 66, Tighernach antedates the battle of Degrasstan by three years. It is probable that the same is the case here, and that the true date is 616. With this agrees his statement that Ethelfrid died immediately after the battle; for, as we have seen from the data in i. 34, Ethelfrid's death must be placed in 616 or 617. And this will allow a sufficient interval from the death of Augustine, which probably occurred in 604 or 605. For the possible cause of the battle see notes to c. 9. The result of it was the separation of the North Welsh from the Britons of Strathclyde. H. H. has some reason to call it 'bellum bellorum maximum,' p. 55; Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 115, 126-129; Green, M. E. pp. 204, 243.


perfidae] i.e. 'heretical,' see note on i. 7, p. 18; so 'perfidī' at end of the chapter.

tantus ... numerus monachorum] For the size of some of the Irish monasteries, cf. Rs. Ad. p. 336. Of the Bangor monks, W. M. (i. 47) says: 'Quorum incredibilem nostra aetate numerum fuisse indicio sunt in uicino coenobio tot semiruti parietes ecclesiarum, tot anfractus porticum, tanta turba ruderum, quantum uix alibi cernas; uocatur locus ille Bancor, tunc monachorum famosum receptaculum, nunc mutatus in episcopium' (cf. G. P. p. 326); 'con- founding possibly the ruins of a Roman town, Bouium (Smith, ad loc.), ... and certainly Bangor near Chester, with the bishop's see.
Leland (Itin. v. 30, ed. 2) testifies that the ruins [rather, foundations] of Bangor-is-coed were partially visible in his time;’ H. & S. i. 37, 38.

\[ \text{de labore manuum} \] On manual labour in monasteries, v. Introduction, p. xxv.

\[ \text{Three days' fast.} \]

\[ \text{ieiunio triduano} \] From this comes the Irish expression \textit{trédenus} for a three days’ fast; so it was evidently a well-known institution in the Celtic churches; cf. iv. 14, 25. It was of Jewish origin; Esther iv. 16.

Brochvael. \[ \text{Brocmailum} \] The Saxon Chron. F. Lat. calls him Scrogmagil, a. Scrocamail, E. Scromail, s. a. 605. Professor Rhŷs tells me that he no longer holds the view which he put forward in Celtic Britain, p. 127, as to this Brocmail, or Brochvael. It is noteworthy that these passages which reflect so severely on Brochvael, \textit{‘Erant autem plurimi... protegeret,’ ‘Brocmail ad primum... reliquit,’} are omitted in the AS. vers. Dr. T. Miller, the latest editor of that version, remarks (I. lvii ft.) on the way in which the translator omits passages in the original which seem to reflect on the Irish missionaries from Iona, while he preserves Bede’s bitter language against the Britons; and he says, ‘we must look for the seat of such feelings, not in the royal court of Alfred, but in one of the Mercian monasteries.’ The omissions in the present chapter confirm the supposition. The monastery may have been near the Welsh border, and may have had various reasons for wishing to conciliate Brochvael’s descendants. The statement cited by Stevenson that a Cornish prince fought on the British side at Chester rests only on Geoffrey of Monmouth.

\[ \text{Bede’s prejudices.} \]

\[ \text{nefandae militiae} \] ‘\textit{hare mainfullan jeode,}’ AS. vers. It shows Bede’s national and ecclesiastical prejudices that he should apply such an epithet to men who were only defending their own country against attack.

\[ \text{quamuis... sublato} \] Omitted by AS. vers. but in all the Latin MSS. Some have tried to bolster up the charge against Augustine by representing these words on the authority of the AS. vers. as a later insertion.

\[ \text{CHAPTER 3.} \]

\[ \text{P. 85. Mellitum} \] He was not one of the original companions of Augustine, though Bede seems to say so, Opp. Min. p. 193; but, with Justus, formed part of the second mission sent by Gregory in 601, i. 29. To him Gregory addressed the letter in i. 30. He became missionary bishop to the East Saxons in 604; joined with
Laurentius and Justus in writing to the prelates of Ireland about the Paschal controversy, ii. 4; went to Rome to consult Boniface IV on the affairs of the English Church, where he was present at a council held Feb. 27, 610, and brought back its decrees and letters of the pope to Britain, ib.; was expelled from his see on the death of Sæbert, and retired with Justus to Gaul, ii. 5. They returned after a year, but Mellitus failed to obtain restitution of his see, ii. 6. He became archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Laurentius, Feb. 3, 619, and died April 24, 624; ii. 7. For the later lives of him, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 219, 220. Neither Laurentius nor Mellitus seem to have received the pallium, and perhaps for this reason they abstained from consecrating suffragans; D. C. B. iii. 593. Bede, however, distinctly calls Mellitus and Laurentius 'archiepiscopus,' c. 6 ad fin.; c. 7 ad init., p. 93; while the pope himself addresses Laurentius as 'dilectus archiepiscopus,' c. 4, p. 88.

Iustum] See last note. On his return from Gaul he was restored Justus to Rochester, ii. 6; succeeded Mellitus as archbishop of Canterbury, 624, ii. 8; received the pallium, ib.; consecrated Paulinus, 625, ii. 9; and died (probably in 627), ii. 18; cf. D. C. B. iii. 592, 593. He is not called a monk by Bede. On the later lives of him, cf. Hardy, u. s. pp. 222, 223.


Saberct . . . Ricula] His father's name was Sledda according Sæbert to the pedigrees in Fl. Wig. i. 250; H. H. p. 49. Cf. W. M. i. 98. There is no pedigree of the East Saxon kings in Sax. Chron. or in Nennius. Ethelwerd calls him 'Sigebyrht,' M. H. B. p. 505; and in v. 24, p. 353, several MSS. read 'Sigberchto' for 'Sabereto.' This is possibly due to a confusion with later East Saxon kings of that name, iii. 22. R. W. has the converse mistake, i. 203.


Dorubreui] The foundation of a separate see at Rochester has been thought to point to a previously existing kingdom of the West Kentings, for the boundaries of the earliest bishopries were, as a rule, coincident with those of the kingdoms. See on iii. 21, and cf. v. 23, p. 350, where Bede speaks of Canterbury and Rochester jointly as 'ecclesiae Cantuariorum.' Kemble enumerates the later instances of divided sovereignty in Kent, Saxons, i. 148, 149; but it is hardly safe to argue from them to earlier times, and the theory must be pronounced to be very doubtful; D. C. B. iii. 602.
Rochester. **Hrofæcæstæra**] In iv. 5, p. 215, it is called ‘Castellum Cantuariorum quod dicitur Hrofesæstær.’ ‘Rofa est oppidum situ nimium angustum, sed quia in edito locatum, fluvio violentissimo alluitur, hostibus sine periculo non accessibile,’ G. P. p. 133. Yet it was sacked by Ethelred of Mercia in 676, iv. 12, p. 228; cf. the name of the place called ‘Hrofesbreta,’ also near the Medway, K. C. D. iii. 386; Birch, i. 364.

beati *Andreae*] ‘cuuius honorem illa sedes adorat,’ G. P. p. 134. ‘Perhaps after Gregory’s monastery at Rome,’ Stev. In the sacristy, ‘secretarium’ (v. s.) of this church Paulinus was buried, iii. 14, p. 154.

territoria] ‘bocland,’ ‘book-lands,’ AS. version. The Textus Roffensis (twelfth cent.) says: ‘Anno... DC. rex Ethelbertus fundavit ecclesiam S. Andreae Apostoli Rofi; et dedit ei Prestefeld, et omnem terram quae est ad Meduwaie usque ad Orientalem portam ciuitatis in australi parte, et alias terras extra murum ciuitatis versus partem aquilonalem;’ Ang. Sac. i. 333. The date is certainly wrong. Rochester tradition may have preserved the facts about the lands. There is a charter of Ethelbert’s to Rochester, dated 604, which Kemble believes to be genuine; K. C. D. No. i; Birch, No. 3.

p. 86. cuuis supra memiminus] i. 33, p. 70.

dedicata] By Laurentius, ib. The translation took place on Sept. 13; Ang. Sac. i. 52.

Porticus.’

Cuthbert the first archbishop buried in Christ Church.

in qua... tumulata] Cuthbert (740–758) was the first archbishop who was buried in Christ Church, Canterbury, and not at St. Augustine’s; and this, according to the angry Augustinians, was only effected by the device of concealing his death until after the interment had taken place; Elmhams, pp. 317, 318. Cf. Ang. Sac. i. 3, 83, 85. Cuthbert had obtained a papal privilege to this effect; Mon. Angl. i. 82, 128.

*habet haec* i.e. the ‘porticus’; and so it is understood by Thorn, u. s., though the AS. vers. takes it of the ‘ecclesia’: ‘in middre þære mielan cirican,’ ‘in the middle of the mickle church.’

per omne sabbatum] ‘æghwylce Sæternes daege,’ ‘every Saturday,’ AS. vers.

‘Agendae.’

agendae eorum... celebrantur] ‘heora gemynde 7 forðore mid mæssesonge mærside syndon,’ ‘their commemoration and obits
are celebrated with mass'; 'ecorum,' i.e. of the archbishops. 'Agenda,' from the phrase 'agere missas,' means a mass; 'agenda mortuorum,' or, as here, 'agenda' simply, signifies the 'missa pro defunctis;' v. Ducange.


Neither in the epitaph nor in the text of Bede is the year given. It cannot be earlier than 604, nor later than 610; v. s. p. 85; inf. c. 4, p. 88. The death of Augustine is not mentioned in the Sax. Chron. except in F. (twelfth cent.), which puts it at the impossible date of 614, which may be a mistake for 604 (though Thorn, col. 1765, says that some placed A.'s death in 613), and would confirm that date, which is adopted by H. & S. iii. 4, and Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 91, from Fl. Wig. Other authorities give 605, which is adopted by Smith, ad loc., and Bright, p. 92. R. W. says 608; i. 109. In the Felire of Aengus his day is wrongly given as May 24. In the notes he is called 'Augustinus librorum,' which is possibly due to a confusion with the great St. Augustine. The Council of Clovesho, 747, ordered that May 26th 'dies depositionis Sancti Augustini, . . . qui genti Anglorum . . . scientiam fidei . . . primus adulit, . . . feriatus habeatur, nomenque eiusdem . . . doctoris nostri . . . in Laetaniae decantatione, post Sancti Gregorii vocationem semper dicatur;' H. & S. iii. 368. It was 'on Sce Agustinus massedæg' in 946 that King Edmund was murdered; Sax. Chron. D. ad ann. and notes ad loc. On the translation of Augustine's relics in 1091, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 195-197. Gocelin wrote an account of it, which is cited by W. M. ii. 389.

CHAPTER 4.

Laurentius] He was one of Augustine's original companions, Laurentius, and had carried his questions to Gregory, and brought back the responsa in 601; i. 27, and notes. His consecration as Augustine's successor, letters to the Celtic churches, mission of Mellitus to Rome, are related in the present chapter; his intended flight from England on the death of Ethelbert and the outbreak of persecution under Eadbaul, and his miraculous detention, in c. 6; his death in c. 7. On the later lives of him, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 217-219. One of these is by Gocelin, whose lives of Augustine, Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus are alluded to by William of Malmsbury; G. P. p. 6. In G. R. ii. 389 he gives an account of him, and calls him, as a writer, 'nulli post Bedam secundus,' a praise which is ill-deserved. Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus are all named in the 'Commemoration pro defunctis' in the Stowe Missal, Justus being the latest

VOL. II. G
saint there mentioned; v. MacCarthy, Stowe Missal, pp. 165, 217. 'The growth of the church under Laurentius seems to have been very slow, his aim, like that of Augustine, being probably to reconcile the British Christians before attempting any great mission among the heathen kingdoms;' D. C. B. iii. 362.

adhuc uiuens ordinauerat] Strictly speaking this was uncanonical; cf. Bright, pp. 92, 93. One of the acts of a synod held under Pope Hilarius in Nov. 465 was: 'interdicunt episcopis ne successores suos designant;' Jaffé, R. P. p. 49. Pope Zacharias in 743 refused, with some emphasis, a request of St. Boniface that he might be allowed to do this: 'Te autem ut tibi successorem constituere dixisti et te uiuente in tuo loco eligatur episcopus, hoc nulla ratione concedi patimur; quia contra omnem ecclesiasticam regulam uel instituta patrum esse monstratur;' Mon. Mog. p. 119.

exemplum . . . Petri] The tradition that St. Peter consecrated Clement as his successor during his own lifetime comes ultimately from the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions; Itft. App. Ff. I. i. 64, 158. As, however, in some of the early lists of Roman bishops, Clement appears in the fourth place, Linus and Cletus (=Anaelus) being interposed between him and St. Peter, a tradition grew up, based on a suggestion of Epiphanius (ib. 169, 310, 329) that St. Peter had consecrated Linus and Cletus to act as suffragans under him; Clement being consecrated to succeed him at his death. This is the view of Rufinus, Praef. in Recognitiones, ib. 67, 175; and of the Liber Pontificalis, ib. 191, 192 (cf. ib. 76, 163). Just as here Bede quotes the case of Clement to justify Augustine in consecrating Laurentius in his own lifetime; so in Hist. Abb. § 7 he quotes the case of Linus and Cletus to justify Benedict Biscop in appointing Eostowine and Ceolfrid as abbots respectively of Wearmouth and Jarrow under himself. He probably took the story from Lib. Pont. (r. ed. Duchesne, I. xxxiv f., cii, cv), which he certainly used both in his H.E. i. 4; ii. i, 4; pp. 16, 73, 74, 78, 79; and in his Chronicle; and quotes, Opp. iv. 105 (=Lib. Pont. i. 171, x. 251 (=Lib. Pont. i. 155), under the title 'Gesta Pontificalia'; v. s. on i. 4.

p. 87. Scottororum qui Hiberniam . . . incolunt] As opposed to the Dalriadic colony in Alba, the 'Scotti qui Brittaniam inhabitant,' i. 34; ii. 5; iv. 26; pp. 70, 71, 90, 267; cf. on i. 1, p. 13.

in . . . ipsorum patria] See on i. 1, p. 13.

cuius uidelicet] From here to 'satagit,' p. 88, is omitted in the AS. vers.

fratibus episcopis uel abbatibus] 'Brethren whether bishops or abbots.' From use in such passages, 'vel' and 'siue' come practically to mean 'and.'
Notes.

Scottiam] Ireland; see on i. 1, p. 13; H. & S. think that Iona is Scottia, included in the term, ii. 108. This would be quite in accordance with Bede's usage. See on iii. 24, p. 179. It certainly does not include the Scots on the mainland of Britain.

Dum nos, &c.] This passage is wrongly punctuated in all the editions, which put no stop after 'introisse,' and a colon after 'cognosceremus.' But the 'antequam cognosceremus' is clearly contrasted with 'sed cognoscentes' below. The general sense is this: 'Being sent by the apostolic see, and having chanced to come to Britain; before we had any experience, believing that both Britons and Scots walked canonically, we venerated them both equally; but on coming to know the Britons, we concluded that the Scots were better. However, we found the Scots very like the Britons.' Whether this exordium was likely to conciliate the persons to whom it was addressed may be doubted.

p. 88. Daganum] He has been identified with bishop Dagan, Dagan. of Inbher Daeile (now Ennereilly), county Wicklow, whose death is given by the F. M. and Chron. Scot. under the year 639, and who is commemorated at Sept. 13 in the Felire and Martyrology of Donegal. He is also commemorated at March 12, which Colgan thought to be the day of his translation. The Bollandists mention him at March 12, AA.SS. Mart. ii. 104; cf. ib. 286, and note, where he is mentioned in the Life of St. Mochaemoc; and a reference given to Sept. 13. When however they reached that date they decided to omit him, partly on account of the uncertainty in which his life is involved, partly on account of his paschal errors.

Columbanum] The Apostle of Burgundy, the founder of Luxeuil, Columban, and afterwards of Bobbio, and of the monastic rule which bears his name. He went to Gaul 585 x 590. He was a strong upholder of the Celtic Easter, tonsure, &c., against the Gallican clergy. Mellitus and Justus may well have heard of the controversy as they passed through Gaul in 601. In 602 a synod was held on this subject. In 610 he was expelled from Burgundy, and ultimately settled at Bobbio, where he died in 615; v. Hardy, Cat. i. 210-214; Greith, Altirische Kirche, bk. iv; D. C. B.; Bright, pp. 96-98. His life by Jonas of Bobbio has been often printed. It is printed as if it were the production of Bede, in the Cologne edition of his works, iii. 199.

misi ... sacerdotibus] Later legends represent Laurentius as Relations cultivating good relations with the Celtic churches, but this is diametrically contrary to all that Bede tells us; H. & S. iii. 61, 62.

sed quantum ... declarant] There is 'something of condensed bitterness' in this remark; Bright, p. 98. On the relations between

his temporibus] I can find nothing to fix the date of Mellitus leaving Britain; Bright, p. 99, says 608, but he gives no authority. Elmham gives 611, which is impossible; see below. He also says that the object of Mellitus' going to Rome was to obtain papal privileges for St. Augustine's, pp. 128–131.

Bonifatio] Boniface IV, 608–615.

synodum] Jaffé, R. P. p. 155, seems to know no other authority for this Council beyond these words of Bede.

de uita . . . ordinaturus] What purports to be the decree of the Council on this subject exists in two forms, but they are both admittedly spurious; H. & S. iii. 62–64.

anno . . . Martiarum] Both the regnal year and the indiction agree in giving the date Feb. 27, 610.

subscribens confirmaret] 'mid Cristes rodetaeine wrat 7 fast-node,' 'wrote and confirmed with the sign of Christ's rood,' AS. vers.

epistulis . . . direxit] The letter to Laurentius is lost. What purports to be the letter to Ethelbert is given in G. P. pp. 46, 47, with the wrong date of 615. It is the first of a series of documents given by Malmesbury, which lie under the gravest suspicion of having been forged in support of the claims of Canterbury to superiority over York. They were first produced by Lanfranc at the Council of London in 1072. It is to be hoped that he had nothing to do with their composition. The arguments against their authenticity are well stated, H. & S. iii. 65, 66. The conclusion there come to, that 'the genuineness of the Malmesbury series' is 'exceedingly questionable,' errs, if at all, on the side of leniency. The statement of Elmham, p. 134, that Mellitus went to Rome a second time in 615 is probably a mere inference from the erroneous date in G. P. After 'direxit' the AS. vers. inserts 'to frofre 7 to trym-nisse rihtes lifes,' 'to comfort them and confirm them in right living.'

Pantheon] To the same effect in the Chron., Opp. Min. p. 194: 'ut ubi quandom omnium non deorum, sed daemoniorum cultus age-batur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria sanctorum.' This was a striking instance of that policy which Gregory I recommended to Augustine, i. 30; cf. Gregorovius, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, ii. 102–109. This passage is omitted by the AS. vers. The account is partly taken from Lib. Pontif. i. 317, and some of the words ought to have been printed in italics. See Corrigenda to vol. i.
CHAPTER 5.

P. 89. *annus XXI ... missus est*] This is probably correct, especially if the first sending of Augustine, before he turned back to England, Gregory, i. 23, p. 42, be meant; but it is certainly incorrect when Bede below, p. 90, says that Ethelbert died: 'post XX et unum annos acceptae fidei,' for Augustine did not reach Britain till 597.

L et VI annis] This would place his accession early in 560 or even in 559. The Sax. Chron. E. *ad ann. 616* copies Bede's statement, but yet places his accession in 565, and there says that he reigned fifty-three years. MS. F. places his accession and death in the same years as E., and says in both places that he reigned fifty-three years. W. M. i. 13 notes this discrepancy between Bede and the Chron. 'We may adopt his conclusion: 'uidere lector quomodo hanc dissonantiam componat; nam nos eam, quia admonuisset suffecerit, in medio relinquimus.' It may be that VI has been misread into III.

gaudia subiit] Elmham gives his epitaph, p. 142.

imperium huiusmodi] The Sax. Chron. at 827 repeats this list of seven kings, and adds to them another, Egbert; 'and he was the eighth king that was Bretwaldas.' The nature of the authority exercised by these kings has been much discussed. Palgrave saw in it a shadow of Roman influence, an idea which Mr. Freeman vehemently contested. It is safe to say that it indicates no definite constitution, but only a *de facto* hegemony. See notes to Sax. Chron. *ad loc. cit.*; Palgrave, E. C. i. 562–568; Kemble, Saxons, ii. 8–22; Lappenberg, i. 127–130; E. T. i. 125–128; F. N. C. i. 27, 28, 134–139, 542–556.


Inquav ipsorum] Note that Bede here takes account of differences in dialect. The Northumbrian form, Caelin, occurs twice in iii. 23, pp. 175, 176.


tertius ... Cantuariorum] For the rise of Kent on the temporary rise of Wessex, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 211–214. Mr. Green's Kent view, however, ib. pp. 214, 308, that Ethelbert's supremacy is to be limited to the Anglian as opposed to the Saxon tribes south of the Humber, seems to me quite untenable. The phrase 'gens Anglorum' above is a general one, including, not excluding, the Saxon (and Jutish) tribes.

Reduald] On him, see c. 12, p. 107. 'Raduald ... illam super Redwald. Anglos regnandi potentiam quartus accepit, ut sub nutu eius alii
Anglorum reges regnarent,' Sig. Gembl. ad ann. 616; Pertz, vi. 322.

qui etiam . . . praebet'] 'Who even during Ethelbert's life was gaining the leadership for that same race of his,' viz. the East Angles. The decline in the power of Kent became still more obvious after Ethelbert's death, v. c. 6 ad fin. p. 93. Elmham, in connexion with this passage, gives a curious account of the strenuousness of the East Anglians in his own day, which won them the name of 'Stout-heris, quod lingua Germanica magni domini, sonat,' p. 140. 'Orientalis . . . insulae pars, quae usque hodie lingua Anglorum Estangle dicitur; ' Lib. Eli. p. 12.

Æduini] On the extent of his power, cf. c. 9, p. 97, and notes. 'Eduinus post Radoaldum potentius caeteris super Anglos principatur,' Sig. Gembl. u. s. ad ann. 628; Alcuin [eighth cent.] says of Edwin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 120-124:

'Imperioque suo gentes superaddidit omnes,
Finibus atque plagis qua tenditur insulae longe.
Iamque iugum regis prona ceruice subibant
Saxonum populus, Pictus, Scotusque, Britannus.'

And W. M. adds to Bede's list of his dominions, 'Scotti, Picti, sed et insulae Orchardum,' i. 49, 50. Bede just below seems to assert that Oswy was the first to reduce the Picts and Scots, and this is probably correct; v. S. C. S. i. 252. But in iii. 6, p. 138, he says of Oswald, 'omnes nationes . . . Britanniae, . . . id est Brettunum, Pictorum, Scotorum, et Anglorum . . . in dicione accipit,' a statement which is copied by Sig. Gembl. u. s. ad ann. 635, p. 322; Adamnan calls Oswald 'totius Britanniae imperator,' Vit. Col. i. 1.

Oswald] See last note.

rex Christianissimus] An interesting anticipation of what became, at any rate from the time of Charles V (1364-1380), a formal and hereditary title of the French kings, though much earlier instances of its use occur; v. Ducange, s. v. 'Christianitas.' The title is used (also of Oswald) in iii. 9 ad init., while in Eddiius, c. 17, it is applied to Egfrid and Elfwin, H. Y. i. 25; and in App. I, § 16, to Edwin. Isidore gives it to Sisebut, King of the Goths, D. C. B. iii. 310.

Oswiu] See last note but two, and next note.

Oswiu . . . regnum] Note that all through this passage Bede carefully distinguishes between the immediate dominions or 'regnum' of any king, and the 'imperium' or overlordship which he might exercise over other Saxon kingdoms or Celtic tribes. Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy were equal in respect of their 'regnum.' Oswy had the widest 'imperium'; cf. iv. 3, p. 206, and see notes on iii. 24.
Notes.

p. 90. iudiciorum] ‘doma,’ ‘dooms,’ AS. vers. which is the ‘Dooms,’ word which Bede doubtless had in his mind. It is the genuine native name for ‘laws,’ ‘lagu’ being due to Scandinavian influence. This is another indication that in early times the distinction between general rules and individual decisions, between laws and judgments, was not felt (v. Maine’s Ancient Law, c. 1). Ethelbert’s ‘Dooms’ are printed in Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 2-25; Schmid, Gesetze, pp. 2-10; H. & S. iii. 42-50.

iuxta exempla Romanorum] This shows that the reduction of Roman custom to writing was, like so much else, the result of the influence.

introduction of Christianity bringing Roman civilisation in its train. ‘It was long before the rival states followed the example of Kent. There is nothing to warrant us in believing that written law reached Wessex before Ine, or Mercia before Offa, or that it ever reached Northumbria at all.’ Green, C. E. p. 20.

cum consilio sapientium] The first recorded instance of the Witenagamót, legislative action of the witenagemót; cf. Kemble, ii. 205, 206, 241. gemót. Yet the AS. vers. does not use the technical phrase ‘witenagemót,’ but the vague ‘mid snotera geþeahtes, ‘with the counsel of prudent men.’

quae . . . haetenus . . . ab ea] ‘þa nu gena oð þis mid him hæfde Ethelbert’s 7 haldne syndon,’ which now still to this day are held and observed among them,’ AS. vers. As the translator nearly always alters anything in his original which he considers as applying only to Bede’s own time, he apparently regards Ethelbert’s legislation as still in force in his day. W. M. commends it as ‘nilhil super aliquo negotio in futurum relinquuens ambiguum’ (!); i. 13.

primitus posuit] This is the first of Ethelbert’s dooms. It orders church property to be restored twelvefold, bishop’s elevenfold, priest’s ninefold, deacon’s sixfold, clerk’s threefold. In this respect the priest is on a level with the king, No. 4; and the clerk with the freeman, No. 9, or theft from a dwelling, No. 28. Cf. on i. 27, pp. 49, 50.

erat autem] For the Kentish pedigree, cf. Nenn. § 58; Fl. Wig. Ethelbert’s descent.

i. 248; W. M. i. 12. The last follows Bede; the two first agree in reversing the order of the two generations between Hengist and Eormenric. Eormenric was a name in the Gothic royal house: ‘Ermanrici regis Gothorum . . . oecisio,’ Ann. Quedlinburg. Pertz, iii. 31; cf. ib. v. 81. MS. F. of the Chron. places Ethelbert’s birth in 552, which would make him only eight years old at his accession in 560, which is hardly likely. In 568 he was defeated by Ceawlin of Wessex (Sax. Chron. ad ann.), which is probably the foundation of W. M.’s remark that in his early years as king: ‘adeo uicinis
The Ecclesiastical History.

regibus fuit ridiculo, ut uno et altero pulsus praelio uix suos terminos tutaretur,' i. 13. On the later lives of him, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 214–216.

Oiscingas] The Saxon termination -ing (pl. -ingas) indicates descent or derivation; cf. ‘Uaffingas,’ c. 15, p. 116, of the East-Anglian kings. W. M. notes that this termination is common also to the Franks as shown e.g. by the name Merouingi, i. 70.

supra] i. 15, pp. 31, 32, though Oise is not mentioned there.

recipere noluerat] It is common to speak of Eadbald ‘apostatising,’ ‘relapsing,’ &c., but this shows that he had never become Christian; though like the sons of Sæbert (infra) he may have conformed more or less during his father’s life. His conversion and baptism are related in c. 6.

uxorem patris] Ethelbert’s second wife, as Bertha seems to have died before him, supra, though the Saxon life of St. Mildred makes ‘Byrhte’ the name of Eadbald’s wife, Hardy, Cat. i. 382; Cott. Calig. A. xiv. After the dissolution of his incestuous marriage he married Emma, daughter of the king of the Franks, W. M. i. 15, whose name occurs in a spurious charter of Eadbald’s, K. C. D. No. 6; Birch, i. 20; H. & S. iii. 70. It is certainly not true that marriage with a stepmother was ‘inter gentes inaudita’; in some tribes it was the regular rule; v. F. N. C. i. 558; cf. supra, i. 27, pp. 50, 51, note. At a later time it was one of the evil customs which St. Margaret put down in Scotland; H. & S. ii. 158; Pinkerton, Lives of Scottish Saints, ii. 170.

p. 91. mors Sabercti] The date may be fixed within a year or two. Mellitus became Archbishop of Canterbury in Feb. 619, c. 7; prior to this he had been a year in Gaul, c. 6. Therefore his expulsion cannot be later than Jan. 618. The death of Sæbert must be earlier than that date, and Bede’s words ‘auxit procellam’ seem to imply that it was subsequent to the death of Ethelbert, Feb. 616. Therefore Sæbert died in 616 or 617.

His heirs. tres ... filios ... heredes] H. H. p. 57, says: ‘duo filii eius successerunt in regnum,’ and W. M. i. 98, and the pedigree in Fl. Wig. i. 250, 262, give their names as Sexred and Sæward, though in the text, i. 13, Fl. follows Bede.

celebratis ... sollemniis] i.e. when the celebrant had communicated, and the distribution of the elements to the laity was commencing; Bright, p. 101.

Saba ... consuerant] Cf. ‘Edwine, qui et Eda dictus est.’ S. D. ii. 65. There is a paper by Kemble on these shortened names, Proceedings of the Archaeological Soc. 1845.

p. 92. gentem Geuissorum] ‘a West Saxonibus,’ W. M. i. 98;
'wið West Saxna þeode,' 'against the people of the West Saxons,' AS. vers., which never uses the term 'Gewissas.' Nor does it occur in any Saxon source. It seems to have been antiquated even in Bede's time; cf. iii. 7 ad init.: 'Occidentales Saxones, qui antiquitus Geuissae uocabantur.' It survives in Celtic sources both Welsh and Irish, c. g. Ann. Camb. 900: 'Albrit (Alfred) rex Guioys moritur'; so Brut y Tywysogion: 'Alvryt brenhin Iwys'; Ann. Ult. 1040: 'Aralt ri Saxan Giuais moritur,' 'Harold (Harefoot): king of the Gewis Saxons.' It is found in charters both spurious and genuine, K. C. D. Nos. 115, 1033, 1035; Birch, Nos. 200, 389, 390. It is probably connected with the 'visi-' of 'Visigoths,' meaning 'west,' and hence would indicate the western confederation of Saxon tribes. This derivation was suggested by Smith on iii. 7, and is confirmed by modern philology; cf. Kluge’s Dictionary, s. v. 'West.' Asser derives the name from a certain 'Gewis' (who occurs in the West-Saxon pedigrees, Sax. Chron. b. c. s. a. 552, and Preface to MS. A); 'Gewis a quo Britones totam illam gentem Gegwis nominant,' M. H. B. p. 468. (Note that this is regarded as a specially British appellation of the West Saxons, which illustrates the passages given above from Celtic sources.) The two names are no doubt connected, but 'Gewis' is probably an eponymous hero manufactured out of the tribe name. The West Saxons were at this time under Cynegils and Cwichelm; cf. H. H. p. 57. The battle does not seem to be mentioned in the Sax. Chron.

CHAPTER 6.

stratum parari] 'þæt he hine gerestan meahte,' 'that he might repose himself,' inserts AS. vers. This story is quoted in the spurious charter cited above and below, and by Alcuin in his letter to Archbishop Ethelhard reproaching him for having deserted his see of Canterbury during the usurpation of Eadbert Praen; H. & S. iii. 519; Mon. Alc. p. 367. Bede himself cites the case of Jerome being scourged in a vision for his devotion to classical literature, Opp. viii. 59; Bright, p. 104, quotes from Eusebius, v. 28, the story of Natalius, who 'having become a bishop among heretics was scourged all night long by angels, and showed his bruises next day to the orthodox Roman bishop and church.' This, as Bright remarks, may have helped to shape the tradition about Laurentius. Cf. the story of St. Columba being scourged by an angel, Rs. Ad. p. 198. Other instances, D. C. A. ii. 1774; Stubbs’ Dunstan, pp. 30, 31, 57, 97, 243; App. I, § 19.

p. 93. ecclesiae rebus] W. M. i. 14 speaks of his benefactions to
St. Augustine’s (SS. Peter and Paul), as does the spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 6; Birch, i. 19, 20, cited above.

post annum] On the date, cf. supra.

non enim... reddere] On the decline of Kentish power already beginning under Ethelbert, v. s. c. 5, p. 89, note. The AS. vers. renders very freely: ‘Ond heo Eadbaldes... worda ne gemdon, forðon his rice ne wæs ofer heo swa swa his fæder hæfde,’ ‘but they paid no heed to Eadbald’s words, for his power over them was not such as his father had.’ W. M. represents this as the result of a regular rebellion against him: ‘regulis quos pater sub iugum miserat rebellantibus, regni mutilatus dispendio,’ i. 14. But this is merely ‘his own heightened and telling way of putting things.’

ecclesiam... fecit] It was to the east of the church built by Ethelbert, the monastic cemetery coming in between. Subsequent extensions united the two churches, Elmham, p. 144.

CHAPTER 7.

P. 94. scripta exhortatoria] These have not been preserved; see however note to c. 8. As Bede uses a similar term, ‘exhortatorias litteras’ of the letter of Gregory encouraging the companions of Augustine to proceed, i. 23, p. 43, it is probable that the object of these letters was to encourage Mellitus and Justus to persevere in the face of the difficulties that beset them, and that they had nothing to do with the question of the location of the primacy, as some have thought, H. & S. iii. 71, which indeed was not a practical question at this time, v. note to c. 8. It is not clear whether Bede means by 619 to indicate the date of the letters, or of Boniface V’s accession. Anyhow the letters must be 619 x 624, ib.

Bonifatio... Deusdedit] Deusdedit died Nov. 618. Boniface V was not consecrated till Dec. 619; cf. R. P. pp. 155, 156; H. & S. iii. 71.

Mellitus... podagra granatus] And this is, no doubt, the reason why in Gocelin’s life of him, the miracles wrought at his tomb are specially concerned with the cure of this disease; Hardy, Cat. i. 219.

erat... nobilius] Bede is very fond of this contrast; iii. 19, p. 164, of St. Fursa (though the words there are partly taken from the life of Fursa); iv. 9, p. 222, of a nun at Barking; iv. 20, p. 248, of Ethelthryth; iv. 23, p. 252, of Hild; Hist. Abb. § 1, of Benedict Biscop, p. 364; ib. § 8, of Eosterwine, p. 371; Vita Cuddb. Pros. c. 23, of Elfled, ‘regalis stemmata nobilitatis potiori nobilitate summae uirtutis accumulabat;’ Opp. Min. p. 94. So of Joseph of
Arimathea: 'magnae ... dignitatis ad saeculum, sed maioris apud Deum meritii, Opp. x. 251; xi. 371. Contrast, 'Reduald natu nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis,' infra ii. 15, p. 116.

per culpam incurinæ] The same phrase occurs iii. 17, p. 160, of Fires mi-
the royal vill in which Aidan died; iv. 25, p. 262, of the destruc.
 tion of Coldingham. Similar stories are told of St. Cuthbert, Vit.
Pros. c. 14; Vit. Anon. § 20; and of Alcuin, Vita Ale. in Mon.
Ale. pp. 26, 27. On the frequency of fires in these times, see note
on ii. 14, p. 114.

confidentis, &c.] Cf. on i. 14, p. 29.

martyrium] 'Martyria vocabantur ecclesiae, quae in honore 'Mar-
aliquorum Martyrum sieabant,' Walafridus Strabo in Ducange, tyrium.'
'Martyria' also means the tomb, relics, &c. of martyrs. In Irish
'martra' simply means relics generally; e.g. 'martra na noem,'
'relics of saints.'

III Coronatorum] In the Martyrology at Nov. 8, we find: 'vi. 'Quatuor
Idus. Romae sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum. Claudii, Nicostrati,
Symphoriani, Castorii, et Simplicii.' To this one MS. of Florus' additions to the martyrology adds: 'Quatuor Cor. nomina haec
sunt: Seuerus, Seuerianus, Victorianus et Carpophorus; quorum
dies natalis per incuriam neglectus minime reperiri poterat; ideo
statutum est ut in eorum ecclesia horum quinque [i.e. Claudii, &c.
&c. u. s.] sanctorum qui in missa recitantur natalis celebretur, ut cum
istis eorum quoque memoria pariter fiat,' Opp. iv. 250, 251; cf. Llft.
App. Ff. I. i. 251; H. Y. i. 463. Their church at Rome on the
Caelian Hill is mentioned as early as the time of Gregory I, but
was entirely rebuilt by Honorius I (625-638), Gregorovius, Gesch.
d. Stadt Rom, ii. 120, 121. Another rebuilding of it is recorded
under the year 847; Pertz, xxiv. 144; cf. ib. 117; D. C. A. i. 461, 462.

tempestates ... asiarum] 'stormas 7 hreonisse para werigra
gasta,' 'storms and tempests of the evil spirits,' AS. vers. ; cf. Eph.
ii. 2.

p. 95. die ... Maiarum] April 24, 624.

CHAPTER 8.

The AS. vers. appends the first words of this chapter as far
as 'Bonifatio' to the preceding chapter, and omits the remainder
here, and the heading from the capitula.

ista est forma] In G.P. pp. 47-49, is a spurious letter of Boniface
Parallel
to Justus (the second of the Malmesbury series, v. s. on ii. 4, p. 88),
spurious
parallel to this genuine one given by Bede. That it is parallel,
and not a later letter, genuine or spurious, is proved by the fact
that the former part of that letter is obviously modelled on the corresponding part of this. The latter part is totally different, and consists of a false assertion that Gregory had fixed the primacy at Canterbury: 'ubi caput totius gentis Anglorum a diebus paganos fabetur,' and decreeing that: 'in Doribernia ciuitate semper in posterum metropolitanus totius Britanniae locus habeatur, omnesque prouintiae regni Anglorum prefati loci metropolitanae ecclesiae subitiantur.' Now apart from the fact that there was no 'regnum Anglorum' at this time, the location of the primacy was not a practical question. London had relapsed into Paganism, and Northumbria had not been attacked. Roman Christianity in Britain was confined to Kent with its two sees of Canterbury and Rochester.

'Fastigium' seems to be used here as a title, 'your sublimities.' This sense is not noted by Ducange. The Durham MS. reads 'uestigium' (on an erasure) which is certainly a very ingenious emendation.

dum...praeparauit] The sentence seems corrupt, and can hardly be construed as it stands. It would improve it somewhat to read 'quod ei resignare' for 'ei quod signare'; 'while by bestowing an abundant return on the exercise of your faithful trafficking with the talents committed to you, he prepared that which ye might render to him with multiplied interest'; cf. c. 11, p. 106: 'ut fructum...creditorum tibi beneficiorum Redentori tuo multiplicem resinares.' It is noteworthy that the composer of the spurious letter seems to have found a difficulty here; for while he follows his original very closely as far as 'mysterium,' he omits 'magno...exspectastis,' and continues: 'Ut enim proficerent, nesur meritis est eorum saluatio procurata, Domino dicente,' &c., after which he diverges entirely.

p. 96. Adualald] This is meant for Eadbald.

pallium] v. on i. 27, p. 52; ii. 3, p. 85. At this point in the letter there is a curious transition from the plural pronouns, 'uos,' 'uester,' to the singular 'tu,' 'tuus.' It may be that in the earlier part of the letter Romanus is intended to be included, whereas the part about the pallium would concern Justus exclusively. It may perhaps be allowable to make a bolder suggestion, viz. that parts of two different letters have been conjoined, and that the former part is really the 'scripta exhortatoria' addressed to Mellitus and Justus, c. 7, p. 94. To this description it answers very well, and the congratulations on the conversion of Eadbald would certainly come more appropriately in 619 than in 624, some six years after the event. If the scribe who copied the letters from the papal or archi-
Notes.

episcopal registers accidentally turned over two leaves, he might easily join the beginning of one letter to the end of another. The original heading may have been: 'dilectiss. fratr. Mellito et Iusto.'

CHAPTER 9.

P. 97. Aeduino] Aelle of Deira, the father of Edwin, the king Edwin, mentioned in ii. 1, p. 80, died in 588, Sax. Chron.; and Ethelric of Bernicia, the father of Ethelfrid, annexed his kingdom. (The twelfth century life of Oswald says that Ethelric was the slayer of Aelle; but I have found no earlier authority for this; S. D. i. 363.) Edwin was then only three years old, having been born in 585; c. 20, p. 124. He took refuge subsequently, according to Welsh tradition, with Caduan, King of Gwynedd; and it is possible that this was the cause of the battle of Chester. Cf. Lappenberg, i. 144; E. T. i. 145; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 128. The life of Oswald has preserved this residence of Edwin at the court of Cadvan, though it places it wrongly after the battle of Chester: 'Postea Cadwanus eis Humbram regnans, Edwinum... nutriuit cum Cadwallone filio suo,' S. D. i. 345. After that battle Edwin fled to Redwald king of the East Angles; and, in conjunction with him, defeated and slew Ethelfrid on the Idle in 616 or 617, v. i. 34; ii. 20. He in his turn took possession of the whole of Northumbria, expelling Ethelfrid's sons; v. infra, c. 12, note.

Paulino, cuius supra meminimus] i. e. i. 29, p. 63, where he is mentioned as one of those sent by Gregory in 601 with the second mission. Since then we have heard nothing of him. But the story of Edwin's interview with the mysterious stranger at the court of Redwald, c. 12, pp. 108, 109 infra, is best explained by supposing that Paulinus had been sent on a mission to East Anglia. He may have gone thither with Redwald, after the latter's baptism in Kent, and left it again after he relapsed more or less into idolatry, ii. 15, p. 116; cf. App. I, § 16 ad fin., which strongly supports this view. Hence his knowledge of Edwin would be a reason for choosing him for the Northumbrian mission, and hence both he and Edwin would be interested in the conversion of East Anglia; though ultimately it was due mainly to the Burgundian bishop, Felix, ib. Paulinus' work in Northumbria is narrated in cc. 9, 10, 12–14; his preaching in Lindsey, c. 16; his reception of the pallium, c. 17; his consecration of Honorius as Archbishop of Canterbury, c. 18; his retirement to Rochester after the defeat and death of Edwin in c. 20; and his death there, Oct. 10, 644, iii. 14, p. 154. 'Huius laudem semper hae-

quod nemo Anglorum ante eum] Cf. the prophecy of the stranger to the exiled Edwin, ‘ut ... omnes, qui ante te reges in gente Anglorum fuerant, potestate transcendas’; c. 12, p. 109, Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. p. 195; and App. I, § 12.

omnes Brittaniae fines] ‘praeter Cantuariis tantum,’ c. 3 supra, p. 89.

provinceae habitabant] A curious phrase.

Meuanias insulas] i.e. Man and Anglesey. It is commonly thought that it was from this conquest that the latter got its name. Above, c. 5, p. 89, they are called ‘Brettonum insulae.’ In the AS. version both here and c. 5, we have ‘Monige Bretta ealond,’ where ‘Monige’ as well as ‘ealond’ is plural (= ‘Monae insulae’), a fact which has escaped the editor, Dr. Miller; the singular would be ‘Monig, Mona insula.’ Curiously enough W. M. i. 50 gives the name Anglesey to both: ‘Insulae Meuaniarum quas nunc Anglesie, id est, Anglorum insulas dicunt.’ I have found no other authority for applying this name to Man. This passage of W. M. shows that the explanation of Anglesey as ‘Anglorum insula’ is very old, though Mr. Henry Bradley objects that in that case we ought to have ‘Engla-ig,’ Academy, June 2, 1894. The Icelandic name is ‘Önguls-ey,’ i.e. ‘anguli insula,’ Orkneyinga Saga, pp. 70, 73. For Man, cf. M. H. B. p. xix.

situ amplior] This is correct; Anglesey is rather the larger of the two; see above, pp. 40, 41. The AS. version omits ‘quarum prior ... tenet.’

familiarum] See on i. 25, p. 45.

p. 98. examinata a prudentibus] Here again we seem to have a glimpse of the witenagemót; and here the AS. version has ‘wise witan’ for ‘prudentes.’ The actual deliberation on the point is recorded in c. 13, where see notes. Cf. Bede on Ezra v. 5: ‘Dux iste Syriæ, qui regem de opere domus Dei non accusando instigat, sed consulendo interrogat, eorum recte imaginem exprimit, qui adhuc in gentilitate positi, fidem et opera mirantur ecclesiæ; nec se credituros abnegat, si hanc ueram esse ac iustam diuinitatis culturam intelligere possint’; Opp. ix. 414, 415.

Paulinus, qui cum illa ueniret] His position would at first be like that of Liudhard at the court of Kent, i. 25, p. 45. Other instances of the spread of Christianity by royal marriages are: Peada and Alchfled, iii. 21, pp. 169, 170; and to some extent Ethelbert and Bertha, i. 25, p. 45.

die XII Kal. Aug.] July 21; this was a Sunday in 625.
p. 99. Cuichelmo] In iii. 7 ad init., we find Cyneġils king of the Cwichelm West Saxons. He and Cwichelm seem to have reigned conjointly, and Cyne-
gils and are mentioned together, Sax. Chron. s. a. 614, 628. W. M. says :
‘regnit infusitas aequa lance induerunt,’ i. 21. He makes them
however brothers, instead of father and son, as do the Chron.
A, B, C, 618, and Fl. Wig. i. 256. H. H. is inconsistent, pp. 55, 58.
He associates Cyneġils with Cwichelm’s treachery, p. 57. Cwichelm
probably wished to recover for his house the hegemony which
Ceawlin had held. W. M. thinks that he might shield himself
under Coroebus’ maxim, Aen. ii. 390, ‘Dolus an uirtus quis in
hoste requirat,’ i. 22. Cwichelm was baptized in 636, a year after
Cyneği, and died the same year. Cyneği evidently survived
him some time, iii. 7 ad init. Cwichelm’s name still survives in
Scutchamfly Barrow, Berkshire; the ‘Cwichelmeshlaw’ of the
Chron. 1066. Westminster’s statement (following R. W. i. 126),
that Edwin slew Cwichelm there is a mere inference from the
name, and a wrong one, for Cwichelm outlived Edwin.

sicam] ‘hand-seax,’ AS. vers.

primo die paschae] In 626 Easter-day fell on April 20.

uilla regalis] Various conjectures have been made as to its posi-
tion; but I do not see that there are any data for determining it.

minister regi amicissimus] ‘se cyninges þegn him se holdesta,’ Comitatus.
‘the king’s most loyal thane,’ AS. vers. On the ‘comitatus’ and
the devotion of its members to their lord, cf. iii. 14, p. 155, note.

die sancto pentecostes] Whit Sunday in 626 was on June 8.
Strictly speaking the baptism was on the eve: ‘in sabbato pente-
costes,’ as Bede himself says, v. 24, p. 353; cf. Bright, p. 113.

Easter and Pentecost were from early times regarded as specially
suitable seasons for the administration of baptism. Tertullian at
the end of the second century mentions this custom, though he
adds that no time is unsuitable for baptism. And some of the
early fathers urge their readers not to delay their baptism unne-
cessarily under pretence of waiting for one of these seasons. In
the East, and in those churches of the West which came under
Eastern influences, Epiphany was also a favourite time. (See note on
iv. 19.) Christmas was also observed in some churches, including
those of Scandinavia. It is with reference to baptisms at Christmas
that an Icelandic proverb is quoted in Laxdæla Saga (p. 176, ed.
1826) : ‘háttisir eru til heilla betztar,’ ‘high seasons are most
auspicious.’ The Roman Church from the fourth century onwards
tried to limit the administration of baptism to Easter and Pentecost.
Siricius in 385 complains that men rush to baptism at Christmas,
Epiphany and other seasons. Except in the case of infants, or

Notes.
when necessity is urgent, they are to be restricted to Easter and Pentecost, unless they give in their names forty days before; Labbé, ii. 1018. And this gives us a clue to the motive of the restriction, viz. that regular courses of instruction might be provided for adult catechumens (cf. Gregory I in R. P. p. 124). Wherever Christianity was a missionary religion, these would be the most numerous class. With the establishment of Christianity the necessity for the restriction passed away, and it has been generally abandoned both in East and West. Leo I in 447 writes much to the same effect as Siricius, grounding the limitation to those festivals on the correspondence between the trine immersion in baptism, and the three days' burial in the tomb, and on the baptism of 3000 on the first Christian Pentecost, Acts ii. 41; Labbé, iii. 1297 ff. So, too, Gelasius I, 492-496; R. P. p. 60. Bede alludes to the custom; Opp. v. 75, 281; vi. 257. In vi. 233, he quotes from Pachasinus, Bishop of Lilybaeum in the fifth century, a legend of a certain font which was miraculously filled with water every Easter Eve, and thus determined the true Easter. In ii. 14 we find Edwin, and in v. 7 Caedwalla, baptized at Easter. Many of the references given on the latter passage to illustrate the use of ‘white weeds’ in baptism, illustrate this custom also.

p. 100. adversus gentem Occidentalium Saxonum] The Sax. Chron. E. says that Edwin slew five kings (cf. on iv. 12) and much people. But whereas the Chron. makes the West Saxon campaign precede the baptism of Eanfled, the latter being the result of it, Bede makes the baptism of Eanfled precede the campaign, Edwin’s own cessation from idolatry being the result of his success, though he still hesitated some time before formally adopting Christianity. Apart from the earlier authority of Bede, there would hardly be time for a campaign to be undertaken and completed between Easter and Pentecost 626.

CHAPTER 10.

The AS. vers. gives the heading of this chapter among the capitula, but in the text only gives the first few words, omitting the letter; c. 11 is omitted wholly; c. 12 is given in the text; but there is no fresh heading for it in the capitula, and it seems to be treated as part of c. 10.

litteras] There is a difficulty about the date of this letter and the one to Ethelberg in the next chapter, which Dr. Bright has pointed out, p. 114. Paulinus was consecrated July 21, 625.
Boniface V died October 25, 625. Yet in the letter to Ethelberht, the Pope speaks of Edwin's delay, 'distulerit,' p. 105, to obey the voice of the preachers. Considering the time required for Paulinus to reach Northumbria, and for messengers to reach Rome, there is little margin for 'delay' left out of three months. Dr. Bright suggests that these letters should be assigned to Honorius, the successor of Boniface. To this there is the objection that in c. 11, p. 104, the writer seems to speak of himself as the Pope who had received the news of Eadbald's conversion. This might be Boniface V, who succeeded 619, but could hardly be Honorius. We might, however, take the 'nos' in that passage as meaning simply 'the papal see.'

quia...infundit] There seems some corruption here; 'pro-Text fert' for 'proferetur' would be an improvement; 'since His corrupt. humanity having opened, &c... mercifully pours into the minds of men by secret inspiration the things which it brings forth from itself,' or 'which it reveals concerning itself.'

p. 101. inserentes...propinentur] An impossible construction; we should probably read 'propinimus.' For 'propino' in this sense, 'to give or furnish,' cf. c. 8, p. 96; 'remedia' = 'means.' The two words recur c. 11, ad init.

eius...subdi] There is some corruption here, which I do not see how to mend. Mansi, x. 551, reads 'dilatandae subsidiiis' for 'dilatandi subdi,' which is not much clearer.

gentibus...subpositis] The sense requires 'gentium subpositarum,' and so Mansi, u. s., or 'gentis subpositae,' as in c. 11, p. 104.

p. 102. eorum, quos colunt] 'eorum qui eam (or eas) colunt' would be rather better.

p. 103. qui...inuidus] sc. 'Diabolus,' supplied from 'diabolicae.'

habuit...potuit] The sense requires 'habuerunt,' 'potuerunt.'

constructioni] seems corrupt; 'constructione' would yield a certain sense. So H1, and Mansi, x. 552. On the argument of this letter, see i. 30, note.

CHAPTER 11.

P. 104. multae] 'multa' would be slightly preferable.
innotescens] 'making known'; cf. i. 30, p. 65.
in uestri] 'uestra' seems required. The corruption may be due to 'uestri' in the next line.


VOL. II.
p. 106. conversat[ione] 'conversatone,' the reading of C, seems certainly preferable.

reuele[tis] Here again the reading of C. 'reuele[tis] is preferable. Unfortunately it reads 'reueletur' two lines below, where 'reuele[tur] is certainly right. But the two words were very likely to be confused.

CHAPTER 12.

P. 107. ut uerisimile uidetur] Note that Bede only puts this forward as his own way of accounting for the facts; viz. that Paulinus received a special revelation of the nature of the mysterious occurrence which befell Edwin in East Anglia. Perhaps the analogy of St. Paul and Ananias in Acts ix. 10 ff., may have been present to Bede's mind. A less miraculous theory is given above, c. 9, p. 97, note. According to a later tradition, the stranger who appeared to Edwin was St. Peter; S. D. i. 206. Cf. on this chapter App. I. § 16.

per diuera... regna... uagaretur] See above on c. 9, and infra on c. 14.

quae petebatur] 'The things which he was asked;' 'pelo' con-
structed with double accusative, of which the accusative of the thing remains in the passive construction; so iii. 5, ad fin. p. 137; v. 21 ad init.: 'misit architectos, quos petebatur,' 'which he was asked for;' Opp. vi. 317: 'petiti auxilia Romani,' 'the Romans being asked for help.' In iii. 23, p. 176, the accusative of the thing is replaced by an infinitive: 'petiit... Cynibillum... conpleere,' 'he asked C. to complete.'

p. 108. fidissimus... illius] 'Sum cyninges þegn his freond se getreowesta,' 'a king's thane a most faithful friend of his,' AS. vers.
ille... magis quam ignobilior quisque] Cf. c. 15, p. 116: 'Reduald natu nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis.' 'Quisque' for 'quisquam.'
tot annorum] Since 588, v.s. If I am right in placing the battle of Chester in 616, this must have taken place in 616 or 617. Any-
how it must be 613 x 617.

caeo... igni] 'Vulnus alit uenis, et caeco carpitur igni,' Verg.
Aen. iv. 2.

p. 109. omnes... transcedendas] Cf. sup. on c. 9, p. 97.

ut ferunt] Note how careful Bede is not to give this as more than a tradition.

p. 110. nulla ratione... uendere] Cf. the stories in Eddius, cc. 27, 28.

The Idle. Idlæ] The Idle is a tributary of the Trent. We have seen above,
on i. 34. that this battle was fought before April 12, 617, c. 14 ad init. Henry of Huntingdon, with reference to this battle: 'Amnis Idle Anglorum sanguine sorduit.' But when he professes to give an account of the manoeuvres by which the battle was lost and won, he is simply drawing on his own imagination; and such things should not be quoted as history.

successit] He in his turn expelled the sons of Ethelfrid. The Ethelfrid's Sax. Chron. E. 617, gives their names, Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswiu, Oslac, Oswudu, Osilf, and Offa. Nennius, § 57, pedigrees, gives the same list, except that for Oslac he gives Osguid (Oswith). They took refuge with the Picts and Scots, iii. 1. Oswald certainly spent part of the time of his exile at Iona, iii. 3; perhaps also in Ireland; cf. Zimmer, Kelt. Beiträge, i. 207; iii. 13. Of him and Oswiu (Oswy) we shall hear more. For Eanfrid, v. iii. 1.

CHAPTER 13.

P. 111. cum amicis ... esse] 'æt he wolde mid his freondum 7 mid his wtum gesprec 7 geþæht habban,' 'that he would have speech and counsel with his friends and wise men;' so below 'habito ... consilio,' 'ja hæfde he gesprec 7 geþæht mid his wtum,' AS. vers.

primus pontificum] 'ealdorðe scop,' 'chief bishop,' AS. vers.

nullus ... tuorum] 'nænig þiþra þegna,' 'none of thy thanes,' AS. vers. The gross materialism of Coifi's counsel should be noted as throwing light on the subsequent apostasy after the defeat of Edwin at Hatfield, 633, infra c. 20, iii. 1. Those who adopted a religion with the idea of gaining material advantages would naturally abandon it in the hour of adversity. Thus the coming of the plague caused part of Essex to apostatise, iii. 30; cf. iv. 27. It is disappointing to find Bede applying the term 'uerba prudence' to such a speech as Coifi's. Is it accidental that the AS. vers. omits the laudatory epithet? In iii. 3 ad init. Bede seems to regard success in war as at any rate a witness to spiritual truth; cf. iii. 7, p. 14r. The same idea underlies the whole system of ordeals, trials 'by wager of battle,' &c. War is only an ordeal on a larger scale.

p. 112. alius optimatum] 'óþr cyninges wita 7 ealdormann,' Seeking 'another royal counsellor (wise man) and alderman,' AS. vers. The spiritualism of this counsellor, his sense of the deep mystery of human existence, is in strong and dramatic contrast with the materialism of the last speaker.
talis...uita...praesens] 'Nota pulcrum comparationem de breuitate uitae,' marginal note in O.

cum ducibus ac ministris tuis] 'mid quinum ealdormannum 7 jegnum,' 'with thy aldermen and thanes,' AS. vers.

prorsus ignoramus] Cf. 'a philosophis...caeterisque gentium magistris, quia nil certae beatitudinis in futurum sciunt promittere, et hi quos habuere separantur, uidelicet conuersi ad fidem, spemque dominicae promissionis certissimam,' Opp. ix. 124. 'Populus gentium...habuit doctores, qui...huius solum uitae gaudia nouerant, de aeternis nihil certum dicerent,' ib. 435.

merito esse sequenda] Cf. Bede on Cant. iii. 3: 'Dixit gentilitas, quae in sponsam Christi erat...permutat, num quem dilexit anima mea uidistis, cum uenientibus ad se doctoribus libertissime auditum accommodabat, et inhianter, an ueritatis esset uia quam praedicabant, dignoscere curabat,' Opp. ix. 254.

ceteri...consiliarii] 'opra aldermen 7 fæ cyninges gejeahteras,' 'other aldermen and royal counsellors,' AS. vers. The idea of age as a necessary qualification for office and counsel comes out in both languages. Cf. such words as γεροντικα, senatus, senator, sieur (=senior), seigneur (=seniorem), signore, señor, &c.; cf. F. N. C. i. 582.

diuinitus admoniti] Omitted AS. vers.

tedar] See note on i. 30, p. 65.

p. 113. destruere...fanum] Cf. on i. 30, 32.

'O nimium tanti felix audacia facti!'

exclaims Alcuin of Coifi's exploit, De Sanctis Ebor. v. 186.

cum omnibus septis] The τεμενος or sacred enclosure.

Godmunddingaham] Goodmanham, near Market Weighton; cf. Greenwell, British Barrows, pp. 286-331. Dr. Greenwell says: 'the whole district is replete with archaeological interest.'
aras] 'Vidi Hecubam,...Priamumque per aras
Sanguine foedantem, quos ipse sacrauerat ignes.'


CHAPTER 14.

nobilibus] 'æþelingum,' 'ethelings,' AS. vers.


hominum cum eo] baptizauit, Run map Urbgen baptizauit eos.'
To which two MSS. add the further gloss, "sicut mihi Renchidus episcopus et Elbodus episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt, . . . i.e. Paulinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus eos baptizavit," ed. Stevenson, p. 54 and note. This last idea is a desperate attempt to reconcile what the scribe rightly felt to be irreconcilable, the account of Bede and that of Nennius. The whole story may be dismissed as a fable intended to claim for the British Church a principal share in the evangelisation of Northumbria. The Irish annals know nothing of it; and it is negatived, not only by the narrative of Bede, but by the whole attitude of the British Church towards the Saxons and Angles. I cannot agree with Skene, C. S. ii. 199, that 'the tradition seems to indicate that the Cumbrian Church did play a part in the conversion of their Anglo neighbours.' A very unlikely suggestion is made by Raine, H. Y. I. xix, whose description of York at this time is, however, of great interest.

\[ \text{die . . . paschae} \] Here again the eve is meant, Bright, p. 118; v.s. on c. 9, p. 99.

\[ \text{de ligno . . . de lapide} \] Building in stone was largely due, like building materials, so much else, to Roman influence. Thus Nainton, King of the Picts, 'architectos sibi mitti petiiit, qui iuxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent,' v. 21, p. 333. So Benedict Biscop got from Gaul 'cementarios qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam [at Wearmouth] iuxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent,' Hist. Abb. § 5, p. 368. Candida Casa [Hwiteram] got its name, 'co quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brettonibus more, fecerit,' iii. 4, p. 133. We hear of stone churches at Lincoln, c. 17, p. 117; at Lastingham (replacing an earlier church of wood), iii. 23, p. 176. That wood was the ordinary building material of the Saxons is shown by the fact that their word for 'to build' is 'getimbrian'; cf. Anglo-Saxon Glossaries, ed. Wüker, i. 126. Athelhelm died in a wooden church at Doultine, Somerset, which was afterwards replaced by a stone one, G. P. p. 382; cf. ib. 153; a similar instance, W. M. i. 265. At Glastonbury, a stone church and a wooden church existed side by side, Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 271. A wooden church at Chester-le-Street continued to the eleventh century, S. D. i. 92; another at Wilton, F. N. C. ii. 509. One at Greenstead in Essex survived to our own day, Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 338, cited by M. & L. p. 269. Wooden buildings were also characteristic of the Celts both British and Irish. Cf. the passage from iii. 4 cited above. So in the life of St. Kentigern: 'More Britonum ecclesiam . . . de lignis leugatis . . . edificare . . . inchoabant; quum de lapide construere nondum poterant, nec usum habebant,' N. & K. p. 203. Thus Finan at
Lindisfarne 'fecit ecclesiam ... more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam conposuit, atque harundine texit,' iii. 25, p. 181; i. e. not only the roof but the walls were covered with a rush thatch. This is shown by what follows: 'Sed episcopus ... Eadberct, ablata harundine, plumbi lamminis eam totam, hoc est, et tectum, et ipsos quoque parietes eius, cooperire curavit.' Skins were sometimes used for the same purpose, Vita Cudb. c. 46; Opp. Min. pp. 135, 136.

The Welsh word for to build, 'adeladu,' indicates a yet earlier stage of the art of construction, meaning literally 'to weave,' and referring originally to the primitive mode of constructing buildings by wattling. A temporary church of this kind seems mentioned in i. 20, p. 38: 'ecclesia ... frondibus contexta conponitur,' cf. H. & S. i. 37. So in 995 a temporary church of this kind was made at Durham to receive St. Cuthbert's relics: 'facta citissime de uirgis ecclesiola,' S. D. i. 179. For dwelling houses it continued to be used, iii. 10, 16 (where see the AS. vers. cited in the note). At the end of the eleventh century, Benedict Biscop's monastery of Wearmouth was so utterly ruined, that some monks whom Bishop Walcher settled there, are represented as 'de uirgis facientes habitacula.' On buildings of wood and wattle among the Celts, both British and Irish, see much curious information collected by Dr. Reeves in his Adamnan, pp. 106, 177, 178; Petrie, Round Towers, pp. 125-160. Duleek, in Ireland, obtained its name 'Daim-liag,' 'the house of stone,' from the fact that there, as at Candida Casa, this was a previously unknown phenomenon.

From this use of wood, &c., resulted the frequency of fires, e. g. i. 19; ii. 7; iii. 10, 17; iv. 25; Opp. Min. p. 75. The church at Campodonum, infra, was evidently of wood. When burnt by the pagan Mercians after Hatfield: 'euasit ... ignem altare, quia lapideum erat,' p. 115. After the flight of Paulinus in 633, and the location of the Northumbrian see at Lindisfarne, the church of York fell into decay. Wilfrid, on gaining possession of his see in 669, restored it magnificently, Eddius, c. 16. Though of stone it was burnt down in 741, Sax. Chron. D. E. ad ann. S. D. ii. 38. It was rebuilt by Archbishop Ethelbert, 766 x 780, the works being superintended by Eanbold, who succeeded him, and Alcuin. On the site of Edwin's baptism an altar was erected, covered with silver, and adorned with gold and silver, and dedicated to St. Paul, 'doctor Mundi'; De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 1487-1519. The cathedral was burnt again in 1069, restored by Archbishop Thomas I (1070-1100); burnt once more in 1137, and rebuilt in its present form in the reign of Edward I. Smith, a. l.
impia necesse] v. c. 20; 'impius' as often = 'pitiless.'

in quibus . . . Merciorum] This implies that Edwin during his exile had resided at the court of Mercia. As Osfrid, a son by this marriage, had a son Yfli, who was baptized before 633 (infra), though probably not much before, as he died 'in infantia' after the battle of Hatfield, infra c. 20, Osfrid himself can hardly have been born later than 612, which proves that Edwin's Mercian sojourn must have preceded the battle of Chester. Whether or not it preceded Edwin's sojourn at the court of Cadwgan of Gwynedd, c. 9, note, I do not find any evidence to show.

Considering the subsequent alliance of Penda and Cadwalla against Edwin, it is not impossible that the kings of Mercia and North Wales may have been allied in his favour. If so, it may be safely assumed that their object was less to help him, than to check the growing power of Northumbria under Ethelfrith. On the subsequent fate of these sons, Osfrid and Eadfrith, v. c. 20, pp. 124, 125.

Cearli regis Merciorum] He does not appear in the pedigrees, Cearl of Sax. Chron. 626 (MSS. B. C.) ; Fl. Wig. i. 251, 252, 264 ; S. D. ii. 369. According to Fl. Wig. i. 268, Qwenburg was the daughter of Creoda, the grandfather of Penda, which would identify Cearl and Creoda. But considering that Penda was born about 575, ten years before Edwin, it is extremely unlikely that Edwin should have married his aunt. Hen. Hunt. p. 54, makes 'Cherlus,' the cousin and successor of Penda's father, which is certainly more probable on genealogical grounds; and this interruption of the direct line of succession would account for the mature age of Penda at his accession. Cf. on all this, c. 20, and notes.

albat] 'under erisman,' 'under chrism,' AS. vers. So v. 7, 'In albis.' p. 292, for 'in albis adhuc positus,' where see note.


alii . . . uiri] 'monige ædelingas þæs cynecynnes,' 'many ethelings of the royal race,' AS. vers. Among these was Edwin's baptized cousin and successor in Deira, Osric. Bede does not mention him here, perhaps because of his subsequent apostasy ; iii. 1, pp. 127, 128.

in uillam regiam] 'in þone cynelican tun,' 'to the royal township,' AS. vers. Below, of Campodonum, it translates the same words by 'cyninges bold,' 'king's residence.'

p. 115. Adgefrin] Ad is the preposition, as is shown by the form Place-names compounded with prepositions. This practice of prefixing a local preposition so that it becomes part of the place-name, is very common in Anglo-Saxon, and occurs constantly in the charters. Sometimes the name thus formed is a descriptive phrase, as in Nokah, which is for
Attenoke, corrupted from 'æt þam æce,' i.e. 'at the oak.' Atterbury probably is for 'æt þære byrig,' i.e. 'at the borough' (so that there was more than mere wit in Bishop Atterbury's remark, that if he went into the West country, he would be in danger of being called 'To-therbury'). But the usage is by no means confined to these cases. In Bede we have 'locus . . . uocatur Ad Candidam Casam,' iii. 4, p. 133 (when it refers to the church itself, it is 'Ecclesia . . . quae Candida Casa uocatur,' v. 23, p. 351); 'monasterium quod uocatur Ad Caprae Caput,' 'Æt Rægcheafde,' AS. vers., iii. 21, p. 170; 'in uico regis . . . qui uocatur Ad Murum,' 'Æt Walle,' ib.; 'locus qui dicitur Adbaræ, id est Ad Nemus,' 'Æt Bearwe,' iv. 3, 6, pp. 207, 218; 'locus qui uocatur Ad Lapidem,' 'Æt Stane,' iv. 16, p. 237; 'locus qui dicitur Adtuifyrdi,' 'Æt Twyfyrde,' iv. 28, p. 272. Sometimes the preposition is 'in,' and in these cases the second part of the name seems to be either a district as 'monasterium quod uocatur Inderauuda, id est In silua Derorum,' 'In Dera Wuda,' AS. vers., v. 2, 6, pp. 283, 292; or a tribal name, as is suggested by the frequent occurrence of the patronymic termination '-ing' in these names; 'locus qui dicitur Ingetlingum,' iii. 14, p. 155; so iii. 24, p. 179 (AS. vers. identical); 'in regione quae uocatur Infeppingum,' 'in þem þeodlande, þe is nemnod In Feppingum,' iii. 21, p. 171; 'in regione quae uocatur Incueningum,' 'In Cununingum,' AS. vers., v. 12, p. 304. Bede's own monastery seems to be another case of this kind; it was 'in loco qui uocatur Ingryrum,' 'on Gyrwum,' AS. vers., v. 21, 24, pp. 332, 357. There certainly was a tribe of Gyrwas in the fen country; Bede's 'provincia, regio Gyruiorum,' 'Gyrwa mægð, lond,' AS. vers., iii. 20, iv. 6, pp. 169, 218; cf. iv. 19, 'princeps . . . australium Gyruiorum,' 'Suðgyrw aldormon,' AS. vers., p. 243. Here too may belong 'provincia quae uocatur Inundalum,' 'in provincia Undalum,' 'on Undalana mægðe,' AS. vers., v. 19, pp. 322, 330. The 'locus qui uocatur Inhrypum,' iii. 25, p. 183; v. 19, pp. 281, 325 (AS. vers. identical), is probably not a tribal name, for when the AS. vers. wishes to express the people of the district, it suffixes the termination '-saetan,' 'settlers,' translating 'Hrypensis ecclesia,' iv. 12 ad fin. by 'Hrypsetna cirice.' Of names outside Britain we have 'uicus . . . qui uocatur In Conpendio' (Compiègne), iii. 28, p. 194; 'insula . . . Hreni, quae lingua eorum uocatur In litore,' v. 11, p. 302.

For other instances see the index, s.vv. 'ad' and 'in.'

The phenomenon occurs in later Greek: Istamboul, or 'Stamboul, the name of Constantinople, is a corruption of εἰς τὴν πόλιν; Standia of εἰς τὴν Διάνω; Stingo of εἰς τὴν Κῶνο, &c.

Yeverin. Adgefrin] Yeverin in Glendale, which thus preserves the
ancient name of the river, which is now called the Beaumont Water, and is a tributary of the Till.

confluentem...plebem] These wholesale conversions seem to have been followed by no less wholesale apostasy, c. 20, and notes; cf. i. 26, note. On their effect in contaminating Christianity with heathenism, v. i. 30, note; D. C. A. ii. 1211. They are perhaps connected, as Lappenberg suggests, with the fact that in primitive society the individual counts for little, the family, the tribe for much, i. 182; cf. Maine, Ancient Law. It was Christianity which first fully recognised the true individuality of man.

Maelmin] Smith, following Camden, ii. 1097, ed. 1753, says Mill-Maelmin. field, near Wooler. Mr. Moberly in a private communication to me suggests Mindrum higher up the glen, on the borders of Northumberland and Roxburgh; while Mr. C. J. Bates thinks it was Kirknewton, where a church dedicated to St. Gregory suggests a connexion with the early missions. History of Northumberland, p. 55. Cf. Murray’s Durham and Northumberland (1873), p. 373.

Cataractam] ‘bi Cetrehtune,’ AS. vers., though in c. 20 ad fin. it is Catterick. ‘neah Cetrehtan,’ and in iii. 14, p. 155, ‘from Cetrehtweorppige.’ The place meant is Catterick, five miles S. E. of Richmond, Yorkshire.

in provinciæ Berniciorum] Yet in spite of these successes of Bernicia Christianity, no church, altar, or even cross was erected in Bernicia till after the battle of Hefenfelth, 634, iii. 2, p. 130. And in Deira, with the exception of York, which was unfinished at Edwin’s death (v. s.), Campodorum, mentioned below, seems to be a solitary instance of a church built under Edwin. On the relations, political and geographical, of Bernicia and Deira, v. iii. 1, note; and on the names, the former of which is connected with the Brigantes, and the latter, probably, with the Welsh word ‘deifr’ = waters, see Rhys, C. B. pp. 90, 113, 114, 291.

Campodonon] ‘Donafeld,’ AS. vers., where the latter part of the Campodono-Saxon name evidently translates the former part of the Latin name, num. Various identifications have been proposed for this name; that most in favour is Slack near Huddersfield.

fecit basilicam] The context seems to suggest Paulinus as the nominative to ‘fecit.’ The AS. vers. says, ‘het Eadwine þær cirican getimbran,’ ‘Edwin commanded a church to be built there.’


euasit...Elmete] om. AS. vers.

CHAPTER 15.

Earpualdo filio Redualdi] There is no evidence to show when Redwald died and Earpwald succeeded. The Sax. Chron. (A, B, C, E; D is defective here) places Earpwald's conversion in 632, and the mission of Felix in 636. But these dates are refuted by the following considerations. In iii. 20 Bede says that Felix was bishop for seventeen years, and Thomas his successor for five; and that Boniface, who succeeded Thomas, was consecrated by Archbishop Honorius, who died Sept. 30, 653. Therefore the coming of Felix and the accession of Sigbert cannot be later than 631. Nor can they be placed earlier than 630; for prior to them come the three years of 'error,' p. 116, which followed the murder of Earpwald, which event cannot be later than 628, nor earlier than 627; and his conversion, which was 'non multo tempore' before his death, must be placed either in 628, or in 627. It cannot be earlier than Easter, 627, the date of Edwin's own baptism. Cf. H. & S. iii. 89; Bright, p. 123; and Wharton's excellent note in Ang. Sac. i. 403.


ab uxore sua] If she influenced him against Christianity, at least she kept him true to the dictates of faith and honour; v. c. 12, p. 110.

ita ut . . . serviebat] Cf. Bede on Ezra iv. 1, of the Samaritans 'qui . . . accepta Dei lege, et hanc ex parte servabunt et nihilominus eisdem quibus antea simulacris serviebant,' Opp. viii. 404. So Gregory of Tours represents the ambassador sent by Leuвиchild, King of the Goths, to Chilperic I, King of the Franks, as saying: 'sic enim uulgato sermone dicimus non esse noxium, si inter gentilium aras et Dei ecclesiam quis transiens, utraque ueneretur.' Hist. Franc. v. 43. So Landnámabók, iii. 12 (Íslendinga Sögur, i. 206, ed. 1843), 'Helgi var blandinn mjök í trú; hann trúði á Krist, en hét á þóð til sjófara ok harðræða,' 'Helgi was very mixed in his belief; he believed on Christ, but made vows to Thor for sea-faring and doughty deeds.' Cf. on i. 30 for the contamination of Christianity with heathenism.

Aldulf] His mother was Hereswith, the sister of St. Hild, iv. 23, p. 253. His father (though Bede does not mention the fact) was Ethelhere of East Anglia, who was killed on the Winweed in 655, iii. 24, p. 178. He was succeeded by his brother Ethelwald, on whose death Aldulf came to the throne, to be succeeded in turn by his brother Alfwold, Fl. Wig. i. 249, 261; W. M. i. 97; S. D. ii.
368. Alfwold died in 749, according to S. D. ii. 39. If so, he must have been over ninety at his death, his father having been slain in 655. Also, he could not be the son of Hereswith (though Fl. Wig. i. 261, makes him so), as she seems to have taken the veil before 647. See on iv. 23, p. 253. In that case he would only be half-brother to Aldwulf. Anyhow, both of them would be very young in 655, which accounts for their being passed over then. Aldwulf must have come to the throne in 663 or 664, as Bede says that the council of Hatfield, Sept. 680, was in the seventeenth year of his reign, iv. 17, p. 239; (Fl. Wig. i. 27 gives 664, but this may be only an inference from Bede). A group of foreign annals have preserved the date of his death, 713. Pertz, i. 7, 24, 25. Cf. Lappenberg, I. xlvi. 237; E. T., I. xxxvi. 243. None of these East Anglian kings after Ethelhere are mentioned in the Sax. Chron., probably owing to these chronological obscurities.

Tytili . . . Uuffa] R. W. places the accession of Wuffa in 571, of Tytilus in 578; i. 84, 86.

frater . . . Sigberct] Cf. iii. 18: 'frater suus ex parte matris,' Fl. Wig. i. 260; 'frater eius ex matre,' W. M. i. 97. This succession through the mother, if a fact, is a very curious one. Perhaps there was some relationship between Redwald and his wife which, if known, would explain it. As Sigbert went into exile, 'inimicitias Redualdi fugiens,' iii. 18, he may have had claims which Redwald considered dangerous.

in Gallia] W. M., u. s., says of him 'omnem barbariem pro Francorum nutritura exutus'; and in i. 70, he says: 'eos quos nos Francos putamus, Galwalas antiquo vocabulo quasi Gallos nuncupant.' This is of course an error; the 'Galwealas' are the Celtic populations of Gaul whom the Franks conquered; though in the Sax. Chron. it is used as a synonym for the country, Gaul.

Felix episcopus] The whole tenor of Bede's narrative, both here, and still more in iii. 18, seems to imply that the coming of Felix was quite independent of Sigbert's accession. Fl. Wig. i. 17, followed almost verbally by G. P. p. 147, makes them become acquainted in Gaul (so H. & S. iii. 89), and come to Britain together (cf. Lib. Esiens. p. 13). The life of Felix, as cited by Hardy, Cat. i. 234, 235, goes further, and represents Felix as baptizing Sigbert in Gaul (so Alford, cited, AA. SS. Mart. i. 781). It also represents him as consecrated bishop by Honorius, whereas Bede's' words, 'episcopus,' 'ordinatus,' clearly imply that he was consecrated in Burgundy. Felix' coming to East Anglia seems to have been posterior to Sigbert's accession; cf. 'quem de Cantia acceperat,' iii. 18, q.v.
de Burgundiorum partibus] H. & S. suggest that he may have been connected with the Irish Burgundian mission of Columbanus. 
sacramentum] 'inner or mystic meaning;' v. Introduction, p.lvii.

p. 117. Domnec] Dunwich, on the coast of Suffolk, now a mere village. After the council of Hertford in 673, Bisi, the fourth Bishop of East Anglia, resigned on the ground of ill-health, and Theodore divided the diocese into two, the see of the northern 'folk' being at Elmham, that of the southern remaining at Dunwich; iv. 5 ad fin. In the second half of the ninth century both sees became extinct owing to the Danish ravages, and from 870 to c. 956 there was no bishop of East Anglia. From 956 the seat of the East Anglian bishopric was at Elmham. In 1075 it was removed by Herfast to Thetford, and in 1094 by Herbert Losinga to Norwich. Stubbs, Episc. Succ. pp. 21, 168, 169.

CHAPTER 16.

Praedicabat] There is nothing to show the date of this mission except that it must be 627 x 631. The Sax. Chron. E. places it in 627, R. W. in 628, i. 128, but these may be only inferences from Bede; cf. c. 18 ad init., note. The imperfect tense seems to indicate either that Paulinus was there more than once, or that he stayed there some time.

Lindissi] Lindsey is still the name of the largest and most northerly of the three divisions of Lincolnshire, in which Lincoln itself is situated. The inhabitants are called 'Lindisfari,' iii. 24, p. 179; iv. 3. pp. 207, 212; iv. 12, p. 229; v. 23, p. 350. On the political oscillations of Lindsey between Northumbria and Mercia, see iii. 11, p. 148 note. At this time it was clearly Northumbrian.

Lindocolinae ciuitatis] On Lincoln and Lindsey, see Freeman, English Towns and Districts, pp. 191-221; cf. H. H. pp. 86, 87: 'Urbs autem Lincoliae quae tunc Lindocolina uocabatur, et prouincia Lindisse ei adiacens, quae circumquaque clauditur uel fluuis uel paludibus uel mari, ad Merce regnum pertinet. Urbs autem illa et situ splendida est, et prouincia rerum multarum locuples. Unde quidam: 'Urbs in colle uita est, et collis uergit ad austrum.' In a letter to the Academy of Oct. 21, 1893, Mr. H. Bradley endeavoured to upset the old derivation of Lincoln from 'Lindum Colonia.' He cannot be said to have established his point. The correspondence on the subject lasted into December.

cum domu sua] 'mid his heorode,' 'with his household,' AS. vers.; 'mid ealre his dugaðe,' 'with all his chief men,' Sax. Chron. E.
cuius ... uidentur] ‘haere gen to dæge mæg mon gescon þa weallas stondan,’ ‘the walls of which one may still to-day see standing,’ AS. vers. This implies that such was still the case in the translator’s time; v.s., c. 5 note.

presbyter ... Deda] One of the ‘uiri fideles’ who supplied Bede Deda. with materials for the history of Lindsey, Pref. p. 7.

abbas ... Peartaneu] ‘abbot of Peortanea hæm ham,’ ‘abbot Partney. of the house of Partney,’ AS. vers. Note how closely both the Latin ‘de’ and the AS. ‘of’ approach to their modern use in the Romance and English languages respectively, as mere signs of the genitive case. Partney in Lincolnshire, near Spilsby. Not to be con-founded with Bardney, of which at a later time it became a cell; ‘Gilbertus dedit ... in ... Partenay, ecclesiam cum suis pertinentiis.’ Charter of 1125 to Bardney, in Dugdale, Mon. Angl. i. 630.


Iuxta ... Tiouulfingacestir] ‘bi Teolfinga ceastre,’ AS. vers. Tiouulfingacestir.

I am sceptical as to the usual identification of this place with Torksey. In Sax. Chron. A, B, C, D, E, Torksey is ‘Turcesig,’ at the year 873, a date earlier than that at which the AS. vers. of Bede was made. Southwell, Newark, and Fiskerton have also been suggested. Mr. Moberly, in a note which he kindly sent me, argues that the place must be sought on that part of the Trent which borders Lindsey; that the termination ‘Cæstir’ points to a Roman station on a Roman road; consequently, that it must be identified with Littleborough, the ford where the Roman road from York to Lincoln crosses the Trent.

Iacobum ... uirum ... nobilem] His ‘nobility’ consisted partly in the fact that he remained steadfast at his post during the ‘in-faustus annus’ which followed the death of Edwin; infr. c. 20, iii. i, pp. 126-128.

p. 118. sicu ... dicitur] om. AS. vers.

cauocos] ‘ceacas,’ AS. vers., which is the same word; Irish cuach; Welsh, caug. R. W. alters this into ‘calamos,’ i. 128.


inter ... ministris] ‘betweoh his hamum ofðe be tunum mid his þegnum,’ ‘between his homesteads or by townships with his thes,’ AS. vers. (omitting ‘prouincias’). It also omits all about the ‘tufa,’ simply saying: ‘him mon symle þæt tæn beforan bær,’ ‘the ensign was always borne before him.’
The ‘Tufa.’ Romani tufam... appellant] ‘Tufa, genus uexilli apud Romanos ex confertis plumberum globis,’ Ducange. This ‘Roman standard borne before the sovereign’ was one of the facts on which Palgrave relied in support of his theory that the Bretwaldadom was an imitation of Roman imperial sovereignty; E. C. i. 563, 564. See above on c. 5 ad init.

CHAPTER 17.

Honorius I. Quo tempore] Honorius I succeeded Oct. or Nov. 625, and was buried Oct. 12, 638; R. P. pp. 156, 159. He was implicated in the Monothelite heresy; D. C. B. iii. 151-153.

ubi... didicit... misit... litteras] The AS. vers. omits the letter. The date of the letter is fixed by that of the one in c. 18 to June 11, 634. Edwin was killed Oct. 12, 633, but his death may easily have been unknown at Rome in June 634.

p. 119. sacerdotibus] ‘bishops’; v. i. 28, note.

ordinanda] We might suggest ‘ordinandis’; cf. c. 18, ‘pro archiepiscopo ordinando.’

CHAPTER 18.

P. 120. Haec inter] As in the case of Augustine, Bede gives the day but not the year of Justus’ death. The Sax. Chron. E. places it in 627. If this be correct, and if Honorius succeeded without any interval as Bede seems to imply, then Paulinus’ mission to Lindsey, c. 16, must be also fixed to 627, as it was that which caused him to be at Lincoln when Honorius came to be consecrated by him. And with this agrees the statement of G. P. p. 6, which gives three years to Justus, and twenty-six to Honorius; for the former certainly succeeded in 624, c. 7, p. 95, and the latter certainly died in 653, iii. 20, p. 169. But all this may be only an inference from Bede. Anyhow Honorius was certainly archbishop when Felix came to Britain, which was 631 at latest, v. s. Smith places the death of Justus in 630, and the consecration of Honorius in 631.

quarto Id. Nov.] Nov. 10.

Archbishop Honorius. Honorus] For later lives of him cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 251, 252. He was ‘unus ex discipulis beati Papae Gregorii,’ v. 19, p. 323; but whether one of the original companions of Augustine is not stated. We have seen his relation to the East-Anglian see, c. 15, note; iii. 20. He received Paulinus on his flight from Northumbria, assigned him to Rochester, c. 20, pp. 125, 126, and consecrated his successor Ithamar in 644, iii. 14, p. 154. In his later years Wilfrid studied for a time under him on his first journey

ad Paulinum] This was in accordance with the directions Consecrated by Gregory, supr. i. 29 [rather, perhaps, of Honorius, ii. 17, p. 119] but there was in fact no choice, ... as ... after the death of ... Justus there was no other bishop in Saxon England [? Britain] than Paulinus, ... Romanus of Rochester having been drowned before Justus died": c. 20, p. 126; H. & S. iii. 82.

sacerdotem] 'biscop,' AS. vers.

textum litterarum] Parallel to this genuine letter comes the third of the Malmesbury series, G. P. pp. 49-51; H. & S. iii. 85, 86. Of the genuine letter it embodies from 'uestra adquisitio' to 'te constituam,' and four words 'gratuito animo' 'ulla dilatatione' from the letter to Edwin, c. 17. It confirms the primacy to Canterbury, and subjects to it 'omnes Angliae ecclesias et regiones.' The use of this one word 'Anglia' is enough to stamp the document for what it is, an impudent forgery. See note on iii. 8, p. 142.

illud ... repraesentat] An obscure and possibly corrupt sentence; 'quod' answering to 'illud' instead of 'quoties' would be an improvement. 'This also the graciously conferred richness of his mercy has bestowed, that by means of fraternal addresses (i.e. letters) he presents to their alternate view in a kind of contemplation their concordant love.'

p. 121. filiorum ... regum] The plural shows that here, as in the case of the appointment of Wighard, iii. 29; iv. 1, pp. 195, 201, the kings of Northumbria and Kent combined to approach the Pope on the affairs of the English Church. The mission of Romanus to Rome by Justus, c. 20, p. 126, may have had reference to the same question.

ut nulla possit ... iactura ... prouenire; sed potius ... deuto- tionem ... propagare] A very loose construction, but not perhaps corrupt; 'deutio ... propagari' would be better.

p. 122. tertio Id. Iun.] June 11.

anno XX° IIII°] Heraclius' succession was Oct. 5, 610; Gibbon, Heraclius. v. 389. His twenty-fourth year was from Oct. 5, 633 to Oct. 4, 634. This agrees both with the indemnity and with the year A.D.

Heraclio ... Caesare] This is Heraeleonas, the younger son of Heraclonas-Heraclius and half-brother of Constantine, who is mentioned above, nas. and whom he succeeded as Emperor, May 641; Gibbon, vi. 72, 73. He had been made Caesar in 631 (Moberly). Hence Honorius speaks of 634 as his third year. Mansi reads 'tertio' for 'quarto,' x. 581.
CHAPTER 19.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor in the Capitula. On the Paschal question, v. Excursus. 

in extremis...finibus] The Irish themselves frequently speak of Ireland as 'iarthar domain,' 'the west or hinderpart of the world.'

synodalium...pontificum] I am not sure of the meaning of this expression. Perhaps it means pontiffs in synod.

John IV.

Iohannes...successit] Honorius I was buried on Oct. 12, 638. Severinus was consecrated May 28, 640, and buried on Aug. 2, 640. John IV was consecrated on Dec. 25, 640. This letter must therefore have been written between Aug. and Dec. 640. It is cited Opp. Min. pp. 195, 196; v. s. p. 2. John was a staunch opponent of the Monothelites. Cf. D. C. B. iii. 391, 392.

in Nicena synodo] Cf. iii. 25, p. 186.

Pelagiana heresi] v. i. 17, notes. According to Lanigan, ii. 410, it had only made its appearance in Ireland a short time before the date of this letter.

Tomene of Armagh.

p. 123. Tomiano] Tomene mac Ronain, Abbot and Bishop of Armagh. His death is placed in 660 by Ann. Ult. and F. M., in 661 by Tigh. This passage of Bede shows that he must have become bishop at least as early as 640. His day is Jan. 10; Mart. Don. p. 12. Cf. Colgan, AA. SS. pp. 53, 54.

Colman of Clonard.


Cronan of Nendrum.


Baithino of Bangor (?).

Baithano] Colgan, u. s. p. 17, identifies this person with Baeithin Mór, 'the great,' Bishop of Tibohine (Tech-Baeithin) in Roscommon. This however is unlikely. Baeithin Mór was a contemporary of St. Columba, and attended the Convention of Druim
Cett in 574. Rs. Ad. pp. 37, 318. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that he survived till 640. Baithin, Abbot of Bangor, who died 665, F. M., may be meant; and, like Colman above, he may have been a bishop as well as abbot.


Laistrano] Commonly identified with Laisren, Abbot of Leighlin. He died in 638 or 639; but his death might easily be unknown at Rome in 640. It is, however, against the identification that Leighlin is in Carlow, and all the other ecclesiastics to whom this letter is addressed belong to the North of Ireland; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 27. The South, largely owing to Laisren of Leighlin, adopted the Roman Easter, 630 x 633. Colgan, u.s. suggests Laisren Mac Nasca, Abbot of Ard vic Nasca (Holywood on Belfast Lough), whose day is Oct. 25; Felire; Mart. Don. Colgan says: 'floruit c. 650'; cf. Lanigan, ii. 363.

Scellano] Commonly identified with Sillan, Bishop of Devenish Scellan. (Daminis), in Lough Erne. He died 658, F. M.; his day is May 17, Mart. Don. Lanigan, ii. 415, suggests Scellan the Leper, of Armagh; Mart. Don. Sept. 1; Colgan, u.s., suggests Stellanus, Abbot of Inis Celtra.

Segeno] Seghine, Abbot of Iona, 623-652; Rs. Ad. pp. 373, 374. Seghine, Adamnan cites him more than once as his authority for statements in the life of Columba, ib. 16, 26, iii. i. It was to him that Cumman addressed his letter on the Paschal question, ib. 260; Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxxvii. 669. It was during his abbacy that Aidan was sent to Northumbria, iii. 5, ad init. Colgan however, u.s., followed by Lanigan, u.s., prefers Seghine Mac Ua Cuinn, who died Sept. 10, 662 or 663. Three Fragments, p. 62; Mart. Don. p. 242.


'seruans locum sanctae sedis] During a vacancy, or in the absence of the Pope, the arch-presbyter, the archdeacon, and the 'primicerius notariorum' acted as vicegerents of the Roman see; v. Liber Diurnus, Migne, Pat. Lat. ev. 27 and note; cf. ib. 36–38. Two of these join in writing the present letter. I owe the reference to Mr. R. L. Poole.

'primicerius] 'primus in ceram seu tabulam relatus.' Hence the 'Primicerius-first of any order: 'primicerius martyrum beatus Stephanus,' rius.'

VOL. II.
K. C. D. No. 141; Birch, No. 239. Here it is the 'primicerius notariorum,' v. s. In cathedral churches and monasteries it was the name of an officer whose duty it was to instruct the clerks or monks especially in matters connected with the performance of divine service. Ducange, s. v.

scripta . . . siluerunt] A very loose construction. Perhaps some words have been lost.

ea quae postulata fuerant] Hence it would appear that these ecclesiastics, possibly assembled in synod, had consulted the Roman See on the Easter question. This was certainly the case in the South of Ireland. Lanigan, ii. 389; v. note on iii. 3, infra.

XIIIa luna] i.e. the writers charge the Irish with being quartodecimans. Hence 'nouam ex ueteri heresim renouare'; though the words 'cum Hebreis,' &c. might refer only to the fact that the Celts included instead of excluding the fourteenth of the moon as a possible day for Easter. And so Smith, a. l.: 'nutos haeesis fuit Pascha cum Hebreis semper celebrare; noua, aliquando tantum.' But I doubt this explanation. Aldhelm distinctly charges the Cornish Celts with being quartodecimans; Opp. p. 86; H. & S. iii. 271. Bede, better informed, or less prejudiced, expressly says that the Irish were not quartodecimans, iii. 4, p. 135. But even he in his Chron. sub ann. 640, allows himself to speak of Honorius as refuting 'errorem quartodecimanorum,' Opp. Min. p. 195; and the statement is copied by Marianus Scotus, who as an Irishman might have known better; in Fl. Wig. i. 15; cf. G. P. p. 211. But the name 'quartodeciman' was always a handy stick with which to beat the Celtic dog.

manifeste declaratur] Both these inferences seem to me very hazardous. The former, as Ussher points out, Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 486, is due to the fact that Bede takes 'nouam' absolutely, whereas 'nouam ex ueteri' should be taken closely together.

p. 124. ecce enim] This form of the text is midway between that on p. 66 and the Vulgate.

CHAPTER 20.

X et VII] If this is to be taken strictly, it would fix Edwin's accession and the battle of the Idle definitely to 616; v. i. 34, note.

Christi regno militavit] See on iv. 11, p. 225.

rebelluit . . . Caedualla . . . Penda] Cædwalla is the Cadwallon of Welsh authorities, King of Gwynedd, the son of Edwin's harbourer Cadvan, with whom Edwin had been brought up according to a tradition already quoted, c. 14, note. He was the leader of the Welsh in their final struggle against the Angles, the most
dangerous rival of his former comrade. Edwin had reduced him to submission, obliging him, according to Welsh tradition, to take refuge in Ireland, perhaps at the time when Anglesey was conquered, Rhŷs, C. B. p. 131, which is probably also the time when Edwin besieged him ‘in insula Glannauc,’ i. e. Priestholme or Puffin Island off the coast of Anglesey; Ann. Camb. 629; cf. Rhŷs, Arthurian Legend, p. 325; infr. iii. 9, p. 145, note. (The real year is probably 632, as Ann. Camb. puts the battle of Hatfield in 630.) We here find him ‘rebelling,’ and making a fierce effort to throw off the yoke, contemplating nothing less than a reversal of the Anglian conquest: ‘totum genus Anglorum Britanniae finibus erasurum se esse deliberans.’ (Cf. W. M. i. 51, ‘uir, ut ipse dictitabant, in exterminium Anglorum natus.’) It should be noted that Penda, who to English eyes, and with our knowledge of the event, seems the larger figure of the two, is here spoken of merely as Cadwallon’s assistant. And the life of St. Oswald, already cited, actually represents him as compelled to join Cadwallon by force: ‘Deinde cum uterque regnaret uicit rex Ad winus Cadwallonem, et fugavit in Armonicam [i. e. Arvon’], Cadwallo tandem cum multis copiis reuertens uicit prius Pendum . . . et sibi uniuit,’ S. D. i. 345; cf. Geof. Mon. xii. 8; though W. M. says: ‘uelut coruus ad nidorem cadaueris . . ulro Chedwallae in auxilium occurrir,’ i. 77. For other forms of Cadwallon’s name, cf. Rhŷs, in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 1892, p. 330.

Penda . . . praefuit] The omission of ‘ex’ in MS. M, and edd. Penda, has made it appear as if Bede regarded the whole of Penda’s reign as only twenty-two years. Twenty-two years from this battle is correct, as Penda fell in 655; v. 24, p. 354. Bede does not give the date of his accession; the Sax. Chron. places it in 626, Fl. Wig. in 627, and both (inconsistently) give him a reign of thirty years, putting his death rightly in 655. According to MSS. A, B, C, of the Chron. he was fifty years old at his accession. See on c. 14, p. 114. Of Penda, Mr. Freeman says: ‘he came nearer to achieving the union of the whole English nation under one sceptre than any prince before the West-Saxon Egbert’; N. C. i. 36; cf. W. M. i. 96.

varia sorte] As far as Bede’s own narrative goes, Penda’s career up to the last fatal battle of the Winwæd, would seem to have been one of uninterrupted success. It cannot refer to Penda’s early struggles, as Bode expressly dates the ‘varia sors’ from the battle of Hatfield, ‘ex eo tempore.’

Haethfelth] Supposed to be Hatfield Chase, to the NE. of Hatfield. Doncaster. Robert Talbot, the sixteenth-century annotator of MS. C. of the Chron., says, ‘in ye forest off Shyrwode.’ Sherwood Forest is now to the south of Doncaster, but may formerly have extended
further north. Both Nenn. § 61, and Ann. Camb. 630, call this battle the battle of Meicen, and make both Edwin’s sons fall in it. Tighernach 631 (?) says: ‘Cath itir [praelium inter] Etuin mac Ailli regis Saxonum, qui totam Britanniam regnavit, in quo uietus est a Chon rege Britonum et Panta Saxono.’ Ann. Ult. place the battle in 630. It will be seen that here again the Welsh and Irish authorities are two to three years behind in their chronology.

occissus est Aeduini] Cf. Alc. De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 232, 233:

‘Edwinus occubuit regum clarissimus ille,
Post quem non habuit praeclara Britannia talem.’

die IIII Id. Oct.] Oct. 12, 633. As having fallen against the heathen, he was in later times regarded as a martyr; ‘martyrio coronatus,’ Vita Osw. in S. & D. i. 341; cf. ib. 340; and Capgrave’s life, Hardy, Cat. i. 225. His day in the Calendar is Oct. 4, a mistake perhaps due to the omission of ‘id.’ (iduum).

XL et VIII] ‘seofon 7 feowertig,’ AS. vers.

Osfrid ... Eadfrid] Edwin’s sons by his first wife; v. s. e. 14, p. 114. The statement that a king of the Orkneys was present in the battle rests only on Geoffrey of Monmouth, xii. 8.

p. 125. regnante Osualdo] Had Oswald anything to do with it? It is significant that Ethelberg, Edwin’s widow, did not feel that his son and grandson were safe from Oswald, even at the court of her own brother Eadbald, v. inf. We know how Oswy treated Oswin, though Oswy was in other respects an admirable monarch. Mr. Green boldly says, ‘at the pressure of Oswald he murdered Eadfrid,’ and cites this passage as his authority, M. E. p. 291. But here as frequently Mr. Green goes beyond what his texts warrant.

Caedualla ... Christiani ... barbarus] ‘baptismo quidem regeneratus, sed male uiuendo paganissimus,’ Lectiones de Sancto Oswino; MS. CCC Oxon. 134, f. 8o. The life of Oswald in S. D. i. 346 says boldly, ‘Cedwalla rex paganus fuit.’

usque hodie ... Brettonum] ‘swa gen to daege Bretta þeaw is,’ ‘as yet at this day is the custom of Britons,’ AS. vers. So that it seems to have continued to the translator’s time. R. W. speaks of it as being still the case in his day; i. 94. On the ecclesiastical relations of the Saxons and Britons, v. Excursus on the Easter and Tonsure controversies.

caput Aeduini] From this it would seem that his enemies had decapitated his body. Cf. the stories of the treatment of Oswald’s remains, infra, iii. 12. During the reign of Ethelred of Mercia, i. e. before 704, and while Elfled was abbess of Whitby, i. e. after 680, Edwin’s body was translated thither; iii. 24, p. 179; App. I. § 18.

uenit autem] At some time after her arrival in Kent she founded
the monastery of Liming in Kent: ‘Ethelburga ... monasterium de Limninge fundavit, in uilla eodem nomine uocitata, quam Ead- baldus frater eius, postquam ... Cantiam est reuersa, cidem asse- ritur contulisse,’ Elmham, p. 176; cf. Mon. Angl. i. 452; 453.

milite] ‘cyninges jegn,’ ‘king’s thegn,’ AS. vers.

p. 126. metu ... regnum] It would seem from this that the alliance of the royal families of Kent and Northumbria continued, though there was not any relationship between the kings as in the reign of Edwin.

Daegberecto ... illius] He was her second cousin. Her maternal grandfather, Charibert, and his paternal grandfather, Chilperic, were brothers. See Table I in Kitchin’s France, vol. i. It is possible that ‘amicus,’ ‘freond,’ AS. vers., may imply this, friendly relations in primitive times resting on kinship (Maine, Early Institutions, c. 3) or on fosterage. The Welsh for friend is ‘cyfaill,’ = Irish ‘comalta,’ ‘a foster-brother,’ while Icelandic ‘frændi’ means ‘relative,’ and nothing else. This use survives in Lowland Scot: ‘Ye’ll no be ony freen’ to John Heron?’ ‘I am his son’; S. R. Crockett, ‘The Raiders,’ p. 186.

calicem ... consecratum] Cf. the prayer ‘ad calicem benedici- cendum’ in the Gregorian Sacramentary; Bright, p. 129.

quae hactenus, &c.] ‘Ia nu gen oð þis meg mon sceawigan,’ which may still to this day be seen,’ AS. vers.

Romanus ... maris] On the possible object of this mission, v. s. c. 18, p. 121, note; cf. the fate of Abbot Peter, i. 33. ‘Italic’ (which the AS. vers. omits) shows that he must have gone by sea from Provence. His episcopate must have been very short. Cf. D. C. B. iv. 553.

pallium] This, of course, being only sent in June, 634, v. s. c. 17, p. 118, note, would not reach him till after he had left Northumbria. He was therefore never de facto archbishop of York. Egbert, Bede’s pupil, was the first archbishop of York ‘de facto et de iure.’ He received the pallium in 735, infra p. 361: ‘primus post Paulinum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est’; though Wilfrid loosely, and still more loosely John of Beverley, are often spoken of as archbishops; Bright, p. 129; cf. additional critical note on p. 282. Eddius, c. 10, by a still more extraordinary abuse of terms, calls Colman, the Scotic bishop of Lindisfarne, ‘Eboraeæ ciuitatis episcopus metropolitanus.’ The Hist. Anon. says quite correctly: ‘caeteri episcopi inter Paulinum et Egbertum nihil altius quam simplicis episcopi uocabulo anhelarunt’; Ang. Sac. i. 66.

reliquarat ... Iacobum diaconum] Paulinus’ conduct in flying James the has been criticised, Bright, pp. 128, 129, though Bede gives no hint of blame. But there can be no question that James the Deacon was ‘a really noble instance ... of courageous stedfastness under excep-

cuius nomine ... cognominatur] 'Bone tun ... geen to dæge
mon his noman eneodey,' 'that village men still to-day call by his
name,' AS. vers. The proposed identifications of this place are not
satisfactory. In the Phillips MS. 9428, the passage reads: 'uicus
... habitare saynt Iemestret usque hodie cognominatur.' The
scribe probably had local knowledge.

reuperata ... pace, &c.] He continued to observe the Roman
Easter, but he seems to have lived on good terms with those who
followed the Irish use; iii. 25, p. 181.

cantionis ... Cantauriorum] One very important matter which
engaged the many-sided activity of Gregory the Great was the
reform of the music of the Church, which had become much cor-
rupted since the days of St. Ambrose, who may be regarded as in
some sense the founder of Church music. Iohannes Diac. says of
Gregory: 'scholas cantorum ... in Romana ecclesia ... constituit';
Opp. Greg. iv. 47, 197; on which cf. D. C. A. ii. 1844, 1845. The
'Cantus Romanus,' 'Cantus Gregorianus' gradually superseded the
'Cantus Ambrosianus' in all parts of western Europe except the
Milanese. Radulphus Tungrensis, cited by Ducange, s.v. 'cantus,'
characterises the Ambrosian chanting as 'solennis et fortis,' the
Gregorian as 'dulcoratus et ordinatus'; cf. S. D. ii. 8: 'non hymnorum
pulcherrimus Ambrosianus titulus, nec Gregorianum ... dulcis
armoniae organum.' Into the technical differences between them
it is impossible to enter here; cf. Ducange, s.v. 'cantus'; D. C. A.
s.v. 'Ambrosian Music,' 'Music.' Pipin and his son Charles the
Great did much to extend the Gregorian use in Europe. In Ademari
Historiae, Pertz, iv. 117, 118, there is an interesting account of an
argument held before Charles on this subject in the year 787; cf.
the Gesta Caroli, Pertz, ii. 735; Mon. Car. pp. 639-641. When
Gregory's missionaries came to Britain they naturally brought with
them his mode of chanting; and this system would be adopted by
those churches in Britain which were under the influence of Canter-
bury. Putta, Bishop of Rochester, after his expulsion from his see
was instrumental in teaching this system in other parts of Britain;
iv. 2, 12. Here we see Paulinus' deacon James practising it in
Northumbria. But the reconversion of Northumbria by Irish mis-
sionaries seems to have introduced a different mode of chanting; and
we are told that with the exception of James the Deacon, Wilfrid's
chanter and biographer Eddius was the first to teach the Roman
method in Northumbria; iv. 2; cf. Eddius, c. 47, where Wilfrid
enumerates among his services the efforts he had made to promote
Church music; and we find a mention of Gregorian music at Ripon in 790, S. D. ii. 52. Benedict Biscop brought John the arch-chanter of St. Peter’s, at Rome, to teach this method in his monastery of Wearmouth, whence the knowledge spread to other parts of Northumbria; iv. 18; Hist. Abb. § 6; Hist. Anon. Abb. § 10. Acca, when he became bishop of Hexham, brought in Maban, who had been trained in Kent, for the same purpose, v. 20. What the Irish system of chanting was, is unfortunately unknown. St. Columban wrote a work ‘De Cantu,’ but it is lost; Greith, Altirische Kirche, p. 252. Later Irish music is based on the Gregorian scales, but of their earlier music nothing is known. See an interesting essay on Mediaeval Music with special reference to Ireland in Sullivan’s Introduction to O’Curry’s Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish; i. 541-636; cf. Smith’s Bede, pp. 719, 720.

BOOK III. CHAPTER 1.

P. 127. in has duas prouincias . . . erat] It may be convenient Relations to state briefly here the relations existing between Bernicia and and boundaries of Deira during the period covered by Bede’s narrative. Bernicia and Deira.

The pedigrees (Sax. Chron. s. aa. 547, 560; Fl. Wig. i. 5, 6, 253-255, 267-271; S. D. ii. 14, 15, 374, 375) deduce the royal houses of Deira and Bernicia from two sons of Woden, Wægdaeg, and Bældæg. The pedigrees differ somewhat among themselves; but we may begin in the former line with Ælle the father of Ælle, the first King of Deira, the king who is mentioned in the story of St. Gregory and the slave-boys; in the other line with Ida, the first King of Bernicia.

Starting from these, we have the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEIRA</th>
<th>BERNICIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yffi</td>
<td>Ida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ælle</td>
<td>Ælle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 588.</td>
<td>d. 593.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ærfric</td>
<td>Ethelric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin</td>
<td>Ethelfrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 634.</td>
<td>d. 616 x 617.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oswin</td>
<td>Ethelwulf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 651.</td>
<td>d. 642.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eanfled</td>
<td>(3) Oswy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 671.</td>
<td>d. 634.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Osric</td>
<td>(1) Eanfrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 633.</td>
<td>d. 671.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Oswin</td>
<td>(2) Ethelfrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 651.</td>
<td>d. 679.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alchfrid</td>
<td>Aldfrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 664 x 672.</td>
<td>d. 705.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egfrid</td>
<td>Ethelwulf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 685.</td>
<td>d. &gt;655.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ælfwine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 679.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the death of Ælle, in 588, Ethelric of Bernicia seized his kingdom; and he and his son Ethelfrid retained both until the latter's death in 616 or 617; v. ii. 9, note; Fl. Wig. i. 6, 8. After this Edwin in his turn kept possession of both realms till his death in 633; v. ii. 12, note; after which they were for a short time separated, Deira going to Edwin's cousin Osric, Bernicia to Ethelfrid's son Eenfrid; iii. i. Oswald in 634 re-united them till his death in 642; iii. 6; but Oswy, his brother and successor, was not at first strong enough to retain possession of Deira; and we find first Oswin, the son of Osric, 644–651, iii. 14; and then Oidiluald, or Ethelwald, the son of Oswald, ruling in Deira, iii. 23, until Oswy's triumph over Penda in the battle of the Winwæd in 655. After the death of Oswin no one of the male line of Yfi reigned in either Deira or Bernicia; so that Ida is rightly made the progenitor of the Northumbrian kings; v. 24, p. 353; Sax. Chron. s. a. 547; S. D. ii. 374; Fl. Wig. i. 5; cf. Nenn. § 61: 'de origine illius [Ædguiin] nunquam iteratum est regnum.' Oswy seems to have governed Deira through his son Alchfrid as under-king, till the latter's rebellion in 664 x 672; iii. 28, p. 194, note. If the Liber Eliensis may be trusted, he was succeeded in this position by his brother Egfrid: 'Ægrifridum uero iuniorem, quem intimo dilexerat affectu, sibi consortem regni super prouintiam Eboracam adhibuit [Oswius], quoniam corporis grauitate depressus, regni iura difficile protegebatur'; pp. 27, 28. Under Egfrid we find his brother Ælfwine bearing the title of king, so that he probably occupied a similar position; iv. 22, note. After his death in 679 we do not hear of any under-kings of Deira. Cf. on the relations of Bernicia and Deira, H. Y. I. xxv f. As to their boundaries, the twelfth-century life of Oswald says: 'Regnum Deirorum antiquitus erat de flumine Humbre usque Tinae principii alueum; Berniciorum... de Tinae exordio usque in Scotwad, quod in Scottorum lingua Forth nominatur, dilatabat simul terminum et ambitum. Quicquid uero inter Tine uel Tesam flumina exstitit, sola heremi uastitudo tunc temporis fuit, et idcirco nullius ditioni servuiit'; S. D. i. 339. This explains the fact that some authorities place the northern frontier of Deira at the Tees, others at the Tyne; v. Bright, p. 25, note.

The sons of Ethelfrid. 

 suicidem... exulabant] On the sons of Ethelfrid, v. s. ii. 12, note. If Skene, P. & S. pp. cii, cxviii f., is right in identifying Eanfrid with the father of Talorg mac Anfrith, one of the Pictish kings, he must during his exile have married a Pictish princess, the son succeeding in right of his mother according to the Pictish custom; v. s. i. 1, notes.

p. 128. proxima aestate] Summer of 634.
in oppido municipio] ‘in Municep ëære byrig,’ ‘in the town York in Municep’; AS. vers. treating ‘municipium’ as a proper name. York is meant. It shows the extent of Cadwallon’s victory that the capital of Deira should be in his hands.

anno integro] To be reckoned from the death of Edwin, not Date, from that of Osric; i.e. the death of Eanfrid is to be placed towards the end of 634; otherwise the ‘inaustus annus’ would be nearly two years long, viz. Oct. 633 to summer 635. This is further confirmed by the chronology of Aidan’s life, whose mission cannot be placed later than June, 635; v. notes to e. 5.

Eanfridum . . . damnuit] Tigernach speaks as if there was Death of a regular battle between them: ‘Cath la [praetium per] Cathlon Eanfrid.
7 Anfraith qui decollatus est’; cf. Ann. Ult. This may be true, and Eanfrid may have gone after the battle without adequate security to ask for terms, and been put to death in the way described: ‘Quo [Eanfrido] . . . occiso, tam procerum quam episco-
porum electione et auctoritate Sanctus Oswaldus in regem eligitur’; Vita Osw. in S. D. i. 365, 366.

cum XII lectis militibus] ‘his weotena twelfa sum,’ ‘twelve of his witan or counsellors,’ AS. vers.

unde cunctis, &c.] These words, and still more those used with Keeping of reference to the same matter in e. 9, ‘neque alios regno eorum annus adnotari,’ seem certainly to point to some system of keeping regnal and annalistic records prior to the time of Bede. See Introduction to Sax. Chron. So Elmham would include the time of the ‘reges dubii et externi’ in Kent (iv. 26 ad fin.) within the reign of Witred, the next legitimate king; pp. 287, 288.

quo . . . nocatur] It would seem from Bede’s words that the Battle of battle took place very soon after Eanfrid’s murder, and before the end of 634. Owing to the ‘annus infaustus’ being reckoned as part of Oswald’s reign, Bede has nowhere told us the exact date of his de facto accession, the ‘mox ubi regnum suscepit’ of iii. 3, ad init. The Sax. Chron. E. places it in 634; but it also places that of Osric and Eanfrid in the same year; cf. Bright, p. 131. The name of the battle both in Ann. Camb. 631 and in Nenn. § 63 is ‘bellum Catiscu’ (= cath-is-gwail, ‘the battle within the wall’). In Adamnan’s life of Columba, i. 1 (ed. Reeves, pp. 15, 16), the battle is thus described: ‘Ossualdus rex, . . . de castris ad bellum cum admodum pauciore exercitu contra millia numerosa progradientur; cui a Domino . . . felix et facilius est concessa victoria, et rege trucidato Catlone, uictor post bellum reuersus, postea totius Brit-
nanniae imperator a Deo ordinatus est.’ According to a story which Adamnan’s predecessor Failbe heard Oswald himself tell to Seghine,
Site of the battle.

Ostenditur . . . locus ille] There is an admirable account of the site of this struggle in Canon Raine's Hexham, I. xi, ff. 'Oswald . . . drew up his forces in a position of great natural strength some seven or eight miles to the north of Hexham. Here there is a plateau . . . which . . . presents the appearance of a vast fortified camp. . . . The place, which . . . has for centuries been called St. Oswald's, bore . . . the name of Heavenfield. . . . Across the upper end of this great natural fortification ran the Roman wall, but between it and the northern side of the plateau there is a space left on which a small army might be drawn up. . . . Oswald therefore . . . took up a position at the north-west corner of the plateau, behind the wall. In that angle, . . . probably on the mound.
which the chapel now occupies, Oswald set up the famous wooden cross to be the standard of his men. . . . The troops of Cadwalla would break like a wave against the rock-bound corner in which the cross was standing; . . . and the fight . . . would go roaring eastwards. "There is a fame," as Leland tells us, "that Oswald won the batelle at Halydene, a two miles est from St. Oswalde's asche" [Itin. ed. 2, vii. 58]. There is a place called Hallington in the direction mentioned, and it was here probably that the battle was fully won. Cadwalla . . . hastened towards the south . . . through the Tyne, . . . and at a distance of eight or nine miles from the battle-field he was caught and killed at a little beck called Denisesburn, a tributary of the Rowley-water. That 'Denisesburna' is not a corruption for 'Deuilesburna' or 'Deuisesburna,' as Camden (ii. 1084, ed. 1753) and Skene (C. S. i. 244, 245) thought, identifying it with the Devil's water, is clear from a charter cited by Raine, u. s., Appendix, p. iv, in which the two are expressly distinguished: 'Dedit . . . archiepiscopus . . . xx aeras terrae . . . in Ruleystal . . . inter Denisesburn, et Diuelis.' . . . 'In the fork between Rowley water and Devil's water is a place called the Steel. The name of Denisesburn is lost, but it is almost certain . . . that it is identical with Rowley water,' or a tributary of it, as Canon Raine suggests above. This chapter is cited in Amalarius Mettensis (ninth cent.); Migne, Pat. Lat. cv. 1029, 1030, quoted by M. & L. a. l.

usque hodie] 'gen to dæge,' 'still to day,' AS. vers. So infra, p. 129, l. 24.


astulas] 'splinters.'

praesagio] Another instance of a name with a 'sacramentum,' or mystical meaning; cf. Introd. p. lvii, and note.

est autem . . . statueret] om. AS. vers.

Hagustaldensis ecclesiae] Hexham; on the various forms of Hexham. the name, cf. Raine, u. s. pp. ix, f., 8. There is a 'Hægstaldescumb' in Somerset; Birch, i. 97.


p. 130. nullum . . . statueret] v. note on ii. 14, p. 114. We can Church trace the progress of church building in Northumbria, c. 3 p. 132: building. 'construebantur . . . ecclesiae per loca'; and in Mercia, c. 22, p. 173: 'fecit [Cedd] per loca ecclesias'; cf. the passage from the life of Wilfrord, cited on v. 11, p. 301.

qui . . . superest] om. AS. vers. It is quite possible that this Bothelm.
Bothelm is the same as the one who was the hero of a story told in Eddius, Vita Wilfridi, c. 23.

J. R. A. Moss.

ueteri musco] M. & L. a. l. refer to Cockayne, Saxon Leechdoms, ii. 344, where one of the ingredients of a prescription against 'elf-disease' is: 'gehalgodes Cristes mæles ragu,' 'moss from a halloved cross.'

misit] 'put'; cf. French 'mettre.'

et dum . . . permanere] This shows that the monks slept in their habits; cf. Introduction, p. xxvi.

Infinitive of purpose.

admota . . . requirere] Note the use of the infinitive to express a purpose after a verb of motion; cf. c. 9, p. 143; c. 22, p. 172; iv. 9 ad fin.; iv. 22, p. 250. M. & L. a. l. give other instances; but omit to notice that in all cases the infinitive follows a verb of motion. Later scribes not understanding the construction have altered it. See critical notes.

CHAPTER 3.


maiores natu] 'aldormannum,' 'aldermen,' AS. vers.; v. note on ii. 13, p. 112.

Conversion of Ethelfrid's sons.

baptismatis sacramenta] 'Sed progenitoribus fidei Christianis penitus ignaris, ille ut rosa de spinis effloruit, salutari . . . fonte Christo regeneratus,' S. D. i. 18; cf. ib. 344. The life of Oswald, however, represents his mother Acha as a Christian, and the sojourn among the Irish missionaries as only completing the good work which she had begun: 'occiso Ethelfrido filii ipsius una cum matre fugam inierunt, et apud Scotiam . . . latuerunt. Ubi Oswaldus . . . piae matris doctrinam suscepit.' Ibi ergo peregrinationis tempore . . . fidei documenta, quae prius a matre Christiana perceperat, gentis illius credulacae eruditione solidavit'; S. D. i. 341; cf. ib. 385. If Acha survived Ethelfrid and fled with her sons as here described, she may, like them, have been converted in exile; but as far as we can see, she had had no previous opportunity of becoming acquainted with Christianity.

Aidan.

Aedanum] For the later lives of him, which are merely taken from Bede, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 246, 247.

habentemque selum Dei] '7 he hæfde Godes ellenwodnisse,7 his lufan micle,' 'and he had zeal for God and love to Him in large measure,' AS. vers.; which then, with equal good taste and feeling, omits the controversial passage which follows down to 'didierunt'; cf. on c. 17, infra, p. 161. On the Paschal question, v. Excursus.

North and South of Ireland.

septentrionalis Scottorum provincia . . . gentes Scottorum . . . in australibus Hiberniae . . . partibus] The Irish themselves always
make a strong distinction between the North and South of Ireland; the former, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, is named Leth-Cuinn, i.e. Conn’s Half, and was colonised, according to the legend, by Erem, the younger son of Miled, while the latter, Leinster and Munster, is named Leth Mogha, Mogh’s half, and was colonised by Eber, the elder son. This distinction was to some extent obliterated by the Scandinavian invasions, which brought North and South nearer together; v. Z. K. B. iii. 36, 37; Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 39, 40.

Anatolii]: See on c. 25, pp. 186, 187.

iamdudum . . . didicerunt] In 631 delegates from a South-Irish synod were at Rome, having been sent to consult the Roman Church on the Easter question. While there, they had an opportunity of seeing with their own eyes how widely their own use might diverge from that of the rest of the Western Church, for in that year there was a difference of a month between the Roman and Celtic Easters (see Excursus on Paschal controversy). On their return another synod was apparently held, and the Roman Easter adopted. The first synod, therefore, was probably held in 630, the second in 632 or 633. It has been commonly assumed that the letter of Pope Honorius mentioned in ii. 19, was connected with these South-Irish synods. This is possible, though Bede does not say that the recipients of that letter were different from those to whom the letter of Pope John in the same chapter was addressed; and these certainly belonged to the North of Ireland. If Honorius’ letter was addressed to the Southern Irish it may have preceded and occasioned the former synod, in which case its date would be c. 629; or it may have been sent by the Irish delegates in 631 or 632. Jaffé dates it c. 634, apparently assuming that it was sent with the letters to Edwin and Archbishop Honorius. But this, on the theory that it was addressed to the Southern Irish, is less likely. It illustrates this point that Tuda, bishop of Lindisfarne, who was brought up among the Southern Scoti, observed the Roman Easter and tonsure; iii. 26, p. 189.


in insula Lindisfarnensi] ‘Lindisfarne est insula exigua, quae nune a provincialibus Hali-eland uocatur, quam sanctissimus Aidanus, appetitor silentii et sanctae paupertatis in sedem episcopatus, spreta illa Eboracensis frequentiae pompa, elegit’; G. P.
Love of the Irish missionaries for remote sites.

Elsewhere Malmesbury is rather contemptuous of this fondness of the Irish missionaries for out-of-the-way sites: 'Scotti... magis in paludibus inglorii delitescere, quam in excelsis urbibus consuerant habitare,' p. 135. 'Scotti, Aidanus, Finanus, Colmanus, nec pallio nec urbis nobilitate uoluerunt attollri, in insula Lindisfarnensi delitescentes,' p. 211; cf. ib. 307, quoted below on iv. 3. 'Uocatur autem Lindisfarne a fluuiolo, silicet Lindis, exerentur in mare, qui duorum pedum habens latitudinem non nisi cum recesserit mare uideri potest'; S. D. i. 51; cf. ii. 54. It is the association with Cuthbert, not with Aidan, which has given to Lindisfarne the name of Holy Island: 'locus uenetus in Britannia uenerabilis,' Alcuin to Ethelred of Northumbria, Mon. Alc. p. 181; H. & S. iii. 493. The Welsh name of Lindisfarne is Medcawt, the Irish Medgoet; S. D. places the foundation of Lindisfarne in 635.


pulcherrimo... spectaculo] Bright, p. 141, cites the similar case of Gottschalk, King of the Wends in the eleventh century. This is what W. M., i. 51, 52, makes of Bede's simple and beautiful words: 'Si quando antistes Aidanus Scottie auditoribus facienda proponeret, et interpres deesset, confestim rex ipse, quamuis indutus chlamydem, uel auro rigentem, uel Tyrios murices aestuarem, id munus dignanter adripiens, barbari sermonis inuolucrum patria lingua expediret.'

ducibus ac ministris] 'aldormonnum 7 pegnum,' 'aldermen and thanes,' AS. vers.

linguam... didicerat] So his brother Oswy was 'Scottorum lingua optime inbutus'; c. 25, p. 182.

de Scottorum regione uenire Britanniam] This need not imply that missionaries came direct from Ireland as well as from Iona; for though Iona 'ad ius... Brittaniae pertinet' (infra), it formed a sort of stepping stone between the Scots of Ireland and Britain; and Bede often uses language which shows that he included it in Scotia; v. iii. 24, note.

quibus regnavit] 'Regnare' like 'imperare' with a dative; so c. 4, p. 133: 'regnante Pictis Bridio.'

sacerdotali] Probably 'episcopal'; v.s. i. 28, note. The Irish system of non-diocesan bishops attached to monasteries, would
enable them to send a number of these; and in this respect the
Irish missionaries may have had an advantage over the Roman.

eclesiae] v.s. confuebant] Cf. iv. 27, pp. 269, 270; and the corresponding
passage, c. 9, in the Life of Cuthbert.

regularis] 'regular,' i.e. monastic.

Hii] Iona. This latter name arose, as Dr. Reeves has shown, the name
Ad. pp. 258–262, 313, 314, from a misreading of the form employed
by Adamnan, Iona insula, where *iouna* is an adjectival form (like
Bede's *Hiensis*, v. 15, 22, pp. 316, 347) agreeing with insula, and
formed from the Irish name of the island which appears in the
forms *I*, *II*, *Ja*, *Eo*, *h* being often prefixed, as is common in Irish
under certain circumstances. The adjectives *eoa*, *euca*, are also
found.

A passage in the eleventh-century life of St. Cadroe marks the
transition from the adjectival to the substantival use of *iouna* :
'Eua insuhi, quae nunc iouna dicitur,' P. & S. p. 108. When the mistake
of Iona for Iona was once made, it was stereotyped by the fancy
which saw in Iona the Hebrew equivalent for the name Columba :
'quod Hebraice dicitur Iona, Graecitas uero ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΠΑ uocitat, et
Latina lingua Columba,' Rs. Ad. p. 5; 'sic beatus Petrus propter
 eiusdem Spiritus gratiam Bar-Iona, id est, filius columbae uocatur';
Opp. xii. 28. So Columbanus of himself: 'mihi Ionae Hebraice,
Peristerae Graece, Columbae Latine'; Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxx. 282.

destinatus] The old edd. joined this on to the preceding word
making 'Hydestinatus' the name of the island. Bede uses this
same word 'destinatus' of the other bishops sent from Iona, Finan
and Colman; iii. 17; iv. 4, pp. 160, 213; Rs. Ad. p. 259.

cuius monasterium . . . praeerat] v. c. 4, note.

septentrionalium Scottorum] i.e. the Scoti of the North of *Ireland*; Northern
the 'septentrionalis Scottorum provincia' of the earlier part of the Irish
chapter.

ad ius . . . discreta, sed] om. AS. vers.

donatione Pictorum] on this, v. *infra* on c. 4.

CHAPTER 4.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor in the Capitula.
P. 133. *Iustinus minor accept*] Nov. 565, Gibbon.

horrentibus montium iugis] The mountain range often called The
the Mounth, which runs across Scotland from West to East, from Mounth.
Fort William almost to Aberdeen. In *infra*, p. 297, Bede calls these
Northern Picts 'transmontani Picti.'
ipsi australes Picti, &c.] It is to be noted that Bede does not profess to give the account of St. Ninian as more than a tradition, 'ut perhibent'; and as Ninian lived more than three centuries earlier than Bede, this would necessarily be the case, unless he had access to documentary evidence. The date of Ninian cannot be fixed exactly. The dedication of his church at Whitemorn must be subsequent to the death of St. Martin of Tours, 397 x 400; cf. N. & K. pp. xxvii. xxxviii, ff. 256, 266, 271–273. A later legend represents him as hearing of the death of St. Martin while the church was in progress. According to Ailred he obtained from St. Martin the masons who built the church; ib. 143, 144; cf. Hab. § 5, Haa. § 7. pp. 368, 390, and notes. He himself is said to have died Sept. 16, 432; Ussher, Brit. Eccl. p. 351, citing Bale, Cent. i. 43; but nothing that can be called authority has been produced for this date. From the location of his church in Galloway there is a tendency to think and speak of him as if he were only the apostle of the Galwegian or Niduari Picts ('Pictorum patria, que modo Galwiethia dicitur'; N. & K. p. 220; cf. Vit. Cudb. c. 11; Opp. Min. p. 71; Rhys, C. B. pp. 113, 150, 221). But Bede says distinctly that he preached to the Picts within, i.e. to the South of the Mounth. If, as seems probable, he was a Strathclyde Briton, he would have facilities of access to both; for the invading Brythons seem to have forced themselves in like a wedge between the Picts, much as the Anglo-Saxon conquest broke up the Britons themselves into three isolated divisions, or as the Magyar inroads cut off the Northern from the Southern Slavs. (See Map in Rhys, C. B., S. C. S. i. 228.)

Irish tradition or invention takes Ninias to Ireland towards the end of his life to found the church of Cluain Conaire in Leinster, and die there. And he is commemorated in the Irish calendars at Sept. 16, as Moinenn; i.e. 'my Ninias,' (or rather, 'my Nennius,' Nennius and Ninias being probably the same name); Félire; Mart. Don.; Martyrology of Tamlach; Irish life of Ninias cited by Ussher; u. s. p. 506. But as Bede distinctly says that his body was at Whitemorn, this tradition is probably quite baseless, and due to a confusion of two distinct persons. On the fate of his relics, cf. N. & K. pp. xvii. f. On the later lives of him, of which the principal is by Ailred of Rievaulx, see Hardy, Cat. i. 44–46. They add nothing of value to the tradition recorded by Bede.

Ailred's life was edited by Bishop Forbes in Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, and his notes and introduction are a great storehouse of learning on the subject. Ailred's life is said to have been based on an English original; N. & K. p. 255. On dedications to St. Ninian
in Scotland, v. ib. xiii-xvii. His name is found corrupted into 'Ringan,' 'Trinyon,' 'Triman,' 'Truyons;' ib. 256, 304. The form 'Trinan' occurs also in the Isle of Man, where too there is a 'Kill Língan,' probably derived from the same source; Rhys, Outlines of Manx Phonology, p. 135.

Romae] Aired represents him as remaining at Rome 'pluribus annis;' N. & K. p. 142.


Anglorum gens obtinet] Probably they were among the Picts reduced by Oswy; ii. 5; iii. 24; iv. 3, pp. 89, 180, 206. From the present tense used by Bede it appears that Northumbria still retained its hold on this district; which was more than could be said of many of the conquests of Oswy; cf. v. 23, p. 351, where the bishopric of Whitenern is said to form part of 'provincia Nordanymborum.' As Bede there expressly contrasts this district with the 'natio Pictorum,' and nowhere (except in the Vita Cudb. u. s.) speaks of this district as Pictish, it had probably been a good deal anglicised by his time. On the Anglian bishopric of Whitenern, v. infra on v. 23, and cf. H. & S. i. 150; ii. 7; and on the subsequent history of Whitenern, see N. & K. pp. xli–lxii. It remained a favourite place of pilgrimage down to the Reformation; ib. 295 ff.; cf. Redgauntlet, ch. 9.

Ad Candidam Casam] On the form of the name v. s. ii. 14, Whitenern. note; cf. the numerous places in England called Whitchurch: 'Ecclesia . . . quae candida Ecclesia dicitur;' 'Ecclesia . . . quae alba ecclesia . . . nominatur,' of the church founded on the field of Maserfeld where Oswald fell; Vit. Osw. in S. D. i. 350, 352; cf. Leland, Itin. v. 37, ed. 2. In the lives of Irish saints of the second order Candida Casa is called 'Rosnat,' and 'Magnum Monasterium,' and is represented as a great centre of monastic discipline and learning where several of these saints receive their training; N. & K. pp. xlii, f.; S. C. S. ii. 46-48, 419; H. & S. i. 116, 120, 121.
Ptolemy’s ‘Leucopibia’ is probably Whiten; and if the form is correct, it looks as if the whiteness were anterior to Nynias’ ‘Candida Casa.’ Müller, however, in his edition of Ptolemy reads Λουκοπιβία. de lapide . . . more] v. s. ii. 14, p. 114; ‘nomen loco ex opere inditum quod ecclesiam ibi ex lapide polito Britonibus miraculo fecerit;’ G. P. p. 256; ‘ante quam nullam in Britannia de lapide dicunt esse constructam;’ N. & K. p. 144.

uentit . . . Britanniam . . . anno anno, &c.] The chronology of the Pictish kings may derive light from this passage. It is too dark to throw any light upon it. Bede says distinctly above that Columba came to Britain in 565, that it was in the year of the accession of Iustinus minor, which also gives 565. He says infra that the faulty Paschal cycle was observed in Iona for 150 years. The change was adopted in 715 or 716. The former is the date given here, the latter in v. 22, 24. See note on v. 22. This therefore gives 565 or 566 for the foundation of Iona. In v. 24, Bede gives 565 as the date both of the coming of Columba, and of the foundation of Iona. The Ann. Camb. and Ann. Ult. place the coming of Columba to Iona in 562, Tigh. in 563; and from these and other data furnished by the Irish chronicles and the Chron. Pict. (P. & S. p. 7) Dr. Reeves (Ad. pp. 150, 151) and Mr. Skene (C. S. ii. 105) place the coming of Columba to Iona in 563. But we have so often seen that these authorities are two or three years behind in their chronology as compared with Bede, that it seems rash on such grounds to set aside the explicit statements of the latter.

Columba] The great store-house of learning on the subject of St. Columba is Dr. Reeves’ monumental edition of his life by Adamnan, Abbot of Iona 679-704, the third book of which, and some chapters in the other two, are based on an earlier life by Cuimene Ailbe, Abbot of Iona 657-669; Pinkerton, i. 51-69, ed. 1889, where references are given to the corresponding chapters of Adamnan; cf. also Reeves, p. vi. Thus the earliest record of him is sixty years posterior to his death and is already full of legendary matter. (Hardy, Cat. i. 167, thinks that Cuimine abridged Adamnan; but Adamnan cites Cuimine, iii. 5, and an author would hardly cite an abridgement of himself.) The later lives, both Latin and Irish, simply run riot in the marvellous. For the various lives and MSS. of Lives of St. Columba, see Reeves, Ad. pp. v-xxxvi, which is both fuller and more correct than the account in Hardy, Cat. i. 166-174. The Irish life (Rs. pp. xxxii. f.) has been twice printed by Mr. Whitley Stokes, from the Lebar Brecce (pp. 29, 30 of the facsimile) in Three Middle Irish Homilies; from the Book of Lismore, in Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore. To these may be added
the Preface to Columba’s Hymn, ‘Altus Prosator,’ printed by Dr. Todd in his (unfinished) edition of the Liber Hymnorum, pp. 201-251, and by Stokes, Goidelica, pp. 100-103; and the preface to the Amra Coluin Cille, which exists in three recensions: (a) In the Liber Hymnorum, printed by Stokes, u. s. pp. 156-158; (b) In the Lebar na h-Uidri, facs. pp. 5, 6, printed by J. O’Beirne Crowe; and (c) in Rawl. B. 502, ff. 54-56; the first being the shortest and the last much the longest of the three. These two prefaces are the earliest authorities in Irish for Columba. There are two fragments of Latin lives of Columba in Codex Salaman. col. 221 ff. 845 ff. It is not true that the latter ‘differs little from that by Adamnan;’ Hardy, u. s. p. 172.

It is curious that Bede does not seem to have known either Cuimene’s or Adamnan’s life of Columba; cf. inf. p. 134: ‘de cuius uita ... nonnulla ... feruntur scripta haberí’; though he had probably as a lad conversed with Adamnan, v. 15, notes; and he certainly was acquainted with his work de Locis Sanctis, ib. For some account of Columba, v. Reeves, w. s. pp. lxviii–lxxx; S. C. S. ii. 51-54, 79-84, 85 ff.; Greith, Altirische Kirche, bk. iii. ch. 1-3. They all rely perhaps too much on uncritical statements of the later lives. That Columba’s was not the only attempt to christianise northern Britain from Ireland, v. H. & S. i. 116, 121; Reeves, u. s. pp. lxxiv, f.

Bridio filio Meilocon, rege potentissimo] Cf. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 31, 74, 75; Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 1892, p. 344; C. B. p. 201. His power had been been shown only a few years previously by the severe check which he had given to the Dalriadic Scots, v. s. According to Chron. Pictorum, P. & S. p. 7, copied mechanically by all later authorities, he reigned thirty years. Marcellinus Comes (on whom v. s. i. 13, p. 29, note) gives the date of his accession as 557: ‘In Britannia Bridus Rex Pictorum efficitur;’ Bouquet, ii. 20.

unde ... insulam ab eis ... accepit] Bede distinctly says that Columba received the island from the Picts; and the Liber Hymnorum (ninth or tenth century), p. 204, says: ‘Bruidi ... filius Melchon ... immolauit Columbo III.’ Tighernach, however, and Ann. Uit. in recording the death of Conall Mac Congaill, King of the Dalriadic Scots in 574 and 573, respectively, say that he was the donor of Iona; and H. & S. ii. 107, say ‘in any case the Christian king, i.e. Conall, must have been the original donor.’ But Bede represents the donation as the result of Columba’s success among the Picts: ‘gentem ... convuetit, unde ... accepit,’ &c.; cf. c. 3, ad fin.: ‘eo quod illis praedicanibus fidem Christi perceperint,’ so
that this argument falls to the ground. There was an obvious motive why Irish writers should wish to represent Iona as the gift of an Irish prince to the great Irish saint; the fact that in spite of this the earliest Irish authority agrees with Bede is decisive in his favour (so Reeves, Ad. pp. 434, 435). As the island lay close to the dominions of both monarchs, Columba may have obtained a confirmation of his possession from both; ib. lxxxvi, 151. Skene (C. S. ii. 34, 88), thinks that this was not the first establishment of Christianity in Iona; but the authorities for this opinion, a doubtful passage in the Féilire of Oengus, and a passage in one of the Irish lives, are too late to be of much value. On this mission of Columba and the conversion of Northumbria under Aidan, &c., which sprang from it, some curious arguments were based in the controversy about the Scotch claims of Edward I; P. & S. pp. 249, 250, 273, 274; cf. ib. 200, 201.

ubi et ipse sepultus est] Cf. infr. ‘in quo ipse requiescit corpore.’ On the fate of St. Columba’s relics, which is very obscure, see Rs. Ad. pp. 312-318. It seems certain that, like those of so many other saints, they were removed from fear of the Scandinavian invasions. Many places were anxious to claim the honour of possessing them, and more than one place may have obtained a share of them. Dunkeld, which became the head of the Columbite monasteries in Scotland, had an obvious motive for making the claim; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 297. It may be noted that the passage from the Book of Armagh, which Dr. Reeves cites, p. 313, and justly calls enigmatical, ‘in aeclesia iuxta mare pro undecima,’ has been definitely cleared up by the late Mr. Bradshaw’s palmary emendation of ‘proxima’ for ‘pro undecima.’ The scribe mistook the letters ‘XIMA’ for the numeral xi with the adjective termination.

The obit of Columba.

p. 134. post annos circiter XXX et duos] Note that Bede does not profess to give the date of Columba’s death exactly, and therefore we cannot argue confidently from his words. They are quite consistent with the date June 9, 597, for which Dr. Reeves decides, mainly on the evidence of Adamnan; Rs. Ad. pp. 309-312, 227 ff. There was a long correspondence in the Academy, Sept.–Dec. 1892, between Mr. Anscombe and Dr. MacCarthy, arising out of an article by the former in the Engl. Hist. Review for July, 1892. Mr. Anscombe has summed up his own case in a monograph, ‘The Obit of St. Columba.’ He decides for 580; but this seems to me utterly inconsistent with the plainest statements of Bede. If 597 is correct, then Columba died in the very year in which Augustine set foot in Britain; cf. D. C. B. i. 604.

priusquam...ueniret] From an incidental remark of Adamnan,
Dr. Reeves argues that Durrow was founded after, not before, the Columba settled at Iona; Rs. Ad. pp. 23, 24. The Irish Annals agree that the Prince of Tethba (Teilla), who granted Durrow to Columba, was Aed son of Brendan. (F. M. 585, is only an apparent exception, as the text there is clearly corrupt.) But there is some doubt as to when he succeeded. If in 553, as Dr. Reeves thinks, his father being passed over (and F. M. 573 is the only Irish authority which calls Brendan Prince of Tethba) then there is nothing in the Irish Annals inconsistent with Bede's statement, to which I feel disposed to adhere.

Dearmach... hoc est campus roborum] Adamnan calls it in Durrow, one place by its Irish name, Dairmagh, p. 23; elsewhere he latinises it 'Roboreti Campus'; pp. 58, 95, 215; 'Roboreus Campus,' p. 163; 'Roboris Campus,' p. 105. Now Durrow in King's County. For a list of monasteries and churches founded by or dedicated to St. Columba, v. ib. 289 ff.

ex quo... esse subjici] The organisation of the Irish Church was not at this time based on diocesan episcopacy, but the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was in the hands of the abbots of the great monasteries who administered the districts ('provincia,' Bede; 'dioecesis,' Rs. Ad. p. 65; 'parochia,' ib. 336) subject to them, the bishops being merely members of the monastic bodies, and as such subject, even as regards the exercise of their episcopal functions, to the authority of the abbot, in virtue of the vow of monastic obedience. Of course this authority of the abbot extended only over bishops within the 'provincia' of his own monastery; and Bede so limits it here. The Sax. Chron. 565 E, very absurdly misinterprets his words as meaning that all Irish bishops were subject to the Abbot of Iona. This did not imply any confusion between the spiritual functions of bishop and presbyter, or any claim on the side of the abbot-presbyter to discharge any part of the episcopal office. Ordinations, &c. were performed by the bishops, but under the direction of the abbot and convent; and the bishop, as such, had no voice in the affairs of the monastery, or the administration of the district; and when a bishop was sent forth to other parts it was by the authority of the convent; iii. 5, 17, 25; iv. 4. The episcopal function was often combined with very inferior monastic offices; S. C. S. ii. 44; Rs. Ad. p. 365. In some instances the abbot might be a bishop, and where this was the case the way would be paved for the introduction of diocesan episcopacy. Still he exercised his jurisdiction not as bishop but as abbot. (In the case of Cedd, c. 23, we have a bishop acting as abbot of a monastery not in his own diocese.) Bede speaks of this
system as an "ordo inusitatus"; and so to him it was. But it was
the ordinary system of the Irish Church. It seems never to have
existed among the British Celts; H. & S. i. 143. In later times
this state of things was forgotten even in Ireland, and legends were
invented to account for the fact that leading Irish saints, like
Columba, were not in episcopal orders; e.g. Félire, p. 51, and the
passage cited below from Misc. Biogr. But that the system, though
forgotten, was thoroughly ingrained in Irish thought and speech is
shown by the fact that 'abb, 'abdaine,' 'abbot,' 'abbacy,' are the
regular words to express the highest ecclesiastical authority. The
Popes are constantly called 'abbots of Rome'; and we find even
'abdaine 7 rige na cathrach nemda,' 'the abbacy and kingship of
the heavenly city' ascribed to Christ; Lebar Brec, facs. p. 135b,
43. Lindisfarne in its ecclesiastical constitution, as in its physical
conformation (Bright, p. 137), closely resembled Iona. Cf. Vit.
Cudb. Pros. c. 16: 'Neque aliquis miretur, quod in eadem insula
Lindisfarnea cum permodica sit, et supra episcopi, et nune abbatis
ac monachorum esse locum dixerimus; reuera enim ita est. Namque
una eademque seruorum Dei habitatio utrosque simul tenet,
imo omnes monachos tenet. Aidanus quippe, qui primus eiusdem
loci episcopus fuit, monachus erat, et monachicam cum suis omnibus
utiam semper agere solebat. Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius
antistites usque hodie sic episcopale exerceunt officium, ut regente
monasterium abbate, quem ipsi cum consilio fratrum elegerint,
omnes presbyteri, diaconi, cantores, lectores, ceterique gradus
ecclesiastici, monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regular
seruent.' Here, however, the bishop has acquired a higher position
than in the Irish system, as he seems to have a prerogative voice in
the election of the abbot. Bede is wrong (ad loc.) in comparing
this to the plan recommended to Augustine by Gregory (i. 27,
p. 48), as in that the offices of abbot and bishop are conjoined,
which was not the case at Lindisfarne. Thus Eata was abbot of
Lindisfarne sometime before he became bishop; iii. 20. (On the
whole subject, v. Rs. Ad. pp. 65, 69, 70, 86, 87, 198, 199, 335, 339-341,
393; S. C. S. ii. 42-44, 94, 95, 158. Skene's account is mainly based
on Reeves, but is well and clearly stated. The monastic bishop is
found in exempt monasteries on the Continent; D. C. A. ii. 1271;
ct. N. & K. p. 282. But here the institution is later than diocesan
episcopacy, the object being to enable the monasteries to ordain
their own members without invoking the aid of the diocesan.)

The monasteries which in Ireland or in Britain owed their origin
immediately or mediately to St. Columba formed a federation of
which Iona was the head: 'areem, principatum tenebat;' cf. c. 3.
p. 132: 'Hii ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scotti habuere coenobiorum,' c. 21, p. 171; 'insula primaria,' Rs. Ad. p. 12;
'Hii . . . cum his, quae sibi erant subdita monasteriis'; v. 22, p. 346; cf. v. 15, p. 315. These are the 'Columbae monasteria,' v. 9, p. 297, the 'muinter Coluimeill', or 'familia Columbae' of which we hear so frequently in Irish authorities; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 162;
Vita Tripart. p. 314. They would be included in the 'provincia' or 'dioecesa' (v. s.) of which Iona was the head. Those in Ireland who were not included in the Columbite system are spoken of as 'ab Hiensium dominio liberi'; v. 15, p. 316. The position of Iona must have been much enhanced by the fact of Columba inaugurating Aedan mac Gabrain as Dalriadic monarch; Rs. Ad. p. 198. No later instance is quoted, but the ceremony was probably continued as an honorary function of the abbot; ib. 342, 198. The Scandinavian invaders at the beginning of the ninth century ravaged Iona and massacred most of the community. The headship of the Columbite monasteries in Ireland was transferred to Kells, of those in Britain to Dunkeld; S. C. S. ii. 304, 305. Hence the 'Libellus de Ortu St. Cuthbb.' bravely by a double anachronism speaks of St. Columba as 'primus episcopus in Dunkel'; Biogr. Misc., Surtees Soc. p. 78. Thus both ecclesiastically and politically the Scandinavian invasions tended to cut off the Scoti of Britain from those of Ireland, and so helped to constitute Scotland in the modern sense.
That Bede in all the passages quoted above speaks of the supremacy of Iona in the past tense, seems to show that it had already declined in his day; H. & S. ii. 115. Iona was restored by Queen Margaret the saintly wife of Malcolm Cennmor: 'Huense coenobium . . . tempestate praeliorum cum longa uectuestate dirutum . . . fidelis regina reedificauit, datisque sumptibus idoneis reparavit'; Ordericus Vital. iii. 398, 399, ed. Prevost.
qualiscumque fuerit ipse] Dr. Reeves (Ad. pp. lxxvii ff.) thinks Character that Bede may have in his mind some of the stories current about ofColumba. Columba, which, if true, would imply the existence in the saint of a somewhat hasty and undisciplined temper. Bede may however only be alluding to the fact implied in the previous sentence, that he had no materials for his life before him.
successores] One of these, Adamnan, Bede probably had seen; v. s.
permansit, &c.] v. s.
p. 135. correcti sunt] v. on v. 22.
ut quidam rebantur] See above on ii. 19, p. 123.
CHAPTER 5.

missus est Aedan] Aidan died Aug. 31, 651; iii. 14 ad fin., in the seventeenth year of his episcopate, c. 17. The synod of Whitby, which was held before July 664, H. & S. iii. 106, was in the thirtieth year of the 'episcopatus Scottorum,' c. 26 ad init. Therefore Aidan must have been consecrated before July 635. We have seen that Oswald's de facto accession cannot be placed much before the end of 634, c. i, notes; and to allow time ('aliquandiu ... praedicans') for the unsuccessful mission of Aidan's predecessor, infra, p. 137, we can hardly place his own mission earlier than April or May 635 (though Richard of Hexham places it in 634; Hexham, i. 10). Hence, when Bede says (c. 26) that Aidan was bishop for seventeen years, he is speaking inexacty. In c. 17 ad init., 'completis annis episcopatus sui XVII' (B. C.) 'XVI' (M. N.) the reading is unfortunately doubtful. The argument is hardly affected if the mission of Aidan's predecessor be included in the 'episcopatus Scottorum.' But I do not think it is so included by Bede.

Segeni] On him see note to ii. 19, p. 123.

unde, &c.] Cf. the character given of him, c. 17 ad fin., pp. 161, 162. non aliter ... docebat] v. Introd. § 10.

cuncta ... gaudebat] Cf. the story of the horse given him by Oswin; c. 14, pp. 156, 157.

per ... urbana et rustica loca] 'ge þurh mynsterstowe, ge þurh feolestowe,' AS. vers.

non equorum dorso] Cf. c. 14 u. s. So his disciple Ceadda, c. 28 ad fin. 'non equitando, sed apostolorum more pedibus incendo;' until Theodore with kindly compulsion placed him on horseback; iv. 3, p. 206. (We find however Ceadda's brother Cedd riding; c. 22, p. 174.) Cuthbert more often walked than rode on his preaching tours; iv. 27, pp. 269, 270. For an instance of his riding, cf. Vit. Anon. § 22; Opp. Min. p. 271. Some canons ascribed to Gildas inveigh against those 'qui carnem non edunt, ... neque uehiculis equisque uechuntur, et pro his quasi superiores ceteris se putant.' The Irish character of these canons, if they are due to Gildas, would illustrate his connexion with Ireland; H. & S. i. 108, 109. So in the spurious life of Polycarp: αὐτον ἑξῆς ἐξελέγετο τὰ πλείστα ὀμολογία; App. Fl. II. iii. 458. So of St. Kentigern; N. & K. pp. 192, 193.


meditari] to study. So iv. 8 ad init. of a little child learning its lessons.
psalmis discendis] The Psalter held a very large place in the Use of the devotions and studies of the medieval church; cf. D. C. A. ii. 1922. ‘Canendis psalmis invigilare,’ is one of the duties prescribed by Gregory for the ‘clerici extra sacros ordines constitutis’; i. 27, p. 49. The Psalter was among the first things learnt by Wilfrid; v. 19, p. 323. Adamnan of Coldingham was ‘occupatus noctu uigilis et psalmis,’ when he received the revelation of the doom which was to overtake his monastery; iv. 25, p. 264. The two Hewalds attracted the notice of the Saxons, because ‘psalmis semper atque orationibus uacabant;’ v. 10, p. 300. Ceolfrid for many years recited the whole Psalter twice daily, and thrice during the hundred and fourteen days of his journey to Langres; Haa. § 33. (Bede’s account, Hab. § 22, is somewhat different.)

For the use of the Psalter at the canonical hours in the services at the of the Monastery, cf. Introd. §§ 2, 8. In the revived monastic life at Little Gidding ‘the Psalter was in every four and twenty hours sung and read over from the first to the last verse;’ Walton’s Life of George Herbert, p. 336, ed. 1825.

In the Irish Church the recitation of the Psalter had a prominent place. From the number of the Psalms it was called ‘the three fifties,’ ‘na tri coicat’; on the symbolism of which number, see Opp. vii. 111. Among the Psalms the 118th (119th), called the ‘bait,’ from its first words ‘Beati inmaculati,’ held a prerogative position; cf. MS. Rawlinson, B. 502, f. 44 a; Lismore Lives, pp. x, xii, 32, 144; and a story (not Irish) in H. Y. i. 442. It was one of the marks of Patrick’s saintship: ‘na tri coicat noscanad, the three fifties he would sing;’ Fiacc’s Hymn; cf. Lismore Lives, pp. 32, 316. Fintan, another Irish saint, was nicknamed ‘bél na psalm,’ i.e. ‘psalm-mouth.’

The recitation of the whole or a part of the Psalter, especially the seven Penitential Psalms, was frequently imposed or undertaken as a penance. Dante, Letter v, speaks of ‘il salterio della penitenza.’ Thus Egbert vowed ‘qua praeter sollemnem canonici temporis psalmodiam, . . . cotidie psalterium totum . . . decantaret,’ c. 27, p. 193 (cf. the case of Adamnan of Coldingham, iv. 25, p. 263: ‘ieiuniis et psalmis, . . . quantum uales, insiste’). And this is constantly found in the Penitentials, English, Irish, and Continental; cf. H. & S. iii. 333, 334, 425-429; Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen, pp. 372, 395, 428, &c. A penitential in Irish, which occurs in MS. Rawl.B 512 ff. 42c-44a, is full of instances of this usage.

The Psalter or particular Psalms were also said, like masses, with a with a special ‘intention,’ as a form of intercession for the living or the dead. Thus Berengar, King of Italy in 898, makes certain

special intention;
grants to the Church of St. Martin at Tours "ea conditione quod in feriis ad Matutinas, "Domine, ne in furore" (Ps. vi or xxxvii); ad Vesperas, "De Profundis" (Ps. cxxix); ad Completorium, "Domine, exaudi" (Ps. ci or cxlii), pro se et pro suis successoribus dierentur' Chron. Turon. Bouquet. ix. 49. Charles the Simple in 901 makes grants to the same church 'ita quod pro eo, &c. . . . dierent in feriis "Ad Dominum cum tribularer" (Ps. cxix) et "De Profundis"' (Ps. cxxix); ib. So in the letters of Frothar, Bishop of Toul, *846: 'Sciatis . . . pro uita et sanitate uestra Missas tantas et Psalteria tanta fratres nostros decantasse;' Bouquet, vi. 386; cf. ib. 388, 389; Morison's St. Bernard, p. 285; Hexham, i. cxxviii: 'a priori et conuentu Augustaldensi CCC missas, et CCC psalteria.' Hence in Irish 'salm' comes to have almost the meaning of an intercessory prayer'; cf. MacCarthy, Stowe Missal, p. 163. Of the recitation of Psalms for the dead, we have had an instance in the case of Oswald, supra, c. 2. p. 129. So when the death of St. Hilda was revealed at Hackness, the nuns were bidden 'orationibus ac psalmis pro anima matris operam dare;' iv. 23, p. 257; cf. Hist. Abb. § 23. Of the reprobate brother whose death is told in v. 14, p. 314, Bede says: 'neque aliquis pro eo uel missas facere uel psalmos cantare . . . praesumebat.'

In the 'Judicia cunctatis Lundonie' when any gild brother died, each surviving member is to sing or have sung for his soul 'one fifty': 'gesinge án fittig,' 'cantet unum quinquagenarium psalmorum;' Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 236; ii. 499. On Lanfranc's obit, every priest belonging to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, was to sing a mass for him, 'et qui missam non cantat, l psalmos cantet;' Ang. Sac. i. 56. So for another Canterbury benefactor: 'áegh wilic mæsepirists gesinge fore his sawle twa messan, . . . 7 áegh wilic diacon arede twa passione fore his sawle . . . 7 áegh wilic Godes Siow gesinge twa fittig fore his sawle;' K. C. D. No. 226; Birch, No. 330. (The reading of a Passion with an intention I have not met with elsewhere.) But the most striking instance of this use of the Psalter is in the beautiful story of Beornstan, Bishop of Winchester 931-934, told in G. P. p. 163: 'Illum purissimae sanctitatis fuisse accipimus; cotidie . . . missam pro defunctorum requie cantitasse, noctibus, depulsa formidine, solum cimiteria circuire solitum, pro animarum salute psalmos frequentasse. Hoc cum quadam uice facetem, expletisque omnibus subiungeret: "Requiescant in pace"; uoces quasi exercitus infiniti e sepuleris audiuit respondentium: "Amen."' (A similar but inferior legend is given in M. & L. p. 247, from Hauréau.) The Council of Clovesho (A. D. 747) c. 27, regulates both the peni-
tential and the intercessory use of the Psalms which were: ‘Sancto Spiritu iam olim ad solacium generi humano per os Prophetae proolati;’ H. & S. iii. 372-374.

In the twelfth century the Psalter was the main staple of as an educational for high-born maidens; cf. Ann. Stadenses: ‘cum tamen nihil unquam didicerit, nisi solum psalterium, more nobilium puellarum;’ Pertz, xvi. 330 (of St. Hildegard). It was also one of the chief things which Alfred the Great had his children taught; Asser, M. H. B. p. 485.

operam dare] After this the AS. vers. inserts: ‘ôððe priddæ on halgum gebedum standan,’ ‘or, thirdly, stand at holy prayers.’

religiosi] ‘religious’ in the technical sense of being under monastic rule.

remissione . . . paschalis] The period from Easter to Pentecost, the most festal season of the year. The keeping this as a continuous festival goes back as far as Tertullian (early third century); cf. Epiphanius, De Fide, c. 22: δίκα μόνης τής Πεντέκοστής ὡλης τῶν πενήκοντα ἡμερών, εν αῖσ ὄντε γονυκλισία γίνονται, οὕτε νηστεία προστή- τακται; Migne, Pat. Graecae, xlii. 828, cited by M. & L. a. l. It was to prevent the interruption of this joyful season that St. Columba acquiesced in the prolongation of his life to Pentecost; Rs. Ad. pp. 229. 347.

III* . . . sabbati] The very name of Wednesday in Irish bears witness to this custom, being ‘cótain,’ i.e. ‘the first fast.’ It was kept as a fast in memory of our Lord’s betrayal. (‘Cótain in braith,’ ‘Wednesday of the betrayal,’ is the Irish name for Wednesday in Holy week; F. M. ii. 1014.) The Wednesday fast is also found in Tertullian. As to the Friday fast the same expression as that used here is found in Vit. Cudb. c. 5: ‘sexta sabbati . . . plerique fidelim ob reuerentiam dominiceae passionis usque ad nonam horam solent proteleare ieiunium;’ Opp. Min. p. 57. This fasting to the ninth hour is also ancient. ‘The ninth hour proved ultimately too rigorous a limit, and noon was moved backward till it meant mid-day;’ M. & L. a. l. On the asceticism of the Irish Church, see Intro. § 9.

injuste . . . uenditi] This seems to point to the existence of Slave-trade, something like that slave-trade which St. Wulfstan in later times laboured to suppress. On the use to which Aidan put these ransomed slaves, v. note on i. 23, p. 42.

de provinciæ Scottorum] ‘of Scotta ealonde,’ ‘from the island Iona. of the Scots,’ AS. vers.; by which is usually meant Ireland. Bede of course means Iona; and in the original text of c. 17 infra, p. 160, Iona is spoken of as ‘Hii, Scottorum insula.’
p. 137. in conuentu seniorum] 'in gemote heora weotena,' 'in an assembly of their wise men or counsellors,' AS. vers.

homines...mentis] On the same ground Augustine and his companions had wished to give up the mission to Britain; i. 23, p. 42.

genti quam petebantur, saluti esse] 'to afford the nation the salvation for which they were asked.' On this construction of 'petor,' v. ii. 12, p. 107, note.

ad...sacerdotem] 'to þam biscope,' AS. vers.


ordinantes...miserunt] 'to biscope gehalgedon, 7 Oswalde þam cyninge heora freonde to lareowe onsendan,' 'hallowed him as bishop, and sent him as teacher to King Oswald their friend,' AS. vers.; cf. c. 25: 'ordinatus et missus.'

CHAPTER 6.

P. 138. incognita progenitoribus suis] v. c. 3 ad init., note. So S. D. i. 20 calls him 'primus in tota Berniciorum gente signifer fidei Christianæ.'

omnes nationes, &c.] v. ii. 5, notes.

III lingusas] In i. i, p. 11, Bede speaks of five languages in Britain; but there he includes Latin as the ecclesiastical language, 'qua meditacione scripturarum caeteris omnibus est facta communis;' v. note a. l.

Character of Oswald.

'Extruit ecclesias, donisque exornat opimis,
Vasa ministerii praestans pretiosa sacratis,' &c.

—a point not specially noticed by Bede.

ministrum...delegata] The later king's almoner.

adprehendit dextram eius] 'þ cyste,' 'and kissed it,' adds AS. vers. A similar, but very inferior, story is told of St. Dunstan and St. Edith, the daughter of King Edgar; G. P. p. 189; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 310 (Malmesbury's Life of Dunstan). Contrast Rs. Ad. p. 70: 'Illa manus... quam Findchanus contra fas et ius
Notes.

141 ecclesiasticum super caput filii perditionis imposuit, mox computrescut, et ipsum ... in terram sepelienda praecedet ... Quae ... prophetia ... adimpleta est.' Many parallels are given in Dr. Reeves' note. Elmhem has 'putrescat' for 'inucterascat,' to make the prophecy correspond more literally with the fulfilment; p. 179.

hactenus incorruptae perdurent] 'nu gena ungebrorsnade Oswald's relics.
wunia,' now still remain uncorrupted,' AS. vers. S. D., i. 20, 21,
speaks as if it was only the right hand which remained uncor-
rupted; no doubt in order to make the fulfilment of Aidan’s pro-
phecy seem more exact. On the fate of Oswald’s relics generally,
\(v. \text{ c. } 12, \text{ p. } 152, \text{ note.}

in urbe regia ... cognominatur] Bebbanburh, now Bamborough. Other forms are Bebbburgh, S. D. i. 373, 374; Babbanburgh, ib. ii. 191; Babhanburch, ib. 287; Bamburth, ib. i. 334; Bambrught, ib. 339. Cf. ib. ii. 45: 'Bebba ... ciuitas urbs est munitissima, non admodum magna, sed quasi duorum uel trium agrorum spatium, habens unum introitum cauatum et gradibus miro modo exaltatum. Habet in summitate montis ecclesiam, ... in qua est scrinium, in quo inuoluta pallio iacet dextra manus sancti Oswald regis incorrupta.' R. W. says: 'urbs Bebam, quae nunc 'Baamburom’ Gallice appellatur.' Bamborough was founded by Ida; Chron. Sax. E. 547 A.D. Neither Bede nor the Chron. tells us whose queen Bebba was. Nennius, § 63, makes her the wife of Ethelfrid. If so, he must have been married twice, as he certainly married Acha, Edwin’s sister; see below and c. 1, note. The life of St. Oswald makes Bebba contemporary with Oswy (!); S. D. i. 373.

Lappenberg makes her the wife of Ida; i. 121; E. T. i. 119.

argenteo] ‘et deaurato’ adds R. W. i. 139, copying this passage.

Derorum et Berniciorum prouinciae] On their relations, \(v. \) note to c. 1; cf. Biog. Misc. p. 7: 'Oswaldus ... Berniciorum Deyro-
rumque nationes et populis et moribus distinctas ... de duobus
unum fecerat regnum.'

p. 139. nepos] ‘nephew,’ a very late use; \(v. \) ltft. App. Ff. I. i.
44, note; cf. on iv. 23; and Opp. Min. p. 191: 'Iustinianus Iustini
ex sorore nepos.'

CHAPTER 7.

Eo tempore] The Sax. Chron. places the mission of Birinus in 634. If this is correct, his coming preceded by a few months that of Aidan. Rudborne says 635; Ang. Sac. i. 190. Bede gives no dates. It is plain that he could obtain no reliable details as to the conversion of the West Saxons; cf. Bright, p. 149.
Drogo's life of Oswald exaggerates the part played by Oswald in the conversion of Wessex; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 98.

Reign of Cynegils.  
regnante Cynigilso] According to the Chron. he reigned from 611 to 643 (MS. A.); to 641 B. C. E. F. Under 611 he is said (A. B. C. E.) to have reigned thirty-one years, which would bring his death to 642, the same year as that of Oswald.

Birinus.  
Birino] For the later lives of him, which add nothing but idle legends to Bede's account, see Hardy, Cat. i. 235-239. From the first of these lives is taken the story about him in G. P. p. 157.

Asterius.  
per Asterium... episcopum] Asterius was archbishop of Milan, though he resided at Genoa; Bright, p. 146. Gams dates his episcopate 630-640; Bright, 628-638.

Baptism of Cynegils.  
in episcopatus... gradum] 'Birinus was thus made a "regionary" or missionary bishop, and left free to choose his own centre of operations'; Bright, u. s.

Cynegils' daughter.  
rex ipse... ablueretur] 'An event hardly second in interest, when one considers the destinies of Wessex, to the baptism of Ethelbert himself'; Bright, p. 148. The Sax. Chron. places this event in 635.

eum... suscepisse] This was the function of the sponsor; cf. c. 22 ad fin. iv. 13, and see the note in Bright, u. s. A spurious charter of Ethelwulf (H. & S. iii. 646; K. C. D. No. 1057; Birch, ii. 96) wrongly makes Birinus himself godfather ('fulluht faeder,' 'baptism-father') to Cynegils. Birinus did both baptize and act as godfather to Cuthred, son of Cwichelm, son of Cynegils, in 639; Sax. Chron. ad ann. On Cwichelm, see ii. 9, p. 99, notes. On sponsors at baptism and confirmation, cf. H. & S. iii. 193; Wulfstan's Homilies, pp. 39, 67, 120, 300-302.

Grant confirmed by Oswald.  
filiam] The twelfth-century life of St. Oswald says that her name was Cyneburga; and that after Oswald's death she was persuaded by his niece Osthryth, c. 11, p. 148; iv. 21, p. 249; v. 24, p. 355, to take the veil; S. D. i. 349. It is possible to suspect a confusion with Cyneburga, daughter of Penda, wife of Alchfrid, the son of Oswy, c. 21, p. 170; but on the other hand, Cynegils may well have had a daughter named Cyneburga.

ambo reges] It may have been thought well to have the confirmation of Oswald as Bretwalda. 'Kynegilsus Rex donaut, et Oswaldus confirmavit donum;' Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 190; cf. Elmham, p. 226.

Dorchester  
Dorcic] 'on Dorcet ceastre,' AS. vers. Dorchester near Oxford. Now a mere village; and such it had already become in the twelfth century. 'Reges... ambo dederunt [Birino]... Dorcestram, tune urbem, modo uillam;' G. P. p. 158. On the history of Dorchester as a Mercian see, r. notes on iv. 23, p. 254.
p. 140. migravit ad Dominum] Dec. 3, 648, according to Rudborne, Ang. Sac. i. 191, where see note; 650, Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 161, following Sax. Chron. F. The MSS. of the Sax. Chron. place the accession of his successor in 649 or 650; see below. He is commemorated at Dec. 3 in Mart. Doneg. p. 324; cf. ib. p. 366. Here a later hand in MS. C. has inserted on the margin the date Non. Dec., which would be Dec. 5.

Hædde . . . agentē] According to the Sax. Chron. Hædde became Hædde, bishop in 676, and died in 703. Bede, however, v. 18, ad init., says that he died at the beginning of Osred's reign, i.e. in 705. Fl. Wig. follows Bede and not the Sax. Chron.

translatus] 'Hædde bícop hept his lichoman upadón,' 'Bishop Translation H. ordered his body to be taken up,' AS. vers. This translation of Birinus is alluded to in a pretended decree of Archbishop Theodore's, which will be discussed lower down in connexion with the history of the West-Saxon see. Hen. Hunt., p. xxvi., enumerating the glories of Winchester, says: 'ibi etiam Birini praesulis . . . miracula magna uidebiris.' Another translation took place in 1150; Ann. Wint. p. 54; Ann. Wig. p. 379.

in ecclesia . . . Pauli] Built by Cenwalh, the son and successor of Cynewig; v. Sax. Chron. 643, A. 642. B. C.; 641 E. Consecrated 648; ib. F. Lat. This is the 'old Church,' as opposed to the 'new Mynster,' or Hyde Abbey, consecrated in 903; ib. F. See notes ad h.


suscipere renunit] W. M. says that he renounced Christianity; i. 23. But this is against Bede's words, and is due to the wish to make a rhetorical point.

aliam . . . uxorem] Probably Sexburgh, who survived him; Lappenberg, i. 246. The E. T. i. 252, states this as a fact, tampering, as it frequently does, with the text which it professes to translate. Cf. notes on iv. 12.


fidem . . . suscepit] 646, Sax. Chron. A. F.; 645, B. C. E. According to Fl. Wig. he was baptized by Felix, i. 20. The Lib. Eli. p. 23, says that Anna acted as his godfather, and helped to restore him to his kingdom; and that this was what drew on him the wrath of Penda; c. 18, ad fin. This is probable enough, but it may be only an inference from Bede. Cenwalh was also a great friend of Benedict Biscop, Hab. § 4, p. 367; and of Alchfrid of Deira; Eddius, c 7. Cenwalh's alleged brother Eielwine (i.e. Ethelwine), venerated as a saint at Athelney, is probably a myth
created by an attempt to explain that name as 'Ædelwines-ei,' ‘Ethelwine's island,’ G. P. p. 199.

uir . . . felix] Cf. c. 18; ad fin. Among his ‘sancta soboles’ are his daughter Ethelburga, his step-daughter Sæthryth, and his grand-daughter Earcongota (by the marriage of his daughter Sexburgh to Earconbert of Kent), all of whom became abbesses of Brie in Gaul, inf. c. 8; his daughter Ethelthryth (ii. 19, 20) abbess of Ely, in which office she was succeeded by her sister Sexburgh, the mother of Earcongota, who was in turn succeeded by another daughter Ermengild, who had been married to Wulfhere of Mercia, to whom she bore St. Wereburg, Fl. Wig. i. 32; Bright, p. 152. A fourth daughter became a nun at Ely; Fl. Wig. i. 261; and afterwards a recluse at Dereham; Bright, p. 151; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 264, 265, 469, 470; but the accounts of her seem rather mythical. Still more mythical seems a son, St. Germinus, mentioned G. P. p. 156; Lib. Eli. pp. 15, 23. The editor of G. P. identifies him with St. Germanus of Auxerre, who lived about two centuries earlier.

restitutus] As Bede says that he was in exile three years, this would fix his return to 647 or 648, according to the Chron. 

uenit in prouinciam, &c.] The history of the West-Saxon see, from Birinus to the death of Hædde, is as follows. After the death of Birinus Agilbert became bishop of the West Saxons with his see at Dorchester. During his tenancy of the see Cenwalh attempted to divide the diocese, making Wine bishop of the Western part with his see at Winchester. Agilbert, offended at this, retired from Wessex, leaving the see of Dorchester vacant. Dorchester ultimately passed under Mercian dominion, and became the seat of a Mercian bishopric. Winchester thus remained the only Wessex see, under Wine, and his successor Leotherius or Hlothhere; Hædde, Hlothhere's successor, recognising accomplished facts, translated the body of Birinus to Winchester; while on Hædde's death the diocese was divided, Daniel being located at Winchester, and Aldhelm at Sherborne; v. 18, p. 320. Thus, strictly speaking, there was no translation of the see of Dorchester to Winchester; but, after an abortive attempt to divide the diocese of Wessex between them, the former ceased to exist as a West-Saxon see. The decree of Theodore, however, already alluded to, ascribes such a translation to Hædde: ‘Nolumus, . . . immo nobis non congruit, ipso . . . Hedda superstite, qui ecclesiam Wentanam tam insigniter nobilitatuit, authoritate summi pontificis Agathonis transferendo corpus . . . Birini . . . a uilla Dorkceestrensi . . . una cum sede in Wentanam ciuitatem, cuius etiam . . . apostolico . . . mandato extune primo
confirmata est in ipsa ciuitate sedes episcopalis dignitatis, parochiam suam in aliquo laedere diminuendo.' H. & S. iii. 126, 127, from Ang. Sac. i. 193. Now it is true that the Wessex diocese was not divided till after Haedde's death. (For the reason, see on iv. 12.) It is possible that Haedde may have sought some papal sanction to accomplished facts in the matter of the location of the see. But it is not true in any sense that he first transferred the see to Winchester. The declaration against division is so contrary to Theodoro's general ecclesiastical policy as to be very improbable; not less improbable is it that he who resisted an express decision of the Pope as to the division of the Northumbrian diocese, should effusively invoke papal authority for a much less important change. On the whole, this decree seems to me decidedly spurious. The Ann. breves Winton. say with more explicit falsehood: 'sedes West-Saxonum in ecclesia de Dorcestria mansit . . . usque ad tempora Heddae; . . . qui sedem transtulit . . . una cum corpore . . . Birini in ecclesiam summae Trinitatis, modo apostolorum Petri et Pauli Wintoniae;' Ang. Sac. u. s. The statement as to the original dedication of the church also flatly contradicts both Bede and the Chronicle. Yet the same annals, as cited Ang. Sac. i. 191, seem to assign the translation of the see to Agilbert.

Agilberetus] Ægelbert or Æthelbert; the difference in writing Agilbert is due to the fact that both ð and g between vowels became a mere 'breath,' and ultimately disappeared, leaving us the name Albert. (Cf. 'Aelbert,' Haa. § 29, and ib., § 11 note; 'Eielred,' G. P. p. 30; 'Eielwini,' ib. 199.) The title 'pontifex' shows that he was already in episcopal orders before he came to Britain. Dr. Bright thinks that 'he had been consecrated . . . in Gaul as a vacant bishop, σχολάζω'; i.e. a bishop without a diocese. Cf. D. C. A. ii. 1041. The Sax. Chron. F. 605, incorrectly says of him, 'was gehadod,' 'ordinatur'; the other MSS. more correctly, 'onfeng bisceopdomes,' 'received the bishoprie.' The view that he was consecrated in Gaul is confirmed by what Bede says below of Wine: 'et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum.'

Gallus] 'Gallia cynnes,' 'of Gaul-kin,' AS. vers.; 'se Frencisca,' 'Francigena,' Sax. Chron. F. 650 A.D.

legendarum . . . demoratus] On the noble liberality with which the Irish Church about this time welcomed foreign students, see c. 27, p. 192.

in Hibernia] 'Scotta ealone,' 'the island of the Scots,' adds AS. vers.

adnuens] 650, Sax. Chron. A. F.; 649, B. C. E. By F. only is Birinus' death placed in the same year as Agilbert's acceptance of VOL. II.
the see; and this is probably a mere inference. The other MSS. only say that A. succeeded B.: 'after Byrme [am Romanisean biseope.'

sacerdotali] 'episcopal,' v. i. 28, note.

barbarae loquellae] v. note on i. 25, p. 45; a different, and doubtful explanation in Freeman's Life and Letters, ii. 229.

subintroducti] This word, taken from the Vulgate version of Gal. ii. 4, where St. Paul denounces the false brethren, stamps the proceeding with Bede's condemnation.

parrochias] v. iv. 1, 5, notes.

p. 141. aget rex] 'gewat ja of Brotone,' 'departed then from Britain,' adds AS. vers.

rediit Galliam] Agilbert was certainly in Northumbria before and during the Synod of Whitby; iii. 25, v. 19, pp. 183, 325; Eddius, cc. 9, 10. No less certainly he did not become bishop of Paris before 666, as his predecessor Importunus signs a document in that year. Gallia Christ. vii. 26, 27; Bright, p. 182; Gams, p. 596. Here Bede is evidently speaking summarily and inexactely. In v. 19, p. 325, however, he distinctly says that Agilbert was bishop of Paris at the time of Wilfrid's consecration in 664. The Sax. Chron. places Agilbert's retirement from Wessex ('from Cenwale') and Wine's accession in 660, and says that the latter held the see three years. This period agrees well enough with Bede's expression below, 'non multis . . . annis'; but, combined with the date given for Wine's accession, it would bring his expulsion to 663. This is impossible, as Wine was certainly still bishop in Wessex when Ceadda sought consecration of him in 664; iii. 28. Fl. Wig. places Wine's expulsion in 666 (on what authority I know not; but the date is accepted by H. & S. iii. 118). Then his accession and Agilbert's retirement would fall into 663. This would fit in excellently with the other events recorded. Agilbert, leaving Wessex in 663, retires to Northumbria and remains there 'ali-quandiu,' c. 25, p. 183, i. e. till after the Synod of Whitby (early in 664). He then returns to Gaul, and assists in the consecration of Wilfrid later in the same year. Cf. Ang. Sac. i. 191; Bright, p. 182 n. Florence places Wine's accession in 660; but as he gives no period of his tenure of the see, he is not inconsistent with himself.


pulsus est et Uini] The reason for his expulsion is not known.

Wulphere. Uulfhere] It illustrates the ascendency which Wulfhere had acquired over Essex, that he was able to dispose of the East Saxon bishopric. Cf. D. C. B. ii. 20; iv. 666. The idea of Lappenberg that he was Bretwalda is very problematical; i. 165, 171; E.T.
i. 171, 178. 'Haec . . . eius [Wulseri] bona . . . deprimit gravis
simoniae nota, quod primus regnum Anglorum sacrum episcopatum
. . . uenditarit,' W. M. i. 78.

emis pretio] 'Sceuo exemplo posteris, ut non facile discernas ma-
iore peccato et infamia an illius qui rem sacram uenum propusserit,
an illius qui emerit,' G. P. p. 159; 'unde post mortem in serie
episcoporum Londinensis non meruit recenseri,' Matth. Paris,
Chron. Maiora, i. 294, from R. W. i. 160; copied in turn by West-
minster ad ann. 666. He is however in Fl. Wig.'s list, i. 232. There is
a tradition preserved by Rudborne, Ang. Sac. i. 192, that three years
before his death he retired as a penitent to Winchester, continually
repeating the saying of Jerome (adu. Rufinum, lib. iii, Opp. IV. ii.
445, ed. Bened.) 'errauimus iuenes, emendemus senes.' Cf. the
similar story told of Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, Elmham,
pp. 167, 168. It is certain that Wine was not present at the
Council of Hertford, 673; inf. iv. 5; v. II. & S. iii. 121. Bede
however says distinctly here that he remained bishop till his
death.

tempore non paucO] Seven years according to the Sax. Chron.
See next note.

quo . . . tempore . . . afflictus] The Sax. Chron. does not mention
any wars of Cenwallh between 663, the date which it gives by
implication to the expulsion of Wine, and 670, that assigned to
Hlothhere's (Leutherius') accession. Bede mentions, iv. 13, p. 236,
the conquest by Wulfhere of Wight, and the district of the Mean-
ware; the Chronicle places the former with other battles in 661,
which was in any case prior to Wine's expulsion. That entry is
however certainly wrong in some respects, and may be wrong in
this also; v. note a. l. Besides his rivalry with Mercia, Cenwalh
had trouble also with the Welsh; Sax. Chron. 652, 658.

perfidia . . . renocauerit] On the tendency to make success a test
of truth, see on ii. 13, p. 111; 'perfidia,' 'unbelief,' 'heathenism';
v. i. 7, p. 18, note.

Leutherium] 'uir demirandae sanctitatis et doctrinae,' Rud.
Hlothhere, borne in Ang. Sac. i. 192.

honorifice . . . suscepto] Perhaps in a formal synod, the holding
of which in connexion with Leutherius' appointment is implied in the
words 'ex synodica sanctione,' below.

in ipsa ciuitate] Winchester.

multisannis] The Chron. places his accession in 670, that of
Hædde in 676. Under 670 however it gives Hlothhere a tenure of
seven years. Malmesbury copies this, and is childishly elated at
being able to supply an omission of Bede's: 'de annis episcopatus
eius Beda nichil ... reliquit, michi ex eroricis cognitum dissimulare silentio praeter religionem uidebatur,' G. P. p. 159.

solus] i. e. the project of division was abandoned for the present.

CHAPTER 8.

P. 142. filio] By his wife Emma; v. note on ii. 5, p. 90.

quae ... tenuit] He died July 14, 664, iv. 1, p. 201, therefore his accession must be placed early in 640. With this agrees an entry in the Annales Iuanenses Maiores, ad ann. 640: 'Eodbald filius Edilberti depositus xiii Kal. Feb. feria vi,' Pertz, i. 87, i. e. Jan. 20; which however seems to have been a Thursday, and not a Friday in 640.

hic ... destrui] On the question of the destruction of idols, Anglo-Saxon heathenism, &c., v. notes on i. 30; cf. Childebert's constitution abolishing idolatry, c. 554 A.D., in Bouquet, iv. 113, 114. For the legend of Earconbert's brother Ermenred and his two martyred sons, v. Sax. Chron. A. 640 and notes.

ieiunium ... praecipit] 'ut gentem suam, uentri tantum indulgentem, parcitati gulae doceret insuescere,' adds W. M. i. 15.

quae ... proposuit] For the whole of this sentence the AS. vers. simply has 'bi wite rædænæ,' 'under penalty.' Earconbert's laws have not been preserved.


Fara or Burgundofara. She was said to have been blessed and dedicated to God in her childhood by St. Columban; Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 293, 434; AA. SS. ii. 117, 439. Mabillon thinks that she died c. 665; cf. Gallia Christ. viii. 1701, 1702. An account of various miracles which happened during her abbacy, by Jonas of Bobbio, is printed in AA. SS. u. s. pp. 439 ff., and a life of her is printed in vol. iii. of the Basle and Cologne editions of Bede's works. Needless to say, it is not by Bede.

in Brige] Faremoûtier-en-Brie, i. e. Farae Monasterium in Brige; called also Eboriacum. Founded c. 617. It was a double monastery for men and women. Bathildis, wife of Clovis II, herself of English race, v. on v. 19, p. 325, was a great benefactress of it; Gallia Christ. viii. 1700, 1701; Mabillon, AA. SS. ii. 780. There are documents relating to this monastery in Bouquet, viii. 377, 431.

necdum multis ... constructis] Of monasteries 'in regione Anglorum' of which the foundation is mentioned by Bede, the only ones which are certainly earlier than 640 are Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury; Lindisfarne; Betcrichsworth or Bury St. Edmund's, iii. 18 and note; and Cnobheresburg or Burgh Castle, iii. 19. To these may probably be added Melrose;
Cuthbert entered Melrose in 651, and it had evidently been established some little time previously. * Hartlepool (Heruteu) was founded 'non modo ante' 647, iv. 23. Gateshead (Ad Caprae Caput) is mentioned in 653, iii. 21. Ythanceaster and Tilbury about the same time, iii. 22. Malmesbury may possibly be earlier than 640. There are other places, like Coldingham and Pænalaech, of which the time of foundation is not mentioned; but the date at which they first appear is too late to afford any strong presumption that they go back further than 640.

in regione Anglorum] i.e. the parts of Britain occupied by the Teutonic tribes. No name derived from them was as yet applied to the whole country; this is always in Bede Britannia or Brittaniae; just as the opposite continent of Europe, though largely occupied by the Franks, is still Gallia or Galliae. So 'in regione Francorum' just above; cf. Hab. § 19, note. At a later time 'Britannia' gets confined to the Celtic parts of the island, and is practically equivalent to Wales; H. & S. iii. 477; M. H. B. p. 471; cf. R. W. i. 93: 'unde communiter statuerunt [reges Anglorum sine Saxonum] quatenus insula, non a Bruto Britannia, sed Anglia uocaretur.'


mittebant] The AS. vers. supplies the nominative: 'cyningas
7 rice men,' 'kings and powerful men.'

in Cale] Chelles, near Paris. The monastery, dedicated to Chelles. St. George, was founded by Clotilde, wife of Clovis I, and restored by Bathildis on a much larger scale, 662; Mab. Ann. Bened. i. 111, 444; Mab. AA. SS. ii. 779, 780; Gallia Christ. vii. 558. Gisla, sister of Charles the Great, was abbess of Chelles at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth cent. Several of Alcuin's letters are addressed to her.

in Andilegum] Andeley-sur-Seine, founded in honour of the Virgin Andeley. Mary by Clotilde, wife of Clovis I. It was standing in 884, but was probably destroyed by the Northmen, c. 900; Gallia Christ. xi. 131.

filia naturalis] i.e. his own daughter as opposed to his step-
daughter; not 'illegitimate,' though it has this sense as early as Ulpian; cited in Andrewes' Dictionary.

Aedilberg] For a life of her, almost wholly taken from Bede, Ethelberg.

v. Hardy, Cat. i. 265; cf. ib. 385, where she is confused with Ethel-
ber, sister of Bishop Earconwald of London; iv. 6–10. Mabillon
says that there was a priory dedicated to her, the prior of which
was bound annually to attend the chapter of the monastery of
Furemoutier-en-Brie; Ann. Bened. i. 434. He also prints a twelfth-
century hymn in her honour; ib. 692.

Sexburg] Sæburg, AS. vers. See on iv. 19.
p. 143. solent ... narrari] Bede may have obtained the following account from oral tradition; or he may have had some life of her before him, at the existence of which the words below, 'suis narrare permittimus,' seem to hint. But no life of her earlier than Bede is known to exist.

aureum illud nomisma] 'This does not prove that gold coins were current in Kent,' Lingard, Angl. Sax. Church, ii. 401, cited by M. & L. a.l. Two Frankish gold coins of this period are figured in Ducange, vol. v. plate i. Nos. 15, 19. A certain king of the Huns was offered 'solidorum aureorum modius plenus' to betray Berht here (Perctarit), King of the Lombards, to his enemies; Eddius, c. 28.

multi de fratribus] This shows that Brie (and probably also Chelles and Andeley) was a double monastery both of nuns and monks. From Gaul the institution was transplanted to Britain. We find that Bardney (iii. 11), Barking (iv. 7), Ely (iv. 19), Whitby (iv. 23), Coldingham (iv. 25) were double monasteries. Wenlock was another; Mon. Mog. pp. 53 ff. Eangyth, an abbess of an unnamed monastery, in writing to St. Boniface 719 x 722, enumerates among her various cares: 'recordatio ... uniuersarum commissarum animarum promiscui sexus et actatis,' ib. 67. Lingard (Anglo-Saxon Church, ch. 5) adds to these instances Repton and Wimborne, of the latter of which an interesting account is given from the life of St. Lioba. 'In quo duo monasteria ... constructa sunt, ... unum scilicet clericorum, et alterum feminarum; quorum ... utrumque ea lege disciplinae ordinatum est, ut neutrum eorum dispar sexus ingrederetur. Numquam enim uirorum congregationem femina, aut uirginum contubernia quisquam uirorum intrare permittebat, exceptis solummodo presbyteris, qui in ecclesias eam cum consilio missarum officia tantum ingredi solebant, et consummata sollemniter oratione statim ad sua redire. Feminarum uero quaecunque saeculo renuntians earum collegio sociari uoluerat, numquam exitura intrabat, nisi causa rationabilis ... eam cum consilio emitteret. Porro ipsa congregationis mater, quando aliquid exteriorum pro utilitate monasterii ordinare ... necesse erat, per fenestræ loquebatur, et inde decernebat, quaecunque ordinanda ... utilitatis ratio exigebat,' Mabillon, AA. SS. iv. 246, 247. Niridanum (iv. 1) may also have been a double monastery. It is no argument against this that Bede calls it 'uirginum monasterium,' for he applies the same term to Ely and Coldingham, u. s. For other instances, see an interesting note in M. & L. pp. 316, 317. The feminine element seems indeed to have been predominant in all these cases, and the abbess was always the head of both communities. The case of Coldingham
shows that, in spite of rules like those of Wimborne, the system might lead to serious abuses. Theodore tried to discourage it. In
his Penitential, II. vi. 8 (H. & S. iii. 195), he says, 'non licet uiris
feminis habere monachas, neque feminis uiros; tamen nos non
destruamus quod consuctudo est in hac terra.' Cf. D. C. A. ii. 144.
Ultimately the system died out in this country; very likely, as
Lingard suggests, owing to the destruction of many of these
monasteries by the Danes.

egressi dignoscere] 'going out to ascertain.' N₂, not under-
standing this unclassical construction, adds 'volentes'; v. c. 2,
p. 130, note.

p. 144. fragranta] For fragranta, and so constantly; Opp. Min. 'Flagran-
p. 333. So Opp. Min. p. 14, 'flagrant' for 'fragrant.' In Opp. vi. 126,
conversely, we have 'calore fragranti' for 'flagranti.' A further
variety is 'fraglantia,' 'fraglans'; Pertz, xi. 313, 314; Stubbs'
Dunstan, p. 363. For this 'odour of sanctity' many references are
collected by M. & L. a. t.; and on iv. 10.

cunctis ... fratribus ac sororibus] 'callum jam higum,' 'to all
the members of the family or household,' AS. vers.

quasi opobalsami cellaria] See the critical notes. The AS. vers. Balsam and
expands very luxuriantly: 'Swa swa hordærn ... balsami 7 Æra
deerwyřestena wyrta, 7 Æra sweetestena þe in middangearde
waeran,' 'like a treasury of balsam and of the costliest and sweetest
spices in the world.' Cf. Bede in Cant. Cant. i. 14: 'In urbe ...
Engaddi nobiliores caeteris uineae nascentur, utpote de quibus
liquor non uini, sed opobalsami defluit; ... quod [balsamum] in
chrismatis consecratione liquori oliuæ admisceri, ac pontificali benedic-
tione solet conscriari, quatenus fideles omnes cum impositione
manus sacerdotalis, qua Spiritus Sanctus accipitur, hac uctione
signentur. Qua etiam alte dominicum, cum dedicatur, et caetera
quaæ sacrosanctæ esse debent, perunguntur. ... Sed ... uirgulta
earum acutis lapidibus, siue osseis solent incidere cultellis; nam
ferri tactus laedit. Per quas incisiones emanat succus odoris
eximii. ... Quod quia per cauernam profulat corticis, saepius
opobalsamum nominatur; opii (mage) enim Graece cauerna nunec-
patur,' Opp. ix. 226, 227; so iv. 424. (It is, of course, really from
mage, juice, 'succus."

Bede in Cant. Cant. iv. 14: 'Myrrha et aloe continentiam carnæ
exprimunt; quia ... horum natura est aromatum, ut uncta ex
eis corpora defunctorum minime putrescant ... Quomodo enim
incorruption mortuæ carnis putredinem luxuriae, ita conditura eius

Bodily in-
corruption a sign of
chastity.
... uirtutem continentiae et castitatem ... demonstrat,' Opp. ix. 290, 291.

ibi solet] ‘oū pas tid,’ 'up to the present time,' adds AS. vers. die Non. Iul.] July 7th.

CHAPTER 9.

paralitica] 'lama,' AS. vers.
christianissimus] v. ii. 5, note.

VIII annos ... fecerat] As Edwin fell Oct. 12, 633, ii. 20, p. 124, this fixes the fall of Oswald to 642; so c. 9, v. 24, p. 354.
p. 145. siquidem ... adnotari] v. s. c. 1, p. 128, and notes.

commissio graui proelio] There seems to have been an earlier battle which Bede has not mentioned, as four years before the fall of Oswald Tighernach has the entry: 'congregatio Saxonum contra Osualt.' The twelfth-century life of Oswald, S. D. i. 350, 352, says that he had previously conquered Mercia, defeating Penda and driving him into Wales; that then, feeling himself secure, he had dismissed the bulk of his forces, when he was suddenly surprised and surrounded by Penda with a new army. Whether this has any foundation beyond the writer's imagination I cannot say. (It looks like a doublet of his own account of Edwin's fall, p. 345. See on ii. 20.) He professes to write from earlier sources, 'duersarum textus historiarum pereurrendo translegimus,' p. 329; cf. ib. 343, 346, 349, 367 (from Adamnan's life of St. Columba, ed. Reeves, pp. 13-16), 372, 378, 379. But there is so much confusion and repetition in his account that it is difficult to criticise his statements. In Nennius, § 65, and Ann. Camb. ad ann. 644, the battle is called 'Bellum Coeboy,' and a brother of Penda, Eowa or Eoba, 'rex Merciorum,' is said to have fallen in it. He may have been under-king of a part of Mercia. Nennius says, 'Penda victor fuit per diabolicam artem.' Hen. Hunt has here again preserved a proverb: 'unde dicitur, 'Campus Masefeld sanctorum candidit ossibus',' p. 95: That Penda here, as before and after, was acting in concert with the Britons under Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon or Cædwalla, is likely enough. Cf. c. 14, notes; Rhys, C. B. p. 132.

Maserfelth] Identified with Oswestry in Shropshire (= 'Oswaldes-tréo,' Oswald's tree). The life of Oswald, u. s., says, 'Est ... locus iste conterminus finibus Armonicæ Waliae, quod Waliae quondam pars maxima dicta est Armonica (i.e. Arvon; whence Carnarvon, i.e. Caer-yn-Arvon, 'the city in Arvon')... Distatque locus iste a fossa regis Offææ, quae Angliam et Waliam borealem.
diuidit, miliario non ferme dimidio, et Scropesbyri miliario integre septimo, ab abbatia uero Waneloe (Much Wenlock) . . . miliario circiter sexto decimo;’ pp. 350, 353. The distances are understated. Here was a church called ‘Candida’ or ‘Alba Ecclesia’ (White Minster, Leland, Itin. v. 37) and a sacred fountain, both dedicated to St. Oswald, pp. 350, 352, 357, 358. Here too was the miraculous tree from which the place was said to derive its name, pp. 355–357. But the Welsh form of the name, Croes Oswalde, ‘Oswald’s Cross’ (e. g. Red Book of Hergest, vol. ii. ‘The Bruts,’ pp. 316, 324), makes it probable that the name came from a wooden cross set up to mark the site of the battle (cf. c. 2, ad init.), and that the legend of the tree arose from a later misunderstanding of the name. Leland, u. s., calls the place Oswestre; but also, p. 36, ‘Croix-Oswalde.’

anno . . . XXXVIII] This would put his birth either in 604 or Oswald’s death.

605. His life, u. s. p. 364, places it in 604; which may be only an inference from this passage, and the same may be said of W. M.’s statement, i. 48, that he was twelve years old at the time of his father’s death in 616. ‘Hæfde he . . . lichomlicre yldo seofon 7 pritig wintra,’ ‘he had thirty-seven years of bodily age,’ AS. vers.; i.e. he had completed thirty-seven years, and was in his thirty-eighth year, as Bede says.

die quinto] Bede usually dates by Calends, Ides, and Nones. Here however, and in iii. 27, ad init.; v. 8, p. 295; v. 23, p. 350 (cf. also iv. 5, p. 215), the modern system is used. This was first introduced by Gregory I, but did not become common till the general adoption of the vernacular languages in writing. Ideler, ii. 191.

miraculis claruit] ‘Fuit igitur Oswaldus qui genti suae primitias Miracles sanctitatis dederit, quippe nullus ante illum Anglus miraculis, quod seiam, uiguerit,’ W. M. i. 54. Elfmham makes Oswald the first English martyr (as against Alban, see on i. 7): ‘Huic primitiae martyrum conferuntur Anglorum,’ pp. 181, 182.

usque hodie] ‘oð þeosne ondweardan dea,’ ‘to this present day,’ AS. vers.

in aquam mittentes] cf. on i. 1, p. 13.

ablata . . . reddiderit] So of Bishop Hædde’s death-place, v. 18, p. 320.

duo tantum] Unless the healing of the horse and of the paralytic girl are to be reckoned as a single miracle, we have three miracles recorded; and c. 10 would seem to be a later addition, though it appears in all MSS. The translator has been struck with the inconsistency for he says, ‘tu án oðþe þreo,’ ‘two only, or three.’
The miracles in cc. 11-13, were not 'in loco illo, uel de puluere loci illius facta'; and therefore do not affect the question.

_stramine subtracto_] The oldest MSS. all support this reading, with the doubtful exception of C.; and even in the case of C. the AS. vers., which was certainly made from a MS. of the C. type, see Introduction, p. cxxix., favours 'subtracto.' Later MSS. and edd. read 'substrato' (see critical notes). I believe the explanation to be that 'stramen' is used incorrectly for 'stragulus' in the sense of 'saddle' or 'horse-cloth.' 'Sternere equum' is to saddle a horse (cf. _inf._ c. 14, p. 156: 'stratus regaliter'; 'distratus equus,' an unsaddled horse, Opp. Min. p. 263. Ducange has 'stramentum, insellatura equi'). The later scribes, not understanding this use, altered 'subtracto' into 'substrato.'

_p. 146. familiares domus illius_] 'higian,' 'the members of the household,' the 'paterfamilias' being their chief, 'hes higna ealdres,' AS. vers.

_et cum his . . . reuersa est_] Cf. iv. 10, _ad fin._; Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 32, _ad fin._

CHAPTER 10.

_P. 147. uicani_] 'et ham eall,' 'the whole village,' AS. vers.

_in una posta_] Note how near the first numeral is approaching to the sense of an indefinite article.

_uirgis . . . tectum_] For this mode of construction, and consequent frequency of fires, cf. ii. 14, p. 114, note; for the thatched roof, cf. Vita Cudb. cc. 5, 14, 20.

_posta . . . remansit_] A similar miracle in Rs. Ad. p. 114.

CHAPTER 11.

_P. 148. nunc servantur_] 'nugealeadene syndon,' AS. vers.

_Osthrydae_] Wife of Ethelred, King of Mercia; iv. 21. She was murdered in 697; v. 24, p. 355. There is a spurious charter in which Ethelred grants land to Offfor, Bishop of Worcester, 'pro absolutione criminum uel meorum, uel coniugis quondam meae Osthrythae'; _K.C.D._ No. 33; _Birch_, No. 76. Ethelred succeeded his brother Wulfhere in 675; v. 24, p. 354. In 704 he became a monk, ib. pp. 355, 356, and ultimately abbot, v. 19, p. 329, of this very monastery of Bardney, W. M. i. 54, 78, where also he was buried, Sax. Chron. 716. As Osthryth is spoken of as queen at this time, the translation must have taken place _675 x 697_, probably after 679; v. next note. Where the body of Oswald was buried prior to this translation, I find nowhere expressly stated;
probably at Maserfelth. The Sax. Chron. E. 641 seems to place the burial at Bardney immediately after the slaughter of Oswald.

In provincia Lindissi] Lindsey seems to have followed the Lindsey alternations of success between Northumbria and Mercia. Under Edwin it belonged to the former; ii. 16. It probably passed from him to Penda in 633. Oswald recovered it (cf. inf. 'super eos regnum acceperat,' to which W. M. i. 53 adds, 'bellicio iure'). On his fall in 642 it would pass to Penda again, until his defeat by Oswy in 655. Wulfhere of Mercia, on his successful rebellion against Oswy three years later, c. 24, ad fin. or at some subsequent time, recovered it; for Egfrid had to reconquer it, 671 x 675; iv. 12, p. 229; Eddius, cc. 19, 20; H. Y. i. 30, 31; S. D. i. 200. Ethelred regained it once more, iv. 12, ad fin.; probably in consequence of the battle of the Trent in 679, iv. 21; to which year Fl. Wig. i. 243 expressly assigns the recovery. The translation of Oswald's body would probably be subsequent to this.

Bardaneu] Bardney in Lincolnshire. It is commonly said to Bardney have been founded by Ethelred himself (e.g. Fl. Wig. i. 46, note; G. P. p. 312, note), but Bede would hardly have omitted this, had it been the fact. 'The ruines of Bardney Abbey are yet to be seen;' Enderbie, Cambria Triumphans, p. 213 (1661). 'Now nothing remains but the moated site;' Murray's Lincolnshire (1890), p. 140.

tamen, quia . . . acceperat] Whether the people of Lindsey considered themselves to belong more properly to Mercia, or whether their local feeling resented incorporation in any larger unity, is uncertain. The words 'de alia provincia' rather favour the latter view. And they once had princes of their own; Fl. Wig. i. 253. Anyhow the incident shows how far the Teutonic tribes in Britain were from any community of sentiment.

columna lucis] cf. i. 33, p. 71, note.
uxellum] cf. Edwin's banner, ii. 16, ad fin.
tumbam] Offa of Mercia afterwards adorned it magnificently; Oswald's tomb.

cf. Alc. de Sanctis Ebor. vv. 388 sqq.:
'Postea rex felix ornauerat Offa sepulchrum,
Ut decus et specimen tumbae per saeca maneret,
Praemia pro modico sumpturis magna labore.'

Alcuin is of course a strictly contemporary witness for the reign of Offa.

in angulo sacrarii] 'sacarium' means (i.) the sanctuary, the 'Sacra-
part of a church where the altar stands; (ii.) the sacristy; (iii.)
the cemetery; Ducange. It is probably used in the third sense here

ipsa terra . . . effectum] The same is told of Oswin, Biogr. Demoniaca
Misc. p. 14, and of Arnulf, Bishop of Soissons (1081-82), 'uidimus healed.
euergumenum ... cui cum puluis ille nolenti in os fuit iniectus, mox mentem receptit;’ Pertz, xv. 900. With the story which follows cf. one in Vita Cudb. c. 41, which is a good deal heightened from the earlier version in Vita Anon. § 44.

Aediluini] v. c. 27, iv. 12, pp. 192, 229.

Peartaneu] v. ii. 16, p. 117.

grauissime uexari] One of the sections of Theodore’s Penitential, II. x, is ‘De uexatis a diabulo’; H. & S. iii. 197.

a nullo ... ligari] cf. Alcuin’s account, u. s. vv. 405, 406:

‘Et cum nullus eum potuit constringere uinclis,
Vel miseri saeuis flagris compescere motus;’

which throws light on the treatment of these unhappy beings.

pulsans ad ostium] ‘7 sloh tacen æt geate,’ ‘and gave a signal by knocking at the gate,’ AS. vers.

ad locum uirorum] v. on c. 8.

Exorcism.

p. 150. dicebat ... exorcismos] ‘song he ... 7 rædde orationem 
[a òe wið þære ædle awritene wœren,’ ‘he sang and read the prayers that were prescribed against that disease,’ AS. vers.; cf. Vit. Cudb. u. s. There were two kinds of exorcism ‘in euergumenis siue cathcumenis’; Isidore, in Ducange. This is an instance of the former kind. In the latter, the evil spirit was expelled from persons, especially converts from heathenism, who were about to be baptized; v. D. C. A. Unction also formed part of the ceremony of exorcism; cf. Theodore’s Penitential, II. iii. 8: ‘Secundum Grecos presbytero liet facere olem exorcisatum, et infirmis crismam, si necesse est. Secundum Romanos ... non liet nisi Episcopis solis;’ H. & S. iii. 193. Cf. Bede, Opp. x. 88: ‘Unde [i. e. from James v. 14] patet ab ipsis apostolis hunc sanctae ecclesiae morem esse traditum, ut euergumini, uel alii quilibet aegroti, ungantur oleo pontificali bene-
dictione consecrato’ ( = xi. 92). So on Luke viii. 30: ‘Sed et nostri temporis sacerdotes, qui per exorcismi gratiam daemones eicere norunt, solent dicere, patientes non aliter ulere curari, nisi ... omne, quod ab immundis spiritibus ... pertulerint, ... confitendo ... exponunt ... Ut quidam uiæius mihi presbyter retulerit, se quandam sanctimonialem feminam a daemonio curare coepisse, sed quamdiu res latebat, nihil apud eam proficere potuisse. Confesso autem quo molestabatur phantasmate, mox et ipsum orationibus caeterisque quae oportebat purificacionum generibus effugasse, et eiusdem ... corpus ab ulceribus, quae daemonis tactu contraxerat, medicinali studio adjuncto sale benedicto curasse.’ One ulcer remained obstinate. The mode of cure was suggested by the patient herself: ‘Si ... olem pro infirmis consecratum eidem medicamento asperseris, sique me perunxeris, statim sanitati restituar. Nam uidi quondam per
spiritum, in quadem ... ciuitate, quam nunquam corporalibus oculis uidi, puellam quandam ... taliter a sacerdote curatam.' The result was satisfactory; Opp. xi. 76, 77. In the parallel passage of the later commentary on Mark, Opp. x. 71, 72, Bede omits this curious personal reminiscence, which indeed is a rare phenomenon in his theological works; cf. also on exorcism, x. 261.

On exorcists as a special order in the early Church, cf. Ltft. App. Ff. II. iii. 240. 241. A spurious charter (K. C. D. No. 34 ; Birch, No. 77) is signed by 'Pinewald, exorcista'; cf. Cockayne, Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms, I. xxxix, cited by M. & L.

CHAPTER 12.

P. 151. infirmitas ... contingere] Note how the fever is personified; cf. Luke iv. 39, probably conceived of vaguely as an evil spirit; cf. Tylor, Anthropology, pp. 353-355; Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guiana, c. 16.

dixit Osuald] 'se halga Oswald,' 'Saint Oswald,' AS. vers.

p. 152. quo post annum deueniens, &c.] It is noteworthy that Oswald's relics should be strong enough to do this at the beginning of his reign; cf. on c. 24, pp. 177, 178. For the legendary development of this story, see the life in S. D. i. 354-358. The history of Oswald's relics falls into three divisions, viz. that of the head, the arms, and the body. A. The head, as Bede narrates, was buried at Lindisfarne. In 875 the monks, in fear of the Danes, determined to quit Lindisfarne and take with them the body of St. Cuthbert, 'et una cum eo in eiusdem thecae loculo, ut in ueteribus libr is inuenitur, ... caput ... Oswaldi, antea in ... ecclesiae coemiterio sepultum'; S. D. i. 57. Hence it shared the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body, ib. 61-68; to Chester-le-Street, ib. 69; to Ripon, ib. 78, 79; and finally to Durham, ib. 79; cf. ib. 221: 'Is in Æbyri eac ... Æes clene cyninges heofud, Oswalesd,' 'There is in that city too the head of the pure king Oswald;' cf. ib. 252, 255. 'Caput ... nunc Dunelmi inter brachia beatissimi Cuthberti teneri aiunt'; W. M. i. 53. The life of Oswald, S. D. i. 351, 375-378, has a foolish and legendary tale, quite inconsistent with the above historical facts, that the head was removed first to Bamborough, whence it was stolen by a stratagem by a monk of Durham; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 631. The monastery of Epternach also claimed to possess the head of Oswald; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 90. B. The arms, as Bede says, both here and in c. 6, were deposited at Bamborough; by queen Bebb a (!) adds the life; u.s. p. 373. The right arm,
according to the life, was stolen by a monk of Peterborough; ib. 374, 375. The left arm was at Gloucester, ib. 370; and yet there was an arm at Durham, ib. 381. (This is a difficulty which often confronts the investigator of the history of relics. Thus at Rome there were two bodies of St. Hippolytus; Lttt. App. Ff. I. ii. 459; cf. W. M. II. lxiv.) The Peterborough arm was afterwards translated to Ely; AA. SS. u. s. p. 88. W. M. i. 53 throws doubt on the existence of these relics in his day; but in G. P. pp. 293, 317, 318, he to some extent revoked his doubts. Swartebrand, an old monk of Durham, told Simeon that he had often seen the uncorrupted right hand; but whether at Bardney or at Durham is not clearly stated. It is quite possible that it may really have been removed to Durham. Nic. Harpsfeld (sixteenth century) says that 'testes dignissimi omnique exceptione maiores' had seen it in his day, but he does not say where; Hist. Eccl. Angl. Saec. vii. c. 26. C. The body was probably buried first at Oswestry; thence it was translated to Bardney, v. s.; cf. Life, u. s. p. 368. Thence for fear of the Danes it was removed in 999 by Ethelflæd, lady of the Mercians, and her husband Ethelred to the monastery which they had built in his honour at Gloucester; Sax. Chron. ad ann.; W. M. i. 54, 136; G. P. p. 293. A retranslation of these relics to a new shrine took place 1108 x 1114, at which the author of the life was present, u. s. pp. 369, 370. This is hardly consistent with his statement, pp. 368, 369, that owing to the carelessness of the monks of Bardney 'uiicissim succedentes barbari partem de ossibus illius pietatis furto abstulerunt, et per regiones innumeram tam nationum transmarinarum quam Anglicanarum disperserunt'; until only three small bones were left at Bardney. Judith, the wife of Tostig, was said to have taken relics of Oswald with her when she left England; Pertz, xv. 922, 923; cf. inf. on c. 14. We shall see in the notes to the next chapter how many places on the Continent claimed to possess relics of St. Oswald. The monastery of St. Winnoc's at Bergues in French Flanders professed to have obtained his whole body from Harold Harefoot or Edward the Confessor. This pretended body was said to have been burnt by the French Protestants in 1558; AA. SS. u. s. pp. 88, 89. Alfred, sacrist of Durham in the eleventh century, made a deliberate attempt to concentrate the relics of all northern saints at Durham; Raine's Hexham, I. liii. ff. Canon Raine remarks justly: 'There are few things more discreditable in mediaeval history than this hungry and jealous relic-mongering;' H. Y. I. xlviii; cf. note on Sax. Chron. 1013.
CHAPTER 13.

a mortis articulo renocatus] The AS. vers. very literally, 'fram deaðes lide was gehæled,' 'was healed from the joint of death.'

Brittaniae fines] We find churches dedicated to St. Oswald at Gloucester, c. 12, note; Carlisle, P. & S. p. 192; Oswestry, S. D. i. 350; Hexham, and Bardney in Lincolnshire, ib. ii. 52; Paddlesworth in Kent, Bright, p. 155; St. Oswald's in Elvet, Durham, cf. Hoveden, iv. 69; Nostell Priory, ib. i. 186; Raine's Hexham, I. clxiii; Winwick, Lanes., where also are still some verses to him 'in an old barbarous character,' Camden, ii. 968; while Makersfield near Winwick is one of the claimants for the honour of being Bede's Maserfelth. There are Kirkoswalds in Cumberland and Ayrshire. A church dedicated to him and St. Cuthbert jointly was founded at 'Scythleseester iuxta murum,' the scene of the murder of Alfwold, King of Northumbria, in 788 (perhaps Chesters near Chollerton); S. D. ii. 52.

dans oceanum ... attiget] Of the veneration felt for Oswald in Ireland we have a record in the mention of his name at his day, Aug. 5, in the Félice of Oengus the Culdee; the gloss on which passage confuses him with another Northumbrian king who like Oswald had been an exile among the Scoti—Aldfrid; on whom see tnf. iv. 26, p. 268; Introduction, § 10. The Irish also claimed to possess relics of Oswald; Alford, Ann. Eccl. ii. 265.

Of the cult of Oswald on the Continent I have found the following traces (of course the later the date, the greater the testimony to Oswald's popularity) :—A. Relics. (On Epternach and St. Winnoc's, see notes to c. 12.) (a) Evidently from Bede's words here, Wilbrord took relics of Oswald with him to Frisia. These would probably be at Utrecht or Epternach. (b) Trèves, fifteenth century, churches of S. Maria ad Martyres and of St. Eucharius; Pertz, xv. 1275, 1279. (c) Tegernsee, Bavaria, eleventh century (a tooth); ib. 1067. (d) Prüfenying or Prüfling, thirteenth century; ib. 1078. (e) Ramshofen, diocese of Passau, thirteenth century; ib. 1107. (f) Wettingen, in the Aargau, thirteenth century; ib. 1286. (g) Sauris and Tai, two villages in the Venetian Alps, disputed the possession of a finger of St. Oswald; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 90; Italian Life, pp. 59 ff.; cf. Baedeker, Eastern Alps, p. 371. (h) In the eighteenth century, the abbey of our Lady at Soissons claimed to possess relics of St. Oswald, as did (i) Weingarten, Swabia, (k) Herford, Westphalia, (l) and Lisbon; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 89, 90. B. Dedications. (a) Bamberg, twelfth century, a chapel in the monastery of St.
Michael; Mon. Bamberg. p. 603. (b) Prague, thirteenth century, an altar; Pertz, ix. 177. (c) Altenmünster, Bavaria (thirteenth-century life of an eleventh-century saint), altar; ib. xv. 847. (d) St. Emmeran, Ratisbon, thirteenth century, a church and chapel containing relics, the dedication festival held on the Sunday following his day, Aug. 5; ib. 1097. (e) Oberlonon near Meran, Tyrol, thirteenth century, chapel and altar; ib. 1112. (f) Weingarten, Swabia, thirteenth century, church; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 92. (g) Hölenthal, Schwarzwald, chapel; v. Meyer’s Schwarzwald, p. 167. C. Festivals, &c. (a) His day observed at Epternach, end of twelfth century; Pertz, xxiii. 72. (b) The Annales Hamburg. date the solar eclipse of 1263 quite correctly by St. Oswald’s day; ib. xvi. 385. (c) The author of the Italian life says that he had evidence in his own day (1769) of the cult of St. Oswald at Cologne, Constance, Mainz, Münster, Salzburg, Udine (his own city), Venice, Vicenza, and in Bohemia, p. 77. This is taken from AA. SS. Aug. ii. 91, very largely, from which may be added Bamberg and Spires. D. Places called St. Oswald. In Styria and Carniola alone I have found four: (i) Close to Grätz; Baedeker, u. s. p. 343. (ii) near Judenburg; ib. 361. (iii) On the Drave between Saldenhofen and Marburg. (iv) On the borders of Styria and Carniola, about twenty miles NE. of Laybach. E. Miscellaneous. (a) The ‘Hrotsuithae Gestas Oddonis,’ speaking of the marriage of Otho, afterwards the Emperor Otho I, with Edith, Athelstan’s sister, calls her

‘natam de stirpe beata

Oswaldi regis, laudem cuius canit orbis,

Se quia subdiderat morti pro nomine Christi.’

Pertz. iv. 320, 321.

That this is not genealogically correct only makes the testimony the more striking. (b) The Italian life cited above is itself a curious testimony to the popularity of St. Oswald. It is by a certain Giam Pietro della Stua, and dedicated to Gian Girolamo Gradenegro, Archbishop of Udine; printed at Udine in 1769. (c) I have also before me ‘Sermone al popolo in onore di S. Oswaldo... recitato... nella chiesetta campestre della nob. famiglia Caimo-Dragoni dall’ Abate Giuseppe Onorio Marzuttini,’ Udine, 1827. From the sermon itself it appears that this ‘chiesetta’ was dedicated to St. Oswald, and that he was the patron saint of the place. (d) The mention of St. Oswald in foreign missals and breviaries printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is also evidence of his continued popularity; AA. SS. u. s. p. 91. Smith, on c. 12, says ‘infinita sunt loca in Anglia, in Belgio, et Hibernia quae reliquias S. Osualdi uendicant.’
Notes.

Hardy’s Catalogue omits all notice of any lives of St. Oswald. Lives of I therefore give a short list of such as have come under my notice. (i) The life printed by Surius at Aug. 5 is a mere cento of passages from Bede. (ii) Life by Drogo, a monk of the monastery of St. Winnoc’s at Bergues, in the eleventh century. Printed in AA.SS. Aug. ii. 94-103. (iii) Life by Reginald of Durham. Printed (incompletely) in Arnold’s edition of Sim. Dun. i. 326 ff. (iv) Life in Capgrave’s ‘Noua Legenda Angliae.’ (v) Osvald’s Saga. Printed in ‘Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed,’ 1854; a perfectly fabulous and worthless saga of the fifteenth century.

Acca] On him, see v. 20 and notes.


presbyter adhuc] Della Stua, u. s. p. 69, and M. & L. a. l. understand this of Acca. But it almost certainly refers to Wilbrord, who was in Ireland c. 677; Mon. Ale. pp. 42, 43; Bright, pp. 154, 484.

scolasticus quidam] ‘sum learning mon,’ ‘a student,’ AS. ‘Scholasticus.’

vers. ; the Irish themselves would call him ‘mac legind,’ ‘a son of reading.’ ‘Scholasticus’ also means ‘professor,’ what the Irish call ‘fer legind,’ ‘a man of reading,’ a regular officer in the Irish monasteries; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 196. In a letter of Alcuin cited on c. 4, p. 133, the ‘scholastici’ are certainly the pupils of the monastic school.


p. 153. pietas] ‘pity;’ and so often.

CHAPTER 14.


XXX circiter annorum] According to iv. 5, ad init., he died Feb. 15, 670, in his fifty-eighth year. That would fix his birth to
Feb. 612 x Feb. 613. But I have shown there that the true date of his death is probably 671. Possibly therefore his birth also should be placed a year later. This would not much conflict with Bede’s statement that he was about thirty at his accession in 642. W. M.’s statement, i. 48, that he was four years old at his father’s death is probably a mere inference from Bede.

 inpugnatus] On Oswy’s early difficulties, see on c. 24, ad init.

 Alchfrido] He fought however on his father’s side at the battle of the Winwæd, e. 24, p. 178. See notes on c. 28.


 anno secundo . . . sexto Id. Oct.] This date, Oct. 10, 644, falls in Oswy’s third year; for Oswald died Aug. 5, 642.

 qui X et VIII . . . dies XXI.] He was consecrated July 21, 625, ii. 9, p. 98; which seems to give 19. 2. 20, as the length of his episcopate. Note the curious legend of his death in App. I. § 17. secretario] v. ii. 1, p. 79, note.


 Ithamarr.

 Ithamar . . . aequandum] Malmesbury more suo paraphrases Bede’s words about Ithamar, noting his importance as the first native bishop: ‘ita primus in patriam pontificalis honoris in Angli persona ferens gratiam, provincialibus suis nonnullam dignitatem adiecit;’ G. P. p. 135. For later lives of him, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 252, 253.

 Oswine.

 Osnini] There is a twelfth-century life of him printed in Biog. Misc., from MS. Cotton, Jul. A. x; cf. AA.SS. Aug. iv. 57–66. This MS. is incomplete; the lacuna can be supplied from MS. C.C.C. Oxon. 134, which contains further two homilies, and other liturgical matter relating to Oswin. I shall occasionally refer to this MS., the account of which in Hardy, Cat. i. 248 250, is incomplete, and in points inaccurate. Cf. also R. W. i. 145–148.

 de stirpe . . . Aeduini] This is inexact. He was no descendant of Edwin, but his first cousin once removed. See the pedigrees in note to c. 1.

 Osruci] According to his life, Oswin, on the death of Osric, was carried by his friends into Wessex; Biog. Misc. p. 3; cf. MS. C.C.C. ff. 80, 91.

 Osnini . . . Aeduini . . . Osruci] ‘Que tria uocabula . . . non casu fortuito . . . sed Dei dispositione . . . si iuxta ethimologiae patricie lingue diligenter interpretetur, fuisset probantur imposita;’ MS. C.C.C. f. 27. This homily is full of the wildest etymologising of proper names. Oswy and Oswin, like Ceadda and Cedd, are often inextricably confused by later writers; e.g. Elmham, p. 226.
p. 155. septem annis] Oswin was murdered on Aug. 20, 651 (infra). Therefore if he reigned for seven years his accession must be placed in 644; and this is the year given by the Sax. Chron. E.

causis dissensionum] W. M. i. 55 says that the division of the Relations kingdoms had been peaceably arranged, and that the subsequent of Bernicia and Deira. dissensions were caused by the machinations of evil men; but this is probably only his own fertile imagination. On the relations of Bernicia and Deira, v. c. 1.

Ullarcesdun] Possibly Gariston. Mr. Haigh, cited by Stephens, ut infra, says Wilbarston, Northants, which is impossible.

a uico Cataractone] 'from Catreht wearpige,' AS. vers.; v. ii.14, p. 115.

contra solstitialem occasum] 'westrihte,' 'due west,' AS. vers.
milite . . . comitis] 'jegne,' 'gesiòes,' AS. vers.


proditum] Treason to a lord was of special heinousness in Anglo-Saxon law. It was 'bòtleas,' i. e. it admitted of no compensation. Cnut's laws, ii. 64; Schmid, Gesetze, p. 304; Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 410; cf. ib. 408. 'Quod si communis proditio talis est, domini proditio qualis est;' Biog. Misc. p. 10. So of the faithful Tondheri it is said, 'fecit quod potuit, et mortem suam eius morti adiunxit' MS. C.C.C. f. 18b. (The printed life is defective here.) So on f. 83b he is represented as saying, 'Cur mihi, quod omnibus licet strenuis, pro domino meo mori non licet?' This preserves a genuine trace of the ancient feeling, that it was disgraceful for the members of a 'comitatus' to survive their lord; v. Sax. Chron. s. a. 755, notes. Cf. the devotion of Edwin's thane Lilla, ii. 9, p. 99.

praefectum] 'geréfan,' 'reeve,' AS. vers.

interfecit] W. M. conceives that Oswy did all he could by Murder of subsequent good conduct to atone for his erime. 'Guin Oissin mic Oiseirg,' Tigh; 'Jugulatio Oisseni mic Oissirgg,' Ann. Ult. These entries illustrate the way in which the Saxon name 'Oswine' passed into Irish and became 'Oissene' or 'Oisin,' the name of the son of the famous Finn mac Cumail, better known in the Scotch form of Ossian; v. Zimmer, 'Früheste Berührungen,' &c. p. 302; though Professor Rhys would give to this, as to so much else, a Pictish origin; Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scotland, 1892, pp. 329 ff. There are several Oisins and Oissenes in the Indices to Mart. Don. and F.M. A latinised form Oisseneus is found in Rs. Ad. p. 22 (i. 2, ad fin.).
says distinctly that Oswin and Aidan died in 651. But as Oswald
died Aug. 5, 642, Aug. 20, 651, strictly falls in the tenth year from
that date. Bede has made a similar mistake as to Oswy's regnal
years above; 'regni eius' must refer to Oswy, as Oswin only
reigned seven years, v. s. Oswin's cross still exists at Collingham,
Yorks., according to Stephens, Runic Monuments, i. 390.

Ingettingum] This was Ceolfrid's first monastery, Tunbert,
afterwards bishop of Hexham, being abbot of it; Haa. §§ 2, 3,
pp. 388, 389. Usually identified with Gilling, near Richmond.
Mr. Haigh, cited by Stephens,* u. s., suggests Collingham, but this is
unlikely. For the form, see on ii. 14.

Oswin was buried at Tynemouth: 'in oratorio . . . Virginis
Mariæ . . . ad aquilonem fluminis;' Biog. Misc. p. ii. In process
of time his tomb was neglected and forgotten; but was revealed in
1665, when the body was solemnly translated by Bishop Ægelwin
of Durham. To the neglect of Earl Tostig to be present at this trans-
lation the biographer attributes his expulsion that same year. His
wife Judith however took great interest in the matter, and received
some of the saint’s hair as a reward; cf. sup. on c. 12. The body was
retranslated early in the twelfth century; Biog. Misc. pp. 11–15, 24;
Matth. Paris, Chron. Maiora, ii. 138. The writer of the former of
the two homilies in MS. C.C.C. discusses, f. 25, the question whether
Oswin was a martyr. After citing the cases of Isaiah, Jeremiah,
and St. John the Baptist (cf. i. 27, p. 51), he concludes, f. 26:
'Igitur beatus Oswinus non pro fide Christi sed pro iustitia Christi
morti addictus, . . . morti sue martyrii nomen indidit.' Cf.
St. Augustine's saying: 'martyrem non facit poena sed causa;' Opp.
ed. Bened. ii. 220, 311, 765, and fq. ; v. Index. His festival was kept
as a 'festum duplex'; Biog. Misc. p. 24 (v. Ducange, s. v. 'festum').

monasterium constructum est] By Eanfled, Oswy's wife, c. 24,
p. 179.

aspectu uenustus] 'aspectu angelicus,' R. W. i. 141.
p. 156. ad eius ministerium] 'to his folgase 7 his jegnunge,'
to his retinue and service,' AS. vers. ' Ministerium' is here the
abstract or collective of 'minister' in the sense of 'thane,' and is
nearly equivalent to 'comitatus'; cf. 'obsequium,' i. 7, p. 20, note.

humilitas] 'qua custos uirtutum dicitur,' R. W. u. s.

ambulare solitus] See on c. 5, p. 135. On this incident
the author of the homily, u. s., remarks: 'Nec . . . de doni quantitate
sed de donantis indiscretione istauisse cuipiam poterit uideri
regis conuestio . . . Quid si alter egenus occurrisset, iam equo regio
ab altero suscepo, pontifex quid dedisset?' ff. 22 b, 23 a.

multum... placatum] ‘he was very friendly to him,’ AS. vers. Cf. Hist. Abb. § 17:

‘Omnes... sibi placatos existit... obsecat,’ p. 382; cf. also iv. 24, pp. 261, 262 (Cædmon’s death), and the AS. vers. there quoted.

quam rex... non nouerant] Contrast Oswald, c. 3, p. 132; and Oswy, c. 25, p. 182.

numquam... humilem regem] Cf. the story of St. Oswald of York and King Edgar: ‘ipse autem nequaquam potuit se propter... regis humilitatem abstinere a fletu, quia intellext quod gens ista non meruisset tam humilem, tamque sapientem habere;’ H. Y. i. 437.

pridie Kal. Sept.] Aug. 31. See the Mart. Don. for that day; Decline of the Félix of Óengus, with the gloss. It shows the later decline of Aidan’s fame that in the life of Oswin, u. s. p. 46, a priest, on hearing of a vision in which Aidan had appeared, is represented as saying, ‘De... Oswino nonnulla... audieram, sed... Aydani... nec nomen ad me peruenere.’ It was by a vision of Aidan’s soul being taken up to heaven that St. Cuthbert was led to embrace the monastic life; Baedae Vit. Cudb. c. 4; Vita Anon. § 8.

CHAPTER 15.

This incident is given by Bede in his metrical life of Cuthbert, c. 5, but not in the prose life.

internus arbiter] ‘almighty God,’ adds AS. vers.


Eanfledam] See ii. 9, 20; iii. 24, 25; v. 19, pp. 99, 126, 179, 181, Eanfled. 323. As Oswy is spoken of as king, this mission must have been after 642, and probably soon after; for Egfrid, the son of this marriage, fell on May 21, 685, in his fortieth year. He must therefore have been born before May 21, 646; iv. 26, p. 267. The political object of this marriage, as of that of Ethelfrid with Acha, was no doubt to conciliate the loyalty of Deira; see the pedigree in the notes to c. 1, and cf. Green, M. E. p. 296.

p. 158. tantum iter] This shows the difficulty of communication between the different parts of Britain at this time.

misit de oleo] v. i. 17, p. 34, note; cf. Bede on Gen. i. 3: ‘nec mirandum nobis diuina operatione lucem in aquis posse resplendere, cum et hominum operatione constet eae saepius illustrari, nautarum uidelicet, qui in profundo maris demersi, emisso ex ore oleo, perspicuum sibi hoc ac lucidum reddunt;’ Opp. vii. 8. To the same effect, Opp. vi. 152. Note the partitive use of the pre-
position 'de' as in modern French; 'il mettait de l'huile;' and for the meaning of 'mittere' cf. p. 124, above.

Gift of prophecy.  


Cynimund.  

nostrae ecclesiae] i.e. the joint monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow. A Cynimund, monk and priest of Lindisfarne, is Bede's authority for an incident in Cuthbert's life, c. 36; and the similarity of the terms in which he is spoken of makes it probable that he is the same as the Cynimund here.

CHAPTER 16.

This incident is alluded to by Alcuin in his poem, 'De Clade Lindisfarnensis Monasterii,' 793; v. Sax. Chron. ad ann. Dümmler, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, i. 233:

'Praesulis egregii precibus se flamma retorsit  
Aedani quondam Beban ab urbe procul.'

Bamborough.  

quae . . . cognominatur] 'seo is nemed Bebbanburg,' 'which is called Bamborough,' AS. vers. The church of Bamborough is appropriately dedicated to St. Aidan.

p. 159. neque . . . capere poterat] No doubt because of the wall mentioned Sax. Chron. 547 E. a.

uiculis] 'tunas,' 'townships,' AS. vers.

trabium, &c.] v. ii. 14, note. 'on beamum, 7 on ræfrum, 7 on wagum, 7 on wælum, 7 on sceaon,' 'consisting of beams, rafters, partition walls, wattles, and thatch,' AS. vers.

Farne.  

Farne] v. iv. 27, p. 268. The distance seems to be about four or five miles.

procul abest] 'ut on sæ,' 'out at sea,' adds AS. vers. Another MS. adds: 'eac swylce on ȝam ylcan ealonde symble op ðisne and-wardan dæg Godes þeow sum on ancer setle wunode,' 'likewise on the same island continually to the present day some servant of God lived as an anchorite;' Smith, p. 542.

denique . . . solent] 'ond mon mæg gen to dæge þa stowe his sælæs . . . seawian,' 'and one may still at this day view the place of his seat,' AS. vers.

CHAPTER 17.

Death of Aidan.  

Hunc cum dies, &c.] 'Da ðæt gen wæs . . . ðæt he þis deálice lif foræstan sceolde, 7 he untrum wæs, þa wæs he 7e,' 'When the time came that he should quit this deathly life, and he was sick, then was he, &c.,' AS. vers.
Chap. 17.] Notes. 167

XVII] The four MSS. are equally divided between XVII and XVI. The latter agrees better with ‘septimo decimo anno’ below. See on c. 5.


septimo decimo . . . anno] ‘Ymb feowertyno ger þæs þe he bispoc was,’ ‘about fourteen years from the time that he became bishop,’ AS. vers. The translator mistook XUII for XIII.

corpus . . . sepultum est] Part of his relics were carried away His relics.

by Colman after the Synod of Whitby in 664 ; c. 26, p. 190. The remainder shared the wanderings of Cuthbert’s body ; S. D. i. 57 ff. ; v. on c. 12. The assertion that the relics of Aidan, Ceolfrid, and Hilda were translated to Glastonbury, W. M. i. 56; G. P. p. 198, is simply an instance of that huge system of monastic lying, in which Glastonbury had a bad pre-eminence. A similar Glastonbury lie with reference to Dunstan called forth an ignignant protest from Eadmer ; Stubbs’ Dunstan, pp. 412-422. Whether Eadmer would have been as zealous for the truth, if he had not been a Canterbury man, is another question.

basilica maior] v. c. 25, ad init.

Finan] See on c. 25, ad init.

destina] A prop or buttress, ‘studu,’ AS. vers., glossed ‘stipere,’ Anglo-Saxon Glossaries, i. 126.

ipsa . . . perederet] ‘se leg þurhæt þa næglas in þæm þyrelum þæ heo mid þæm to timbre gefæstnad wæs,’ ‘the flame ate through the nails in which it was fastened to the timber,’ AS. vers. Cf. Lismore Lives of Saints, p. 323, for a similar tale.

p. 161. scripsi autem] In two of the MSS. of the AS. vers. this paragraph to the end of the chapter is omitted ; possibly because it repeats to a large extent what has already been said in c. 5; possibly because of the censure of Aidan which it contains. Cf. on c. 3; inf. cc. 25, 26.

in libro . . . de temporibus] There is a short chapter (xv) in ’De Temporibus’ De Temporibus entitled ‘De Sacramento Temporis Paschalis,’ De Temporibus Librum Maiorem. See especially cc. 6, 30, 51, 59-65. See on these works, Introduction, § 11.

in euangelicis . . . litteris] ‘on halgum bocum,’ ‘in sacred books,’ AS. vers.

p. 162. ut quidam] v. on c. 4, p. 135.

CHAPTER 18.

His temporibus] This is a very vague expression. Aidan died in 651; and we have seen on ii. 15 that the accession of Sigbert and the mission of Felix cannot be placed later than 631. Sigbert and his successor Egric are not mentioned in the Sax. Chron., perhaps because the compilers could not place them chronologically.

scolam] This has been claimed as the origin of the University of Cambridge. See additional critical note, and cf. Stev. a. l. and Bright, p. 125. On the Frankish schools, cf. ib. 124. W. M. i. 97 improves on Bede: 'scholastque etiam litterarum per loca instituit; quod pro magno certe debet praedicari, ut litterarum dulcedinem per eum experientur homines agrestes antea et fanatici.' Pits, p. 108, cites an alleged correspondence between Sigbert and Desiderius, Bishop of Cahors (637–660). These letters are printed in Canisius, Antiquae Lectiones, v. 527, 528, 548, 549. Their genuineness is very doubtful. But even if they are authentic, the Sigbert in question is not Sigbert of East Anglia, but Sigbert III, King of Austrasia, 632–656; cf. Scherer, Verzeichniss der Hss. der Stiftsbibliothek zu St. Gallen, p. 68 (Halle, 1875).

quem . . . acceperat] In what sense Sigbert received Felix from Kent may be seen from ii. 15. Originally he came from Burgundy. See a life of Felix with notes in AA.SS. March, i. 779 ff.

iuxta morem Cantuariorum] This seems to imply that Felix had spent some little time in Kent. For the later schools at Canterbury, founded by Theodore and Hadrian, v. iv. 2. These earlier schools were probably due to Augustine.

cognato] Perhaps brother-in-law; v. i. 27, pp. 50, 51, note. If so, we have again in this kingdom an instance of succession through females. See on ii. 15; and the words which follow, 'qui . . . tenebat,' omitted by the AS. vers., seem to point to a division of the kingdom, perhaps into the two 'folks,' North and South, whose names still survive in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The division of the diocese points the same way; iv. 5, ad fin.; cf. on ii. 3, 15.


pro aeterno . . . militare] v. c. 23, p. 176, note.

p. 163. successor . . . Anna . . . occisus est] The Sax. Chron. A. B. C. place Anna's death in 654, E. F. in 653; all however agreeing in placing it one year before the battle of the Winwæd, which they date 655 and 654 respectively. The date of Egric's fall and Anna's
accession is nowhere given. Anna was certainly king when
Cenwalh of Wessex took refuge with him in 644 or 645; see on c. 7,
p. 140. The Lib. Eli. places his accession in 637, p. 14; and at
p. 37 says that he died in the nineteenth year of his reign, which
would throw back his accession to 635 or 636. The latter is the
date adopted by Dr. Stubbs, D. C. B. iv. 302; but is difficult to
reconcile with Bede’s words, p. 162, supra, that Sigbert was monk
(and consequently Egric king), ‘multo tempore’; as in that case
the joint reigns of Sigbert and Egric would only occupy five or six
years; for Sigbert’s accession must be placed 630 x 631; ii. 15,
note.

The events narrated here, and the fact that Ethelhere, Anna’s
successor, fought on Penda’s side at the Winwæd, c. 24, p. 178,
show how completely East Anglia was dominated by Mercia;
 cf. Green, M. E. p. 274. According to Lib. Eli. u. s. Anna was
buried at Blythburgh in Suffolk.

filius Eni] ‘fratris Redwaldi,’ W. M. i. 97; so the pedigrees in
Fl. Wig. i. 249, 261.

optima ... sobolis] See on c. 7, p. 140.

CHAPTER 19.

The bulk of this chapter is taken from a Latin life of St. Fursa
which exists in many MSS. (v. Hardy, Cat. i. 239), and has been
printed by Surius, the Bollandists, Mabillon, and Colgan. To
the MSS. given by Hardy should be added the Codex Salmanticensis
(so called because it once belonged to the Irish College at Sala-
manca), now in the Royal (Burgundian) Library at Brussels.
This MS. has been edited by the Jesuits De Smedt and De Baeker,
1888). The life of Fursa occupies cols. 77-102; it is followed by
a second book, of miracles, cols. 102-111, which Bede does not use.
I have made this edition the basis of my collation with the text of
Bede, and I indicate its readings in the critical notes by the symbol
Sl.; and references to its sections are placed in the margin. Bede
acknowledges his obligations to this life, inf. pp. 164, 165, 168.
For other lives of Fursa, see Hardy, Cat. i. 241-246. The story of
Fursa is incorporated into an Anglo-Saxon homily by Ælfric,
Thorpe, ii. 332 ff., but it is taken not from Bede, but direct from
the life of Fursa.

supervenit de Hibernia] A glance at the marginal references Bede’s ar-
will show that Bede has transposed a good deal the order of his
original, with the result that he has greatly obscured the course
rangment of the text.
of his own narrative. To avoid confusion it should be noted that from the beginning of the chapter to 'adornarunt' on p. 164, Bede gives summarily an account of Fursa's coming to Britain, and of his working in East Anglia. Then with the words 'erat autem,' &c., he reverts to his early life in Ireland, and follows it up to p. 167, when the journey to Britain occurs in its due order, followed by his migration to Gaul and death. Hence the 'infirmitas,' 'uisio,' and 'monasterium' of p. 164, lines 3, 4, 10, belong to the sojourn in East Anglia, and are quite distinct from the 'monasterium,' 'infirmitas,' and 'rapture' of p. 164, lines 25, 26, 27 ff., which belong to the earlier life in Ireland.

_peregrinam ducere uitam_ This is a very prominent trait in the markedly ascetic character of the Irish Church; cf. Stokes, Lismore Lives, pp. cviii. 21. It began as early as the sixth century, and lasted at least till the ninth. Cf. the well-known passage in the ninth-century life of St. Gall: 'natio Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi iam paene in naturam conuersa est;' Pertz, ii. 30. So of the Irish pilgrims at Glastonbury, Osbern says: 'quod aliis bona uluntas in consuetudinem, hoc illis [sc. Hibernis] consuetudo uertit in naturam;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 74. So Hericus to Charles the Bald, a.d. 876: 'Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totum cum grege philosophorum ad litora nostra migrantem? quorum quisquis periti est, ultero sibi indici exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad uotum;' Bouquet, vii. 563. (Cf. with this last the quaint passage from the monk of St. Gallen's Gesta Caroli, cited on ii. 1.) In c. 25 we find an Irishman, Ronan, who had travelled in Gaul and Italy. Adamnan tells us how Irish saints set out 'eremum in oceano quaesituri;' Rs. Ad. pp. 30, 49, 59, 166-171 (ed. Fowler, pp. 22, 33, 115). Often they would commit themselves to the deep in a slender coracle without oarage or steerage, and trust their fate and the direction of their course to the winds and waters. (For a striking instance of this, c. Sax. Chron. s.a. 891, and notes, a. l.). Often pilgrimage or exile was imposed or voluntarily undertaken as a penance. (Cf. the case of Egbert, c. 27, pp. 193, 194; Opp. Min. p. 203; H. & S. i. 117, 118; iii. 179, 336; Rs. Ad. pp. 52, 157. Legend assigned this motive to St. Columba himself, ib. lxxiv f., 247 ff.) Besides the love of wandering, the desire for self-mortification, and for gaining and imparting knowledge, there was above all the missionary zeal, which was the real motive of St. Columba; and to which was due the fact that so large a portion of the Continent owed their first knowledge of the glad tidings to Irishmen. Cf. on the whole subject, Zimmer, in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1891, pp. 181, 182; Sitzungsbl.

p. 164. Cnobheresburg] This has been identified with Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth; Camden, ii. 157.

de nobilissimo genere] The Irish authorities differ widely as Fursa’s to Fursa’s pedigree; v. Lismore Lives, p. 294; Mart. Dom. p. 18; cf. Pertz, vi. 320; ‘ex Hibernia regio stemmate orti’ (of Fursa and his brothers Foillan and Ultan), Vita S. Amati, Episc. Senon. in Bouquet. iii. 608, which also makes Fursa and Foillan bishops. As to Foillan, see below. Neither the life nor Bede say anything as to Fursa’s ecclesiastical rank. An old German version of this chapter is entitled: Von eim Bischof Forsee genannt (printed 1473 and 1476, fol.). So De Furseo episcopo, in MS. Add. 14,251, f. 199, where this chapter occurs separately.

raptus . . . e corpore] On visions of the other world, see v. 12, note. The vision.

meruit audire] ‘hu heo God lofoden 7 heredon,’ ‘how they praised and glorified God,’ adds AS. vers..

ibunt sancti, &c.] This is a very favourite text with Bede himself, who frequently cites it in his works; e.g. Opp. Min. p. 83; Opp. vii. 229; viii. 327; ix. 12, 274, 340; xii. 268. In all these places Bede has ‘ambulabunt’ for ‘ibunt.’ ‘Ibunt’ is the reading of the so-called Gallican Psalter, now embodied in the Vulgate; ‘ambulabunt’ of the Roman Psalter. On these two Psalters, see v. 19, note.

in Sion] The AS. vers. after giving the Latin, glosses these words ‘in wilde seeawunge,’ ‘in beauty of vision.’

reductus in corpore] We should expect ‘in corpus.’ For other instances, see M. & L. a. l.


impietatis] i.e. pitilessness. See on ii. 14, p. 114.


illis solummodo] So Drythelm, v. 12, p. 309.
The Ecclesiastical History. [Bk. III.

narrare solet] 'cwæd se þæ þas booc wrat,' says he who wrote this book,' adds AS. vers.

multis annis, &c.] 'Completis uero annis X omnibus &c. . . irrumentium populorum multitudines non ferens, aliquantorum etiam animos inuidia stimulante contra se commotos esse reprehendens, relictis &c. . . ad insulam quandam parualum in mari profectus est; atque exinde non multo post de Hybernia insula, peregrina litora petens, per Britanniam in Saxoniam transuectus est;' Vita, § 26. These last words are specially interesting as showing that the Celts applied the term Saxon to any part of Britain occupied by the Teutonic tribes.

'Saxonia,' in Scotia] 'geond eal Yerland 7 Scotland,' 'throughout all Ireland and Scotland,' Ælfric, ii. 346. This illustrates the change of meaning in the word 'Scotland.' See on i. 1, p. 13.

Foillan and Ultan. Fullano] Foillan, Faelan in Irish. He was a bishop; as is implied here by the distinction between him and the 'presbyteri,' Gobban and Dicul. Similarly in the life, § 28, where he is called 'sacerdos.' He and Ultan were evidently among the 'paeci fraters' who accompanied Fursa to 'Saxonia.' After his death they followed his example and migrated to Gaul; AA.SS. Oct. xiii. 387; Mab. AA.SS. ii. 785; Ann. Bened. i. 420; Capgrave, cited by Hardy, Cat. i. 254. See also below. They founded a monastery at Fosse, in the diocese of Liége, on land given them by St. Gertrude, Mab. Ann. Bened. i. 420, whose death Ultan foretold. See her life in SS. Rerum Merovingicarum, ii. 462, 463. This monastery was burnt and rebuilt more than once in the twelfth century; Pertz, xxiv. 270; xxv. 101; Bouquet, xiii. 605. There was another monastery of Foillan's at Rœulx near Mons; Pertz, xxi. 551. He is said to have been martyred in 655 and buried at Fosse; ib. iv. 11. His day is Oct. 31; Félire, and Mart. Don. The various lives of him, with a long preliminary dissertation, are in AA.SS. Oct. xiii. 370-445.

p. 168. Gubbano et Dicullo] 'Galbano et Tibulla,' Sl. corruptly. For the name Dicul, Dicuil, v. iv. 13, note. There are no less than eight Gobbons commemorated in Mart. Don.

Ultanum] See above. He became abbot of Fosse, and afterwards ruled the community of Irish monks at Péronne, where Fursa was buried; Mab. AA.SS. ii. 755-758. He died c. 680, ib.; cf. Gallia Christ., iii. 933; ix. 1036. His day is May 1; AA.SS. Maii, i. 118, 119.

Hermits. annum ... cum ... eo ... uixit] On hermits living in pairs, cf. Raine's Hexham, i. Appendix, p. xxxii.

gentilium] i.e. the Mercians under Penda, v. c. 18, notes.
Hloduio] Clovis or Hlodowig II, who succeeded as king of Clovis II. Neustria in 638, at the age of four, and died in 656. He was the husband of Bathildis, on whom see c. 8, notes; v. 19, note.

Ercinualdo] This is Ercinwald, Neustrian Mayor of the Ercinwald. Palace, 640-657.

construxit] ‘suis manibus,’ Mirac. § 6; according to which Lagny. Ercinwald gave Fursa his choice of various places, out of which he chose Latineacum, Lagny, on the Marne near Paris; Gallia Christ., vii. 490; cf. Bouquet, iv. 664, ix. 531.

diem clausit ultimum] Just before his death he had set out Death of from Lagny to visit his brothers Foillan and Ultan, whom he had left in ‘Saxonia;’ but on the way he fell ill and died at Maceriae (Mazerœcles, in Ponthieu on the Authie, on which place see a very interesting note in Mab. AA.SS. ii. 310). He died Jan. 16; Vita, § 29; Mirac. § 7; and this is his day in the calendars; Opp. iv. 23; Fêlíre; Mart. Don. According to Mirac. §§ 9, 10, a contest for his body took place between Ercinwald and two other magnates. The first was victorious.

The chronology of Fursa’s life can only be fixed within rather vague limits. His coming to Britain must be after the accession of Sigbert, 630 x 631; notes on ii. 15, iii. 18. Penda’s great attack on East Anglia, in which Sigbert and his successor Egric were slain, cannot be later than 644, ib. Therefore Fursa’s departure to Gaul was probably not later than 644; and cannot be earlier than 649, the date of Ercinwald’s election to the mayoralty. The Ann. Ult. enter his death under three years, 647, 648, 660. The last is certainly too late, as it is after the death of Ercinwald. The Ann. Laubienses say, ‘649, Sanctus Furseus ... ad Gallias usque peregrinatur, quem ... sequuntur fratres sui Foillanus et Ullanus;’ Pertz, iv. 11; cf. ib. xiv. 515; Bouquet, iii. 40, 171, 172, 304. As regards Foillan and Ullan, this is very possibly correct; but as regards Fursa, the date of his migration to Gaul is evidently confused with that of his death, which occasioned his brothers’ migration. The Ann. Ult. place his vision in 626, and according to the life, §§ 25, 26, he remained in Ireland ten or eleven years after that; this would bring his arrival in Britain to 636 or 637, which is possible; Fl. Wig. places it vaguely, ‘eo tempore,’ under 636. It would be interesting to know whether any other Irish missionaries besides Fursa and his company came to East Anglia, and how far the evangelisation of the province was due to Irish influences. Bede only lays stress on the Burgundian influence.

Perrona] Péronne, on the Somme. After St. Fursa’s death His relics.
a monastery was founded there in connexion with the church which contained his body, and seems to have attracted many Irish thither. From the seventh to the tenth centuries we find it called 'Perrona Scotorum;' Pertz, i. 319; xiii. 626; cf. Lanigan, ii. 465.

receptui corporis] In later times Canterbury claimed to possess the head of St. Fursa; H. Y. I. xlvii. Smith says, 'His relics are in the collegiate church at Péronne dedicated to him, except the skull which is at Lagny.'

CHAPTER 20.

Death of Felix.

P. 169. defuncto Felice] For the bearings of this chapter on East Anglian chronology, see notes to ii. 15. From the calculations there made Felix must have died in 647 (so Fl. Wig. i. 20) or 648 (Peter of Blois, cited by Stev. from Gale, i. 109, says 646); and his successor Thomas in 652 or 653. The latter year is given in the Latin of Sax. Chron. F., but may be only an inference from this passage. Capgrave (cited Ang. Sac. i. 403) says that Felix died on March 8. He was buried first at Dunwich, thence translated to Seham, near Ely, and thence to Ramsey Abbey; G. P. pp. 147, 318; Lib. Eli. pp. 21, 22.


Bishop Thomas.

Thomam] The second native bishop; Ithamar being the first; c. 14, p. 154.

The province Gyruiorum] 'Gyrwa maegs,' 'the kindred of Gyrlas,' AS. vers. Not Jarrow, as Mr. Hamilton makes it, G. P. p. 147. 'Giruit sunt omnes australes Angli in magna palude habitantes in qua est Insula de Ely'; Lib. Eli. p. 4; 'extending from South Lincolnshire to South Cambridgeshire'; D. C. B. ii. 19.

Bertgils.

Berctgilsum . . . Bonifatium] So the great St. Boniface originally bore the native name of Winfrid; Cont. Baedae, p. 362.

Honorius.


cessante . . . menses] The reason for this interregnum is not mentioned. It may have been due to the troubles caused by Penda.

Deusdedit.

Deusdedit] The first native archbishop. According to Elmham, who gives his epitaph, his native name was Frithonas, pp. 192, 193. For later lives of him, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 261, 262. We have had a Pope called Deusdedit, ii. 7. For names of this kind, cf. Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 243; Bright, p. 174. In D. C. B. there are several prelates called 'Quodquiddeus.'
rexit ... dies] If Bede is right in saying, ii. 7, that Deusdedit died July 14, 664, then his archiepiscopate reckoned from his consecration lasted less, not more, than nine years and four months. Possibly Bede reckons from his election; in which case the date of his election would be Dec. 12, 654.

defuncto Ithamar] From Bede's language here, it has been inferred that Ithamar died very soon after Deusdedit's consecration, probably in the same year, 655; H. & S. iii. 100; Ang. Sac. i. 320. But considering Bede's way of grouping his facts according to subject rather than date, this must be regarded as very uncertain.

Damianum] 'It marks the great spread of Christianity that Native the four bishops whose consecration is recorded in this chapter bishops were all of native origin'; M. & L.

CHAPTER 21.


Middilangli] 'Middelengle,' AS. vers. and Sax. Chron. B. C. E.; The Middle 'Middelseaxe,' A., wrongly. They occupied roughly the modern Angles. Leicestershire. They are mentioned in i. 15 as one of the tribes of Anglo-Saxon origin. R. W. identifies 'Middelanglia' with Mercia, i. 89.

principe] om. AS. vers.; 'ealdormenn,' Sax. Chron. Bede seems to imply that he had the title of king, 'regis nomine ... dig-nissimus.'

Peada] By a confusion very common in Saxon names, W. M. i. Peada. 77 calls him Weda; so Elmham, p. 184.

persona] 'hada,' 'orders,' AS. vers.

filiam ... coniugem] Who was said to have betrayed him to his death, c. 24, ad fin. In AA.SS. Feb. ii. 180, it is suggested that she may have been illegitimate, like Aldfrid.

p. 170. cognatus] A clear instance of the meaning 'brother- 'Cognatus,' in-law'; v. on i. 27, pp. 50, 51.

Cyniburgam] On her and her sister Cyneswith, cf. Hardy, Cat. Cyneburg. i. 370, 371. On the death of her husband, Alchfrid, Cyneburg is said to have entered the monastery of Castor in Northamptonshire, where Cyneswith also took the veil; Hardy, u. s. There they were buried, and thence translated to Peterborough, according to Sax. Chron. E. ad ann. 963; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 265; H. H. p. xxvii; G. P. p. 317. The Sax. Chron. E. brings them into connexion with the alleged endowment of Peterborough by Wulfhere and Oswy, ad ann. 656. Both they and their brother Wulfhere are
mentioned on Alchfrid’s memorial cross at Bewcastle; Stephens, 
Runic Monuments, i. 398 ff.
comitibus ac militibus] ‘geferum 7 cyninges þegnum,’ ‘compan-
ions and king’s thanes,’ AS. vers.
Ad Murum] ‘æt Walle,’ AS. vers. Walton, eight miles from
Newcastle; Camden, ii. 1054, 1055, 1087, ed. 1753. Walbottle; 
Smith.
Cedd. Cedd] See next chapter. Not to be confounded with his brother
Ceadda, as is often done; a practice against which Fuller quaintly
protests: ‘though it is pleasant for brethren to live together in
unity, yet it is not fit by error that they should be jumbled
together in confusion.’ See Raine’s Hexham, i. 21, 22.
Dioma. Dioma] Mentioned again, c. 24, p. 179; of the other two, Adda
and Betti, we hear nothing more.
Uttan] The weak Saxon genitive from Utta, v. c. 15.
Gateshead. Ad Caprae Caput] Gateshead, on the Tyne, opposite Newcastle;
‘æt Ræge heafde,’ AS. vers., from ‘ræge, a roe.’
nobilium et infirmorum] ‘ge æðele ge unæðele,’ ‘both noble and
non-noble,’ AS. vers.
nec prohibuit Penda] The baptism of his own son Peada is
a strong instance of this.
Dioceses and kingdoms. p. 171. duobus populis] Note that the bishops are bishops of
the tribes, not of the cities as on the Continent; cf. S. C. H. i. 224–
226. Hence the early dioceses are conterminous with the kingdoms;
cf. sup. on ii.3; Ang. Sac. i. 423. Note that the Middilangli, though
in subjection to Mercia, still retain their separate existence.
Infeppingum] Not identified; cf. ‘Færpinga þreo hund hyda
is in Middel Englum;’ Birch, i. 413-415.
Hii, ubi ... coenobiorum] v. s. on c. 4.
temporibus Uulfheri regis] 658–675. For the chronology of these
Mercian bishops, see notes to c. 24, p. 179.

CHAPTER 22.

Reconversion of the East Saxons. Eo tempore etiam] These words imply that the reconversion
of the East Saxons was strictly contemporary with the conversion
of the Middle Angles in the preceding chapter, i.e. 653.
abiercerant] In 616 or 617; v. on ii. 5, p. 91.
rex eiusdem gentis] Of the kings of the East Saxons subsequent
to Sæbert, Bede mentions Sigbert ‘paruus,’ Sigbert (sometimes
called ‘bonus’ or ‘sanctus’), and Swidhelm, son of Sexbald, here;
Sighere and Sebbi, who ruled jointly, c. 30, iv. 6; Sighard and
Swefred, sons of Sebbi, who also ruled jointly, iv. 11, ad fin. Bede

East Saxon chronology.
Notes.

177

gives us little help towards constructing their pedigree or determining their chronology; hence probably their omission in the Sax. Chron., except that Sighere and Sebbi are represented as signing the spurious charter to Peterborough in 656 E., a date probably anterior to their accession. The way in which the pedigree was constructed by the antiquarians of the twelfth century may be seen in Fl. Wig. i. 250, 262-264; W. M. i. 99. They differ in some points from one another, and from the natural meaning of Bede’s words. On the whole I place little reliance on them. As to chronology:—Sigbert ‘the Little’ must have been dead before the date of the events of this chapter, viz. 653. Sigbert ‘the Good’ lived ‘tempore non pauco,’ p. 173, after that date. But both he and his successor Swidhelm were dead before the plague of 664, as at that time we find Sighere and Sebbi reigning; c. 30. Swidhelm’s reign must therefore have been a short one. Sighere and Sebbi were also reigning when Earconwald became bishop of London, probably in 673; iv. 6. In iv. 11 Sebbi is spoken of as sole king: ‘socio ante se defuncto,’ says W. M. i. 99; probably rightly, but probably also only drawing an inference, as we do, from Bede’s words; R. W. places the death of Sighere in 683. Sebbi reigned thirty years; iv. 11. Hence his resignation and death cannot be later than 694, though Stubbs, D. C. B. iv. 594, places it in 695; nor earlier than 692, as Earconwald, who predeceased him, ib., certainly lived till 692, if not 693. (See K. C. D. No. 35; Birch, i. 115. A grant purporting to be made by Earconwald in 695 is clearly spurious; K. C. D. No. 38; Birch, i. 123.) Sebbi was succeeded by his sons Sigward and Swefred, v.s. He seems to have joined them with himself in the sovereignty before, and perhaps in preparation for, his actual resignation, as in the above charter they sign after him with the title ‘Rex.’ Swefred makes a grant to Waldhere, Bishop of London in 704; K. C. D. No. 52; Birch, No. 111. An attempt has been made to identify him with Bede’s Swæbhard of Kent; v. 8, ad fin. But the fact that Bede gives the two names in such distinct forms, without any hint of identification, is, to my mind, conclusive against the theory. See however D. C. B. iv. 666, 744, 745, for a tradition that kings of Essex did bear rule in Kent; and R. W. does call Swæbhard, Sifred; i. 185.

recisurae] ‘chips,’ ‘parings.’ It is not in any dictionary that I have consulted; for form and sense cf. ‘rasura,’ i. 1, p. 13.

habita ... conculcata] We should certainly expect ‘habitae,’ ‘conculecatae’; for it is the ‘recisurae,’ not the ‘uasa’ that are meant. It is probably the occurrence of the latter word that has caused the mistake.

VOL. II.
The identity of place and of the officiating prelate makes it probable that Sigbert's baptism took place at the same time as Peada's; c. 21. This confirms what was said above as to the date of the reconversion of the East Saxons.

Not, I think, British bishops, as D. C. B. i. 430; but bishops of the Irish Church in Britain, the head of which was at Iona. Hence even in the Celtic Churches consecration by more than one bishop was preferred when attainable. Much as Bede 'detested' their paschal errors, he clearly did not regard their orders as invalid, as did Theodore and Wilfrid; iv. 2; H. & S. iii. 197; Eddius, c. 12; Bright, pp. 170, 171, 227, 228.

Note also that though London still belonged to the East Saxons, iv. 6, Cedd is never called bishop of London by Bede, but always bishop of the East Saxons. Mellitus (ii. 4, p. 88) is called bishop of London; Eareconwald (iv. 6) bishop in the city of London; Waldhere (iv. 11) bishop of the city of London; Ingwald (v. 23, p. 350) Lundoniensis antistes. What Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 424, says of the earliest Mercian bishops would probably apply to Cedd also: 'nullam ... cathedram siue certam sedem sibi positam habuerunt, in monasterii uitam agere contenti.'

So of Bernicia, above, c. 3, p. 132: 'construebantur ... ecclesie per loca.'

Identified with Othona, one of the military stations under the Count of the Saxon Shore; M. H. B. p. xxiv. It was at the NE. corner of the tongue of land between the Blackwater and Crouch rivers, Essex; Camden, i. 411; Pearson, Hist. Maps. 'Anglice: St. Peter's on the Wall,' Smith.

Tilbury; famous in connexion with the history of the Armada.

The Pant river or Blackwater, Essex: 'hodie et amnis et ciuitas absorptae sunt,' Smith.

No doubt, as in the case of Lastingham, c. 23, p. 176, 'iuxta ritus Lindisfarnensium ubi educatus erat.'

On the asceticism of the Irish Church, v. Introd. p. xxx. On Cedd's own asceticism, see c. 23.

This is all that Bede tells us as to the date of Sigbert's murder, that it was 'some time after' the reconversion of the East Saxons.

'ophr para gesiða,' 'one of the gesiths,' AS. vers.

Possibly a marriage within the prohibited degrees; v. s. on i. 27.
CHAPTER 23.

Oidiluald . . . habebat] He is mentioned as one of Oswy’s opponents in c. 14. He would seem to have got possession of Deira at some time after the murder of Oswin, possibly through Penda, who was at this time decidedly superior to Oswy in power, c. 24, and whose interest it was to keep the northern realm divided. (Fl. Wig. says, ‘cui [Oswino] successit in regnum Oidilwald regis Oswaldi filius;’ i. 27; cf. ib. 269.)

Green, M. E. p. 300, says that Ethelwald was appointed by Oswy, and gives Bede as his authority. This seems to me impossible. Thus, even from the worldly point of view, Oswy’s crime appears to have brought him no profit. At the time of Oswald’s death Ethelwald cannot, as the author of the life of Oswald points out, S. D. i. 359, have been more than seven years old, and was therefore naturally passed over. At the time of Oswin’s murder he would be fifteen or sixteen, and at the time of the battle of the Winwaed he would be nineteen or twenty. It is hardly surprising that he should have taken part against Oswy, to whom he certainly owed no gratitude, whereas he may have had obligations to Penda; cf. Vita Osw. u. s.: ‘neec mirum . . . si filius sancti Oswaldi, dum acetas incremento robustius uiguit, contra patrum pro regno reluctari contenderit.’ But on any view the part he played in the actual battle was an unworthy one; c. 24, p. 178. But he may not have been altogether a free agent. He is not heard of again after the battle of the Winwaed; and he is not mentioned at all in the Sax. Chron.

p. 175. nam . . . credidit] ‘ond cwæð þæt he . . . gelyfde,’ ‘and he said that he believed,’ AS. vers.

qui ipsi . . . solebat] A sort of royal chaplain, the ‘cynges
preost' of Sax. Chron. E. 1032; where F. Lat. has 'capellanus regis.'

familiae ipsius] 'his hiwum,' AS. vers.
a quibus . . . didicerat] i.e. the monks of Lindisfarne, see below; but the discipline of Lindisfarne was of course Scotic at this time.

p. 176. petiit . . . conpleere] For the construction, see on ii. 12.

Laestingaeu] 'Leastingaig,' Fl. Wig. i. 22. Lastingham, near Whitby. For its subsequent history, cf. Hardy, Cat. ii. 50; Mon. Angl. i. 342.

The 'propositis] '7 þœr prafost 7 ealdormon gesette,' 'and there appointed a provost and alderman,' AS. vers. The plural need not however mean that more than one 'propositus' was appointed at one time; but that Cedd, who was abbot of the monastery, carried on the management of it when absent in his diocese, by appointing 'propositi' from time to time. For the office of the 'propositus,' who answers to the later prior, v. Introduction, pp. xxviii, xxix, as also for the form of the word. It illustrates the non-diocesan character of Scotic episcopacy that Cedd should act as abbot of a monastery which was not in his own diocese; see on c. 4.

The plague. tempore mortalitatis] 'in þa tide þere mielan deãlicnesse 7 woole ðe ofer moncyn cumen wæs,' 'in the time of the great mortality and plague which came upon the race of man,' AS. vers. This was the plague of 664. On the visitations of the plague, v. on c. 27.
adueniens] After the Synod of Whitby; v. c. 26.
de lapide facta] i.e. the earlier church had been of wood; v. on ii. 14.
in monasterio . . . Saxonum] i.e. either Tilbury or Ythancaestir.

Monks at the tomb of their abbot.

aut uiuere . . . sepeliri] So some of those who had followed Ceolfrid to Langres chose 'ad tumbam defuncti inter eos, quorum nec linguam nouerant, pro inextinguibili patris affectu residerent;' Hab. § 21, p. 386; Haa. §§ 37, 38, pp. 402, 403. So Alcuin to the monks of Wearmouth: 'Patribus oboedite uestrís, . . . adoleseentulos bene docete, ut habeatis qui super sepulcra uestra staret possint, et intercedere pro animabus uestrís; ' Mon. Alc. p. 843; H. & S. iii. 471; cf. Tennyson, In Memoriam, viii.:

'I go to plant it on his tomb,
That if it can it there may bloom,
Or dying, there at least may die.'

'Militia caelestis.'

conmilitonibus] So e. 18: 'ut . . . intraret monasterium, . . . atque . . . pro aeterno magis regno militare curaret' (of Sigbert
of Essex]; c. 24, p. 178: ‘ad exercedam militiam caelestem’ (of the foundation of monasteries by Oswy); Hist. Abb. §§ 1, 8; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 339.

p. 177. intercessionibus ... patris] Bede believes in the intercession of departed saints for us; on John xvi. 26 he says, ‘ubi neraeet in nomine Iesu petunt electi, dum pro nostra fragilitate intercedunt, quatenus ad suae salvationis sortem pertingamus, a qua adhuc inter insidias hostium peregrinamur in terris; ... in dies eternim petunt, quia non in tenebris pressurarum, ut nostra in praesenti, sed in luce sempiternae pacis et gloriarum, beatorum spirituum pro nobis intercessio funditur;’ Opp. v. 18, 19. Bede also believes in our asking for that intercession. In the homily for St. John Baptist’s Day he says, ‘Ipsum itaque intercedendo rogemus impetrare, ut ad eum cui testimonium perhibuit, ... peruenire mercamur;’ ib. 243.

So on Cant. v. 12: ‘Cauernam maceriae eito uolatu petamus, id est, sanctorum ... erebras pro nobis intercessiones ... quaeramus. ... Haec sunt etenim firmissima ... ecclesie praesidia;’ Opp. ix. 313; cf. also v. 246, viii. 210, xi. 40. But he says no less distinctly, ‘etsi sancti ... nobis ... possunt ... intercessionis suae apud Dominum suffragia ferre; nemini tamen eorum, sed soli dilecto Salvatori nostro dicere debemus, “Filii autem hominum sub protectione alarum tuarum sperabunt”;’ Opp. ix. 234.

mortem ... aeternam] On the fate of the unbaptized, cf. Opp. Fate of the ix. 199: ‘Catholica fides ... etiam paruulos esse iudicandos confitetur eos, qui, ... priusquam aliquid boni maliue ... nosse poterant, sine baptismo rapti sunt. ... Quamuis, ut sanctus Augustinus ait, mitissima ... damnatio erit omnium, qui praeter peccatum ... originale ... nullum insuper addiderunt.’

CHAPTER 24.

inruptiones] We have had instances of these ‘inruptiones’ in c. 16, 17. The former, in which the royal city of Bamborough itself was only saved by what was thought to have been a miracle, must have happened before, the latter after the death of Aidan in 651. That in these irruptions the Britons, as earlier and later, were in alliance with Mercia seems plain, as both Tighernach and Ann. Ult. have an entry three years after the death of Oswald: ‘bellum Ossu contra Britones.’ It would certainly seem that what Bede has said above, ii. 5, p. 89, as to the power of Oswy as ‘Bretwalfa,’ can only be understood of the time posterior to the battle of the Winwaed; and Bede may mean to hint as much by
the words 'nonnullo tempore' in that passage. See also on p. 180 below. Up to that date, with a partisan of Penda on the throne of Deira, with Bernicia open to invasion up to the very gates of the capital, and his son a hostage in the hands of his enemy (see below), his power must have been small.

**necessitate cogente promisit**] These words have been brought into connexion with a parenthetical remark which occurs in Nennius' account of the battle in which Penda fell, §§ 64, 65. After mentioning 'reges Brittonum . . . qui exierant cum . . . Pantha in expeditione usque ad urbem quae uocatur Iudeu,' he adds: 'tune [i.e. on the occasion of this "expeditio"] reddidit Osguid omnes diuitias quae erant cum eo in urbe usque in manu Pendaet, et Penda distribuit eas regibus Brittonum, id est, Atbret Iudeu' [the restoration of Iudeu]. Mr. Skene would identify 'urbs Iudeu' with the 'urbs Giudi,' which Bede, i. 12, p. 25, says was in the Firth of Forth; C. S. i. 254. See however note on i. 12. Professor Rhys would read 'Iuden,' understanding it of Edinburgh; C. B. pp. 132, 133. Jedburgh and Jedworth have also been suggested by Mr. Nash; Cambrian Journal, 1861, p. 15. In any case, if the statement is worth anything, it points to Oswy's being driven to the northern part of his kingdom. In Nennius, however, the treasure is extorted by Penda; in Bede it is offered to him by Oswy and declined.

'**Perfidus.'** rex perfidus] For the meaning of 'perfidus,' see on i. 7, p. 18. That Penda was 'perfidus' also in the ordinary sense, appears from ii. 20.; and W. M. calls him 'hominem . . . ad furta belli peridoneum,' i. 21.

**XII . . praediorum**] 'twelf boclanda æhete,' 'twelve estates of booklands,' AS. vers.

p. 178. siquidem . . . habuere] Om. AS. vers.

**obses tenebatur**] A striking proof of the depression of Oswy's power. It may have been in the 'expeditio Iudeu' that Oswy had to surrender him. He was the younger son and Oswy's favourite, according to Lib. Eli. pp. 24, 27, 28; see on c. i.

**Cynwisse**] 'Cynwisse,' AS. vers. W. M. calls her Kyneswitha, i. 77, which was the name of one of Penda's daughters; see on c. 21.

**Ethelwald of Deira.**

Oidiluald] See on c. 23.

eisdemque . . . exspectabat] For this passage the AS. vers. has '7 feah 7 wonn wið his ëðle 7 wið his fædran,' 'and he fought and contended against his country and against his uncle'; which gives a very different complexion to the affair. It is hard to say whether this version is due to a mere misunderstanding, or
whether it was made deliberately; and if the latter, with what authority and motive.


these were no doubt the British princes mentioned by Nennius. Both Tigh. and Ann. Ult. mention the slaughter of thirty kings, 'reges;' and both enter the battle twice, at an interval of six years.

auctor ipse belli] Bede nowhere tells us how this was. The Liber Eliensis, after mentioning Anna's death, says, 'cui frater Edilheus successit in regnum. Hic Pendae regi amicus factus, sub eo regnaturus, deinde suscepit imperium,' p. 23.

prope fluuium Unuæad] 'neah Winwede streame,' AS. vers. Nennius, u. s., says, 'Osguid ... occidit Pantha in campo Gai, et nunc factura est strages Gai Campi, et reges Brittonum interfici sunt, &c. (ut supra) ... Solus autem Catgabail, rex Guenedotae regionis, cum exercitu suo euaeit de nocte consurgens, quapropter uocatus est Catgabail Catguommed [i.e. "the battle-seizer who battle avoids," or "the fighter who fights shy"].' The site of the battle is very uncertain. Much depends on what is meant by the 'regio Loidis' below. Most commentators understand the district round Leeds to be meant; Camden; Smith; Thoresby, Ducatus Leodiensis, ed. Whittaker, pp. 143, 144; Whitaker, Elmete and Loidis, p. 3; Pearson, Historical Maps; Raine, D. C. B. iv. 166, who identifies the Winwæd with the Went, a tributary of the Don. Others, e.g. Skene, C. S. i. 254, 255; Nash, u. s. pp. 1-16, understand it of the Lothians. Mr. Skene's earlier view, P. & S., pp. cxvi. f., does not seem to have much to recommend it. As Leeds is in Deira, Ethelwald's territory, a battle there would imply a forward movement on the part of Oswy. There is nothing in Bede's narrative inconsistent with this. The words 'confusus occurrit,' supra, may be thought to favour it. The other view suits better with the situation as deduced from Nennius' account, if any value can be attached to that. Moreover, Fl. Wig., speaking of Penda's march to the Winwæd, says distinctly: 'in Bernicium ad debellandum regem Oswium ascendit,' i. 23. The second part of the name Winwæd is the Saxon wæð, 'a ford.' The first part may be connected with 'winnan,' to fight. It is impossible not to be reminded of the battle of Brunanburh, which in the Egils Saga, c. 52, is called 'Vinheði,' 'Winheath,' and in S. D. 'Wendune,' or 'Weondune,' i. 76; ii. 93. Unhappily the site of Brunanburh is as uncertain as that of the Winwæd. Hen. Hunt. here again has a proverb:
‘unde dicitur
In Winwed amne uindicata est caedes Annae
Caedes regum Sigbert et Ecgrice
Caedes regum Oswald et Edwine’; p. 60.

Cf. W. M. i. 76. On p. 97 Hen. Hunt.’s imagination conceives of
Penda as visited by a sort of heaven-sent confusion in the battle.
W. M., i. 55, exults in the downfall of ‘illud uicinorum excidium,
illud perduellionum seminarium.’ Professor Rhys thinks that
Celts from Cornwall, Ireland, and Scotland were present in Penda’s
army; C. B. p. 140. If so, this is another point of resemblance
with Brunanburh. The battle was decisive as to the religious
destiny of the English: ‘with it all active resistance on the part
of the older heathendom came to an end’; Green, M. E. p. 310.

dedit filiam suam] She is called Ethelfleda by W. M. i. 56. On
the dedication of infants to the religious life by their parents, cf.
Introduction, p. ix.

XII... terrarum] ‘a twelf boclond,’ ‘the twelve booklands,’
AS. vers.

in prouincia Derorum] This shows that Oswy now for the first
time got possession of the whole of Northumbria. We hear
nothing as to the fate of Ethelwald.

Hartlepool. p. 179. Heruteu] ‘Heorotea,’ AS. vers.; ‘Heortesig,’ Fl. Wig. i.
23, v. critical note. Now Hartlepool. The cemetery of this monas-
tery was discovered in 1838, and some remarkable slabs were
found; Raine in D. C. B. iv. 879.

insula cerui] Cf. ‘Insula que Cerui dicitur, que est inter Plum-
binum [Piombino] et Elbam [Elba]’; Pertz, xviii. 302. The island
of Capraja is probably meant.

Hild] On her v. iv. 23.

Foundation of


X familiarum] i.e. it was one of the twelve monasteries founded
by Oswy in fulfilment of his vow.

Whitby.

Stræneshalch] ‘Quorum praecipuum monasterium, tunc fo-
eminarum, nune uirorum, ... antiquo uocabulo Stræneshalch, modo
Witebi nuncupatur.... Illud coenobium, sicut et omnia eiusdem
regionis, tempore Danicae uastationis... deleut;... nune
mutato nomine, paululum pro tempore restauratum, antiquae
opulentiae uix tenue praesentat uestigium;’ W. M. i. 56. For its
restoration in the eleventh century, v. S. D. i. 111; ii. 202. W. M.
is wrong in saying that it was a ‘monasterium foemenarum’ under
Hild. It was a mixed monastery; iv. 23.

Elfed.

discipula... magistra] ‘discipula 7 leornung mon... magister
7 lareow,’ AS. vers., retaining the Latin words together with the
translations. By 'magistra' Bede means abbess (which office she held in conjunction with her mother Eanfled, iv. 26, p. 267, cf. App. I. § 18, who seems to have retired thither after the death of Oswy). As abbess, Eanfled was a great friend of St. Cuthbert, and more than one of his miracles are connected with her; Bede. Vit. Cudb. cc. 23, 34; Vit. Anon. §§ 28, 39. She played an important part in the final restoration of Wilfrid; Eddius, cc. 43, 59, 60, who calls her 'sapientissima urgo, semper totius prouinciae consilatrix optimaque consiliatrix,' c. 60. There is a commendatory letter from her to Adolana, Abbess of Palatiolum [Palentz], near Trèves, in Mon. Mog. p. 49.

completo . . . numero] She was barely a year old at the time of the battle of the Winwæd, Nov. 15, 655. Therefore she must have been born at the end of 654 or the beginning of 655, and must have died at the end of 713 or in 714. Her death is mentioned in the Irish Annals. 'Filia Osseu in monasterio Ild moritur;' Ann. Ult. 712; Tigh. 713.

Aeduini] For Edwin's translation, cf. on ii. 20, p. 125. The others were probably buried there in the first instance. The Glastonbury myth translates Eanfled to Glastonbury; W. M. i. 25.

tertio decimo . . . Decembrium] This would be Nov. 15, 654, as Oswy's thirteenth year extended from Aug. 5, 654, to Aug. 4, 655. But in v. 24, p. 354, Bede distinctly says that Penda fell in 655. The three oldest MSS. of the Sax. Chron. (A. B. C.) say the same. This date agrees with the statement above, c. 21, p. 170, that it was two years after the conversion of the Middilangli, and with the chronology of Wulfhere's reign; see below. It may therefore safely be adopted. We have had other instances, c. 14, pp. 154, 155, notes, in which Bede is one in arrear with Oswy's regnal years. This mistake may be connected with the mistake into which Bede has probably fallen as to the date of Oswy's death. See on iv. 5.

Lindisfarorum] On the oscillations of Lindsey between Mercia Lindsey and Northumbria, v. s. on c. ii. Here, even after Oswy's victory, it so far remains Mercian as to be included in Diuma's dioceese. But it does not follow from this that it was part of the district entrusted to Peada, any more than that he received the whole of Mercia. See below.

Diuma] The history and chronology of the Mercian episcopate are very obscure: 'Nusquam crassiores tenebrae, nusquam plures nodi quam in successione episcoporum Merciensium,' says Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 423. Something may however be made out. Diuma was appointed after Penda's death, Nov. 15, 655, c. 21, pp. 170, 171; and most likely before Peada's murder, spring, 656.
The retirement of Ceollach is probably to be connected with the successful rebellion of Wulfhere against Oswy in 658, which put an end to Northumbrian influence in Mercia. Diuma must therefore have died in or before 658, and Bede, s. s., says that he only laboured in his episcopate 'tempore sub pauco.' He also says that Ceollach's retirement was 'non multo post' his appointment, and that Trumhere was appointed, 'temporibus Uulfheri regis,' ib. There is therefore nothing in Bede inconsistent with the dates given by Thomas Chesterfield, Canon of Lichfield, in the fourteenth century, in his history of that see; Diuma, 656; Ceollach, 658; Trumhere, 659; Ang. Sac. i. 423-425, with Wharton's notes.

ad Scottiam redit[i] 'to Scottum hwearf,' 'returned to the Scots,' AS. vers. Above, c. 21, p. 171, Bede had said, 'reuersus est ad insulam Hii.' We have therefore clear proof that according to Bede's usage Iona is in 'Scottia,' i.e. in Ireland. (It does not imply that he ever uses 'Scottia' in the modern sense of Scotland. See on i. 1; Rs. Ad. pp. 184, 341.) So again Colman 'missus a Scottia,' c. 25, p. 182, 'in Scottiam regressus est,' c. 26, p. 189; while in iv. 4 it is said that he 'relinquens Brittaniam . . . primo uenit ad insulam Hii,' p. 213. Lastly, in c. 27, p. 193, Egbert vows that he will never return to Britain, while in v. 9 he is divinely commanded to go to Iona. Adamnan, on the contrary, always includes Iona in Britain, and opposes it to 'Scottia'; e.g. in i. 13 he speaks of Columba as 'in Britannia peregrinantem,' cf. iii. 22. Persons leaving Iona for Ireland are spoken of as going 'ad Scottiam,' i. 17, 18, 22; and persons coming to Iona from Ireland come 'de Scotia ad Britanniam,' ii. 39; cf. iii. 23.


propinqua] Second cousin; she being a daughter of Edwin, who was nephew of Ælfric, Oswin's grandfather; c. 1.


ce teris . . . praefuit] 'in aldordome ofer wæs,' 'was over them in authority,' AS. vers.; i.e. as Bretwalda. So ii. 5: 'cunctis australibus . . . provinciis . . . imperauit;' where the Bretwalda-dom is spoken of. Of course the nature of Oswy's authority over these other southern provinces was different in kind from that which he exercised over Mercia, which he held for a time by right of conquest. Cf. c. 1: 'cum Osuiu . . . regnum eius [sc. Pendan] acciperet;' 'quod sibi' (adds W. M. i. 77) 'et victoriae in patrem, et affinitatis iure in filium competere ui debatur.' He also says of Oswy: 'ex quo tempore omnibus pene Anglis uel ipse
praesedit, uel praesidentibus imperauit.’ The words of Bede and
Malmesbury entirely bear out what was said above as to the date
of the commencement of Oswy’s overlordship. On the difference
between ‘regnum’ and ‘imperium,’ see on ii. 5, p. 89.

gentem Pictorum . . . subiecit] This too seems to have been He reduces
subsequent to the defeat of Penda. This ascendency Northumbria
maintained under Oswy, iv. 3, ad init.; and under Egfrid, iv. 12,
ad fin.; until the defeat and death of the latter in 685, when the
Picts recovered their independence, iv. 26, p. 267. If Skene’s
suggestion cited on c. i is correct, Oswy was uncle to Talorg,
King of the Picts at this time. Note that the Picts are said to
have been subjected not ‘imperio’ but ‘regno Anglorum’; cf. i.
25, ii. 5, notes.

quo tempore . . . Merciorum] If the ‘South Mercians’ may Peada,
be identified with the ‘Middilangli’ of c. 21, Oswy in this grant
was merely confirming what Penda had already given. The Sax.
Chron. is wrong: (i) in making Peada succeed to the whole of
Mercia on Penda’s death; (ii) in placing Peada’s death two years
after Penda’s; (iii) in making Wulfhere succeed to the whole of
Mercia immediately on Peada’s death.

qui sunt . . . VII milium] ‘Pa seondon, þres þe men cweðað,
þif þusendo folces, . . . þara loundes is seofon þusendo,’ AS. vers.

proximo uere . . . paschalis] In 656 the Roman Easter was on
April 17.

tribus annis] i.e. in 658. Wulfhere reigned seventeen years Chrono-
(below), which brings his death to 675, the date given, v. 24, p. 354.
This confirms 655 as the date for the battle of the Winwaed.

duces] ‘heretogan 7 aldormen,’ AS. vers. ; cf. sup. on p. 178.
The former word indicates military, the latter civil authority ;

leuato] This phrase is probably a relic of the time when a newly
elected king was raised aloft on a shield and presented to the
multitude; Kemble, i. 154; Bright, p. 180, and reff.

Wulfhere] ‘Suscitauit . . . Dominus sibi hunc mitissimum,’ Wulfhere
says Eddius, c. 14, of Wulfhere’s elevation. He was a supporter
of Eddius’ hero, Wilfrid. (Yet cf. ib. c. 20.) On Wulfhere, cf.

occultum seruant] Cf. the case of Joash, 2 Kings xi.

principibus] ‘ealdormen,’ AS. vers. It would seem that after Revolt of
Peada’s death Oswy administered the whole of Mercia by his own
officials. Bede has been much commended for his evident sympathy
with this movement for independence in Mercia, though himself
a Northumbrian; Bright, pp. 179, 180.
CHAPTER 25.

P. 181] This chapter and the next are not in the AS. vers. nor in the Capitula. It is very noteworthy that the Sax. Chron. also omits all notice of the Synod of Whitby. In the case of MSS. A. B. C. this may be due to the fact that in their text the notices of events are taken not from the main narrative of Bede, but from the chronological summary, v. 24, p. 354. But this explanation will not apply to MS. E., which (following in the steps of D., which is here defective) draws directly from the body of Bede's work, and from the Latin original.

Finan] Cf. AA.SS. Feb. iii. 21-23.

a Scottis ... missus] Cf. the similar phrase, c. 5, ad fin.; inf. 'qui ipsum miserant,' 'missus a Scottia,' p. 182; 'qui me hue episcopum miserunt,' p. 184. We note how entirely the church of Lindisfarne formed part of the 'provincia' of Iona.

ecclesiam ... congruam] Cf. notes to c. 17, supra.

more Scottorum] See above on ii. 14.

Theodorus ... dedicauit] Possibly in 678, when he went northwards on the occasion of Wilfrid's deposition; iv. 12; cf. D. C. B. iv. 928.

plumbi lamminis] So Wilfrid at York: 'culmina corrupta tecti renouans, artificiosae plumo puro detegens;' Eddius, c. 15.


Ronan] Nothing seems to be known about this person. There are several Ronans in the Irish Calendar (see Mart. Don. Index) and two in the Scotch Calendar; Reeves, Ad. p. 416. Mabillon's proposed identification of him (Ann. Bened. i. 474) must be regarded as highly uncertain.

quod esset ... animi] Does this refer to Ronan or Finan? The word 'acerrimus' above might point to the former. If it refers to the latter we are reminded of Aidan's unsuccessful predecessor, 'austerioris animi uir;' c. 5, p. 137. Anyhow, as usual, bitterness begot bitterness.

p. 182. nonnumquam] According to Stevenson this difference of a week would have occurred in 665. If so, there was an obvious motive for holding the Synod in 664.

defuncto ... succederet] Colman, when he retired, had been bishop three years; c. 26, p. 189. Finan would seem therefore to have died in 661. The Ann. Lindisf. place his death in 660,
though they give Colman an episcopate of three years, and place 
the Synod of Whitby in 664; Pertz, xix. 504. Tighernach also places 
Finan’s death in 660, while Ann. Ult. and Mart. Don. p. 10, place 
it in 659. all three calling him ‘mae Rimedo,’ ‘son of Rimid;’ 
and a group of foreign chronicles place it in 658; Pertz, i. 87; 
ii. 237; iii. 2, 110. On the title wrongly given by Eddius to 
Colman, see on ii. 20. No doubt Aidan, Finan, and Colman did 
act as bishops for the whole of Northumbria; but they never 
received the pallium, nor were there any other bishops over whom 
they could exercise metropolitan authority; see on c. 3.

illorum . . . inbutus] Cf. Oswald, c. 3, p. 132; and contrast 

Uilfridum] See v. 19, and notes. Alchfrid was also influenced Wilfrid. 
by Cenwalh of Wessex; Eddius, c. 7.

multum temporis] Three years; v. 19, p. 324.

p. 183. XL familiarum] ‘XXX familiarum.’ v. 19, p. 325; and 
so Eddius, c. 8: ‘terra XXX mansionum.’

Inhrypum] Ripon. For the form of the name, see on ii. 14, p. 115.

qui Scottos sequabantur] Including Cuthbert and Eata; v. notes 
on c. 26, v. 19.

Agilberctus] v. s. c. 7, p. 140, and notes.

quod interpretatur] This etymology is very obscure; I have 
found nothing either in the dictionaries or glossaries which throws 
any light upon it, though ‘farus’ and ‘sinus’ are both frequently 
glossed. My friend Mr. Mayhew tells me that this is an old crux. 
He says, ‘The obvious translation of striones health is the Rock of Gain.’

synodus fleri] It must have been held somewhat early in the 
year 664; for at the time when Ceadda set out for Kent, which 
must have been some little time after the Synod, the news of Arch- 
bishop Deusdedit’s death (ob. July 14, 664) had not reached North-
umbria, c. 28; cf. H. & S. iii. 106.

reges ambo] Oswy and Alchfrid. In c. 28, ad init. and in v. 19, Alchfrid. 
p. 325. Alchfrid is also called ‘rex.’ So: ‘Alcfrithus qui cum 
Oswiu patre suo regnabat,’ Eddius, c. 7; ‘regnantibus Oswiu et 
Alcfritho filio eius,’ ib. c. 10. He was under-king of Deira: ‘Alh-
frid . . . qui regi Oithelwaldo, regis Oswaldi filio, in regnum succes-
sit’; Fl. Wig. i. 25; probably after the Winwæd; cf. on cc. i, 23. 
For his subsequent fate, see on c. 28, ad init.

secum . . . duxit;’ Eadmer, Vita Wilf. c. 10 (H. Y. i. 171). She of Hild to 
probably accepted the decision of the council on the paschal con-
troversy. But she continued her opposition to Wilfrid; for Pope 
John VI, in 704, referring to Wilfrid’s earlier appeal of 679, speaks
of 'contrarii eius qui a Theodoro ... et Hylda ... ad eum accusandum hue ... aduenerant'; Eddius, c. 54; H. & S. iii. 262. This was only a year before Hild's own death, and when she had already been five years 'tested' (examinari) by the 'long disease' of which she died; iv. 23, p. 256. In forming an estimate of Wilfrid's conduct, this is a consideration which cannot be omitted.

Cedd ... interpres] His brother Ceadda had, as a young man, lived some time in Ireland; iv. 3, p. 211. Whether Cedd had ever done the same, we are not told. But in any case he must have had ample opportunity of learning Irish from the Irish monks at Lindisfarne.

p. 184. quam ego per interpretem] Note that Agilbert, after all the years spent in Wessex, could not speak English; cf. c. 7, p. 140: 'pertaeus barbarae loquellae,' and note.

Pictos ... Brettones] Cf. Fridegoda's contemptuous enumeration:

'Scottica plebs, et Picta cohors, uulgusque Britannum.'

Vita Metr. Wilf. v. 248; H. Y. i. 116.

p. 185. iudaizante ... ecclesia] There can be no doubt that in this account of the conference Bede states the arguments of the two parties in his own way, and in his own words. The account in Eddius, c. 10, is very much shorter. The points which the two accounts have in common are the appeal of Colman to the practice of St. John, the appeal of Wilfrid to the Council of Nicaea, and the determination of Oswy not to risk offending St. Peter. This particular argument as to the very gradual way in which Judaic observances were eliminated from the early Church, which shows a genuine historical sense, appears constantly in Bede's works:

'Primitiua in Hierosymnis ecclesia multas legis cerimonias etiam iuxta litteram obseruabat, iudaizantibus quoque eis qui ex gentibus uocati ... fuerant. ... Neque enim ualebant ea, quae a Deo esse constituata nouerant, repente quasi noxia repellere'; Opp. vii. 222, 223. 'Mota persecutione ... retrahebant se ... apostoli ... ab ipsa iudaizandi consuetudine, quam ob deuitantum ... elaculum ... tenuerant'; viii. 136; cf. ib. 130, 185, 210; x. 2; xii. 66, 83. In Opp. x. 198 (= xi. 314) Bede rightly fixes on the destruction of the Temple as the great turning-point in the history of the Church with reference to this matter.

quomodo ... Judaeis] This passage is wrongly punctuated by the editors, who put a full stop after abdicare, thus destroying the sense; for the sentence 'quomodo ... est' is parenthetical, and the words 'ne scandalum facerent,' &c., are explanatory of 'nee ... ualentibus ... abdicare.' The sense is: 'they could not for fear of offence suddenly give up the law, in the same way as it is neces-
sary for converts to abandon idolatry.' On the distinction here drawn, cf. the passage quoted above, on i. 30, from Opp. xii. 67, which has reference to one of the examples given below, the circum-
cision of Timothy by St. Paul.

quod . . . totondit] 'Haec fecit Paulus, non . . . oblitus quid de 
abolitione legis . . . statuerat, sed ne scandalizarentur qui ex Iudaeis 
crediderant . . . Quidam codices plurali numero habent totonderant 
. . . id est Priscilla et Aquila. Sed . . . Hieronymus et Augustinus 
. . . et singulari numero ponunt, et de Paulo interpretantur'; Opp. 
xii. 73. Here Bede by adding 'cum Priscilla' seems to adopt the 
plural, and to understand it of all three. The singular is of course 
correct (κειράμενος), but commentators are not yet agreed whether 
it refers to Paul or Aquila; see Meyer, Comm. ad loc., Acts xviii. 18.

ad uesperam incipiebat] Cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 5: 'populus Israel 
. . . festa omnia sua, sicut et nos hodie facimus, nespere consumma-
bat, dicente legislate: "a uespera usque ad uesperam celebrabitis 
sabbata uestra"'; Opp. vi. 153.

p. 186. curabat; quod uos non facitis] Here Bede makes Wilfrid 
admit that the Celts were not strictly speaking quartodecimans. 
In Eddins he roundly asserts this, c. 12; cf. cc. 14, 15; see on ii. 
19, p. 123.

Anatolius] Above, c. 3, p. 131, Bede has alluded to the appeal 
of the Celts to the authority of Anatolius, and indicated his opinion 
of its worthlessness. In his 'Epistola ad Wicredam . . . de aequi-
noctio uernali iuxta Anatolium,' Bede hints that the Latin text of 
Anatolius had been deliberately corrupted by the opposite party: 
'uerisimile uidetur . . . libellum Anatolii . . . in aliquibus Latin-
norum exemplaribus esse corruptum, eorum . . . fraude, qui paschae 
erum tempus ignorantes, errorem suum tanti patris auctoritate 
defendere gestiret.' Then after mentioning other hypotheses, he 
concludes: 'quid sane horum sit uerius, illi potius, qui Anatolium 
Graecum legunt, uideant'; Opp. i. 161. That the Anatolian Canon 
on which the Celts relied really was a forgery, see D. C. A. i. 593, 
594; Bright, pp. 79, 198; M. & L. p. 220; Ideler, ii. 229, 230, 297, 298.

p. 187. patrem nostrum Columbam] Yet Columba himself was 
said to have foretold the paschal controversy; Ad.Vit. Col. i. 3 ad fin.

miracula] For the miracles of St. Columba, see especially Adam-
nan's life, which was written almost wholly from this point of 
view, Rs. Ad. p. 7.

possem respondere] For the argument, cf. the passage from Insolence 
Gregory's letter to Augustine, quoted on i. 31. If Wilfrid did use 
any argument of the kind, we cannot wonder that he should have 
provoked bitter hostility.
p. 188. simplicitate rustica] Cf. c. 4 ad fin.: 'ut barbari et rustici'; cf. Sig. Gembl. ad ann. 598. 'Columba . . . rustica simplicitate pascha dominico die celebrari neque didicit neque docuit;' Pertz, vi. 320. It is curious that having taken his phraseology from Bede, he should have departed so far from his facts, and made Columba a quartodeciman in the strict sense.

uno de angulo] For the later derivation of Anglia from angulus, see on i. 15; ii. 1.

'Etiam' = 'yes.' Cf. inf. v. 2: 'dicit Gae [yea], quod est lingua Anglorum uerbum affirmandi, . . . id est, etiam'; p. 284; v. 6, p. 291; v. 9, p. 297. So H. Y. i. 441.

p. 189. ne forte . . . probatur] So Aldhelm to Gerontius, King of Cornwall, on this same question: 'Si ergo Petro claeus coelestis regni a Christo conlatae sunt, . . . quis, ecclesiae eius statuta . . . spernens, . . . per coelestis paradisi portam . . . ingreditur?' Aldh. Opp. p. 88; H. & S. iii. 272; Mon. Mog. p. 30.

CHAPTER 26.

domum redivit] It is clear therefore that Bede regards Agilbert as having come from Gaul to Northumbria on this occasion; v. s. on c. 7.

sectam] So in v. 19, p. 325, with reference to this same event: 'eliminata . . . Scottorum secta.'

Scottiam regressus est] 'primo uenit ad insulam Hii'; iv. 4. So that here again we see that Bede considers Iona as part of 'Scottia'; see on c. 24. Under 664 the Ann. breves Fuldenses have 'Colmani obitus'; Pertz, ii. 237. The compiler, or the authority which he copied, mistook the 'Colman abiit' of other chronicles, Pertz, iii. 2; iv. 2, for 'Colman obiti,' which latter is found in Ann. Fulda; Pertz, iii. 110*.

tractatus cum suis] i.e. with the ecclesiastical authorities at Iona.


annus . . . XXII*] Oswy's twenty-second year was from Aug. 5, 663, to Aug. 4, 664.

episcopatus . . . Scottorum] v. s. on c. 5.

Scottos austrinos] v. s. on c. 3.

permodico tempore] He died the same year, of the plague, c. 27.

p. 190. fratribus . . . maluerunt] Even these submitted with an ill grace to the new rules; see on iv. 27.

Eata] He was abbot when Cuthbert entered Melrose in 651; Vit. Cudb. c. 6. He brought Cuthbert with him when he came
at Alchfrid’s request to organise his new monastery at Ripon, ib. c. 7; shortly before ‘pauro ante’ Alchfrid transferred it to Wilfrid in 661, supra, c. 25, p. 183; v. 19, p. 325. Florence in fact calls him ‘Hrypensis monasterii fundator,’ i. 25; so in the same sense Ceolfrid is called founder of Jarrow; Hab. § 7, p. 370, note. Both Eata and Cuthbert quitted Ripon rather than conform to the Roman Easter and tonsure; c. 25, p. 182, note; Vit. Cudb. c. 8.

Had they been permitted to remain, . . . it may . . . be that the church of Durham would never have been founded;’ Raine’s Hexham, i. 26. It was perhaps to take their place that Tunbert and Ceolfrid were invited from Gilling to Ripon by Wilfrid; Haa. § 3. They returned to Melrose, of which Eata had probably never resigned the abbacy. They must however, like Cedd, have accepted the decision of the synod on these points; and thus Colman, who could not bring himself to conform, was able to leave the monastery of Lindisfarne in the hands of one who had been trained in the school of Aidan. He seems to have retained the abbacy of Melrose along with that of Lindisfarne; Raine’s Hexham, i. 26; S. C. S. ii. 269; D. C. B. ii. 21. In 678 he was consecrated bishop of Bernicia, with his See at Lindisfarne or Hexham, iv. 12, 27; v. 24, pp. 229, 269, 355. In 681 his diocese was divided, Tunbert being consecrated to Hexham, and Eata remaining at Lindisfarne, iv. 12 ad fin. and note. On Tunbert’s deposition, 684, Cuthbert was elected to succeed him, and consecrated, Easter 685; and as he preferred to remain at Lindisfarne, Eata was transferred to Hexham, iv. 28, p. 273. As to the date of his death, see on v. 2 ad init. The life of him printed by the Surtees Soc. Misc. Biog. pp. 121–125, and again in Raine’s Hexham, i. 211–215, is little more than a cento of passages taken from Bede. There is a church dedicated to Eata at Attingham or Atcham on the Severn (the birthplace of Ordericus Vitalis); the name of the place being no doubt also derived from him; cf. D. C. B. ii. 21.


 unus de . . . pueris] One of the ‘paruuli Anglorum’ who ‘in- Aidan’s buenbantur praecceptoribus Scottis,’ c. 3, p. 132; possibly redeemed by Aidan from slavery, c. 5, p. 136. The number twelve is of course an imitation of the number of the Apostles. For other instances of its occurrence, v. Rs. Ad. pp. 299–303; Morison’s St. Bernard, p. 25.

non multo post] Fourteen years, 678, v. s.

ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis] Strictly of all Bernicia, with option of fixing his See at Hexham or Lindisfarne, v. s. In iv. 28, p. 273, Bede has committed the converse inaccuracy.
Character of the Scotic missionaries.

The glow of the description shows how warmly Bede sympathised with the Scotic missionaries in spite of their paschal heresies.


p. 191. unde . . . habitus] A story however in the early life of Cuthbert seems to show that even then monks were not always popular in Northumbria. A crowd of people, seeing some monks in jeopardy, 'coepit irridere uitam conversationis eorum, quasi merito talia paterentur, qui communia mortalium iura spernentes nova et ignota darent statuta uiuendi;' Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 3.

ubicumque clericus, &c.] Cf. inf. iv. 27, p. 269, which is itself taken from Vit. Cudb. c. 9.

nam neque alia, &c.] Contrast the Ep. ad Egb. §§ 7, 8, pp. 410-412, notes.

CHAPTER 27.

Eclipse. eclipsis solis] The AS. vers. retains the Latin words and adds a gloss: 'jæt is sunnan asprungennis jæt heo sciman ne hæfde, 7 wæs catolice on to seonne,' 'that is a failing of the sun, so that it had no light, and was dreadful to look on.' The regular word in the chronicles for the eclipsing of the sun or moon is 'ājystrian,' lit. 'to grow dark.'

die tertio] It was really on the first. Bede makes the same mistake in the Chron. 'sequentem anno facta est eclipsis solis, quam nostra actas meminit, quasi decima hora diei, quinto nonas Maias'; Opp. Min. p. 197. For the reasons which made it memorable, see next note. Smith, a. l., traces Bede's error to the incorrectness of the dates of the new moons in the Dionysian cycle of nineteen years.

Visitations of the plague

pestilentiae lues] There is a short chapter on the causes of pestilences in Bede's De Nat. Rer. c. 37; Opp. vi. 115; cf. Werner, pp. 118, 119. There were several visitations of the plague in the
seventh century in Britain and Ireland. This of 664 seems to have been the most noted of them. The coincidence with the eclipse, the highly dramatic incident of the deaths on the same day (July 14) of the king of Kent and the archbishop of Canterbury, iv. 1, would tend to impress it on men's minds. It carried off Tuda in the first year of his episcopate, and Bishop Cedd at Lastingham, c. 23. The death of Bishop Damian of Rochester, iv. 2 ad fin., may have been due to the same scourge. It caused the partial apostasy of the East Saxons, c. 30. The incident of Egbert and Edilhun narrated here is to be assigned to this same visitation. Many, following Florence of Worcester, i. 27, e.g. Bright, pp. 207, 208, Stubbs and Raine in D. C. B. i. 323, 725, further assign to this the death of Boisil, Provost or Prior of Melrose, and the sickness and recovery of Cuthbert, who succeeded him in that office; Vit. Cudb. c. 8; cf. inf. iv. 27. But that must certainly be placed earlier; for Cuthbert was provost of Melrose 'aliquot annos'; ib. c. 9; and in 664 he was transferred to Lindisfarne. On the other hand it was subseuent to the expulsion of Eata and himself from Ripon in 661, and may probably be assigned to that year. So Raine, Hexham, I. xxi f.; and Smith and Stevenson on Vit. Cudb. c. 8. According to the life of Oswald the plague visited Northumbria in his reign, 634 x 642; S. D. i. 347-349. There were also outbreaks after 664. Ceadda died of the plague, March 2, 672; Fl. Wig. i. 30; Ang. Sac. i. 426; while during Cuthbert's residence on Farne, 676 x 684, nearly the whole of the Lindisfarne brethren were swept off by it; Introd. p. xxxii. It carried off St. Ethelthryth in 679 or 680, iv. 19, p. 244; and Cadwalader in 682; see on v. 7. The story told, Vit. Cudb. c. 33; Vit. Anon. § 35, implies a visitation in Cuthbert's episcopate, 685 x 687; probably the same during which Abbot Eosterwine died, and the incident of Ceolfrid and the little boy reciting the offices occurred; Introd. p. xii. According to Adamnan, Vit. Col. ii. 46, the plague was raging in Northumbria at the time of his two visits. These were probably in 686 and 688; see on v. 15. The story of the miracle at Barking implies a visitation subsequent to the foundation of that monastery, iv. 7; while that at Selsey, iv. 14, must be 681 x 686; see on v. 19.

p. 192. Tuda] 'Se waes after Colmane Norpanhymbra bispoc,' Tuda. 'who was bishop of the Northumbrians after Colman,' adds AS. vers.; an addition necessitated by the omission of cc. 25, 26.

Pægnaæech] There is an extraordinary variation in the later Pægna-authorities as to the name of Tuda's burial-place. The Sax. laech. Chron. ad. ann. 664, E. has 'on Wagele'; Gaimar (M. H. B. p. 781) has 'Paggle,' with the ordinary confusion of W and P; H. H.
The plague in Ireland.

Resort of students to Ireland.

p. 100, has Wemalet, with a v. l. Weinalet, which last may easily be a miswriting of Peinalec, which is not so far from Bede's form. Wagele has been identified with Whalley on the borders of Lancashire and Cheshire, v. Earle, Sax. Chron. a. l. ; H. & S. iii. 444. Smith would identify Pægnalaech with S. D.'s Wincanheal, or Pineahala, ii. 43, 51, 376; and both with the modern Finchale, near Durham. But the whole matter is very uncertain.

Hiberniam quoque] The Ann. Ult. notice outbreaks of the plague in 663, 664, 666, 667, 682, 683, 684; F. M. 664, 666, 684. Cynifrid, formerly abbot of Gilling, died of the plague in Ireland; Haa. § 3. This was probably in 661, as it is mentioned in connexion with the migration of Tunbert and Ceolfrid to Ripon about that time. See on c. 26. The story of Wilbrod and the Irish scholar in c. 13, implies a visitation about 677, v. notes a. l. The Irish called it 'buide chonaill,' 'cron chonaill,' 'buidechair'; Lib. Hymn. pp. 123, 124; Ann. Ult. 555; F. M. 548, 664, and notes; the British called it 'y fall (or yfad) felen,' Rhŷs, C. B. p. 68; all names derived from the yellow colour of its victims. So 'flana pestis,' Giraldus Camb. Opp. iii. 57, 151. My friend and former good physician Dr. Tuckwell thinks that it was probably a malignant form of typhus.

nobilium . . . mediocrum] 'ge ædelinga ge ošerra,' both ethelings and others,' AS. vers.

qui . . . secesserant] Of this resort from Britain to Ireland for purposes of study or devotion Bede himself gives several instances. Besides the three mentioned in this chapter we have the cases of Wilbrod, c. 13 ; v. 10, ad init.; Tuda, c. 26; Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 211; Eddius, c. 14; Higbald, iv. 3, p. 211; Witbert, v. 9, ad fin.; the two Hewalds, v. 10; Haemgils, v. 12, p. 309. The case of Cynifrid from Haa. § 3, has been cited above. So the Frankish Agilbert, iii. 7, p. 140; cf. Bright, pp. 159, 160. The lives of the Cambro-British saints (ed. Rees) which are highly mythical, show that it was considered the correct thing for a British saint to have studied in Ireland, e.g. St. Cadoc, pp. 35, 36, cf. p. 59; St. Kebi, ib. pp. 184-186; cf. P. & S. pp. 112, 113. There is a letter from Aldhelm to a friend named Eahfrid who had spent six years in Ireland, 'uber sophiae sugens.' He says that the number of those who resorted to Ireland resembled a swarm of bees. He mentions as their subjects of study: grammar, geometry, physics, and the allegorical and tropological interpretation of scripture (v. Introd. § 14). He is however somewhat piqued that Britain, which has inherited the learning of Theodore and Hadrian, should have to resort to Ireland for instruction: 'ae si istic fecundo Britanniae in
Espite didascalei... reperiri minime queant;' Opp. pp. 91-95. The letter would be very interesting if it were not almost unintelligible through the writer's puerile pomposity. In some cases the exile was not wholly voluntary, but was due partly to political causes. We find also exile in Gaul, iii. 8; iv. 23; Hist. Abb. §§ 2, 3; and in Italy, Hist. Abb. Anon. § 27.

magistrorum] In all the Irish monasteries there was a regular officer called the 'fer legid,' lit. 'man of reading,' lector, or professor; v. s. on c. 13.

sine pretio] That the Irish sometimes offered their learning for sale is shown by the story given above, on ii. 1, from the monk of St. Gallen.

duo iuuenes... de nobilibus] 'tween geonge æxelingas,' 'two young ethelings,' AS. vers.


Ediluini] v. s. c. 11, p. 149; inf. iv. 12, p. 229.

Rathmelsigi] Colman of Rath MaelSighe is commemorated in the Rathmelsighe is commemorated in the Rathmelsigi. Mart. Don. at Dec. 14. 'Colgan places it in Connaught, but the exact situation remains to be identified;' Rs. Ad. p. 379. Stevenson and M. & L. say Melfont or Mellifont, Co. Louth; but I find no real authority for this.

adflicti] '7 him mon feores ne wende,' 'and their lives were despaired of,' AS. vers. adds.


adeo] 'for Gode,' 'for God,' AS. vers.; so that the translator Religious must either have read 'Deo' or misunderstood his text. The misunderstanding would be helped by passages like c. 4, p. 134, 'exulare pro Christo'; c. 19, ad init. 'pro Domino... peregrinam ducere uitam'; iv. 3, 23, pp. 211, 253, 'peregrinus pro Domino'; Hist. Abb. § 3, 'peregrinatio pro Christo.'

Brittaniam] As Egbert ended his days in Iona, this is another Iona not in proof that Iona was not considered part of Britain, v. s. on cc. 24, Britain. 26; though 'ad ius quidem Brittaniae pertinet,' c. 3, p. 132.

psalmos] v. s. on c. 5.

sacerdotii gradum] 'biscophade,' 'episcopal orders,' AS. vers. The evidence that Egbert was a bishop is collected in a note to v. 9, ad init.

nuper... DCCXXXVIII] Om. AS. vers. This agrees with the date 731 for the writing of the Hist. Eccl.

p. 194. cuius... curabat] cf. iv. 30, p. 276; D. C. B. iii. 367. Threefold This threefold 'Lent,' if so it may be called, occurs frequently in Lent.
Irish sources. Thus we have 'corgus [= quadragesima]erraig,' or 'Spring-Lent,' Fél. p. xl.; 'samchorgus 7 gemchorgus,' i.e. 'Summer-Lent and Winter-Lent,' L. Br. 261 b, 74. The last, or forty days before Christmas, is also called 'corgus Moysi,' 'Moses' Lent,' Fél. p. clxvi, from the idea that it commemorated Moses' forty-days' sojourn in the mount. The Spring-Lent is also called 'in corgus móır,' 'the Great Lent,' L. Br. 9 b, 7.

CHAPTER 28.

Wilfrid.  

Uilfridum] See v. 19, and notes.
regem Galliarum] Clothaire III, King of Neustria.
suisque] '7 his hiwum,' 'and his household,' AS. vers.
plurimis] Eleven, besides Agilbert, v. 19, p. 325; Eddius, c. 12; and note on iii. 7 sup.

In Conpendio] Compiègne.
propter ordinationem] Below v. 19, p. 326, Bede omits these words; and Eddius, c. 12 says that Wilfrid remained abroad 'spatium temporis' after his consecration. Any delay prior to the consecration, which cannot however be later than 664 (see on v. 19), may have been the result of the very unnecessary number of consecrators employed, which looks like a touch of vanity on Wilfrid's part. Anyhow the delay was very prejudicial to his cause; cf. G. P. 'quo ultra mare moras neectente,' p. 211.
imitatus industriam filii] Alchfrid's sending of Wilfrid was 'cum consilio atque consensu patris sui,' v. 19, p. 325. It is difficult to account for Oswy's change of front. Eddius and Eadmer both attribute it to the influence of the 'quartodeciman' party, H. Y. i. 21, 174, whom the latter represents as using the (surely not unreasonable) plea 'ne, ecclesia diutius carente pastore, fides Christi . . . iacturam incurrat;' cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 25. It is possibly connected with the fate of Alchfrid who had been the leader of the Roman party, c. 25, v. 19, pp. 182, 325. It is certain that at this point he disappears from history; and probable that that disappearance, whether by death or exile, was due to his rebellion against his father which Bede has incidentally mentioned in c. 14 ad init.; cf. D. C. B. i. 72; iv. 167. The date on Alchfrid's cross at Bewcastle is 'fruman gear . . . Ecgfríþu,' 'the first year of Egfrid'; Stephen's Rune Monuments, i. 398 ff.; Sweet, Oldest English Texts, p. 124; but whether this refers to the date of Alchfrid's death, or to that of the erection of the cross, I do not know. If his rebellion is rightly placed here, it would account for the triumph of Wilfrid's opponents, bringing Deira
Notes.

more directly under Oswy’s government, and increasing the predominance of Bernicia, which was more under Celtic and less open to Southern influence than Deira; cf. H. Y. I. xxvi. For the grounds on which Oswy had decided the issue of the Synod of Whitby were not those of an ecclesiastical enthusiast. There is however no reason to suppose that Ceadda, any more than his brother Cedd, refused to accept the decisions of the Synod as to Easter and tonsure.

uirum sanctum, &c.] Cf. the beautiful character of him in iv. 3. His character, Even Eddius, who regards him as a usurper, calls him ‘seruum
Dei religiosissimum et admirabilem doctorem’; c. 14. For later lives of him (which add nothing to Bede), v. Hardy, Cat. i. 275-277.

p. 195. Eadhaedum... Hrynesensis ecclesiae] He was in the first instance consecrated bishop of Lindsey, and was transferred to Ripon when Lindsey became Mercian again, probably in 679; v. on c. ii.

consecratus] 664; v. on v. 19.

adsumtis... episcopis] Probably Cornish; H. & S. i. 124. This instance of communion and co-operation between the Churches of the West Saxons and Britons is of great interest; but it probably formed one of the grounds on which Ceadda’s consecration was objected to by Theodore; see on iv. 2. It may be added that Wine’s own ecclesiastical position was not above criticism in point of regularity; he having been ‘sub-introduced’ into the diocese of Wessex while Agilbert still held it; c. 7, p. 140.

secus more] ‘secus’ as an adverb means ‘otherwise’; when used as a preposition it is a vulgarism for ‘secundum.’ Bede here combines the adverbial sense with the prepositional use, giving it the force of ‘contra.’ Mr. Gidley was the first to call attention to this point; M. & L.

non enim... episcopus] It has been pointed out that this is an exaggeration. Even if Damian of Rochester was dead by this time, there was Boniface of East Anglia; H. & S. iii. 106; Bright, p. 212.

castitati] Here, as often, ‘castitas,’ ‘castus,’ refer to purity from heresy; cf. v. 18, p. 321: ‘Brettones... pascha non suo tempore celebrant, ... alia... ecclesiasticae castitati... contraria gerunt’; iv. 18, p. 242: ‘ab hereticorum contagiis castus’; v. 20 ad fin.: ‘in catholicae fidei confessione castissimus’; so Opp. ix. 220, 233.

oppida... castella] ‘byrig lond 7 eastr 7 tunas 7 hus,’ AS. vers. Aidani] ‘pæs gódan biskopes,’ ‘the good bishop’s,’ inserts enthusiastically the AS. translator.
ueniens ... factus] See on v. 19, p. 326.
qui ... patriam] 'ja ðe between Ongle eardodon, 7 þære riht gelesdan làre wìderweardæ wæron, ge in gehælde rihtra Eastrena, ge in monegum ðœrum wiðum, ðœhe heora treowa sealdon, þæt heo riht mid healdan woldon, ðœhe ham to heora eðle hwurfen,' 'who lived among the English, and were opposed to the orthodox doctrine as to the holding the correct Easter, and in many other ways, either pledged their troth that they would join in holding the right, or returned home to their own country,' AS. vers. The additions were rendered necessary by the omission of cc. 25, 26.
manus darent] 'submitted,' 'surrendered.' The AS. translator has interpreted it on the analogy of the native phrase 'on hand syllan,' 'to bargain, promise, handsel'; cf. Icelandic 'handsala.' To surrender in Anglo-Saxon is 'on hand gán'; cf. iv. 2, where the translator has rendered it correctly.

CHAPTER 29.

reges ... agendum] This joint deliberation between Oswy and Egbert 'on the state of the Church of the English,' and the fact that their line of action was taken 'with the choice and consent of the holy Church of the race of the English,' mark an important stage in the development of a sense of unity among the English tribes in Britain, and show that the first impulse to such unity came from the ecclesiastical and not from the secular side; cf. iv. 1. In Hist. Abb. § 3 the sending of Wigheard is ascribed to Egbert alone. He had of course a special interest in the matter, Canterbury being in his kingdom. W. M. i. 55, 56, recognises this while ascribing the principal credit to Oswy, 'de euius [Theodori] in Angliam adventu princeps Oswio debetur gratia, licet Egbertus ... pro iure provinciae multum illius delibet gloriae.'
ap tum episcopatu] An unusual construction, probably due to the analogy of 'dignus,' &c.
morte] By the plague, iv. 1.
litteræ] Briefly epitomised in the AS. vers.
conversus] This alludes to Oswy's conversion to the Roman Easter, &c., at Whitby.
p. 197. celebrandum] 'celebrando' would be better; and so some later MSS.
et post nonnulla] Here, as in ii. 19, Bede omits the passage on Paschal the Paschal question. Perhaps he felt that in c. 25 and v. 21, he had given his readers as much as they could stomach on that question, and that he could state the arguments himself better than they could be stated by the Papal See. Ussher recovered from a MS. which he believed to have belonged to Whitby, a portion of the missing passage: 'nunquam enim celebrare debemus sanctum pascha nisi secundum apostolicam et catholicam fidem, ut in toto orbe celebratur a Christiana plebe, id est secundum apostolicam regulam ecceviii sanctorum patrum, et computum sanctorum Cyrilli et Dionysii. Nam in toto terrarum orbe sic Christi una columna, hoc est ecclesia immaculata, sanctum paschae resurrectionis diem celebrat. Nam Victoris [lege Victorii] regulam paschae sedes apostolica non adprobuit, ideo nee sequitur dispositionem eius pro pascha'; Ussher, Vet. Epp. Hibern. Sylloge, No. 9, p. 126. By the ‘318 fathers’ is meant the council of Nicaea; cf. Iv. 17, p. 240. And for the appeal to Nicaea in the paschal controversy, cf. ii. 19; iii. 25, p. 186. We must undoubtedly read ‘Victorii’ for ‘Victoris’ with H. & S. iii. 112. Victor, Bishop of Capua in the sixth century, was the orthodox champion who answered Victorius. R. De Temp. Rat. c. 51, ‘uerum ne nos amatores Victorii temere illum aggressos esse lacerent, elegant librum doctissimi et sanctissimi uiri, Victoris . . . Capuani episcopi de pascha, . . . et quanti a . . . catholicis ecclesiae doctoribus aestimatus sit suus magister inuenient’; Opp. vi. 248. The whole chapter is a vigorous polemic against Victorius.

hominem . . . tenorem] Above, Bede speaks of the two kings as having merely sent Wighard to Rome to be consecrated; here the Pope treats Wighard as merely the bringer of Oswy’s gifts ‘qui haec obtulit munera’ (cf. Iv. 1, p. 201, on these gifts); and assumes that he has been asked to provide an archbishop. This is commonly treated as a mere instance of papal usurpation. But below, iv. 1, p. 203, Theodore is distinctly spoken of as ‘episcopum quem petierant a Romano antistite’; so that probably some discretion was left to the Pope in the matter. Otherwise Wighard, like Wilfrid, might have been consecrated in Gaul; cf. ib. p. 211, ‘petentibus lune [Vighardum] . . . archiepiscopum ordinari’; cf. Kemble, Saxons, ii. 365, 366.

p. 198. de sacratissimis uinculis] Cf. D. C. A. i. 611; ii. 1771. totam suam insulam] Note the position assigned to Oswy.
CHAPTER 30.

P. 199. Orientalium Saxonum . . . reges] See on c. 22.

apostasiam] The plague had something of the same effect in
Northumbria, though not to the same extent, iv. 27; Vit. Cudb.
Pros. c. 9. On the general tendency to regard prosperity as the
test of religious truth, cf. on ii. 13.
dicemus] iv. 11.

fidelem] 'believing,' in contrast with the apostasy of his
colleague; cf. note on i. 7; and contrast 'perfidia' below.

Iaruman] v. c. 24, ad fin.; iv. 3. He succeeded Trumhere and
was succeeded by Ceadda.
p. 200. uiam iustitiae] Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 21; M. & L.
destructis . . . aris] v. notes on i. 30.

ipsi sacerdotes . . . eorum] 'se bishop 7 heora lareowas,' 'the
bishop and their teachers,' AS. vers.

BOOK IV. CHAPTER 1.

P. 201. Deusdedit] See above, iii. 20, note.

pridie Iduum Iul.] July 14.
eodem . . . die] v. s. on iii. 27.

non pauco tempore] Theodore was consecrated March 26, 668;
and reached Canterbury May 27, 669, infr.; and c. 2. Bede, c. 2,
dates Theodore's tenancy of the see from the latter date. He
would therefore consider the vacancy as lasting till the same
time. R. W. says: 'cessuit sedes III annis,' i. 159.
diximus] iii. 29.

praerat] 'waes aldorbiscep,' 'was chief-bishop,' AS. vers.
p. 202. Niridano] This is the right reading; v. critical note:
'Locus est iuxta Montem Cassinum,' Smith; N and H are very
easily confused in MSS. 'Nisidano' in Holder's text is a pure con-
jecture, and has no MS. authority; Elmham has 'Hiridano,'

Hadrianus] On the latter lives and miracles of Hadrian, v. Hardy,
Cat. i. 493, 404; cf. AA.SS. Ian. i. 595: 597.
ex tempore] 'after face,' 'after a time,' AS. vers.; 'at
leisure,' 'in time'; cf. Pref. p. 5, note.

uir aeque doctissimus, a Vitaliano missi Britanniam, plurimas
ecclesias Anglorum doctrinae ecclesiasticae fruge foecundauerunt,'
Opp. Min. p. 197. Pope Zacharias, writing to St. Boniface in 748,
says: 'Theodorus Greco-Latinus ante philosophus et Athenis eruditus, Romae ordinatus, pallio sublimatus ad ... Britanniam transmissus iudicabat et gubernabat;' cf. the passage given from Aldhelm on iii. 27, p. 192, above. On the later lives of Theodore r. Hardy, Cat. i. 362, 363. There is an admirable account of Theodore in D. C. B. iv. 926, ff., by Dr. Stubbs.

sufficiensque . . . propriorum] '7 eac swylce þæt he was in his aegnum geferscipe wel gemonnad,' 'and also that he was well manned in respect of his own company;' AS. vers.

p. 203. Greeorum more] This has been thought to refer to the Monothe-Monothelite controversy, Bright, pp. 220, 221. If so, the Pope's litism. suspicions proved groundless, as the council of Hatfield showed that Theodore and the English church were quite sound on this point; see cc. 17, 18, and notes.


die VII. Kal. Apr.] March 26; this was a Sunday in 668. His ordination as subdeacon four months previously must have been in Nov. 667.

VI Kal. Jun.] May 27.


scripta commendaticia] 'gewrit . . . þæt heo mon mid ðre on-fenge,' 'writings (to the effect) that they should be received with honour,' AS. vers.

Ebrinus . . . regiae] Mayor of the palace to Clothaire III. He Ebroin. succeeded Erclinwald, iii. 19. p. 168, about 657, and was murdered 680 ; v. Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 151-162. In iii. 19, Bede, following the life of St. Fursa, calls his predecessor 'patricius.' Here he gives Ebroin the title 'maior domus regiae' ('se ealdorman,' 'the alderman'; AS. vers.).

Agilberctum . . . diximus] v. iii. 7, 25, 26, 28; pp. 140, 183, 189, Agilbert. 194. He was a partisan of Ebroin, and his accomplice in some of his worst acts. Yet he ranks as a saint; Martin, v. s. pp. 159, 161.

Emme] or Emmo ; Bp. of Sens 658-675 ; Gams, p. 629. Emme.

Faronem] Bp. of Meaux 626-672 ; Gams, p. 575. His life, by Faro. Hildegar his successor in the ninth century, is in Mabillon, AA.SS. ii. 606-625.

quam petierant] v. s. on iii. 29.

Raedfridum . . . suum] 'Reðfrid his gerefan,' 'his reeve,' AS. High-reeve. vers.; 'high-reeve,' D. C. B. iv. 927.

Quentauc] Étaples. The name means 'uicus ad Quantiam'; Quentauc. i. e. on the Canche; cf. Bouquet, iii. 580.
Ebroin's suspicions.

Dr. Stubbs says: 'Ebroin suspected that Hadrian was acting in the interests of Constans, who was now dying at Syracuse, but whose residence in the West had fluttered the Frank kingdom; it was possible that an alliance was in contemplation between the English kings and the Emperor'; D. C. B. iv. 927 (cf. Lappenberg, i. 118; E. T. i. 115, 116). 'It is not impossible that Theodore had followed the Emperor Constans on his journey to the West;' ib. 926; cf. ib. 1162.

p. 204. regnum] 'Fronena rice,' 'the kingdom of the Franks,' AS. vers.

uenit] For the date of his arrival in Britain v. on v. 20, ad init.

statim . . . dedit] This can hardly be correct. In Hist. Abb. §§ 3, 4, infr. pp. 366, 367, Bede says that on Theodore's arrival in Britain, Benedict Biscop, who had accompanied him from Rome at the Pope's request, received the monastery of St. Peter, and ruled it for two years. Therefore Hadrian cannot have been abbot until 671; and his arrival in Britain can hardly be later than 670; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 28, 29, and notes. Elmham boldly argues from the present passage that Biscop never was abbot of St. Augustine's at all, p. 204. There are three charters extant in which grants are made to Hadrian as abbot of St. Peter's; the first genuine, the other two spurious; K. C. D. Nos. 27, 30, 41; Birch, Nos. 67, 73, 90.

praefatus sum] i. 33; ii. 3.

diocesis] A diocese, in the political terminology of the later Roman empire, was the union of several provinces. Hence, when the word was transferred to the ecclesiastical sphere it indicated, not a diocese in the modern sense, for which the original term was patriarcha, (see on c. 5), but the union of several (ecclesiastical) provinces under a patriarch, or of several dioceses (in the modern sense) under an archbishop; i.e. an (ecclesiastical) province. On the other hand, it was also used to denote baptismalis ecclesiae territorium; i.e. the modern parish. See Ducange; D. C. A. s. v. It is probable that Bede uses it here of Theodore's province. We have seen (iii. 4, notes) that Adamnan uses the term of the district subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the monastery of Iona, a use based on a correct analogy, since Iona was the head of a federation of monasteries, v. s. on iii. 4.
CHAP. 2.

Notes.

prouideret] A word of evil omen in connexion with papal influence on ecclesiastical appointments.

CHAPTER 2.

secundo . . . dominica] i.e. May 27, 669, the anniversary of the day on which he had set out, c. r. This was a Sunday in 669.

manus dare] v. iii. 28, ad fin. ‘him call Ongolcyn hyrnesse gelafode,’ ‘the whole English race yielded him obedience,’ AS. vers.; cf Elmham, p. 206. ‘Theodore seems steadily to have ignored St. Gregory’s plan for creating two provinces,’ D. C. B. iv. 929. He was the first of the archbishops whom all the nations recognised, and in their recognition of him was contained the germ of the unity which was not realised in secular matters for nearly three centuries to come,’ ib. 930. In G. P. pp. 51, 52, there is an alleged letter of Vitalian’s to Theodore which says: ‘nobis uisum est . . . commendare tuae sagacissimae sanctitati omnes ecclesias in insula Britanniae positas.’ It is the fourth of the Malmesbury series of letters connected with the primacy of Canterbury. It is not such a glaring forgery as some of the others; but it is not genuine. By a further growth of legend, Thorn, c. 1769, gives Theodore legatine authority over England, Scotland, and Ireland; cited M. & L.


metricae . . . arithmeticae] ‘in metre-craft 7 in tungolercraft Subjects of 7 in grammaticer-craft,’ ‘in metre-craft, and in star-craft, and in grammar-craft,’ AS. vers.; substituting ‘grammar’ for the ‘ecclesiastical arithmetic’ of the original. By this last is meant those studies connected with the calendar, in which Bede himself was so great a proficient; Introduction, § 11 (cf. D. C. A. s. v. ‘Calendar’). Astronomy or ‘star-craft’ would be studied largely with a view to this. Bede himself also wrote on ‘metre-craft’; he was in fact indirectly, through Benedict Biscop, largely indebted to
this Canterbury school. For these subjects of study, cf. the passage quoted from Aldhelm on iii. 27.

p. 205. barbaris nationibus] Bede is probably thinking of the Picts, who were such a serious danger to Northumbria in his own time; v. Introd. p. xxxiv. He would not speak of the Scots, either of Ireland or Britain, as barbarians; the former of whom he calls 'gens innoxia et nationi Anglorum semper amicissima,' c. 26.

sonos cantandi] v. on ii. 20.

Aeddi] This is the biographer of Wilfrid. He mentions himself once in the course of his work, c. 14, where he tells how Wilfrid 'episcopalia officia per plura spatio agens, cum cantoribus Aedde et Eonan, et caementariis, omnisque paene artis institoribus, ... instituta ecclesiaram Dei bene meliorabat.'

primus...didicit] This is an extraordinary statement. Wilfrid was consecrated in 664. Prior to that date the following five bishops of English birth were consecrated, of whose orthodoxy there does not seem to be the slightest suspicion: Ithamar, 644; Thomas, 647 or 648; Boniface, 652 or 653; Deusdedit, 655; Damian, (?) 655. Cf. the somewhat similar exaggeration about Wine above, iii. 28, p. 195.

ordinabat...episcopos] Bisi for East Anglia, c. 5; Chad, consecrated and transferred to Mercia, cc. 2, 3; Putta at Rochester, infra; Leutherius for Wessex, iii. 7; Wynfrid in succession to Chad, c. 3, ad fin. Wilfrid, though consecrated in Gaul, was established as bishop of Northumbria by Theodore, c. 3; v. H. & S. iii. 18. On Theodore's arrival, 'Theodore, with Wilfrid, Chad, and Wine formed the whole episcopate of the English Church. As Wilfrid and Chad were ...claimants of the same see, and Wine a simonia, Theodore had before him a fair field for reform, organisation, and administration'; D. C. B. iv. 927.

non...rite...consecratum] Chad's consecration might be considered irregular on two grounds: 1. that he had been consecrated to a see already occupied; 2. that he had been consecrated by two schismatical British bishops. Eddius bases Chad's deposition on both grounds, making him confess 'peccatum ordinandi [i.e. the sin of being ordained] a Quatuordecimanis in sedem alterius,' c. 15. Eadmer makes Chad resign on the former ground alone; H. Y. i. 179; so R. W. i. 159. In Bede Chad does not admit any wrong in himself; he merely yields to Theodore's judgement: 'si...nisti,' &c.; cf. Bright, pp. 227, 228.

episcopatum dimittere] Not 'to resign the bishopric' (as Bright, p. 228) but 'to give up the episcopal office.' Above, Dr. Bright has construed 'episcopatum...suscepisse' quite rightly.
ipse...denuo...consummauit] Bede connects this reconsecration of Chad (for such the word denuo implies) with his resignation or deposition; Eddius with his transference to Mercia.

Eddius represents this as the work, not of Theodore, but of Wilfrid, and makes it follow immediately on the deposition; whereas Bede, c. 3, v. 19, p. 326, represents Chad as retiring for a time to Lastingham. If the events took place as Bede represents, Theodore must have consecrated Chad as a bishop without a see. Moreover, Eddius says that the bishops 'Ceaddan...per omnes gradus ecclesiasticos ad sedem praedictam plene...ordinauerunt,' c. 15, which if taken literally would imply that not only his consecration but his orders were treated as invalid. Cf. Bright, pp. 228, 229, and Note C. So St. Kentigern, who had been consecrated in the Celtic manner by a single bishop (v. s. on i. 27; iii. 22), is said to have intreated St. Gregory to confirm his election, 'que deeerant consecrationi eius supplens'; N. & K. p. 210.

p. 206. redit] On returning from Gaul Wilfrid was attacked by Wilfrid, the heathen South Saxons, and ultimately landed at Sandwich; Eddius, c. 13. Hence he was naturally asked to perform episcopal functions in Kent.

at ipse] i.e. Theodore, not Wilfrid; and so it is distinctly understood by Fl. Wig. i. 28, 29, and G. P. p. 216. Eddius says that Wilfrid had ordained Putta priest, implying that he did not consecrate him bishop, c. 14. On Putta, see c. 12, infra, p. 228.

defuncto Damiano] He probably died before Deusdedit, other Damian, wise the latter would have consecrated a successor; and almost certainly before Ceadda reached Kent in 664, otherwise the latter would have been consecrated by him and not by Wine. He may have been one of the victims of the plague of 664; hence the 'iamdiu cessauerat' of Bede; cf. H. & S. iii. 100.

CHAPTER 3.

mortuo Iarumanno] The death of Jaruman (Gearomonn, AS. Date of vers.) is often placed in 669 (e.g. Hardy's Le Neve, i. 538; cf. Fl. Wig. sub ann.) by a false inference from this passage. The Mercian see had certainly been vacant some time before Chad's transference to it. Eddius says distinctly that Wilfrid, during his three years' retirement at Ripon, 666-669, 'frequenter a Wlfario rege Merciorum ad officia...episcopalia in regione sua...ininitatus est,' c. 14; and Fridegoda, in his life of Wilfrid, speaks of
Chad as appointed 'sedi longum pastore uacanti,' H. Y. i. 123.

Chesterfield places Jaruman's death in 667, and this date is accepted by Wharton, ad loc.; Ang. Sac. i. 425; and Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 164.

postulauit a rege Osuio] His consent was required as Chad was a Northumbrian.


sed et Pictorum ... poterat] So a little later Eddius says: 'sicut ... Ecgfritho ... regnum ad Aquilonem et Austrum ... angebatur, ita Wilfritho ... ad Austrum super Saxones, et ad Aquilonem super Brittones et Scottos, Pictosque, regnum ecclesi- arum multiplicabatur,' c. 21. For the extent of Oswy's dominions, v. on ii. 5. iii. 24.

ambulando] See on iii. 5.

p. 207. Lindisfarorum] See on iii. 11.

Adbaruae] 'æt Bearwe,' AS. vers., from 'bearw, a wood or grove.' Barton-on-Humber; Smith. Barrow, near Goxhill, Lincs.; Stev. The form of the name is decidedly in favour of the latter view.

Lyccidfelth] Lichfield. 'Licifeld est uilla exigua in pago Staffordensi longe a frequenta urbium ... Ecclesia angusto situ erat, antiquorum uirorum mediocritatem et abstinentiam praeferen. Locus pudendus nostri aequi episcopis, in quo episcopalis dignitas diuersari deberet;' G. P. p. 307; v. s. on iii. 3.

mansionem] 'sundor wic,' 'separate dwelling,' AS. vers.

duobus annis ac dimidio] If Chad was transferred to Mercia in the latter part of 669, as would appear from Bede's narrative, his death is rightly placed by Fl. Wig. in 672; and, as he died on March 2, his accession must be dated August or September. Chesterfield (Ang. Sac. i. 426) places his death in 670; but this is due to the erroneous assumption that he succeeded immediately on the death of Jaruman.

mittendi] 'spargendi,' Vulgate. This is from the old Latin, Sabatier Latineae Versiones Antiquae, ii. 358; cf. some verses on this subject attributed to Bede in S. D. ii. 23.

clades] v. on iii. 27.

uiuos ... lapides ... transferret] This metaphor (derived from 1 Pet. ii. 5) occurs more than once in Bede's work De Templo Salomonis. Thus on i Kings, vi. 7, he says: 'hic tundimur aduersitatibus, ... ut illic locis ... congruis disponamur, et, castigatione cessante, solo amoris glutino ... adiniuiciem copulemur.' Opp. viii. 284. Elsewhere in the same work (ib. 270, 274) he treats the transference of the stone from the quarry to the building as
a type of the translation of the soul from a state of nature to a state of grace.


eratque . . . eius] 'and he was hire jegna 7 huses 7 hire Owine. geferscipes ofer all aldermon,' 'and he was chief of her thanes and house, and her company generally,' AS. vers. The Liber Eliensis calls him 'maior familie eius,' 'paedagogus et princeps domus illius,' pp. 36, 62. His day is March 4 according to AA.SS. Mart. i. 313; which also states that there was a church at Gloucester dedicated to him.


p. 209. ne hoc . . . dicas] This is a frequent injunction in 'Tell the mediaeval miracles. It is of course modelled on the command of Christ to the three apostles who were witnesses of the Transfiguration. Cf. Bede, Vit. Cudb. c. 10, where this command is expressly quoted; ib. c. 24 = Vit. Anon. § 28; infra, v. 19, p. 329; Vita Metr. Cudb. c. 45; cf. H. Y. i. 217, 258.


frater quidam . . . Trumberct] This is the only place, as far as Trumberct I know, in which Bede mentions any of his teachers by name.

si forte, &c.] How much in accord with Bede's own mode of Warnings thought this is appears from his comment on Ezra x. 9: 'cum of the pluuias . . . ultra solitum cadere cernerent . . . intellexerunt hoc ob sua scelera factum, iramque . . . coelestem ex ipsa aeris perturba- tione admoniti timuerunt. Ideoquo . . . in platea domus Domini, assumpto poenitentiae . . . habitu consederunt. Hoc propter eos, qui, turbatis licet elementis, . . . atque ipso iudice per aperta indicia uim suae irae minitante, nihil omnino de correctione morum, qua iudicem placent, plagamque impendentem euandant, inquirunt; sed tantum seduli pertractant qua arte aduersa, quae exterius propter peccata desaeuient, aut exitent, aut superent;' Opp. viii. 456, 457. For prayers against lightning, cf. D. C. A. ii. 992.

p. 211. Ecgbertii] v. on v. 9.

Ceadda . . . in Hibernia] v. on iii. 27.

Hygbald] 'There can be little doubt that he is identical with Hygbald. the Hygbald whose name occurs in the Liber Vitae Dunelm. p. 9. His monastery seems to have been Bardney;' D. C. B. iii. 183.

p. 212. utrum de se . . . incertum] Fl. Wig. however states it as a fact; i. 30.

sexta die] March 2, 672, v. s.
Civil and ecclesiastical boundaries.  

qui ... praeesset ... tenebat] Here again we note the coincidence of the boundaries of ecclesiastical and temporal authority.

CHAPTER 4.

P. 213. primo uenit ... Hii] v. on iii. 26, ad init.

uitulæ albae] Rather ‘uaccae albae,’ as in Tigh. and Ann. Ult. (‘calond hwitre heahfore,’ ‘the island of the white heifer,’ AS. vers.). The Ann. Ult. and the F. M. place Colman’s settlement at Inisbofin in 667. He went there ‘cum reliquis sanctorum,’ ‘with relics of saints,’ according to the oldest annals printed in Stokes’ Tripartite life of Patrick, p. 518. This in Tigh. and Ann. Ult. is contracted into ‘cum reliquis sanctorum,’ which the F. M. have translated ‘go naomaib oile imaille fris,’ i.e. ‘cum reliquis sanctis secum.’ Colman may well have taken to Ireland some of the relics which he carried away from Lindisfarne; iii. 26, p. 190. The Inisbofin meant is the one off the coast of Mayo. Here he died on Aug. 8, 674; F. M. Ann. Ult. ad ann. Aug. 8 is his day in the Féile of Oengus, and in the Martyrology of Donegal, where he is called Colman of Inisbofin. The gloss on the former calls him Colman of Iona and Inisbofin. None of the Irish authorities seem to mention his connexion with Mayo. The Edinburgh MS. of the Irish life of Columba absurdly represents Colman as sent to Northumbria by St. Columba; Lism. Lives of Saints, p. 315; v. F. M. u. s. notes; O’Flaherty’s Iar-Connacht, ed. Hardiman, pp. 115, 294, 295.

Magéo] Mayo. This monastery continued to be recruited from England. The F. M. ad ann. 768 mention a Bishop Aedan, of Mayo, under which Irish disguise Sim. Dun., ii. 44, ad ann. 768, 773, shows that an English Eadwine really lurks; cf. ib. 51; H. & S. iii. 460, 462. Alcuin writes to the English monks of Mayo: ‘pro Christi nomine patriam relinquentes, peregrinari uoluistis, et tribulationibus opprimit nefandorum non renuistis hominum. . . . Lec- tionis studium . . . exeerce. Magnum enim lumen scientiae a uobis per diversa patriae nostrae processit loca. Sine reprehensione estote omnibus, et lucent lux uestra in medio nationis perbarbarae, quasi . . . stella in occidua caeli parte. . . . Et domnum Episcopum habete quasi patrem’; Mon. Alc. pp. 847, 848. We may notice here: i. The change of feeling towards the Irish; cf. on c. 2. ii. That whereas the Irish had formerly taught the English, now the positions are reversed. Up to a much later period Mayo was still called ‘Magheo na Saxan,’ ‘Mayo of the Saxons;’ v. F. M. ad ann. 1169, 1176, 1209, 1236, 1478.
quod uidelicet... incolis] 'hæt mynster oð gen to dæge Englisce men hær in eðedignesse hæbban,' 'that monastery Englishmen to this day occupy there in exile or pilgrimage,' AS. vers. See preceding note.

p. 214. conuersis... ad meliora] This refers to the adoption of the Roman Easter by the Northern Irish. See on v. 15.

examen] The same word is used of Cedd's monasteries of Ythan-caestir and Tilbury, iii. 22, p. 173.

CHAPTER 5.

Anno... secundus] Feb. 15, 670, is within the first year of Theodore's arrival, seeing that he did not reach England till May, 669. Again, below, cf. v. 24, p. 354, Bede says distinctly that the Council of Hertford was held on Sept. 24, 673, in the third year of Egfrid. But if Egfrid's accession was in Feb. 670, this would be his fourth year. In c. 12 Bede says that the comet of Aug. 678 was in Egfrid's eighth year; but Aug. 678 is in the ninth year from Feb. 670. It may have been the perception of this which led the AS. translator to substitute 'ninth' for 'eighth.' In c. 17 Bede says that the Council of Hatfield, which was held Sept. 17, 680, was in the tenth year of Egfrid; but Sept. 680 is in the eleventh year from Feb. 670. Cf. also note on c. 21, and Hist. Abb. §§ 4. 7. Again, in c. 26 Bede says that Egfrid was slain in May, 685, in the fifteenth year of his reign; but if he came to the throne in Feb. 670, this would be his sixteenth year. Further, in iii. 14, ad init. Bede says that Oswy coming to the throne in Aug. 642 held it 'per annos uiginti octo.' But if he died in Feb. 670 he only reigned twenty-seven years and a half. All these independent indications seem to show that here and in v. 24, p. 354, Bede or his copyists have written 670 for 671; and that Oswy's death and Egfrid's accession ought to be placed in 671; and so the latter is placed by two (not independent) foreign chronicles; Pertz, ii. 237, iii. 116; though the English authorities naturally follow the direct words of Bede and give 670.

Osiu rex] 'Rex maximus,' H. H. p. 61; 'his successors sank Oswy into merely local sovereigns,' Green, M. E. p. 306. He was interred at Whitby, see on ii. 20, p. 125; iii. 24, p. 179.

synodicae actionis... textus] On the canons of this council, Council of Hertford, and the earlier sources from which they are taken or modified, v. Bright, pp. 240-249, 441-444; H. & S. iii. 118-122. 'This act... is of the highest historical importance as the first constitutional measure of the collective English race;' D. C. B. iv. 928.
Inductions.  

p. 215. indictione prima] If Theodore (like Bede himself) used the Caesarean indiction, this day, Sept. 24, 673, was the very first
day of the first indiction. If he used the pontifical indiction
the date here is not affected, as that indiction commenced with
the beginning of the year. But it must again be repeated that
the usage of Theodore proves nothing as to that of Bede; v. on
i. 23.

quaeque] = quaeque ac, as often in this document and elsewhere.
See on i. 32.

Canons.

librum canonum] 'collectionem canonum ecclesiae in concilio
Calchedonensi approbatam, et a Dionysio Exiguo non diu antea in
Latinum sermonem traductam et in ecclesiam occidentalem re-
ceptam;' Smith; cf. D. C. A. i. 399.

notaueram] 'awrat,' 'wrote,' AS. vers.

Parochia
and Plebs.

p. 216. parrochiam] We have seen above on c. i, ad fin., that
the word 'dioecesis' in its ecclesiastical application ranges from
a patriarchate to a parish in the modern sense. The word παροικία,
'parochia,' is the collective of πάροικος, and is applied to the body
of Christians living as 'strangers and pilgrims,' πάροικοι καὶ παρ-
επίδομνοι, in any place; Lightfoot, App. Ff. I. ii. 6. More speci-
fically it meant the body of Christians living under one bishop;
but it soon came to mean the area in which they dwelt, i.e. the
modern diocese; in which sense it is used throughout this docu-
ment. 'Parochia' however, in the modern sense of 'parish,'
occurs as early as the Council of Agde, 506 a.d.; Bright, pp. 243,
244; D. C. A. ii. 1554, ff. Closely connected with this is the his-
tory of another word, which also occurs in this canon: 'plebs' or
'plebes' ('plebs, hominum; plebes, ecclesiaram;' Hugucio, cited
by Ducange, s. v.). This means (i) the laity living under a single
bishop, or (ii) under a single priest, i.e. the inhabitants of either
a diocese or a parish; and, by an easy transference, (iii) the diocese
or (iv) the parish itself. In the first sense it is used here, and in
a sense closely allied if not identical in c. 28, p. 273: 'commissam
sibi plebem;' Epist. ad Ecg. § 2, p. 406: 'subditam sibi plebem.'
So Gelasius (492 x 496) writes 'clero et plebi Tarentino;' Jaffé,
R. P. p. 60, and so fq.; cf. the councils of Carthage and Hippo
(fourth century), cited by M. & L. a. l.: 'ne quisquam episcoporum
alterius plebes uel dioecesam . . . pulsare debeat;' 'a nullo usur-
pentur plebes alienae.' On the other hand, Nicolas I (858 x 867),
writes to Ado, Archbishop of Vienne: 'de plebis uel baptismalibus
ecclesiis in dioecesibus . . . constituenidis;' ib. 250 (cf. II. & S. i.
329: 'quince plebes adiuidicatae sunt Urbano Episcopo Landa-
uiensi). In these passages it clearly means parishes. In this
sense it has given us the modern Italian 'piéve' and the modern Welsh 'plwyf.' But in mediaeval Welsh 'plwyf' means 'diocese'; cf. H. & S. i. 359: 'rhan fawr o blwyf Teilo,' a great part of the plwyf of Teilo, i.e. of the diocese of Llandaff. See Ducange, s.v. 'plebs,' where however the passages are not classified with sufficient distincteness; and D. C. A. ii. 1645, 1646. The first two senses seem combined in Opp. viii. 400, where Bede says, 'episcopi ac presbyteri . . . plebem fidelium . . . debent aedificare.'

ut . . . monasteria, &c.] This canon, which goes beyond the corresponding one of the Council of Chalcedon, marks a stage in the development of monastic exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction, which eventually had such disastrous effects on the monasteries themselves; cf. St. Bernard, cited by Morison, p. 426. The bishops however in the later Middle Ages were very remiss in the use of such powers as they had; v. Raine's Hexham, i. cii.; D. C. A. i. 643.

ipsi monachi] Some editions, 'mira ignorantia dicam an osci-tantia' (Smith), read 'episcopi.' This is impossible, though Todd defends it, Life of St. Patrick, p. 49. Monastic episcopacy, such as we have traced in the Irish Church, never existed in the English Church. 'Ipsi' is the reading of all the MSS. which I have examined. The 'osci-tantia' is the result of the ease with which in some MSS. the abbreviations επι (episcopi) and ἰπι (ipsi) may be confounded. Lightfoot, App. Ff. II. iii. 9, gives no less than four instances of the converse mistake from the MS. of the Latin version of the Ignatian epistles. For the canon itself, cf. the Dialogue of Egbert, H. & S. iii. 406.

per dimissionem . . . abbatis] Signified no doubt by 'litterae Letters dimissoriae,' ἐπιστολαι ἀπολυτικαι. These letters allowing a monk to sette in another monastery, or a clerk to settle in another diocese, or (which is the sense which has survived to modern times) to be ordained by a bishop of another diocese, are different from the 'litterae commendaticiae' mentioned below, given to a clerk who had permission to travel; v. Bright, p. 245; Ducange, s.v. 'dimissoriae litterae.'


commendaticiis litteris] Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1, συντατικαι ἐπιστολαι, Letters 'commendatitiae epistolae' (Vulgate), whence these terms passed commen-datory into the technical language of the Church. In the Dialogue of Egbert, u. s., such documents are called 'litterae pacifiae.'

excommunicationi] 'bisopes dome,' 'the bishop's doom,' AS.
The only instance which Bede gives of the exercise of this power is by Cedd, iii. 22, p. 173.

Cf. Dialogue of Egbert, u.s. p. 407. Clovesho] This place has never been successfully identified. It was almost certainly in Mercia, and probably near London. ‘It is singular that no recorded Council of Clovesho occurs until ... seventy years subsequent,’ i.e. the famous council of 747; H. & S. iii. 122. But, as M. & L. point out, a council at Clovesho in 716 is given in H. & S. iii. 300, 301.

consecrationis] Here some of the best MSS. and editions (including that of Smith) ‘mira oscitantia’ read ‘congregationis.’

sed de hae re ... siluimus] A sentence ominous of the troubles which resulted from the attempt to carry out this resolution. In the letter to Archbishop Egbert, §§ 8, 9, inf., pp. 411-413, written towards the end of 734, Bede gives us his view of what the limit of a diocese should be, and of the need for further division still existing. The process has gone on continuously to our own days, and is not completed yet. This clause ‘sed ... siluimus’ is omitted in the AS. vers., probably because this need for ‘silence’ had passed away.

p. 217. quod si quisquam ... coniugi] This canon, which, in the case of a dissolution of marriage on the one ground allowed by Christ, forbids the remarriage even of the innocent party, went beyond the actual law of the Church, which discouraged, but did not prohibit, such marriages. In his Penitential (if his views are accurately represented there) Theodore is much less strict on this point; H. & S. iii. 199; v. Bright, pp. 247, 248 Bede however himself takes the stricter view. See the passage cited on c. 19.

his itaque ... incolumes] om. AS. vers.

mense Iulio obierat] The Ann. Lindisf. et Cantuar., which are of ancient English origin, give the exact day: IV Non. Iul., i.e. July 4th; Pertz, iv. 2.

tenuit] He died Feb. 6, 685; c. 26, p. 268, where he is said (less exactly than here) to have reigned twelve years. On Hlothhere, cf. D. C. B. iii. 112. 113.

Bonifatio ... defuncto] He was consecrated, as we have seen, in 652 or 653 (v. notes on ii. 15, iii. 20). Therefore his death must be placed in 669 or 670; and the consecration of Bisi must fall 669 x 673. From the position of Bisi’s name in the list of prelates attending the Council of Hertford it has been argued that he was the first bishop consecrated by Theodore.

duo ... episcopi] Ecc to Dunwich in Suffolk, the original East Anglian see, and Badwine to Elmham, the new see for Norfolk;
r. Bright, p. 250, and cf. on iii. 18, p. 162. It is commonly stated that this division took place in 673. This, as far as I can see, is a mere inference from the fact that Bede mentions it here immediately after the Council of Hertford. But when we remember Bede's manner of grouping his facts by subjects rather than chronology such an inference seems highly precarious. R. W. places it in 674, i. 163.

CHAPTER 6.

P. 218. Non multo . . . tempore] The (twelfth century) Peterborough additions to the Sax. Chron. E. sub ann. 656, ad fin., represent Wynfrid as deposed in 673 by the Council of Hertford. This at any rate is contrary to Bede's narrative. Flor. Wig. places the deposition of Wynfrid in 675, and this has been generally accepted; though it may be doubted whether it represents more than his own estimate of the value to be assigned to Bede's 'non multo . . . tempore.' If, as Bede implies, c. 12, p. 229, the district of Lindsey was separated from Sexwulf's diocese in consequence of Egfrid's conquest of Wulfhere, then Sexwulf's accession cannot be later than 675, as Wulfhere died in that year. This would dispose of the assertion in G. P. p. 221, that Wynfrid was expelled by Ethelred, Wulfhere's successor, because he favoured his enemy, Egfrid of Northumbria. The charter of Osric of 676, signed by Sexwulf as bishop (K. C. D. i. 17; Birch, i. 69, 70), is open to suspicion; r. H. & S. iii. 129; and should not be cited as evidence. But Sexwulf was certainly bishop of Mercia in 676, when Putta of Rochester took refuge with him; c. 12, p. 228. Eddius, c. 25, seems to represent the expulsion of Wynfrid as contemporary with that of Wilfrid in 678: 'eo tempore . . . Winfrithus . . . expulsus,' &c. On crossing to the Continent he fell into the hands of the agents of Ebroin and Theodoric, who had been bribed by the enemies of Wilfrid to lay hands on the latter, but were deceived by the similarity of name; 'bono errore,' says Eddius, though it may be doubted if Wynfrid thought it so. If we could accept the statement of G. P. (v.s.), this would fit in very well with the date 678, as Ethelred's hostility to Egfrid culminated in the battle on the Trent in 679, whereas up to 676 his arms were directed principally against Kent; c. 12. But in face of Bede's narrative it seems impossible to place Wynfrid's deposition so late as 678. We must either suppose Eddius to be mistaken, or understand 'expulsus' to mean 'having been (previously) expelled.'

per meritem . . . inoboedientiae] It has been commonly supposed Cause of it.
that Wynfrid’s disobedience consisted in resisting (like Wilfrid) the division of his diocese in accordance with the decree of the Council of Hertford; and this is confirmed by the tradition that some division of the diocese did take place under his successor Sexwulf; Fl. Wig. i. 36, 239, 240, 243. But the subject is beset with extraordinary difficulties; v. H. & S. iii. 127–130; D. C. B. iv. 929. We are again reminded of Wharton’s words, Ang. Sac. i. 423: ‘nusquam crassiore tenebrae . . . quam in successione Episcoporum Merciensium.’ If the division took place as Fl. Wig. says in 679 or 680, it seems strange that Theodore should have waited so long after Wynfrid’s deposition; and this might furnish an argument for a later date for that event.

Sexuulfum . . . Medeshamstedi] The legends connected with the foundation of Medeshamstead (Peterborough) are given in the Peterborough additions to the Sax. Chron. E. See under the years 654, 656, 675, and notes. According to the same authority Sexwulf was succeeded as abbot by Cuthbald. This, as a Peterborough fact, may probably be accepted; see my edition, pp. 33, 36, 37. Cuthbald has been identified with the abbot of Oundle mentioned in v. 19, ad fin.; D. C. B. iv. 590, 591. The Sax. Chron. A. B. C. place Sexwulf’s death in 705, but wrongly; he must have died before 692, as in that year, at latest, Wilfrid, on his second expulsion, succeeded to his functions; v. v. 19, notes; H. & S. iii. 129.

Gyruiorum] See on iii. 20, ad init.

rediit . . . finuit] The story quoted above from Eddius shows that in 678 Wynfrid attempted to make a journey to the Continent. Eddius seems to imply that this was immediately after his deposition; but we have seen that Bede’s narrative is opposed to this. Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 426, makes the very natural suggestion that Wynfrid, like Wilfrid, may have intended to appeal to Rome. If so, it seems again strange that he should have waited three years before doing so. Eadmer however, Vita Wilfridi, c. 29; H. Y. i. 190, speaks of him as ‘tunc in peregrinationem pro Dei amore euntem.’ He also speaks of him as ‘nuper depositum,’ but this only shows that he derived the same impression that we do from Eddius’ narrative. It may have been in consequence of his misadventure that Wynfrid returned to his monastery and died there, as Bede relates. Bede says nothing of his journey to the Continent, though he certainly had Eddius’ life before him.

tum etiam] i.e. c. 675, according to Bede’s narrative; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 33; R. W. i. 164. ‘It may denote the recovery of some independent power for the East Saxons after the death of Wulfhere;’ D. C. B. ii. 178.
meminimus] iii. 30.

Earconwaldus] Ini of Wessex, in his laws (690 x 693), speaks of Earconwald as 'my bishop,' which seems to show that at that time Essex must have been under the hegemony of Wessex; H. & S. iii. 214, 218, 219; cf. ib. 350. For the later lives of him, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 293–295; AA.SS. Apr. iii. 780–787; R. W. i. 164, 165. For the date of his death, see on c. 11. He was a witness of the reconciliation of Theodore and Wilfrid in 686 or 687; Eddius, c. 43. He signs two charters, one genuine, the other spurious; K. C. D. Nos. 35, 38; Birch, Nos. 81, 87. The genuine one belongs to 692 or 693. There is a letter from one Sigebald, perhaps Abbot of Chertsey, to Boniface, 732 x 745, saying that if he survives Boniface he will pray for his soul as he does for that of Earconwald; Mon. Mog. p. 167; H. & S. iii. 350.

sorori suae Aedilburgae] Capgrave's life, AA.SS. Oct. v. 648 ff., Ethelberg, makes her a daughter of Offa of Lindsey, of whom nothing is known. The statement that her father was (a non-existent) Offa, King of the East Angles, is not in Capgrave, but in the Bollandists' notes. This has misled Sir T. Hardy, Cat. i. 385. The mistake is perhaps due to a confusion with the Ethelberg of iii. 8, who was a daughter of Anna of East Anglia. For another suggestion, see D. C. B. iv. 68; and the confusion between East Anglia and Essex runs through many writers, mediaeval and modern. See on v. 19, ad init.

regione Sudergeona] 'Suðrínga lande,' AS. vers., which shows Surrey. that -geona is the AS. gen. plural. For the various forms in which the name occurs in the AS. Chron., see the index of place-names.

p. 219. Cerotaesaei] 'Ceorteseig,' AS. vers. Chertsey. Both Fl. Chertsey. Wig. i. 33, and G. P. p. 143, say that Earconwald founded Chertsey, 'adminiculo Frithewoldi subreguli.' And in K. C. D. Nos. 986–988; Birch, i. 55–59, 64, 65, are grants and confirmations by Wulfhere, Frithewald and Earconwald, and in H. & S. iii. 161–164 is a privilege of Pope Agatho to the monastery of Chertsey. They Forgery of charters, are all from the same MS., Cotton, Vit. A. xiii, and they are all forgeries. Moreover we can point with tolerable certainty to the exact period at which they were forged. In G. P. u.s. we read: 'splendidit ibi religio, usque ad Danos, qui...locum illum pessundedere. ... At rex Edgarus ... illud [monasterium] refect in solidum, undique veteribus cartis conquitis, quorum testimonio praedia reuocaret ad locum, quae quidam ex magnatibus seu ui, seu utustatis auctoritate occuparent ad ius suum.' A demand of this kind never failed to create a supply. Of course in many cases the land may have been justly claimed, though the documents by which the claim was supported were forged.
CHAPTER 7.

Earlier life of Ethelberg. [descripta habentur] These chapters, 7-11, are evidently taken from some earlier authority which in cc. 10, 11, pp. 224, 225, Bede speaks of as a 'liber' or 'libellus,' probably some life of St. Ethelberg, as he uses the same term 'libellus' of the life of St. Fursa, from which iii. 19 is taken; cf. pp. 165, 168. This life, if extant, has not been identified. The style however of these chapters is very like Bede's, so that he has probably worked up his materials in his own way.

Plague. [saepe dictae cladis] The only visitation of the plague which Bede has 'often' mentioned is that of 664. If that is the one meant here, the foundation of Barking must be placed a good deal earlier than is commonly done; see on cc. 6, 9, 10.

Time of matins. [expletis . . . psalmodiis] The picturesque effect of the following story is much heightened if it be remembered that matins were said before daybreak; v. Introd. p. xxvi. For psalms and prayers at the graves of the departed, v. note on iii. 5.

CHAPTER 8.

P. 220. meditari] 'to learn his lessons;' v. on iii. 5, and critical note here. M. & L. aptly compare Chaucer's 'litel clergeoun' in the 'Prioress' Tale,' who says:

'Now certes I wol do my diligence
To conne it al, er Cristemasse is wente' (vv. 87, 88).

tertio] = ter.

CHAPTER 9.

P. 221. Cum autem . . . mundo] Fl. Wig. i. 26 says that Ethelberg died on Oct. 11, 664. The knowledge of the day of her death may have been kept alive by annual commemorations; the year may be only the result of two inferences drawn from Bede's narrative by Florence, neither of which can be regarded as certain: (i) that Ethelberg died of the plague; (ii) that the plague was that of 664. See notes on c. 10.

p. 222. cuius ut uirtus, &c.] Cf. the cases of Hild, c. 23, p. 256;
and of Herbert, c. 29, p. 275. Cf. on Cant. v. 22: 'Est et tertia 'I stand
Domini ad ostium nostrum pulsatio, cum nos de hac uita rapi-
endos, praemissis infirmitatibus, admonet. . . . Confestim autem
Domino sic pulsanti aperimus, si mortem laeti excipimus, neque
ad iudicium eius induci formidamus;' Opp. ix. 299, 300. And on
Luke xii. 36: 'uenit quippe cum ad iudicium properat; pulsat
uero cum iam per aegritudinis molestias esse mortem uicinam
designat. Cui confestim aperimus, si hunc cum amore suseipimus;
aperire . . . non uult, qui exire de corpore trepidat'; Opp. xi. 70.

in qua . . . pausare] 'Je ëa sweostor in reston,' 'wherein the Dormitory
sisters rested,' AS. vers.; cf. c. 23, p. 257: 'in dormitorio . . .
pausans.' So here the dormitory is meant. Hussey and Moberly
take it of the death-chamber; cf. c. 24. But though 'pausare'
might be used of resting in the grave, it cannot mean the act
of dying.

p. 223. infirmitate decocta] So 'infirmitate decoquitur'; c. 29,
p. 275.

bene uenisti] 'You are welcome'; cf. French 'bien-venir,' 'Bene
'bien-venu'; e.g. 'partout sont ils bien-venus,' Froissart, II.

iii. 25. Cf. 'Wilcoma [Abbess of Chelles]; quod "Bene uenias"
resonat Anglica linguæ,' Hardy, Cat. i. 377.

p. 224. nuntiare uenisset] For the construction cf. iii. 2, ad fin.

CHAPTER 10.

Hildilid] To her, in conjunction with others, Aldhelm dedicated Hildilid.
his work De Virginitate; Opp. ed. Giles, p. 1. She is mentioned
in a letter of St. Boniface to the abbess of St. Mildred's, Thanet,
in a way which shows that she was a friend of his, and that she
did not die before 709; Mon. Mog. pp. 53, ff. If Ethelberg died in
664, Hildilid must have been abbess at least forty-five years; and
Bede says that she was abbess 'multis annis . . . usque ad ultimam
senectutem.' Fl. Wig. mentions her succession in 664, v. s.; and
again in 675, which is perhaps a more likely date.

libro . . . libellus] v. on c. 7.
quisque] = 'quisquis.'
p. 225. quae famularum . . . reuersa est] Cf. iii. 9, ad fin.

CHAPTER 11.

Sebbi] v. notes on iii. 22.
in regno . . . exegisset] Therefore Bede does not regard the Secular
government of an earthly kingdom as incompatible with the
service of the heavenly kingdom; cf. ii. 20. But he thinks that
The Ecclesiastical History. [Bk. IV.

public and even domestic affairs can hardly be administered without some defilement: 'publicani... uocantur, qui... publicis implicantur negotiis, quae sine peccato aut uix, aut nullatenus ualent administrari'; Opp. v. 222; cf. x. 54: 'cura rei familiaris, quae uix sine culpa... agitur.' Bede would have all men like Abraham, sitting in the tent door (Gen. xviii. 1), ready to depart at any moment, not immersed in business in the midst of the tent; Opp. vii. 194.

Waldhere. [Ulaldheri] There is a letter from him to Archbishop Bertwald, H. & S. iii. 274. He receives a grant from Swefred in 704; K. C. D. No. 52; Birch, No. 111; and signs a grant of Ethelwald of Mercia; K. C. D. No. 79; Birch, No. 153.

p. 226. Erconualdo successerat] Earconwald must have died 692 x 694. See on iii. 22; 'about 693,' Stubbs, in D. C. B. ii. 178. He was buried in St. Paul's; but the resting-place of his successors was involved in obscurity; G. P. p. 144; Elmham, p. 271; AA.SS. Apr. iii. 782-784.

p. 227. Sighardo... Suefredo] v. notes on iii. 22.

inuentum est, &c.] Similar miracles are related in connexion with the burial of Wilbrod; Alcuin's Prose Life, c. 25; Metrical Life, c. 25; Mon. Ael. pp. 57, 74; and of Anselm, G. P. p. 123. In the latter case the idea of bending the body was rejected: 'quia [nollent] corpus curuando iniuriam... Sancti Spiritus facere organo.'

'Doctoris gentium.'] St. Paul; who so entitles himself; i Tim. ii. 7. Bede, however, applies the phrase also to St. Matthew; Opp. v. 222. Sebbi's tomb in St. Paul's was shown until the great fire of 1666.

CHAPTER 12.

Quartus... Uini] On the early history of the West-Saxon bishopric, v. iii. 7, and notes.

mortuus... Coinualch] His death is placed in 672 by the Sax. Chron.; it was contemporary with Benedict Biscop's return from his fourth visit to Rome; Hist. Abb. § 4, where Bede speaks of Cenwalh as 'inmatura morte praeruptus;' and says that he had been a great friend and benefactor to Benedict.

'acceperunt... X] The Sax. Chron. says that Sexburgh, Cenwalh's queen, reigned for a year after him, that Æscwine, son of Cenfus, succeeded in 674 (R. W. regards him as king in 673; i. 162', that he died in 676, and was succeeded by Centwine, that in 685 Cædwalla 'began to strive for the kingdom.' Eddius, c. 40,
distinctly says that Centwine was king of Wessex when Wilfrid took refuge there in 681. Fl. Wig. notes the divergence between Bede and the Chron. In i. 272, he cites a third authority, the Dicta regis Ælfredi, according to which it was not Æsewine but his father Centinus who succeeded Sexburgh. He places Centwine's death in 685, which is probably only an inference from the Chron. Aldhelm, in a poem written under Ini, distinctly says that Centwine entered a monastery before his death; Opp. pp. 115, 116; possibly compelled to do so by Cædwalla. W. M. of course buries him at Glastonbury, i. 25. Later writers draw on their imagination; cf. W. M. i. 32; G. P. p. 352; Wendover ad ann. 672 (followed by Matth. Paris and Westminster); cf. Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 194. We might reconcile Bede and the Chron. by supposing that among the contending aldermen (AS. vers for 'subreguli'), Æsewine and Centwine attained sufficient predominance to take the title of king, until Cædwalla once more united the kingdom in his strong hand; cf. W. M. i. 32. On this temporary reversion to a form of government anterior to the institution of royalty, see Allen, Prerogative, p. 165; F. N. C. i. 580, 581; S. C. H. i. 171. For an earlier instance in Wessex, cf. Sax. Chron. E. 626; sup. ii. 9, last note; Palgrave, Engl. Com. p. 495; F. N. C. i. 26, 27. This confusion in the kingdom of Wessex justified the abandonment for a time of the plan of dividing the diocese. 'It was . . . clear that if the West Saxons were to remain one kingdom, they must remain one diocese.' On Hædde's death these reasons no longer existed; D. C. B. ii. 874.

Hæddi] See notes to iii. 7, and v. 18, ad init. He signs two Hædde grants of Ethelred of Mercia, both attributed to 691 x 692; the former genuine, the latter spurious; K. C. D. Nos. 32, 33; Birch, Nos. 75, 76.

p. 228. duobus annis] Bede places Cædwalla's abdication in Date of 688, v. 7, 24, pp. 290, 355. Therefore he must date his accession 686. This is not inconsistent with the Chron., which merely says that in 685 he 'began to strive for the kingdom,' 'winnan æfter rice.'

Aedilred ... fedaret] This ravager of monasteries afterwards Ethelred became himself a monk and abbot of Bardney; see on iii. 11, and of Mercia, v. 19. Theodore in 686 addresses him as 'tua miranda Sanctitas'; Eddius, c. 43; H. & S. iii. 171; Fl. Wig. i. 264, calls him 'sanctus Æthelredus'; cf. D. C. B. ii. 227; while W. M. i. 78 says that he was 'animi religione quam pugnandi exercitacione celebrior.' In G. P. p. 135, it is stated that he invaded Kent, 'nescio quo insolenti Cantuaritae regis responso incensus.' But this is imagination.
The expedition was probably connected with the internal divisions in the Kentish kingdom, where the Mercian influence seems to have alternated with the West Saxon'; D. C. B. iv. 226. In a spurious charter of Swæbhard of Kent, Ethelred is represented as signing it while on this expedition; K. C. D. No. 14; Birch, No. 42. In another spurious charter he is called 'rex Christianissimus Merciorum, immo... totius... Britanniae'; K. C. D. No. 40; Birch, No. 89. 'Under Æthelred, Mercian history is all but a blank,' Green, M. E. p. 387.

accepta... non grandis] This has sometimes been taken as marking the foundation of the see of Hereford; H. & S. iii. 126, 130; Stubbs, Ep. Succ. pp. 3, 171; Hardy's Le Neve, i. 454; cf. Bright, p. 264. But the whole tenor of Bede's narrative is against the idea that Putta discharged episcopal functions after the loss of Rochester. He lived as a simple priest to the end of his life. The 'agellus non grandis' cannot refer to the extent of a diocese, but indicates the plot of land with which his church was endowed; cf. iii. 17, p. 160, of Aidan: 'ut potes nil propriæ possessionis, excepta ecclesia sua et adjacentibus agellis habens.' Fl. Wig. mentions the death of a Putta, Bishop of Hereford, under 688 (cf. ib. 238; G. P. p. 298), but he says no word to identify him with Putta, ex-Bishop of Rochester. Yet this identification is the sole ground for the above statement. It is true that the see of Hereford must have been founded about this time if its first bishop died in 688. Bede, however, says nothing on the subject. Nor does it appear in Fl. Wig.'s list of sees created out of Mercia in 679, i. 240.

Cuielchum... Gebmundum] Bede gives no materials for fixing the dates of these two bishops, and (perhaps for that reason) they are not mentioned in the Sax. Chron. Fl. Wig. places all these transactions under 676, but no argument can be drawn from this (with Le Neve, ii. 555), as he has simply transferred this paragraph of Bede, almost unaltered, to his own pages. Stubbs, Ep. Succession, p. 4 (on what authority I know not), places the consecration of Gebmund in 678. For the date of his death, see on v. 8, ad fin.

qui est annus... VIII] See note on c. 5.

cometa] Cf. Bede, De Natura Rerum, c. 24: 'Cometae sunt stellae flammis crinitae, repente nascentes, regni mutationem, aut pestilentiam, aut bella, uel uentos, aestusue portendentes... Breuissimum quo cenerentur spatium septem dieorum annotatum est, longissimum LXXX; ' Opp. vi. i11. This therefore was a comet of the longest duration; cf. v. 23, p. 349. There was a comet in April 1066 which was widely regarded as portentous. This how-
ever was of the shortest duration. ‘7 swa secan... seofan niht,’
and so shone seven nights’; Sax. Chron. ad ann. with notes.
‘Balthasar Bekker... and Pierre Bayle... overthrew the super-
stition,’ M. & L.

p. 220. orta... dissensione, &c.] v. v. 19, p. 326, and notes.

a very favourable character of Bosa, ‘uir sine fraude bonus.’ He
is mentioned in the so-called poetical Martyrology of Bede; Opp.
i. 53; cf. AA.SS. Mart. ii. 10*-12*.

Eata] v. on iii. 26, p. 190.

Eadhaed] He had been sent with Ceadda in 664, when he went Eadhed.
to be consecrated first to Kent, and then to Wessex, iii. 28.

Lindisfarorum] v. on iii. 11.

nuperrime] It cannot have been later than 675, as Wulfhere
died in that year, possibly in consequence of this defeat.

superato... Uulfhere] On this Eddius, c. 20, says: ‘Wlfharius Wulfhere.
... superbo animo... omnes Australes populos aduersum regnum
nostrum concitans, non tam ad bellandum quam ad redigendum
sub tributo... proponebat. Ecgfrithus uero... in Deum confisus
... hostem superbum... cum paruo exercitu prostravit;... reg-
numque eius sub tributo distribuit, et eo postea quacunque ex
ausa moriente... aliquod spatium pacifice imperauit.’ In G. P.
pp. 218, 219, Wulfhere’s motive is said to have been revenge for
the death of his father Penda (twenty years previously)! But
‘terga turpiter nudatus, inglorius effugit, nec multis post diebus
superstes partem prouinciarum [i.e. Lindissi] Nothambrorum
regi cessit.’ The Hist. de S. Cuthberto, S. D. i. 200, says that he
fled ‘uno tantum comitante puerulo.’ ‘Et hoc obtinuit [Egfrid]
per auxilium sancti Wilfrithi qui cum eo fuit, maxime upro per
orationes sancti Cuthberti qui absens erat.’ Eddius, c. 19, natu-
rally ascribes all Egfrid’s successes to Wilfrid, and all his subse-
quent disasters to his quarrel with him. So G. p. 219.

Ediluini... Cyniberctum] There are no means of dating the Bishops of
acessions of these bishops. Edgar signs a charter of 706; K. C. D.
Lindsey.
No. 56; Birch, No. 116, and the Council of Clovesho in 716; H. & S.
iii. 300. Cynibert supplied Bede with materials for his history;
Pref. p. 7. He died in 732; S. D. ii. 30. For Ethelwine, cf. iii.
11, 27, pp. 149, 192.

habebat... Sexuulfum] i.e. Lindsey being then subject to
Mercia, Sexwulf, as bishop of Mercia, acted as bishop in Lindsey.

post tres... annos] i.e. 681.

Tunberctum] He had been abbot of Gilling; Hist. Anon. Abb. Tunbert,
Eata's see.  remanente Eata, &c.] This seems to show that Eata had chosen Lindisfarne, and not Hexham, as the seat of his bishopric (see on iii. 26); cf. Raine’s Hexham, I. xviii, xxiii; while the phrase of iv. 28, p. 273, ‘Eata reversum ad sedem ecclesiae Hagustaldensis.’ points the opposite way. For the boundaries of Hexham diocese, cf. Raine, u. s. pp. xix. 20.

Bishopric of the Picts.

Pictorum] The seat of this bishopric seems to have been in the monastery of Abercorn on the Forth, c. 26. The Picts meant are of course those Picts north of the Forth who were subject to Northumbrian rule, v. s. on c. 3, and references there given. After the defeat of Egfrid in 685, the Picts emancipated themselves from that rule, and Trumwine had to retire to Whitby, c. 26. In later times, when the existence of the Pictish kingdom north of the Forth had been forgotten, the name of Scots having supplanted that of Picts in those regions, and the only Picts then known being those of Galloway, the mistake was made of supposing that Trumwine’s see was Whiterne or Candida Casa (so the lists of bishops in Fl. Wig. i. 246; Richard of Hexham, c. 6, and many later writers; cf. G. P. p. 254, margin); whereas Pethelm was really the first Anglian bishop of Candida Casa, v. 23, p. 351. Nicolas, prior of Worcester, writing to Eadmer in 1120 on the primacy of the see of York in Scotland, avoids this error, but says: ‘Pictorum uero episcopi sedes, cuius mentionem sanctus Beda facit, ubi fuerit, penitus ignoro’; H. & S. ii. 204; cf. ib. 6, 7; S. C. S. i. 262, 268, ii. 170, 273. That Bede is not thinking of those Picts who may have spread to the south of the Forth (as Bright supposes, p. 324), is shown by c. 26, p. 267, where he distinctly says that the Forth ‘Anglorum terras Pictorumque disternat.’

recepissent] On the date, v. s. on iii. 11.

Ripon.

Hrypensi ecclesiae præfecit] Cf. iii. 28: ‘Eadhaedus ... postea ... Hrypensis ecclesiae praesul factus est.’ These phrases are commonly taken to indicate the establishment for a time of an episcopal see at Ripon; and so the AS. vers. takes it in both cases: ‘Eadhæð he gesette to biscope Hrypsetna cirican’; ‘Eadæth ... æfter þon ... in Hrypum wæs biscop geworden.’ The Latin phrases are not however in themselves conclusive, for even ‘praesul’ is sometimes used of abbots, v. Ducange, s. v., and cf. H. & S. ii. 6: ‘the possible see of Ripon,’ ib. iii. 130. Eddius, however, distinctly makes this attempt to convert Wilfrid’s monastery of Ripon into a bishop’s see one of Wilfrid’s grounds of complaint, c. 45. It probably represents an attempt to divide the Deiran diocese, as the Bernician was divided between Lindisfarne and Hexham; Raine’s Hexham, I. xviii.; cf. Bede’s policy of
P. 230. On the arrangement of this and the two following chapters, see the critical notes to the headings of this and the next chapter.

Wilfrid] See on v. 19.

patria] Wilfrid's 'patria' is Northumbria, coincident in extent with his 'parrochia' or diocese. See on iii. 11, for the absence of unity among the Teutonic tribes in Britain at this time; though we trace a rudimentary feeling for it; c. 14, note.

diuertens] For the date, see on v. 19. For Wilfrid's earlier Sussex adventures with the South Saxons, ib. and Eddius, c. 13. On the condition of Sussex at this time, cf. Bright, pp. 183, 302; 'provincia gentilis usque ad illud tempus perseverans uixit, quae pro rupium multitudine et siluarum densitate, alii provinciis inexpugnabilis restitit'; Eddius, c. 41.

Ædilualch] 'Æþelvalh,' AS. vers.; 'Æþelwald,' Sax. Chron. A.; Ethelwald of Sussex. 'Æþelwold,' B. E.; 'Æþelwold,' C.

non mutlo ante] Twenty years, if the Sax. Chron. be correct in placing Wulfhere's war with Wessex, the conquest and donation of Wight in 661; but the entry is not wholly reliable, see note, a. l. and on iii. 7. It was evidently Wulfhere's policy to curtail the power of Wessex, and to add to that of Sussex, which was too small to become dangerous; cf. D. C. B. ii. 228. Eddius, u. s. seems to speak as if Ethelwald and his queen had still been heathen at the time of Wilfrid's arrival.

loco filii] v. s. on iii. 7, 22.

Meanuarorum] The name of this tribe of 'Mean-dwellers' The Meuns survives in the hundreds of East and West Meon, and of Meonstoke ware in Hampshire; cf. Birch, i. 548.


Huicciorum] For the Hwiccas, see on ii. 2, and inf. c. 23, p. The Hwiccas.

Eanfridi ... fuere] It looks as if the two brothers were joint rulers of the Hwiccas. Bede does not give them the title of king, though he does to Osric, c. 23, p. 255.

p. 231. erat ... monachus ... Dicul] With the exception of Dicuil, Maeldub’s settlement at Malmesbury, this seems to be a solitary instance of Irish missionary effort in the South of England; and
it does not appear to have had much success. (In the East of England we have the case of St. Fursa and his companions, iii. 19.) The name Dicul or Dicuil, though not one of the commoner Irish names, occurs occasionally; cf. iii. 19, p. 168; F. M. 871, 889; Vita Tripart. p. 248; gen. Dicollo, ib.; cf. F. M. 680, 793. It was an Irish monk of this name who in the ninth century wrote the well-known mediaeval geography, De Mensura orbis terrae; v. Dict. Nat. Biog.; cf. Poetae Lat. Aeui Carol. ii. 666-668; Neues Archiv d. Gesellsch. für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, iv. 256-258.

Bosham. 

Bosanhamm] Bosham near Chichester. For its connexion with the story of the Norman Conquest, v. F. N. C. iii. 222. 

tribus annis] i.e. c. 678.

impia] 'pitiess.' This incident is not in Eddius. Bede probably got it from Acca.

denique ferunt, &c.] R. W. tells a similar tale of the plague in 665; i. 159.

'exsufflata idolatria] 'alluding to the old custom of spitting as if in abhorence of the Evil one at the time of renouncing him and his works'; Bright, p. 306, and rept. ad loc., inf. v. 6; Ducange, s. v. 'exsufflatio;' cf. Eddius, c. 41, 'paganorum... quidam voluntarie, alii uero coacti regis imperio, idolatriam deserentes... in una die multa millia baptizati sunt'; see on i. 26. ad fin.

p. 232. quo beneficio... sumserunt] Cf. Opp. ix. 272: 'Dominus [primis ecclesiae magistris]... etiam faciendorum signorum dona contulit, ut,... sanatis morbis corporalibus, ad salutem animae facilius, quos erudiebant, attraherent'; cf. ib. 301; and Opp. v. 189: 'Nam et terrena subsidia nescse est ut subditis rector ne desint diligenter prauideat;... et si quos aut spiritualibus aut etiam communibus eorum commodis aduersantes deprhehenderit, horum uiolentiae quantum ualet obsistat.' According to Eddius, c. 26, Wilfrid's earlier work in Frisia had been much helped by the fact that the time of his preaching there was one of great abundance.

terram LXXXVII familiarum] 'uillam suam propriam, in qua manebat, ad episcopalem sedem, cum territoriis postea additis LXXXVII mansionum in Seolesia... nouo euan-
gelistae... concedit'; Eddius, c. 41. A spurious grant of Selsey to Wilfrid by Cedwalla is in K. C. D. No. 992; Birch, No. 64. The forger betrays his hand by calling Wilfrid archbishop. See on ii. 20.

monasterium] With Eappa as abbot. See next chapter.

annis V] For the date, see on v. 19.
libertate donando] We should expect 'libertatem.' On the part The Church taken by the mediaeval church in abolishing slavery and serfdom, and sla-
see M. Yanoski's monograph, De l'abolition de l'Esclavage au Moyen Age (1860).

CHAPTER 14.

On the significance of the absence of this chapter from a cer-
tain class of MSS. see Introduction, § 27. The information on which this chapter is based was no doubt derived by Bede from Acca.

p. 233. mortalitas saeua] See on iii. 27.
sacerdos] In c. 13, and lower in this chapter he is called 'presbyter,' v. on i. 28.
triduanum ieiunium] Cf. on ii. 2, p. 84.
p. 234. iberbis piissimis] 'most pitying, or kindly words.'
hae etenim die] Aug. 5; iii. 9, p. 145.
codicibus . . . depositio] Calendars in which the obits of saints 'Annale.' and others were noted. Lower in this chapter such a book is called an 'annale'; (a sense of the word 'annale' not noted by Ducange). Also called a 'Kalendarium defunctorum.' Pertz, xxv. 629. The object of such records was to show on what days commemorative masses had to be said. The present story would seem to show that they were not always very carefully consulted. Such records often formed valuable materials for history. Thus in composing the Historia Cremifanensis, the author, 'sicut potuit, ex privilegiis et ex chronicis ac ex defunctorum kalendariis colligere annotauit '; Pertz, u. s. Such books must be distinguished from the Liber 'Liber Vitae which was simply a list of names without any dates; see e. g. the Liber Vitae ecclesiae Dunelm., published by the Surtees Society 1841, and by Mr. Sweet in his Earliest English Texts; cf. Introduction, pp. xxvii, xxviii. The term 'album' is applied to both classes; Introd. u. s.; W. M. i. 261. The term, 'Computarium defunctorum,' Pertz, x. 581, seems to apply to the former kind of document. The use of the word 'depositio' in this connexion implies the custom of burying on the day of death. See on i. 23, iv. 19, 30.
p. 235. ipsorum genti] Note the beginnings of a sense of unity. aduenis] This seems to be used in an ecclesiastical sense, 'converts.'
CHAPTER 15.

Caedwalla. Interea ... Caedualla, &c.] It would appear that in the strife for power, which, as we have seen, was going on at this time in Wessex, Caedwalla had for a time been worsted and driven into exile; 'per factionem principum a West Saxonia expulsus,' G. P. p. 233; 'factione consipitorum in exilium actus,' W. M. i. 33. He took refuge in 'desertas Ciltine et Ondred,' Eddius, c. 42; i.e. the forests of Chiltern and Andred (cf. K. C. D. No. 1289). Here he gathered round him, like David, a band of hardy men, 'namque, seu miseratione fortunaram eius infracta, seu uirtute delectata, tota pubes exulem secuta'; W. M. u. s. Thus he began 'winnan after rice, 'to strive for the kingdom'; Sax. Chron. He first fell upon Ethelwalh, 'improuise' adds Fl. Wig. i. 39, whom he doubtless regarded as occupying districts belonging to Wessex, and slew him. He was however driven out by the king's 'aldermen' (AS. vers.; not 'earls,' as Bright, p. 349, a title which does not come into use in this sense till centuries later), Berthun and Andhun (Æthelhun, Fl. Wig.), whom he in turn defeated, having in the meantime gained possession of the throne of Wessex. W. M. u. s. speaks of Edric as the successor of Ethelwalh; but this is probably due to a misunderstanding of c. 26, ad fin.; from which passage he hastily inferred that Edric was a South Saxon, whereas he really was a Kentish prince.

Ini] v. v. 7, ad fin.

Political and ecclesiastical independence. toto ... nequiret] We see by this how political and ecclesiastical independence went together. The first Bishop of Selsey after Wilfrid's retirement was Eadbert, c. 709, A. D., v. v. 18, ad fin.

CHAPTER 16.

Conquest of Wight by Caedwalla regno potitus] In 686, v. on c. 12. The conquest of Wight took place the same year, Sax. Chron. W. M. i. 33 says that Wight held out against Caedwalla, relying upon Mercia, 'fiduea Merciorum,' which is very likely. It would seem that Ethelwalh at the time of his death had not made any attempt to christianise
his new possession of Wight. The Sax. Chron. s. a. 686 joins Mul
with his brother Cædwalla in the conquest of Wight.

p. 237. stragica caede] This seems certainly to be the reading ‘Stragicus,’
required by the testimony of the MSS.; confirmed by Elmham,
p. 253, and Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 253, who both quote this
passage with the reading ‘stragica;’ though I can find no other
instance of the adjective ‘stragicus.’ Ducange however cites
‘stragicius’ from Muratori, SS. xii. 563. The AS. translator
must have read or misread ‘troica,’ which is so far in favour of
‘tragica.’ In iii. i, ‘tragica caede’ is the best attested reading;
though a few MSS. have ‘stragica.’

needum regeneratus] In a spurious charter of Ini, other grants
are alleged to have been made by Cædwalla ‘licet paganus;’ K. C. D.
No. 73; Birch, No. 142.
quartam partem] W. M. u. s. turns this into a tithe of all spoils
taken by Cædwalla ‘ut omnes manubias . . . Deo decimaret,’ for
which there is no authority, ib. II. xxv.

forte . . . superueniens] According to Eddius, c. 42, his coming
was by no means fortuitous. ‘Nam sanctus antistes . . . saepe
anxiatuum exulem adiuuat, . . . usquedum . . . regnum adeptus
est . . . Cædwalla, Occidentalium Saxonum . . . monarchiam
tenens, statim . . . Wilfridum . . . ad se . . . accersiuit. . . . [Quo]
ueniente, rex . . . in omni regno suo excelsum consiliarium mox
illum composuit.’ Wilfrid cannot however have stayed very long
in Wessex, as in this very year 686, or early in the next, he was
recalled to Northumbria. If however Bede’s words ‘de gente sua’
are to be taken strictly, he must have regarded Wilfrid’s visit to
Wessex as posterior to his restoration. According to G. P. p. 233,
Wilfrid gave to Cædwalla in his exile not only good counsel but
‘tum equitaturas, tum pecunias.’ For his motive see on v. 19.
We may wonder (with Bright, p. 349) what Wilfrid felt when
Cædwalla turned upon and slew the bishop’s own patron and
benefactor Ethelwulf. It is perhaps to gloss over this difficulty
that G. P. u. s. represents the collision as taking place ‘aliquo
infortunio.’ On the chronology, see notes to v. 19.

Aualdi regis insulae] This isolated notice of a kingdom of A king of
Wight shows us that there may have been many petty kingdoms in
Wight, in various parts of the country of which we hear nothing. R. W.
says: ‘de duobus filiis Arvaldi Vectae insulae subreguli,’ i. 182.

Iutorum prouinciam] ‘Eota lond,’ AS. vers.; cf. on i. 15.

Ad Lapidem] Stoneham on the Itchen, above Southampton.

Hreutford] Redbridge, Hants; a bridge in later times having Redbridge
taken the place of the older ford.

Soluente] The Solent.

Homelea] The Hamble; the words ‘ultra . . . pertinent’ are omitted by the AS. vers.

CHAPTER 17.


per heresim Eutychetis] The heresy of Eutyches was Monophysite—the denial of the co-existence of the two natures, the Divine and human, in the person of our Lord after the Incarnation. It was a reaction against Nestorianism which tended to deny the unity of Person in the Incarnate Word, and was itself a reaction against Apollinarianism. See D. C. B. under these words, and under ‘Person of Christ.’ Eutyches was condemned by a Synod of Constantinople in 448, acquitted by the Robber Synod of Ephesus in 449, and finally condemned by the General Council of Chalcedon in 451. The heresy however which troubled the Church at this time was not Monophysitism in its original Eutychian form, but a further development of it, viz. Monothelitism, i.e. the denial of the existence and operation of two wills, the human and the Divine, in the person of Christ. This controversy (for the importance of which cf. Bright, p. 220 and ref.; Gore, Bampton Lectures, pp. 92 ff.), filled nearly the whole of the seventh century; it prepared the way for the iconoclastic controversy of the eighth century, and for the separation of East and West; the East being largely Monothelite. Monothelitism was finally condemned in the Sixth General Council, that of Constantinople, which sat from Nov. 680 to Sept. 681. In preparation for this council Pope Agatho held a synod of the Western Church at Rome, March 680, at which Theodore himself was expected. In his absence Wilfrid, who was at Rome on his own affairs, answered for the orthodoxy of the North of Britain and Ireland, and of the Islands; Eddius, c. 53; H. & S. iii. 140, 141; inf. v. 19, p. 327; and Theodore and other Metropolitans held synods of their provinces with reference to the same subject. For passages in Bede’s own works on the subject of Eutychianism, v. Introd. p. lxii, note.

sacerdotum] ‘biscopa,’ ‘bishops,’ AS. vers., v. on i. 28.

p. 239. Hymbronensium] Nordanymbra, AS. vers. ‘Umbrensis’ is used in the same sense in the heading of Theodore’s Penitential; H. & S. iii. 173. See on i. 15.
indictione VIII\textsuperscript{a}] ‘The year of the eighth indiction was either from Sept. 24, 679 to Sept. 24, 680 (Caesarean), or from Dec. 25, 679 to Dec. 25, 680 (pontifical), and in both cases includes Sept. 17, 680. Baronius beginning the indiction Sept. 1, actually dates the council in 679;’ H. & S. iii. 144 (against Kemble, C. D. I. lxxx). Bede, in v. 24, p. 355, distinctly dates this council 680. This agrees best with the regnal years of the kings mentioned. On Egfrid’s regnal year, v. s. e. 5, note. Ethelred of Mercia succeeded in 675; v. 24, p. 354; cf. iii. 24, notes. His sixth year cannot therefore be earlier than 680. As to Aldwulf of East Anglia, see on ii. 15. Hlothhere of Kent is the only difficulty; for his seventh year runs from July 679 to July 680. However most of the data favour Sept. 17, 680 as the date of the Council of Hatfield. The absence of any mention of Wessex should be noted. It ‘was at this time (A.D. 676-685) divided among its under kings (c. 12), or at the best in a very disturbed state;’ H. & S. u.s.

ciuitatis Doruernis] We have ‘in Doruernii metropoli, ciuitate,’ i. 26, v. 23. pp. 47, 350. The nominative does not occur. Later writers use the form Dorobernia or Dorubernia.

praepositis . . . euangeliis] v. D. C. A. i. 478 a; cited by M. & L. symbolum] ‘herebeacen id est Credo,’ ‘the war-standard, i.e. the Creed,’ AS. vers. This seems to show that the use of the word ‘symbolum’ in the sense of ‘standard’ was common in the translator’s time. Ducange however only gives one instance from Richer, iii. 69: ‘exercitus . . . ibat . . . per euneos simbolo distinctos.’ It has this meaning occasionally in Greek; see Liddell and Scott. Not this however, but another military use of the word is the origin of its application to the Christian Creed, which is thus regarded as the watchword or sign by which the soldiers of the Christian army recognise one another. It is first used in the sense of ‘creed’ by St. Cyprian (third century); D. C. A. s.v. ‘creed.’ Later writers wrongly explained this meaning of the word as resting on the supposed fact that each of the Apostles had contributed (συμβάλλεσθαι) an article to the Apostles’ Creed. To this was due the translation of the Greek term by the Latin ‘collatio,’ which is as early as St. Augustine: ‘Quod Graece symbolum dicitur, Latine collatio nominatur, . . . quia in unum collata catholicae legis fides. . . . Petrus dixit; Credo in Deum Patrem, &c.’ Serm. 115 de Tempore (cited by Ducange). But apart from the mythical character of the supposed fact, συμβολον never means ‘contribution.’ It may be noted that ‘symbolum’ is here nominative to ‘tradidit’ and not accusative after it as the AS. translator takes it.
in tribus subsistentiis, uel personis] The word ὑπόστασις has two different applications in Greek theology. In its earlier meaning it signifies the real nature, the underlying essence of a thing, and is equivalent to οὐσία. Cf. Socrat. H. E. iii. 7: οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῇ λέξει τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἔχρησαντο (cited by Liddell and Scott). In this sense it is used in the Nicene Creed. But in later theology it means the special or characteristic nature of a person or thing, and is directly opposed to οὐσία. In this sense it is nearly equivalent to the earlier use of the word πρόσωπον. Hence as applied to the doctrine of the Trinity ὑπόστασις has two diametrically opposite meanings. In the earlier sense there is but one ὑπόστασις in the blessed Trinity, in the later, there are three ὑποστάσεις. To deny the former statement is to ‘divide the substance,’ to deny the latter is to ‘confound the Persons.’ In the earlier sense the Latin equivalent is ‘substantia’ (so in the Athanasian Creed); in the later the Latin equivalent is generally ‘persona,’ but sometimes ‘subsistentia,’ as here, and also in the acts of the Constantinopolitan Council of 680, where we have in the Greek: τριῶν ὑποστάσεως μίαν οὐσίαν, and in the Latin: ‘trium Subsistentialium unam Substantiam,’” Mansi, xi. 290.


in Constantinopoli] The Second General Council, A.D. 381, 382. Eudoxius, eighth Bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 360–370, was an extreme Arian. Macedonius, his predecessor, was a Semi-Arian, who also elaborated a heresy of his own on the nature of the Holy Spirit.


in Constantinopoli] The Fifth General Council, A.D. 553. To Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, 392–428, though he himself died ‘in the peace of the Church,’ the real origin of Nestorianism is to be traced. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, c. 423–457, and Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, 435–457, were two of his most distinguished disciples, and both of them strong opponents of Cyril of Alexandria, who in his zeal against Nestorianism came very near to, if he did not actually fall into Apollinarism. The condemnation of the council embraced (i) the works of Theodore, (ii) the letter of Ibas to Maris, Bishop of Hardascir, in praise of Theodore, (iii) the refutation (ἀνατροπή) of the Anathematisms of Cyril with the prefatory letter addressed
to John, Bishop of Antioch, at whose request it was written, by Theodoret. The meaning of the sentence would be clearer if we might read 'contra Theodorum, et Theodoreti et Iba epistulas contra Cyrillum, et eorum dogmata.' But there is no manuscript authority for the change.

**synodum . . . Roma**] The First Lateran Council, 649 A.D. It was anti-monothelete: 'contra eos maxime qui unam in Christo operationem et voluntatem praedicabant,' c. 18, p. 242; cf. Opp. vi. 325. The canons of this council are given in H. & S. iii. 145-151.

**Constantino]** 'corrige, Constante;' Hussey. But Constans II, in Constans whose reign this Lateran Council was held, is also known as Con. II. Constantinus IV (D. C. B.), so that there is no need for any correction.


**CHAPTER 18.**

**archicantator**] So H. & S. iii. 134. In Hist. Abb. § 6, Arch-

'archicantor,' p. 369, and so Fl. Wig. i. 34; 'archicantor, Primi-

cerius scholae cantorum,' Ducange. On 'Primicerius,' v. ii. 19, note.

p. 241. *per iussionem papae]**] According to a document printed in H. & S. iii. 131-136, he was sent by a council held at Rome in 679. The character of this document is somewhat doubtful; see on v. 19. The sending of John by the council may nevertheless be a fact. It is true that Eddius does not mention it, but then it did not specially concern his hero Wilfrid. In Hist. Abb. § 6, Bede, writing from a different point of view, speaks as if the sending of John had been merely due to the request of Benedict Biscop for some one to teach ecclesiastical music at Wearmouth.

**Biscoipo . . . Benedicto**] On him cf. Hab. §§ 1-7, 9-14; Haa. Benedict §§ 5-18; Introd. §§ 2, 3, and notes ad ill. On this visit of his to Rome, see Hab. § 6, and notes. He returned with John in 679, or early in 680.

**cuius supra meminimus**] Benedict Biscop has not been previously mentioned. Either therefore this is a mere slip, or Bede is referring to the Hist. Abb. I only know however four MSS. which contain both works, D. P. H₂. Bu₂. and in all these the Hist. Abb.
follows, and does not precede the H. E. In many MSS. these words are wanting; and the presence or absence of them is an important test of the character of any MS. See Introd. § 27.

monasterium Brittaniae] 'A monastery in Britain.' Bede often uses the names of countries, as if they were names of towns, without prepositions. 'Brittaniae' is a locative.

iuxta ostium ... Úiuri] 'in þære stow þe mon hateth Æt Wiramujan,' 'in the place which they call at Wearmouth.' AS. vers.

Ceolfrido] On him, see Hab. §§ 7, 13, 15-19, 21-23; Haa. §§ 1-11, 14, 16-37; Introd. §§ 2, 3, and notes ad il.


quia hactenus ... seruata] 'seo ... oð þís is gehalden,' 'which is maintained to the present time.' AS. vers.

transcripta] See next note but three.

excepto ... munere] i. e. besides or in addition to the duty, &c.

p. 242. synodum ... Martini] See notes on last chapter. 'Non multo ante,' therefore means a period of about thirty years.

qui unam ... praedicabant] cf. the very similar phrase, v. 19, p. 326.

transscribendam commodauit] This transcript Bede had no doubt often seen and used. It was at this very time, 679 or 680, that he entered Benedict's monastery at the age of seven. On the system of lending MSS. for transcription, &c., v. Introduction. p. xix; cf. sup. p. 241. The phrases 'synodum adferre, transcriptere' show that 'synodus' is here used loosely for 'synodica or synodalis epistola'; i.e. the formal document containing the record of the resolutions of the council; so 'lectio synodi,' 'cum ... synodus ... legeretur,' v. 19, p. 327; cf. 'synodi gesta,' ib. p. 326.

uiicti sunt] i. e. in the Council of Constantinople, 680, 681.

unde uolens, &c.] So the Council of Toledo held a little later, 684, on the same subject: 'placuit ... satisfacientes Romano Pontifici ... nostrae fidei sensum ... deprimere ... de ... gemina uoluntate et operatione Iesu Christi,' &c.; cited by M. & L.

castus] v. s. on iii. 28.

sancti Martini ... Turonis] This was the monastery over which Alcuin afterwards presided.

CHAPTER 19.

St. Ethelthryth, or Audrey.

P. 243. Accepit, &c.] Fl. Wig. i. 24 places the marriage of Egfrid and Ethelthryth in 660; if this is correct, her retirement to Coldingham must be placed in 672, as Bede says that she
lived with Egfrid for twelve years; cf. also Opp. vi. 327; Opp. Min. p. 199. She must have left him therefore soon after his accession. And as Egfrid died in 685 aged forty, c. 26, he can only have been fifteen at the time of his marriage; and Etheld- thrthyth, who had then been five years a widow (see next note but one), must have been much older than he. When Bede in the next chapter says of her, ‘bis sex regnauerat annis’ he is speaking very inexacty, as Egfrid did not come to the throne till 670 or, more probably, 671; see on c. 5. Even if he was before that sub-king of Deira (see on iii. 1), this would still be inexact, as he cannot have held that position till 664. For later lives of her, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 278–284; ii. 104–106, 553. Elfric’s homily (in verse) is wholly taken from Bede, as he himself confesses. Lives of Saints, pp. 432 ff. Of the later lives the most important is that in the Historia Eliensis of Thomas of Ely, printed in an abridged form in Ang. Sac. i. 593 ff.; and in extenso by the Anglia Christiana Society, ed. D. J. Stewart (cited as Liber Eliensis). According to this she was born at Exning in Suffolk, p. 16. Her name has come down to us in the corrupted form of Audrey, from which (by adhesion of the final t of ‘Saint’) comes our word ‘tawdry.’ This first occurs in the phrase ‘a tawdry lace,’ i.e. necklace; which is commonly explained as meaning a necklace bought at St. Audrey’s fair held on Oct. 17th, the day of her translation. Nares however very ingeniously connects the phrase with the narrative of Bede, and supposes it to be a reminiscence of the ‘superuacu moniliorum pondera,’ which the Saint had worn in the days of her frivolous youth, inf. p. 246; v. Skeat, Etymol. Engl. Dict. s. v.

Anna] On him and his saintly progeny, v. iii. 7, notes.

princeps . . . Gyriuorum] ‘Suôgyrwu aldorman,’ ‘alderman of the South-Gyrwas,’ AS. vers.; cf. on iii. 20. The Liber Eliensis says that she was married to him two years before the death of her father; i.e. in 652, that he died within three years, i.e. in 655, and that from him she received the Isle of Ely as a dowry, pp. 5, 18, 19. For the Suôgyrwu, cf. Birch, i. 414, which gives them a territory of 600 Hides.


mihi . . . Ulfrid . . . referebat] It would be interesting to know Wilfrid on what occasions Bede and Wilfrid met. For Bede’s view of and Bede. Wilfrid, see on v. 19. This matter may have had much to do with
alienating Egfrid from Wilfrid. If the Lib. Eli. p. 33 may be trusted Wilfrid was guilty of gross dissimulation.


signum diuini miracul\-i] v. on iii. 8, ad fin. So Eddius, c. 19, of Ethelthryth: ‘cuius corpus uiuens ante impollutum post mortem incorruptum manens.’

ubi ... inpetrauit] Separation without the consent of both parties was unlawful, cf. sup. c. 11; e.g. Theodore’s Penitential, II. xii. 7, 8, 12 (H. & S. iii. 199, 200). Cf. Bede on Mark x. 9-12: ‘Una ergo solummodo causa est [sc. uxoris dimittendae] carnalis, fornicatio; una spiritualis, timor Dei, ut uxor dimit:\-tatur, sicut multi religionis causa fecisse leguntur. Nulla autem causa est Dei lege perscripta [\-pra\-e-] ut, uiuente ea quae relic\-\-ta est, alia ducatur;’ Opp. x. 153.

As to remarriage in the case of divorce for ‘causa carnalis,’ v.s. on c. 5. As regards the ‘causa spiritualis,’ Egfrid certainly married again before Ethelthryth’s death. This occurred 679 or 680 (see below); and Egfrid was certainly married to his second wife Eormenburg at the time of Wilfrid’s expulsion in 678, which is ascribed largely to her influence; Eddius, c. 24. Eadmer indeed writes as if Egfrid had married again immediately on Ethelthryth’s withdrawal to Coldingham; H. Y. i. 186. Stevenson on Bede’s Vita Cudb. c. 27, makes the serious mistake of supposing that Ethelthryth was still Egfrid’s wife at the time of his death in 685, five or six years after her death, and thirteen years after she had taken the veil. Mr. Arnold makes the same mistake; S. D. i. 32. Smith might have kept them right.

Aebbe ... Eegfridi] ‘Soror uterina regis Osuii;’ Bede, Vit. Cudb. c. 10. If Oswy was the son of Ethelfrid and Acha (see on iii. 14, ad ini:\-,) and Ebba was only his uterine sister, it follows that she cannot have been the daughter of Ethelfrid, and that Acha must have married again after Ethelfrid’s death, or have been married previously. Besides the monastery at Coldingham she also founded one at a place called from her Ebchester on the Derwent; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 288-290. She was a great friend of St. Cuthbert’s, Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 10; Vita Anon. § 13, who visited her at Coldingham. She had much to do with the release of Wilfrid in 681; Eddius, c. 39. She is commemorated as St. Ebbe at Aug. 25. Her relics were translated from Coldingham to Durham in the eleventh century; Raine’s Hexham, I. liii. St. Abb’s Head is called from her; cf. c. 25, inf.

Coludi ur\-\-bem] ‘Coludesbyrig,’ AS. vers. and Vita Anon. Cudb, § 13; Eddius, c. 39. Coldingham near Berwick, and so it is called by S. D. i. 59; see on c. 25. The legend of her wanderings from
Coldingham to Ely is given in Lib. Eli. pp. 36-44, on the authority of Coldingham tradition. It seems quite mythical.

p. 244. post annum] i.e. in 673, according to what was said Ely above; and this is the date which the Sax. Chron. gives for the foundation of Ely.

lineis . . . laneis] This is a recognised feature of the ascetic life. 'To go M. & L. cite Pope Zacharias, 741-752: 'Monachi . . . lanea indu- menta . . . sine intermissione utantur; . . . apostolis quippe diuinum datum est mandatum duas tunicas non habendi; tunicas dixit Christus, utique laneas, non lineas;' Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxxix. 932. The practice gave rise to the curious English phrase, 'to go woolward,' of which M. & L. have also collected many interesting illustrations.


epifaniae] 'by twelftan dege ofer Geochol,' 'the twelfth day Epiphany, after Yule,' AS. vers. Cf. Sax. Chron. 1065, C. D. 'sacrattissima Dominicae Apparitionis dies;' Bede, Vit. Cudb. c. 10. 'It is curious to find the Epiphany taking the place of Christmas;' Bright, p. 253; cf. Ep. ad Egb. § 15, p. 419. There may however be special reasons for this here. The primary idea of the festival in the Eastern Church was the manifestation of the Trinity at the Baptism of Christ, and though in the Western Church this idea was subordinate to that of the manifestation of Christ to the Magi, it was not lost sight of. Thus in the Roman Missal the Gospel for the Octave of the Epiphany is John i. 29-34, and there is a homily of Bede on this gospel; Opp. v. 271-278. And in our own Church St. Luke's account of the Baptism has always been the Second Lesson at Matins on the Epiphany itself. A third manifestation, that at Cana, is commemorated in the Gospel for the Second Sunday after the Epiphany, while in the Gallican Liturgy all three references are combined in the services for the festival. Owing to this association of Epiphany with the Baptism Abstinence from the bath.
of Christ, it was in early times, with Easter and Pentecost, one of the great seasons for administering baptism. This was afterwards discouraged, and the administration of baptism restricted as a rule to Easter and Pentecost; D. C. A. s.v. ‘Epiphany.’ But the idea of the season as appropriate for a solemn washing may have continued. For that a religious significance was attached to the use of the bath seems clear. Just as the wearing of their crown by the English kings at the three great festivals (Sax. Chron. 1086; my edition, p. 219), was a memorial of their coronation, so the bath was a memorial of baptism.

\textit{lotis prius . . . famulis Christi} Cf. what is said of Matilda, daughter of Otho II: ‘Nullius unquam septimanae sabbatum, quo tantum balneo uti lieceret, praeterit, quin aliquem de turba inopum . . . ablueret;’ Pertz, xi. 400.

\textit{obsequio] That the word ‘mandatum’ is used in a technical sense (based on John xiii. 14, 15, 34), to signify the solemn washing of the feet of others in imitation of Christ’s example, and in literal obedience to His command, is well known, v. Ducange, s.v. And this use has given us our word ‘Maundy.’ But that the correlative word ‘obsequium’ is used in an equally technical sense to signify that literal obedience, has not been recognised. Yet that is almost certainly the meaning here; it is so still more clearly in G. P. p. 163: ‘Birnstanus . . . dominici exempli ardentissimus executor, pedes egenis omni die . . . lauabat . . . Obsequio consummato,’ &c. Bede uses it of the anointing of our Lord’s feet: ‘qui diligentius inuestigant, inueniunt eandem mulierem . . . bis eodem functamuisse obsequio;’ Opp. xi. 53. In this sense the word passed into Irish in the form \textit{ósaic} (with prosthetic \textit{f}, \textit{fósaic}); and by a curious prolapse it is constantly applied to Christ’s own washing of the disciples feet. So entirely was the feeling for the origin of the word lost, that it comes to be applied to feet washings in which there is no ceremonial or charitable purpose; \textit{e.g.} Battle of Magh Rath, p. 10; Aislinge Meic Conglinne, p. 47. Another Irish word used in the same technical sense is \textit{umaloit}, which is the Latin ‘humilites’; cf. Lismore Lives of Saints, pp. 43, 48; Aislinge, &c., p. 13 (though the editors have failed to see this). I cannot at present point to any passage in which ‘humilites’ is used in this special sense. On the foot-washing as a religious and charitable act, cf. Opp. v. 463; Opp. Min. pp. 85, 86, 106, 265, 276; D. C. A. ii. 164; Introd. p. xxvi.

\textit{semper . . . persteterit] v. Introd. p. xxvi.}

\textit{matutinae synaxeos} \textit{i.e.} Matins. ‘Synaxis’ is used; (i) of
any Christian assembly; the term being perhaps chosen by way of distinction from the Jewish συναγωγή; (ii) specially of the celebration of the Eucharist, v. Suicer, Thesaurus, s. v.; (iii) of the whole course of offices for the canonical hours; (iv) as here, of the celebration of any one of the offices.

pestilentiam] See on iii. 27.

rapta est . . . susceperat] June 23; cf. Opp. iv. 84. If she became abbess of Ely in 673, v. s. this would bring her death to 680. The Sax. Chron. places it in 679 (so R. W. i. 179), perhaps death, calculating the seven years from her taking of the veil. So Lib. Eli. p. 58, and see below.

ligneo . . . locello] We more often hear of stone coffins; cf. 'Loculus' p.245, infra, c. ii. pp. 226, 227. The choice of a wooden coffin seems to be a mark of Ethelthryth's humility. As to the form of the word we find both 'loculus' and 'locellus' in this very chapter. The former is the classical form, the latter survives in the Welsh 'llogoll,' which means 'a pocket.' We find a sarcophagus given to Cuthbert as a present; Vita, c. 37; Opp. Min. p. 118; cf. inf. v. 5 and Lib. Eli. p. 26.

**Sexburg**] See above iii. 8, p. 142. For later lives of her, cf. Sexburg. Hardy, Cat. i. 265, 360-362. The Lib. Eli. cites a book of her 'Gesta,' and says: 'in Anglico . . . legimus' that she received the veil at the hands of Archbishop Theodore in Sheppey Church, pp. 76, 77; cf. ib. 52, 53; AA.SS. Iul. ii. 346.

sedecim annis] i. e. in 695 or 696. The day of her translation Transla- is Oct. 17; Lib. Eli. p. 70. The fact that Oct. 17 fell on a Sunday Ethel- in 695 is in favour of that year, which is given also by Mon. Angl. thryth. i. 457; and this would fix her death to 679. See above.

**quosdam e fratribus**] i. e. Ely was a double monastery; cf. Lib. Eli. p. 46, and note on iii. 8.

ad ciuitatulam . . . desolatam] This illustrates the way in which Roman sites served as quarries for later generations. Thus in the ninth century the monks of Auxerre sent some of their body to Marseilles to seek for marbles for building their church: 'erude-ratis itaque aedificiorum ueterum circumquaque ruinis, ingentem marmorum pretiosorum copiam . . . congregarunt;' Pertz, xiii. 403. To prevent this in the case of the Colosseum, Benedict XIV, in the last century, hit upon the plan of consecrating it.

p. 245. **Grantacaestir**] Grantchester, outside Cambridge.

**inuenerunt . . . tectum**] For another case of a Roman sarcophagus used for a later burial, cf. H. & S. II. xxii; and the famous instance of the Graeco-Roman sarcophagus, sculptured 'con bellissima maniera' (cf. Bede's 'pulcherrime factum'), in which was
deposited the body of the mother of the great countess Matilda; and which, coming under the notice of Niccolò Pisano, occasioned, according to Vasari's life of him, the renaissance of sculpture in Italy.

**incurruption.** W. M. i. 260, enumerates five English saints in whom this miracle was shown; Ethelthryth, Wiburg, Edmund of East Anglia, Alphege, Cuthbert; cf. *inf.* c. 30.

**defuncta, siue...condita** *i.e.* they buried on the day of death as a rule; and hence the festival of a saint is often called his 'depositio.' Cf. Bede's Martyrology, Opp. iv. 72, 92, 100, 131, &c.; cf. on c. 14.

**tertia...die.** 'Plerumque dies tertia grauior esse uulneratis, et prolixiorem molestiam generare afflictis;' *Lib.* Eli. p. 57.

**extento...papilione.** So at the funeral of Wilfrid: *'extento foris tentorio, sanctum corpus balneaurunt';* Eddius, c. 65. So when Herebald fell from his horse: *'tetenderunt papilionem in quo iacerem,'* v. 6, p. 290. So when Aidan fell sick, *'tetenderunt...ei...tentorium,'* iii. 17, p. 160. Tents were also used by Cuthbert on his preaching tours, Opp. Min. pp. 109, 277; *'tabernaculo solemus initinere uel in bello uti,'* Opp. xii. 249; cf. viii. 390.

**p. 246. superfua...moniliorum...pondera.** Cf. Bede on 1 Pet. iii. 3: *'aurum et margaritos et monilios adornatae, ornamenta cordis ac pectoris perdiderunt;';* Opp. xii. 224; cf. on c. 23. The form *'moniliorum'* is attested by four out of the five most ancient MSS.; *M. B. C.' H.*

**usu hodie.** 'o& pisne ondweardan dæg,' *'to this present day,'* AS. vers.


**est...Elge.** On the topography of the Isle of Ely, ib. 1-8, 81; on the liberties of Ely, ib. 48, 49, 55.


**CHAPTER 20.**

**P. 247. hymnum...inserere.** Alcuin alludes to this hymn; De Sanctis *Ebor.* vv. 780, 781. It is found separately in a St. Omer MS. No. 115. Also in a MS. Cologne Cathedral, No. 106, originally sent by Alcuin to Arno, Archbishop, of Salzburg, *Mon.* Alc. pp. 748, 749.
elegiaco metro] Cf. Bede, De Arte Metrica, c. 10: 'hoc ... metrum elegiacum ... uocatur. Elicos namque miserors appellant philosophi, et huius modulatio carminis miserorum querimoniae con-gruit ... Quo genere metri ferunt canticuum Deuteronomii apud Hebraeos et Psalmos cxviii (cxix) et cxliv (cxlv) esse descriptos'; Opp. vi. 59. Elegiac verses of this kind, in which the last quarter of the distich repeats the first, are called echoici or serpentini; L. & M. p. 353. They are also called reciprorci. Cf. a poem by Sedulius Scottus, in this metre, in Poetae Latini Aeui Carolini. i. 216, 'Incipiunt uersus reciprorci.' There is a long poem in this metre in Paul. Diae. Hist. Lang. i. 26. Sporadic instances of this form of verse occur in classic poets, e. g. Ovid, Fasti, iv. 365, 366; Martial, VIII. xxi. 1, 2, and especially IX. xviii., where the whole epigram is based on the 'echo' of a single phrase, 'rumpitur inuidia.' These instances suggested the systematic adoption of the form by mediaeval writers, just as the occasional occurrence of rhyme in classical poetry suggested the rhyming Latin verses of the Middle Ages; cf. Trench, Sacred Latin Poetry, c. 2. But Bede's hymn, besides being 'reciprocal' or 'echoing,' is also alphabetic. For this, too, Bede might find a parallel in Scripture in the Book of Lamentations, and some of the Psalms, e. g. x. xxxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, cxiv, cxlv. Alphabetic and acrostic verses were a favourite exercise of ingenuity in the Middle Ages, especially in the Carolingian time; cf. Poetae Latini, u. s. i. 17, 24-26, 81, 82, 85, 86, 90, 91; 142-144, 147, 148, 153-159, 225-227, 416-423, 482, 620-622; ii. 4, 135, 136, 138, 139, 152, 153, 165-167, 255-257, 316-319, 421, 422, 479, 651, 652. A fine alphabetic hymn on the Day of Judgement is given by Trench, u. s. pp. 296-298; and is cited by Bede himself, De Arte Metrica, as 'ad formam metri trochaici . . . hymnum de die iudicii per alphabetum'; Opp. vi. 77.

imitari . . . scripturae] Cf. the conclusion of the De Arte Poetry of Metrica: 'haec . . . tibi collecta obtuli, ut, quemadmodum in diuinis literis . . . imbuere studui, ita etiam metrica arte, quae diuinis non est incognita libris, te solerter instruerem'; Opp. vi. 78, 79.

gemina . . . gladios] The virgins enumerated here are all, with the exception of Euphemia, commemorated by Aldhelm in his prose and metrical works de Virginitate: the Virgin Mary, Aldh. Opp. pp. 54, 181; Agatha, ib. 55, 183; Eulalia, ib. 61, 190; Tecla, ib. 61, 189; Agnes, ib. 60, 188; Caecilia, ib. 54, 182. It would improve the metre if for Euphemia we might read Eugenia, who is mentioned by Aldh. pp. 58, 187. Both occur in some lines of Fortunatus on the same subject (De Virgin. viii. 4):—

VOL. II.

R
'Illic Euphemia, pariter quoque plaudit Agatha, 
Et Iustina simul, consociante Thecla, 
Et Paulina, Agnes, Basilissa, Eugenia regnant, 
Et quascunque sacer uexit ad astra pudor.'

Here, too, the metre would be improved if Eugenia and Euphemia changed places.

p. 248. bis octo Novembres] A curious way of saying that she was buried sixteen years. The reason, probably, is that her translation took place on the 16th of the Calends of November, Oct. 17.

CHAPTER 21.

Date of the battle of the Trent.

P. 249. Anno... nono] There can be no doubt that this battle took place in 679; for it was fought a year after the expulsion of Wilfrid, who, according to the story, had foretold that in a year's time "qui nunc ridetis... amare flebitis." Et sic... euenit. Nam eo die anniuaario, Ælfwini regis occisi cadauer in Eboracem delatum est, omnes populi amare lacrymantes uestimenta et capitis comam lacerabant, et frater superstes usque ad mortem sine uic- toria regnabat'; Eddius, c. 24; cf. also c. 23, ad init., where 680 is spoken of as 'anno sequente.' Now if Egfrid succeeded Feb. 15, 670, the battle, to fall in his ninth year, must have been fought before Feb. 15, 679, and this, though possible, is unlikely. So that this on the whole confirms what was said on c. 5 as to the date of Egfrid's accession. This battle is mentioned in the Irish Annals, e.g. Ann. Ult. 679: 'Bellum Saxonum ubi cecidit Ailmine filius Ossu.' Elford, north of Tamworth (?Ælfwine's ford), has been suggested as the site of the battle.

sororem] It was owing to this connexion that Wilfrid, on his release in 681, was unable to remain in Mercia; see on v. 19.

Osthryth.

Osthryd] Cf. on iii. 11. W. M. makes this marriage part of the pacification after the battle of the Trent, G. P. p. 232. But Bede clearly implies that it had taken place previously.

Wergeld. multa] i.e. the Wergeld, on which see S. C. H. i. 161, 162. Cf. Sax. Chron. 694 for another instance of peace made between two kingdoms by payment of a wergeld.

CHAPTER 22.

Ælfwine rex Ælfwine] He is called 'rex' by Eddius, in a passage quoted on the last chapter, and also in an earlier passage, c. 16, where
he is joined with his brother: ‘inuitatis regibus Christianissimis Ecgfritho et Ælwyno.’ He must, therefore, have reigned jointly
with Egfrid, probably as sub-king of Deira, like Alchfrid under
Oswy. The following story is embodied in a homily by Ælfric, ed.
Thorpe, ii. 356–358.

de militia eius iunenis] ‘Sum geong cyninges þægn;’ ‘a young Royal
king’s thane,’ AS. vers. So ‘miles’ and ‘minister regis’ below
are both translated ‘cyninges þægn,’ which shows that the two
terms are identical.


uincula soluta] Cf. Life of St. Cadoc, § 39: ‘tres peregrini cir-
culis ferreis ligati . . . ad praefati Saneti monasterium in die
solemnitatis eiusdem uenerunt. Dumque missa celebraretur illa
H. Y. i. 54, 308; Pertz, vii. 300, 301. Other instances are collected
by M. & L.

Tunnacaestir] Unidentified. Towcester has been suggested, Tunn-
caestir. but the suggestion has little to recommend it. Other suggestions
are Doncaster, and Littleborough on the Trent, D. C. B. iv. 1056;
but if Mr. Moberly’s note on ii. 16 is correct, Littleborough must
be appropriated to ‘Tiwulfingacaestir.’

litteras solutorias] This passage of Bede is the only instance of ‘Litterae
Solutoriae,’ this phrase given by Ducange. It indicates charms or incantations
written down and worn as amulets; cf. on c. 27. Ælfric translates
it: ‘þurh drycræft oððe þurh runstafum,’ ‘by witchcraft or by
runes’; u. s. p. 358.

p. 251. dignus . . . es morte] From this it would appear that joint re-
any member of an army, if captured, might be held liable by the sponsibility
relations of any man on the other side who had fallen in the
battle.

cognati] Possibly ‘brothers-in-law’; v. on i. 27, p. 50.
sororis Àedilthrydae] i.e. Sexburgh; cf. iii. 8; iv. 19, pp. 142,
244.
eiusdem reginae minister] ‘þære cwene þægn,’ ‘the queen’s
thane,’ AS. vers.

p. 252. uel . . . uel] ‘ge . . . ge,’ ‘both . . . and,’ AS. vers.
quia sacrificium . . . sempiternam] ‘sunt qui de leuioribus pec-
catis, quibus obligati defuncti sunt, post mortem possunt absolui;
uel poenis . . . castigati, uel suorum precibus, eleemosynis, missarum
celebrationibus absoluti,’ Opp. ix. 96; Introd. p. lxvi.
CHAPTER 23.

Strenaeshalc] v. on iii. 24.

XV. Kal. Dec.] Nov. 17; and this is her day in the calendar.

Nepos[cf. Nepotis] Nephew, not grandson; cf. on iii. 6. As Hild was sixty-six in 680, she would be thirteen in 627. Edwin was forty-two at that time. So that if ‘nepos’ meant grandson, Hild would only be twenty-nine years younger than her great-grandfather. Fl. Wig. has however fallen into this mistake, i. 254, 268, making Hereric son of Edwin’s son Eadfrid, ii. 14, 20. On the true view we must confess that we do not know the name of Hereric’s father; cf. Green, M. E. pp. 247, 248; Wülker, Glossaries, i. 173: ‘Nepos, suna sune, vel broder sune, vel suster sune, jaet is nefa,’ ‘nepos, son’s son, or brother’s son, or sister’s son, that is, nephew.’

p. 253. relicto habitu saeculari] In 647.

propinquæ regis illius] Because her sister Hereswith had married Ethelhere, brother and successor of Anna, who (Anna) at this time, 647, was king of the East Angles. Therefore Hereswith must have left her husband for the monastic life before his accession to the throne; and he seems to have married again; v. on ii. 15, iii. 18. The Lib. Eli. wrongly makes her wife of Anna, pp. 15, 25, 26, which has misled Smith on c. 19.

Cale] v. on iii. 8.

peregrinam . . . uitam] v. on iii. 19.

praefata prouincia] This refers to East Anglia, not to Gaul; for the phrase ‘proposito peregrinandi’ implies that the design was not carried out. It has, however, been understood the other way; v. Hardy, Cat. i. 285; by Lib. Eli. pp. 23, 24; and by Menard and Harpsfeld, cited by Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 444, who rightly understands it as meaning that she did not actually go to Gaul. So Smith and Stevenson.

unius familiae] Contrary to its usual practice, the AS. vers. does not translate familia by ‘hid,’ ‘hide;’ but by another derivative of the same root, viz: ‘hiwscipe.’

Heruteu] See on iii. 24.

Heiu] Cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 284, 285.

propositum] Cf. e. 24, p. 260, ‘monachicum suscipere propositum’; M.

Tadcaster. Kælœcaestir] Tadcaster. ‘The village of Healaugh, about three miles north of Tadcaster, is believed to mark the site of St. Heiu’s foundation, and possibly preserves her name’; Murray’s Yorkshire, p. 486, cited by M. ‘In the cemetery of that place
Mr. D. H. Haigh detected an ancient gravestone bearing Heuf's name'; D. C. B. iv. 879, and references there given.

p. 254. [aliquot annos] Eight; from 649 to 657, when Whitby was founded, two years after the battle of the Winwaed; v. iii. 24, notes.

omnibus ... communia] Bede is fond of quoting this com- unism of the Early Jerusalem Church; inf. c. 27, ad fin.; Opp. vii. 371; viii. 34, 377, 427; ix. 54, 249, 280. As to the rigour with which this rule was carried out in monasteries, see some curious references collected by M. & L., and Ep. ad Egb. §§ 16, 17, notes.

tantae autem ... inuenirent] For women as teachers in the church, cf. Bede on Ezra, ii. 65: 'bene autem cantoribus etiam cantatrices iunguntur propter sexum uidelicet foemineum, in quo plurimae reperientur personae, quae non solum uiendu, uerum etiam praedicando, corda proximorum ad laudem sui Creatoris accendant, et quasi suauitate sanctae uocis aedificantium templum Domini adiuuent laborem; ' Opp. viii. 378. Certainly 'the labour of those who built the temple of the Lord' in Britain was greatly helped by the work of women. Many of them, like Hild, were of royal or noble race, though none of them seem to have equalled her in influence outside their own monasteries. Such were Ebba, cc. 19, 25; Elfled, iii. 24, iv. 26; Ethelthryth, c. 19; Eanfled, iii. 24; and notes ad ill. Lappenberg sees in this position allowed to women a survival of the old Germanic feeling: 'inesse [feminis] sanctum aliquid et prouidum putant'; Tac. Germ. c. 8; Lapp. i. 188.

deh primo supra diximus] v. on c. 12, p. 229.

dec secundo ... Dorciccaestae] This appointment of Ætla to See of Dorchester is brought by Fl. Wig. i. 239, 240, into connexion with his theory of a general division of the Mercian diocese in 679, which, as we have seen, on c. 6, is beset with such great difficulties. The special difficulties here are: (i) that 'besides this [passage of Bede] there is no evidence of a see at Dorchester from the time when the West Saxen see was extinguished, to the time when that of Leiceste was transferred;' (ii) That there is no direct evidence that Dorchester was Mercian before the battle of Bensington, 777 A.D., permanently transferred that district to Mercia; H. & S. iii. 130. The solution favoured by H. & S. l. c., that Ætla is to be identified with Hædde, the Bishop of Wessex, who, according to popular views, transferred the West Saxen see from Dorchester, has little to recommend it: (i) Bede nowhere gives any hint of the identity. (ii) We have seen (on iii. 7), that the alleged transference of the West Saxen see from Dorchester to Winchester by Hædde is a myth. Dorchester ceased to exist as a bishop's see on the retire-
ment of Agilbert. Thus Hædde could not be spoken of as 'con-
secrated to the bishopric of Dorchester.' I am inclined to think
(i) that Dorchester really was Mercian about 679. Ethelred, who
attacked Kent and Northumbria so vigorously, iv. 12, 21, may
well have continued Wulfhere's policy of curtailing Wessex (see
on c. 13), and gained possession of Dorchester (cf. R. W. i. 140:
'processu temporis subacta ciuitate illa a regibus Merciorum'). (ii)
That he did set up Ætla as Mercian bishop of Dorchester, 675 x 685.
(iii) That Cædwalla, after his accession in 686, recovered this and
other districts belonging to Wessex (see on cc. 15, 16'. (iv) That,
consequently, the Mercian bishopric of Dorchester disappeared after a
very few years of existence. This would account (i) for the non-ap-
pearance of Ætla's name in any of the lists of bishops, which H. & S.,
u.s., regard as 'a circumstance extremely difficult to dispose of;' (ii)
the want of evidence for any see at Dorchester between the dates
named above. If this view is correct, the case (as H. & S. remark) is
not unlike that of Lindsey; cf. on iii. 11; iv. 12; Green, M. E. p. 343.

primus Hagustaldensis] See v. 2–6.

secundus] This is Wilfrid II; cf. v. 6, ad fin.
in utroque ... monasterio] Therefore Hartlepool as well as
Whitby must have been a double monastery, for men and women;
see on iii. 8.

p. 255. Romam ... aestimabatur] See on v. 7.

pronunciam Huicciorum] On the Hwiccas, cf. ii. 2, ad init. The
foundation of their bishopric (with the bishop's seat at Worcester)
is also brought by Fl. Wig. into connexion with the alleged
division of Mercia into five dioceses in 679; i. 239, 240. That the
diocese of the Hwiccas was founded about this time is certain, but
it seems impossible to fix the dates exactly. Offfor was conse-
erated after Wilfrid's second expulsion, and during the vacancy in
the see of Canterbury after Theodore's death, i.e. between 691 or
692 (see on v. 19), and Aug. 693; Fl. Wig. fixes it to 691; i. 42;
and says that he died in 692; ib. 43. This is, however, very doub-
tful; D. C. B. iv. 71. He certainly signs a genuine charter which
cannot be earlier than 693; K. C. D. No. 36; Birch, i. 121; H. & S.
iii. 232. He was succeeded by St. Egwin: 'de quo quid miraculi
sit quod Beda tacuerit, nondum per me potui aduertere uel per
alius addiscere; ' G. P. p. 296; Bright, p. 381.

Florence also seems to place Bosel's consecration in 680. This
is difficult to reconcile with Bede's statement that Tatfrid's
election (and therefore a fortiori Bosel's consecration) took place
'shortly before' (paulo ante) the election of Offfor. A charter of
Osric's, K. C. D. No. 12; Birch, i. 69, would, if genuine, throw
the date still further back, as it speaks of the see as already constituted in Nov. 676. But the charter, though not marked as spurious by Kemble, is suspicious, H. & S. iii. 129, and this line of argument throws yet further doubt on it. I am inclined to think that the charter was made up from this passage in Bede by someone who understood it to imply that Osric was sub-king of the Hwiccas when the see was constituted. Bede says nothing of the kind, but merely that Osric was reigning when Oftfor came to the Hwiccas, and as he remained there ‘multo tempore,’ there is nothing in Bede inconsistent with Florence’s account, i. 239, that Oshere was the sub-king under whom the see was founded. Florence, in his Chronicle, i. 37, places a grant by Oshere under the year 680, but this entry seems taken from the spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 17, Birch, i. 84; the forger may however have known the date of Oshere. There is a genuine charter of Oshere’s (cited above) not earlier than 693; and a son of Oshere is mentioned in a charter, K. C. D. No. 83; Birch, No. 157, of the date, 723 x 737.

I cannot believe in the identification of Osric of the Hwiccas with Osric of Northumbria, v. 23. Dr. Stubbs seems inclined to accept it, D. C. B. i. 72; iv. 161-2, though it is inconsistent with his own more probable suggestion, ib. ii. 16, that Osric of the Hwiccas was a son of the Eanfrid of the Hwiccas, mentioned in iv. 13; see on v. 23.

Uilfridum] v. on v. 19.

Cerdice] Perhaps the Ceretic whose death is mentioned in the Cerdice. Ann. Camb. at 616. As Hild was born in 614, the date would suit very well; cf. on ii. 14.


pio] ‘pitiful.’

ui r tus . . . perficeretur] Cf. supra, on c. 10.


communionis] ‘haere . . . gemænsumnesse Cristes lichoman 7 his blode,’ ‘the communion of Christ’s body and of his blood,’ AS. vers. ‘That . . . the laity received under both kinds from the foundation of the Church . . . to the twelfth century is admitted on all hands;’ D. C. A. i. 416.

mortem uidit] That her remains were translated to Glaston- and death, bury by King Edmund, G. P. p. 198; cf. W. M. i. 36, is only
part of the great Glastonbury myth; cf. Stubbs’ Dunstan, p. cxvi. Rudborne has another story, that Edmund brought them to Gloucester; Ang. Sac. i. 214.

Hackness.  

p. 257. Hacanos] Hackness, thirteen miles from Whitby, as Bede himself says below; cf. Murray’s Yorkshire, p. 179.

Begu.  

Begu] She is not to be confounded, as is often done, with Heiu (supra), or with the very mythical Irish saint Bega, whose name is preserved in St. Bees; see additional critical notes.

pausans] See on c. 9.

Bells.  

notum campanae sonum] Cf. Introd. p. xxvii. For the use of bells in monasteries, see the references collected by M. & L.

aspexit ... lucem] See on iii. 8.

Prioress.  

quae tunc ... praefuit] ‘was Hilde gingre,’ ‘was Hild’s junior, or deputy,’ AS. vers.; i.e. prioress. Thus in Alfred’s Laws, 38, § 2, ‘cyninges ealdormaness gingra,’ ‘the king’s alderman’s deputy.’

psalmis] See on iii. 5.

p. 258. priusquam ... cognouisset] This, as Bright, p. 323, remarks, seems hardly consistent with the account of Hild’s last communion; ‘areessitis ... monasterio;’ supra. Bede only introduces the story with ‘ferunt.’ The whole paragraph is omitted by the AS. vers.

ubi nuper, &c.] i.e. the cell of the novices; Introd. p. xxvi.

conuersationem] ‘Conuersatio’ must here be used in the technical sense of the monastic life; cf. ‘monachica conuersatio,’ a little above, p. 257. Ducange gives no instance of this meaning. ‘Conuersio’ is often used of entry into a monastery; cf. c. 5, p. 216: ‘monachi ... tempore suae conversionis.’ We have even such phrases as ‘conuersionem intrare;’ Ducange, s. v. We might be inclined to suggest ‘conuersionem’ here; and so several later MSS.

CHAPTER 24.

I confine the notes on this chapter to the illustration of Bede’s text. Some account of the critical questions which centre round the name of Caedmon will be given in a separate note.

pietati] ‘Pietas,’ is here of course ‘piety,’ not ‘pity’ as so often in Bede.

p. 259. cantare], ‘be hearpian singan,’ ‘to sing to the harp.’ AS. vers. This was the national instrument of our forefathers. Harpers however seem sometimes to have been imported from the Continent. Cuthbert, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, writes to Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz: ‘delectat me quoque citharistam habere, qui possit citharizare in cithara, quam nos appellantus.
Notes.

249
rottae [v. Ducange, s. v. rocta] quia eitharam habeo, et artificioe
non habeo;’ Mon. Mog. p. 302. Alcuin would not have approved
of this introduction of the harper into the cloister. He writes in
797 to Higbald, Bishop of Lindisfarne: ‘uerba Dei legantur in sacer-
dotali conuiuio. Ibi decet lectorem audiri, non eitharistam;
sermones patrum, non carmina gentilium. Quid Hiniel dus [v.
Haupt, Zeitschr. für deutsches Alterthum, x v. 314] cum Christo?
. . . Non uult rex coelestis cum paganis et perditis nomine tenus
regibus communionem habere;’ Mon. Alc. p. 357. It was to
gratify the national love for poetry and song that poets like
Caedmon and his successors wrote poems on Christian subjects;
Caedmon, while by other hands materials, originally mythical and heathen,
were worked up, as in the Beowulf, into a form not inconsistent
with Christianity. Of the former mode of procedure an interesting
instance is that of the monk Otfried of Weissenburg, who, in the Otfried.
ninth century, translated the Gospels into German verse; cf. his
letter to Liutbert, Archbishop of Mainz: ‘Dum rerum . . . sonus
inutilium pulsaret aures quorundam . . . uiorum, erorumque
sanctitatem laicorum cantus inquietaret obscenus, a quibusdam . . .
fratribus rogatus [sum], maximeque cuiusdam uenerandae matronae
uebris nimium flagitantis, nomine Judith, [ut] partem euangeliorum
eis Theotisce conscriberem [cf. ‘Franzisee compositam,’ later in
the letter; ‘in frenkisga zungun in the poem itself]; ut aliquan-
tulum huius cantus lectionis ludum secularium uocem deleret, et
in euangeliorum propria lingua occupati dulcedine, sonum inutili-
ium rerum nouerint declinare’; Mon. Mog. p. 328 (the whole
letter is most interesting). The ‘matrona Judith,’ has been Judith,
identified by some with the daughter of Charles the Bald, who in
856 married Ethelwulf of England and afterwards his son Ethel-
bald. For the same princess Professor Cook supposes that the
Anglo-Saxon poem of Judith was composed (see his edition, pp.
xxviii. ff.). Both theories must be regarded as very uncertain; but
both are very suggestive, and of great interest to English readers.

nomine Caedmon] The name has been explained to mean ‘boat. The name
man’ from ‘caed,’ ‘a boat’; and in a seaside place like Whitby
this may well have been a common appellation. This is at any
rate a more probable etymology than the Chaldæan one which
Palgrave proposes, Archaeologia, xxiv. 342; cf. Wülker, Grundriss,
p. 117.

nunc laudare . . . creauit] On the Saxon verses corresponding
to this Latin, which are found in some MSS., see the separate note A.

p. 260. non autem ordo] Each language has of course its own
peculiarities in the arrangement of words in a sentence; here, poems.
however, there are special causes of divergence due to the transpositions of words necessitated by the laws of alliterative poetry.

neque enim possunt . . . transferri] Dante, in his own positive way, has said the same: 'nulla cosa per legame musaeico armonnizzata si può della sua loquela in altra trasmutare, senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza e armonia,' 'nothing that is harmonised by poetical connexion can be changed from its own language to another, without destroying all its harmony and sweetness': Convito, i. 7.

ad ulilium . . . praeerat] 'to ἑαμ túngerefan ἣ his ealdormon wæs,' 'to the townreeve who was his superior,' AS. vers.


quasi . . . ruminando] This metaphor, based on Lev. xi. 3, Deut. xiv. 6, is a very favourite one with Bede: e.g. 'haec [mysteria] quasi munda animalia nunc oris locutione ruminanda, nunc cordis penetrabilis retractanda seruemus;' Opp. v. 31; cf. ib. 13; vii. 35, 354; viii. 32, 340; ix. 109, 348, 358; x. 340; xii. 47.

p. 261. genesis] 'hæt is seo æreste Moyeses booce,' 'that is the first book of Moses,' inserts AS. vers.

sacrae scripturæ] 'hæs halgan gewrites canones boca,' 'of the books of the canon of holy writ,' AS. vers.

erat enim . . . accensus] Cf. the character of Lazarus in Browning's, Karshish:

'Thus is the man as harmless as a lamb;
Only impatient, let him do his best,
At ignorance and carelessness and sin—
An indignation which is promptly curbed.'

casa, in qua . . . solebant] v. Introd. p. xxvii; 'untrumra monna hus,' 'a house for the sick,' AS. vers.

si eucharistiam . . . haberent] 'husl,' 'housel,' AS. vers. The practice of the early Church seems to have been somewhat lax in regard to the reservation of the Sacrament; and in times of persecution greater liberty was necessary, in order that in sudden emergencies the faithful might be able to communicate. The abuses which grew out of this liberty led to its restriction. Exception was always made in favour of the sick, and this exception was retained in our own Church in the first prayer-book of Edward VI (1549), though it was abolished by the second (1552). Here it would seem that the reserved Sacrament was kept in the infirmary of the monastery, so as to be ready in case of any of the inmates becoming suddenly worse; cf. sup. c. 14, p. 235; Bright, pp. 278, 279, 344.

p. 262. placidam ego . . . gero] The AS. vers. is very simple
and beautiful here: ‘mine broðor mine þa leofan, ic com swiþe Anglo-bliðemod to eow 7 to callun Godes monnum,' ‘my brothers, my dear ones, I am in very friendly mood towards you and towards all God’s men.’


reclinuit . . . finiuit] Cf. the beautiful and most touching Death of account of Bishop Thorlak’s death; Orig. Island. i. 498. Cf. also Cædmon the account of Wilfrid’s death; Eddius, c. 64.§

uitam finiuit] The death of Cædmon is often placed in 680 (e. g. Date. by Thorpe, Cædmon, p. xxix; Bouterwek, p. cexxvi; Wülker, Grundriss, p. 116), but for this there is absolutely no evidence, except the fact that the narrative of his death in Bede follows on that of Hild, which does belong to that year; but this, in the case of a writer like Bede, is a most unsafe ground to argue upon. The all-devouring Glastonbury has annexed the bones of Cædmon also; G. P. p. 254.

CHAPTER 24. NOTE A.

At the end of the Moore MS., in a hand different from, but Cædmon’s nearly contemporary with, the hand which wrote the bulk of the MS., occurs the following:

‘Nu scylun hergen hebaen ricaes uard
metudæs maecti end his modgidanc
uerc uuldur fadur sue he uundra gihuæs
eci drictin1 or astelidæ
he aerist scop æelda barnum
heben til hrofe haleg sepen.
tho middun2 geard moneynnaes uard
eci dryctin æfter tiadæ
firum fold’u’ frea allmectig.’

1 The scribe at first wrote n for c, dryctin M2.
2 The scribe at first wrote min.
This version is Northumbrian. The hymn occurs on the margin of iv. 24, in other MSS., in a West-Saxon form. The oldest of these MSS. that I have examined is W., where it runs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{Nu we}} & \text{\textit{scolon}} \text{\textit{herian}} \text{\textit{heofonríccs we}}[\text{\textit{ard}}] ^4 \\
\text{\textit{metoddes}} & \text{\textit{mihte}} ^6 \text{\textit{7 hi}}[\text{s}] \text{\textit{modegépánc}} \\
\text{\textit{weorc}} & \text{\textit{wu}}\text{[l]}\text{\textit{dor}} ^8 \text{\textit{feeder swa we wu}}[\text{n}] \text{\textit{dra gehwile}} ^9 \\
\text{\textit{ece}} & \text{\textit{dírhten}} \text{\textit{word}} ^{11} \text{\textit{astealde}} \\
\text{\textit{he}} & ^{12} \text{\textit{[æ]rest}} ^{13} \text{\textit{gescop}} ^{14} \text{\textit{ylda}} ^{15} \text{\textit{[bear]num}} \\
\text{\textit{heofon}} & \text{\textit{to rofe}} ^{16} \text{\textit{[halig] scippend}} ^{17} \\
\text{\textit{middan}} & \text{\textit{car[de]}} ^{18} \text{\textit{mann cynnes}} ^{19} \text{\textit{weard}} \\
\text{\textit{ece}} & \text{\textit{dírhten æfter tida}} ^{20} \\
\text{\textit{fyrum}} & ^{21} \text{\textit{on}} ^{22} \text{\textit{foldum}} ^{23} \text{\textit{frea calmihti}} ^{21}.
\end{align*}
\]

It also occurs in a closely-allied form in the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede. The variations are given below in the critical notes, with the signature Ælf. (for Ælfréd). The close connexion of Ælf. and O₃ should be noted. Evidently the scribe or corrector of O₃ simply copied from a MS. of the AS. vers.

There can be no doubt: (i) that the Northumbrian and West-Saxon versions are too much alike to be independent of one another. (ii) That the Northumbrian version is very much older than any of the West-Saxon versions. (iii) That being Northumbrian it is more likely to represent what Caedmon actually sang than any of the others. (The transference of poems from one dialect to another is a common feature of AS. literature; cf. Wülker, Grundriss, p. 115.) (iv) That being extant in a MS. not much later than the date of Bede’s death, the Northumbrian version must represent what was believed in his time to be a genuine work of Caedmon. The greater number of critics have accepted it as genuine, though some few have regarded it as a mere retranslation of Bede’s Latin; cf. Wülker, pp. 117–120. The resemblance between this hymn and the opening lines of the biblical poems which commonly go by the name of Caedmon, is too vague and general to form an argument either for the genuineness of the hymn, or for the authorship of the poems. See the following note.

1 we om. Ælf. 2 secolon O₃, sculun O₁₄. 3 heri- repeated and underlined MS.; herigean Ælf. 4 MS. defective here and elsewhere.
5 metudes O₁, O₂, O₁₃, O₁₇. 6 myhte O₁, michte O₁₄, meahте Ælf. 7 wnrce O₁, O₇. 8 wulder O₃. 9 gehwas O₅, Ælf.; gehwylc O₁₄. 10 eche O₁₄. 11 ord O₁, O₁₁, O₁₇; or Ælf.; word astealde om. O₃; astealde O₁₇. 12 he O₅. 13 ærust O₁₄. 14 gecsequ O₁; sceop O₃, Ælf. 15 corde O₃. 16 hrofe O₁, O₃, O₁₁, Ælf. 17 scippend O₁, O₃, O₁₄, O₁₇, Ælf.; O₃ puts these two words at the end after ‘frea calmihti.’ 18 -geard O₇; ja middangeard O₃, Ælf. 19 man- O₁, O₁₇; mon- O₃; -kynnes O₁₄. 20 teode O₃, Ælf. 21 frirum O₁, O₁₁, O₁₇. 22 on om. Ælf. 2₃ folden O₃; foldan Ælf. 2₄ calmihtag O₁, O₃, O₁₄, O₁₇, Ælf.
CHAPTER 24. NOTE B.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford there exists a unique MS. (Junius xi) which contains four poems, or parts of poems, on biblical subjects. Of these the first three are based on Old Testament themes, Genesis, Exodus, Daniel; while the fourth is founded on the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus. This last is however in a different hand from the rest, and is generally admitted to stand on a different footing; it may therefore be left out of the discussion. Junius, who received this MS. as a present from Archbishop Ussher, first published these poems in 1655. Other editions are: Thorpe, 1832; Bouterwek, 1851–1854; and Grein, in his Bibliothek, 1857 (now in course of republication by Wülker). Junius attributed these poems to Cædmon, mainly on the ground of the similarity of their subjects to those on which Cædmon is said by Bede to have written. And this attribution though not uncontested, was on the whole accepted until comparatively recent times. That the dialect of the poems is not Northumbrian is not in itself sufficient to disprove the authorship of Cædmon; for we have seen that the transference of poems from one dialect to another was not uncommon. But it must be confessed that there is no evidence, beyond the similarity of subject, to connect these poems with Cædmon; nor is there any evidence, beyond their occurrence in the same volume, to connect them with one another as the work of the same poet. It is possible, if not probable, that all the three poems are by different authors. Nor can we exclude the possibility of modifications and additions by later hands as the poems passed from mouth to mouth, and from dialect to dialect. The individual poet counted for little in those days. He was, as Ten Brink has finely said, only a ripple on the stream of the popular poetry (in Wülker, p. 114). Hence the number of anonymous early poems. The attempt however to separate these later additions, though one to which German critics are extremely partial, is as a rule a hopeless one, and rests on grounds too subjective and arbitrary to carry assurance to any except the particular critic himself, who has often assurance enough and to spare. One such addition however has been proved to exist by arguments which rest on strong objective grounds. Sievers has shown conclusively in his monograph, Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis (1875), that the account of the fall of the angels and of the fall of man (Genesis, vv. 246–851) is based on an Old-Saxon original, now lost, nearly related to, or (as Sievers maintains) by the actual author of the
Old-Saxon poem known as the Heliand. If the second part of Sievers' theory were as certain as the first, this would give us a *terminus a quo* for dating the Anglo-Saxon Genesis, for Windisch has shown incontestably that the Heliand is under large obligations to Rhabanus Maurus' commentary on St. Matthew, which was written in the year 820 or 821. But the weak point about this second part of Sievers' theory is that we have no remains of Old-Saxon poetry except the Heliand, and therefore we cannot certainly tell how far the points in which the Genesis resembles the Heliand were peculiar to the author of the latter, or were common characteristics of Old-Saxon poetry; cf. Wülker, pp. 127, 128. And whatever the obligations of the Anglo-Saxon poem to the poetry of the old country, the possibility is not excluded that both may be products of the impulse given by the cowherd bard of Whitby in earlier days; especially if we remember the ecclesiastical intercourse between the two countries from the days of St. Boniface onwards, and the sense of their common origin which survived in the insular and continental Saxons; see on v. 9. On the other hand similar needs and circumstances call forth similar effects; and the Old-Saxon bard may have been led quite independently to use his gift of song to bring nearer to the hearts of his own people the knowledge of that Saviour, Whom it was his mission to preach (cf. the case of Otfried, cited above). Whether, in the one point at which the two cycles of poetry touch, the contact was due to an Anglo-Saxon bard translating from the Old-Saxon, as Sievers thinks, or to an Old-Saxon who settled in Britain, as Ten Brink opines, can never be known. On the whole then we must conclude that, with the exception of the hymn given above, there is nothing that we can, with any degree of certainty, suppose to be the actual work of Caedmon himself. On the other hand, the poems which we do possess, may well enough be due to the impulse which he first gave, and be the work of disciples like those who, as Bede testifies, imitated, without attaining, the master's skill.

CHAPTER 24. NOTE C.

The story of poets receiving poetical inspiration supernaturally in a dream or vision is a very ancient one. It is told e.g. of Hesiod; Tzetzes' account is as follows: 

*συνέβαινε τῶν Ἡσίου τούτων ἄριστον ἐν τῷ Ἐλικώνι ποιμαίνειν. φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἔννεα τινὲς ἐλεόσαι γυναῖκες, καὶ δρεφάμεναι κλώνας δάφνης ἐλικώνιτίδος αὐτῷ ἐπεσίτισαν, καὶ οὕτω σοφίας*
Notes.

The author of the Heliand.

\[\text{Cf. Bede : 'ad \ldots appetitum sunt uitae caelestis accensi,' p. 259.}\]

\[\text{Cf. Bede : 'in modulationem carminis transferre,' p. 260.}\]

\[\text{Cf. Bede : 'canebat \ldots de creatione mundi,' ib.}\]
intelligentibus non minimam sui decoris dulcedinem praestet.] Iuxta morem uero illius poematis omne opus per uitteas distinxit, quas nos lectiones uel sententias possumus appellare.

'Ferunt eundem Vatem dum adhuc artis huius penitus esset ignarnus, in somnis esse admonitionem, ut sacrae legis praecipite ad cantilenam propriae linguae congrua modulacione coaptaret. Quam admonitionem nemo ueram esse ambigit, qui huius carminis notitiam, studiumque eius compositoris atque desiderii anhelationem habuerit. Tanta namque copia uerborum, tantaeque excellencia sensuum resplendet, ut cuncta Theudisca poemata suo uincat decore. Clare quidem pronunciatione sed clarius intellectu lucet. Sic nimirum omnis diuina agit scriptura. Vt quanto quis eam ardentius appetat, tanto magis eor inquirentis quadam dulcedinis suavitate demulceat. Vt uero studiosi lectoris intentio facilius quaeque, ut gesta sunt, possit inuenire, singulis sententiis iuxta quod ratio huius operis postularat, capitula annotata sunt.'

This 'praefatio' is followed by certain 'Versus de poeta,' of which the following are the most important:

'iuuenos...
Laetus et attonitus larga pasebat in herba,
Cumque fatigatus patulo sub tegmine, fessa
Conuictus somno tradidisset membra quieto:
Mox diuina polo resonans uox labitur alto,
O quid agis, Vates, cur cantus tempora perdis?
Incipe diuinas recitare ex ordine leges,
Transferre in propriam clarissima dogmata linguam.
Nec mora post tanti fuerat miracula dicti
Qui prius agricola, mox et fuit ille poeta.

No MS. authority for these pieces has ever been discovered. They were printed first by Flacius Illyricus in 1562 in the second edition of his Catalogus testium ueritatis, pp. 93, 94; p. 1035 of the ed. of 1608; and have been reprinted frequently since, e.g. in Bouquet, vi. 256, and in Sievers' Heliand, pp. 3–6. That they are not sixteenth-century forgeries (as J. W. Schulte maintained, Zeitschr. f. deutsche Phil. iv. 49 ff.), is shown in the case of the prose.

1 Cf. Bede: 'carmina... decoris ac dignitatis,' p. 260.
3 Cf. Bede: 'adstitit ei quidam per somnium,' ib.
as Sievers points out, Heliand, p. xxv, by the use of the word 
\textit{uittea} = AS. \textit{fit}, \textit{fitt}, ME. \textit{fitte}, a song or poem; which no renaissance 
scholar could have hit upon; while had any such written the 
verses, they would have been more classical.

These pieces have always been understood as referring to the 
Old-Saxon poem of the Heliand, to which allusion has already been 
made. How far they give a true account of its origin need not be 
discussed here. I would however say that I cannot see that strong 
contradiction which Sievers and others find between the first and 
second parts of the \textit{praefatio}. The subject suggested by the 
incident, whatever it was, which first revealed to the Heliand 
bard his poetic powers, may have been afterwards executed under 
empiral orders; just as Caedmon is represented as using the 
materials supplied him by his teachers for the execution of the 
task which was laid upon him in his dream; and the foot-notes 
will show that points of contact with Bede's narrative occur in the 
earlier part of the Preface, as well as in the later. This view of 
Sievers' necessitates the further assumption of interpolations in 
the earlier part of the Preface. I have indicated by brackets the 
portions which Sievers and others believe to be interpolated. It is 
possible that this may be so in some cases; but I have no great 
faith in these arbitrary excisions, based on no external authority 
or evidence. It is true that some of the sentences are clumsy; 
that others exhibit traces of repetition; but these are phenomena 
which occur even in the writings of German critics. One sentence 
\textit{(nimirum \ldots prius')} implies the view taken above that there is 
no necessary inconsistency between the first and second part of 
the preface, and therefore must of course be excised. It should be 
noted that the statement that the Heliand bard was originally 
a herdsman occurs only in the verses and not in the prose preface. 
Clearly the verses have been much more influenced by the Caedmon 
story than the prose; though the possibility that the latter has 
also been influenced by it to some extent cannot be excluded. 
And this possibility diminishes somewhat the interest of the 
parallel, which if it were wholly independent would be extremely 
great. The statement that the poet began his work \textit{a mundi 
creatione,' lends some slight support to Sievers' view that he was 
the actual author of the Old-Saxon poem on which is based the 
interpolated passage in the Anglo-Saxon Genesis.

The story of Caedmon and others like it rest on two truths; 
the first, that poetry, like \textit{'every good and perfect gift,' is 'from 
above'}; the second, that in moments of heightened feeling, when 
\textit{'We feel that we are greater than we know,'}
men acquire, or at any rate first become conscious of, the possession of powers previously dormant or non-existent. That some such moment occurred in the life of Caedmon we need not hesitate to believe; though the record of it may have taken on some legendary features. At any rate we shall not seek with Palgrave to get rid of his personality altogether by means of a Chaldaean etymology.

CHAPTER 25.

P. 262. monasterium uirginum) It is, however, evident from what follows that it was a double monastery of monks and nuns; and so it is expressly described by S. D. i. 59: 'erant siquidem in eodem loco, diuersis tamen separatae mansionibus, monachorum sanctimonialiumque congregationes, qui paulatim a regularis discipline statui defluentes inhonesta iniuici familiaritate decipiendi occasionem inimico praebuerant.' To these disorders S. D. traces the exclusion of women from Cuthbertine churches. Other and still more mythical explanations are given in the so-called Irish Life of St. Cuthbert; Misc. Biogr. pp. 83 ff., on which life, v.s. The fact is that the rule is Columbite, and not specially Cuthbertine.

Coludi Urbem] Coldingham. See on c. 19.

per culpam incuriae] Cf. Sax. Chron. E. 679: 'Her... Coludes burh forbarn mid godeuandum fyre,' 'Here Coldingham was burnt with heaven-sent fire.' This is improving a little on Bede; though the whole course of his narrative implies that the fire, if caused proximately by human carelessness, was a divine punishment for guilt. On the frequency of fires, cf. on ii. 14. This very phrase occurs ii. 7, p. 94; Vit. Cudb. c. 14. The date given in the Sax. Chron. must be wrong, as Bede clearly implies that the disaster did not take place till after Ebba's death, and we have seen that she was alive in 681. See on c. 19.

p. 263. Adamnanus) The four Masters, sub. ann. 703, confuse this Adamnan with the abbot of Iona, who was the biographer of St. Columba.

die dominica et quinta] Sunday was of course a festal day because of the Resurrection, Thursday because of the Ascension. Cf. AA. SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salm. col. 408: 'angelus Domini ad sanctum Fintanum salutandum duobus in ebdomade diebus semper uniebat, seilicet die dominica et quinta.'

triduanum] v.s. on ii. 2.


udi adstantem mihi, &c.) A somewhat similar story is told of Alcuin's monastery at Tours: 'In dormitório beati Martini duo
Angeli ingressi sunt, unus extendebat indicem; alter monachum, quem ille ostendebat, percutiebat. Unus solus uigilans cuasit.... Monachi illi.... nimiis deliciosi uiebant, et sericis induebantur uestibus; calciamenta erant uiteri coloris; Bouquet, v. 380.

p. 265. domunculae] The monastery would seem to have been built in the Irish fashion; an enclosure with the church and other public buildings standing up ('sublimiter erecta,' sup. p. 264) in the centre, and round about them the lodgings of the community, detached huts, probably of wattle or wood. And these Irish monasteries seem to have been built very much on the model of the Eastern Lauras—clusters or avenues of cells round the conventual buildings; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 360; D. C. A. i. 329; ii. 1239, 1240.

comessationum, &c.] Quicunque abrenuiciato uinculo coniugali uirginitatem suam Domino consecrauerint, mores simul optotet uirginitati condignos ostendere. Abstineant ab otius eloquis, ira, rixa, detractione, habitu impudico, comessationibus, potationibus, contentione, et aemulatione; et e contrario uigilis sanctis, orationibus, lectionibus divinis, et psalmis, doctrinac et cleemosynis, caeterisque Spiritus fructibus operam impendant, ut qui futurae statum uitae in professione tenent, in qua non nubent, neque nubentur, sed sunt sicut angeli Dei in coelo;' Opp. viii. 282. The language of the Council of Clovesho, 747 a. d., is strikingly like Bede's: 'non sint sanctimonialium domicilia turpium confabulationum, commessationum, ebrietatem, luxuriantiumque cubilia;... magisque... canendis psalmis, quam texendis et plectendis uario colore inanis gloriae uestibus studeant operam dare,' c. 20; H. & S. iii. 369; cf. ib. 374. Cf. also D. C. A. i. 1413, and Alcuin's exhortations to the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth, of Lindisfarne, and of Hexham; Mon. Alc. pp. 190-193, 197 ff; 374, 375.


... existimet in luxu atque studio uestium peccatum deesse, qui si hoc culpa non esset, nullo modo Ioannem Dominum de uestimentis sui asperitate laudasset;' Opp. xi. 47. (This comes ultimately from St. Gregory, and is quoted also by Aldhelm, Opp, p. 74). So Bede on 1 Pet. iii. 3: 'quia, sicut Cyprianus ait, sericum et purpuram indutae Christum induere non possunt;' Opp. xii. 224; cf. xi. 166. The complaints as to excess of apparel in monasteries are extraordinarily frequent. Compare, besides the passages already quoted, Mon. Alc. pp. 180-184, 331-336, 366-369, 676-618 = H. & S. iii. 494, 502, 520, 532. Aldhelm, Opp. p. 77, gives a most curios account of the extravagances of dress in his time.

p. 266. compresbyter] So 'conleuita,' 'fellow-deacon'; Opp. vi. 78. ob desolationem] i.e. after the fire.
CHAPTER 26.

Ecgfrid rex . . . Hibernam . . . uastuit] The motive of this invasion is not clear. It may have been mere ambition, the desire of Ecgfrid to extend his overlordship over the Scots of Ireland, as well as over their kinsmen in Britain. Skene thinks that he wished to prevent the former from helping the latter to throw off the Northumbrian yoke, C. S. i. 265; so, practically, Green, M. E. p. 378; while Rhys suggests that he suspected the Irish of helping the Picts, C. B. pp. 171, 172. Moherly, following Stevenson, thinks that it was connected with the harbouring of Aldfrid among the Irish. But though Aldfrid may have been in Ireland during part of his exile, he was certainly at this time in Iona; see below. Whatever the motive, Bede clearly regards it as an unjust aggression. The Irish Annals naturally mention this invasion; e.g. Ann. Ult. 684: 'Saxones campum Breg uastant, et ecclesias plurimas in mense Iuni.' 'Campus Breg,' in Irish Magh Bregh, was 'in the east portion of ancient Meath. In after times the name was applied to the extensive tract of country reaching from Dublin northwards to near Dundalk, and north-westwards to the Fews Mountains;' Rs. Ad. p. 74.

pietatis] 'pity,' so that 'impietatis' below probably means 'cruelty,' though the sense of 'impiety' would also suit well.

implicationibus] Drs. Reeves (Ad. p. lxxvii) and Bright (p. 330) have both called attention to the fondness of the Irish saints for this weapon. It would be easy to add largely to the references which they have given. The frequency with which Irish saints distribute curses both temporal and eternal, is indeed remarkable in persons with a reputation for holiness. There is a regular technical name in Irish, fúchada (lit. 'leavings'), for the blessings or curses left by Irish saints to particular families or territories; Three Fragments, p. 126. For alleged fulfilments of these particular curses see H. H. p. 109; R. W. i. 196; and Notes to Sax. Chron. 699 E.

Pictorum prouinciam] On the probable course taken by Ecgfrid's invasion see S. C. S. i. 266. At the beginning of Ecgfrid's reign, before his separation from Ethelthryth, the Picts, 'populi bestiales Pictorum,' had tried to throw off the 'Saxon' yoke, but unsuccessfully: 'et in seruitutem redacti populi usque ad diem occasionis regis captiuitatis iugo subiecti iacebant;' Eddius, c. 19; cf. Eadmer's Life of Wilfrid, cc. 20, 21. But after his quarrel with Wilfrid all went wrong with Ecgfrid, Eddius, c. 24; cf. on c. 12.

Cudbercto] On him c. cc. 27-32. A year before he was said to
have prophesied the death of Egfrid to his sister Elfrid; Baed. Vit. Cudb. c. 24; Vit. Anon. § 28. At the time of Egfrid’s death he was with the queen Eormen burg at Carlisle, and received a revelation of the issue of the fray; Baed. Vit. Cudb. c. 27; Vit. Anon. § 37. Eormen burg, after the death of Egfrid, took the veil, ‘de lupa post occisionem regis, agua Dei, et perfecta abbatissa, materque familiae optima commutata;’ Eddius, c. 24. There is an extraordinary story in Eadmer’s life of Wilfrid, c. 43, how that Wilfrid, while celebrating mass in Sussex, not merely saw the death of Egfrid, but saw his soul carried off to hell by two evil spirits. In c. 57 he adds this: ‘illud quod dixi de damnatione regis Egfridi fateor nusquam legi; sed tot talcases uiri id ita se habuisse confirmant, ut eis nolle credere magnae impudentiae esse crediderim.’

The Irish annals mention this battle also; e.g. Ann. Ult. 685, Bellum Duin Nechtain xxmo die mensi Maii, sabbati die factum est, in quo Ethrith [Ecfirth] mac Osu rex Saxorum, xvmo anno regni sui consummato, magna cum catervae militiae suorum interfecit est;’ Tigh, adds, ‘la [per] Bruidi mac Bili regis Fortrenn.’ May 20 was a Saturday in 685. S. D. i. 32 says: ‘Rex Egfridus . . . extinctus est apud Nechtanemere, quod est stagnum Nechtani, die xiii. Kal. Iuniarum, anno regni sui xv, cuius corpus in Hi, insula Columbae, sepultum est’ ‘Dún Nechtain,’ ‘Nechtan’s fort’ is Dunnichen near Forfar, called Dunnechtyn in a charter of William the Lion. ‘Nechtan’s Mere’ is Dunnichen Moss; Rs. Ad. pp. 186, 187. The Sax. Chron. E. 685 says that Egfrid fell ‘be norðan see,’ ‘to the North of the Sea,’ i.e. of the Forth. Nennius, § 57, calls the battle: ‘Gueith Linn Garan,’ i.e. ‘Fight of the pool of Garan.’ He also says: ‘Echfrid . . . fecit bellum contra fratruelim suum, qui erat rex Pictorum, nomine Birdei [= Brude mac Bili], et ibi corruit cum omni robore exercitus sui.’ The relationship indicated by ‘fratruelis’ (itself a vague word, v. Ducange) is here very vague. Brude mac Bili seems to have succeeded according to the Pictish law of succession in right of his mother, a daughter of Talorg, son of Eanfrid, Óswy’s eldest brother; see on iii. 1; P. & S. p. cxxi. Thus he was Egfrid’s first cousin twice removed. He died in 692; Ann. Ult.

p. 267. regni . . . XV.] See on c. 5.

Scottiam] Ireland, as always in Bede.

nam et Picti, &c.] Nennius u. s. says: ‘et nunquam addiderunt Inroads of Saxones ambrorum [? Humbronum = Hymbronensium; c. 17, supra; the Picts. cf. Nenn. § 63, where this also yields a good sense, and where one MS. gives the absurd gloss: id est, Ald Saxonum] ut a Pictis ucetigal exigerent.’ Capgrave, in his life of Wilfrid, H. Y. i. 593,
says: 'expulsi . . . sunt Angli de prouincia illa, et pars regni Berniciorum a mari Scotorum (the Forth) usque Twedam, usque tunc regibus Northanhumbrorum subiecta, omnino ablata est, nec usque ad nostram aetatem in statum pristinum et subiectionem, occulto Dei aduersante iudicio, redigi potuit.' But this is a transference to 685 of a later state of things. The frontier probably remained at the Forth, but much exposed to inroads of the Picts, so that Bishop Trumwine had to fly, and a small body of nuns, 'timore barbarici exercitus,' took refuge in Cuthbert's diocese; Vit. Cudb. c. 30. Sig. Gembl. sums up the situation thus: 'Picti, Scotti, et Brittones Anglos nimis premunt, et libertate . . . recepta, multam Angliae partem inuadunt;' Pertz, vi. 327.

**per annos . . . XLVI**] i.e. Bede wrote about 737.

**Aebbercurnig**] See on i. 12. H.H. calls Trumwine 'abbas Eberecurni,' p. 106.

**Anglorum terras Pictorumque**] This refers to the limits of the territories (terras) of the two powers, and does not exclude the possibility that elements of both populations may have coexisted on either side of the Forth; cf. P. & S. p. evii; S. C. S. i. 133; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 112.

**eosque . . . commendans**] So in later times, owing to the incursions of the Scots, the archbishop of York had frequently to beg shelter for the Augustinian canons of Hexham in other religious houses; Raine's Hexham, I. lxxxvi, xcii f.

**conditus est**] His remains also were absorbed by Glastonbury; G. P. p. 254.

**Aelbfled, una cum matre Eanflede**] In many Irish monasteries a system of clanship prevailed, and the abbacy and other chief offices were as a rule in the hands of members of the founder's clan. In some cases this clan system developed into strict hereditary succession; the result of which was the practical alienation of the endowments from ecclesiastical uses; Rs. Ad. pp. lxxiii. 84, 113, 335, 336, 342; cf. Maine, Early Institutions, p. 238. Nothing answering to the Irish clan system ever prevailed in English monasteries; but there are indications of a tendency to something like hereditary succession. Benedict Biscop cautions the monks of Wearmouth against electing an abbot 'secundum genus;' Hist. Abb. § 11; 'iuxta successionem generis;' Hist. Anon. Abb. § 16. Here we have Eanfled and her daughter Elfled ruling Whitby (cf. App. I. § 18, and a similar case in Mon. Mog. pp. 66 ff.); in v. 3 we are told of Cwenburg, daughter of Hereburg, Abbess of Vetadun (Watton), that the latter 'abbatissam eam pro se facere disposuerat.' Moreover the letter to Egbert, § 12, complains that men
emunt sibi sub praeltextu construendorum monasteriorum territoria, ... et haec ... in ius sibi haereditarium regalibus edictis faciunt ascribi.' An instance of one of these hereditary monasteries occurs in a charter given in H. & S. iii. 337, 338; K. C. D. No. 82; Birch, i. 225, 226. Other cases are quoted S. C. H. i. 223–225; cf. also H. & S. iii. 408. We have brothers succeeding one another, S. D. i. 281, 282.

quarum ... mentionem] iii. 24, p. 179, q. v.

p. 268. Aldfrid] In Vit. Cudb. c. 24, Bede speaks much as here Aldfrid. 'qui ferebatur filiusuisse [Osuiu];' but lower in the same chapter, and in Vita Metr. c. 21, he calls him Egfrid's 'frater nothus;' cf. Ælfric, Hom. ed. Thorpe, ii. 148: 'eyfesbore.' A year before, Cuthbert had foretold his succession: 'et tunc in insulis Scottorum ob studium literarum exsilubat.' Vita Cudb. u. s. The Vita Anon. § 28, says more definitely: 'tunc erat in insula quam Hy nominant.' He had been for some time an exile: 'non paucis ante temporibus in regionibus Scottorum lectioni operam dabat, ipse ob amorem sapientiae spontaneum passus exsilium;' Vita Cudb. c. 24; Vita Metr. c. 21. The 'regiones Scottorum,' may well include Ireland, and so W. M.: 'in Hiberniam ... secesserat,' i. 57. Egfrid had wished to make him a bishop, perhaps with the idea of excluding him from the succession to the crown, but he declined on the ground of his unworthiness; Vita Anon., and Vita Cudb. u. s. Hence we may doubt if his exile was wholly voluntary; and so W. M. u. s.: 'seu ui seu indignatione secesserat.' He was known as Fland Fina among the Irish; Fina, according to the Irish authorities, being the name of his mother; Rs. Ad. p. 185. Irish poems attributed to him are still extant. Cf. LL. 31–38; ib. Introd. p. 20; L. Br. 12 b–29; Rs. Ad. pp. xliv. f. 185, 186, 376; Three Fragments, p. 111; Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, ii. 372. If he was half Irish by birth, his Irish predilections are accounted for. All authorities agree as to his great learning. Bede calls him here 'uir... doctissimus,' below, v. 12, p. 309: 'uir undecumque doctissimus;' Eddius, cc. 44, 49, calls him 'rex sapientissimus.' Alcuin says of him:

'Qui sacris fuerat studiis imbutus ab annis
Actatis primae, valido sermone sophista,
Acer et ingenio, idem rex simul atque magister.'

De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 843 ff.; cf. W. M. u. s.: 'omni philosophia composuerat animum.' He was, in fact, the philosopher-king; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 384. The Irish call him, 'in t-ecnaid amra, delta Adamnain,' 'the wondrous sage, Adamnan's pupil;' Three Fragments, p. 111; 'ardsui Erenn eolusa,' 'Erin's chief sage of
learning;' Rs. Ad. p. 186. We find him giving eight hides of land for a MS. of the cosmographers 'mirandi operis;' Hab. § 15. For his relations with the learned Aldhelm, see on v. 18. An ancient ritual in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham is said to have belonged to him, but is not really older than the ninth century; v. Rituale Eccles. Dunelm. p. x, Surtees Society, 1840. He is said to have married Cuthburga, a sister of Ini of Wessex, who left him to become a nun at Barking under Hildilid (see on iv. 10), and ultimately became foundress and abbess of Wimborne; W. M. i. 35; Hardy, Cat. u. s.; Mab. AA. SS. III. i. 299 ff.; D. C. B. i. 730.

nobiliter recuperavit] The Vit. Anon. Cudb. § 28, speaks of him as: 'Alfridis qui nunc regnat pacifice.' In the Vit. Metr. c. 21, Bede says:

'Utque nouus Iosia, sideo animoque magis quam
Annis maturus, nostrum regit inclitus orbeum.'

This seems distinctly against the assertion of W. M. u. s. accepted by Smith, that he was older than Egfrid, as in that case he would be more than forty at the time of his accession. W. M. adds: 'summa pace et gaudio provinciae praefuit; nihil unquam, praeter in persecutione magni Wilfridi, quod lior edax digne carpere possit admittens.'

VIII. Id. Febr.] i.e. Feb. 6, 685. In c. 5. ad fin. Bede says that he reigned eleven years and seven months, which is more correct, seeing that he succeeded in July, 673, ib.

Edric ... regnauit] 'sine amore et reuerentia Centensium,' adds H. H. p. 106. In the Ann. Lindisfarn. et Cantuar., Pertz, iv. 2, his 'depositio' is noted at Aug. 31, 687. Bede's statement that he reigned a year and a half, would place his death in Aug. 686. Prior to his exile he seems to have reigned in conjunction with his uncle Hlothhere. There is a short Kentish Code which bears their joint names. Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 26 ff. Schmid, Gesetze, pp. 10 ff.

aliquod ... spatium] If Edric died Aug. 686, and Witred succeeded, Oct. 690 (see on v. 8, 23), the 'aliquod spatium' would be rather over four years. Elmham makes it six years, p. 253; but then he includes the reign of Edric 'infra perturbatae regiae successionis ... limites,' p. 287; cf. next note.

reges ... externi] Sig. Gembl. seems to understand this as a regularforeign invasion of 'England,' 687; 'Edrich Anglorum rege mortuo, externi reges regnum Angliae disperdunt et discindunt annis IV.' 691: 'Wichtred ... gentem Anglorum ab oppressione exterorum liberat;' Pertz, vi. 327, 328. The sense given to the
phrase by H. H. p. 106: 'extraneus a regali prosapia,' is doubtless the right one, though he wrongly makes Edric himself one of these 'reges extranei.' This disturbance of the Kentish succession was due to the encroachments of Wessex under Cædwalla and his brother Mul; v. Sax. Chron. 685–687, 694; Mul being apparently set up for a short time as king. Elmham, pp. 237, 252, 253: 'iste uero Mulo in catalogo regum Cantiae annotari non debet.'

Uictred] See on v. 8, ad fin.

CHAPTER 27.

Cudberctum] 'No saint has left so deep an impression on the St. Cuthbert memory of the Anglo-Saxon nation as Cuthbert;' Werner, p. 66. For later lives of him, see Hardy, Cat. i. 296–317, ii. 256; and add to the list there given, the Metrical life in Northern English, recently edited for the Surtees Society by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, of Durham, from a MS. at Castle Howard; cf. also Opp. Min. pp. 200, 201. For the alleged Irish origin of St. Cuthbert, see the Libellus de Ortu printed in Biogr. Misc. pp. 63–87, of which an analysis may be found in Hardy, i. 310–313. The whole composition is of the most worthless character, in the most abject style of hagiology. It is extraordinary that Dr. Reeves (Admn. pp. ix–xi, 296, 297), should have attached any value to its statements. Mr. Skene (C. S. ii. 205), goes so far as to suggest that Bede suppressed the Irish origin of St. Cuthbert in deference to criticisms. 'The Irish life' (i.e. the Libellus), he says, was 'recognised by the monks of Durham as early (!) as the fourteenth century,' i.e. seven hundred years after the saint's death. When we remember that an Irish pedigree has been made out for St. Gregory (v. s. on ii. 1), we shall know how to estimate these statements. The editors of the AA. SS. Mart. iii. 95, 96, have spent more labour on the criticism of this composition than it is worth. There is an excellent article on the same question by the Rev. George Phillips in the Ushaw Magazine for June, 1892, for a copy of which I am indebted to the author's kindness. There is a good sketch of Cuthbert by Canon Raine in D. C. B.; cf. his Hexham, i. 26.

Farne] For his life on Farne, cf. the next chapter, and cc. 17–22, of Bede's Prose life, with the corresponding §§ 20, 23–27, of the Vita Anon.


p. 269. Mailros] Melrose. His entry into the monastic life was
He enters Melrose. occasioned by a vision which he had on the banks of the Leader of the soul of Aidan being taken up to heaven; Vita Pros. c. 4; Vita Anon. § 8. It must therefore have been in 651; and so Ann. Lindisf., Pertz, xix. 504.


Boisil. Boisil] For his reception of St. Cuthbert, see Vita Pros. c. 6; which rests on the evidence of the eye-witness who was still alive when Bede wrote. There is nothing corresponding to this in the Vita Anon. His name is perpetuated in the little town of St. Boswells on the Tweed, east of Melrose, famous for its sheep fair, and in the dedication of the church at Tweedmouth; Bright, p. 186; Bates, On the Names . . . in the early lives of St. Cuthbert, p. 8; cf. the name of Bosel, Bishop of the Hwiccas, c. 23, p. 255, and the family name Boswell.

His death. postquam migravit ad Dominum] See the beautiful account of his death, so like Bede’s own, in Vit. Pros. c. 8. On the date, cf. on iii. 27. Durham claimed to possess his relics, obtained by the great relic hunter Alfred the sacrist; S. D. i. 88, 221.

Amulets. fylercteria] ‘amulets.’ The word in the Vita Cudb. is ‘ligaturas’; v. Ducange under both words. St. Boniface in 742 complains to Pope Zacharias that these things were said to be not unknown in Rome itself: ‘dicunt . . . se uidisse ibi mulieres pagano ritu filacteria et ligaturas et in brachiis et cruris (sic) ligatas habere, et publice ad uendendum uenales ad comparandum aliis offerre;’ Mon. Mog. p. 115. Zacharias, in 743, declares that he has suppressed these practices, ib. 120–121. Alcuin complains of the same thing to Ethelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury (793–805): ‘Multas uidebam consuetudines que fieri non debebant . . . Nam ligaturas portant quasi sanctum quid estimantes;’ Mon. A1. p. 719; cf. ib. 886; D. C. A. i. 78, 79, ii. 990–992. The word is used, without any bad significance, of a cross containing relics; Raine’s Hexham, i. 55; cf. Lttf., App. Ff. II. ii. 534. On magic, &c., cf. Cockayne, Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms, I. xxix. ff., cited by M. & L. p. 351.

Early zeal. erat quippe moris, &c.] Cf. sup. iii. 26, ad fin. ; Ep. ad Egb. § 4, ad fin. See also Bede on Mark iii. 20: ‘utinam, Domine Iesu, et in nostri temporibus aequi tantum gratiae tuis fidelibus largiaris, qui doctores suos assiduitate discendi . . . ab ipsa quoque panis quotidiani perceptione praepediant;’ and on vi. 31: ‘ubi magna temporis illius felicitas de labore docentium simul et discen- tium studio demonstratur, quae utinam nostro in aevo rediret, ut
tanta ministris nerbi frequentia fidelium insistat auditorum, quae
nee liberum eis curandi corporis spatum concedat;’ Opp. x. 49. 93; cf. Introduction, p. xxxv.

p. 270. in Mailronensi monasterio] ‘in Megilros Æem mynstre,’
AS. vers.

Eata] Cf. on iii. 26. He had originally admitted Cuthbert as Eata.
monk; Vita Pros. c. 8. For the date of Cuthbert’s transference to
Lindisfarne, see on iii. 27 and next note.

ecclesia Lindisfarnensis Eatano abbati, ubi Sanctus Cuthbertus prior
constituitur prior;’ Pertz, xix. 504; cf. Fl. Wig. ad ann. 664.
Part of the ‘regularis disciplina’ which Cuthbert would have to
.teach at Lindisfarne would be the observance of the Roman
Easter, &c. in accordance with the decision of the Synod
of Whitby. He had much opposition to endure from those, ‘qui priscae
suae consuetudini, quam regulari mollent obtemperare custodiae;
quos tamen ille modesta patientiae suae uirtute superabat,’ &c.;
Vita Cudb. c. 16. The whole passage is very beautiful.

familiariter] i.e. ‘in the manner of a familia, as his household,’
‘heoweselice,’ AS. vers.

Aidan qui primus, &c.] See note on iii. 4.

p. 271. omnia communia] See on c. 23, p. 254. After this in
Vita Pros. c. 16, comes a most beautiful sketch of Cuthbert’s
character; cf. ib. c. 22. For traditional accounts of his personal
appearance, cf. S. D. i. 204, 231, 232.

CHAPTER 28.

peruenit] In 676. Ann. Lindisf. ‘Cuthbertus intrat Farne, ubi Cuthbert
ix annos iterit;’ Pertz, xix. 504. So Fl. Wig. i. 34; cf. Ang. Sac. on Farne.
i. 155; S. D. i. 30.

de uita illius ... conscrisimus] On Bede’s two lives of Cuth-
bert and the dates at which they were written, v. Introduction, 
pp. xli, xlv, xlviii; infra, p. 297.

Saints, p. 8: ‘Sanctus Bernacus ... locum illum a spiritibus im-
mundis liberavit, quem ipsi omni nocte oberrantes ... usque ad
illum diem inhabitabilem reddiderunt.’

circumuallante aggere] ‘mid dice 7 mid eorþwealle utan ymb-
sealde,’ ‘surrounded it outside with a ditch and earth-wall,’
AS. vers.

p. 272. multis ... annis] Over eight, v. s. note 1; for the Synod
of Twyford was in 684, ‘inminente hieme,’ p. 273; and Cuthbert
was consecrated at the following Easter of 685; *infra*, and cf. c. 27, *ad init.*; H. & S. iii. 166; Fl.Wig.i.38. Twyford has been identified with Alnmouth; Bright, p. 331. A spurious grant by Egfrid to Cuthbert is represented as made in this synod; K. C. D. No. 25; Birch, No. 66.

ommun consensus] ‘ealra para weotena,’ ‘of all the wise men, or counsellors,’ AS. vers.

eligeretur] ‘ab Egfrido rege et episcopis Saxonum;’ Vita Anon. § 30.

Trumuine. [Trumuine] It may have been on this occasion that Cuthbert told him the story of his childhood, Vit. Pros. c. 1, which Bede introduces with the words: ‘sicut... Trumuine episcopus ab ipso Cudbereto sibi dictum perhibebat;’ cf. Vita Anon. § 4, where, and in § 30, Trumuine is called Tuma.

multum renitens] Cf. ii. 1, p. 74 note.

Boisil. [Boisil] ‘lées maeran bisopes Boísiles,’ ‘the glorious bishop Boisil;’ Ælfric, Hom. ed. Thorpe, ii. 148. This is an inference (probably a wrong one) from the term ‘sacerdos,’ applied to Boisil in c. 27; see on i. 28.

p. 273. in ipsa... paschali] Easter Day in 685 was on March 26. *primatum*] ‘ealdordom,’ AS. vers.

depositus] ‘post triennium pro culpa euiusdam inobedientiae;’ Vita Eatae in Biogr. Misc. p. 123. As Tunbert was consecrated in 681 this date is correct. The cause assigned for his deposition is identical with that which Bede gives in the case of Wynfrid; c. 6.

cui... ordinatus] This is not quite accurate; see notes on iii. 26; iv. 12.

The gift of tears. [profusis... lacrimis] Cf. Bede on Exod. xxx. 18: ‘labrum hoc ablationem nobis compunctionis et lachrymarum commendat, qua semper opus habemus, maxime autem cum mysteriis coelestibus ministraturi appropiemus;’ Opp. vii. 364. So of Dunstan it is recorded: ‘quoties aliquot... opus... exerceret... in quibus-libet rerum diuinarum institutionibus, hoc semper nimio rore lachrymarum peregit, quas inuisibilis habitator, Sanctus quoque Spiritus... ex oculorum riululis potenter elicuit;’ Stubbs’ Dunstan, p. 50; cf. ib. 379. Dr. Stubbs, in his Preface, speaks of ‘that gift of tears which is so curiously unintelligible at the present day;’ ib. lix. Of Alcuin, on the other hand, it is said: ‘orationem... multis cum gemitibus, nam lacrimas perraro habere poterat, fundebat;’ Mon. Alc. p. 20.
CHAPTER 29.

P. 274. Duobus ... peractis] Therefore in 687.
repetiti insulam] Smith suggests that Cuthbert may have retired in order to avoid a conflict with Wilfrid on his restoration;
P. 754.
uel uitae magis] r. Introd. p. lxvii.
in insula stagni illius, &c.] St. Herbert's Isle in Derwentwater. Herbert of Smith has printed in his Bede, App. xxiii, an instrument of Thomas Appleby, Bishop of Carlisle 1374, addressed to the Vicar of Crosthwaite, saying that he had been recently reading Bede's account of Herbert and St. Cuthbert, 'et quia hoc sanctum factum plurimis ac fere omnibus credimus esse incognitum, ... tibi man-
damus ... quatenus ... XIII° die Aprium ad ... insulam Her-
berti accedens, ... missam de Sancto Cuthberto etiam cum nota facias celebrari, ... adiciens ad hoc quod omnibus ... dicto die ad locum praedictum causa deuotionis et in honorem Sancti Cuthberti et ad memoriam dicti Herberti accedentibus XL dies Indulgentiae concedimus per praesentes;' where 'Kal.' has been omitted before 'Apr.' See below. The Vita Anon. § 38, speaks of Herbert as coming to Cuthbert 'ab insulis occidentalis maris'; where 'mare' corresponds with the English 'mere'; and the 'occidentale mare' is the 'west mere,' which we get corrupted in the name Westmore-
land. So of the marshes round Ely: 'pisces capiantur in aquis quae maria uocantur;' Lib. Eli. p. 4. One of these, the 'Mare de Straham,' is mentioned by name, ib.

Deruentionis fluvii] 'Deorwentan streames,' AS. vers. The Derwent.

hic cum ... deuenisse] As he used to visit St. Cuthbert annually, this last visit must have been in 686, the year before Cuthbert's death; and the Vita Pros. c. 28 places it 'non multo post' the death of Egfrid in 685.

qui dum, &c.] The AS. vers. inserts: 'hie ... spræcon be haligra fædera life,' 'they spoke about the life of holy fathers;' cf. c. 3, supra, p. 211: 'cum ... de uita priorum patrum sermonem facerent;' where the AS. vers. has the same words.

p. 275. incubuit precibus antistis] 'Ja ajenede se bishop hine in 'Cross-
cruce 7 hine gebæd,' 'then the bishop extended himself in a cross and prayed,' AS. vers. So when Cuthbert saw the vision of Aidan's soul taken to heaven (v.s.), the later life, printed in S. D. i. 196 ff., says: 'cum dormientibus sociis sui super pecora uigilaret, et in modum crucis positus oraret, udit animam,' &c. Alcuin, on the outbreak of a fire in his monastery going to the tomb of St. Martin
'extendit se super terram in cruce,' and the fire was stayed; Mon. Alc. p. 26; cf. ib. 20: 'orationem cum manuum diutina crucis extensione . . . fundebat.' So in Poetae Lat. Aei Carol. ii. 269: 'in ipsa . . . inmensitate timoris anxius proruit in terram . . . distenso omni corpore in crucis modum;' cf. ib. 313; Pertz, xxvi. 216. The Irish called it 'crosfigil'; see O'Clery's Glossary, s. v.

It was a recognised form of penance, especially in monasteries, v. Ducange, s. v. crux under the heading 'Ad Crucem extensis Brachiis stare.' Ducange gives only instances of the penitential use, which was often combined with the recitation of penitential and other psalms; cf. D. C. A. ii. 1320. It occurs frequently in the Irish Penitential previously cited from MS. Rawl. B 512 ff. 42-44.

**XIIIº Kal. Apr.] March 20, a Wednesday in 687.**

diutina] Smith followed by M. H. B., Stevenson, Hussey, and Moberly has the absurd reading 'diuina,' against all MSS., and against the Vita Pros. and the AS. vers.

obiit autem, &c.] See the account of his last sufferings and death, derived from an eye-witness, in Vita Pros. cc. 37-40: 'cuius obitum . . . relatione didici . . . Herefridi, . . . deuotae religionis presbyteri, qui etiam tunc Lindisfarnensi monasterio abbatis iure praefuit;' ib. c. 37. His death was signalled to Lindisfarne where the monks were celebrating 'nocturnae psalmodiae sollemnia' (Matins). As the messenger entered the church they were singing Ps. lix (lx) 'Deus repulisti nos,' which forms part of the office for Matins on Wednesday both in the Roman and Benedictine Breviaries. This coincidence was regarded as prophetic of the troubles which fell upon the monks between the death of Cuthbert and the election of Eadbert, the nature of which is not explained.

multum deprecatus] The reason which he gave was the trouble which would be brought upon the monastery by criminals and other fugitives taking refuge at his tomb; Vita Cudb. c. 37; Opp. Min. p. 121.

deponeretur] He was buried in a sarcophagus which had been given him by Abbot Cudda as a present, Vita Pros. c. 37; 'capite sudario circumdato, oblatis super sanctum pectus positis, uestimenta sacerdotalia indutus, in obiiam Christi calceamentis suis praeparatis, in sindone cerata curatus; Vit. Anon. § 42. For the 'oblata' ('hostia nondum consercata') and the custom of placing such oblatae on the breast of the dead, v. Ducange, s. v., who only gives one other instance of the custom besides the present passage. The 'calceamenta,' though a Christian significance is given to them, 'in obiiam Christi,' are probably derived from the 'hell-shoon' with which it was the custom in heathen times to bind the
feet of a corpse; cf. Gísla Saga, Orig. Isl. ii. 208: ‘þat er tízka . . .
at binda mönnum hel-þkú, þá er [eir skulu ganga á til Valhallar,’
‘that is customary, to bind hellshoon on men on which they may
walk to Valhalla,’ cf. Dasent, Gisli the Outlaw, pp. xxiv, 44. 45.
Eadberct] He has been mentioned at the beginning of iii. 25. Eadbert.
Alcuin, De Clade Lindisf. Monast. vv. 169, 170, attributes a miracle
to him which is not related by Bede:

‘Conposuit precibus Eadbert mimitantia mortem
Flabra, pius praesul uester et ipse pater.’
elimosynarum] v. Introd. § 17, ad fin.

CHAPTER 30.

P. 276. annis XI] i. e. 698.
quod . . . placuisse] ‘þæt him þæt licede 7 leof wære gif hit his
willa wære,’ ‘that they were minded and desirous if it were his
will,’ AS. vers.
die depositionis eius] ‘qua est XIIIa Kal. Apr.,’ ib.; which Translation
shows that he was buried on the day of his death; cf. supra, cc. 14,
19. ‘Þy dæge þe his gemynndæg wære, 7 his forðfór,’ ‘on the day
which was his anniversary and his obit,’ AS. vers.

inuenerunt corpus, &c.] The same was found to be the case in
1104 when the body was transferred to the new cathedral at
Durham; S. D. i. 247–261. Simeon himself took part in the
translation: illi gratias referamus, quibus incorruptum corpus eius
CCCXo et XVIIIo dormitionis eius anno, quamuis indignis diuina
gratia uidere et manibus quoque contractare donauit,’ ib. 34, 35; cf.
Reginaldi Dunelm. Libellus de Beati Cuthb. Virtutibus, c. 40
(Surtees Soc.). See for the history of St. Cuthbert’s relics, Raine,
St. Cuthbert, 1828. Dunstan enforced the truth of the incorruption
of the remains of St. Edmund by asserting to Abbo of Fleury:
‘quia sanctus . . . Cuthbertus . . . non solum adhuc exspectat diem
primaæ resurrectionis incorrupto corpore sed etiam perfusos quo-
dam blando tepore;’ Stubbs’ Dunstan, p. 379.
in hoc . . . agere] So of St. Kentigern: ‘omni quadrigesimali
tempore ad desertæ locæ secedebat;’ N. & K. p. 188.
migravit ad Dominum] ‘impetrato ab Eo munere, quod dili—Death of
gentissime petierat, uidelicet, ut non repentina morte, sed longa
Eadbert. eoctus aegritudine, transiret e corpore;’ Vita Pros.
cuius corpus, &c.] Cf. Hist. Abb. § 20. His relics shared the
The Ecclesiastical History. [Bk. V.

wanderings of those of Cuthbert, and ultimately rested with them at Durham; D. C. B. ii. 3.

quae nos nuper audisse contigit] When Bede wrote the preface to the Prose Life of Cuthbert he was already in possession of additional materials which he did not care to use; Opp. Min. p. 47. In MS. Fairfax 6 the two following chapters are added to Bede's Prose Life of St. Cuthbert, in order to make it more complete.

CHAPTER 31.


paralysis langore] 'mid þa aðle ... þe Greca namnað paralysis 7 we eðað lyft-adl,' 'with that disease which the Greeks name paralysis and we call "lyft-adl,"' AS. vers. So Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 45: 'ea quam Graeci paralysin uocant infirmitas;' Opp. Min. p. 133.

p. 279. Domino ... referens] '7 þæm halgan were his ful-tomes gyfe,' 'and to the saint for the gift of his help,' adds AS. vers.

CHAPTER 32.

ante triennium] i. e. in 728.

Dacore] A small stream which gives its name to the parish and Castle of Dacre near Penrith; cf. W. M. i. 147.

pigmentorum] 'pigmentum, potio ex melle et uino et diuersis speciebus confecta;' Ducange.

p. 280. qui nunc ... est] 'se æfter wæs,' 'who afterwards was,' AS. vers.

BOOK V. CHAPTER 1.

Ethelwald, anchorite of Farne.

Guthfrid.

p. 281. Oidiluald] In the metrical life of Cuthbert, c. 45, Bede narrates an anecdote of him which he has not reproduced in any of his prose works. Fl. Wig. says of him: 'cuius meritum et uita qualis fuerat, innumera declarant ab eo patrata miracula;' i. 40. His relics shared the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body till both reposed at Durham; cf. AA. SS. Mart. iii. 463-465.

Guthfrid] At the time when Bede visited Lindisfarne in order to read to that community his prose life of Cuthbert, Guthfrid was 'mansionarius' of the monastery, an officer defined by Ducange as 'custos et conservator aedis saecae, aedituus;' cf. D. C. A. s. v. From the same passage, Opp. Min. p. 47, it appears that one of the
duties of this officer was to enter the names of persons to be prayed for in the ‘album congregationis’; n. Introd. p. xxvii, and see on iv 14. From Bede’s language here, ‘praefuit,’ it would seem that in 731 Guthfrid was dead.

p. 282. XII annis ... defunctus] He succeeded Cuthbert on his death, March 687. He would seem, therefore, to have died in 699. His day is variously given in the Martyrologies; the Bollandists, u.s. decide in favour of March 23. He was in turn succeeded by an anchorite named Felgeld, who at the time when Bede wrote the Prose Life of Cuthbert was still alive, though more than seventy years old; Vita Pros. c. 46. The life of a twelfth-century successor of St. Cuthbert as anchorite of Farne, named Bartholomew, is given in S. D. i. 295 ff. On pp. 312, 313, there is an interesting description of Farne. Various grants to the monks of Farne are in Raine’s North Durham, App. dccxvi. ff. On the history of Farne; ib. 339-362.

Aldfridi regis] He reigned not quite twenty years, from 685 to Aldfrid. 705; v. c. 18 ad init. Therefore the years of Ethelwald’s sojourn on Farne, 687-699, fall well within his reign.

CHAPTER 2.

Cuius regni principio] The Sax. Chron. E. places the consecration of Bishop John to Hexham under 685; but the passage is a confused one, and may not be intended to be strictly chronological; at the best it is probably only an inference from this passage, and the same may be said of the passage in Raine’s Hexham, i. 27, 28; cf. ib. xxvi, which places both the death of Eata and the succession of John in 685, and of R. W.’s date, 686; i. 178. They are inconsistent with the very precise statement of Sax. Chron. D. E. that Bishop John died in 721 after an episcopate of thirty-three years. eight months, and thirteen days (so H. Y. i. 525). He died, according to Fl. Wig. i. 50, on May 7 (so H. Y. i. 526, and this was the day observed at Beverley as the festival of his deposition; ib. 314; it is his day also in the York Missal). Hence his consecration would fall in August, 687. Bede at the end of c. 6 says that he died in 721 after an episcopate of thirty-three years; but he may either be speaking roughly, or he may be allowing something for the fact that before his death he gave up active episcopal work, and retired to Beverley. But he seems to imply that his retirement did not long precede his death, and Florence, u.s., places both in the same year, 721.
Death of Eata.

defuncto Eata] If, as Bede seems to imply, Bishop John succeeded him at once, his death would have to be placed in 687. But according to H. & S. iii. 171, quoted below on c. 19, Eata died in 686, and Wilfrid (on his restoration) administered the see for a year, infra, p. 326. I do not know what the authority for this statement is. According to his life in Misc. Biogr. (pp. 124, 125) he died of a dysentery. He was buried at first to the south of the sacristy, whence he was translated to a shrine inside the church (cf. Raine’s Hexham, i. 49). In 1113 Archbishop Thomas II of York attempted to remove his relics to York, but was prevented by an angry vision of the saint himself. A further translation of his relics took place in 1154; Raine, u.s. lxxii. f. 200. On translation of relics, cf. D. C. A. ii. 1773. Early Christian feeling was strongly opposed to it.

Iohannes] This is the bishop who ordained Bede both deacon and priest; v. c. 24, p. 357. After the death of Bosa he was translated to York in 705 (he is wrongly called archbishop in H. Y. i. 254; cf. sup. on ii. 20), Wilfrid, on his return from his second exile, being appointed to Hexham; cc. 3, 19. For later lives of him cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 423-430. Most of these have been printed in H. Y. i. 239-347, 511-541. He had been a pupil of Archbp. Theodore, and an inmate of Whitby under Abbess Elfled; ib. 244. His connexion with Theodore is alluded to in the next chapter; his connexion with Whitby in iv. 23, p. 254; cf. Bright, pp. 355, 356; D. C. B. iii. 377, 378.

p. 283. Berenthun] In H. Y. i. 325, he and Bishop John are spoken of as joint founders of Beverley.

Inderauuda] Afterwards Beverley.

St. John’s See.

est mansio] This is called Herneshaw by Folcard, H. Y. i. 246; and by Richard of Hexham; Raine’s Hexham, I. viii. xxv. f. 15-18. It has been identified with St. John’s Lee, near Hexham, the name of the saint having superseded the older name; see notes on the passages cited.

clymometerium] ‘gebæd hus 7 circean,’ ‘oratory and Church,’ AS. vers.

p. 284. gae . . . etiam] ‘yea;’ cf. sup. iii. 25, p. 188. On English y from AS. ge- v. Skeat, English Etymology, i. 363, 375.

diu claudi] ‘Je lange halt waes, 7 swa geboren of his modorhrife, þæt hiene his eldran beran scolden, 7 he gan ne meahte,’ ‘who was long halt, and so born from his mother’s womb, that his parents had to carry him, and he could not walk,’ AS. vers.

acciperet] ‘gif him þæt leofre wære,’ ‘if he preferred it,’ inserts AS. vers.
CHAPTER 3.


defuncto Bosa] Fl. Wig. places the death of Bosa and the translation of John to York under 686; but this is simply due to the fact that he supposed the return of Wilfrid, which Bede alludes to here, to be that of 686 instead of the second return in 705. (Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 695, says 687.) John was certainly bishop of Hexham when he ordained Bede priest in 702 x 703; c. 24, p. 357; Bosa was certainly believed to be still alive in 704 when John VI wrote to Ethelred of Mercia and Aldfrid communicating the decision of the Roman Council of 704 in the matter of Wilfrid. Bosa must therefore have died 704 x 705. Raine says 705, v. Hexham, i. 28, 29. So Stubbs, Ep. Succ.

Betadun] This place was identified by Smith with Watton in Watton, the East Riding of Yorkshire, which is nearly half-way between Driffield and Beverley. In Folcard's Life of Bishop John it appears as Betendune, with a v. l. Yatadini; H. Y. i. 247.

in studio] 'Under treatment.' I cannot recollect any other instance of this meaning of 'studium'; but in Wright's AS. Glossaries, ed Wülker, col. 216, I find: 'cura, i. studium uel medicina, curatio uel laenung' (healing). The AS. vers. translates: 'in hære bloedlæwie,' 'during the blood-letting.'

memini enim, &c.] For Bishop John's connexion with Archbishop Theodore's Theodore, see notes on c. 2. There is among Bede's scientific works a little tract of doubtful authenticity: 'De minutione sanguinis siue de plebotomia;' Opp. vi. 349-352. The precepts there given do not agree with this of Theodore. As to the proper parts of the body for blood-letting, it says: 'de brachio tres, . . . capitanea linea, matricia, capsale;' ib. 350. In the De Temp. Rat. c. 28, there are some curious precepts taken from SS. Ambrose and Basil as to the proper days of the moon for doing certain things: 'nam et defectui eius compatiuntur elementa, et processu eius . . . cumulantur;' Opp. vi. 199-201. As to the special sympathy of the moon and the tide, 'quod Graeci rheuma uocant,' ib. c. 29 (cf. Vita Pros. Cudb. c. 17).


CHAPTER 4.

P. 286. comitis] gesiömannes, AS. vers. i.e. a thane.

Aliud quoque] Very similar stories are told of Cuthbert; Vita Pros. cc. 25, 29; Vita Anon. §§ 36, 32.
South Burton, uilla] 'uilla quae Australis Burtun dicitur;' Folcard's Life, H. Y. i. 249: 'South Burton, now called Bishop Burton, is distant between two and three miles from Beverley. North Burton is now called Cherry Burton;' note a. l.


Holy water. de aqua . . . quam . . . consecrauerat] For the use of holy water in the dedication of a church, cf. Egbert's Pontifical, pp. 34-39; York Pontifical, pp. 53, 55, 62-67, 70, 75. (Surtees Soc. 1853, 1873.) On the use of holy water, and miracles alleged to have been wrought thereby, see D. C. A. i. 777-779.


CHAPTER 5.

P. 288. puerum comitis] 'gesiðmannes eñht,' AS. vers.

Addi of North Burton. Addi] 'Earl (i.e. thane) of North Burton gave that manor with the advowson of the church to Beverley;' Mon. Angl. ii. 127.

bene . . . cito] 'truma þec hraðe 7 wel,' 'strengthen thyself quickly and well,' AS. vers.

CHAPTER 6.


P. 290. casu . . . uel potius] The AS. vers. omits these three words.

hora . . . septima] 'çæt is an tid ofer midne dæg,' 'that is one hour past mid-day,' explains AS. vers.

Validity of baptism. P. 291. non es perfecte baptizatus] The view which ultimately prevailed in the Western Church was that baptism, even by heretics, if in the three-fold name, was valid. Bede himself is emphatic on this point. On John iii. 4, he says: 'siue enim haereticus, siue schismaticus, siue facinorosus quisque in confessione sanctae Trinitatis baptizet, non ualet ille qui ita baptizatus est, a bonis catholicis rebaptizari, ne confessio uel inuocatio tanti nominis
uideatur annulari,' Opp. v. 110. He decides in the opposite way where the baptizer has not been himself baptized; on Acts xix. 5: 'quae stio cerebro utensilatur, utrum illi qui per ignorantiam forte a non baptizatis sed tamen rectae fidei aliquibus baptizatis sunt, iterum baptizari debeat; quam hoc capitulo expositam reor,' Opp. xii. 74, 75. So Theodore Penitential, II. ii. 13: 'Si quis presbyter... deprehendit se non esse baptizatum... omnes, quos prius baptizatus, baptizentur;' cf. I. ix 12. In other points Theodore differs from the Western view; e.g. ib. 12: 'Presbyter fornicans si, post quam compertum fuerit, baptizauerit, iterum baptizentur illi quos baptizatus;' I. v. 6: 'Si quis baptizatur ab hereticis, qui recte Trinitatem non crediderit, iterum baptizetur.' This may perhaps be due to Theodore's Eastern training, for the Eastern Church was much less decided in its views on re-baptism than the Western; v. D. C. A. i. 172, 173. Theodore, however, says: 'qui bis ignorantes baptizati sunt, ... non possunt ordinari;' I. x. i. (H. & S. iii. 181, 185, 192; cf. ib. 405, 406.) An almost exact parallel to the case in the text is contained in a letter of Pope Zacharias to St. Boniface in 746, rebuking him for re-baptizing certain persons because an ignorant priest had baptized them with the formula: 'Baptizo te in nomine patria et filia et Spiritus Sancti.' ... Sed... non possimus consentire, ut denuo baptizentur. Quia... quicunque baptizatus fuerit ab hereticis in nomine Patris, &c... nullo modo rebaptizari debeat, sed per solam manus impositionem purgari;' Mon. Mog. pp. 167, 168. Apart from this question one might think that Bishop John would have done better to refuse this man priest's orders, than to confer them and then inhibit him from the exercise of priestly functions.

exsufflante illo] Cf. Opp. viii. 106: 'Recti ordinis est, ut doctores Exsufflatione exsufflata prius ab auditorum praeordiis omnem spiritum immundum exsufflans et catechizando abigant, et sic eos... societati... sanctorum mysteriiis salutaribus imbuendo aggregent.' This... is a reference to the... custom of breathing on the catechumen's face at the first exorcism;' Bright, p. 306. There is a reference to this in Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier, p. 29. We have had a reference to a different kind of 'exsufflation' above, iv. 13, p. 231.

uoceauit... medicum] In the story as told by Bede there is nothing distinctly miraculous. It is much heightened by Folcard, and the physician is suppressed: 'imponit præsul... manus contracto capiti, ... cruce signat, et subitam medelam Deus praestat;' H. Y. i. 253. A very instructive instance of the gradual heightening of a story may be found in an incident of Wilfrid's
life as told first by Eddius, then by Fringeda, and lastly by Eadmer; H. Y. i. 33, 129, 185. On Bede's own tendency to do this, v. Introduction, pp. xlvi, lxiv.

Wilfrid II.

p. 292. Uilfrido] This is Wilfrid II, 'Wilferð se iunga' of the Sax. Chron. 744. In 732 he resigned and was succeeded by Egbert, the prelate to whom Bede addressed his famous letter. See on Ep. ad Egb. § 1, ad init. Wilfrid died in 745, Cont. Baed. inf. p. 362; S. D. ii. 38, 39; or 744, Sax. Chron.; Ann. Lindisf.; having been thirty years bishop, says Sax. Chron., which would throw back his consecration to 714, which is obviously too early. Stubbs, Ep. Succ. pp. 5, 180, says that he died in 732. But Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 1235 ff. distinctly refers to his retirement:

'At sua facta bonus postquam compleuerat ille Pastor in ecclesiis, specialia septa petiuit,
Quo seruire Deo tota iam mente uacaret;'

He gives him a very high character, ib. 1215, ff. He had been 'uicedomnus et abbas' of York; ib. 1217; G. P. p. 245. (For 'uicedomnus' v. Ducange, s. v.) Fl. Wig. makes the converse mistake of delaying Egbert's accession till after Wilfrid's death in 744; i. 55.

CHAPTER 7.

Anno . . . praeesset] v. iv. 12, notes.

Caedwalla's resignation, and journey to Rome.

relictio imperio propter Dominum] Note that (like Aldhelm below) Bede says 'imperio,' not 'regno.' He therefore regards Caedwalla as bearing sway beyond the limits of his own kingdom, though he does not include him among the so-called Bretwaldas. Dr. Bright lectures Caedwalla in a very edifying manner for deserting his duty, and Bede for not condemning him sufficiently (p. 360; cf. p. 431, and Fuller, cited by M. & L. p. 310). But to give up earthly power and position for what is believed (even if mistakenly) to be the cause of Christ, is not such a common error that we need to be seriously cautioned against it.


'Post hunc [Centwine] successit bello famosus et armis Rex Cadwalla potens regni possessor et haeres.
Sed mox imperium inundi sceptrumque reliquit.

Cuius in aduentu gaudet elementia Romae,
Dum mergi meruit baptismi gurgite felix,
Post albas igitur morbo correptus egrescit,
Donee mortalis clausit spiracula uitae.

On his way to Rome he is said to have given thirty solidi to St. Vulmar for the construction of his church, 'in uilla Siluiaco,' now Samer in the Pas-de-Calais, a corruption of St. Vulmar. Bouquet iii. 626: 'Ex uita S. Vulmari abb. Siluiacensis,' printed in Mab. AA. SS. iii. 234-238; AA. SS. Iul. v. 84-89. This life is ancient, but its date cannot be fixed; ib. 83. He was well received by Cunibert, King of the Lombards: 'Cedaol rex Anglorum Sax- num, qui multa in sua patria bella gesserat, ad Christum conversus Romam properauit. Qui per Cuninepertum regem ueniens ab eo mirifice susceptus est.' Paul. Diae. Hist. Langob. vi. 15 (who borrows the rest of his account from Bede). Cunibert (whose name is identical with the Anglo-Saxon Cyniberht) had married an English wife: 'Cuninepert rex Hermelindam ex Saxonum Ang- lorum genere duxit uxorem;' ib. v. 37. His father Peretarit (the Berthhere of Eddius, c. 28) was nearly flying for refuge 'ad Brit- taniam insulam Saxonumque regem,' when he heard that his enemy Grimwald, Duke of Beneventum, was dead; (671) ib. v. 32, 33; cf. Art de Véris. i. 418, 419. The resemblance of Cadwalla's name to those of certain Welsh kings has not only caused a legendary pro- longation of the reign of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, beyond all possible bounds (v. on iii. 1); but also given rise to a legend that Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon, died at Rome; cf. additional critical note to p. 292, and Brut y Tywyssogion, a. d. 680: 'Ac yn y vlwydyn honno y bu uarw Kadwaladyr nendigeit, uab Kadwallawn, uab Catuan, brenhin y Brytanyeit, yn Rufein y deudcuet dyd o Veï. Megys y proffwydasei Vyrdin kyn no hynny wrth Wurtheyrn gwthreneu. Ac o hynny allan y colles y Brytanyeit goron y teyr- nas. Ac yd ennillawd y Saeson hi,' 'In this year died Cadwalader the blessed, son of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, King of the Britons, in Rome, the twelfth day of May, as Myrddin (Merlin) had prophe- sied to Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu (Vortigern). And from that time forth the Britons lost the crown of empire and the Saxons gained it.' The epithet 'blessed' is probably due to the confusion with the West-Saxon pilgrim; the date, May 12, is certainly taken from Bede's 'xii Kal. Mai. die.' According to the oldest MS. of Ann. Camb., Cadwalader died of the plague in 682, though later MSS. make him fly to Armorica (Brittany) to avoid the plague (possibly a confusion with 'Armonica,' 'Arvon'; see on iii. 9). Nenn. § 64, places his death under Oswy; which arises from the assumption that the plague in which he died was the great plague of 664 (see
The Ecclesiastical History.


pontificatum agente Sergio] Sergio I, 687–701 A.D.

die . . . sabbati paschalis] This was the proper day for baptisms; v. s. ii. 9, 14. In 689 it fell on April 10.

in albis adhuc positus] 'under Cristes claßum,' 'under Christ's clothes;' Sax. Chron. E. 688. It was a very ancient custom for the newly-baptized to be clad in white garments (ἐσθής φωτιστική, alba) to symbolise their purification. In these garments and with lighted tapers they appeared daily for a week with their sponsors in the church, finally laying them aside on the octave of the baptism-day; cf. Alcuin to Charles the Great, Febr. 798: 'Clasnum paschae quo die alba tolluntur vestimenta a nuper baptizatis;'; Mon. Alc. p. 399. The term 'exalbari' is also found: 'pueris nondum exalbatis'; Pertz, xx. 738, answering to 'in albis adhuc positus' here; cf. S. D. i. 278. Hence also the Sunday after Easter is called 'Dominica in albis depositis.' In the Ordo Romanus for the Saturday after Easter there is a form for 'Benedictio aquae ad albas deponendas.' With the deposition of the 'alb' was associated the 'chrisom-loosing,' the undoing of the 'chrismale' or linen fillet ('panus crismatis,' Theod. Penit. II. iv. 7; H. & S. iii. 193), which was bound round the head of the newly baptized to keep the chrism or unction on the head during the week in albis; cf. Wulfstan's Homilies, pp. 31, 36; H. & S. iii. 192, 428; Earle's Chronicle, pp. 307, 308. The 'crism-lising' of Guthrum at Wedmore is mentioned in Sax. Chron. A.D. 878. Hence the AS. vers. translates 'in albis adhuc positus' by 'under crisman,' 'under chrism'; so above, ii. 14, 'albati' is translated in the same way; cf. Bosworth-Toller, s. v. In Icelandic the 'alb' is called 'hvít-váðir,' 'white-weeds,' and 'hvít-váðungr,' 'white-weedling,' is a regular name for a neophyte, or newly baptized person (cf. Mrs. Quickly's 'Christom-child,' Hen. V, ii. 3. 12); see Vigfússon, Icel. Diet. s. v. hvitr, who gives several instances from the Sagas of persons who died, like Cædwalla, 'í hvita-váðum.' 'White weeds' seem also to have been worn at confirmation; cf. Viga-Glúms Saga, ad fin. Orig. Island, ii. 466: 'en þa er Cristini kom út hingat, tók Glúmr skírn, ok lifði þrjá vetr síðan, ok var biskupaðr í bana-sótt af Kol biskupi, ok andaðiz í hvita-váðum,' 'and when Christianity came out hither [to Iceland], Glum received baptism, and lived three years afterwards, and was bishoped [i. e. confirmed] in his last illness by Bishop Kol, and died in his white weeds.' Newly consecrated churches were also hung with white; cf. Laxdæla Saga, ed. 1826,
Notes.

p. 230; ed. 1867, p. 152: 'vár Kjartan at Borg gráfinn; þá var kirkja núvígð ok í hvita-váðum,' 'Kjartan was buried at Borg, where the church was newly consecrated, and in white weeds.'

I cannot quote any non-Icelandic parallels to these two last passages (see also Ducange s. v. Alba, Chrsimale; D. C. A. s. v. Baptism, Chrsim, Chrsimale, Octauae Infantium, Paschae Clausum).

Strictly speaking, Cædwalla's death on April 20, the Tuesday after Low Sunday, fell outside the octave 'in albis.' But he may well have been too ill to go through the ceremony on the Saturday.

Aldhelm, u. s. says 'post albas;' cf. Bright, p. 360.

cui etiam ... posuerat] The Sax. Chron. says that the Pope Cædwalla's baptized him. In the epitaph the Pope is called 'pater Fonte' death.

renascens,' i.e. godfather. So Birinus both baptized and stood sponsor for Cuthred; Sax. Chron. 639; cited above on iii. 7.

p. 293. epitaphium ... scriptum] The epitaph was composed and epi-

by Benedictus Crispus, Archbishop of Milan († 725), Gregorovius, taph.

Gesch. der Stadt Rom (3te Auflage), ii. 180, 391. The AS. vers.

omits the epitaph both verse and prose. It may be found in Dei


indictione II] This is right for 689.

p. 294. XXXVII annis] This would place Ini's abdication in Ini.

725 or possibly 726. The Sax. Chron. MSS. A. B. place it in 728,

MSS. C. D. E. in 726; R. W. in 727, i. 205. He is said to have

founded the school of the Anglo-Saxons in Rome, and to have estab-

lished the 'Romeseot,' or 'Peter's Pence,' for its maintenance.

But there is no authority for the former statement older than

R. W. i. 215, 216; though the latter is confirmed by the tract,

'De Saxonum Aduentu,' in S. D. ii 371. For the curious legend

as to the means by which his wife ('dux foemina facti') induced

him to abdicate, see W. M. i. 35, 36, 39. He was a great friend of

Aldhelm, G. P. p. 354, who mentions him; Opp. p. 116. The
date of his death is unknown. W. M. says: 'ut solius Dei oculis

placeat, amicitu plebeio tectus, clam consenuit cum uxore;' i. 39.

Chron. F. by a misunderstanding gives 726 as the date of his death


detected an allusion to the pilgrimage of Ini in a letter of this

pope to Leo the Iconoclast, ed. Smith, vi. 148.

quod ... plures ... facere consuérunt] Gregorovius, u. s. ii. Pilgrim-

178 ff., has an eloquent passage on these numberless pilgrims to

Rome: 'the magnets which drew them were dead men's bones,

their goal a grave, their reward a prayer before it.' He cites the
wonderful passage of Seneca, Ad Heluiam Matrem de Consolatione, c. 6, on the rush of men to Rome. The moral results were often disastrous enough. St. Boniface writing to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 748, says: ‘bonum esset . . . si prohiberet synodus et principes uestri mulieribus et uelatis feminis illud iter et frequentiam, quam ad Romaniam ciuitatem ueniendo et redeundo faciunt. Quia magna ex parte perenunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucae enim sunt ciuitates in Longobardia, uel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in qua non sit . . . meretrix generis Anglorum;’ H. & S. iii. 381; Mon. Mog. p. 208. To an English abbess who consulted him as to visiting ‘dominam quondam orbis Romam, . . . sicut alii multi fecerunt et adhuc fac unt,’ ib. 69, 70; he replies: ‘nec interdicere . . . nec . . . suadere praesumo.’ If she cannot find peace at home she may seek it in pilgrimage: ‘quamadmodum soror nostra Wiethburga faciebat. Quae mihi . . . intimauit quod talem uitate quietem inuenisset iuxta limina S. Petri, qualem longum tempus desiderando quaesuiit.’ Only she had better wait, ‘donec . . . minae Sarracenorum, quae apud Romanos nuper emerserunt conquireuierint;’ ib. 236. Both letters are most interesting. Cf. the epigram of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans 788–821:

‘Non tantum isse iuuat Romam bene uinere quantum
Vel Romae, uel ubi uita agitur hominis.
Non uia, credo, pedum, sed morum ducit ad astra,
Quis quid ubique gerit, spectat ab arce Deus.’

CHAPTER 8.

annis XXII] If this is reckoned from his consecration, March 26, 668, it is an understatement; if from his arrival at Canterbury, May 27, 669, it is an overstatement. See on iv. 2.

ecclesia . . . Petri] See on i. 33, ii. 3, pp. 70, 86.

p. 295. uersibus heroicis] Here and in i. 10 Bede seems to include elegiacs under the term ‘heroic verses’; in his Ars Metrica, c. 10, he confines the latter term, as is usual, to pure hexameters. Elmham quotes these two quatrains, and in the MS. a large space is left between them, apparently in the hope that the missing verses might be recovered, p. 283.

diem nonamdecimam] So, Ann. Lindisf. et Cantuar. 690,
'Theodorus episcopus deponitur XIII. kal. Octob. feria ii;' Pertz,
iv. 2. Sept. 19 was a Monday in 690.

Berctuald] W. M. i. 29 identifies him with Bertwald, Abbot Bertwald.
of Glastonbury, whom he represents as translated against his will
to Reculver, and thence to Canterbury. The refutation of this
(probably deliberate) attempt to claim for Glastonbury the honour
of the archbishop's monastic training is easy, as there is extant
a letter from Bertwald of Canterbury to Forthere, Bishop of
Sherborne, asking him to intercede with 'Beor[t]wald' of Glaston-
bury for the release of a slave girl belonging to Kent. The letter
gives a favourable impression of the archbishop, and an unfavour-
able one of his namesake; Mon. Meg. pp. 48, 49; cf. Stubbs,
Dunstan, p. lxxxii. There is a letter also of Walthere, Bishop
of London, to him about the political state of Britain in 705;
H. & S. iii. 274, 275. The letters of Pope Sergius I on his behalf,
given in G. P. pp. 52–55, belong to the suspicious series connected
with the primacy of Canterbury; and though not such glaring
forgeries as some others of the series, are very unlikely to be
genueine. Bertwald died Jan. 731, the very year in which Bede
finished his history; cc. 23, 24, pp. 349, 356. According to G. P.
p. 376, he was a friend and fellow-student of Aldhelm.

Genladae] Now the Yenlade or Inlade. It occurs frequently in
charters as a boundary, K. C. D. Nos. 135, 157, 194, 224; Birch,

Raculfe] Reculver, on the north coast of Kent. Birchington Reculver.
says: 'qui erat abbas de Genlade tunc, et nunc Reculore dicitur;'
Ang. Sac. i. 3. There is a charter of Hlothhere, King of Kent,
dated Reculver, May, 679, granting land in Thanet to Abbot
Bercuald and his monastery; K. C. D. No. 16; Birch, i. 70. This
charter is the oldest extant native charter of which we possess the
absolute original; Earle, Handbook of Charters, p. 8. The grant
of Reculver by Egbert to 'Bass the mass priest to build a minster
(monastery) on' is noted in the Sax. Chron. under 669. For
Christian antiquities at Reculver, cf. C. Roach Smith, Antiquities of
Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne (1850); cited by H. & S. i. 38.

electus est, &c.] No reason is given for the long delay, nearly
two years, in filling up the see, nor for the long delay of a year
in consecrating the elected prelate, nor for his consecration in
Gaul instead of by the English bishops. The dissensions between
Kent and Wessex, which were not settled till 694, may have had
something to do with the matter.
Witred and Swæbhard. [p. 284]

Witred has been mentioned above, iv. 26, ad fin. The Sax. Chron. E. F., following Bede, speaks of Witred (Nihtred E) and Webheard (sic) as joint kings in 692. But in 694 all the MSS. speak of Witred’s accession as if it were a new fact: ‘her . . . Witred feng to Cantwara rice,’ perhaps meaning his accession as sole king. In c. 23, Bede says that he died on April 23, 725, after a reign of thirty-four years and a half; which would place his accession in October, 696. Fl. Wig. places his accession under 691, and says: ‘cum quo rex Sueabheardus partem regni tenuit;’ but he is probably only drawing his own inferences from Bede’s language here and in iv. 26. In the latter passage Bede speaks specially of Witred’s ‘religio;’ where he is probably thinking of the ecclesiastical laws passed in the witenagemót of Berghamstede (Bersted near Maidstone) in 696, Thorpe, Early Laws, &c., i. 36 ff.; Schmid, Gesetze, pp. 14 ff.; H. & S. iii. 233–238; and of the ecclesiastical privileges granted in the witenagemót of Bapchild, 696 x 716, on which see H. & S. iii. 238–246, 300–302, 340–342; Bright, pp. 382–385; D. C. B. iv. 1177, 1178. In a spurious charter Swæbhard is described as ‘regii status lectis-simus flos;’ K. C. D. No. 40; Birch, No. 89. I have already, on iii. 22, expressed my scepticism as to the proposed identification of him with Swefred of Essex.

tertio die Kal. Iul. . . . prid. Kal. Sept.] These were Sundays in 693; the former is also St. Peter’s day.

Godwin.

Goduine] Archbishop of Lyons, 693–713. [He certainly occupied the see during these years, but the exact dates of his accession and death are unknown; Gallia Christ. iv. 50.]

Gebmund.

Gebmundo . . . defuncto] The Sax. Chron. places his death in 693, but this is a mere inference from the fact that Bede mentions it immediately after the consecration of Bertwald in that year. And it is a wrong inference, for Gebmund was present at the witenagemót of Bersted in 696; see reff. given above. At that of Bapchild his successor Tobias was present, and therefore this must be later than 696. The Sax. Chron. F. seems to place it under 694, but the reference is vague, and not strictly chronological: ‘sona ðas ðe he cing was,’ ‘soon after he became king;’ v. H. & S. iii. 232, 241.

CHAPTER 9.

sacerdos] It is probable that 'sacerdos' here, as often, means Egbert, bishop.' See on i. 28. Above, iii. 27, sub. fin., where Bede speaks of Egbert's 'acceptum sacerdotii gradum,' the AS. vers. says 'biscophade onfang,' he received the episcopate.' Alcuin, in his prose life of Wilbrod, c. 4, calls him 'beatissimus pater et episcopus Egbertus qui cognomento Sanctus uocabatur;' Mon. Alc. p. 43. And Ethelverd enters him in his chronicle as 'episcopus.' M. H. B. p. 507. Ethelwulf, in his poem, de Abbatibus, written early in the ninth century, distinctly calls him 'pontifex,' and says that he consecrated and sent an altar for Ethelwulf's own monastery, which Mr. T. Arnold thinks was Crayke, S. D. i. 270-272. The life of St. Adalbert calls him: 'Egbertus Northumbrorum episcopus;' Pertz, xv. 700; cf. also the Saxon Version, cited on c. 22. Moreover he is called 'Ichtbricht episcop,' 'Egbert bishop,' in an Irish document containing an account of a synod at Birra (Parsonstown) in which the so-called 'Caín Adomhain, 'Law of Adamnan' was promulgated. Of this document there is a copy in MS. Rawl. B. 512, f. 48 ff. Egbert's name occurs on f. 49 d. Of the ecclesiastics attending this synod, I have identified about a dozen. Their obits in the F. M. range from 696 to 785. The synod cannot therefore be later than the former year, in which the Ann. Ult. place it, and at which time Egbert was in Ireland. Dr. Reeves had a copy of this document taken from a Brussels MS. 2324; Rs. Ad. p. 179; though he himself speaks of Egbert as only a priest; ib. 379. It illustrates the nature of Irish episcopacy that with few exceptions the abbots in this document take precedence of the bishops; v. s. on iii. 4. Egbert has been already mentioned iii. 4, 27.

nationes, a quibus, &c.] That the common origin of the continental and insular Saxons was distinctly recognised as a ground for the evangelisation of the former by the latter, is shown by a letter of a certain priest named Wigbert, who writes from Britain to Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz (755–786): 'si in regione gentis nostrae, id est Saxanorum, aliqua ianua diuinae misericordiae aperta sit, remandare nobis id ipsum curate. Quia multi eum Dei adiutorio in eorum auxilium festinare cupiunt;' Mon. Mog. p. 304; cf. H. H. p. 126.

unde...nuncupantur] Bede seems to mean that in his day Celtic the British population called their Teutonic neighbours 'Garmani,' names for the 'Saxon' is however in all Celtic languages the name given to the English and their speech. 'Eingl' = Angli, and 'Ellmyn' =
Alemanni, are occasionally found, but Prof. Rhŷs tell me that he has never met with any word answering to ‘Garmani’; cf. his Celtic Britain, p. 139. The whole sentence is omitted by the AS. translator; perhaps because it was no longer true.


Rugini] Probably the Rugii of Tacitus, Germ. c. 43. Their original seat was on the Baltic, where they have left their name in the Island of Rügen, and in Rügenwalde. They played a prominent part in the wars of Attila, 433-453, after which they appear on the north side of the Danube, in Austria, and Upper Hungary; Dict. Class. Geogr.; cf. Zeuss, u. s. pp. 154, 484-486.


Hunni] The invasion of Europe by the Huns under Attila fills a large space in the history of the fifth century. But they made no lasting settlements. It is possible that Bede includes under the name the Avars, who formed a large kingdom to the north of the Danube, and in the seventh century were the most dangerous invaders of the Roman territory; Freeman, Hist. Geog. pp. 90, 96, 117; cf. Zeuss, u. s. pp. 706-710.


Christi miles] The Ann. Ult. adopt this phrase when speaking of Egbert’s death under the year 728, and Tighernach translates it, calling him ‘ridire Crist,’ ‘Christ’s knight.’

Columbae monasteria] i.e. the ‘muintir Coluim Cille,’ ‘the family of Columba;’ v. s. on iii. 4.

transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem] ‘in þem mórlandum ða ðe siordan to norðdæle Peohta rices,’ ‘in the mountain-districts which belong to the north part of the kingdom of the Picts,’ AS. vers.

Columcille. nunc . . . uocatur] ‘þe Scottas siððan Columcille nemdon,’ ‘whom the Irish afterwards called Columcille,’ AS. vers.; (omitting the clause ‘composito . . . nomine’). This is the regular name of St. Columba in Irish sources; generally abbreviated to

araatra . . . ineundunt] Cf. Bede, Opp. i. 214: ‘etsi [lectorem] in sanctuarium prophetici sensus introduce nesciui, ab aratro tamen haereticae deceptionis longius abduxi.’ In the Irish lives of St. Brigit, from the Lebar Breece and Book of Lismore, Stokes, Three Irish Homilies, p. 68; Lismore Lives, p. 45, and in one of the Latin Lives, printed in Colgan’s Trias Thaumaturga, Vita IV. ii. 27, pp. 553-554, there is a curious vision in which the progress of the gospel under Patrick and Brigit is represented by four ploughs which plough the whole of Ireland, while the work of the false teachers is figured by four other ploughs which plough across the furrows of the first.

p. 208. remanere domi passus est] ‘unrot ham ferde,’ ‘went home sad,’ AS. vers.

Uictberct] He also is mentioned in Alcuin’s life of Wilfrord, Witbert, u. s., in connexion with the latter and Egbert as ‘uenerabilis . . . sacerdos Dei.’ There are no criteria for dating these abortive attempts of Egbert and Witbert, except that they must be prior to 690, as that is the date of Wilfrord’s mission; v. c. 10.

Rathbedo] On him, see c. 10.

CHAPTER 10.

p. 299. Uilbrord] At his consecration by Pope Sergius, he was Wilfrord, given the name of Clement; c. 11, p. 303; but the Roman name never became in his case the accepted name, as in the case of Wynfrid-Boniface. His life was written in Prose and Verse by Lives by Alcuin at the request of Beornred, Archbishop of Sens, and abbot of Wilfrord’s monastery of Epternach (777-797); the former for public use in the church, the other for the private instruction of the pupils in the monastic school; Mon. Alc. p. 39. Both are printed in Mon. Alc. pp. 39-79; the metrical life also in Poetae Lat. Aevi Carol. i. 237 ff. For earlier editions, see Hardy, Cat. i. 465-467. Alcuin’s work was based on an earlier life by an Irishman: ‘Nam primo quidam linguae ae gentis Scotticae aggressus tanti uiri gesta describere, rustico stilo detriuit dignitatem hystoriae, dein . . . Alewinus de Britannia, uir urbanae elegantiae, utpote magni Karoli yperasspistes, . . . conatus est in urbanum lepido seponere dicto et incompta comere;’ Thiofridi Vita Willibr. c. 24, cited in Pertz, xxiii. 11. This earlier life is not known to exist. Wattenbach is therefore wrong in saying of Alcuin: ‘Willibrordi uitam ante eum nemo scripsaret,’ Mon. Alc. p. 35. But when Wattenbach wrote, these extracts from the life by Theofrid, Abbot of Epternach
(† 1110), had not been published. Wattenbach also complains that the lives contain so few historical facts and so many miracles; but it is idle to find fault with any class of literature because it does not furnish what it never professed to give; cf. M. Fustel de Coulanges: ‘il est bien certain que ces biographies n'étaient pas rédigées en vue de faire œuvre historique... La biographie était comme la légende explicative des reliques que le couvent possédait, et qui faisaient sa fortune. Aussi... s'allongeait-elle de tous les miracles que le saint avait faits pendant sa vie, et de tous ceux qu'il produisait après sa mort;’ La Monarchie Franque, pp. 9-12 (cited by Dr. Stokes, Lismore Lives, pp. xci. f.). The whole passage is admirable. The following facts however can be made out.

Wilbrord was a Northumbrian, born in 657 or 658. His father, Wilgils, after the birth of his son, became an anchorite on a promontory at the mouth of the Humber (e. 1, 2). His day was observed as a festival in the monastery of his son (e. 31), and Alcuin himself ruled the cell where his body reposed (Pref. and e. 1). As soon as the child was weaned, he was entrusted to the monks of Ripon (e. 3); cf. Eddius, c. 26, cited on next chapter. In his twentieth year (i.e. c. 677), he went to Ireland, where he remained twelve years with Egbert and Wigbert or Witbert (e. 4). In 690 (cf. ib. p. 46, note cited on c. 11. inf.) he set out for the Continent, landing at the mouth of the Rhine, and proceeding thence to Traiectum (Utrecht). Finding Radbod and his Frisians wholly heathen he retired to Pippin (e. 5), and this is the point where Bede's account begins. The sequel will be given in the notes to e. 11. A cleric belonging to his household was cured at Lindisfarne at the tomb of St. Cuthbert; Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 44; Vita Anon. § 45. The chief modern authority for Wilbrord is Thijm, ‘Willibrord, der Apostel der Niederlande’ (German translation from the Dutch).

numero XII] One of his companions was named Adalbert (i.e. Æðelberht), and settled at Egmond in North Holland; Ann. Xantenses, 690, 694 a d.; Pertz, ii. 220. The list given in the life of Swidbert by Marcellinus is, like the rest of that life, quite spurious (Surius, March i, v. H. & S. iii. 225). On the frequency of the number twelve, cf. on iii. 26.

ad Pippinum ducem Francorum] This is Pippin of Heristal, the Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, and real ruler of the Franks. The battle of Tistry, 687, had established the ascendency of Austrasia over Neutria, and that of his family over both. The shadow of Merovingian royalty continued till 752, when his grandson Pippin set the crown of the Franks upon his head (cf. Kitchin’s France, i. 94 ff.). This later Pippin was baptized by
Wilbrord, who is said to have foretold his future greatness:
'scitote quod iste infans ... erit ... omnium praecedentium
Francorum ducibus maior; ' Mon. Ale. p. 56; cf. Pertz, x. 557.
Pippin of Heristal died in 714, and was succeeded by his son
Charles Martel (+ 741), the father of Pippin the Short, and grand-
father of Charles the Great.

citeriorem Fresiam] i.e. the part of Fresia nearest to the Franks:
in other words, the south-western portion.

Rathbedo rege] Alcuin (Vita Willbr. Pros. c. 5) also calls him Rathbedo
'king.' He was continually at war with the Franks under Pippin
and Charles Martel. He died in 719, having in the preceding year
withdrawn from the very edge of the baptismal font on being told
by the officiating prelate, St. Wulframn, Archbishop of Sens, that
his heathen ancestors were 'in tartarea damnatone.' 'Qui statim
pedem a fonte retraxit, dicens se non posse carere consortio prae-
decessorum suorum, et cum paruo numero sedere in caelesti regno;
' Ann. Xant. Pertz, ii. 221; Vita Wulframni, AA.SS. Ord. Bened.
iii. 361; H. & S. iii. 225; Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 170-183.
St. Boniface heard of his death as he was returning from Rome;
Mon. Mog. p. 446; and there is a letter from Bugga to St. Boniface
congratulating him on the fall of Rathbedo, 'inimieus catholicae
ecclesiae.' After his death Boniface assisted Wilbrord for three
years. Wilbrord wished to consecrate him bishop, but he re-
fused to be consecrated without the licence of the Pope; Mon.

Heuuald] Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. v. 1045, gives their name The two
as Herwaldus. Their mission must be later than 690, and before Heualds.
the death of Pippin in 714 (v. infra); but there are no data for
fixing it more exactly; R. W. places it in 695, i. 188; cf. D. C. B.
iii. 14, and reff.

hospitium ... uilici] 'sumes tungerefan giæstern,' 'the guest-
house of some township reeve,' AS. vers.

satrapam ... satrapas] 'aldorman, aldormenn,' AS. vers. For Constitu-
the constitutional importance of this notice see S. C. H. i. 41, 42; tion of the
old Saxons.

cf. on iv. 12.

p. 300. tabulam ... dedicatam] In the York Pontifical Portable
(Surtees Soc. 1873), pp. 124-132, there is a form for 'Benedictio
altar. lapidis portabilis siue lapidis iterinarii; ' but in the rubries the
word 'tabula' constantly occurs as an alternative to 'lapis,' pp. 126,
127, 131, 132, and of course a wooden altar would be much more
portable. A portable wooden altar belonging to St. Cuthbert was
found in his tomb, and is now in the Chapter Library at Durham;
D. C. A. i. 69; cf. ib. ii. 1560.
idle rage of persecutors.


uicanos . . . uicum] 'tunceipe . . . tun,' AS. vers.


radius lucis] Cf. i. 33.

p. 301. milite] 'cyninges ðægn,' 'king's thegn,' AS. vers.

in ecclesia Coloniae ciuitatis] The Gallican martyrology cited by Smith says 'in collegiata S. Cuniberti.' Hanno II, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1074 translated their bodies and placed them one on each side of the patron saint, Cunibert; Pertz, xi. 482, and note, 500, 506. Frederick, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1121 gave a portion of their relics to Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg; Pertz, xii. 862. The church of St. Victor at Xanten, Pertz, xiii. 44, and the abbey of Gorze, near Metz, ib. xv. 976, also claimed to possess portions of their relics.

CHAPTER 11.

acceleravit uenire Romam] Wilbrord went twice to Rome; once to obtain the papal sanction to his mission (probably in 692, Mon. Alc. p. 45, note), the second time to receive consecration at the hands of the Pope in 695. The first visit is mentioned here, the second further on in this chapter. Alcuin only mentions one visit; cc. 6, 7.

destructis idolis] Wilbrord showed heroic courage in this work; witness his attack on the heathen sanctuary of the god Fosite in Heligoland, Alcuin, cc. 10, 11 (on this deity, who was a son of Balder, see Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, i. 188 ff., ed. 1875); and his breaking down of the idol at Walcheren; Alc. c. 14; cf. the letter of Boniface cited below. He extended his missionary labours 'ad feroceissimos Danos,' and their king, Ongendus (who has been identified with the Ongentheow of the Beowulf); but finding them obdurate, he brought away thirty Danish boys, baptizing them lest any of them should perish on the journey, ib. c. 9 (cf. St. Gregory's earlier idea of converting the Angles by similar means, sup. i. 23, note).

reliquias . . . introduceret] Cf. sup. on i. 30.

singuales presbiteros, et uerbi Dei sibi cooperatores, quatemus nomus Dei populus haberet quo se ... congregaret, ... uel a quibus saeri baptismatis munera accepisset, et christianae religionis regularis edisceret.' This is an interesting passage for the growth of the parochial system; cf. Lappenberg, i. 190; E. T. i. 197; iii. 2, p. 130, note.

p. 302. Suidbercetum] Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. v. 1073, joins with Swidbert. him a certain 'Wyra sacerdos,' on whom see Jaffé's note ad loc.; cited also II. Y. i. 381. We have already seen that the life of Swidbert by Marcellinus in Surius, March 1, is a gross forgery.

qui eis ... antistes] His see while bishop in Frisia was at His see. Dorostadium or Dorostat, now Wijk-bij-Duurstede on the Rhine. This appears from an entry at the end of the Vienna fifth-century Livy (Hofbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 15): 'Sutbertus episcopus de Dorostat;' Palaeographical Soc., plate 183. It would seem that amid his missionary labours he kept up a taste for classical learning.

Ulftrid] v. on c. 19.

non enim ... recereto] This must have been after Bertwald's election, but before his return from Gaul; i.e. between July 1, 692, and Aug. 31, 693; v. c. 8 ad fin.

Blitthrydae] This is the name commonly written Plectrudis. Plectrude, wife of Pippin. After Pippin's death she tried to grasp his power, but very soon had to give way before Charles Martel, the son of Pippin by a concubine. The date of her death seems to be unknown.

In litore] Now Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, about seven miles Kaisersnorth of Düsseldorf. In a silver shrine in the old 'Stiftskirche' werth. are still preserved what are believed to be the relics of St. Swidbert. Both church and shrine are of the thirteenth century; Baedeker's Rheinlande (1886), p. 412.

heredes ... eius] 'his ereweadas,' AS. vers. So Sax. Chron. 565 E. of Columba, translating Bede's 'successores,' iii. 4, p. 134; cf. the Irish 'comarba,' 'coarb,' literally 'heir,' constantly used of the successor of a founder.

diem ... ultimum] 713. 'Depositio Suitberthi Episcopi;' Ann. Death of Franeorum (eighth century); Bouquet, ii. 641. A corrupt entry in an early ninth-century chronicle, under the same year, probably refers to the same event; ib. 644. His day is March 1. The date of his death has also been given as 714, Hardy, Cat. i. 411, and 715, Smith, a. l. A homily and some verses on him by St. Radbod, bishop of Utrecht (901-918), are printed in AA. SS. March, i. 84, 85; with a long preliminary dissertation, ib. 67 ff.

p. 303. anno ... DCXCVI] This is Wilbrord's second visit to Rome. It is probable that Bede has placed it a year too late; for an entry Wilbrord's second visit to Rome.
made in the year 728 in an old calendar belonging to the monastery of Epternach says: 'Clemens Willibrordus anno DCXC... ueniebat... in Francia, et... anno DCXCV,... quamuis insignis, fuit ordinatus in Roma episcopus a... Sergio Papa.' The words 'quamuis insignis' make it almost certain that this entry is genuine and by Wilbrord himself. No later writer, especially in his own monastery, would have dreamed of inserting them. The entry was discovered by Bolland; AA. SS. Ian. I. xlvi; cited Mon. Alc. p. 46, note.

His consecration.

Utrecht and Wiltenburg.

Boniface's account of Wilbrord.

ordinatus... eius] Alcuin, c. 7, says that he was consecrated in St. Peter's; but this is a very natural substitution of the better for the less known church. A difficulty has been made because neither in 695 nor in 696 did St. Cecilia's day (Nov. 22) fall on a Sunday, the usual day for consecrating bishops. But it was a festival, and in her own church would be a high festival. The church meant is Santa Cecilia in Trastevere; said to have been founded by Urban I (223–230?) and rebuilt by Paschal I (817–824); Gregorovius, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, i. 80, 251; iii. 48 ff.

quod... uocatur] 'sio alde worde þere þiode is nemned Wiltaburg, Galleas nemnað Traiectum, we eowþað Æt Treocum,' 'which by an ancient name of that people is called Wiltburg, the Gauls call it Traiectum, we say Æt Treocum,' AS. vers. 'Monet Cluuerius distinguendum locum Wiltaburg, qui hodie quoque dicitur Wiltenburg, a Traiecto, Utrecht;' note in Bouquet, iii. 642. And Zedler's Universal-Lexicon says that Wiltenburg is the name of a small village a mile from Utrecht, where remains are still to be seen of the city which was the seat of the bishops of Utrecht. But the two names seem to be used quite indiscriminately; e.g. Liudger (who had seen St. Boniface) writes: 'in loco qui nuncupatur Traiectum, et alio nomine Wiltburg;' Pertz, xv. 75; cf. ii. 361. Charles Martel in 722 made a formal grant of Utrecht to Wilbrord (see the document in Bouquet, iv. 699). But in this he was probably only confirming what his father had already done.

ecclesia] St. Saviour's; cf. the interesting notice of Wilbrord in St. Boniface's letter of 755 to Pope Stephen III: 'tempore Sergii... pontificis usit ad limina... apostolorum presbiter quidam mirae abstinentiae et sanctitatis, generis Saxonum, nomine Wilbrord, et alio nomine Clemens uocatus; quem praefatus papa episcopum ordinavit, et ad praedicandum paganam gentem Fresorum transmisit in littoribus oceani occidui. Qui per l. annos praedicans, praefatam gentem Fresorum maxima ex parte convertit ad fidel Christi, fana et dilubra destruxit, et ecclesias construxit, et sedem episcopalem et ecclesiam in honore sancti Salvatoris
constituenis in \ldots castello quod dicitur Traiectum. Et in illa sede et ecclesia \ldots praedicans usque ad debilem senectutem permansit. Et sibi corepiscopum ad ministerium implendum substituit; et finitis longaeae uitaee diebus, in pace migravit ad Dominum.'


monasteria] Among these the principal would be Epternach, where he died and was buried. Many grants to this monastery are in Pertz, xxiii. 59-64.

ipse autem \ldots superest] Cf. what Bede says of him in the Chron. : 'idem Papa Sergius ordinavit \ldots Willibrordum cognomine Clementem Fresonum genti episcopum, in qua usque hodie pro acetera patria peregrinus, est enim de Britannia gentis Anglicorum, innumera quotidie diabolo detrimenta et Christianae fidei facit augmenta;' Opp. vi. 328; Opp. Min. p. 200. So Eddius says of Wilfrid's work in Frisia: 'primum ibi \ldots fundamentum fidei posuit, quod adhuc superadecificat filius eius in Hripis nutritus, gratia Dei Wilbrordus episcopus, multo labore desudans, cuius merces manet in aeternum.' As to the date of his death, Alcuin, Vita Metr. c. 24, says:

'Bis octona pius conpleuit lustra sacerdos,
Ter quater et menses, mensis iam iamque Nouembri
Idibus octonis, caeli migravit ad aulam.'

\textit{i. e.} he was eighty-one when he died. He was in his thirty-third year in 690 (u. s.); therefore he must have died in 738 or 739. The latter is the year given in Theofrid's life of him, c. 24; Pertz, xxiii. 25.

When Boniface states (u. s.) that he preached for fifty years, he is obviously using a round number. It is not far wrong, however. As to the day of his death, Alcuin (u. s.), and in the Prose Life, gives Nov. 6: Theofrid gives Nov. 7, and this is his day in the Roman Calendar. He was buried at Epternach, and his remains were translated in 1031; Pertz, xv. 1307; xxiii. 27, 34. For various notices of his relics v. Pertz, xv. 967, 970, 971, 1095, 1271, 1273, 1274, 1283. Less than fifty years after his death:

'Widukind Dux Saxonom \ldots euerit Frisones a uia Dei \ldots et \ldots fecit [eos] Christi fidel relinquere;' Pertz, ii. 410.

\textit{tricesimum et sextum \ldots annum}] If Wilbrord was consecrated on Nov. 22, 695, the thirty-sixth year of his episcopate would be
from Nov. 22, 730, to Nov. 21, 731. As Bede wrote the Hist. Eccl. in 731, this confirms what was said above as to the year of Wilbrord’s consecration. At the same time it is not quite incompatible with his having been consecrated in 696, as Bede may have written this part of his history after Nov. 21, 731.

CHAPTER 12.

His temporibus] It is impossible to say what date Bede means to indicate by this vague reference. The dates mentioned or implied in the last chapter range from 692 to 696. The Sax. Chron. D. E. place Drythelm’s vision under 693. ‘Her... Drythelm [Brihthelm E.] wæs of life gelaed,’ ‘Here Drythelm was led forth from life’ [not ‘died’ as I have wrongly taken it in my glossary to the Sax. Chron.; and as it is taken also by the writer of the article Drythelm in the D. C. B.]. The Ann. Xantenses place it under 671, which is certainly too early; Pertz, ii. 220. It must be some little time before the death of Aldfrid 705, as he used to come ‘saepissime’ to hear Drythelm at Melrose, infra. R. W. places it under 699; i. 190.

antiquorum simile] Two of the earliest instances of visions of this kind which have come down to us, are contained in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas (Salmon, Introduction N. T. 3rd ed. 1888, pp. 358 ff.) and the Apocalypse of Peter, of which about half has recently been recovered, both being at least as early as the second century. The latter, through the medium of the Apocalypse of Paul, which is of the end of the fourth century, has influenced almost the whole of this branch of mediaeval literature, which is very extensive, and reaches its culminating point in the Divina Commedia; cf. Robinson and James on the Gospel and Revelation of Peter, pp. 39 ff. A list of this class of literature will be found in Mr. Ward’s Catalogue of Romances, ii. 396 ff. Ælfric, Hom., ed. Thorpe, ii. 332, is indignant that any one should read ‘the lying work called Paul’s vision,’ when St. Paul himself declared that it was not lawful to utter the things which he heard. In Mon. Mog. pp. 53–61, there is a very curious vision of a monk of Much Wenlock narrated by St. Boniface in a letter written 717 X 718. The vision itself cannot be later than 716, as Ceolred of Mercia (709–716) was then alive, though in the vision he appears in torment (cf. Dante’s Frate Alberigo and Branca d’Oria, Inf. xxxiii. 118–147). This vision presents several points of contact with Drythelm’s. Another vision of the eighth century is in Ethelwulf de Abbatibus, c. 11; in S. D. i. 277–279. In 824 Hetto, Bishop of Basle, wrote the vision
of Wetinus, the monk of Reichenau, in which Charles the Great appears suffering punishment; Poetae Lat. aeu Carol. ii. 269 ff. This was afterwards versified by Walafridus Strabo; ib. 301 ff. This vision was very famous; v. Bouquet, vi. 225. Cf. the vision of the Emperor Charles III given from Hariulf, by W. M. i. 112–116. The Chron. of Verdun 934, has a vision of a deacon named Adelmar, who having died and received sentence of condemnation, was restored to life by the prayers of the Virgin and St. Martin; Bouquet, viii. 290; cf. the vision of Eadulf, 1075 x 1080, in S. D. i. 114–116, who expressly refers to the parallel of Drythelm. An Irish parallel which has interest for readers of Bede is the vision of Adamnan, ‘Fis Adamnáin’, of which the oldest copy is in the Lebar na h-Uidre, a MS. of c. 1100, printed in Windisch, Ir. Texte, i. 169 ff., from two MSS. Though ascribed to the biographer of St. Columba, it must be later than his time; Reeves, Ad. p. lli. The Visio Tnugdali (ed. Wagner, 1882) and St. Patrick’s Purgatory, both of Irish origin, and both of the twelfth century, were very popular in the Middle Ages; cf. Wagner, u.s. pp. v ff.; Wright, St. Patrick’s Purgatory, pp. 32, 60 ff. The former vision is placed under 1149 by Alberic of Trois Fontaines; Pertz, xxiii. 840, who also gives a very interesting account of the latter; ib. 834–836. ‘Tnugdalus’ represents the Irish name Dungal (Dubgal, in Icelandic Annal. 1149; Sturlunga Saga, ii. 358), and an Icelandic version under the name ‘Duggals leiðsla’ is printed in Heilagra Manna Sögur, i. 329 ff. (‘leiðsla’, lit. ‘leading’, is the regular name in Icelandic for these visions of the other world; cf. ‘of life gelæd,’ quoted above). There is an Anglo-Saxon Homily on Drythelm in Ælfric, ed. Thorpe, ii. 348 ff. The popularity of the story is shown by the fact that this chapter often occurs separately in MSS.: e.g. Troyes, No. 1876; Bourges, No. 97; Basle, University Library, A. v. 39; Bibliothèque Mazarine, Catalogue, p. 144.

p. 304. Incuneningum] Generally identified with Cunningham, just within the Scotch border. Mr. Moberly in a private communication suggests Chester-le-Street, of which the Saxon name was Cunungaeaster.

ad uillulae oratorium] ‘to ðære ciricean þæs tunes,’ ‘to the church of the township,’ AS. vers.

peruenit] ‘7 wearð... ðam abbude Æþelwolde underþeod,’ ‘and became subject to Abbot Ethelwald;’ Ælfric, u.s. (on Ethelwald, see below).

contra ... solstitialem] ‘ongen norðeast rodor, swa sunnan upgong bið æt middum sumere,’ ‘towards the north-east quarter, where sunrise is at midsummer,’ AS. vers.

“To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.’

sola . . . umbras] Verg. Aen. vi. 268:

‘Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram.’

In Opp. viii. 215, Bede quotes the whole line with ‘uadunt,’ instead of ‘ibant.’


sonum . . . promiscuum] Cf. Dante, Inf. iii. 22-30:

‘Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,’ &c.

quasi fulgor stellae micantis, &c.] See the critical note; and cf. Dante, Purg. xii. 88-90:

‘A noi venia la creatura bella
Bianco vestita, e nella faccia quale
Par tremolando mattutina stella.’

Cf. ib. ii. 13 ff. and Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 953-955, versifying this tale of Drythelm:
'Tunc mihi post terram fulsit quasi stella per umbras,
Quae magis accrescens prope anseque fugaverat hostes;
Dux erat ille meus ueniens cum luce repente.'

p. 307. contra orum ... brumalem] 'sudest on 6on roðor swa
swa on wintre sunne upp gone,' 'south-east to the quarter where
the sun rises in winter,' AS. vers.

et ecco ibi campus, &c.] This is the passage which comes closest to
the Apocalypse of Peter; v. Robinson and James, u. s. pp. 49, 90. § 5.

p. 308. locus, in quo examinandas, &c.] For Bede's own view Purgatory.

qui differentes consfiteri] The fate of these souls in Dante is
much less terrible; Cf. Purg. iii.

multos ... adiuuunt] Cf. Dante, Purg. iii. 140, 141:

'Se tal decreto
Più corto per buon prieghi non diventa.'

p. 309. multum detestatus sum] This is a common feature in
these stories; cf. Lismore Lives, p. xii.

non omnibus ... desidiosis, &c.] Cf. iii. 19, p. 167.

Aldfrido] v. on iv. 26; Introduction, p. xxxiii.

p. 310. monasterio supra memorato] i.e. Melrose.

Edilwald] He had been a servant 'minister' of St. Cuthbert; Ethelwald.
Vita Anon. § 23; Vita Pros. c. 30. When the former life was
written he was 'Praepositus' or 'Prior' of Melrose, when the latter
was written he was abbot; Opp. Min. pp. 277, 107. If the date of his
abacy could be fixed, it would help to fix the date of this vision of
Drythelm, and of Bede's life of Cuthbert. He became bishop of
Lindisfarne after Eadfrid, who died 721. The date of Ethelwald's
consecration is generally given as 724. This is an inference from the
fact that S. D. ii. 32 says that he died in 740 (so Cont. Baedae, infr.
p. 362; 739, Fl. Wig.; 737, Sax. Chron. D. E.), while in i. 39 he says
that he was bishop sixteen years. But this seems, insufficient
ground on which to traverse the statement of Fl. Wig. that he
succeeded in 721; which is also the more probable date, as no
vacancy of the see is anywhere hinted at. He caused a beautiful
stone cross to be erected with his name at Lindisfarne, which
shared the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body till it reposed at
Durham; S. D. i. 39. He also caused a cover of gold and jewels to
be made for the copy of the Gospels which his predecessor Eadfrid
had written in honour of St. Cuthbert; S. D. i. 64-68 (where the
adventures of this book are narrated. In visions of St. Cuthbert,
the saint appears holding this book; ib. 204, 232). It is now in the
Brit. Mus., Cott. Nero D. iv., but Ethelwald's cover had been re-
moved before it came into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton;
and the existing cover is modern, the gift of Bishop Maltby. There is an interesting account of the MS. by Sir E. Maunde Thompson in Bibliographica, Part ii. pp. 129-138. He sees no reason to doubt the local tradition recorded in the colophon appended by the Priest Aldred who, in the tenth century, added the Northumbrian gloss to the MS. He thinks the illuminations were done by special artists under Eadfrid's directions. There are facsimiles also in the series issued by the Palaeographical Society, plates 3-6, 22; but no facsimile can give any idea of the exquisite beauty of the original. It is the fairest MS. that has ever come under my notice; cf. D. C. B. ii. 7; and Dom Germain Morin, in the Revue Bénédictine, 1891, pp. 481, 529, cited by Sir E. M. Thompson.


CHAPTER 13.

P. 311. temporibus Coenredi] He reigned from 704 to 709, v. infr. c. 24, pp. 355, 356; therefore this incident must be placed between those years; R. W. places it under 707, i. 200. The Sax. Chron. MSS. D. E. record his accession both at 702 and at 704. The former entry is probably due to the uncritical copying of some authority of which the chronology is antedated by two years.

officio militari positus] 'cyninges þeng,' 'a king's thane;' AS. vers.

tempore sequente] 'þonne he eldra were,' 'when he should be older;' inserts AS. vers.; which inserts the same phrase again lower down, before the words 'cum . . . resurgeret.'


ib. § 16, pp. 45, 46: προετρεχειν αυτην [sc. ψυχην άσεβει] ο συνήθης ἄγγελος λέγων . . . ταλαίπωρε ψυχη ποιν πορευει; εγω ελμι ο καθ' εκάστην ήμεραν ἀπογραφόμενος τάς ἀμαρτίας σου. § 17, p. 47: και ήκουσα του κριτου λέγοντος 'έαν έλθη ο ἄγγελος επι χειρας εκων το χειρόγραφον των ἀμαρτημάτων σου.

inueni omnia scelera, &c.] Cf. Bede on Prov. v. 14: 'Quod ergo sero poenitens ait contemptor sapientiae: paene fui in omni malo in medio ecclesiae et synagogae; uidetur misero magnitudinem suae
damnationis perpendenti, quia nihil paene fuerit sceleris, quo non sit irretitus, qui tanta meruit tormenta subire;’ Opp. ix. 79.

desperans] In a Christmas homily, commenting on the Magnificat, Bede says: ‘Nunquam de impetranda admissores uenia desperemus, quia misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum, Nulli inter mala quae fecit grauiior impoenitendi culpa surripiat, quia Deus superbis resistit, eosque a beatorum sorte secernens, per uaria peenarum loca pro peccatorum uarietate dispergit;’ Opp. ix. 122; x. 258.

p. 313. ne ... praeventi] Cf. the Ash Wednesday antiphon in the Roman Missal: ‘Emendemus in melius quae ignoranter pecca- uimus: ne subito praeoccupati die mortis, quaeramus spatium poenitentiae, et inuenire non possimus.’

psalrus] ‘se scalm scop,’ ‘the Psalmist,’ AS. vers.
siue audientium] Bede evidently contemplates the possibility of his work being read aloud for purposes of edification, as was in fact done. See the additional critical notes for evidence as to the way in which passages of the H. E. were used as lections in Church and Refectory. This very chapter occurs separately in a MS. of the Basle University Library, A. v. 39.

CHAPTER 14.

Novi autem, &c.] R. W. places this incident in 728; but there are no means of determining the date. He speaks very dishonestly, as if he were concealing the name of the culprit which he knew: ‘quem nomine supersedeo,’ i. 217.

maioribus] ‘ealdormannum,’ ‘aldermen,’ AS. vers.

p. 314. fabrili arte singularis] For another monastic smith, but of a very different character, cf. Ethelwulf de Abbatibus, c. 10; S. D. i. 276, 277:

‘Mirificis fratrem liceat memorare loquelis,
Ferreia qui domitans potuit formare metalla,
Diversisque modis sapiens incude subactum
Malleus in ferrum peditat stridente camino.’

quod solent dicere] ‘dictum crudelissimum.’ 0₁.
quia uideret, &c.] The words are obviously chosen with a view to bringing out the contrast between this vision and that of St. Stephen, cited below.

Sataman] ‘pone ealdan feond moneynnes,’ ‘the ancient enemy of mankind,’ inserts AS. vers.

Caiphanque] ‘pone ealdorman para sacerda,’ ‘the alderman or chief of the priests,’ inserts AS. vers. Cf. Dante, Inf. xxiii. 115 ff.
The Eclesiastical History.

[Bk. V.]

Prayers for the impenitent dead.

[Note on last chapter.

neque aliquid pro eo] Bede himself, on 1 John v. 16, discussing the sin unto death, for which St. John dares not bid us pray, says: 'peccatum quod in hac uita non corrigitur, eius uenia frustra post mortem postulatur;' Opp. xii. 318. Cf. Theodore's Penitential, I. v. 11: 'Si episcopus aut abbass iusservit monacho suo pro hereticis mortuis missam cantare, non licet et non expedit oboedire ei.' Legatine Synod of 787, § 20: 'Si quis . . . sine poenitentia aut confessione de hac luce discessit, pro eo minime orandum est;' H. & S. iii. 181, 459. Cf. ib. 227. Yet prayers for the heathen dead were allowed in the early Church. Cf. Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire, p. 421.


uidit caelos apertos] Commenting on this passage of the Acts, Bede says: 'Ad confortandam . . . beati martyris patientiam coelestis regni ianua panditur, et ne innoxius homo lapidatus titubet in terra, Deus homo crucifixus apparat coronatus in coelo. Unde quia stare pugnantis uel adiuuans est, recte a dextris Dei stantem udit, quem inter homines perseverantes adiutorem habuit . . . Marcus eum . . . sedere describit, qui situs iudicantis est, quia et nunc inuisibilitur omnia iudicat, et ad extremum Index omnium uisibilis adueniet;' Opp. xii. 37. Cf. x. 262 (on Mark xvi. 19.

CHAPTER 15.

The AS. vers. omits cc. 15-17, and gives as caputum xv: 'Dae moneg a eyricean . . . eall geleafican Eastra onfengon; 7 be Ealdelme, se 0a bœc de uirginitate 7 eac 0a ra manega geworhte; ge eac þet Suðseaxan 7c.' (as in capitum xviii. inf., p. 320), 'That many churches . . . received the Catholic Easter; and of Aldhelm, who composed the book De Virginitate, and many others also; and, further, how the South Saxons, &c.'

P. 315. Quo tempore] H. & S. ii. 6, 7; take this to mean the year of Adamnan's death (703 or 704, v. infr.), but it can hardly be fixed so precisely. The change might be spread over several years, as were the labours of Adamnan in Ireland, to which the change was mainly due. See below.

plurima . . . Hibernia] i.e. the northern Irish; the southern Irish had conformed long before this. See on iii. 3. It was, however, only those 'qui ab Hiensium dominio erant liberi' who yielded to Adamnan's arguments (infra), and this limits the 'plurima pars' considerably.
Notes.

nonnulla . . . de Brettonibus] Probably the Strathclyde Britons; as do some of the Britons. H. & S. u. s. The chronological reference is not, however, so precise as to exclude the possibility that Bede is thinking also of the Cornish Britons (Cornwalas'), some of whom were converted by Aldhelm, infr. c. 18, pp. 320, 321, whose letter to Gerontius (Geraint), King of Damnonia, on the Paschal question, was written in 705; H. & S. iii. 268. I do not think that Bede's words imply that Adamnan had anything to do with the conversion of the Britons; ib. ii. 7. If he had, it would only be the Strathclyde Britons that he could be brought into contact with. The Britons of Wales did not begin to conform till after the middle of the eighth century, and the controversy lasted on into the ninth century; ib. i. 203, 204. Cf. infr. c. 23 ad fin.

Adamnan . . . Hii] This is the biographer of St. Columba, and ninth abbot of Iona, 679-704. Much material relating to him is collected by Dr. Reeves in the Introduction to his monumental edition of Adamnan's Life of Columba, but the material requires rather more critical sifting than Dr. Reeves has given it. Cf. also S. C. S. ii. 170-175. On the churches dedicated to Adamnan in Ireland and Scotland, and the various transformations undergone by his name, v. Rs. Ad. pp. lxi-lxviii, 256-258.

cum legationis gratia . . . uenisset] He is described in the same way, c. 21, p. 344: 'legatus suae gentis ad Aldfridum regem.' Adamnan tells us himself that he paid two visits to the Northumbrian court: 'regem Aldfridum usitantes amicum, . . . et in prima post bellum Ecfridi usitacione, et in secunda interiectis duobus annis;' Rs. Ad. pp. 185, 186. The 'bellum Ecfridi' is, of course, Nechtansmere, 685. The object of the first visit was to obtain from Aldfrid, whose friendship he had no doubt acquired during the latter's exile ('regem . . . amicum,' cf. Fragments of Irish Ann. p. 110, cited on iv. 26), the release of the prisoners brought from Ireland by Egfrid's general, Bert, in 684; iv. 26. In this he was successful: 'Adomnanus captiuos reduxit ad Hiberniam lx;' Tigh. 687; Ann. Ult. 686. The latter is probably the right date; cf. F. M. 684. (For a later mythical account of this mission, v. Rs. Ad. pp. xlv.f.) The second visit would then fall in 688. The conference with Ceolfrid, c. 21, is generally connected with this second visit; Reeves, Skene; O'Donovan, ad F. M. 684, connects it with the first; and the similarity of the words in which Adamnan is described here and in c. 21, v. s., makes this the more probable view. Reeves, u. s. p. 187, following Westminster, as he says, places the mission mentioned by Bede in 701; H. & S. ii. 109 place it as late as 703. This is impossible. The language of Bede, 'cum . . .
uenisset,’ does not exclude, and the probabilities of the case require
an interval of some time between Adamnan’s own conversion and
his success in bringing over the Northern Irish. Reeves himself,
p. liii, says that Adamnan was in Ireland in 701, which makes it
the more strange that he should have been misled by Westminster.
The latter is here simply copying Matth. Paris, Chron. Mai. i. 318,
who in turn is copying R. W. i. 196. None of these have, of course,
any value for this early period; but in fact the entry implies nothing
as to the date of Adamnan’s mission. The date 701 is merely given
as that of Adamnan’s ‘floruit,’ and then the fact of his mission is
narrated in language taken from Bede. Smith’s reliance on West-
minster is as pathetic as it is unfounded: ‘in re tam obscūra eius
auctoritatem tutus sequor.’

a pluribus . . . admonitus] By Ceolfrid, c. 21, p. 344. Bede
himself, then about fourteen, probably saw Adamnan on this
occasion. Yet Mr. Macpherson, in the Preface to his translation
of Arculfus (see below), says: ‘It is useless to ask whether there
can have been any connexion at all between him [Bede] and
Adamnan;’ p. xvii.

cum suis . . . positis] On this form of argument cf. ii. 19, ad init.
note.

uir bonus, &c.] Compare the character given of him in c. 21,
P. 344.

p. 316. nauigauit Hiberniam] Besides the voyage with the re-
leased prisoners in 686, v. s., the Irish Annals record two journeys of
Adamnan to Ireland; one in 691, Ann. Ult.; 692, Tigh.; the other
pp. 1, li). Reeves, p. liii, thinks that he remained there from that
time until he returned to Iona shortly before his death, as men-
tioned by Bede. This is possible, though it does not seem capable
of proof. The Fragments of Irish Annals, which give a very
mythical and confused account of these events, pp. 110–114, speak
of Adamnan as expelled from Iona. This is no doubt an exaggera-
tion. But the picture they give of the dissensions caused in
Ireland by the Paschal question is probably founded on fact: ‘is
amlad tictis na cleirig isna senadaib, 7 a tuata leo, combitis com-
raicthe catha 7 marbtha imda etorro,’ ‘it is thus that the clergy
would go to the synods; with their lay-folk about them, so
that there were conflicts, and many mutual slaughters.’ The
scribe of the MS. writes ‘calumnia’ in the margin; but we can
prove in many instances that later compilers, like the Four
Masters, deliberately omitted accounts of ecclesiastical dissensions
recorded in their authorities for the sake of avoiding scandal; Rs.
Ad. p. 255. To these troubles in connexion with the Easter question Adamnan is thought to allude at the end of his work De Locis Sanctis, where he speaks of himself as ‘inter laboriosas et prope insustentabiles tota die undique conglobatas ecclesiasticae sollicitudinis occupationes constitutus.’ And he says that Columba foretold them; Reeves, p. 26.

p. 316. qui ab Hiensium ... liberi] On the federation of Columbite monasteries, see notes to iii. 4. Thus both in Ireland and Britain it was precisely among his own flock that Adamnan had the least success.

migrasse de saeculo] 703. Ann. Ult.; 704, Tigh. and Ann. Camb. His day is Sept. 23; Félire; Mart. Doneg. Bede seems to imply that the following year was one in which the two Easters would have differed. If the eighty-four years' cycle given by Ideler was the one used by the Celts, then it would seem that this was the case both in 704 and 705.

scripsit...librum] Of Arculfus, from whose dictation Adamnan wrote this book on the holy places, nothing is known except what Adamnan and Bede have told us, viz. that he was a bishop from Gaul who travelled in the East, and on his return was driven by stress of weather on to the western coast of Britain. Even the name of his see, if he held one, is unknown, though Périgueux has been suggested; Vicomte Alexis de Gourgues, Le saint Suaire, cited by Tobler, ut infra, p. xxx. Adamnan thus describes the mode of composition: ‘Arculfus ... in Hierosolymitana ciuitate per menses IX hospitatus, ... mihi Adamnano haec ... primo in tabulas describenti ... dietauit, quae nunc in membranis ... scribuntur’ (Prologus). Adamnan however does not merely reproduce Arculfus' narrative. He compares his words ‘cum aliorum scriptis’; i. 23; ii. 29. He cites St. Jerome, ii. 7, 10, 28; Josephus, de Bello Iud. ii. 19; cf. Tobler, p. xxxi. Arculfus' pilgrimage has been dated c. 670; ib. xxx. He suffered, as other travellers have suffered, from the impatience of his guide: ‘diutius hospitari non poterat, quin ipsum eogebat locorum peritus Christi miles festinare, de Burgundia ortus, uitam ducens solitariam, Petrus nomine;’ ii. 25; cf. ib. 26. Besides the Holy Land, he visited Damascus, Tyre, Alexandria, Crete, Constantinople, where he saw the exposition of the relics of the true Cross in Holy Week, and Sicily, where he saw Aetna; ii. 27-iii. 6.

The work of Adamnan has been often printed, by Gretser, Ingolstadt, 1619, 4to, reprinted in his collected works; by Mabillon, AA. SS. iv. 502 (1672); by Migne, Pat. Lat. vol. 83, 1850; by Delpit at the end of his Essai sur les anciens pélerinages...
à Jérusalem, 1870; by Tobler in Itinera et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctæ ... saec. iv–xi, i. 139; edited for the Société de l'Orient Latine, 1877. An English translation with notes by the Rev. J. R. Macpherson was issued by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society in 1889. It is on this work of Adamnan's that Bede mainly based his own book De Locis Sanctis; Opp. iv. 402-442; cf. what he says himself at the end of that book: 'Haec de locis sanctis, prout potui, fidem historiae secutus exposui, et maxime Arculphi dictatus Galliarum episcopi, quos eruditissimus in scripturis presbyter Adamnanus lacinioso sermone describens, tribus libellis reprehendit. Siquidem memoratus antistes, desiderio locorum sanctorum patriam deserens, terram repromissionis adiit, aliquot mensibus Hierosolymis demoratus, ueteranoque monacho nomine Petro duce pariter atque interprete usus, cuncta in circuitu, quae desiderauerat, uiuida intentione lustrauit; nee non Alexandriam, Damascum, Constantinopolim, Siciliamque percurrit. Sed cum patriam reuisere uellet, nauis, qua uehebatur, post multis anfractus uento contrario in nostram, id est, Brittanorum insulam perlata est; tandemque ipse post nonnulla pericula ad praefatum uirum uenerabilem Adamnanum ueniens, iter pariter suum, et ea, quae uiderat explicando, pulcherrimae illum historiae docuit esse scriptorem. Ex qua nos aliqua decerpentes, ueterumque libris comparantes, tibi legenda transmittimus, obsecrantes per omnia, ut praesentis seculi laborem, non otio lasciui corporis, sed lectionis orationisque studio tibi temperare satagas.'

From this it will be seen that Bede did not confine himself to merely reproducing Adamnan (cf. Tobler, pref., who shows that he used also Josephus, de Bello Iud., and either Eucherius, or some predecessor of Eucherius). The word 'tibi' shows that the work was addressed to some individual; but the dedication, if there ever was one, seems to have been lost. This work also is printed by Tobler, and translated by Macpherson. From what Bede says at the end of this present chapter, and at the end of c. 17, it might be supposed that the extracts which he gives here were taken direct from Adamnan. That however is not the case. They are all, with the exception of a few words, taken from his own book, as was rightly seen by Mr. Macpherson, p. xviii. I have printed in smaller type the parts which Bede has borrowed from his own work. The italics, whether in the small or larger type, indicate what he derived from Adamnan. There is an abbreviated Irish translation of Bede's work in L. Br. p. 157 b; Laud Misc. 610 f. 27 c. On Holy Places, Pilgrimages, &c., see D. C. A. i. 774 ff.; ii. 1635 ff.
et maxime... norunt] Cf. Bede, In Cant., Lib. i, ad fin.: Bede's desire to instruct his readers. Feci namque hoc non arrogantiaae studendo, sed meae meorumque imperitiae consulendo, qui longius extra orbem, hoc est in insula maris oceani nati et nutriti, ea quae in primis orbis partibus, Arabia dico et India, Iudaea et Aegypto geruntur, non nisi per eorum, qui his interfuerre, scripta nosse ualemus;’ Opp. ix. 200.

CHAPTER 16.

P. 317. I cannot pretend to discuss the subject of the mediaeval topography of Jerusalem, and must content myself with indicating in the margin the sources from which Bede drew.


Anastasis] v. D. C. A. i. 8o, 8i.

p. 318. huius in medio] This passage, to the end of the chapter, is given in a somewhat abbreviated form in Bede's Commentary on Mark xv. 46; Opp. x. 251, 252. Compare also Opp. xi. 284, 358 with Opp. iv. 418, 410; Opp. vii. 167 with Opp. iv. 420.

CHAPTER 17.

brucosa] This word is not in any of the dictionaries. It may be connected with the Low Latin ‘bruscus,’ ‘brushwood.’


memoriae] ‘Memoria, monumentum, sepulcrum, μνημείον;’ Ducange.

uel in eo... excerpsimus] i.e. the De Locis Sanctis of Bede, on Bede's De Locis Sanctis.

CHAPTER 18.

P. 320. Anno... inpleto] For Aldfrid, see notes on iv. 26. His date of death is recorded in most of the Irish authorities and in Ann. Aldfrid’s death. Camb. under the year 703 or 704. The Saxon Chron. follows Bede and gives 705. MSS. D. and E. of the Chron., followed by Fl. Wig., say that he died at Driffield, which is said to be a corruption of Deira-feld, Murray’s Yorkshire (1867), p. 119, in the East Riding
of Yorkshire, on the 19th of the Calends of January, i.e. Dec. 14.
(According to Smith on iv. 26, his monument was still shown at
Little Driffield. It has now disappeared; cf. Murray, u. s. pp. 120,
145.) As he succeeded May 21, 685; this would give him a reign of
more than twenty years, instead of less, as Bede here affirms, while
in c. 1, ad fin., he gives him only nineteen years. Mr. Stevenson
proposed to read Iun. for Janr. in the Chron. and Florence.
Unluckily there are not nineteen days of the Calends of June, as in
May the Ides are on the 15th. Eddius, e. 59, regards the illness and
death of Aldfrid as a judgement on him for his treatment of Wilfrid.
He affirms, on the authority of eye-witnesses, that he repented on
his death-bed and charged his heir, 'quicunque mihi... successerit,'
to make peace with Wilfrid. The words cited show that the suc-
cession was known to be doubtful. For two months Eadwulf, whose
relationship, if any, to the royal house is not known, usurped the
crown. Osred, with Bertfrith, his chief supporter, who is described
as 'secundus a rege princeps,' was besieged at Bamborough; but
on their vowing obedience to the papal commands about Wilfrid,
Eadwulf's partisans deserted him, and Osred obtained the throne;
ib. c. 60; cf. G. P. p. 242. Now if the two months of Eadwulf's
reign, and the synod on the Nidd have to be brought into 705, as
would appear from c. 19, p. 329, then clearly Aldfrid's death
cannot have taken place in Dec. 705. On the other hand it must
be subsequent to Wilfrid's arrival in Britain, and he was not at
Meaux till 705. See notes on c. 19.

Osred... XI] The death of Aldfrid and the accession of Osred
mark the end of Northumbrian greatness; v. Introduction, § 10.
Osred seems to have been a youth of precocious viciousness.
St. Boniface in his letter to Ethelbald (744 × 747) says: 'privilegia
ecclesiarem in regno Anglorum... inuiolata permanserunt usque
ad tempora Ceolredi Regis Mercionum et Osredi Regis Derorum et
Berniciarum. Hi duo reges... commorantes... in stupratione...
nonnarum et fractura monasteriorum,... immatura... morte
praeuenti,... in profundum inferni... demersi sunt,' &c. And
again: 'Osredum quoque spiritus luxoriae... agitauit; usque quod
ipse gloriosum regnum et iuuenilem uitam, et ipsam luxoriosam
174, 175; H. & S. iii. 355; cf. W. M. i. 58. Ethelwulf also gives him
a very bad character:

'Hic igitur multos [sc. proceres] miseranda morte peremit,
Ast alios cogit summo seruire parenti,
Inque monasterii attonso consisterc saeptis,...
Anglorum proceres nimium trucidante tyranno;'

Haeddian] On Haedde and the history of the West-Saxon Haedde, bishopric, see notes to iii. 7; iv. 12.

migrans] Of course he was buried at Glastonbury according to W. M. i. 25, 26.

episcopalem . . . exercebat] Malmesbury, G. P. p. 159, cites this judgement of Bede's, and adds: 'unde non paruo moueor scrupulo, quippe qui lergerim eius formales epistolae non nimir indoece compositas, et Aldelmi ad eum scripta, maximam uim eloquentiae et scientiae redolentia.' Of Haedde's 'formales epistolae' none, as far as I know, exist. There is a letter of Aldhelm's to him excusing himself for being unable to spend Christmas with him on the ground of his many studies and occupations; Aldh. Opp. ed. Giles, pp. 96, 97; Mon. Mog. pp. 32-34; G. P. pp. 341-343. Some lines addressed to him by Theodore are in H. & S. iii. 203; and Hardy, Cat. i. 388. They are better evidence of Theodore's regard for him than the spurious decree cited on iii. 7.

Pechthelm] See on c. 23, p. 351.

propter quod . . . non minima] Cf. iii. 9, p. 145.

episcopatus . . . diuisus est] The limits of the two dioceses are thus given in G. P. p. 175: 'In diisione West Saxonici episcopatus hoc observatum palam est, ut, qui Wintoniae sederet haberet duos pagos Amptunensem et Sudreisensem; alter qui Seireburniae, haberet Wiltunensem, Dorsatensem, Berruchensem, Sumersetensem, Domnoniensem [Devon], Cornubiensem;' cf. ib. 375: 'Iniqua et impar fuit ea diuisio, ut unus duos tantum pagos, alter totum regeret, quicquid West Saxonici tractus immensitas continet.' The division was effected in a regular council; H. & S. iii. 275, 276; Aldh. Opp. p. 368; cf. also F. N. C. ii. 589, 590; Green, M. E. p. 392. Of Sherborne itself Malmesbury says: 'Seireburnia est uiculus, nec habitantium frequentia nec positionis gratia suavis, in quo mirandum et pene pudendum sedem episcopalem per tot durasse saecula;' G. P. p. 175.

Danilheal] He furnished Bede with materials for the ecclesiastical history of Wessex, Sussex, and Wight; Pref. p. 7; which last he was the first to bring under regular episcopal jurisdiction, iv. 16, p. 238. In these two passages he is called 'Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus,' in spite of the fact that in the division of the see of Wessex he had much the smaller share.' In c. 23, p. 350, he is called 'Uentanius antistes,' 'episcopus Uenatae ciuitatis;' cf. the present chapter, ad fin. Malmesbury calls him: 'eiusdem regionis oriundus, et literarum non egenus;' G. P. p.

X 2
375; and gives some examples of his ascetic practices; ib. 357, 358. Cynehard, Bishop of Winchester, writing to Lullus, calls him 'Danihel doctissimus Dei plebis famulus;’ H. & S. iii. 432; Mon. Mog. p. 269. There is a commendatory letter of his for Wynfrid (St. Boniface) on his final departure for Frisia, 718, in Mon. Mog. pp. 61, 62; H. & S. iii. 302. His letter to Boniface on the best way of dealing with the heathen, Mon. Mog. pp. 71-74; H. & S. iii. 304-306, has been alluded to above on i. 30. A later letter of Boniface to Daniel asking his advice, with Daniel’s reply (732 x 746) is in Mon. Mog. pp. 157-166; H. & S. iii. 343-349. From these letters it appears that Daniel in his later years was blind. In 721, he made a journey to Rome; Sax. Chron.; Fl. Wig. In 744 he resigned his see, and in 745 he died, ib. These authorities give him an episcopate of forty-three years, which, as they place Hædde’s death in 703, is not so far wrong. In G. P. p. 160, he is said to have retired to Malmesbury, and died, and been buried there, but this seems inconsistent with the statements of the Chron. and Fl. Wig. In Mon. Mog. No. 112, there is a curious vision of the other world, in which among the occupants of the lower regions appear: ‘infantium numerosa multitudo, sub Danielo episcopo maxime sine baptismo morientium;’ p. 276. Whether there is any foundation for this charge, I do not know. The vision cannot be earlier than 757. It is just possible that Bede, by applying the term ‘strenuissime’ to Aldhelm’s government, means to hint that Daniel was somewhat wanting in that quality; cf. on Daniel, Bright, pp. 424, 425.

Aldhelm. Aldhelm] There are two principal lives of Aldhelm extant, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 389-396; one by Faricius, a Tuscan, physician to Henry I, who was first a monk at Malmesbury, and afterwards abbot of Abingdon (x 1117). This is printed in AA. SS. (May 25) in Aldh. Opp. ed Giles, pp. 354-382, and in Migne, Pat. Lat. vol. 89. The more ancient lives have perished. Faricius had earlier materials written ‘barbarice atque Latine,’ i.e. in English and Latin (contrast G. P. p. 230: ‘prefectus, in alios barbarus et immanis, in istum Anglus et lenis’). The former he could only read ‘ex interprete;’ much had however been destroyed by the Danes, pp. 354-356; G. P. p. 390. The other life is by Malmesbury, and forms Lib. v. of the Gesta Pontificum (ed. Hamilton, R. S. pp. 332-443). He uses the life by Faricius, though he makes merry over his blunders; he also cites Manuale librum regis Elfredi, pp. 332, 333 (cf. W. M. i. 132 ‘liber proprius quem patria lingua Handboc, id est, Manuale librum, appellavit’). On the authority of this lost work he gives the beautiful tradition
how Aldhelm used his skill as a minstrel (cf. Fl. Wig. i. 237: Aldhelm as ‘citharaedus optimus’) to collect the people round him after mass, and, having done so, gradually won them to listen to sacred themes. Lays attributed to him were still sung in Alfred’s time; and Alfred, no mean judge, considered them superior to all other English poetry; p. 336. How willingly would we surrender the whole of Aldhelm’s stilted Latin to recover one of his native poems! The rest of Malmesbury’s work is largely made up of extracts from Aldhelm’s letters, and Malmesbury charters, most of the latter being of very doubtful authenticity. Malmesbury says that Aldhelm was not less than seventy when he died, 709; this would place his birth about 639. He was connected with the royal family of Wessex; G. P. p. 332; cf. W. M. i. 35. He became a monk at Malmesbury under Maelduib (v. infra), where he was afterwards abbot. He also studied under Abbot Hadrian, the companion of Theodore, as is proved by his own letter to Hadrian; ib. 333–335; Opp. p. 330; and we have seen (on iii. 27) that in spite of his own connexion with Maelduib, he thought it derogatory to the school of Canterbury that Englishmen should resort to Ireland for instruction; Opp. p. 94. At some period of his life he visited Rome. This rests not only on the statements of his biographers, Opp. pp. 360, 361; G. P. pp. 363 ff., but on a contemporary letter addressed to him, Opp. p. 98: ‘tu Romae aduena fuisti.’ Among other foundations he built an ‘ecclesiola’ to St. Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon, which escaped the ravages of the Danes, and was standing in Malmesbury’s time, G. P. p. 346, and is probably the same ‘little church’ which has been discovered in our own days. His appointment to Malmesbury must be placed, 670 x 676, if it was made, as stated, by Leutharius or Hlothhere, Bishop of Wessex, 670–676, Sax. Chron. Malmesbury places it in 675, G. P. p. 385; Fl. Wig. in 666, i. 27; which is impossible. He became bishop in 705, and died, May 25, 709, at Doulting in Somerset, and was buried at Malmesbury, stones called ‘bishop-stones’ being erected along the route; G. P. pp. 381–386. He seems to have received almost at once a sort of informal canonisation; cf. W. M. i. 144, 152. Lanfranc ‘legem in totam promulgavit Angliam, qua eum... haberi et coli pro Sancto praeceptor;’ G. P. p. 428. Faricius says that after he became bishop, ‘impeditus rebus saecularibus, in episcopio, ut mos est omnium, haud postea tantum ualuit in uirtutibus, quantum prius ualebat;’ Opp. p. 369; cf. supra on ii. 1. Both in the De Virginitate, and in the Letter to Acircius, he speaks of being weighed down with ecclesiastical cares; Opp. pp. 79, 327. But this must
refer to his cares as abbot. As abbot he signs a charter of 692; K. C. D. No. 995; Birch, No. 78; cf. on Aldhelm, Bp. Stubbs’ article in D. C. B., and Bright, pp. 258 ff., 398 ff., 425 ff.

**Maildufius urbem**] We have here another instance, in addition to that of Dicul at Selsey, iv. 13, of Irish influence in the south of Britain. This ‘Maildufius,’ as Bede calls him, was the first founder of this settlement, and was Aldhelm’s instructor and predecessor as abbot. A certain ‘Scot’ appeals to Aldhelm to take him as a pupil on the ground that Aldhelm himself ‘a quodam sancto uiro de nostro genere nutritus es;’ Mon. Mog. p. 34; Opp. Aldh. p. 98. Bede’s ‘Maildufus’ represents the Irish ‘Maelduib’ (cf. the critical notes), a name which occurs, e. g. Mart. Doneg. pp. 68, 264, 278, 340, 346; F. M. ad ann. 622, 681, 695, 890. From this name come various forms of the place-name: ‘Meldubesburg,’ G. P. p. 390; ‘Maldubesburg,’ ib. 380; ‘Mailduberi’ (i. e. ‘Maiduib-byrig’), ib. 333, 395; ‘Maldubia ciuitas,’ Mon. Mog. p. 300; ‘Mailduibiensis ecclesia,’ G. P. p. 396; cf. ib. 387; ‘monasterium Maldubiense,’ ib. 388. The founder’s name is however often found written, Meildulf, e. g. G. P. pp. 333, 345, 421. This has no Irish equivalent, and is probably a mere contamination with the common Anglo-Saxon termination, ‘wulf’ or ‘ulf’; it gives rise to the form ‘Maldulfes-burg’ for the place-name, ib. 334. ‘Maldulseburg,’ AS. vers. a. h. t. Other forms of the place-name point to ‘Maelduin’ as the name of the founder. This is a very common Irish name; it occupies e. g. more than a column of the Index to the Four Masters. It is well known as the name of the hero of the famous Irish tale: ‘immram curaig Maelduin’ ‘the Navigation of Maelduin’s Coracle,’ which Tennyson has made known to English readers in his Voyage of Maudene. Faricius in his life of Aldhelm calls the founder Meldun; Giles, Opp. Aldh. p. 362; G. P. p. ix: ‘Meldunensis . . . a quodam Meldone solutus, qui . . . locum illum prius inhabituit, cuius crux lapidea in medio claustris stetit ad praedictam (? -ti) solitarii memoriam.’ Hence we get ‘Meldunesburg’ as the place-name; charters in Opp. Aldh. u. s. pp. 343, 344, (= K. C. D. Nos. 22, 23; Birch, Nos. 58, 59), while in Latin ‘Meldunum’ and the adjective ‘Meldunensis’ (‘Maldunensis,’ G. P. p. 387) are among the commonest forms; G. P. pp. ix, 160, 354, 378, 396, 397, 403. ‘Maelduin’ seems however to have been early misread ‘Maeldum’; and hence we find the founder called ‘Meldum,’ G. P. pp. 333, 335; and the place ‘Meldumesburg,’ ib. 335, 355; ‘Maldumesburg,’ ib. 348, 352, 368, 395; and ‘Mealdumesburg,’ ib. 371; cf. ‘et Meldum, et est oprim naman Maldumesturuh gedypud,’ ‘at Meldum, otherwise called Maldumsborough,’ ib.
The greater fame of Aldhelm eclipsed that of the original founder, and we find the place called 'Ealdelmesburg,' 'Aldhelm’s borough'; Sax. Chron. 1015, MSS. C. D. (cf. Stubbs’ Dunstan, p. 302). By a contamination of this with the older forms we get ‘Mealdelmesburg’; ib. MSS. E. F., which became the prevailing form; and through various gradations, ‘Mālmesburuh,’ G. P. p. 410; ‘Malmesburuge’; Aldh. Opp. p. 346 (= K. C. D. No. 26; Birch, No. 65); ‘Mealmesbyri,’ Stubbs’ Dunstan, p. 378; ‘Malmesberi,’ G. P. p. 333 (in Latin ‘Malmesbiria’: ‘quod nunc corruption aetas Malmesbiriam nuncupat’; G. P. p. 345; cf. W. M. i. 152), became the modern Malmesbury. The idea of Thorpe, that the initial m of ‘Mealdelmesburg’ represents the preposition in, though advanced confidently (‘no doubt’) is quite impossible; n could only become m before a labial; Sax. Chron. ed. Thorpe, i. 495.


p. 321. castitati] i.e. orthodoxy, cf. on iii. 28.

multos . . . Brettones] Here, as often, political and ecclesiastical influence go together. In c. 23, ad fin., Bede distinguishes between those Britons who were ‘sui iuris,’ and those who were ‘Anglorum seruitio mancipati.’ The present passage seems to show that some even of the latter maintained, at any rate in ecclesiastical matters, an independent organisation under West-Saxon overlordship.

de uirginitate . . . eximum] ‘heah bec 7 weorðlice,’ ‘a high book and a worthy one,’ AS. vers. Aldhelm’s De Virginitate, in prose and verse is in Giles, pp. i–81, 135–202. It is dedicated to Hildilid, Abbess of Barking (supra, iv. 10), and her companions, p. i. Though Bede mentions the metrical version first, it was really composed later than the prose, as may be seen by referring to pp. 80, 136, 190, 195. On the sources of the work, see a monograph by Manitius, Aldhelm und Baeda (Vienna, 1886), pp. 71–74.

in exemplum Sedulii] The reference is to Sedulius’ Carmen Sedulius, Paschale, which he afterwards translated into prose and called Opus Paschale. See Prof. Lock’s article on Sedulius in D. C. B. This may be the reason why Bede places Aldhelm’s metrical work first.

scripsit et alia] Of these the most important is the Epistola ad Aldhelde Acircium, siue liber de septenario, et de metris, aenigmatibus, ac and Aldfrid.
pedum regulis; Aldh. Opp. pp. 219-329, called also Liber de Schematibus, G. P. p. 335. Acireius is Aldfrid of Northumbria, ib. 344. Aldhelm addresses him as 'aquilonalis imperii sceptra gubernans,' he says that twenty years previously he had taken him for his adopted son, p. 216; cf. p. 228. There is a probable allusion to Aldfrid's name in what he says of Solomon, p. 219: 'Gloriosissimus ... regum, qui ... ipso proprii nominis vocabulo piae [?] priscae] pacis praesagia ... figuralert gestabat' ('eald-frið,' 'ancient peace'; cf. Aldhelm's etymologising of his own name as 'prisca galea,' 'eald-helm,' in G. P. p. 332). At the end of the work he exhorts him thus: 'commoneo ut ... nullatenus ... solertis ingenii gratiam prae caeteris contribulibus et coactaneis tibi diuinitus collatam ... segnitie squalessecre patiaris ... Quamuis mundanae dispensationis curis ululat ... undarum ... uorticibus fatigatus, ... nequaquam ... diuinum studia scripturarum negligenda ... duces;' p. 328. This would seem to show that the work was composed during the early troubles of Aldfrid's reign. On the sources of the work, v. Manitius, u. s. pp. 57-71. On the order of Aldhelm's extant works, v. ib. 9-11. For the preservation of several letters and fragments of letters we are indebted to Malmesbury's life. He complains that many of them had been lost; G. P. p. 344. He himself could obtain no copy of the letter to Geraint which we have; ib. 343. He accuses the Britons of having destroyed it: 'debet usque hodie Britones correctionem suam Aldelmo; quamuis, pro insita nequitia, et uirum non agnoscent, et uolumen pessum dederint;' ib. 361.

Aldhelm's learning.

uir ... doctissimus; ... eruditione mirandus] That Aldhelm's erudition was really extensive is shown abundantly by Manitius, u.s., who not only traces the sources whence Aldhelm derived the materials of his works, and the numerous quotations with which they abound, but also shows how his reading has influenced his phraseology and vocabulary. Bede applies the same phrase 'uir undecumque doctissimus' to Aldfrid in c. 12, p. 309.

His style.

sermone nitidus] No one would now repeat this judgement; still less would any one agree with Malmesbury that Aldhelm 'non nisi perraro et necessario uerba ponit exotica;' G. P. p. 344. That his style is 'pompaticus' (ib. cf. W. M. i. 31) all would heartily agree, but they would not use the word as a term of praise. For, as Elmham, with excellent good sense, says: 'pompaticus scribere est uoluntatem rationi praeferre;' p. 277. Much of Aldhelm's writing is quite unintelligible from its puerile pomposity and use of unusual and foreign words. That Ethelwerd, a feeblere imitator of the same style, should admire Aldhelm's writings,
'miro artificio edita opuscula,' M. H. B. p. 507, was natural enough. A good specimen of this 'sermo nitidus' may be found on p. 92 of his works.

scripturarum] I cannot agree with Manitius, pp. 54, 55, in his argument that because Aldhelm's biblical quotations are sometimes nearer to the Itala and sometimes to the Vulgate, he therefore had a text midway between the two. We have seen, Introduction, pp. xix, liv-lvi, and App. II. infra, that Bede constantly uses both translations side by side; and Aldhelm may have done the same. In one place, Opp. p. 217, after quoting the Vulgate he distinctly refers to the Itala in the words: 'siue, ut altera continet translatio.' On p. 76 he quotes the Septuagint.

Fortheri] He went to Rome in 737; Sax. Chron. The date of Fortheri his death is not recorded. He signs a charter of 739, a grant of Ethelhard of Wessex to himself; Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, pp. 1-3, and notes. He must therefore have returned to Britain. Dr. Stubbs first directed me to this charter. A letter of Archbishop Bertwald to him, alluded to above, on c. 8, is in Mon. Mag. pp. 48, 49; H. & S. iii. 284.

usque hodie] 'cweð se writere,' 'said the author,' adds AS. vers., though above in the case of Daniel it has, contrary to custom, preserved the phrase unaltered.

quibus ... administrantibus] Who are meant by 'quibus'? Grammatically the easiest reference is to Aldhelm and Fortheri; in which case it would imply that Bede was not sure whether the see of Sussex was constituted before or after Aldhelm's death in 709. But I think that he is referring back to the notice of the partition of the West-Saxon diocese, and that 'quibus' means Aldhelm and Daniel. Elmham, p. 266, followed by H. & S. iii. 296, takes 'quibus' to mean Daniel and Fortheri. It is in favour of this that Westminster gives 711 as the date of this event. But the authority is too late to have much value. In the Episcopal Succession, pp. 5, 172, Stubbs gives 709 as the date of Eadbert's consecration.

Eadberct] There is a grant to him in K. C. D. No. 1000; Birch, No. 144.

Eolla] He signs a charter, K. C. D. No. 1001; Birch, No. 145.

eiscopatus ... cessuit] '7 se bysceophad þær syðdan fela geara Its temblon,' 'and the episcopal office ceased there for many years afterwards,' AS. vers. Bede lived however to see it restored. Two years after he wrote this Archbishop Tatwin consecrated Sigfrid or Sigga as bishop of Selsey; Cont. Baed. infra, p. 361; S. D. ii. 30.
CHAPTER 19.

Anno ... III⁰] i. e. 709 A. D.

Cenred of Mercia.

Cenred] On him see c. 13 note. W. M. i. 79, attributes his resignation to the effect on his mind of the incident there related; but this may be only his own inference.

tempore aliquanto] About five years; c. 13 note.


Ceolredo] From the reigns of Ceolred and Osred, St. Boniface dates the growth of sacrilegious attacks on the English Church; see on c. 18. Ceolred died in 716; c. 24, p. 356, having fought against Ini of Wessex in 715; Sax. Chron.; cf. W. M.: ‘Chelredus, sicut uirtute contra Inam mirabilis, ita immatura morte miserabilis;’ i. 79. Of his death Boniface says in the same letter: ‘Ceolredum, ... ut testati sunt qui praesentes fuerant, apud comites suos splendide epulantem, malignus spiritus ... pecantem subito in insaniam mentis convertit; ut sine paenitentia et confessione ... ad tormenta inforni migravit;’ H. & S. iii. 355; Mon. Mog. p. 175. (The text of this given in W. M. i. 80–82, differs very materially from the genuine text both by way of omission and addition.) Even before Ceolred’s death, a monk of Much Wenlock had seen a vision of the other world, in which he appeared among the lost; ‘subsequens ... et citus scelerati regis exitus, quae de illo uisa fuerunt, uera esse ... probauit;’ Mon. Mog. pp. 59, 60. If Cenred knew anything of the character of his successor, he was certainly much to blame in resigning the crown to him. Ceolred seems however to have been on good terms with Wilfrid, see notes below, p. 328; and H. H. says of him: ‘patriae et auitae uirtutis haeres clarissime rexit’ (!); p. 110. There is a charter of his confirming a grant by his predecessor; K. C. D. No. 52; Birch, No. 111.

filius Sigheri ... Offa ... exoptatissimus] On the royal family of Essex, see iii. 22; iv. 6 and notes. Bede’s language here does not by itself imply that Offa was king, but only that his accession was looked forward to; nor does he name kingdom or sceptre among the things which he gave up for Christ. The caputulum however distinctly calls him ‘Rex.’ Sighard and Swefred had succeeded their father Sebbi; circa 694, iv. 11; and W. M. says: ‘illis defunctis, paucou tempore regnum moderatus est Offa;’ i. 99; so Fl. Wig. i. 46, 263; G. P. p. 317. If this is correct, Offa must have succeeded shortly before 709. He was succeeded by Selred, whose slaughter is recorded in the Sax. Chron. at 746; cf. W. M.; Fl.
Wig. u. s.; R. W. i. 203. The story that Offa had wished to marry a daughter of Penda is impossible on chronological grounds. See Stubbs' note on W. M. u. s. Egwin, Bishop of the Hwicceas (see on iv. 23) is said to have accompanied him and Ceolred to Rome; Fl. Wig.; W. M. u. s.; G. P. pp. 296, 297, 317, 386. There is nothing impossible in the story, but the authorities are not good; see H. & S. iii. 297, 298; and in some of them Offa is made king of the East Angles instead of the East Saxons; G. P. u. s.; K. C. D. No. 61; Birch, Nos. 125, 131. For this confusion, cf. on iv. 6; R. W. is inconsistent with himself; i. 203, 205.


peruenit] Both are said to have died soon after their arrival: Arrival at Rome. 'sub uelocitate ut obtabant defuncti sunt;' Pauli Diae. Hist. Langob. vi. 28, which is taken from the Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, i. 391.

Wilfrid] The typography and marginal notes of the present chapter, and also of iii. 25, 28; iv. 2, 13, show clearly that Bede, in his account of Wilfrid, is largely indebted for his materials to the life of Wilfrid by Aeddi or Eddius, alias Stephanus, one of Wilfrid's chanters, who is mentioned above; iv. 2, p. 205; cf. Eddius, c. 14. Owing to Bede's mode of using his materials (cf. Introduction, pp. xlvi, xlvii), typography cannot give a measure of the extent of his obligations to his predecessors. These obligations, in the case of Eddius, Bede nowhere acknowledges; ib. p. xxiv. He is not however wholly dependent upon Eddius, and tells of matters which the latter omits. He had heard from Wilfrid's own lips the account of his relations with Ethelthryth; iv. 19, p. 243. He might remember his administration of the see of Lindisfarne, 687-688; iv. 29, p. 275, or he may have heard of it during his own sojourn there; v. Introduction, p. xvi. From Aecc he heard of their sojourn with Wilfrord on the way to Rome in 703 or 704; iii. 13, p. 152. From him too he may have heard of the consecration of Swidbert as missionary bishop to Frisia; v. ii, p. 302; and the beautiful story how Wilfrid relieved the famine in Sussex; iv. 13, p. 231. Other events not mentioned by Eddius are the consecration of Offfor; iv. 23, p. 255. and the desire of Oswy, frustrated by death, that Wilfrid should accompany him to Rome; iv. 5, p. 214. On the other hand, Bede omits much that is told by Eddius, often with very bad results to the clearness of his own narrative. Malmesbury, whose own life of Wilfrid, G. P. pp. 210-245, is largely founded, as he admits, p. 210, on Eddius, comments upon Bede's omissions: 'multa ex historia Bedae vacant;' ib.; cf. pp. 238, 239. It is curious too that with the exception of the vision of St. Michael
(below), Bede omits all the miracles which Eddius connects with Wilfrid; cc. i, 5, 9, 13, 18, 23, 24, 37, 38, 39, 59, 65, 67. This cannot, as we have seen, be due to any critical scruples of Bede on the subject of miracles; Introduction, pp. xli, lxiv. He has the warmest admiration for the kings who expelled Wilfrid; Egfrid is 'uenerabilis ac piissimus;' Hist. Abb. § i. Aldfrid, 'uir... doctissimus,' restores the condition of Northumbria, 'nobiliter;' iv. 26, p. 268. There is no hint of blame for Oswy's substitution of Ceadda for Wilfrid; iii. 28, _ad init._, for Theodore's division of his diocese, nor for the prelates who took his place; iv. 12, _sub fin._ (contrast the 'subintroductum' of Wine, iii. 7, p. 140; it is interesting to note that in G. P. p. 216, 'subintroductus' is used of Ceadda's appointment). Moreover, on the Wilfridian view, two of Bede's chief heroes, Bishop John of Hexham, and Cuthbert (so far as he accepted in the first instance the see of Hexham; iv. 28, p. 273) were mere usurpers; H. Y. i. xxxiv; yet Bede never hints a doubt as to their position. It is certain that Bede would disapprove Wilfrid's opposition to the division of his diocese; cf. iv. 5, p. 216; Ep. ad Egb. § 8, and possible that he disliked his Romanising tendencies. In fact 'it is evident that there was little sympathy between Wilfrid and Bede;' Raine, H. Y. _u. s._ (For Canon Raine's own view of Wilfrid, v. ib. xxvi-xxx.) On the lives of Wilfrid, see Hardy, Cat. i. 396-402. The best edition of all the Latin lives is that of Canon Raine in vol. i. of 'Historians of the Church of York;' R. S.; cf. also for Wilfrid, Bright, pp. 187-194, 209-214, 233-236, 280-308, 347-355, 367-372, 392-416, 428-434; Raine's Hexham, i. xxvii-xxxi.; Raine in D. C. B. iv. 1179 ff.

**Chronology of Wilfrid's life.**

_Wilfrid_ It is desirable in the first place to fix the chronology of Wilfrid's life. The present note was drawn up at first independently of Smith's excursus on the same subject. In almost all points our conclusions agree. The few divergences are noted. Eddius' Life is cited as E.

634. Birth; cf. H. Y. i. 163. (He was thirty years old when elected bishop in 664; E. c. 11; 'circiter triginta;' _infra_, p. 325. He died 709, in his seventy-sixth year; E. c. 65.)

648. In his fourteenth year he enters Lindisfarne; E. c. 2; _infra_, p. 322.

? 652. 'Post circulum annorum;' E. c. 3; he goes to Kent. He stays there just a year; ib. (He must have left Kent before the death of Honorius, Sept. 653; cf. _infra_, p. 323.)

653 (so Fl. Wig.). He sets out with Benedict Biscop, who leaves him at Lyons; E. c. 3; _infra_, pp. 323, 324. Dalfinus (really Annemundus), Archbishop of Lyons, wishes to adopt him. He declines,
and proceeds to Rome, where he remains 'multos menses;' E. cc. 4. 5: 'menses aliquot;' infr., p. 324: leaving it probably after Aug. 10, 654: see below.

654 × 655 [655 Smith]. He returns to Lyons, where he remains three years with Annemundus, till his murder; E. e. 6; infr., pp. 324, 325; cf. iii. 25, p. 182.


? 658. Alchfrid sends for Wilfrid; E. e. 7; infr., p. 325; iii. 25, p. 182.

? 658 × 661. Grant of Stanford; E. e. 8; infr., p. 325.

? 661. Grant 'post paululum' of Ripon; ib.; cf. iii. 27, notes.

663 or 664. Wilfrid ordained priest by Agilbert; E. e. 9; infr., p. 325. (Shortly before the Synod of Whitby; ib.)

Early in 664 (v. notes to iii. 25), Synod of Whitby, 'non multo post' Wilfrid's ordination as priest; infr., p. 325; E. e. 10.

664. Wilfrid elected bishop, æt. 30. Sets out for Gaul; E. e. 11, 12; infr., p. 325.

664. Consecration of Wilfrid by twelve Frankish bishops at Compiègne; E. e. 12; infr., p. 325; iii. 28, p. 194. (Bede says that Wilfrid died in 709 'post XL et V annos accepti episcopatus;’ infr., p. 322; and with this agrees the epitaph; Eddius, c. 65, gives him an episcopate of forty-six years. G. P. p. 244 says: 'anno XLVI. episcopatus.' This may be what E. means. Wilfrid's consecration can hardly therefore be later than 664; and Bede distinctly places it in that year in e. 24, p. 354. This seems fatal to Bright's argument in favour of 665; p. 210.)

666. Wilfrid 'post spatium temporis' returns to Britain; E. u. s. (The date is fixed by the fact that E. e. 14 says that Wilfrid was three years in retirement at Ripon prior to his installation in his see by Theodore in 669.)

666-669. Wilfrid, on finding Ceadda in his see, retires to Ripon, where he remains three years, occasionally discharging episcopal functions in Mercia and Kent; E. e. 14; infr., p. 326; cf. iii. 28, p. 195; iv. 2, pp. 205, 206.

669. Wilfrid put in possession of his see by Theodore; E. e. 15; sup., iv. 2, p. 205.


669 × 671. Oswy wishes Wilfrid to accompany him to Rome; iv. 5, p. 214.

? 672. Ethelthryth receives the veil from Wilfrid, v. iv. 19, notes.

671 x 678. Church at Ripon built and dedicated; E. c. 17. (It was after the accession of Egfrid, which I believe to have been in 671, v. iv. 5, note, and before Wilfrid’s expulsion in 678. I do not see that the date can be fixed more exactly. Smith says 670.)

672 x 678. Church at Hexham built; E. c. 22. The site was given by Ethelthryth ‘Deo dicata;’ therefore not earlier than 672. (Richard of Hexham says: ‘circa DCLXXIV;’ Raine’s Hexham, i. 23. Smith says c. 675. On the grant of Hexham, and Wilfrid’s buildings, cf. S. D. ii. 52; G. P. p. 255.)

678. Wilfrid expelled, and his diocese divided. (Bede gives this date; iv. 12, p. 229; infr., c. 24, p. 355. It was exactly a year before the death of Ælfwine; E. c. 24, which was in 679; infr., c. 24, u. s.; iv. 21, note.)

678. Wilfrid sets out for Rome; preaches in Frisia, where he winters; E. c. 26; infr., p. 326.

679. Wilfrid reaches Rome, staying on the way with Dagobert II, King of Austrasia, and Perctarit, King of the Lombards; E. c. 28; infr., p. 326.

679, Nov. to 680, March. Councils at Rome in connexion with Wilfrid’s business; E. cc. 29–32, 53; infr., pp. 326, 327. (The councils lasted four months, till Easter week, 680; Easter being March 25; E. c. 53, p. 78.)

680 (after Easter). Wilfrid leaves Rome; passes through Gaul, where he finds Dagobert II ‘nuper occisum,’ and is in some danger of being put to death as an adherent of his; E. c. 33. (Note that according to Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 160, Eddius is the only contemporary authority for Dagobert II; hence the date of the latter’s death must be fixed with reference to Wilfrid’s movements, not vice versa. L’Art de vérifier les Dates gives Dec. 23, 679, as the day of Dagobert’s death; which is quite possible, but I do not know on what authority it rests.)

680–681. Wilfrid returns to Britain; is thrown into prison by Egfrid and kept there nine months; E. cc. 34–38. (The Peterborough interpolator of the Sax. Chron. at 675, founding on a spurious Latin charter, makes Wilfrid on his return from Rome attend the council of Hatfield, Sept. 680. But this is impossible. He was either not in Britain, or he was in prison; v. H. & S. iii. 160.)

681. Wilfrid is released; he goes to Mercia, Wessex, and finally to Sussex, where he labours for five years; E. cc. 39–41; sup., iv. 13. (At the end of iv. 13, Bede says that Wilfrid laboured in Sussex for
Notes.

five years, and that he was there until the death of Ecgfrid. This would apparently place his arrival in 680; but that does not leave enough time for his journey from Rome and nine months' imprisonment. This last, Bede wholly omits; and this may be the cause of his error. Or the phrase 'ad mortem Ecgfridi' may be used loosely to indicate that it was that event which prepared the way for Wilfrid's return. Eddius and Bede agree in saying that it was not till the second year of Aldfrid, May 686 x May 687, that Wilfrid was recalled to Northumbria; E. c. 44; infr., p. 327.)

681-686. Wilfrid evangelises Sussex and Wight; E. ce. 41, 42; sup., iv. 13, 16; infr., p. 327.

e. 686. Wilfrid in Wessex with Caedwalla; sup., iv. 16, note; E. c. 42.

May 686 x May 687. Wilfrid restored to York, Hexham, and the monastery of Ripon, v. s. (Some MSS. in e. 24, date this 686, v. critical note a. l., p. 355; Smith places the restoration of Hexham in 686, that of York and Ripon in 687; and E. says that there was an 'interruallum temporis between them'; e. 44.)

687-688. Wilfrid administers the bishopric of Lindisfarne; sup., iv. 29, p. 275.

May 691 x May 692. 'Post quinque annos' from his restoration, Wilfrid is again expelled; infr., p. 327. He acts as bishop of the 'Middle English' in succession to Sexwulf, and as such consecrates Offfor as bishop of the Hwiccas; E. c. 45; sup., iv. 23, p. 255. (Fl. Wig., Smith, and H. & S. iii. 220 place Wilfrid's second expulsion and the consecration of Offfor in 691. But there is nothing to prevent the former having taken place in the early part of 692; and the latter may be even later; see on iv. 23. Several MSS. in e. 24 place the expulsion in 692; v. p. 355, critical note. And Fl. Wig. has certainly placed the first expulsion too early, in 677 instead of 678.)

July 692 x Aug. 693. Wilfrid consecrates Swidbert as missionary bishop for Frisia; sup., e. 11, p. 302. (The date is fixed by the fact that this took place during the absence of Bertwald, who had gone to seek consecration in Gaul: i. e. between his election, July 1, 692, and his return, Aug. 693; sup., e. 8, ad fin.)

695 or 696. Wilfrid is present at the translation of St. Ethelthryth; iv. 19, p. 245.

702 x 703 [703 Smith]. Great council in Northumbria under Aldfrid 'cum Berhtwaldo archiepiscopo, et totius paene Britanniae episcopis.' Wilfrid is condemned, excommunicated, and stripped of all his possessions except the monastery of Ripon. He appeals to Rome, and retires to Mercia; E. ee. 46-49. (All this is omitted
by Bede. The date is fixed by Wilfrid’s words that his enemies had been resisting the apostolic see for twenty-two years, i. e. since 680; and that he himself had been bishop for nearly forty years; pp. 66, 68.)

704. Wilfrid at Rome; E. cc. 50-54; infr., pp. 327, 328. (There seems no evidence to show when Wilfrid left Britain [end of 703, Smith, see below]. If it is literally true that he accomplished the land part of his journey ‘peastri gressu,’ E. p. 71, it must have taken some time. In any case it was a wonderful achievement for an old man of seventy. Eddius speaks of him as ‘honorabili senio confessus,’ p. 76, and says that he had been bishop for forty years ‘et eo amplius,’ p. 79: Bede, infr., p. 328, says nearly ['prope'] forty years. This is perhaps taken from E. c. 47, where it refers to the Northumbrian council, v. s. Anyhow E.’s authority is to be preferred. Hence the Roman council cannot be earlier than 704. Nor can it be later, for John VI, the Pope under whom it was held, died Jan. 705. The sittings of the council lasted ‘multis mensibus;’ E. c. 55.)

704. Wilfrid leaves Rome; E. c. 55.

705. Wilfrid, on his return, falls ill at Meaux; E. c. 56; infr., pp. 328, 329. (This was just four years before his death.)

705. Wilfrid reaches Britain. Aldfrid refuses to receive him and dies; E. cc. 57-59; infr., p. 329.


709. Wilfrid survives four years, and dies at Oundle, and is buried at Ripon; E. cc. 64, 65; infr., pp. 322, 330.

loculo inditum] ‘on cyste geden,’ ‘placed in a chest,’ AS. vers. Cf. the heading to Gen. 1. in A. V. ‘Joseph...dieth, and is chested.’ The text of the Vulgate is ‘repositus est in loculo.’

mater obierat] He had a cruel stepmother; and this made him anxious to leave home; E. c. 2.

p. 323. uenit ergo, &c.] He first went to Eanfled, Oswy’s queen, who sent him to Lindisfarne under the charge of Cudda, a king’s gesid or thane (‘sodalis regis’), who wished himself to become a monk, and who seems to have become abbot of Lindisfarne; E. c. 2, and note a. l.

didict...psalmos] When Wilfrid reached Kent: ‘psalmos, ... quos primo secundum Hieronymi emendationem legerat more Romanorum iuxta quintam editionem memorialiter transmetuit;’ E. c. 3. The former is known as the Gallican Psalter, and is the version made by Jerome from the LXX, c. 389; now embodied in
the ordinary Latin Vulgate. The latter, or Roman Psalter, is his
cursory revision of the old Italic version made in 383; Bright,
p. 188. (The Canticles, 'Venite,' &c., are still taken from this
version in the Roman Breviary; D. C. A. ii. 1754.) The term
'quinta editio' (reproduced, G. P. p. 213) has not been satisfactorily
explained. It has been suggested, H. Y. i. 5, note, that it repre-
sents the Greek word κοινή, 'Vetus Latina . . . quae κοινή olim,
seu communis dicebatur;' Sabatier, ii. 8. Jerome's version of the
Psalms made from the Hebrew never obtained public recognition.

_necdum . . . adtonsus] 'laicus capite, corde uero a uitiis cir-
ecumcisus;' E. c. 2.

uenire Romam] 'adhuc inattribam uiam genti nostrae;' E. c. 3.

filius aunculi sui] Æanfled's mother, Ethelberg, was sister to Wilfrid in
Eadbad, Earconbert's father. Elmham, misunderstanding this Kent,
passage, makes Wilfrid cousin (consanguineus) of Earconbert,
p. 198.

aliquandiu] Just a year; E. c. 3.

_Biscop . . . Benedictus] The founder of Wearmouth and Jarrow.
Cf. Fridegoda, H. Y. i. 110: 'Barbaries Biscop Baducing quem
inculta uocabat.'

austerae mentis duce;' E. c. 3, who compares the separation of
Paul and Barnabas; so that there would seem to have been some
disagreement between them. Cf. 'iratus praecesserat'; G. P.
p. 213.

_Dalfino] Eddius has here led Bede into error. It seems to be made out that the archbishop of Lyons at this time was Anne-
mundus, and that Dalfinus was his brother and Count of the City
of Lyons. It was therefore Dalfinus' daughter who was offered to
Wilfrid, and hence perhaps the confusion; cf. Gallia Christ. iv. 43-
47. Smith's suggestion that Dalfinus is a 'cognomen' of Anne-
mundus is not likely.

_Bonifatii . . . archidiaconi] A few years ago there was 'found Arch-
at Whitby . . . a leaden Bulla . . . bearing the inscription + BONIFATHI
+ — — + ARCEIDIAC +. It is now in the Whitby Museum;'
H. Y. i. 8, note. It is quite possible that this is a relic of Wilfrid
and his Roman friend.

_apis tolici papaef Wilfrid probably arrived at Rome during Condition
a practical vacancy in the papacy. In June, 653, Martin I was
sent to Constantinople, whence he never returned; being kept in
prison by the Emperor, first in that city, and then in the Crimea,
where he died Sept. 16, 655. Eugenius I was consecrated Aug. 10,
654; irregularly, Martin I being still alive. This explains the language of Eddius, who, after detailing Wilfrid’s doings in Rome, ‘per multos menses,’ says of Boniface: ‘postremo praesentuit eum papae;’ c. 5, p. 8.

Baldhild.  

p. 325. **Baldhild**] She is said to have been an Anglo-Saxon slave originally. She married Clovis II, who died in 656. She was at this time regent for her son, Clothaire III. Here again it is probable that Eddius has misled Bede. Frankish history at this time is very obscure; but it is unlikely that Baldhild had anything to do directly with the death of Annemundus, which in the legends is represented as the first act of Ebroin on his election to the mayoralty of the palace. A little later, 659, she was the means of securing the see of Autun for Leodegar (St. Leger), Ebroin’s chief rival; while in 664, Sigebrand, Bishop of Paris, was put to death for being an adherent of Baldhild. In this sense, but probably only in this sense, she may have caused the death of Annemundus; cf. AA.SS. Ian. ii. 737, 738. After Sigebrand’s death she retired in 664 to the monastery of Chelles, of which she was the second foundress; iii. 8, notes. Here she died, 680. She attained the honours of saintship, and though this is not conclusive as to her character, very curious people finding their way in those days into the ranks of the saints, yet there seems no evidence that she was the Jezebel that Eddius represents, and what evidence there is points the other way. It is possible that she has been confounded with the famous Brunhild (x 613), whose name occurs as a various reading both here (see additional critical notes), in E. c. 6, and in the parallel passage in Fridegoda’s life; H. Y. i. 114; see Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 150–152; Milman, Lat. Christ. Bk. iv. ch. 10; Hardy, Cat. i. 286, 287; see Lives printed in AA.SS. Ian. ii. 739 ff. For her translation, v. Pertz, xv. 284, 285; Mabillon AA.SS. IV. i. 450–453.

clericus illius] ‘his preest 7 his hondjeng,’ ‘his priest and attendant,’ AS. vers.

pepercere illi] Eadmer in his life of Wilfrid, c. 7. H. Y. i. 169, represents this as due to the terror of the English name: ‘id ne fieret . . ., quae tune temporis magno terrori quam plurimis erat, sua, scilicet Anglorum, natio interdixit.’

Alchfridi] v. iii. 14, ad init. ; 21, ad init. ; 24, 25. According to E. c. 7, it was from Cenwalh of Wessex that Alchfrid first imbibed his Roman preferences.

Stamford] Durham tradition in the fifteenth century certainly identified this with Stamford in Lincolnshire; see Raine, Hexham, i. 14; D. C. B. iv. 1179. But Smith, a. l. (followed by Stevenson),
objects that Alchfrid can have had no authority in Lincolnshire at this time. He suggests Stamford on the Yorkshire Derwent.

Inhrypum] On Wilfrid's buildings at Ripon, v. E. c. 17. None Ripon. of them now remain except the crypt popularly called St. Wilfrid's needle; cf. D. C. B. iv. 1180. Hence, prior to the synod of Whitby, Alchfrid had been pressing the adoption of the Roman Easter. Eata and Cuthbert were among those who left Ripon rather than conform to it; v. iii. 26, notes; and Ceolfrid, afterwards Bede's abbot, was probably among those who came to take their place; v. iii. 27, notes. Eata and Cuthbert not only conformed after the synod of Whitby; but the latter, on his deathbed, charged his monks: 'cum illis ... qui ab unitate catholicae pacis, uel Pascha non suo tempore celebrando, uel pernerse uiuendo aberrant, uobis sit nulla communio;' Baed. Vit. Cudb. c. 39. It was while Cuthbert was at Ripon that the miracle related, ib. c. 7, Vit. Anon. § 12, is alleged to have taken place.

\textit{sibi rogauit ordinari} [So iii. 28, \textit{ad init.}, Alchfrid asks for Wilfrid \textit{sibi suisce consecrari.} Alchfrid was sub-king of Deira. The idea therefore probably was that Wilfrid should be bishop of Deira, and Tuda (v. iii. 26) bishop of Bernicia; though Bede, \textit{loc. cit.}, speaks of the latter as having \textit{pontificatum Nor- danhymborum.} Tuda however died the same year, 664, and no successor was appointed. Hence Ceadda, 664-669, and Wilfrid, 669-678, did administer the whole of Northumbria. Cf. iv. 3: \textit{episcopatus ... omnium Nordanhymborum,} p. 206; and \textit{inf.: episcopatus totius Nordanhymborum prouincei;} p. 326. When therefore Theodore in 678 separated Bernicia from Deira, iv. 12, p. 229, he was probably only reverting to what had been intended in 664. This might a little modify the charges of arbitrariness so often brought against Theodore for his action on that occasion. Elmham rightly protests against these exaggerations, pp. 276, 277.

\textit{Agilbercto ... ciuitatis} [For the mistake involved here, see note on iii. 7. For this mistake Eddius is not responsible.

\textit{XI episcopi} \textit{qui omnes eum ... publice ordinauerunt, et in sella aurea sedentem, more eorum, sursum elevauerunt portantes manibus soli episcopi intra oratorium, nullo alio attingente, hymnos canticque in choro canentes;} E. c. 12. This passage, which is copied by Fridegoda, H. Y. i. 120, and G. P. p. 215, has been thought to be the only authority known for this curious ceremony; which from the words \textit{more eorum} seems to have been peculiar to the Gallican Church; \textit{v. note. a. l.} Bright however refers to the Benedictine life of Gregory I, iii. 8, Opp. iv. 256, where the following passage is cited: \textit{sedem Turonicam ita}
nobiluit ut auream ei cathedram donaret, quae apud praefatam sedem in posterum seruaretur.'

p. 326. quo . . . demorante] See note on iii. 28. On his return he was driven on the coast of Sussex, and nearly murdered by the still heathen inhabitants; E. c. 13. For this he subsequently took the noblest revenge by converting them to Christianity.

tribus annis] These three years are a difficulty. Bede, c. 24, p. 354, certainly says that Ceadda was consecrated in 664. The narrative, iii. 28, gives the same impression. But he certainly was not deposed till 669. Probably Bede has transferred to the duration of Ceadda's episcopate the three years which E. c. 14 rightly assigns to the retirement of Wilfrid at Ripon, forgetting that Wilfrid did not return to Britain for about two years after Ceadda's consecration.

pulsus est] This was owing to the enmity of Eormen burg, Egfrid's second wife; E. c. 24; S. D. i. 223; G. P. pp. 219, 213. According to Lib. Eli. p. 55, he went first to Ely; and this (in spite of Smith, p. 753) is quite likely. His friend St. Ethelthryth did not die till 679 or 680 (see on iv. 19), and Ely would lie on his way from the North to the port of embarkation for Frisia; cf. Mab. AA.SS. ii. 757, 758; Raine's Hexham, i. 23.

alii pro illo] The two who were consecrated strictly 'pro illo' were Bosa and Eata, iv. 12, p. 229. Eadhed's district, Lindsey, was not an integral part of Northumbria, iii. 11, note. Eddius makes additional charges against Theodore; (a) that he acted as sole consecrator, 'inordinate solus ordinauit'; (b) that the new prelates did not belong to the diocese: 'episcopos aliunde inuentos et non de subiecit illius parochiae; ' c. 24. The former complaint, if true, is well grounded; see on i. 27, p. 52; the latter has no foundation. Thus Deusdedit of Canterbury was a West-Saxon; Damian of Rochester a South-Saxon, iii. 20, ad fin.; Tatwin a Mercian, c. 23. Eddius also, l. c., accuses Theodore of being bribed; and the charge is repeated, G. P. p. 220; but this is the mere reckless assertion of a partisan.

Romam . . . iturus] According to E. c. 24, Wilfrid appealed to Rome, 'cum consilio co-episcoporum suorum.' It would be interesting to know who these were. Possibly other bishops may have felt themselves threatened by Theodore's proceedings. Cf. the case of Wynfrid, which occurred about the same time as, and was curiously involved with, that of Wilfrid; iv. 6, ad init. and note. Wilfrid, in his petition to the Pope, says that Theodore acted 'absque consensu cuiuslibet episcopi;' E. c. 30.

pulsus est Friesiam] Bede's language gives the impression that
Wilfrid was driven out of his course by stress of weather; and so Fuller, § 97, cited by M. & L. p. 339, ‘It is an ill wind which bloweth no man profit;’ Raine in D. C. B. iv. 1181, and Lappenberg, i. 174; E. T. i. 181. But Eddius, c. 26, is quite explicit: ‘secundum desiderium eius, flante Zephyro ... temperanter, ... in Freis prospere ... peruenit;’ and so Smith, rightly, p. 752.

Aldgilo] Ebriu tried to bribe him to kill or surrender Wilfrid, but in vain; E. c. 27. Ebriu’s hostility to Wilfrid was due to the latter’s friendship with Dagobert II; Bright, p. 288; Lappenberg, i. 173; E. T. i. 181; see below.

praedicabat] His preaching was favoured by the fact that it was an exceptionally fruitful year; E. c. 26. Wilfrid must therefore have reached Frisia before harvest.

hiemem ... exigens] He left Frisia when ‘iam se uerna temperies aperiebat in flores,’ as Malmesbury poetically says; G. P. p. 221. He went first to Dagobert II, King of Austrasia, whom he had assisted on his return to Gaul from his exile in Ireland, cf. E. c. 33, and who wished to make him bishop of Strasburg. On his refusal he sent him on to Rome, under the guidance of Deodatus, Bishop (of Toul 679-680; Gams, p. 635, which confirms the chronology of Wilfrid’s movements; cf. H. & S. iii. 131, 135). From Dagobert he went on to Perctarit, King of the Lombards, to whom Wilfrid’s enemies had offered large bribes to induce him to arrest Wilfrid; E. c. 28.

causa ... ventilata] On these Roman councils, cf. H. & S. iii. The Roman councils 131-141. I am inclined to think that the first document given by them is only a different version of the second, which comes from Eddius, and that it does not represent a distinct council; and so the editors themselves suggest; cf. Bright, p. 292; v. E. cc. 29-32.

aduersus eos ... dogmatizabant] Cf. iv. 17, 18, and notes.

iussit ... dicere fidem suam, simul et prouinciae] These words are important, because they bring out the fact that bishops attended councils, not as theologians, to decide what the faith of the Church ought to be, but as witnesses, to give evidence as to what the faith of their churches actually was. If this was remembered, we should be spared some rather cheap rhetoric.

p. 327. reuersus Brittaniam] Here again Bede omits all reference to Wilfrid’s imprisonment; E. cc. 34, 35; cf. iv. 13. He was committed to the custody first of Osfrith, ‘praefectus ... in Bromnis urbe regis,’ and then of Tydlin, Prefect of Dynbaer (Dunbar); cc. 36-38. Bromnis has been identified by some with Brunanburgh. Unhappily this is ‘ignotum per ignotius.’ Canon Raine in D. C. B. says Bamborough; but this is Bebbanburgh in E. c. 60.
He was released at the intercession of Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham, Egfrid's aunt, iv. 19, 25, pp. 243, 264, who persuaded him that an illness of the queen's was a punishment for his treatment of Wilfrid; E. c. 39. He was expelled from Mercia, where the queen was Egfrid's sister (see iv. 21), and from Wessex, where Centwine's queen was Eormenburg's sister, and finally found a refuge in Sussex; E. cc. 40, 41. The treatment which he received from Centwine may have made him not unwilling to help Cædwalla against him; D. C. B. i. 372.

**Australium Saxonum**] On the conversion of Sussex and Wight, v. iv. 13, 16; E. c. 41. The latter does not mention Wight, though it may be included in the 'innumeris terrarum partibus et numeribus donorum,' given by Cædwalla to Wilfrid; c. 42.

**ipso rege inuitante**] This restoration was due to Theodore, who, in view of his age and infirmities and the near prospect of death, reconciled himself to Wilfrid, and both wrote to Aldfrid himself, and induced Ethelred of Mercia and Elfled, Abbess of Whitby, Aldfrid's half-sister, to intercede on his behalf; E. c. 43.

**sedem suam . . . receptit**] Eddius says that Wilfrid was restored, first to the monastery of Hexham (where Eata was lately dead. sup. e. 2), then, 'post interuallum temporis,' to York and the monastery of Ripon, 'expulsis . . . alienis episcopis;' i.e. Bosa and Eadhed. If Ripon had ever really been an episcopal see (v. s. on iv. 12), it now ceased to be so for over a thousand years (till 1836). I borrow the following note from H. & S. iii. 171, which puts clearly a very complicated business:—'The bishopric of York which Wilfrid governed from A.D. 669 to 678, and that to which he was restored in A.D. 686, were by no means the same; and in accepting the latter he gave up the whole question of the division of the bishopric, and accepted the limits laid down by Theodore in A.D. 678 and 681. (1) Lindsey had been cut off, by the result of its recovery by Mercia, as well as by the division of A.D. 678; and (2) Abercorn in the same way, by its reconquest by the Picts, as well as by the act of A.D. 681. (3) Lindisfarne remained in Cuthbert's hands, and was merely administered for a year by Wilfrid, on Cuthbert's death, until a successor was consecrated; and (4) Hexham, to which Eata had been transferred from Lindisfarne in A.D. 685, was, upon Eata's death in A.D. 686, held by Wilfrid for a year only (much as he just afterwards held Lindisfarne), until John of Beverley was consecrated to it (B. iv. 2 in A.D. 687 [B. v. 7].)

**pulsus est**] This second exile seems to have been largely due to the fact that Wilfrid could not bring himself to acquiesce in this
changed position. Eddius enumerates three causes of quarrel: (1) Spoliation of the Church of St. Peter of its lands (this might mean York, but probably means Ripon, which was also dedicated to St. Peter; cf. the epitaph at the end of this chapter; and so it is understood by G. P. p. 235). (2) Attempt to transform Ripon into an episcopal see. (3) The enforcement of Theodore’s decrees of 678 for the division of the diocese; E. c. 45. On the events omitted by Bede between this second expulsion and the journey to Rome, see above. Bosa seems to have been restored to York on Wilfrid’s expulsion; and Hexham and Lindisfarne had been already filled up.

ueniensque Romam] See above. He must have gone through Frisia on this occasion also, for to this journey must be referred the visit to Wilfrord mentioned in iii. 13; for at the time of his former journey, in 678, Wilfrord had not yet gone to Frisia. Perhaps, as before, he spent the winter there. If so, he must have left Britain in 703; cf. Bright, p. 403, and supra. There is a letter of Aldhelm to the clergy of Wilfrid, urging them to be true to him in exile; but whether it refers to this exile, or to the former one of 678, is not clear; Opp. ed. Giles, pp. 334, 335; G. P. pp. 338, 339; H. & S. iii. 254, 255.

scriptumque] The letter is in E. c. 54; H. & S. iii. 262-264, G. P. pp. 240, 241 (abbreviated and remodelled).


p. 329. quam te . . . tegere uolo] This trait is not given by ‘Tell the Eddius. Bede may well have had it from Acca himself. It is put vision to very strongly by Eadmer in his life of Wilfrid; c. 49; H. Y. i. 217; cf. iv. 3, note.

Berctuald] Wilfrid landed in Kent, and was there reconciled to Bertwald, the archbishop; E. c. 57.

tunc autem abbas] ‘was the Beardsætæna abbad,’ ‘was then Ethelred. abbot of Bardney,’ says AS. vers. quite correctly; cf. W. M. i. 78, 79; v. s. on iii. 11, iv. 12. As abbot of Bardney he is made to sign the spurious foundation charter of Croyland; K. C. D., No. 66; Birch, No. 135.


praesulatum . . . suæ . . . ecclesiae] Not York, but Hexham; a fact which Bede’s language here rather obscures, though he has stated it correctly, c. 3, ad init. This was the more marked, inasmuch as Bosa’s death just about this time would have made Wilfrid’s restoration to York easy; cf. G. P. p. 245. Instead of this, John of Beverley was transferred to York, and Wilfrid only

Position of Wilfrid in 705.
received the see of Hexham thus vacated. He had gained less than nothing by his appeals to Rome, though his biographers carefully conceal this fact. He received also his monastery of Ripon, E. c. 60, the idea of founding a bishopric there being definitely abandoned. Wilfrid had, however, indicated to the pope a willingness to waive the question of York, if Hexham and Ripon were secured to him, E. c. 61, though this was practically giving up his case. On Wilfrid’s buildings at Hexham, v. E. c. 22; G. P. p. 255; Raine’s Hexham, I. xiv ff. 10–16, 20, 175, 176.

His death, p. 330. defunctus est] He died while the monks of Oundle were chanting Ps. ciii. (civ.) 30, ‘Emitte spiritum tuum, et creabuntur, et renobialis faciem terrae.’ Authorities differ as to the date of Wilfrid’s death. Some give April 24, others Oct. 12. So York Missal, I. xxxix; Surtees Soc. 1872. The former may be set aside as being the day, not of his death, but of his translation; ib. xxxiii. E. c. 64 says that he died on a Thursday. Oct. 12 was a Saturday in 709; and it is worth noticing that Ps. ciii. (civ.) forms part of the office for matins on Saturday both in the Roman and Benedictine breviaries. The obituary of the Church of Durham gives Oct. 3, which was a Thursday in 709; Raine, Fasti Eborac. i. 81, cited by Bright, p. 433.

at Oundle. in prouincia Undalum] ‘on Undalana maegse,’ AS. vers. He was on his way to an interview with Ceolred of Mercia, who came to the throne in this very year, 709, and had sent for Wilfrid, promising ‘omnia uitam suam meo [sc. Wilfridi] iudicio disponere;’ E. c. 63.

Cudualdi] See on iv. 6.

positus est] Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury 942–959, removed to Canterbury what he believed to be the body of Wilfrid, but this was stoutly denied by the Northerners, who maintained that it was only the body of Wilfrid II which Odo carried off; and a very pretty quarrel arose; cf. H. Y. I. xxxix, xliii–xlvi, 106, 223–226, 462; G. P. pp. 22, 245; Stubbs’ Dunstan, p. 271. There is a treatise on the subject in MS. C.C.C. C. No. 298; v. Hardy, Cat. ii. 22. These Canterbury relics were translated by Lanfranc on Oct. 12 (the year is not given; H. Y. i. 226). The day was probably chosen because it was believed, rightly or wrongly, to be the anniversary of his death (cf. the case of Cuthbert, iv. 30, ad init.). This Canterbury translation of disputed relics is not likely to have caused the substitution of Oct. 12 as the day of his death in a northern source like the York Missal.

epitaphium] The epitaph is not in Eddius.

quattuor . . . thecam] On these gifts of Wilfrid, cf. E. c. 17,
ad fin. The 'theca' or 'bibliotheca' is the case or binding of the book. On the sumptuous bindings of liturgical books, see D.C.A. ii. 1014. Professor Wattenbach identifies this Gospel-book of Wilfrid's with the Gospels of the Hamilton Collection. See Sir E. Maunde Thompson, Palaeography, pp. 41, 52.

CHAPTER 20.

Anno . . . regis] Owing to the doubt which hangs over the Date of exact date of Aldfrid’s death, c. 18, ad init. note, the regnal years of Osred are not a very safe guide. Above, however, c. 19, p. 322. Bede says that Wilfrid’s death was in the same year as Cenred’s abdication, which below, c. 24, p. 356, he distinctly places in 709. Hence Hadrian’s death ought, according to this, to be placed in 710. It seems, however, impossible to reconcile with this the chronological marks given just below. It is there said that Hadrian died in the forty-first year from his mission by the Pope, and in the thirty-ninth year from his arrival in Britain. Theodore and Hadrian certainly left Rome May, 668; iv. 1, p. 203. Theodore arrived in Britain in May, 669; Hadrian was detained by Ebroin in Gaul, and this may have delayed his arrival till 670. But 668 + 41 or 670 + 39 only brings us to 709 as the year of Hadrian’s death. Elmham, p. 8, places Hadrian’s death in 708, which is certainly too early. On Hadrian, cf. iv. 1.


Gream . . . linguam, &c.] Cf. iv. 2.

non minus quam Anglorum] ‘swa swa Englise,’ ‘like English,’ AS. vers.

Acca] This is the prelate to whom Bede dedicated so many of Acca’s works; v. Introd. p. xlix. Bede evidently cherished the warmest affection for him. He addresses him as ‘carissime,’ Opp. i. 202; ‘dilectissime,’ i. 204, viii. 265, x. 2; ‘dilectissime antistitum,’ i. 198, viii. 78, 263; cf. vii. i, viii. 162; ‘amantissime antistes,’ vii. 2; ‘amantissime pontificum,’ viii. 162; ‘dilectissime ac desiderantissime omnium qui in terris morantur antistitum,’ vii. 369; ‘sanete antistes,’ i. 214; ‘reuerendissime antistes,’ viii. 360; ‘tua dulcisima sanctitas,’ x. 268. He addresses his letters to him as: ‘Domino in Christo dilectissimo,’ i. 198; ‘Domino . . . nimium desiderantissimo,’ x. 268; ‘Domino beatissimo et intima semper caritate uenerando,’ i. 203; ‘Domino in Christo desideratissimo,’ xii. 1. Acca, in the one letter which has been preserved, addresses Bede as ‘dilectissime,’ x. 267. (These extracts illustrate the confusion
existing in the Latin of this period between the active and passive participles. A yet clearer instance is seen in c. 1, p. 282, 'aman-tissimum Deo patrem Oidilualdum.') Bede tells us (infra) that Acca had belonged originally to the household of Bosa when bishop of York. On his retirement to make way for Wilfrid in 686 \times 687, Acca would seem to have attached himself to the latter. He shared his expulsion in 691 \times 692, and accompanied him to Frisia, iii. 13; Rome, and back to Britain, c. 19, pp. 328, 329; and from him Bede received many details of the life of Wilfrid; v. notes to c. 19. He confirmed Hwætbert in the abbacy of Wearmouth and Jarrow after Ceolfrid's retirement in 716; Hist. Abb. § 20, p. 384; Opp. viii. 162. In the same year he attended a council at Clovesho; H. & S. iii. 300-302. He was bishop when Bede finished his history in 731, c. 23, p. 351; but was expelled that very year, Cont. Baed. 731, p. 361; no doubt in connexion with the deposition of Ceolwulf mentioned in the same annal. (See, however, H. & S. iii. 313; ii. 7). These two events are placed in 732 by S. D. ii. 39; in 733 by Sax. Chron. D. E. F.; Fl. Wig. The G. P., p. 225, say that Acca was expelled 'triennio post [? ante] obitum Bedae, incertum an regressum.' His death is placed in 740 by S. D. ii. 32; cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 34, 194; in 737 by Sax. Chron. u. s. Frithbert was consecrated bishop of Hexham in 735, Cont. Baed. infr. p. 361; in 734, S. D. ii. 31; and died in 766, Cont. Baed. p. 363; Sax. Chron. D. E.; Hexham, i. 199; cf. H. & S. iii. 335. Acca would seem therefore never to have recovered his see; cf. S. C. S. ii. 273, 274. For his burial, translation, and the miracles wrought at his tomb, cf. S. D. ii. 33-38. One of the crosses placed on his original grave is supposed to be still in existence; Raine's Hexham, I. xxxiv. On Acca's buildings, &c., at Hexham, on which Bede also lays great stress, cf. ib. 31-36; Eddius, c. 22; S. D. ii. 52. Wilfrid on his deathbed expressed the wish that Acca might succeed him in the monastery of Hexham; E. c. 97. Acca was one of those who urged Eddius to write Wilfrid's life; ib. Praef. For a sketch of Acca, cf. Raine, u. s. pp. xxx-xxxv, 31-36. For the history of his relics, ib. lxiii, lxxiii, lxxii, 35, 36, 49, 50, 55, 194, 195, 200. For the reverence felt for him after his death, ib. 186, 189. For the later history of Hexham, ib. xl-xxx; App. exxvi.

reliquis] His master Wilfrid was a great collector of relics; E. cc. 5; 33; 34; 39; 55.
porticibus] Side chapels. See on ii. 3.
historias passionis eorum] See the passage cited on c. 10 from M. Fustel de Coulanges. These lives perished in the Danish inroads; Raine, u. s. p. 190.
bibliothecam] 'bœgestréon,' 'book-treasure,' AS. vers. This Library was destroyed by the Danes in 875; Raine, u. s. pp. xliii, 31, 32, 190.

Maban] 'Maban,' ib. p. 32. 'Mafa,' AS. vers. The name sounds British. On the Roman chanting, see ii. 20, note.
p. 332. castissimus] See on iii. 28 ad fin.

usquedum . . . desistit] The AS. vers. puts all this in the past tense.

obsequio] See on i. 7.
didicit] '7 ëa wel heold 7 læste of his lifes ende,' 'and he kept and observed them well until his life's end,' adds AS. vers.

CHAPTER 21.

Eo tempore] This is commonly taken to indicate the year 710; Date. but we have seen that we cannot always interpret these time references in Bede so strictly.

Naiton] This is Nechtan mæ Derili, King of the Picts. His brother Brude, whom he succeeded, died in 706; Tigh. Here, as elsewhere, the adoption of the reformed Easter caused great divisions; and under 717 we read in Tigh.: 'expulsio familiae Ie [of Iona] trans dorsum Britanniae a Nectono rege;' i. e. the Columbite clergy within the Pictish kingdom were expelled, no doubt for refusing to conform. (That they were very numerous is shown by iii. 3 ad fin.: 'Hii . . . monasterium in . . . omnium Pictorum monasteriis . . . arcem tenebat;' cf. Rs. Ad. pp. 276-298.) In 724 Nechtan was tonsured, probably involuntarily; in 726 he was thrown into prison by his rival Drust. In 728 he recovered, at any rate, a portion of his kingdom; in 729 he suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Angus, King of Fortrenn; in 732 he died. The dates are from Tighernach; cf. S. C. S. i. 270-289; P. & S. pp. clvii-clxi; Rhûs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 26, 73, 92, 93; C. B. pp. 173-176.


monasterii] Note the singular. Though locally divided, part Wear-being at Wearmouth, and part at Jarrow, it formed only one monastery; v. Hist. Abb. § 7; Introd. § 2. R. W. makes the mistake of placing Jarrow at the mouth of the Wear; i. 220.
P. 333. architectos] 'sumne healhæftigan stangeworcsc,' 'some master-craftsman in stone-work,' AS. vers.
quos petebatur] For the construction, see on ii. 12, p. 107.
misit illi et litteras] The AS. vers., which omits the letter, turns this sentence as follows: 'sende him eac stafas 7 gewrit be gehealde rihtra Easterana, 7 be Godes þeowua sceare, eac ðorum rihtum Godes cyrvinean,' 'he sent him also letters and a writing about the observance of the correct Easter, and about the tonsure of God's servants, together with other rites of God's church.'

Ceolfrid abbas . . . salutem] Though the letter runs in Ceolfrid's name, there can be little doubt that it is the composition of Bede himself. The likeness to his other works on similar subjects amounts in many cases to verbal identity, as will be shown in the notes.


tres . . . regulae] Cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 61: 'In ueteri testamento tribus argumentorum indiciis paschale tempus est observari praeceptum, uideliceet ut post aqueinctium, ut mense primo, ut tertia eius seipsum, id est, a uespera XIX̅ lunae, quod est initium XV̅, usque in uesperum, id est, terminum XXI̅ celebretur. Quarta in eiusdem observatione regula est nobis a tempore dominicae resurrectionis imposita, ut cum, aqueinctio transcenso, lunam primi mensis XIII̅i uespera ortum facere viderimus, non statim ad faciendum Pascha prosiliamus, sed dominicum diem quo ipse Pascha, id est transitum de morte ad uitam, de corruptione ad incorruptionem, de poena ad gloriam resurgendo facere dignatus est, expectantes, in ipso tandem congrua Paschae solennia celebremus;' Opp. vi. 259, 260.

p. 337. si ergo fieri posset] 'Si fieri posset, ut eadem omnibus annis sabbati die luna XIII̅ contigisset, nil nostrae paschalis obseruantsia tempus a legali discreparet;' Opp. vi. 256.

quanquam . . . discreto] 'Nil nostrum tempus paschale a legali dissonat, quamuis aliis sacramentorum generibus eiusdem paschae solennia colimus;' Opp. vi. 260.

quia uero dies] 'quomodo lunae dies eadem diversas septimanae desoluitur in ferias;' Opp. vi. 257.

per Marcum] Cf. Opp. vi. 235; x. 2.

pascha nostrum] i.e. Easter week.


cum enim a uespera] 'Qui a XIII lunae usque ad XX̅i domi-
nicium paschae diei observandum decernunt, praeoccupant saepe iunium paschae legalis, dum quod ipsa in XIX\textsuperscript{a} luna fieri statuit, illi in XIII\textsuperscript{am} convertunt; et quod de XX\textsuperscript{a} statuit, sanctam eam et celuberrimam consecrans, quasi haec ad pascha minime pertineat, funditus contemnunt;' Opp. vi. 257, 258.

p. 338. [rursumque, qui a XVI\textsuperscript{a} die] 'At contra hi, qui domini-eum paschae diei a XVI\textsuperscript{a} luna usque ad XXII\textsuperscript{am} celebrandum aestimant, duplici miseria laborant, quia et legitimum paeschae principio nuncupam habent, et crebro euncit, ut nullum dierum, qui in legre praeepripti sunt, in sua paschali observatione consequatur; dum et nesperam XIII\textsuperscript{am} diei, quo prae pascha iniuration statutum est, et mane XV\textsuperscript{am}, quo septem azymorum dierum solennitas inchoarit, a sua prorsus festiuitate repudi cent. Atque insuper in huius poenam peccati XXII\textsuperscript{am} diei, qui in tota paschali institutione per Moysen nec semel appellatus innenitur, frequenter in sui paschae principium sancti praeepipiant. Sunt qui in alteram partem a une ueriatis, sed non minore labantur errore, cum scriptura praeepipat una regia gradiendum, et neque ad dexteram, neque ad sinistrum ab ea diuertendum;' Opp. vi. 257; cf. ib. 246, 247.

[poenam erroris] Both the Itala and Vulgate have 'mercedem' in Rom. i. 27; the former has 'semetipsos' as here, the latter 'semetipsis.'

p. 339. [aequinoctium autem] 'Aequinoctium uernale XII\textsuperscript{o} Kal. Apr. die euncorum Orientalium sententiis, et maxime Aegyptiorum, quos calculandi esse peritissimos constat, specialiter adnotatur. . . . Item catholicae institutionis regula praeepipit, ut ante uernalis aequinoctii transgressum Pascha non celebretur . . . et hoc aequinoctium XII\textsuperscript{o} Kal. Apr. diei uerier adscribendum . . . non solum auctoritate paterna, sed et horologica consideratione docemur;' Opp. vi. 206, 207. 'Quod esse uerissimum etiam horologica docet inspectio;' i. 157. 'Quod in conspectione horologica et aperta ratione probabitur,' &c.; ib. 162.

[quaecumque ergo luna] 'Neque enim alia servandae paschae regulae est, quam ut aequinoctium uernale plenilunio succedente perficiatur; at si uel uno die plenitudo lunae praeecesserit aequinoctium, iam non primi mensis, sed ultimi luna putetur,' &c.; vi. 154–156; cf. ib. 245, 246.

[alis . . . editio] The old Latin or Itala, quoted also Opp. i. 166: The Itala. 'et fecit duo luminaria magna, et posuit ea in firmamento coeli, ut luceant super terram. Luminare maius in inchoationem dici,' &c. Cf. vi. 245: 'quando primum ortus est sol in inchoatione diei . . . deinde orta est luna in inchoatione noctis.' On Bede's use of the Itala, see Introd. pp. xix, liv–lvi; infra, App. II.
Symbolism of numbers.

The Canticule of Habakkuk.

The Pelagians.

The Dionysian cycle.

Cycles and Annals.

The great cycle.

The Tonsure.

at si uno saltim die] See last note but one.


eleuatus . . . suo] This is Hab. iii. 11, in the old Latin version. The song of Habakkuk (Hab. iii.) formed in Bede's time, Opp.ix. 405, as it does still, part of the office for matins on Friday. In his commentary on that song, Opp. ix. 405-426, Bede uses the old Latin version, no doubt because in his time it occurred in the office in that form. In the modern Roman Breviary the Vulgate version has been substituted. This verse is commented on pp. 416, 417. Bede also quotes it on Cant. i. 5: 'solis nomine aliquando Dominus ipse signatur, sicut de ascensione eius dictum est: Eleuatus est sol, et luna stetit in ordine suo;' Opp.ix. 216. This is derived from St. Gregory's Homily on the Ascension: 'de hac Ascensionis eius gloria etiam Habaeuc ait: Eleuatus est sol, luna stetit in ordine suo. Quis enim solis nomine nisi Dominus, et quae lunae nomine nisi ecclesia designatur?'

eis qui . . . confidunt] i.e. the Pelagians, on whom see i. 17, note. Bede uses this symbolism against them in exactly the same way, Opp. vi. 155, 156.


tanta . . . copia] The drawing up of these tables gave a great impulse to annalistic writing. Each year occupying a line of the MS., the custom grew up of entering on each line any notable event which happened to mark that year; v. Pertz, i. i, 2, and the introduction to my edition of the Sax. Chron. For the word 'calculator,' cf. iii. 25, p. 188.

etiamsi . . . annos] i.e. the great or paschal cycle of 532 years, formed by multiplying together the lunar cycle of nineteen and the solar cycle of twenty-eight years; on which cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 65; Opp. vi. 269, 270.


seruitutis intonsis . . . crinibus] The converse of this is the rule both with Celts and Teutons; long hair being the mark of the freeman, and the shorn or shaven head the mark of the slave; for the Celts, cf. Rhŷs, Celtic Britain, pp. 73-75.
p. 343. formam quoque coronae] The construction is: 'oportet eos, qui, &c. . . . formam . . . praeferre.' Yet all the edd. put a full stop before 'formam,' and Giles and Holder even begin a new paragraph with 'formam.'

magum . . . Simonem] Cf. Aldhelm's letter to Gerontius; Opp. ed. Giles, p. 85. It is curious that the other side seems to have made no attempt to deny this assertion; see Adamnan's words quoted below; cf. Rs. Ad. pp. 350, 351.

p. 344. est Adamnan] It must not be argued from the present Adamnan's tense that Adamnan was alive at this time. He died two years before the accession of Nechtan; Tigh. On Adamnan and his visits to Northumbria, v. c. 15, notes. If, as is probable, the incident here related occurred on the former visit, the scene of it is probably Jarrow; as till 688 Ceolfrid was only abbot of Jarrow. If it occurred on the second visit the scene might be either Jarrow or Wearmouth.

nostrum . . . uoluisset] Evidently the fame of Benedict's monastery was already great.

p. 345. in linguam eius] What the Pictish language really was is one of the most vexed questions in ethnology. Professor Rhys has recently made a fresh attempt to solve it; see Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 1892.

de medio . . . suorum] 'of middum his ealdormannum 7 his witum,' 'from the midst of his aldermen and counsellors,' AS. vers.

p. 346. regia auctoritate perfecit] See above; note 2, on this chapter.

patrocinio] 'mundbyrde,' AS. vers. That this really did amount to a change in the patron saint of the Picts, v. S. C. S. i. 270-289; H. & S. ii. 114.

CHAPTER 22.

Hii . . . monasteriis] v. iii. 3, ad fin.; iii. 4 and notes.

anno . . . DCCXVI] In iii. 4, Bede dates the change of Easter at Iona in 715; in this chapter and in c. 24 he dates it 716. The discrepancy has been explained by supposing that the change was resolved on in 715 and came into operation at Easter 716. This does not solve the difficulty, for in the present passage Bede distinctly places Egbert's arrival in Iona in 716. Lower down he says that Egbert died April 24, 729, after residing thirteen years in the island. This is consistent with his having arrived there any time later than April, 715. Egbert seems to have taken his time in executing the commission which he received; c. 9. That
commission preceded the departure of Wilbrord for Frisia, which must be dated 690; v. s. cc. 10, 11, notes. Perhaps he had been attempting to convert the Columbite monasteries in Ireland, with whom, as we saw, c. 15, Adamnan failed. Bede Chron. says of him: ‘plurimas Scotiæ gentis prouincias ad canonicam . . . obseruantiam convurrit ;’ Opp. Min. p. 203.

Oserdo occiso] On Osred’s character and death, see c. 18, note. [716] ‘Guin rig Saxan (‘the slaying of the king of the Saxons’) .i. Osrith mic Aldfrith nepotis Osu ;’ Tigh, [715] ‘Iugulatio rexis (sic) Saxonum,’ &c., Ann. Ult. The Sax. Chron. 716 says, ‘her Osred . . . wearð ofslægen,’ ‘here Osred was slain ;’ and MSS. D. E. add: ‘be suan gemære,’ ‘to the south of the border’ (not ‘on the southern border,’ as commonly translated). D. is the MS. which has additions from good northern sources. (See my introduction to Sax. Chron.) This does not say which border is meant; if the southern, it would suggest a conflict with Mercia; if the northern, with the Picts, with whom the Sax. Chron. and Ann. Ult., Tigh., and Bede c. 24, p. 365, record a battle under 710 and 711 respectively. Wendover’s ‘Osredus iuxta mare . . . interemptus,’ i. 211, would be decisive for the northern frontier, were it not probably traceable to a mere misunderstanding of the words of the Chron.; ‘be . . . gemære,’ which H. H. represents by ‘iuxta Mere,’ p. 111; which in turn has been interpreted of Windermere; (!) Lingard, Hist. Engl. i. 71; Bright, p. 413; cf. Lappenberg, i. 206. W. M. however says: ‘tandem cognatorum insidiis caesus, eandem fortunam in ipsos refudit. Sicquidem Kenred ii, et Osricus xi annis regnantes hoc tantum memorabile habuere, quod domini sui, licet merito, ut putabant, occisi, sanguinem luentes, foedo exitu auras polluere ;’ i. 38. This implies that Cenred and Osric were concerned in the slaying of Osred. It would be interesting to know Malmesbury’s authority for this. We have seen that in default of authority he is not incapable of romancing.

Coenred] He was a son of Cuthwine, a scion of a younger branch of the Northumbrian house. He reigned two years; Sax. Chron. 716; S. D. ii. 390; cf. ib. 375; i. 201, 360; Fl. Wig. i. 48; and the Irish Annals enter his death two years after that of Osred: ‘Mac Cuitin rex Saxonum moritur ;’ Tigh. ‘Filius Cuidine,’ &c., Ann. Ult. The Sax. Chron. s. a. 731, makes Ceolwulf, Cenred’s brother, c. 23, grandson, not son, of Cuthwine. If W. M. u. s. can be trusted, Cenred also came to a violent end.

sacerdos] Probably ‘bishop,’ as often; v. i. 28, note; and for evidence that Egbert was a bishop, see on c. 9. The AS. vers. divides these two chapters, 22 and 23, into three; and the heading
of the middle chapter runs thus: ‘Be foréfore . . . Ecgbyrlites page arwurpæn bishops.’ Of the death of Egbert the venerable bishop.

Here the Latin word ‘sacerd’ is retained.


p. 347. coronæ perpetæ] The Irish Annals place the adoption of the coronal tonsure at Iona two years after the change in the observance of Easter. If this is correct it would fall in the abbacy of Dunchad but of his successor Fælehu.


Brettones] On the date at which the British churches conformed. v. c. 15, note. The AS. translator retains this passage in the present tense. Does this imply that the schism was not wholly extinct even then? On the refusal of the Britons to attempt the conversion of their conquerors, cf. ii. 2, p. 83.

Hiienses monachi] ‘Hiisetena munecas,’ ‘the monks of the settlers in Hii or Iona,’ AS. vers.

annos circiter LXXX] Eighty or eighty-one; Aidan’s mission was probably in 635; iii. 5, 17, 26.

octauo Kal. Mai.] April 24. This was Easter Day in 729.

immo . . . non desinit] Cf. Opp. v. 62: ‘annuis . . . festis . . . admonemur, desiderium nostrum ad obtinenda festa, quae non sunt annua sed continua, non terrena sed coelestia semper accedere.’

p. 348. eo die . . . quo numquam, &c.] For the explanation of the meaning of this passage, see the Excursus on the Paschal Controversy; inf. p. 352.

CHAPTER 23.

Anno . . . Osrici regis] Therefore Osric must have succeeded Osric in 718, which leaves two years from 716, the date of Osred’s death, for the reign of Cenred, as stated in the notes to the last chapter. Lower down Osric’s death is placed in 729, after a reign of eleven years, which yields the same result. In S. D. i. 39, Osric is called ‘filius regis Alfridi.’ This relationship is not noticed in Bede, Sax. Chron., Fl. Wig., H. H., or W. M. But as S. D. is copying the words of Bede in this chapter, and deliberately inserts this addition, he must have had some authority which we have not. But who is meant by the ‘rex Alfridus’? A list of kings
printed in S. D. ii. 390, makes Osric 'filius Aldfridi,' i.e. son of Aldfrid who died in 705, and therefore brother or half-brother of Osred. Dr. Stubbs however makes Osric the son of Alchfrid the rebellious son of Oswy; and further identifies him with Osric of the Hwiccas; iv. 23, p. 255. note. I cannot believe any part of this theory. Is it likely that the Northumbrians, in 718, would seek as their king a ruler of a distant province, the son of a man who had disappeared from history as far back as 664? Whereas there is nothing unlikely in the view that Osric was a son of Aldfrid.

\textit{Uictred \ldots nono die \ldots tenebat} April 23, 725. Therefore his accession must be placed in Oct. 690.

\textit{filios tres \ldots heredes} Bede seems to imply that they reigned jointly. This is confirmed, as far as regards the first two brothers, by a charter of 738, which Kemble accepts as genuine; K. C. D. No. 85; Birch. No. 159. Canterbury insertions in MS. A of the Sax. Chron., and Fl. Wig. make Ethelbert (whom Bede names first) succeed Eadbert on his death in 748; while all MSS. of the Chron. place the death of Ethelbert II in 760; though a charter of his, which Kemble considers genuine, is dated 762; K. C. D. No. 108; Birch, No. 191. Nothing is said about Alric, nor does he appear in any of the charters, genuine or spurious; and Dr. Stubbs would 'set aside his reign altogether as resting on no authority earlier than W. M.;' D. C. B. ii. 3. The Chronology of Malmesbury and Elmham, which prolongs the reigns of the three brothers to 793 and 795 respectively, is quite incredible; and perhaps rests on a confusion of Alric son of Witred, with Alric son of Heardbert, slain in 798; Sax. Chron. There is a letter of Ethelbert II, to St. Boniface, asking him to send him two falcons for hawking; Mon. Mog. pp. 254–256.

\textit{Tobias \ldots nemiminus} v. c. 8, \textit{ad fin.}

p. 349. Alduulf] The death of Tobias, and the consecration of Aldwulf are placed in 727 by Sax. Chron. D. E. F. He acts as one of the consecrators of Archbishop Tatwin, \textit{infra}, p. 350. His death is given by S. D. ii. 32, under 739; the accession of his successor Dun, is placed in 740 by Chron. C. D. E. F.; in 741, by Chron. A. B. and Fl. Wig. There are grants to him in K. C. D. Nos. 78. 85; Birch, Nos. 152, 159.

\textit{cometae duoae} 'twegen steorran \ldots ja syndon on boecum \textit{cometa} nemde,' 'two stars which are called \textit{cometa} in books,' AS. vers. On the significance and duration of comets, \textit{v. iv. 12, note.}

\textit{Saracenorum lues} The Saracens had conquered Spain in the years 710-713. Thence they spread beyond the Pyrenees and
established themselves in Narbonne, whence they plundered Gaul. The victory of Tours, won by Charles Martel in 732, saved Gaul from the fate of Spain: ‘Saracenorum cum uxoribus et paraulis uenientes, Aquitaniam quasi habitatuuri ingressi sunt;’ Paul. Diac. Hist. Langob. vi. 46; Sigb. Gembl. s. a. 730 (=732); Freeman, Conquests of the Saracens, Lect. V; Weber, Weltgesch. v. 109-120; Kitchin, France, i. 102, 103. If by the ‘dignae poenae’ Bede means the battle of Tours, this sentence must have been added after the completion of the H. E. in 731. He cannot, I think, refer to the defeats of 721 (Toulouse) or 725; as then we should lose the connexion with the comets of 729, which is evidently uppermost in Bede’s mind.

Bede frequently refers to the Saracens in his theological works. Following Isidore (Chron. Tertia Aetas, ad init.; ‘Ismael a quo Ismaelitarum gens, qui postea Agareni, ad ultimum Saraceni sunt dicti’), he regards them as descendants of Ishmael; Opp. viii. 185. Thus on Gen. xvi. 12, he says: ‘significat semen eius habitaturum in heremo, id est, Saracenos uagos, incertisque sodibus, qui uniueras gentes, quibus desertum ex latere iungitur, incursant, et expugnantur ab omnibus; sed haec antiquitus. Nunc autem in tantum manus eius contra omnes, et manus sunt omnium contra eum, ut Africam totam in longitudine sua ditione premant, sed et Asiae maximam partem, et Europae nonnullam omnibus exosi et contrarii tenent;’ Opp. vii. 185 (this was probably written in 720). So on 1 Sam. xxv. 1, citing Ps. cxix. (exx.) 5: ‘habitaui cum habitantibus Cedar;’ he says: ‘[haec] Saracenos specialiter aduersarios ecclesiae cunctos generaliter describunt;’ viii. 185 (this was written in 716). On Cant. i. 4, citing Gen. u. s., he says: ‘eius praesagii ueritatem exosa omnibus hodie Sarracenorum, qui ab eo exorti sunt, natio probat;’ ix. 215. So commenting on the ‘sidus Remphan’ of Acts vii. 43, he says: ‘Significat ... Luciferum, cuius cultui Sarracenorum gens ob honorem Veneris erat mancipata;’ xii. 36; cf. vii. 214; ix. 413. St. Boniface, in a letter written 723 x 755, warns a correspondent not to go to Rome: ‘donee ... minae Sarracenorum, quae apud Romanos nuper emerserunt, conquieuerint;’ Mon. Mag. p. 236. In the letter to Ethelbald (744 x 747) cited above, he says: ‘Gentes Hispaniae et Prouinciae et Burgundionum ... sic ... fornicatae sunt, donec Indux ... talium criminum ultrices poenas ... per Sarracenos uenire ... permisit;’ ib. 173; H. & S. iii. 354.

perfidiae] ‘heathenism,’ ‘unbelief’ v. on i. 7.
VIIa ... die] May 9, 729.
Death of Osric.

give the entry 'her . . . Osric forðferde,' 'here Osric died;' but under 731, MS. D (which frequently duplicates events owing to the compiler having a double source before him) has the further entry 'her was ofslaegæn Osric . . . cyning,' 'Here Osric king was slain;,' cf. the passage from W. M. given in the notes to the last chapter.

Ceolwulf.  

**Ceolulfum**] W. M. (i. 58) picturesquely says: 'conscendit . . . tremulum regni culmen Chelwulphus.' Of the troubles of the beginning of his reign we have a specimen in the statement of the Cont. Baedae, *inf.* p. 361, that in 731 (732, S. D. ii. 30; 733, R. W. i. 219) he was forcibly tonsured but restored. (Under 730, Ann. Ult. 731, Tigh., there is the following entry: 'clericatus Echdach filii Cuidini [Cuthwine, see on c. 22] rex Saxan, et constringitur.' This can hardly refer to anything but the tonsuring of Ceolwulf; so that he, like Aldfrid, would seem to have had an Irish name, which was Eochaid.) In 737 he voluntarily became a monk in Lindisfarne; ib. ; Sax. Chron.; Ann. Lindisf. s. a.; S. D. ii. 32, 375; i. 47, 201: 'barbam depositi. coronam [i. e. tonsure] accepti.' 'Hoc rege monacho facto efficiens data est monachis Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae licentia bibendi unum uel ceruisiam; ante illud tempus non nisi laec uel aquam bibere solebant, secundum . . . traditionem sancti Aidani;' S. D. ii. 102; cf. i. 361. The Sax. Chron. and Ann. Lind. place his death in 760; S. D. ii. 42, followed by Hoveden, in 764. He was buried at Lindisfarne near St. Cuthbert, and miracles attested his sanctity; W. M. i. 67; but in 830, Bishop Egred translated his body to his new church at Norham; and his head was ultimately removed to Durham; S. D. i. 47, 52, 201; Ann. Lind. s. a. 830. In the letter to Egbert written Nov. 734, Bede speaks in the highest terms of his zeal for religion: § 9, *inf.* p. 412. To him he dedicated his Eccl. Hist., Praef. p. 5. To the influence of this, H. H., pp. 114, 117, 118, ascribes Ceolwulf's resolve to embrace the monastic life, which H. H. highly commends. To this commendation R. W. seems to allude. 'rex nobilissimus, ut quibusdam placet;' i. 226.

die Iduum Ian.] Jan. 13, 731. C, followed by AS. vers., and Sim. Dun. (v. critical note, and Introduction, pp. xceii, xceiv), reads 'v. die Id.,' i.e. Jan. 9, and this is Bertwald’s day in the Roman Calendar. So also Fl. Wig. i. 51; Elmham, p. 300; and the list in Ang. Sac. i. 94. Other lists, ib. 52, 85, give 'vi. Id.,' i.e. Jan. 8. The Sax. Chron. MSS. D. E. F. follows the ordinary text of Bede. If the 37 y. 6 m. 14 d. be reckoned from Bertwald’s consecration, June 29, 693 (c. 8, *ad fin.*), it brings us apparently to Jan. 12, 731; S. D. u. s. places Bertwald’s death in 732 (cf. *sup.*, where he is also one year in advance).
Notes.


de provincia Merciorum] His election was probably due to the influence of Ethelbald; D. C. B. ii. 212; iv. 804, 805.

Briudun] Bredon in Worcestershire; Mon. Angl. i. 586, 587; Bredon. viii. 1625. It was founded by Eanwulf, grandfather of Offa; Birch, i. 326; cf. ib. 297, 298, 329.


Alduino] He is otherwise called Worr, under which name he Aldwin, signs charters; K. C. D. Nos. 75, 79, 80, 83; Birch, Nos. 146, 153, 154, 156; the dates given for his accession and death are 721 and 737 respectively, the latter is given by S. D. ii. 32; the former is an inference from the fact that Hedda, who probably preceded him immediately, died in 721; D. C. B. i. 79.

die decima Ian.] This was a Sunday in 731. For the mode of dating, see on iii. 9, p. 145.

ecclesiis Cantuariorum] v. ii. 3, note.

Aldberct et Hadula] Bishops of Dunwich and Elmham respectively. Nothing seems to be known about either of them; and the name of the former varies greatly in the different lists.

Danihel et Fortheri] v. c. 18, notes.

Ualchstod] Bishop of Hereford. His predecessor Torthere signs Wallstod, as late as 727; Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 171, and his successor Cuthbert was consecrated in 736; S. D. ii. 32. Malmesbury has preserved some verses by Cuthbert inscribed on a cross, begun by Wallstod and finished by himself; also an epitaph composed by him on Wallstod and others of his predecessors; G. P. p. 229. 'These . . . are two of the most interesting minor relics of eighth-century history in England;' Stubbs in D. C. B. iv. 1170.

Huicciorum Uilfrid] Egwvin, whom, as we have seen, Bede does not mention, died Dec. 30, 717; and Wilfrid was appointed before his death; Fl. Wig. i. 49. He died 743, ib. 54; 754, S. D. ii. 39. There is a grant by him in K. C. D. No. 91; Birch, No. 166. He must be carefully distinguished from his contemporary, Wilfrid II of York, v. inf.

Episcopatus Uectae] v. iv. 16, ad fin.
Cyniberct] He is mentioned above, iv. 12, p. 229, as fourth bishop of Lindsey. He gave Bede information as to the ecclesiastical history of his diocese; Praef. p. 7. He died 732; S. D. i. 30. The date of his consecration does not seem to be known.

Aedilbald of Mercia] He succeeded Ceolred in 716; c. 24, p. 356. It was to him that St. Boniface addressed his famous letter of remonstrance, already cited. But he was a strong ruler. Bede represents him here as having the hegemony of the whole of Britain south of the Humber, though he does not reckon him among the so-called Bretwaldas; cf. H. H. p. 121, who calls him 'rex regum'; while Dr. Stubbs says that he was 'no doubt the most powerful king since Ethelbert of Kent, not excepting the Northumbrian rulers;' D. C. B. ii. 213. And Boniface, while rebuking his flagrant immorality and ecclesiastical oppressions, gives him credit for liberality and vigorous justice. (This letter, with accompanying letters to Archbishop Egbert of York, and Herefrid [inf. p. 362], begging them to enforce its lessons, is in Mon. Mog. pp. 168–180; H. & S. iii. 350–360). We find him making war on Wessex in 733 and 740; Sax. Chron.; overrunning Northumberland in 740 [737, Sax. Chron.], while Eadbert, King of Northumbria, was engaged against the Picts, inf. p. 362; combining with Wessex against the Welsh; Sax. Chron. s. a. 743; defeated by Wessex in 752, ib. ; cf. Cont. Baed. 752. His murder is placed by Cont. Baed. (inf. p. 369), in 757. So S. D. ii. 41. The Sax. Chron., followed by Fl. Wig., places it in 755, and says that it took place at Seckington (Secceswald, Fl.) in Warwickshire, and that he was buried at Repton. Under 716, the Chron. says that he reigned forty-one years, which agrees with 757. W. M., i. 79, says that his murderer was Beornred, who succeeded him; but was immediately displaced by Offa ; inf.; Sax. Chron. u. s. Ethelbald appears as the traditional founder of Croyland Abbey, but the charter is a gross forgery; H. & S. iii. 296–299; K. C. D. No. 66; Birch, No. 135. There is an interesting and genuine charter of 749, in which Ethelbald 'pro expiatione delictorum suorum' frees ecclesiastical lands from all burdens, except the repair of bridges and defence of fortresses; H. & S. iii. 386, 387; K. C. D. No. 99; Birch, No. 178. Apparently this did not avail him, for in a vision (previously cited) he was seen among the lost; Mon. Mog. p. 275. To him Felix dedicated his life of St. Guthlac, according to which Guthlac had foretold his accession, at a time when he was much persecuted by Ceolred; Hardy, Cat. i. 405, 406; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 49.

Wilfrid] Wilfrid II. See c. 6, ad fin., note.

Ediluald] v. c. 12, ad fin., note.

Peothelm] In S. D. ii. 29, by the common confusion of P and p Peothelm. (see on iii. 21, p. 169), his name is written 'Weothelmus.' Mr. Arnold, H. H. p. liii, thinks this is right. But 'Peothelm' is clearly 'helm of the Picts,' as 'Pehtwine,' the name of one of his successors (whom H. H. pp. 125, 126, calls Witwine), is 'friend of the Picts.' Bede has cited him as his authority for the tale told in c. 13, ad fin. He had been deacon and monk under Aldhelm; c. 18, p. 320. There is no clue to the date of his consecration beyond Bede's 'nuper' here. There is a letter from St. Boniface to him asking for information as to prohibited degrees of marriage; Mon. Mog. pp. 94, 95; H. & S. iii. 310. He died in 735; Fl. Wig. He is the first bishop of the Anglian see of Whitern or Candida Casa, which lasted till the death of Badwulf or Baldwulf, who survived at any rate to 803; Sax. Chron. s. a.; compared with S. D. i. 52; cf. ib. ii. 53, 58; G. P. p. 257; H. & S. ii. 7, 8. On the see of Whitern under Ninian, v. iii. 4, notes. It would seem from Bede's words that the district had become heathen again since Ninian's time.

Brettones] Cf. on ii. 4, p. 88.

qua adridente pace] Bede must here be referring to freedom External from external attacks from Picts, Scots, and Britons; for he has peace, just told us that the internal condition of Northumbria at this time was deplorable.

plures ... accepta tonsura ... uidebit] This shows that Bede Growth of by no means favours an indiscriminate adoption of the monastic life; especially as in many cases the adoption was not genuine; cf. Ep. ad Egb. §§ 11-13, inf. pp. 414-417.

CHAPTER 24.

P. 352. The way in which Bede wrote his history, by subjects, The chrono- rather than by order of time, rendered a chronological summary logical very necessary; and he might have made it fuller with advantage. This summary has a very important bearing on the history of annalistic writing, as I shall hope to show in my introduction to the Saxon Chronicle. The insertions made in it by the MSS. of the Winchester and Durham groups (see the critical notes, and Introd. pp. civ, cv) and the continuation of it, inf. pp. 361-363, show how easily it might become the starting-point of a regular chronicle. The references to the corresponding chapters of Bede's text are placed in the margin. These will show how widely the narrative
The Ecclesiastical History.  

[Bk. V.]

Additions to the narrative.

Wulfhere of Mercia.

Bede's works.

departs from the chronological order. The AS. vers. omits the chronological summary, but gives the biographical notice which follows it.

XV . . . rexit] This is an addition to Bede's narrative. The annals 538, 540, and 547 have nothing corresponding to them in Bede's narrative. The eclipse of 540 is dated correctly June 20; but that of 538, which Bede dates Feb. 16, was really on Feb. 15; Art de Vérif. i. 62. On Ida see notes to Sax. Chron.

p. 354. 658 [critical note]; v. iii. 24, ad fin.

pp. 354, 355. 667, 686, 687, 692 [critical notes]. For the bearing of these additions on the classification of the MSS., see Introd. pp. civ, cv. For the substance of the last three, v. c. 19, and notes.

p. 354. 675. On the chronology of Wulfhere's reign, see on iii. 24, ad fin. His death is not mentioned in the text of Bede. Fl. Wig. in relating it adds: 'qui regum Merciorum primus fidem . . . accept [this is true, for Peada was only king of the South Mercians], et in tota gente sua daemoniorum culturam destruxit et penitus eradicuit;' i. 32. Cf. the case of Earconbert (sup. iii. 8), whose daughter St. Ermingild he married; ib.

p. 355. 704. XXXI annos] This is inconsistent with the date of his accession given above, viz. 675. The Sax. Chron. rightly gives twenty-nine years as the length of his reign.

p. 356. Haec de historia, &c.] On Bede's history and on his life and works, see Introd. Part I.

p. 357. monasterii] v. note on c. 21, ad init.

dulce habui] This is a favourite phrase of Bede; e.g. Vit. Cudb. c. 25: 'Baldhelmus . . . uirtutes uiri Dei cunctis . . . referre melle dulcius habet;' cf. Opp. viii. 288; ix. 109, 156, 237, 303; xii. 287.

in principio Genesis] The references in the margin are to Giles' edition of Bede's works in 12 vols., 8vo., 1843-1844.

ad mortem Saulis libros III] The death of Saul comes at the end of the fourth book of the commentary on Samuel. The reading of C. O. D. AS., &c. is therefore right. Though there was an interval between the first three books and the fourth it was not so long as fifteen years (716–731); v. Introduction, pp. xv, xvi, cxlviii.
P. 361. As the annals 731–734 (as far as 'reuersa') are found in The continuation, MS. M., and annals 733 and 734 up to the same point are found in C at the end of Bede's chronological summary (v. critical note, p. 356), it is quite possible that these entries were made by Bede himself after the completion of the work in 731, and before his death in 735. Of the later entries I shall only deal with those which are (i) connected with the narrative of Bede; (ii) not found in the Sax. Chron.

731. For Ceolwulf, v. v. 23, p. 349; for Acca, v. 20.
732. For Egbert, see the notes on Bede's letter to him; inf. pp. 405 ff.; for Wilfrid, v. v. 6, ad fin.
733. XVIII Kal. Sep.] Aug. 14. This date is quite correct.
734. There was a total eclipse of the moon on Jan. 24, 734, at 3 a.m. The date in the text is therefore just a week too late. On Tatwin, v. v. 23, p. 350.
735. On Nothelm, see Bede's Preface, p. 6, note; for Frithbert, v. v. 20, notes; for Frithwald, Bishop of Whiterum, Sax. Chron. s. a.
762. On the date of Bede's death, see Introduction, pp. lxxi–lxxiii.


Arnuuini . . . interempti] 740. Arwine filius Eadulfi occisus est Arwin, die X Kal. Ian. feria VII; 'S. D. ii. 38 (i.e. Dec. 23, this was not a Saturday in 740, but was in 741). The Eadwulf meant is probably the one who succeeded Aldfrid for two months; see on v. 18, ad init. It will be seen that S. D. says nothing about Eadbert; and the insertion of his name is probably a mere slip, as Thorpe suggests, Lappenberg, E. T. i. 213. Anyhow it cannot refer to Eadbert, King of Northumbria, as he was king till 758.

741. Carolus rex Francorum] This is Charles Martel the conqueror of the Saracens. His sons, Carloman and Pippin the Short Martel (the father of Charlemagne), for a time divided the Frankish power; but in 747 Carloman resigned, and like Cædwalla of
Wessex, went to Rome and became a monk, v. D. C. B. iii. 600, leaving the whole power in the hands of Pippin. Pauli thinks that the title ‘Rex Francorum’ shows that these annals in their present shape cannot be older than the tenth century; Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch., xii. 157.


Herefrid.

747. This is probably the Herefrid to whom St. Boniface wrote the letter cited on v. 23.

750. The ‘insurrection’ of Cuthred against Ethelbald refers to the battle of Burford, which the Sax. Chron. places in 752, where see notes. Oengus is apparently Oengus (or Unust) mac Fergus, King of the Picts, who died in 761, inf. It is difficult to see how he can have come into contact with Wessex. S. D., who incorporates this entry, omits the words ‘et Oengusum;’ ii. 40. I am inclined to think that the text is corrupt, and that these words, and probably also Eadbert’s annexation of Kyle, are connected with an event which S. D., u.s., places under 756, the successful joint expedition of Eadbert and Oengus against Alcluith or Dumbarton the capital of the Strathclyde Britons. We have seen Eadbert engaged against the Picts, 740, above. By 756 he would seem to have compelled them into alliance with him; cf. S. D. i. 48; Sax. Chron, 737, note. By Theodor is meant ‘Teudubr filius Beli,’ King of the Strathclyde Britons, who died 750; Ann. Camb.; in 752, Tigh.; cf. Lappenberg, i. 208. Who Eanred was I do not know. ‘Campus Cyril’ is Kyle, a district of Ayrshire; cf. Rhŷs, C. B. p. 118. On the relations between the Picts, the Dalriadic Scots, the Strathclyde Britons, and Northumbria at this time, see ib. 176-178; S. C. S. i. 290 ff.

Eclipses.

753. This is certainly the right year; though the editions give 756. 753 is the only year between 734 and 865 in which there was a solar eclipse followed by a lunar eclipse in the month of January. The lunar eclipse (partial, hence ‘scuto’) was on the date given in the text, Jan. 24; the solar eclipse was on Jan. 9, the fifth of the Ides. 753 was the sixteenth year of Eadbert (not fifteenth as Hussey says, ad loc., who however was the first to suggest the right mode of emending the passage); we should therefore probably read: ‘Anno DCCLIII, anno regni Eadbereti XVI, quinto Id. Ian.’

Boniface.

754. Bonifacius] This is the great Apostle of Germany. It would be impossible to discuss here the story of his eventful life. It is curious that Bede says nothing about him; and this fact a little weakens my argument in the notes to i. 13 with reference to Patrick. Boniface’s life by Willibald is in Mon. Mog. pp. 429 ff.;
Pertz, ii. 331 ff. The former volume also contains the best edition of his letters. On the date of his death, see Oelsner, Jahrbuch des fränkischen Reiches unter König Pippin, pp. 489 ff. He decides for 754.

Redgerus] This is a mistake. Lullus or Lul, a West-Saxon, succeeded Boniface as archbishop of Mainz. Pauli however suggests that Hrōðgar may have been his original name and that Lul was a mere nickname; u. s. pp. 157-159.

757. On these events, v. v. 23, notes and Sax. Chron. s. a. 755. The story of Cynewulf's death is placed by the Chron. under 755, but the formal entry of his slaying belongs to 784. The compiler of these annals must have misunderstood either the Chronicle or some common source from which they both drew.


coelestis patriae uiolentia] Cf. Matt. xi. 12; Thorpe, Lappen- berg, E. T. i. 214, wrongly takes 'uiolentia' with 'accepta'; as if Eadbert had been forcibly tonsured.
EXCURSUS ON THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY
AND TONSURE.

Eadmer, in his life of Wilfrid, says that he had omitted his hero's arguments on the Paschal question, 'ne in re huic opusculo non necessaria aliquod fastidium legentibus inferremus;' c. io. Most readers of Bede will be inclined to wish that he had taken a like course.

It would be impossible to enter fully into this controversy, without a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics as a basis of scientific chronology, to which I can make no pretensions. But the main points of difference between the Roman and Celtic Churches can be apprehended without touching on these thorny questions.

In the letter of Ceolfrid in v. 21, four rules are laid down; the first two derived from the law, the third from the Gospel, the fourth from considerations of religious symbolism 1.

(1) Easter must fall in the first month 2.
(2) In the third week of that month.
(3) On a Sunday.
(4) The paschal full moon must not fall before the vernal equinox 3.

The earliest Paschal controversies had turned on No. 3. The Jewish Christians, with St. John at their head, observed the 14th of the month Nisan, the day of the Jewish Passover.

1 Cf. cc. 6, 50, De Temp. Rat. In c. 61 Bede endeavours to ground the fourth rule also on Scripture; though he admits that the law 'aequinoctium nominatim non exprimit.' 'The Jews apparently had no rule about not keeping the passover before the equinox;' the only point considered in determining the first month being whether in sixteen days from the commencement of the month 'the barley would be sufficiently ripe for the observance of the rite of the firstfruits'; if not, a month was intercalated; D. C. A. I. 587. So Smith, p. 697. This may be true of the early days of the Jewish Commonwealth; it is certainly not true of the later. Cf. the extract from Anatolius in Eusebius, H. E. vii. 32: μαθεῖν δ' ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Φιλωνος, Ἰωσήφου, Μουσαίου λεγομένων, καὶ . . . τῶν ἑπὶ παλαιοτέρων . . . δειν τὰ διαβατήματα θύει . . . μετὰ ἰσημεριαν ἐσφυγήν. I owe the reference to Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, i. 629.


3 On the four rules, cf. ib. cc. 61, 64.
regardless of the day of the week on which it might fall. The
Gentile Christians, having no associations with the Passover,
naturally attached their annual commemoration of the Resurrec-
tion to that first day which already in each week was kept in
memory of it. The former custom prevailed in Asia, the latter
in the West. In the Council of Nicea, the Western custom
became the rule of the Church, and those who adhered to the
other view were stamped as heretics with the name of Quarto-
decimans.

On this point there was no controversy between the Roman and
Celtic Churches. Bede more than once refutes the unfair insinua-
tions of some of the Roman party that the Celts were Quarto-
decimans.

It must be admitted that the Celts themselves gave some ground
for the charge by claiming for their practice the sanction of
St. John’s authority, which, as Wilfrid showed, would only be in
point if they were Quartodecimans.

The Roman party, on their side, were equally unhistorical in
asserting that the system which they followed had been that of
the Church of Rome ever since the days of St. Peter.

Though their adversaries had not the knowledge to refute them,
the Church of Rome had more than once changed its paschal
practice, and the rules which were ultimately adopted in the
Western Church were mainly worked out at Alexandria.

Nor in principle was there any difference between the Celtic and
Roman Churches as to the other three rules; the differences arose
as to the mode of carrying them out. Thus in regard to the second
rule: what was to be considered the third week of the first month
The Celts reckoned it from the 14th to the 20th of the moon
inclusively. The Latins had originally reckoned it from the
16th to the 22nd. The reason for this rule was to make it

1 D. C. A.; Smith, pp. 696, 697. The Council of Nicea did not, as is
often asserted, lay down rules for the finding of Easter; but it fixed
the celebration to Sunday, and enjoined uniformity; Ideler, ii. 206 ff.
2 H. E. iii. 4, 17, pp. 135, 162.
3 e. g. Wilfrid, Eddius, cc. 12, 14, 15. Aldhelm, H. & S. iii. 271; and
probably Pope John IV, H. E. ii. 19, and notes.
4 Eddius, c. 10; H. E. iii. 25, pp. 184–186.
5 Ib. p. 185, v. 21, p. 337; cf. Smith, p. 693.
calculandi esse perissimos constat.’ So H. E. v. 21, p. 339: ‘Aegyptii...
prae ceteris doctoribus calculandi palamam tenent.’ Opp. vi. 235: ‘apud
Aegyptios huinos supputationis antiquitus tradita uidebatur esse peritia.’
7 H. E. ii. 2; iii. 28 (British); iii. 3, 25; v. 21 (Irish and Pictish).
8 Ceolfrid, or Bede, refutes this view, H. E. v. 21, p. 338, but without
specifying the persons aimed at. Conversely in the De Temp. Rat. c. 59.
possible for Good Friday to fall on the 14th of the moon, the day on which Christ was believed to have suffered.

Ultimately the Alexandrian rule prevailed, which was to reckon it from the 15th to the 21st. It is on this point that most of the argument is expended in iii. 25 and v. 21; the other points being treated as subordinate.

It is plain that a divergence of a week would frequently be the result of this difference. For whenever the 14th of the moon fell on a Sunday, the Celts would celebrate Easter on that day, whereas the Romans would defer it to the following Sunday. This is precisely the case which Bede represents as occurring in the household of Oswy of Northumbria, where the king, who followed the Celtic use, would sometimes be celebrating Easter, while the queen, in accordance with the Roman rule, was still fasting in Holy Week.

Closely connected with this was the question of the cycles used for determining on what date the 14th of the moon would fall. Ultimately the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, as finally amended by Dionysius Exiguus, was adopted by the Roman Church; whereas the Celts continued to use an older cycle of eighty-four years. What amount of divergence might arise from this cause I do not know. Bede does not often refer to the question of cycles. In iii. 4, p. 134, he speaks of the community of Iona as following 'dubii circuli;' and rightly attributes their error to the want of constant communication with the outer world. Indeed, considering the difficulty of communication,

Bede refutes the Latins by name, whereas the Celts, though refuted, are not mentioned expressly.

1 The πάσχα σταυρώσιμον. Easter being the πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον; Ideler, ii. 205.

2 Bede, u. s., says of this party: 'eligentes potins in lunam XXIIam diem testi paschalis extendi quam dominicam passionem ante lunam XIVam ulatetus inchoari.' Bede himself strongly holds the view that the crucifixion took place on the 15th of Nisan; u. s. cc. 47, 61; Opp. vi. 242, 260–262; i. 107. This is the view which underlies the synoptic narrative, while the other seems implied in that of the fourth gospel.

3 H. E. iii. 25, p. 182. This occurred in the years 645, 647, 648, and 651. According to Stevenson, p. 221, it would have occurred again in 665. If this is correct, it would explain the holding of the synod in 663. The main reason for excluding the 14th of the moon, was to prevent the possibility of the Christian Easter falling on the same day as the Jewish passover. And this principle was laid down by the Council of Nicaea; Bright, p. 195.

4 On the cycles, cf. Bede, u. s. cc. 43, 44.

5 'Sextus [decennonunalis] circuli locus amplectitur lunas XIII primi mensis;' u. s. c. 59.

6 Ideler, ii. 295.

7 So Wilfrid in H. E. iii. 25, p. 188.
'the wonder is how . . . a unanimous Easter was obtainable at all.'

Wilfrid alludes to the cycle of nineteen years, which he ascribes to Anatolius. Ceolfrid also cites it, and represents it as having come down from apostolic times. Bede mentions the cycle of eighty-four years, once in connexion with the British and once in connexion with the Pictish Easter; and as the Picts were converted from Iona, this is conclusive as to the Easter of the latter community; and through them, as to that of the Northern Irish.

The first and fourth rules are closely connected. What is (for Paschal purposes) to be considered the first month of the year? The answer is—that in which the full moon falls on or after the vernal equinox. If the full moon falls before the vernal equinox then that month is the last of the old year and not the first of the new.

1 H. & S. ii. 90. 2 H. E. iii. 25, p. 187. 3 ib. v. 21, p. 341.
4 ib. ii. 2, p. 81. 5 ib. v. 21, p. 346.
6 Mr. Ancombe (Obit of St. Columba) alone of all the authorities which I have consulted denies that the Irish church used a cycle of eighty-four years, on the ground (1) 'that the Irish church would not celebrate earlier than March 25,' [see below]; (2) 'that the cycle of LXXXIV indicates celebrations on March 21, 22, 23, and 24,' p. 4. But it does not seem to me at all impossible that the Celts might follow a certain cycle generally, and yet desert it when it conflicted with their rule about the equinox. Thus Bede, De Temp. Rat. c. 51, tantos Victorius with the inconsistency of his paschal rules: 'si magis obseruandum quod Aegypti docent antiquas, quarum nullam per omnia scientiam sectaris.' And as a matter of fact, in an eighty-four years' Easter cycle published by Marator in vol. iii. of his Anecdotae Ambrosiana Bibliotheca, alternative dates for Easter are added by the compiler in several cases, because the dates given in the cycle sinned against the Easter rules which he observed; Ideler, ii. 244, 252, 253; but in any case arguments of this kind cannot override the plain words of Bede. On the passage in ii. 2, p. 81, with reference to the British Easter 'quae computatio LXXXIII annorum circulo continentur,' Mr. Ancombe says: 'By this I understand . . . that the date in April [the 21st], which restricted the celebration of the Latins who used the cycle of LXXXIV, likewise restricted the celebration of the Irish and Britons,' pp. 8, 9. Even if this very forced interpretation could apply here, I do not see how it could apply to the similar phrase in v. 21, p. 341, where, speaking of the orthodox Easter, Ceolfrid says: 'hic . . . computus paschae decemnoneni circulo continetur.' The meaning surely in one cases is: 'this mode of reckoning Easter is comprised in (which is nearly equivalent to saying "is regulated by") a cycle of so many years.' Least of all can any such explanation touch the statement of Bede in v. 21 ad fin., that after the reception of Ceolfrid's letter, the Picts universally adopted "circuli paschae decemnonenales, oblitteratis per omnia errores, LXXX et III annorum circulis." Moreover it must be remembered that Bede nowhere makes any distinction between the different branches of the Celts (in whom for this purpose the Picts may be included), but implies that they all laboured under the same errors; cf. ii. 4; iii. 25; v. 22; pp. 87, 88, 184, 347.

This leads however to the further question—when is the vernal equinox? The Roman Church, again following the lead of Alexandria, placed it at March 21; the Celts at March 25. This, it is plain, might cause a divergence of a lunar month. For if a full moon fell between those dates the Romans would consider that that was the Paschal moon; whereas the Celts would wait for the next full moon. An instance of this occurred in the year 631 when the Roman Easter fell on March 24th, and the Irish on April 21st; and some Irish delegates who were at Rome on this very question, had ocular demonstration of the extent to which they differed from the rest of the Church.

Another point of difference between the Churches was as to the limits between which Easter might fall. The anterior limits were the result of their respective views as to the equinox, combined with their modes of reckoning the third week of the first month.

Thus the Romans placing the equinox at March 21, the earliest possible paschal moon was that of which the 14th or full moon fell on that date. The 14th itself being excluded, March 22 was the earliest possible date for Easter Day. For the Celts who placed the equinox at March 25, and allowed the celebration of Easter on the 14th, March 25 itself was the earliest possible date. As to the posterior limit, the Celts, keeping in this as in other points the old Latin rules, refused to celebrate later than April 21; while for the Romans, who allowed the 14th of the paschal moon to fall as late as April 18, April 25 was the latest date for Easter Day. This explains the passage in v. 22, pp. 347, 348, where Bede speaking of the death of Egbert at Iona on Easter Day, which in that year (729) fell on April 24, according to the Roman use, to which Egbert had converted the Iona monks, says: 'Mira autem diuinæ dispensatio prouisionis erat, quod uenerabilis uir non solum in pascha transitu de hoc mundo ad Patrem; uerum etiam cum eo die pascha celebraretur, quo numquam prius in eis locis celebrari solebat.'

We have evidence of the bitterness of feeling which these controversies evoked in the statement of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, that the Irish bishop Dagan refused even to eat in the same inn with them; and in that of Aldhelm that the British priests beyond the Severn not only declined to join in any act of

---

1 The Latins had originally placed the equinox at March 18; cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 51; Opp. vi. 246. Hence the possibility of having Easter as early as March 21, as mentioned in the last note but one.
3 Cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 30; Opp. vi. 206.
4 Cf. De Temp. Rat. cc. 51, 59; Opp. vi. 248, 256.
5 H. E. ii. 4, p. 88.
worship or social life with the Saxons, but would cast any fragments of food left by them to dogs and swine, and refused even to use the same dishes, &c., until they had been thoroughly scoured with sand or cinders. On the other side the Penitential of Theodore treats all British and Irish bishops as excommunicate, and all their acts as invalid.

The earlier Paschal controversies had sometimes, though not always, caused similar exasperation. But in all these cases it is probable that the controversy was only the occasion for the venting of a bitterness which had much deeper roots in racial and other antipathies.

Another point on which the Roman and Celtic Churches were at issue was the question of the tonsure; 'nam et de hoc quæstio non minima erat;' viz. at the synod of Whitby. It also formed a great subject of discussion between Ceolfrid and Adamnan, and between Ceolfrid and Naiton. It was however less bitterly contested than the Easter question, and differences on this point were not regarded as a ground for refusing communion.

There were three forms of tonsure known in the seventh and Three eighth centuries:

1. The Oriental; which claimed the authority of St. Paul, Eastern and consisted in shaving the whole head. Hence Theodore, who

---

1 H. & S. iii. 271; cf. ib. 254.
2 H. ix; H. & S. iii. 197. A much too rose-coloured view of these controversies is taken in a letter of Peter the Venerable to St. Bernard: 'Nec apud antiquos ipsius paschalis temporis dissonantia, nec apud modernos ipsius sacrificii Christiani inter Graecos et Latinos nota varietas charitatem laedere ul schisma,ignorere potuerit. . . . Alio tempore Oriens, alio Occidens, alio in eadem Britanniae insula Angli, alio Scoti, Christiani silicet antiquiores, Pascha Domini celebrabant;' Migne, Pat. Lat. clixii. 493; cited by M. & L. p. 277. The Irish seem to have come to blows over the question; see on H. E. v. 13.
3 D. C. A. i. 589.
4 Cf. Bede's statement in H. E. ii. 20, p. 125, that the Britons in his own day treated the English as heathen; and the bitterness, so unlike his usual tone, with reference to Laurentius' attempt to convert the British bishops to the orthodox Easter, &c.: 'quantum haec agendo profeecerit, adhuc praesentia tempora declarant;' ii. 4, p. 88.
5 On the Paschal question generally v. D. C. A. s. v. 'Easter'; Smith, Appendix IX; Ideler, ii. 191-208; Werner, pp. 127-142. For the history of the controversy in the British isles cf. Bright, pp. 76 ff., 96 ff., 166, 167, 194 ff., 243, 410; Rs. Ad. pp. 26-28, 347, 379, 380; H. & S. i. 112, 113, 152, 153, 202-204, 673, 674; ii. 77, 99; iii. 268-273; S. C. S. ii. 7-13, 148 ff., 159 ff., 171 ff., 219, 278 ff.; Ansmurte, u. 8. From all these authorities I have learned much, but I have tried to work out the subject for myself, as far as my knowledge would permit.
6 H. E. iii. 26 ad init.; cf. ib. 25, p. 183.
7 Ib. p. 344.
9 An idea based on Acts xviii. 18.
bore this tonsure, had to let his hair grow for four months before he could be tonsured and ordained after the Roman fashion.¹

(2) The Celtic; this consisted in shaving the whole front of the head from ear to ear, the hair being allowed to hang down behind. The Roman party attributed the origin of this tonsure to Simon Magus ²; though some traced it up to the swineherd of Loegaire, the Irish king who opposed St. Patrick.³ The fact that it was common to all the Celts, both insular ⁴ and continental ⁵, is a sufficient refutation of this view, if it needed refutation. Some of the Celts claimed for this, as for their Easter practices, the authority of St. John.⁶

(3) The Roman; this consisted in shaving only the top of the head, so as to allow the hair to grow in the form of a crown.⁷ The Roman party traced the origin of this to St. Peter.

It is needless to say that these pretended origins are quite unhistorical. The early history of the tonsure is naturally lost in obscurity. It is not improbably connected with the primitive idea that long hair is the mark of a freeman, while the shaven head marks the slave.⁸ As to the particular form of it, it is possible that here, as in their Easter practices, the Celts were merely perpetuating an older system which had become obsolete elsewhere.

² H. E. v. 21, pp. 342, 343, and notes; Aldhelm in H. & S. iii. 270; Gildas, ib. i. 113.
³ H. & S. i. 113.
⁴ 'Capita sine corona praetendunt' of the Britons of Bede's own day; H. E. v. 22, p. 347.
⁵ H. & S. ii. 78, 79, 99, 100.
⁶ Three Fragments of Irish Annals, p. 112.
⁷ 'Tonsura coronae,' H. E. iii. 26, p. 180; 'in coronam adtonderi,' v. 21, p. 343; 'forma . . . coronae . . . spineae,' ib.; 'sub figura coronae perpetis,' v. 22, p. 347.
⁸ See notes on H. E. v. 21.
HISTORIA ABBATUM AUCTORE BAEDA.

§ 1.


Biscopus ... Benedictus] So v. 19, p. 323; cf. iv. 18, p. 241: Benedict 'Biscop cognomine Benedictus.' From this it would seem that the name Benedictus was not his original name, but was taken in maturer life, possibly at the time when he 'entered religion.' Eddius, c. 3, calls him 'quidam Biscop Baducing'; where 'Baducing' is no doubt a patronymic. The strangeness of the name Biscop has been often animadverted on. Kemble called attention to the fact that it occurs in the 'genealogia Lindisfarorum' in Fl. Wig. i. 253; the father of that Biscop being, curiously enough, Beda. It is probably a mere accident of language that this name happens to coincide with the Saxon equivalent of 'episcopus.' The heading in Migne's edition to Bede's homily for this Benedict's day, 'Sermo in natale sancti Benedicti episcopi,' is probably due to some scribe or editor who translated the name 'Biscop' as if it were a title; Pat. Lat. xciv. 224, cited by M. & L. p. 341. See on Benedict Biscop, Dr. Stubbs' article in D. C. B.

iuxta ostium ... Uiuri] Wearmouth.

uenerabili ac piissimo] v. s. on v. 19; W. M. notices this tribute Egfrid. of Bede to Egfrid: 'Beda, adulare nescius, eum in libro de uitæ abbatum suorum piissimum et Deo dilectissimum vocat;' i. 57.

Gregorii uerbis] Dialogi, Lib. ii. ad init.


nobili ... stirpe ... nobilitate mentis] For this contrast cf. on ii. 7.
minister] i.e. ‘gesið,’ ‘thane.’ The words which follow are interesting, as giving an instance of the grants of land made by kings to their comitatus; cf. S. C. H. i. 148–158. It is noteworthy, that wherever in Bede nobility is spoken of, what is implied is either connexion with the royal family, or service in the royal comitatus. On the growth of the noble by service, cf. S. C. H. i. 152–158.

p. 365. militiam ... militans] For this contrast cf. iii. 23, note.

ut centuplum acciperet] Bede’s homily for Benedict’s day is largely a commentary on this saying; cf. Opp. v. 183, 184; Opp. Min. p. 337: ‘Reliquit domos et agros, quos habuerat, pro Christo, de quo agrum semper uirentis paradisii, et domum non manufactam, sed eternam in coelis se accipere sperabat. Reliquit uxorem et filios, non quidem uxorem acceptam, et filios ex ea carne natos; sed uxorem prorsus accipere, ex qua filios habere posset, castitatis amore contempsit, malens ad illa centum quadraginta quatuor millia electorum pertinere, qui cantant canticum nouum ante sedem Dei et Agni, quod nemo potest dicere nisi illi [Apoc. i4]. Hi enim sunt qui eum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati, et sequuntur Agnum quocunque abierit. Et accipit centuplum, quando non in his solummodo, sed et in transmarinis eum partibus plurimi in domos suas recipere uiantem, suorum fructibus agrorum reficere desiderabant, quando matronae perplures illi, quando uiri Deo deuoti pro animi constantis excellentiæ non minori quam coniugibus aut parentibus propriis, dilectionis instantia seruiebant. Accepit centuplum domus et agros, quando loca haec in quibus monasteria construeret, adeptus est. Uxorem si dimisisset pro Christo et hoc centuplum acciperet, quia nimimum centuplum maius esset tunc meritum caritatis inter continentem propter fructum spiritus, quam inter lasciuientes quondam propter desiderium carnis. Filios, quos carnaliter habere despexit, centuplum accipere meruit spirituales. Centenarius quippe numeros, ut saepe dictum est, perfectionem figurate significat. Nos namque sumus filii eius, quos in hanc monachicæ deuotionis domum plus prouisor induxi t nos sumus filii eius, si iter uirtutum eius imitando tenemus; nos sumus filii eius, si non a semita regulari, quam docuit, torpendo deflectimus.’

§ 2.

Romam adit] He left Britain in 653, in company with Wilfrid, but left him at Lyons, being apparently annoyed at Wilfrid’s delay there. See on v. 19. Elmham seems to put this
journey under 654, p. 185, and so Pagi, cited by Stevenson, *ad loc.* If he was twenty-five at this time, he must have been born in 628.

**Alchfridis**] On him see iii. 14, 21, 24, 25, 28; v. 19.

**Romam redit**] Fl. Wig. places this second journey to Rome in Second 665, which is probably an inference from the statements of Bede that Benedict spent two years at Lérins, and that he returned to Rome about the time of Wighard’s arrival there, § 3; for Florence, following the Sax. Chron. E, places the mission of Wighard in the year 667. Yet Florence himself places Benedict’s third visit to Rome in 668, after Wighard’s death.

cuius supra] These words, as Hussey remarked, cannot be part of the original text of Bede, but must be due to some scribe who forgot that the Hist. Eccl. was written after the Hist. Abb.

**Uitaliani papae**] 657-672; cf. *sup.* iii. 29; iv. 1.

**insulam Lirinensem**] Lérins, a group of islands off the coast Lérins. of Cannes. On the importance of the Monastery of Lérins, as a school of discipline and learning, v. Greith, Altirische Kirche, Book i. ch. 3; D. C. A. ii. 1208; Werner, p. 25.

§ 3.

**P. 366. desiderio satisfecit**] His third visit to Rome.

**miserat Ecgberchtus**] See on iii. 29; iv. 1.

**quatinus . . . susciperet**] I can hardly believe that this is to be taken literally as meaning, that in the course of seventy years, (597-667), none of the Roman missionaries had learnt a word of the native language. Mr. Green however takes it so; M. E. p. 326; cf. iii. 7, p. 140, ‘pertaes barbarae loquellae,’ and note; iii. 25, p. 184, and note.

**relictæ peregrinatione**] Because, as Bede says in the Homily on Benedict him, he had gone abroad, ‘ibidem totum uitae suae . . . exacturus,’ and Ecgberchtus and Theodore. si non apostolica domini papae prohibuisset auctoritas, qui eum propter ducendum Brittaniam sanctæ recordationis archiepiscopum Theodorum in patriam redire præcepsit;’ Opp. v. 182; Opp. Min. p. 336.

**p. 367. uenerunt Cantiam**] Spring, 669. This shows that Benedict came to Britain with Theodore, and was not detained in Gaul with Hadrian.

**susceptæ monasterium**] On the chronological difficulties connected with this passage, cf. iv. 1, *ad fin.*, notes. Fl. Wig. i. 29, follows the present passage; W. M. makes Benedict’s resignation of the abbacy to Hadrian a special instance of his ‘patientia’; i. 59; G. P. p. 328.
§ 4.

duobus annis] If this is correct, he must have left Britain in 671, and so Fl. Wig. i. 29.

tertium de Britannia . . . iter] It was his third journey from Britain, but it was his fourth visit to Rome; the third having been made from Lérins, § 2, ad fin.

libros . . . non paucos] So on his fifth visit, § 6, and on his sixth, § 9. On the importance of these books for Bede’s own development, see Introduction, pp. xviii, xix.

Cenualh] On him see iii. 7; iv. 12, notes. The Sax. Chron. places his death in 672; if this is correct, that must also be the year of Benedict’s return.

Transhumbranae regionis] See on i. 15, p. 31.

Romae uel circumquaque] In § 11, pp. 374, 375, Benedict speaks of having compiled the rules of his community from those of seventeen monasteries, which he had visited in his travels; v. note, a. l.

quantas . . . reliquias] So on his fifth visit, § 6, p. 369.


de suo largitus] This ‘de suo,’ is specially emphasised in the Homily: ‘reges saeculi, cognito uirtutum eius studio, locum ei monasterii construendi non ab aliqua minorum personarum ablatum, sed de sui propriis donatum dare curabant;’ Opp. v. 182; Opp. Min. p. 336. This seems to show that such vicarious generosity was not uncommon in those days. So in the same way St. Botulf, the founder of Icanhoe, begs the king: ‘non ut aliquem regia violentia de hereditario iure causa sui depellat, sed potius ut de incultis terris suis sibi . . . concedat;’ Mab. AA. SS. iii. 5; cf. W. M. i. 133.

p. 368. anno . . . quarto . . . Ecgfridi] So Hist. Anon. § 7. This again is in favour of the view taken above, that Egfrid came to the throne in Feb. 671, and not in 670. For if the latter were the case, only so much of the year 674 as precedes Feb. 15 would fall into his fourth year; see on iv. 5; cf. Ann. Lindisf.: ‘674. Benedictus cepit monasterium ad Weremutham;’ Pertz, xix. 504.

§ 5.

Nec . . . interiecto] Bede therefore places this journey to Gaul in 675. The Hist. Anon. § 7, says: ‘secundo fundati monasterii anno.’ The difference need not be great; but as Bede certainly had the Hist. Anon. before him, we must suppose that he
Notes.

359
deliberately corrected it; cf. the Homily: ‘quamdiu sospes erat
corpore, pro gloria sanctae Dei ecclesiae, et maxime pro huius
monasterii pace, honore, et quiete semper laborare perstebat; toties
mare transiit, nunquam, ut est consuetudinis quibusdam, uaeus
et inutilis rediit, sed nunc librorum copiam sanctorum, nunc
reliquiarum beatorum martyrum Christi munus venerabile detulit,
nunc architectos ecclesiae fabricandae, nunc uitori factores ad
fenestras eius decorandas ac munierias, nunc cantandi, et in
ecclesia per totum annum ministrandi secem magistros adduxit,
nunc epistolam priuilegii a domino papa missam, qua nostra
libertas ab omni extrinseca incursione tutaretur, apportauit, nunc
pictures sanctarum historiarum, quae non ad ornamentum solummodo
ecclesiae, uerum otiam ad instructionem intuentium proponerentur,
aduexit, uidelicet ut qui literarum lectione non posse et opera
et Saluatoris nostri, per ipsarum contuitum discerent imaginum.
Qui in his et in huiusmodi rebus ideo tam plura laborare studuit, ne
necesse nobis sic laborandi remaneret necessitas; idem
transmarina loca adiit, ut nos omnibus scientia salutaris
dapibus abundantes intra monasterii claustra quiescere, et cum
secui-a libertate Christo seruire queamus;’ Opp. v. 184, 185; Opp.
Min. pp. 337, 338.

cementarios] So Wilfrid returned ‘cum cantoribus ædde et Masons.
Eonian, et caementariis, omnisque paene artis institoribus;’
Eddius, c. 14. The Hist. Anon. § 7, says that Benedict obtained
these ‘architectos’ from his friend Abbot Torthelm.


uitri factores] Cf. the Homily cited above, and a letter of Cuthbert, Makers of
abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow (the author of the letter on
Bede’s death) to Lullus, archbishop of Mainz (755 x 786): ‘si
aliquis homo in tua sit parrochia (=diocese) qui uitrea uasa bene
possit facere, cum tempus adrideat, mihi mittere digneris, . . .
quia eiusdem artis ignari et inopes sumus;’ Mon. Mog. p. 301.
So Wilfrid at York: ‘per fenestras introitum anium et imbrum
uitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiabat;’ Eddius,
c. 16, which breathes the writer’s sense of wonder at the ‘arti-
ficium eatenus incognitum.’

discere fecerunt] It would seem from Cuthbert’s letter that
the knowledge of the art soon died out again, at any rate at
Wearmouth.

§ 6.

P. 369. quarta . . . profectione] i.e. his fourth journey from Fifth visit
Britain; his fifth visit to Rome. Ceolfrid accompanied him; § 7;
cf. Hist. Anon. §§ 9, 10; iv. 18, p. 241: where it is said 'honoreifice a ... papa Agathone susceptus est,' which shows that they cannot have reached Rome before summer, 678, as Agatho was not consecrated till June or July, 678. Yet Fl. Wig. puts this visit under 676.

primo, &c.] Cf. Homily, cited on § 5.

accepto ... archicantore] See iv. 18, and notes. They returned to Britain in 679, or early in 680.

cum licentia ... acceptam] The conflict between the Northumbrian crown and the Roman see about Wilfrid may have led Bede to lay such stress on this point. Wilfrid's first appeal to Rome took place just at this time, viz. in 679, and Benedict and John did not leave Rome till after the discussion of that appeal had begun. Agatho's privilege was confirmed by Egfrid in a Northumbrian synod; § 15, ad fin. That synod cannot be earlier than 679, and may be as late as 680; cf. H. & S. iii. 126, 135.

picturas] Cf. § 9, infra.

p. 370. etiam litterarum ignari] So Gregory I, writing to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, in 599, says: 'idecirca pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi, qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus uidendo legant, quae legere in codicibus non ualent;' R. P. p. 133. So Wilfrid, 'adductis secum ex partibus transmarinis artificibus, ... ad deuotionem rudis adhuc plebis conciliandam, [ecclesiam Hagustaldensem] picturis et caelaturis ... decorauit;' Raine's Hexham, i. 175; cf. Bede's Homily, cited on § 5. In his 'De Templo Salomonis' there is an interesting passage in which he argues against the iconoclasts of his day: 'qui putant lege Dei prohibitum ne ... rerum similitudines sculpamus, aut depingamus in ecclesia .... Si enim licebat serpentem exaltari aeneum in eremo ... cur non liceat exaltationem Domini ... in cruce ... ad memoriam fidelibus depingendo reduci, uel alia eius miracula, ... cum horum aspectus saepe multum compunctionis solet praestare contuentibus, et eis quoque, qui litteras ignorant, quasi uinam Dominicae historiae pandere lectionem.' His conclusion is: 'non ... imagines rerum ... facere, sed ... idolatriae gratia facere, ... esse prohibitum;' Opp. viii. 336, 337. On the history of the controversy, see article 'images' in D. C. A., especially pp. 813, 814, 816, 817. On the religious use of the arts, cf. Opp. vii. 81: 'erant in populo Dei uiri docti in cuncta opera aeris et ferri, necon et argenti et auri; sed hos ipse hane artem ad distinctionem sui tabernaculi transferre praeceptit.' Alcuin, in 790, asks a correspondent to send him 'pigmenta multa de sulfure bene et coloribus ad picturas;' Mon. Alc. p. 170.
extremi discrimen examinis] Every traveller can bear witness to the fascination which this subject had for mediaeval art.

§ 7.

decem et septem] The Haa. § 11, says 'twenty-two.' It is a confusion of XVII and XXII. Which is correct I cannot say.

Ceolfrido] For the history of Ceolfrid, prior to his joining Benedict, see Hist. Anon. §§ 1-5, and notes.

consultu ... Ecfridi] Egfrid himself marked out the site for the altar; Haa. § 12.

monasterium ... construxit] This is the foundation of Jarrow. Foundation It stands at the confluence of the Don and of the Tyne, and was known as the 'port of king Egfrid': 'Dani ... portum Egfridi regis, id est Gyrum, uastantes monasterium ad ostium Doni amnis depredantur;' S. D. i. 51; cf. Sax. Chron. D. E. 794: 'at Done more.' The dedication inscription of the church still exists. I copy it from a photograph in the possession of my father, the Rev. M. Plummer:

Ecgfridi reg. Ceolfridi abb. Eivsdem quoque eccles. Do

Romam ... adierat] See notes on § 5.

p. 371. nam et ... Petrum] See notes on ii. 4. Mabillon, AA. SS. ii. 1005, in a note on this passage, has collected other instances.

Gregorius scribit] Dial. ii. 3, ad fin.

§ 8.

nomo ... anno] The ninth year from 674 would be 682-683. Eosterwine had been previously left in charge of the monastery in 678, when Benedict and Ceolfrid went to Rome; Haa. § 10.
Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda.

patruelis] 'cousin'; strictly speaking, the son of a father's brother.

ut neque ... offerendum] It seems to be implied that such conduct was unusual.

militia spirituali] See on iii. 23.

ventilare, &c.] On manual labour in monasteries, see Introduction, p. xxv.

p. 372. ferrum malleo domando] Cf. the story of the reprobate brother in v. 14, who was 'fabrili arte singularis,' and note a. l.

in secretiori ... aede] This may mean the monastic infirmary; cf. the account of Cædmon's death, iv. 24; or it may be some place of religious retirement like that used by Cuthbert and Eadbert on Lindisfarne; iv. 30, p. 276.

nonas Martias] March 7th.

uiginti III or ... agebat] Florence places Eosterwine's death in 685; but the monastery was only founded in 674; twelve years added to that gives 686 as the earliest possible date for Eosterwine's death; four years deducted from this gives 682 as the date of his appointment as abbot, which confirms what was said above; seven years deducted from 686 gives 679 as the date of his priesthood; twenty-four years deducted from 674 gives 650 as the date of his birth.

p. 373. terrenos ... relinquuens] These words form a hexameter verse, but I do not know whence it comes. It is an evident reminiscence of Verg. Aen. vi. 732: 'Terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra,' which very verse Bede cites, Opp. viii. 233.

§ 9.

non multo post] It is impossible to say exactly what space of time is meant by this. Fl. Wig. places this journey of Benedict's in 684. It was the fifth from Britain, the sixth absolutely. He certainly did not return till after Eosterwine's death; § 10; i.e. not till 686 at the earliest.

innumeris ... donis] See §§ 4, 5, 6, and notes.

in monasterio maiore] i.e. Wearmouth.


holoserica] 'all of silk;' v. Ducange, s.v. 'holosericus.'

abd Aldfrido ... consiliariis] Note the co-operation of the witenagemót with the king in grants of land; v. S. C. H. i. 130-132; Kemble, ii. 224 ff.
Notes.

§ 10.

P. 374. grassante pestilentia] For the visitations of the plague The Plague in the seventh century, see on iii. 27. It was specially fatal to the aggregations of men in monasteries; cf. the case of Lindisfarne, cited in Introd. p. xxxii, from Vita Cudb. c. 27; Selsey, iv. 14; Wearmouth, here; Lastingham, iii. 23, ad fin.

uirum . . . substitutum cognouit] W. M. represents Benedict’s Election of acquiescence in the election of Sigfrid as another special instance of his ‘patientia;’ cf. on § 3, ad fin.: ‘quod, dum per alienas terras cursitat diu absens, subintroductum a monachis Wirensibus, se inconsulto, abbatam aequanimitur, immo magnanimiter, tulerit, domumque reuersus parilem illi honorem in consessu et in omni porsteate communicauerit;’ i. 59, 60; G. P. p. 329. The word ‘subintroductum’ (see on iii. 7) stamps the proceeding with a note of blame, which is wholly absent from Bede’s narrative.

§ 11.

studebant . . . uacare] Cf. the account of Bede’s own death, Introd. pp. lxxii ff., clx ff., and that of Hild, iv. 23. Bede has expanded, greatly to our profit, the account of the sickness and death of Sigfrid and Benedict given by the Hist. Anon. §§ 15-18 He may have been an eye-witness of much that he describes.

ex decem . . . contradidi] Cf. the Homily: ‘non pro suo captu decreta nobis statuens, sed antiquorum statuta certissima monasteriorum, quae in peregrinatione didicerat, sibi suisque observanda proponens;’ Opp. v. 182; supra, § 4; and Hist. Anon. § 6.

p. 375. ne quis . . . generis prosapiam] It would seem therefore that this was becoming a custom and a danger. See note on iv. 26; Introd. p. xxxv.


accito episcopo] See below, §§ 17, 20, and ref. ff.

§ 12.

duobus in choris] Cf. Lightfoot, App. Ff. II. i. 30, 31, 51, 231; D. C. A., s. v. 'Antiphon.'

§ 13.

P. 377. non tam carnis necessitum] Therefore Ceolfrid, as well as Eosterwine, was related to Benedict, and of noble birth; Hist. Anon. § 2. His father was a royal thane; ib. § 17.
praeopportum] For the date see on § 14.


§ 14.

pertransito . . . refriergium] Ps. lxv. (lxvi.) 12, 13; cf. Wisd. iv. 7: 'Iustus . . . si morte praeeoccupatus fuerit, in refriergio erit.'

introit] Benedict died on January 12; Sigfrid on August 22; Hab. § 20; Haa. § 17. Ceolfrid's appointment as abbot of both monasteries was on May 13; Haa. § 17. Bede's statements here that Sigfrid died four months before Benedict, and two months after Ceolfrid's appointment, must therefore be taken loosely. As to the year there is very great difficulty. At the end of the present section Bede says that Benedict ruled the monastery for sixteen years, during the last eight of which he had had as co-abbots Eosterwine for four years, Sigfrid for three, and Ceolfrid for one. Sixteen years from 674, the date of the foundation of the monastery, § 4, gives 690 as the date of Benedict's death. And this is the date of the Ann. Lindisf.; Pertz, xix. 504. Reckoning back from this we get August, 689, for the date of Sigfrid's death; May, 689, for the date of Ceolfrid's appointment; 686 as the date of Sigfrid's appointment, and 682 for that of Eosterwine; which agrees with what was said on § 8; so Stubbs in D. C. B. On the other hand, Bede says, § 15, that Ceolfrid ruled the joint monastery for twenty-eight years. He certainly resigned in June, 716; §§ 17, 22. This seems therefore to throw back his appointment to 688, and Benedict's death to 689; and these are the dates not only of Florence, but of the Hist. Anon. § 17. And yet the Hist. Anon. itself, § 19, gives Ceolfrid only twenty-seven years of rule over the joint monastery, which would put all these dates a year later. In the Roman use the Psalm 'Deus quis similis' occurs at matins on Friday; in the Benedictine use, which would be that of Wearmouth, it occurs at matins on Thursday. January 12 was not a Thursday or a Friday in either 689 or 690, though it was a Thursday in 691.
Notes.

nox ruit... flatibus] Evidently a verse, but I do not know whence it comes.

p. 378. psalmis] See on iii. 5.


§ 15.

P. 379. VII¹em annis] We have seen above, on § 7, that Jarrow Ceolfrid’s was founded either in 681 or early in 682. This ‘seven years’ there is consistent with either 688 or 689 as the date of Ceolfrid’s appointment as abbot of the combined monastery. See on § 14, and Haa. § 17.

fundauit] Note that here Ceolfrid rather than Benedict is spoken of as the founder of Jarrow; and in the inscription quoted on § 7 he is described as ‘eiusdem ecclesiae conditor.’


pandectes] A name given to the Justinian Code; thence trans- ‘Pandecte,’ ferred to the books of the Old and New Testaments, as containing the divine code; cf. Alcuin, cited by Ducange:

‘Nomine Pandecten proprio uocitare memento
Hoc corpus sacrum, lector, in ore tuo.
Quod nunc a multis constat Bibliotheca dicta,’ &c.

nouae... uetustae translationis] The Vulgate and the old Latin or Itala. For Bede’s use of the two translations and for the history of one of these MSS., see Introd. pp. xix, liv-lvi; infra, App. II.

unum... duos] i.e. the three of the ‘noua translatio.’


Osredo regnante] 705-716.

Sambuce] Camden suggested Camboise at the mouth of the Wansbeck. Sandoe has also been suggested.

missis... papae] They were at Rome in 701; cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 47: ‘anno ab... incarnatione septingentesimo primo, indictione quarta decima, fratres nostri qui tunc fuere Romae,’ &c.; Opp. vi. 242. Hwæhtbert, Ceolfrid’s successor, was one of them, § 18. Sergius I was Pope 687-701. When they started is uncertain. Hwæhtbert at any rate was there ‘non paruo temporis spatio;’ ib.


quod regebat] The nominative to ‘regebat’ must be Ceolfrid. Witmer. Yet all the editions punctuate, and Dr. Giles translates, as if the nominative were Witmer. No Witmer can have been Abbot of Wearmouth during Bede’s lifetime. Hwæhtbert, who succeeded
Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda.

Ceolfrid, survived Bede several years; Introd. § 3. It is no doubt owing to this difficulty that the interpolator of the Hist. Anon. in MS. Digby, or his corrector, has in more than one place substituted the name of Witmer for that of Hwætbert, §§ 29, 30. In § 39 we have the hybrid form 'Withberto.' Any idea of identifying Witmer and Hwætbert is out of the question, as Hwætbert had been an inmate of the monastery 'a primis puertiiae temporibus,' § 18; and Witmer died soon after Hwætbert's election, § 20.

Dalton] In a charter in S. D. i. 211, both Dalton and Daldane are mentioned among the 'appendicicia' of Wearmouth.

§ 16.

At ubi, &c.] On the resignation of an abbot, cf. Theodore, Penitential, II. vi. 1: 'Abbas potest pro humilitate, cum permissione episcopi, locum suum relinquere.'

p. 381. iuxtae regulam...Benedicti] Alcuin, writing to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow in 793, says: 'saepius regula Sancti Benedicti legatur in conventu fratum, et propria exponatur lingua, ut intellegi possit ab omnibus;' Mon. Alc. p. 198. This shows that a knowledge of Latin was not universal among the brethren (cf. Bede, Ep. ad Egb. § 5: 'de clericis siue monachis, qui Latinae sunt linguae expertes'). A copy of the Benedictine rule, with a translation into Anglo-Saxon, exists in MS. C.C.C. Oxon. No. 197. It belonged to the Monastery of Bury St. Edmund's.

Romae loca sancta repeteret] Bede alludes to Ceolfrid's pilgrimage and death in his Chron., Opp. vii. 331: 'His temporibus multi Anglorum gentis nobiles et ignobiles, uiri et foeminae, duces et priuati, diuini amoris instinctu de Brittania Romam uenire consueuerant; inter quos etiam reuerendissimus abbas meus Ceolfridus annos natus septuaginta quatuor, cum esset presbyter annis quadranginta septicem, abbas autem XXXV. Ubi Lingonas peruenit, ibi defunctus, atque in ecclesia beatorum geminorum martyrum sepultus est, qui inter alia donaria, quae adferre disponuerat, misit ecclesiae sancti Petri Pandecten, a beato Hieronymo in Latinum ex Hebraeo vel Graeco fonte translatum.' But the most interesting reference to Ceolfrid's departure and Hwætbert's election occurs at the beginning of the fourth book of the Commentary on Samuel, Opp. viii. 162, 163: 'Tertio in beatum Samuelem completo uolumine, putabam me aliquandiu reparata per quietem meditandi uel scribendi uoluptate, sic
secretum sui propositi] He had purposely concealed his design Departure until all his arrangements had been made, for fear his purpose should be thwarted ; Hist. Anon. § 22.

p. 382. pridie . . . feria] June 4 ; this was a Thursday in 716. He had meant to start on the Tuesday, but was prevailed upon to spend that day at Wearmouth. On the Wednesday he visited Jarrow, returning to Wearmouth the same evening ; and set out finally on the Thursday ; Hist. Anon. §§ 23-25.

oratorium . . . in dormitorio] Cf. the similar arrangement in St. Mary’s Hospital, Chichester ; Freeman, English Towns and Districts, p. 379 ; ib. 247.


demum ad inchoationem quarti manum esse missurum. Uerum haec cadem mihi quies, si tamen quies dicenda est inopinata mentis anxietas, prolixior multo quam decreueram, noua circumstantium rerum mutatione prouenit, maxime disseu abbatis mei reuerendissimi, qui post longam monasterialis curae observantiam, subitus Romam adire, atque inter loca beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi corporibus saera, extremum senex halitum reddere disponendo, non parua commissorum sibi animos, et eo maiore, quo improuisa conturbatione stupeceit. Sed qui Moysi longaeuo ab humanis rebus tollendo Iesum Naue in ducatum, qui Eleazarum in sacerdotium Aaron patri substituit, ipse prolecto aetate Ceolfrido, ad beatorum apostolorum limina sancta properantu, Huetbertum iuuenem, cui amor studiumque pietatis iam olim Eusebii cognomen indidit, ad regendas sacerdotio ducatuoque spirituali fidelium animas abbatis uice substituit. Eiusdemque substitutionis gradum post electionem fraternam sua per tuum, dilectissime Antistes, officium benedictione confirmanit. Redeunte tempore statu tranquilliore, redit et mihi otium pariter ac delectatio mirabilia scripturae sanctae tota anima, solerti intentione scrutandi. Igitur quartum in Samuelem allegoricae expositionis libellum, a victoria beati Dauid, qua saluauit habitatores Ceilae, atque ab oppugnantium Philistinorum irruptione defendit, cum tuis, amantissime pontificum, orationibus incipiens, quicquid, illo reserante qui habet clauem Dauid, potuero, mysticum legentibus communicare curabo.’ Compare on this, Introd. § 3.

§ 17.
Historia Abbatum auctore Bueda.

transit flumen] The monastery being on the North bank;
§§ 1, 4.
ferme sexcentorum] The Hist. Anon. § 33 says: 'plus quam sexcentorum.'

§ 18.

Election of Hwætbert.  
ieiunando] By Ceolfrid's special desire, and also because it was the octave of Ascension Day, the fast was not to begin till the Friday, and was to cease at nones on Saturday because of Whitsuntide; Hist. Anon. § 28.
p. 383. die tertia...Pentecosten] June 7; this was Whit-Sunday in 716. For the special appropriateness of the day, see Haa. § 28.
de monasterio beati Pauli] Bede himself would probably be among them.
Hwætberchtus] On him see Introduction, § 3. There is a letter of St. Boniface to him, written 744 x 747, asking him to send him 'alia de opusulis sagacissimi investigatoris scripturarum Bedan monachi, quem nuper in domo Dei apud uos uice candelae ecclesiasticae scientia scripturarum fulsisse audiuimus.'
Romam quoque] See on § 15.
duodecim...officio] Therefore he was ordained priest in 704.
uenit ad...Ceolfridum] He found him 'in monasterio Ælberhti...in loco qui Cornu Vallis appellatur;' Haa. § 29. Unfortunately both person and place are alike unknown. There is an 'Ælberct abbas' commemorated in the Liber Vitae Dunelm.

§ 19.

Saxonia.  
Saxonia] This is the only instance in which any name derived from the invading Teutonic tribes is given to this island or any part of it; elsewhere it is always Britain; see on iii. 8, ad init. And though Northumbria was purely Anglian, the name used is not 'Anglia' but 'Saxonia.' The Celts indeed called and call their neighbours of Teutonic descent indiscriminately 'Saxons'; but here the word is used neither by Celt (as e.g. Asser, M. H. B. p. 487), nor foreigner, but by the Northumbrian Hwætbert. Wilfrid in his petition to pope Agatho calls himself 'episcopus Saxoniae'; H. Y. i. 43; and Ini in a spurious charter is called 'Monarcus Saxoniae'; K. C. D. No. 46; Birch, No. 101; 'gens Saxoniae' is used of Wessex, in a genuine charter; K. C. D. No. 1031; Birch, No. 377.
p. 384. quae iuuenem se adisse] This was in 678; see on § 6. Ceolfrid. He was seventy-four when he died in 716; § 22. He was therefore thirty-six when he went to Rome.

amplius quadraginta . . . praefuit] Hwaetbert therefore, like Bede himself, § 22, regards Ceolfrid as having been practically co-abbot from the first foundation of Wearmouth in 674.

peregrinari pro Christo] Cf. for this, iii. 19, 17 init., and note.

§ 20.

aduocatur episcopus] Cf. § 11, ad fin.: ‘acceto episcopo.’ So Acca and in the address to Acca quoted on § 16: ‘sua per tuum, dilectissime Antistes, officium benedictione confirmavit.’ On Acca, see v. 20 and notes. For forms of blessing an abbot, see the pontificals: e.g. York Pont. pp. 45–52; Egbert’s Pont. pp. 105, 106; Opp. Greg. iii. 168; Pontificale Romanum, Venice, 1572, ff. 49, 52–66.


in porticu ingressus] Here ‘porticus’ being coupled with ‘ingressus’ does probably mean ‘porch’; cf. on ii. 3.

sacrarium] See on iii. 11. Here it probably means sacristy.

iuxta corpus . . . Benedicti] Benedict was buried ‘in porticu beati Petri, ad orientem altaris, ubi postmodum . . . Easterwini et Sigfridi sunt ossa translata;’ Haa. § 18.

fecit autem, &c.] So Cuthbert’s remains were translated on the anniversary of his death, and Eadbert was buried in his former tomb; iv. 30. The translation of Easterwine and Sigfrid, and the burial of Witmer took place therefore on Aug. 22, 716. There is nothing corresponding to this section in the Hist. Anon.

§ 21.

tendens] For the details of his journey, see Haa. §§ 31, 32.

Lingonas] Langres; where he was received ‘a Gangulfo, regionum Domino’; Haa. § 35, q. v.; cf. sup. note on § 16.

crastino] An exception, due to the special circumstances, to the rule of burying on the day of death.

sepultus est] According to W. M. i. 60; G. P. p. 198, his relics were subsequently translated to his own monastery, and thence to Glastonbury. The former statement is true; v. Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 1298, 1299; the latter almost certainly false.

p. 386. domum magis . . . reuerti] From these Bede and the Hist. Anon. anonymous historian would learn the story of Ceolfrid’s death.
Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda.

partim ad tumbam] Cf. iii. 23, ad fin., and note. These afterwards proceeded to Rome; and both those who remained at Langres, and those who travelled to Rome and Britain, were liberally provided for by Gangulf; Hist. Anon. § 38.

§ 22.

Erat autem... triginta quinque] These numbers agree with Hist. Anon. § 32; if they are to be taken strictly, Ceolfrid's birth would fall in 642, his ordination as priest in 669, and the foundation of Jarrow in 681; see on § 7. He was ordained priest by Wilfrid; Hist. Anon. § 3.

quadraginta tribus] This at any rate must be taken somewhat loosely as meaning more than forty-two years; otherwise the foundation of Wearmouth will be thrown back to 673, whereas Bede, in § 4, expressly fixes it to 674. So Hist. Anon. § 7.

comes... aderat] Cf. on § 19. The Hist. Anon. § 8, speaks of him as having 'prioratus' at this time. But the word is probably not used in its technical monastic sense, but as meaning simply 'precedence,' 'authority.'


psalterium] See on iii. 5. The Hist. Anon. § 33, says that Ceolfrid's ordinary practice was (besides the canonical hours) to recite the psalter twice daily, and that during his journey he recited it thrice daily.

tribus... diebus] The Hist. Anon. § 33, says 'four.'

§ 23.

feria sexta] Sept. 25 was a Friday in 716.

in monasterio Geminorum] It was founded by Gangulf, mentioned above in the notes to § 21; v. Hist. Anon. §§ 35, 36. For the legend of these saints, cf. Lttf. App. Ff. II. i. 447, 575; and see a curious story as to their relics having been carried to Germany by 'quidam Alamannorum atque Burgundionum dux,' in Pertz, xi. 482, 483.
HISTORIA ABBATUM AUCTORE ANONYMO.

§ 1.

Only those matters are discussed in these notes which have not been dealt with in the notes to Bede's lives of the Abbots.

P. 388. praepositi] Used in the general sense of the text; not 'Prae-
in the technical monastic sense of provost or prior. See on iii. 23; positus.' Introd. § 8, ad fin.

nostri...nobilibus...ac religiosis] So of Gregory, ii. 1, p. 73. His father Ceolfrid. was a royal thane; of whom a beautiful anecdote is told; § 17.

octauum...et decimum...annum] He was born in 642; v. Bede, Hist. Abb. § 22. He must therefore have 'entered religion' in 659 or 660.


Tunberto] See iv. 12, ad fin.; iv. 28.

cognato] Probably 'cognatus' here means 'cousin.' In §§ 10, 12 the writer uses this word to express the relationship of Eosterwine to Benedict, which Bede, § 8, denotes by 'patruelis.'
Ceolfrid and Wilfrid.

P. 389. pestilentia...grassante] See on iii. 27.

Anglorum nobilibus, qui...praecesserant] See on iii. 27.

inuitatus a Wilfrido] Probably invited to take the place of Cuthbert and Eata and their companions, who were expelled from Ripon in 661 for refusing to conform to the Roman Easter; see on iii. 27. Gilling having been founded by Eanfled, who derived her Christianity from Paulinus, would observe the Roman use.

annorum...VII\textsuperscript{em}] This would place his ordination as priest in 669, which agrees with Bede, § 22.

Ceolfrid in Kent,

ob studium discendi...Cantiam petiit] Here he would reap the benefit of the new learning brought in just at this time by Theodore and Hadrian; see on iv. 2. Wilfrid himself, at an earlier period, had studied in Kent on his first journey to Rome; v. 19, p. 323.

§ 4.

at Icanhoe. Botuulfi abbatis] Of Icanhoe in Lincolnshire, the foundation of which monastery is recorded by the Sax. Chron. at 654. There is a life of Botulf in Mabillon, AA. SS. iii. 3–7, AA. SS. Iun. iii. 402 ff. Mabillon argued that as the life does not mention the translation of Botulf’s relics by Ethelwold in the tenth century, it must be earlier than that date; but the prologue, first printed by Hardy, Cat. i. 373–375, shows that the author was the eleventh-century Folcard.

domum redit] i.e. to Ripon.

pistoris officium] See Introd. p. xxv.

regularis...iussus est] Probably as prior or provost. The AS. vers. of the H. E. denotes this officer by the term ‘regolweard,’ ‘warden of the rule’; which corresponds well with the idea of ‘regularis observantiae magisterium’; cf. § 11.

§ 5.

a memorato eius episcopo] i.e. Wilfrid.


§ 6.

X\textsuperscript{em} et VII\textsuperscript{em}] See on Bede, § 11.

sacerdotii gradu] Note ‘sacerdotium’ used of the presbyterate; see on i. 28.
§ 7.

secundo ... anno] i.e. in 675 or 676; Bede, § 5, says it was within a year. The difference need not be more than a month or two.

Torhthelmo] From his name, which seems thoroughly Saxon, Torhthelm. and from his friendship with Benedict he seems to have been one of those who, as Bede testifies, iii. 8, in the early days of native monasticism, passed from Britain to Gaul, where the facilities for practising the 'uita regularis' were greater.

§ 8.

tedere ... prioratus] See on Bede, § 22. This incident of Ceol- Ceolfrid throwing up his work at Wearmouth in temporary disgust is resigned omitted by Bede.

§ 9.
P. 391. Romam ire disposuit] In 678; see Bede, § 6.

§ 10.

§ 11.

Post octo ... annos] This if taken strictly would fix the foundation of Jarrow to 682. We have seen that Bede's data leave it uncertain as between 681 and 682. See however below.

primo ibidem] It is a pity that the text of the older MS. is here mutilated or corrupt (see the critical note); as it would apparently have given us a more precise date for the foundation of Jarrow. I have adopted in the text the reading of the later interpolated MS., which does at least construe.

ipsam] 'the very same'; cf. on i. 30, pp. 65, 66.
p. 392. figeret] The reading of H: 'fieret,' illustrates the 'Verhauchung' or reduction to a mere breath of a g between vowels; see on iii. 7, p. 140.

§ 12.

Tertio ... anno ... secundo ... anno] i.e. there was a period of over two years between the foundation of the monastery and the church built, the commencement of the church; and a period of over one year between the latter and the dedication. This agrees with the
Historia Abbatum auctore Anonymo.

dedication inscription which places the dedication in the fourth year of Ceolfrid's abbacy; v.s. on Bede, § 7.

eo ... tempore quo ... miserat ... constituit] The appointment of Eosterwine seems to have been in 682. See on Bede, §§ 7, 8. This, again, is in favour of 682 as the date for the foundation of Jarrow. It should be noted that the later the foundation of Jarrow is placed, the more impossible it becomes to place the dedication in April 684, as would have to be done if the ordinary reckoning of the regnal years of Egfrid were correct.

patriam ... referret] 'bring home'; 'patriam' is here an accusative of motion, like 'domum.' So in § 9. The reading of the later MS. is due to a misunderstanding of this.

§ 13.

IIIto ... anno] So Bede, § 8 ad fin.

Sigfridum diaconem] He is called 'deacon' again in § 17, where his death is narrated; so that he seems never to have taken priest's orders.

§ 14.

P. 393. On this beautiful and touching incident, omitted by Bede, because, in all probability, it related to himself, see Introduction, § 2.

§§ 15, 16.

See on Bede, §§ 10-13.

§ 17.

P. 394. tertio ... Aldfridi] If Aldfrid's reign is to be regarded as dating from the death of Egfrid, May 21, 685, then May 13 in his third year is May 13, 688, and with this agrees the indication. But if this was, as is said just below, the eighth year from the foundation of Jarrow, then that event cannot be later than 681. Sigfrid's death will then be Aug. 22, 688, and the death of Benedict Jan. 12, 689. See on Bede, § 14, where I have shown that neither Bede nor the anonymous author are quite consistent with themselves.

sedecim exactis] If Wearmouth was founded in 674, § 7, and Benedict died Jan. 12, 689, he can have completed at the most fifteen years as abbot. This, therefore, favours the later series of dates.

§ 18.

Octo quippe, &c.] These numbers agree with Bede, § 14, ad
fin. But of course the two series of dates will differ by a year if the ‘terminus ad quem,’ from which they are reckoned, so differs.

§ 19.

per annos uiginti septem] He died Sept. 25, 716. Either, therefore, the writer must date the twenty-seven years, not from the appointment of Ceolfrid in May, but from the death of Benedict in the following January, or else this is another witness to the correctness of the later set of dates.

§ 20.

See Bede, § 15.

§ 21.

sicut supra] §§ 2, 3.

§§ 22–27.

See on Bede, § 17.

§ 23.

P. 396. de subito . . . turbatis] Bede, himself one of these Departure Jarrow monks, says of Ceolfrid’s departure: ‘commissorum sibi of Ceolfrid, animos . . . improuisa conturbatione stupefecit;’ Opp. viii. 162. See the whole passage cited on Bede, § 16.

§ 25.

ad sanctum Petrum] No doubt the chapel or ‘porticus beati Petri,’ where the founder Benedict reposed, § 17.

§§ 28, 29, 30.

P. 398. See on Bede, §§ 18, 19. The only differences between the Hwæt- text of the letter given here and that in Bede are the omission of bert’s ‘principis’ and the reading ‘de’ for ‘ad’ in the heading here, the insertion of ‘diuinitus’ before ‘impleris,’ and of ‘et’ before ‘ueritatis,’ and the reading ‘corporcis’ for ‘carnes’ near the end.

§§ 31, 32.

P. 400. These incidents of the voyage between the departure Ceolfrid’s from Wearmouth and the arrival at Langres are omitted by Bede. Voyage, quarta nonas Iulias] July 4. This was a Saturday in 716.
Historia Abbatum auctore Anonymo.

provinciis] It is not said whether these were provinces of Britain or of the Continent.

pridie id. Aug.] August 12. This was a Wednesday in 716.


§ 33.

See on Bede, § 22.

§ 34.

Anecdote of his father.

P. 401. These details of the journey, and the beautiful anecdote of Ceolfrid's father, are also omitted by Bede.

comitatus ... officium] i.e. he was a royal 'gesið' or thane.

§ 35.

See on Bede, § 21.

Indictions.

incipiente indictione] This shows that the writer, like Bede, used the Caesarean Indictions, which begin on Sept. 24. See on i. 23.

p. 402. Gangulfo] I have not been able to discover anything with reference to him.

§ 36.

See on Bede, §§ 21, 23.

§ 37.

The Codex Amiatinus. uersiculos] It was these verses which enabled Dr. Hort to prove, what De Rossi had previously conjectured, that the MS. given by Ceolfrid to the Pope was no other than the famous Codex Amiatinus. See Mr. White's paper in Studia Biblica, vol. ii. Mr. White speaks of this Codex as 'perhaps the finest book in the world,' p. 273. It is not, however, the work of native scribes, but of Italian scribes brought over to this country. See Sir E. Maunde Thompson's Palaeography, pp. 194, 245. The true reading of the second line is:

'Quem caput ecclesiae dedicat alta fides.'

§ 38.

See on Bede, § 21.

§ 39.

The Pope's reply.

P. 403. This answer of the Pope to Hwætbert's letter is omitted by Bede.
Scriptorum ... profiteris] A very involved and ungrammatical sentence, possibly corrupt. The sense is: 'having read your letter, I perceive that you sympathize with the truth, &c. . . . , and by your allusion to my election, you profess your obedience to the authority of the apostolic see.'

ac probatissimum] From here to the end of the letter the text is so corrupt that it is impossible to make anything of it. The sense apparently is that the Pope prays that Hwætbert, as the successor of Ceolfrid, may be what Joshua, Phinehas, and Elisha were, as the successors of Moses, Aaron, and Elijah.

§ 40.

Bede omits these miraculous appearances.

p. 404. secuta . . . et lux] Cf. the cases of Earcongota, iii. 8; Hild, iv. 23; Alcuin, Mon. Alc. p. 31.

§ 1.

P. 405] On the date of this letter, see note ad fin. Smith beautifully says: 'haec epistola habeatur tanquam Baedae cygnea cantio,' p. 309. It may be compared throughout with the decrees of the Council of Clovesho held thirteen years later, 747; H. & S. iii. 360–376.

Ecgberto] All the authorities seem to agree that he was consecrated to the see of York in 734; Sax. Chron., D. E. F.; that he received the pall in 735 (being the first archbishop of York, de iure and de facto); Cont. Baed.; Sax. Chron. D. E. F.; S. D. ii. 31; and that he died Nov. 19, 766; Cont. Baed.; Sax. Chron. D. E. F.; S. D. ii. 43; Fl. Wig. i. 58. These dates may therefore be considered as fixed, and we need not trouble ourselves with the varying lengths of his episcopate given by the different authorities: thirty-two years, S.D. i. 49 (with v.l. thirty-four); thirty-four years, Alcuin, de Sanctis Ebor., v. 1284; S. D. ii. 43; thirty-six years, Sax. Chron. E.; G. P. p. 246; H. H. p. 125; thirty-seven years, Sax. Chron. D. Possibly the number thirty-four, which has the strongest authority (Alcuin's) in its favour, may be reckoned from his election, and not from his consecration; and the Cont. Baed. does place his appointment in 732. The fact too that he succeeded owing to the resignation and not to the death of his predecessor (see on v. 6) may have caused some doubt as to the exact beginning of his episcopate. He was a brother of Eadbert, king of Northumbria, 737–758, who died in 768, both being sons of Eata, a descendant of Ida, whom Nennius, § 61, calls 'Eata Glinmaur,' i.e. 'Eata of the large knee' (cf. Glun-iarn, Glun-find, Glun-gel, 'iron knee,' 'white knee,' 'yellow knee,' common Irish nicknames). While still an infant he was placed in a monastery by his father. At a later time he went to Rome with a third brother Egred, who died there. (There is an allusion to this Roman visit in § 15 inf.) He himself was ordained deacon at Rome, and returned to Britain, where he
was made bishop of York by Ceolwulf; S. D. i. 49. He was a worthy disciple of Bede (cf. Vita Alciuini, c. 2; Mon. Alc. p. 9; Pertz, xv. 186, 187, written 820×830). He founded the famous school in his monastery at York, from which proceeded the great scholar Alcuin. W. M. says that he was also the founder of the famous York library, of which Alcuin was librarian, and of which he gives a catalogue, De Sanctis Ebor., vv. 1530–1561, the earliest existing catalogue of an English library. But it is possible that this latter statement rests only on the fact that in two letters of Alcuin’s cited by W. M. (Mon. Alc. pp. 331, 346) the name of Egbert has been wrongly substituted for that of his successor Ethelbert; W. M. i. 68; G. P. p. 246. Alcuin praises highly the character and rule of the two royal brothers:

‘Tempora tunc huius fuerant felicia gentis,
Quam rex et praesul concordi iure regebant; . . .
Ex alio frater Felix adiutus uterque;’

cf. the whole passage; De Sanctis Ebor., vv. 1246–1286. So Malmesbury, u. s.: ‘is et sua prudentia et germani potentia sedem illam in genuinum statum reformauit. . . . Hic omnium liberalium artium armarium, ut ita dicam, fuit, et nobilissimam bibliothecam Eboraci constituit.’ Coins exist bearing the legend of the king on one side, and of the archbishop on the other; Raine, in D. C. B. ii. 5. Egbert is the author of a Dialogus ecclesiasticae institutionis, printed H. & S. iii. 403–413; of a Penitential, ib. 413–431; and of a Pontifical printed by the Surtees Society, 1853. St. Boniface wrote two letters to him, H. & S. iii. 358–360, 388–390; Mon. Mog. pp. 178 ff., 249 ff., in the former of which he begged him to use his influence in support of the admonitory letter which Boniface had written to Ethelbald of Mercia (see on v. 23), and in both of which he begged him to send some of the Commentaries of Bede; cf. on Egbert, Werner, pp. 90, 91.

[he sterno . . . anno] Therefore in 733 Bede had been with Egbert at York. Probably at that time Egbert had not yet been consecrated. See above; and this is confirmed by the tenor of the letter, which has all the appearance of being an exhortation to a newly consecrated prelate.

corporis mei ualitudo] Probably the illness of which he died, Bede’s if I am right in thinking that Bede’s death took place in 735; illness.

v. Introduction, § 19.

§ 2.


p. 406. subditam sibi pleblem] See on iv. 5; cf. Council Clovesho,
§ 1: 'nece ... neglegenter uiuendo, segniter docendo, negotiis saecularibus ... subditus existat [episcopus].'

§ 3.

Study of the Scriptures.


diuinis ... eloquis] So Alcuin to Archbishop Ethelhard in 793: 'Lectio sanctae Scripturae saepius tuis reperiatur in manibus, ut ex illa te saturare et alios paseere ualeas;' H. & S. iii. 475; Mon. Alc. p. 204. This letter of Alcuin's is perhaps modelled on Bede's to Egbert. But indeed Alcuin's desire to improve his neighbours required no external stimulus.

uerbis ... Gregorii] On Gregory's homilies and 'Pastoral Care,' see ii. 1, notes.

§ 4.

P. 407. de quibusdam episcopis] On the evil lives of some of the prelates of Bede's time, cf. the passages from his works cited Introduction, p. xxxv.

p. 408. ubicunque perueneris] Cf. on iv. 27, p. 269.

§ 5.

latiora sunt spatia, &c.] On the consequent need for further subdivision of dioceses, see below, §§ 8, 9.

presbyteros ... in singulis uiculis] An interesting passage illustrating the very gradual growth of the parochial system; cf. v. ii, note.

symbole] See on iv. 17.

p. 409. popularis ... uita] As λαϊκός from λαός, so 'popularis' from 'populus,' in the sense of 'lay' or 'secular.' The same phrase occurs, inf. § 15, ad init.; and in the Vita Anon. Cudb. §§ 8, 11. 'Plebeius' is used in the same sense: 'hi, qui in plebeia sunt uita constituti;' Opp. ix. 267. (For 'plebs' = laity, see on iv. 5.)

de clericis ... expertes] See on Hist. Abb. § 16; cf. Council Clovesho, § 10: 'presbyteri ... symbolum fidei ac Dominicam orationem, sed et sacramenta quoque uerba quae in Missae celebratione, et officio Baptismi solenniter dieuntur, interpretari atque exponere posse propria lingua, qui nesciant, discant.' For the general ignorance of Latin among the clergy in Alfred's time, cf. the famous passage in his preface to the translation of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care,' ed. Sweet, pp. 2-9; also in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, and elsewhere.
propter quod . . . optulī] Cf. Introduction, pp. lxxv, elxii. Anglo-
Bede’s Saxon versions of the Lord’s Prayer and Creed exist; but they cannot be Bede’s, as they are West-Saxon and not Northumbrian in dialect. It is grievous that none of Bede’s translations have survived. There is a law of Canute’s which provides that every Christian man shall know the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer; Schmid, Gesetze, pp. 266–268; Thorpe, i. 372–374.

Ambrosius] De Virginibus, iii. 4, 20: ‘Symbolum quoque St. Am-
specialiter debemus tanquam nostri signaculum cordis antelucanis horis quotidie recensere; quo etiam cum horremus aliquid animo recursum est. Quando enim sine militiae sacramento miles in tentorio, bellator in praelio?’ Cited by Moberly.

§ 6.

rariora . . . repperis] See the passages cited, Introduction, § 10.

§ 7.

P. 410. Attende . . . contendunt] See Introduction, p. xxxv; Episcopal cf. especially the following, on Nehem. v. r: ‘Desiderabat quidem populus murum construere ciuitatis, sed magnitudine famis ab opere sancto praepediebatur. Quam uidelieet famem non solum penuria frugum, sed et principum anaritia fecerat, cum ab eodem populo maiora quam reddere poterat tributa exigerent, quod apud nos quotidie eodem ordine fieri uidentem. Quanti enim sunt in populo Dei, qui diuinis liberter cupiunt obtemperare mandatis, sed, ne possint implere quod cupiunt, et inopia rerum temporalium ac paupertate, et exemplis retardatur eorum, qui habitu religiosis uidentur esse praediti, cum ipsi ab eis, quibus praeesse uidentur, et immensum rerum secularium pondus ac uectigal exiguent, et nihil eorum saluti perpetuae, uel docendo, uel exempla uiuendi praebendo, uel opera pietatis impendendo conferunt. Atque utinam aliiquis diebus nostris Nehemias, id est consolator, a Domino adueniens, nostros compescat errores, nostra ad amorem diuinum praecordia accendat, nostras a propriis voluntatibus ad consti-
uendam Christi ciuitatem manus auertens confortet;’ Opp. ix. 21. So on Nehem. xii. 43: ‘Sed uae illis sacerdotibus ac ministris sanctorum, qui sumptus quidem cum gaudio debitos sumere a populo delectantur, sed nil pro eiusdem populi student salute laborare, non aliquid sacri ducatus ei recte uiuendo praebere, non de snauitate regni coelestis ei quippiam dulce praedicando canere, sed nec ianuam ei supernae ciuitatis aperire, municipatum in coelis habendo, uerum potius ocludere peruerse agendo probantur.
In quorum operibus nequaquam confidens, siue laudans Dominum populus laetari, sed multo magis cogitatur affligi;’ ib. 46, 47. Nehemiah’s unselshf conduct, v. 14, shows: ‘apostolicum illud esse opus, cum quis in regimine plebis Dei promotus, opus quidem rectoris nobiliter ecclesiam aedificando exercet, sed quaestum exercitii ab eis quos praedicando, ac bene uiuendo regit, terrena commoda expectando non quaerit;’ ib. 23.

tributis antistiti reddendis] It would be interesting if Bede had told us what these were; but he wrote to admonish Egbert who knew, not to inform us who do not. The only law prior to 734 bearing at all on the subject is Ini, cap. 4, ‘Of Church-scots:’ ‘Church-scots are to be paid at Martinmas. If any one fails to pay he is liable for sixty shillings and to pay twelve times the Church-scot;’ Schmid, p. 22; Thorpe, i. 104. For later times, cf. Wulfstan’s Homilies, pp. 113, 116-119, 170-173, 181, 207, 208, 216, 272.

p. 411. itaque conuersatus] Cf. Bede’s Commentary on this passage; Opp. viii. 36.

§ 8.

manus impositionem] For Bede’s view of the importance of confirmation, cf. on Mark, i. 10: ‘regeneratis ex aqua et spiritu amplior eiusdem Spiritus gratia per impositionem manus episcopi solet caelitus dari;’ Opp. x. 11; cf. viii. 338. It was regarded as the completion of the rite of baptism; hence its name. It was called also τελειωσις, ‘consummatio,’ ‘perfectio;’ Ducange, s.v. ‘confirmatio;’ cf. Theodore, Penitential, II. iv. 5: ‘nullum perfectum credimus in baptismo sine confirmatione episcopi, non desperamus tamen;’ H. & S. iii. 193; cf. on ii. 2. In the primitive Church confirmation followed immediately on baptism; and in the Eastern Church infant confirmation and infant communion are still the rule. The fact that the administration of confirmation became restricted to the bishops, caused an interval greater or less to be interposed between the two rites. The unction or chrism which had formed the connecting link between them became attached to both, with the distinction that the priest might only anoint on the breast, anointing on the forehead being reserved for the bishop; cf. a letter of Gregory I, Sept. 593; R. P. p. 107. This was called ‘consignatio;’ cf. ib. 150; Ducange, s. v. However in May 594, Gregory decided: ‘ubi episcopi desint, presbyteri etiam in frontibus baptizandos tangant;’ ib. 108. That the confirmation-tours of bishops sometimes became a source of oppression to their flocks
is shown by a letter already cited, ib. 150. Sponsors were necessary at confirmation as well as at baptism; they might be the same, but were generally different; cf. Theodore, Penitential, II. iv. 8; H. & S. iii. 193. In the Sax. Chron. ad ann. 853, we have the word 'biseep-sunu,' meaning a godson at 'bishopsing' or confirmation. The spiritual relationships created by these sponsorships terribly complicated the table of prohibited degrees. It was decided that a man who had acted as godfather to his own son at confirmation, 'de patre factus patronus,' must be separated from his wife; Bouquet, x. 451. The chrism, whether used by the priest at baptism, Chrism, or by the bishop at confirmation, must be consecrated by the bishop, and gradually the practice grew up of doing this solemnly once a year, on Maundy Thursday; and the sending of the chrism was a mark of episcopal jurisdiction over the church to which it was sent; cf. e.g. H. & S. ii. 15. For the chrism in baptism, cf. Opp. v. 253, xii. 53; in confirmation, vii. 115; Opp. Min. p. 277; H. Y. i. 259; v. D. C. A. s. vv. 'chrism,' 'confirmation.'

[Need for division of Dioceses.]

cum enim antistes . . . ualuerit] This was still the case with Egbert's diocese even after Theodore had separated Bernicia from Deira; § 5. See also § 9. What then must have been the case when Wilfrid was the only bishop in the whole of Northumbria? We can understand, I think, how Bede would look upon his opposition. That Wilfrid's opposition at least was not made 'dictante amore pecuniae' the munificence of his foundations abundantly shows. But if a prelate, like Wine, iii. 7, had bought his preferment, he would naturally not be inclined to resign its emoluments; cf. the scathing epigram on Pope Alexander VI:

'Vendit Alexander clauces, altaria, Christum;
Emerat ille prius, uendere iure potest;'

As to the annual visitation of his diocese by every bishop, cf. Episcopal visitation. the third canon of the council of Clovesho: 'singulis annis unus quisque episcopus parochiam suam pertransiendo, et circumeundo, specularandoque visitare non praesideat [? supersedeat], populumque diversae conditionis ac sexus per competentia ad se conuocet loca, aperteque doceat utpete eos, qui rare audiant uerbum Dei, prohibens et inter caetera peccamina paganas observationes.'

§ 9.

sancta ecclesia geritur, cum terrenae potestates ad fidem conuersae, pro statu eiusdem ecclesiae publica edicta proponunt, et hanc Domino adiuuante, atque inimicos omnes sub pedibus eius ponente, placidam semper habere quietem cupiunt, ac pacem;’ Opp. viii. 419; cf. ib. 417, 442, v. 45; cf. iii. 8, note (on the influence of the royal power in putting down idolatry), and the passage from Boniface’s letter to Daniel, cited on i. 30, from H. & S. iii. 343; Mon. Mog. p. 159.

**propinquus illius**] According to the pedigrees in Sax. Chron. s. aa, 729, 738, Egbert and his brother Eadbért were first cousins once removed to Ceolwulf. According to the pedigrees in Florence, i. 254, 255, they were first cousins. The pedigree in Lappenberg, i. Note F, seems due to an attempt to combine in one table conflicting genealogies. The result is that he has made Egbert and Ceolwulf fourth cousins twice removed, Egbert belonging to the older generation. On Ceolwulf, see v. 23, notes.

Gregorius . . missis litteris] See i. 29.

p. 413. metropolitanaus esse debere] This shows that Egbert had not yet received the pallium; and confirms the view that this letter was written prior to 735.

donationesque stultissimas] This forms a transition to a subject which Bede evidently has very much at heart; viz. the growth of the pseudo-monasteries, which is dealt with in §§ 10–13.

§ 10.

**pontificali . . edicto**] This means episcopal not papal sanction; cf. ‘pontificem’ below, of the metropolitan of York; and ‘pontifices’ in §§ 12, 13, of the bishops as members of the Witenagemót.

**locus . . fiat**] Bede has not told us when the monastery at York was founded (cf. ‘in monasterio tuo,’ § 1). But all the other northern sees were founded in connexion with monasteries. At Lindisfarne the see and the monastery came into existence together. At Hexham the see was located in a monastery already existing. The seat of Trumwine’s bishopric was in the monastery of Abercorn; iv. 26. The same was probably the case with Pehthelm at Candida Casa or Whitern. For the monasteries at Whitern, see on iii. 4. The attempt to make the monastery of Ripon into the seat of a bishopric had failed owing to the opposition of Wilfrid; see on iv. 12; v. 19. It may have been the remembrance of this opposition which dictated the next sentence: ‘et ne forte abbas . . . tentauerint.’

detur illis licentia . . episcopalem] Here Bede seems to be
thinking not merely of the election of the bishop by the monks, which of course was the ordinary rule in all cathedrals of which the constitution was monastic, but of an association of the monastery with the bishop in the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This would have been a system midway between the Irish monastic episcopacy (see on iii. 4) and ordinary diocesan episcopacy. Something like this may have been the rule at Lindisfarne.

sunt loca innumera, &c.] Here Bede comes to the subject of the pseudo-monasteries. Cf. the Commentary on Ezra vi. 18: ‘Ordo possessat devotionis, ut post aedificatam ac dedicatam domum Domini, max saecratos ac Leuitae, qui in ea ministrenunt, ordinationem; ne sine causâ domus erecta fulgeret, si deessent qui intus Deo servirent. Quod saepius inueniandum eis qui monasteria magnifico opere construentes, nequaquam in his statuunt doctores, qui ad opera Dei populum Dei cohormentur, sed suis potius inibi uoluptatibus ac desideris serviant;’ Opp. viii. 425, 426.

§ 11.

P. 414. a barbaris defendant] Cf. infra, ‘a barbarica incursione tueantur.’ By these Bede means the Picts. The withdrawal of Bishop Trumwine from Abercorn had shown what danger accrued to the Church no less than to the State of Northumbria from the insecurity of the northern frontier. These passages from the letter to Egbert have often been quoted to show that Bede in his monastic seclusion was not wanting in the eye of a statesman; cf. v. 23, ad fin. and note. In Eadmer’s life of Wilfrid, c. 26, Eormenburg is represented as using somewhat similar arguments against the accumulation of possessions in the hands of Wilfrid: ‘timendum est ne, si aliquando inimici tui contra te arma susceperint, ipse . . . suos ab armis immunes retineat.’


§ 12.

laici . . . sub praetextu . . . monasteriorum] See the fifth canon of Clovesho: ‘Ut episcopi monasteria, si tamen ea fas est ita nominare, quae utique quamuis temporibus istis propter uim tyrannicae quandam avaritiae ad religionis Christianae statum nullatenus immutari possint, id est, quae a saecularibus, non Diuinæ seilicet legis ordinatione, sed humanæ adinuentionis praesumptione, utemque tenentur; tamen pro salute animarum in

In ius... haereditarium] On hereditary monasteries, see notes to iv. 26.

Pontificum... confirmari] Here, again, we see the co-operation of the Witenagemót in grants of land; and the ‘pontifices, abbates, et potestates seculi’ who sanctioned, must share the responsibility of the monarchs who made these unworthy grants. Bede lays stress on this responsibility in the case of the bishops in § 13, inf., where he seems even to hint that they were bribed, or at least had some pecuniary interest in the grants; cf. also § 16, ad fin.


§ 13.

P. 416. per annos... trinta] On this mark of the date of the Epistle, see note ad fin.

Ex quo Aldfrid, &c.] Similarly Boniface in writing to Ethelbald dates the encroachments of the secular power on the Church from the accessions of Osred, the son and ultimately the successor of Aldfrid in Northumbria in 705 (see on v. 18, ad init.), and of Ceolred in Mercia in 709; H. & S. iii. 355; Mon. Mog. p. 174.

Praefectus] Perhaps ‘reeves’; cf. on ii. 16. We hear of a ‘praefectus in Bromnis,’ who had the custody of Wilfrid at the beginning of his imprisonment. Afterwards he was committed to the prefect of Dunbar; Eddius, cc. 36-38.

Ministri] ‘Gesiths,’ ‘thanes.’

P. 417. praefati sumus] § 12, where see note.
§ 14.

P. 418. dicere estis soliti] *i.e. 'you (bishops) are wont to say,' Control by 
&c.; for where Bede is addressing Egbert individually he always uses the singular; cf. the beginning of the very next sentence: *tui . . . est officii.' It would seem from this that Bede was less opposed than some of the bishops to a certain amount of control of monasteries by the secular power.

§ 15.

in populari . . . uita] See on § 5.

p. 419. signaculo . . . crucis] See on iv. 24, *ad fin., and D. C. A. s. v. 'Sign of the Cross.'


epiphania] For the Epiphany as one of the greater feasts, see on iv. 19.

fieri uidisti] For Egbert’s visit to Rome, see on § 1.

ipsi etiam coniugati] Cf. i. 27, p. 57.

§ 16.

P. 420. qua ergo fronte, &c.] For the severity, not to say *Monastic cruelty, with which St. Gregory punished an infringement of the monastic rule against separate property, see Milman, Lat. Christ. ii. 105; and the references collected by M. & L. on iv. 23.


§ 17.

deuteroses] δευτέρωσις is the word used by the Greek Fathers to 'Deuter-translate the Hebrew 'Mischna,' which means literally 'repetition,' osis,' and was applied at first to the process of oral repetition by which the tradition of the scribes was mastered before it had been reduced to writing; and 'Mischna' remains the name of the oldest codification of this tradition. Hence δευτέρωσις becomes a general term for the scribal tradition as opposed to the original law. See Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, i. 87-89, and the passages there cited from Jerome.


permodica . . . culpa] For it is only such faults, according to Bede, which can be done away in purgatory. See Introduction, p. lxvi.
monachorum collegio indignos] This is curious. It shows that Bede regards the communism of the early Jerusalem Church as marking the foundation of a monastic institution. Ananias and Sapphira were then (apart from their deceit) guilty of the offence which St. Gregory punished so severely. So in his Commentary on Acts iv. 32, Bede says: 'Latine communia, Graece dicuntur Κοινὰ; a quo nomine constat perfectos Dei famulos Κοινόβιρας Graece, id est, communiter uiuientes, et Κοινόβια habitacula eorum esse uocata; βίον namque lingua eorum uitam constat appellari.... Qui ergo ita uiuunt ut sint eis omnia communia in Domino, recte composito ex duobus uno nomine Κοινόβιραι uocantur;' Opp. xii. 119, 120. (For Bede’s fondness for citing this early Christian communism, see on iv. 23.)

Cerberi nomen] On Bede’s use of the classics, see Introduction, pp. 1-liii.

p. 423. scripta... tertia] i.e. Nov. 5, 734 (not 735 as Stevenson says, a.l.). I see no reason to doubt the genuineness of this date, which is found in the earlier of the two MSS. It fits in well with the chronology of Bede’s life and death; and it agrees with the note of time at the beginning of § 13, that it was ‘about thirty years’ from the death of Aldfrid, for Aldfrid died in 705.
APPENDIX I.

ON THE OLDEST LIFE OF GREGORY THE GREAT.

The life of Gregory the Great from which the following extracts are taken was discovered by Paul Ewald in a St. Gallen MS. No. 567, of the eighth and ninth centuries, and portions of it, with an introductory essay, were published by him in Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet (1886), pp. 17-54. For my knowledge of this essay, and for some other good references relating to Bede, I am indebted to Mr. Wilbur C. Abbott, of Cornell University, U. S. A., himself a devoted student of our author. Ewald shows that this life is evidently of English origin, the work of a monk of Whitby, §§ 18, 19; that it was used by both of Gregory’s later biographers, the deacons John and Paul; that it is almost certainly anterior to Bede, otherwise the writer would not complain so bitterly as he does of the want of materials. The work did not come under my notice until all the text was in type. But I have been able to add some references to it in the notes, and I have noted on the margin here those parts of Bede which it chiefly illustrates; and those words which can be traced in Bede's narrative are printed in italics. When we consider how freely Bede often deals with his materials, the fact that so many words can be traced is strong evidence that Bede had the life before him. It seems too not improbable that it was known also to Cuthbert, the author of the well-known letter on the death of Bede. Anyhow the opening of that letter, Introduction, p. clx, is very like the following passage from the life: 'caritas urget nos iuxta nostri modulum ingenioli haec memorie tradere signa de hac nostro doctore, ... opus ... tanti uiri dilectione magis quam scientia extorsum;’ Ewald, u. s. p. 38.

§ 1. Fuit igitur iste natione Romanus ex patre Gordiano et matre Silvia, nobilis secundum legem sed nobilior coram Deo in religione.

§ 9. Quod omnino non est tegendum silentio, quam spiritualiter, quomodoque cordis incomparabili speculo oculorum, nostram prouidenti propagauit ad Deum conversionem. Est igitur narratio fidelium ante ... eius pontificatum Romam venisse quidam de nostra natione forma et crinibus candidati albis. Quos quidam
pulchros fuisset pueros dicunt, quidam uero crispos iuuenes et decoros. Quos cum audisset uenisse, iam dilexit igitur. Eosque ... sibi adscitos ... specie inconsueta suspensus, et ... Deo intus-admonente, cuius gentis fuissent, inquisuit. Cumque responderent: 'Anguli dicuntur illi, de quibus sumus,' ille dixit: 'Angeli Dei.' Deinde dixit: 'Rex gentis illius quomodo nominatur?' Et dixerunt: 'Aelli.' Et ille ait: 'Alleluia! bonus enim Dei esse debet illic.' Tribus quoque illius nomen de qua erant proprie requisuit. Et dixerunt: 'Deire.' Et ille dixit: 'De ire Dei confugientes ad fidem.'

§ 10. Tam itaque spirituali data occasione inflammatus, preces H. E. in somum pontificatum sui papam Benedictum tam inhianter huc pro ... 79-81. fuciscendi precatus est dare licentiam, ut precis sue non potuït declinare nimietatem, illo dicit: Miserum tam pucrius uasis infernus debuisse replieri. Hec et his similis illo dicente licentiam tribuit pontifex, huc iter agendi. Ex qua iam licentia populum satis contristauit Romanum ... Pontifex ... ergo, ... concite post missis legatis, fecit eum reuerti.

§ 11. Postque non multum tempus papa defuncto electus ... ad ib. pontificatum est. Quantaque potuït festinatione uenerandae memoriae uiros hoc Augustinum et Mellitum atque Laurentium direxit cum ceteris, Augustinum ordinando episcopum ... 12. ... primus ... Edilbertus rex Cantauriorum ad fidem Christi correctus. ... Post hunc in gente nostra, quae dicitur ... Humbrensum, Eduinus, Aelli prefati filius, ... tam sapientia singularis, quam etiam sceptro dicionis regie, a tempore quo gens Angulorum hane ingreditur insulam.

§ 16. ... regis nostri christianissimi ... Edunii ... dignum H. E. in fuit ... conversionis [mentionem] facere, ... licet ab illis minime auduiusmus famatum, qui eius plura pre ceteris siebant. ... Sepe [tamen] fama cuiusque rei per longa tempora terrarumque spatia post congesta diuerso modo in aures diuersorum perueniet ... Idem rex fuit exul sub rege Westrangelorum [lege Estr.] Redualdo. Quem emulius suus sic passim persecutus est, qui eum ex patria pulsit. tirannus Edelfridus, ut eum pecunia sua emere occidendum querebatis. Ea tempestate dicent ei de sua uita consternato quadam die quidam pulchrae uisionis, cum cruce Christi coronatus, apparens eum consolari coepisse, promittens ei felicem uitam regnunque gentis sue futurum, si ei obedire uoluisset. Eoque promittente ... respondit: probabis hoc uerum, et qui tibi primum eum haec specie et signo apparebit, illi debes obedire. ... Sub hac igitur specie dicent illi Paulinum prefatum episcopum primo apparuisse.

§ 17. O piissime Pater, Domine Deus omnipotens ... per eum [sc. beatum Gregorium] ... tibi semper sit gratiarum actio doctoris nostri Paulini, quem in fine suo fidelem tibi ostendisti. Nam iii. 14, 15 furtur a uidentibus, quod huius uiri anima in ciusdam magne 154.
On the Oldest Life of Gregory the Great. 391

qualis est eignus alba specie auis satisque pulchra, quando moritur, migrasse ad coelum.

§ 18. . . . Huius itaque regalis uere uiri ossium reliquie qualiter Domino reuelante sunt reperte, dignum est memorie commendare. Fuit . . . frater quidam nostre gentis, nomine Trimma, in quodam monasterio Sundaranglorum . . . diebus Edilredi regis illorum, adhuc in uita monastica uiuente Aeonflede, filia religiosi regis prefati Eduini. Cui per somnium presbitero uir quidam uisus est dicens ei: Vade ad locum . . . qui est in regione illa que dicitur


§ 32. . . . Iste . . . utique per omnem terram tam sanctus habetur, ut semper ab omnibus ubique Sanctus Gregorius nominatur. Unde leutaniis . . . Sanctum Gregorium nobis in amminiculum

APPENDIX II.

ON BEDE'S BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS.

To go into the question of Bede's biblical quotations generally, would be a very large task, and would require for its satisfactory performance more reliable texts than are as yet available for most of his works. This Appendix deals only with those of his works which are printed in the present edition, excluding quotations which occur in documents cited by Bede, which are of course irrelevant to the question of the biblical text used by Bede himself. I have made an exception in favour of the letter of Ceolfrid in v. 21, as this is almost certainly the work of Bede himself (v. notes, a. l.), and in any case as emanating from Bede's own monastery is as relevant as his own writings to the question of the biblical text there in use.

For the same reason I have added a few words on the biblical quotations in the Hist. Abb. Anon.

As the basis of comparison I have taken Sabatier's Versiones antiquae Latinae, ed. 2, in which the 'Vulgata noua' and the 'Versio antiqua' are placed in parallel columns.

Bede's biblical quotations may be divided into the following classes:—(1) those which are certainly taken from the Vulgate; (2) those which are certainly taken from the Itala, or Versio Antiqua; (3) those of which the source is doubtful because in these passages the Vulgate and the Itala do not differ, though the great preponderance of class 1 over class 2 makes it probable that class 3 also comes from the Vulgate; (4) those of which the source is doubtful because they differ more or less from both Itala and Vulgate; (5) there is a small group of quotations which seem to be conflate in character, and to be taken partly from one and partly from the other version.

I give the quotations under each head in the order of the books of the Latin Bible. The numbering of the Psalms is also that of the Vulgate, which differs by one in most cases from that of our English Bibles. Of the book Ecclesiasticus only one version exists, the old version having been adopted unaltered in the Vulgate; and
in some places the old version is defective. The references in brackets are to the pages of the present edition.

An asterisk suffixed to a reference implies that the quotation occurs in more than one place in the Bible, and the question whence Bede took it may sometimes affect the question of the version which he used. Thus if the quotation on p. 63 comes from Luke x. 2, it must be taken from the Itala; whereas if it comes from Matth. ix. 37, it may be taken from either version.

(1) Quotations which are certainly taken from the Vulgate:—
Gen. i. 16 (p. 339, the other version is given in addition), xlix. 27 (p. 71); Exod. xii. 1–3, 6, 15–19 (pp. 334, 335); Levit. xxiii. 5–8 (pp. 336, 337; the Itala of vv. 5–7 is wanting); Num. xxxiii. 3 (p. 335); 1 Sam. xii. 2–4 (with slight variations, p. 411); 2 Kings xiv. 20 (the Itala is wanting, p. 95); 1 Chron. xxiii. 1 (the Itala is wanting, p. 294); Job xxix. 11–17, xxxi. 16–18 (pp. 77, 78), xlii. 16 (pp. 126, 141); Pss. xciv. 2 (p. 263), lxiii. 1 (p. 378), lxiii. 2 (p. 231), xeviii. 6, 7 (p. 411); Prov. xxvi. 11* (p. 90); Eccl. viii. 10 (with variation, p. 418); Isa. xxxv. 7 (the Itala is wanting, p. 175), lx. 22 (with variation, p. 418); Jerem. vii. 8 (p. 414); Jonah i. 12 (p. 298); Matth. ii. 16 (p. 300), iii. 7* (p. 263), vii. 13, 14 (p. 421), vii. 22, 23 (p. 187), x. 7–9 (p. 410), xvi. 18, 19 (pp. 188, 342), xix. 29 (p. 365), xxv. 30 (p. 406); Luke iii. 7* (p. 263), vi. 24 (p. 420), xi. 17 (p. 377), xii. 33, xiv. 33 (p. 420), xix. 22* (p. 410), xxiv. 39 (p. 76); John xiii. 1 (p. 207); Acts iii. 2–8 (p. 284), iv. 32–34 (p. 270), v. 29 (p. 420), vii. 56 (p. 314), x. 11, xi. 5 (p. 220), xiii. 48 (p. 114), xvii. 21 (p. 22), xviii. 18, xxi. 20 (p. 185); Rom. xi. 2 (p. 42); 1 Cor. v. 5 (p. 263), ix. 2 (p. 73); 2 Cor. xi. 28, 29 (p. 406); Gal. v. 24 (p. 343); Phil. iii. 15 (p. 135); 1 Thess. v. 3 (p. 265); 2 Tim. iv. 6 (pp. 223, 274); Hebr. xii. 6 (p. 77); James i. 12 (pp. 21, 343); 1 Pet. i. 19 (p. 336); 2 Pet. i. 14 (the Itala is wanting, p. 274); 1 John ii. 15, 16 (p. 422).

(2) Quotations which are certainly taken from the Itala:—Gen. i. 4 (p. 314), i. 16 (p. 339, both versions given); Levit. xix. 18* (p. 273); Pss. lxv. 5 (p. 266), lxvii. 7 (p. 81); Eccl. iii. 5 (p. 207); Habak. iii. 11 (p. 340); Matth. xxv. 26* (p. 410); Luke x. 2* (p. 63), xxi. 27 (p. 211); John xiii. 1 (pp. 340, 348); Acts viii. 5 (p. 326, the resemblance is possibly only accidental); Rom. i. 27 (p. 338); 2 Cor. iv. 4 (p. 98?).

(3) Quotations in which the Itala and Vulgate do not differ:—
Gen. iii. 18 (p. 343), xxxv. 29 (p. 294); Deut. vi. 5* (p. 273); 1 Kings xi. 12 (p. 265); Pss. xxix. 5 (p. 351), xxxi. 1 (p. 313), lxv. 10 (p. 378), xcv. 13 (p. 172), xevi. 1 (p. 351), exi. 9 (p. 77), xeviii. 12 (p. 419); Eclesus. xxxii. 1 (with variation, p. 372), xliiv. 14 (p. 294); Mal. iv. 1 (p. 340); Matth. iii. 8* (p. 270), ix. 37* (p. 63), x. 8 (p. 259), x. 16 (p. 92), xi. 29 (p. 82), xv. 3, 13 (p. 421), xxii. 37,
Appendix II.

39* (p. 273), xxiv. 50*, xxv. 21, 23 (p. 406), xxv. 33, 41 (p. 418), xxviii. 20 (p. 243); Mark xii. 30, 31 (p. 273); Luke i. 23 (p. 86), iii. 8* (p. 270), xii. 46* (p. 406); John i. 29 (p. 336), vii. 56 (p. 348), viii. 56 (p. 210), x. 12 (p. 92), xviii. 18 (p. 156); Acts iv. 22 (p. 151), iv. 32–34 (p. 254), xvi. 3 (p. 185), xx. 19 (p. 222), xxvi. 18 (p. 73); Rom. x. 2 (p. 346); 1 Cor. v. 1 (p. 90), v. 7 (p. 336), vi. 9, 10 (pp. 266, 411, 420), xv. 6 (p. 303); 2 Cor. xi. 3 (p. 92), xii. 9 (pp. 222, 256, 376); Gal. i. 1 (p. 259), ii. 2 (p. 182), ii. 4 (p. 140); Eph. ii. 2 (p. 94), iii. 14 (pp. 82, 282), v. 5 (p. 420); Phil. ii. 8 (p. 92); Col. iv. 6 (p. 406); 1 Tim. ii. 5 (p. 162), vi. 10 (p. 411); 2 Tim. iv. 1* (p. 211); 1 Pet. i. 18 (p. 346), ii. 5 (p. 207), iv. 5* (p. 211); 2 Pet. ii. 21 (‘uiam iustitiae,’ p. 200), ii. 22 (p. 90); 2 John 12*, 3 John 14* (p. 405); Rev. xiv. 4 (p. 365), xvii. 14, xix. 16 (p. 345).

(4) Quotations which differ both from Itala and Vulgate:—Ps. lxxxii. 18, 19 (p. 378, where it differs from Itala and Vulgate it agrees with Jerome’s version made from the Hebrew); Is. lviii. 6 (p. 414, this quotation agrees exactly with Ambrose, de Elia, c. 10, col. 545; and id. de Nabuth, c. 10, col. 577; cited by Sabatier ad loc.); Matth. xii. 45*; Luke xi. 26* (p. 116); Rom. x. 2 (p. 131); Acts xxii. 3 (p. 202); 2 Cor. xi. 2 (p. 98).

(5) Conflate quotations:—Pss. xvii. 13, 14 (p. 21c), lxv. 12, 13 (p. 377); Luke vi. 20 (p. 420); Acts viii. 20, 21 (p. 342).

As regards the Hist. Abb. Anon., the facts are as follows:—(1) From the Vulgate; Hebr. xiii. 1 (p. 388). (2) From the Itala; Pss. lxvi. 1, lxxxiii. 8 (p. 397). (3) Uncertain; Gen. xxv. 8 (p. 400); Matth. xi. 29, 30 (p. 399); Acts xi. 24 (p. 390). (4) Differs from both, though nearer to Itala; Is. xxvi. 7 (p. 397).

INDEX NOMINUM, LOCORUM, RERUM.

Note.—By a small Roman numeral followed by an Arabic numeral is indicated the Book and Chapter of the Historia Ecclesiastica.
A large Roman numeral followed by an Arabic numeral refers to the volumes and pages of the present edition.
A small Roman numeral preceded by the letter p. refers to the pages of the Introduction in Vol. I.
The letter C. refers to the Continuatio Baedae, which is cited by Annals.
The abbreviations Hab. and Haa. indicate respectively the Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda, and the Historia Abbatum auctore Anonymo; while by Ee. is meant the Epistola ad Egbertum. The last three are cited by Sections. Whenever a Chapter or Section exceeds a page in length, a reference to the page or pages is given in addition.
Names printed in thick type occur in the Texts printed in Vol. I; names printed in Small Capitals occur only in the Introduction and Notes.

A.

Aaron, v. 21, p. 334; Haa. §§ 6, 39 and note; Ee. § 7, p. 411; p. xv; II. 367.
Aaron, a citizen of Caerleon on Usk, martyred in the persecution of Diocletian, i. 7, pp. 21, 22 and note; II. 18.
Abbatum Historia, Bede's, v. Baeda.
Abbo of Fleury, his passion of St. Edmund, and letter to Dunstan, p. cxxii; letter of Dunstan to, II. 271.
Abel, in what sense a martyr, II. 49.

ABERCORVEN, v. Aebbercurnig.
ABINGDON, Faricius, abbot of, II. 308.
Abraham, oak of, at Mamre, enclosed in a church, v. 17, p. 319; example of, cited, II. 220.
Acca, bishop of Hexham, goes with Wilfrid to Rome, iii. 13, p. 152 and notes (cf. II. 315, 330; sojourns in Frisia, ib.; narrates a miracle on the authority of Wilfrord, ib. and notes; p. xliiv note; narrates a miracle on the authority of the monks of Selsey, ib.; iv. 14, p. 233 and notes; Wilfrid relates his vision to, v. 19, pp. 328, 329 and note; succeeds Wilfrid as bishop of Hexham, v. 20, p. 331 and note; beautifies the church and collects a library, ib. and notes; brings Maban from Kent to teach chanting, ib. and note (cf. II.
his own skill in chanting, and character, ib. p. 332; had been trained under Bosan, and then followed Wilfrid, ib. (cf. II. 330); alive in 731, ib.; v. 23, p. 357; II. 330; expelled from his see, C. 731; II. 330; confirms Hwætbert as abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Hab. § 20 and note; pp. xv, xvi; II. 330, 367; affection of Bede for, p. xxxiii; II. 329; most of Bede's theological works dedicated to, pp. xlix, cxxvii-cxxviii, clv; II. 329; letter of, to Bede, ib.; probably furnished Bede with information, p. xlv note; II. 226, 227, 315, 327, 330; attends Council of Clovesho, II. 330; death, burial, and translation, ib.; urges Eddius to write Wilfrid's life, ib.

Acha, sister of Edwin and mother of Oswald, iii. 6, p. 139; II. 124; question of her conversion to Christianity, ib.; flies with her sons on the death of Ethelfrid, ib.; mother of Oswy, II. 161, 236; wife of Ethelfrid, v. Ethelfrid.

Achan, filius Charmi, example of, cited, Ee. § 17, p. 422.

Acircius, pseudonym of Aldfrid, q. v., II. 309, 312.

Acrostic poems, II. 241.

Actus Apostolorum, cited, i. 3; Bede's works on, v. Baeda.

Adalbert, companion of Wilfrid, life of, II. 285; settles at Egmond, II. 288.

Adam, example of, cited, i. 27, p. 61; ii. 19, p. 124 (cf. Ee. § 17, p. 422); tomb of, at Hebron, v. 17, p. 319.

Adamanus, presbyter, abbot of Iona, v. 15, p. 315 and note; v. 21, p. 344 and note; comes on an embassy to Aldfrid of Northumbria, ib. ib. and notes; studies the customs of the English churches, v. 15, p. 315; v. 21, p. 345; comes to Ceolfrid's monastery, ib. p. 344 and note; II. 301; argument with Ceolfrid on the tonsure question, v. 21, pp. 344, 345 and notes; is converted to the orthodox Easter, &c., v. 15, p. 315; v. 21, p. 345; fails to convert the monks of Iona, ib. ib.; converts the Northern Irish, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; v. 21, p. 345; II. 300; returns to Iona, and dies, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; II. 300; receives Arculfus, a bishop of Gaul, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; writes from his information a book on the holy places, ib. and notes; presents this book to Aldfrid, ib. pp. 316, 317; receives many gifts from him, and returns, ib. p. 317; plague rages during his visits, II. 195; does not include Iona in Scotiia, II. 12, 186; his Life of Columba, v. Columba; Patrick mentioned in it, II. 26; Seghine furnishes him with facts for it, II. 113, 121; Bede had probably conversed with, II. 131, 302; confused with Adaman of Coldingham, II. 258; Aldfrid a pupil of, II. 263; so-called law of, II. 285; vision ascribed to, II. 295; churches dedicated to, II. 301; his two visits to Aldfrid, ib.; obtains release of Irish prisoners, ib.; his voyages to Ireland, II. 302; legend of his expulsion from Iona, ib.; date of his death, II. 300, 303; his de Locis Sanctis cited, II. 303; relation of, to Arculfus and Bede, II. 303, 304.

Adamnanus, 'de genere Scot- torum,' a monk of Coldingham, iv. 25, p. 263 and notes; story of his sin and repentance, ib. pp. 263, 264 and notes (cf. p. xxx; II. 137); prophesies the destruction of Coldingham in consequence of an apparition which he had had, ib. pp. 264, 265 and notes; story of, narrated to Bede by Aedgils, ib. pp. 265, 266 (cf. p. xlv note); confused with Adaman of Iona, II. 258.

Ad Baruæ, id est Ad Nemus, in Lindsey, ? Barrow, Lincs., II. 104; Wulfhere grants Ceadda
land at, for a monastery, iv. 3, p. 207 and note; Wynfrid retires to, and dies at, iv. 6, p. 218 and note.

Ad Candidam Casam, Whiterun, II. 104; see of Nynias at, iii. 4, p. 153 and notes; stone church built by Nynias at, ib. and notes; hence the name, ib. and notes (cf. II. 101); occupied by the English in Bede's time, ib. and notes; Nynias buried at, ib. and notes; belongs to Bernicia, ib.; Pethhelm bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 351 and note (cf. II. 224); in the province of Northumbria, ib. (cf. II. 129); tract on subjectjon of bishops of, to York, p. cxxii; church of, dedicated to St. Martin, II. 128; pilgrimages to, II. 129; later history of, ib.; letter of Aleuin to monks of, ib.; other names of, ib.; Trumwine's see wrongly placed at, II. 224; Pethwine and Badwulf bishops of, II. 343; district of, relapses into heathenism after Nynias, ib.; Pethhelm's see probably in monastery of, II. 384.

Ad Caprae Caput, Gateshead, II. 104; Utta abbot of, iii. 27, p. 170 and note; date of, II. 149.

Adda, presbyter, accompanies Peada to evangelise the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; brother of Utta, ib.

Addi, a gesith, Bishop John of York consecrates a church of, v. 5, p. 288 and note; miraculously heals a servant of, ib. and note.

Additional MSS., British Museum, pp. lxxxvi note, c, ciii, evii, cxxxii; II. 171.

'aedilau,' to build, II. 102.

Aedelmar, diaconus, his vision of the other world, II. 295.

Aedmar, traces Bede's intellectual descendants, p. xxiv note.

Aedodatus, Pope, grant of, to Abbot Hadrian, II. 204.

Ad Gefrin, Yeverin, Northumberland, a royal vill, Paulinus baptizes numerous Bernicians at, ii. 14, p. 115 and notes; deserted, ib.

Ad Lapidem, ? Stoneham on the Itchen, II. 104; two young princes of Wight captured at, iv. 16, p. 239 and note.

Ad Murum, ? Walton or Walthorpe, Northumberland, II. 104; Peada and Sigbert baptized by Finan at place called, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; iii. 22, p. 172 and note; twelve miles distant from the Eastern sea, ib.


Ado, archbishop of Vienne, letter of Nicolas I to, II. 212.

Adolana, abbess of Palentz, letter of Elfed to, II. 185.


Adtanatos, v. Tanatos.

Ad Tuifyrdi, 'Twyford,' ? Alnemouth, Northumberland, II. 104; on the Alne, iv. 28, p. 272; synod at, ib. and notes.

'aduena' = convert, II. 227.

Ad Uillam Sambuce, ? Camboise or Sandoe, Northumberland, Ceolfried obtains land at, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note.


Æanfled, Æanfled, ii. 9, p. 99; iii. 24, p. 179; v. Æanfled.

Æebba, aunt of Egfrid, abbess of Coldingham, iv. 19, p. 243 and note (cf. II. 245); receives Adamnan's prophecy of the destruction of Coldingham, iv. 25, pp. 264, 265 and notes; half-sister of Oswy, II. 236; founded Echelsea, ib.; friend of Cuthbert and Wilfrid, ib.; translated to Durham, ib.; St. Abb's Head called from, ib.; intercedes for release of Wilfrid, II. 326; life of, p. cxviii.

Æebercurning, Abercorn, Roman wall begins near, i. 12, p. 26 and note; situation of, iv. 26, p. 267 and note; Trumwine retires from monastery of, after Egfrid's death, ib. and notes; II. 385 (cf. II. 24, 224); his see probably in monastery of, II. 224, 384;
Trumwine called abbot of, II. 262; separated from the see of York, II. 326.

Æccoi, bishop of part of the East Angles (Dunwich), iv. 5, p. 217 and note.

Æd, son of Brendan, prince of Tethba, grants Durrow to Columba, II. 133.

Ædan, king of the Scots in Britain, defeated by Ethelfrid at Degasstan, i. 34 and notes; son of Gabran, II. 13, 64; attacks the Orkneys, II. 13, 14, 65; inaugurated by St. Columba, II. 64, 65, 135; makes himself independent, II. 65; attacks Man, ib.; fights the battles of Leithrig and Circhend, ib.; his death, ib.; legends about, in Irish and Welsh, II. 65, 66; called Ean by Sigb. Gembl., II. 66.

Ædan, Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, sent as bishop at Oswald’s request, iii. 3, p. 131 and notes; his Paschal errors, ib. and note; iii. 17, pp. 161, 162 and notes; tolerated on account of his piety, iii. 25, p. 182; his character, ib.; iii. 5, pp. 135, 136 and notes; p. xxxvi; Oswald grants him a see in Lindisfarne, iii. 3, p. 132 and notes; cf. II. 134; his imperfect knowledge of English, ib.; Oswald acts as interpreter to, ib. and note; a monk of Iona, ib.; sent from Iona, v. 22, p. 347 and note; iii. 5, p. 135 and notes (cf. II. 113); consecrated bishop, ib. and notes; redeems slaves, and trains them as clergy, ib. p. 136 and note (cf. II. 37, 193); tradition as to his mission, ib. p. 137 and notes; his delight at Oswald’s charity, iii. 6, p. 138 and notes; his prophecy, ib. and notes; story of the horse given by Oswin to, iii. 14, pp. 156, 157 and notes (cf. II. 136, 367); foretells Oswin’s death, ib. p. 157 and notes; dies, ib. and notes; iii. 17, pp. 159, 160 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; II. 91, 240; miracle wrought by, iii. 15; accustomed to seek retirement in Farne, iii. 16 and notes; buried in Lindisfarne cemetery, iii. 17, p. 160 and notes; translated to the church, ib.; succeeded by Finan, ib.; iii. 25, p. 181 and notes; miracles after his death, iii. 17, pp. 160, 161 and notes; highly honoured by Honorius and Felix, iii. 25, p. 182; length of his episcopate, iii. 26, p. 189; Eata one of his twelve English pupils, ib. p. 190 and note; part of his bones taken away by Colman, ib. (cf. II. 167); Ceadda a disciple of, iii. 28, p. 195 and note; recalls Hild to Northumbria, iv. 23, p. 253; frequently visits and instructs her, ib.; Heiu, the first Northumbrian nun, receives the veil from, ib.; institutes the monastic life at Lindisfarne, iv. 27, p. 270; asceticism of his disciples, iii. 5, p. 136; p. xxx note; life of, p. cxxxviii; date of his mission, II. 121; never received the pallium, II. 126, 189; arguments drawn from his mission under Edward I, II. 132; decline of his fame, II. 165; vision of, leads Cuthbert to the monastic life, II. 165, 266, 269; Bamborough Church dedicated to, II. 166; fate of his relics, II. 167; said to have been translated to Glastonbury, ib.; AS. vers. omits Bede’s censures on, II. 124, 167; ascetic tradition of, at Lindisfarne, II. 340.

Ædan, v. Eadwine.

Æddi, ‘cognomento Stephanus,’ invited by Wilfrid from Kent to teach chanting to the Northumbrian churches, iv. 2, p. 205 and note (cf. II. 118, 359); his Life of Wilfrid, II. 206, 315; used by Bede without acknowledgement, p. xxiv note; II. 315.

Ædelemus, a scribe of MS. W., pp. cx, cxii.

Ædgilis, presbyter, a monk, first of Coldingham, and then of Wearmouth and Jarrow, iv. 25.
Aedilbald, king of the Mercians, all the provinces and kings south of the Humber subject to, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; Tatwin consecrated in the fifteenth year of, v. 24, p. 356; treacherously devastates Northumbria, C. 740; Cuthred of Wessex rises against, C. 750 and note (cf. II. 342); treacherously murdered, C. 757; II. 342; grant of, II. 220; letter of St. Boniface to, II. 306, 339, 342, 379, 385, 386; appointment of Tatwin probably due to, II. 341; his wars against Wessex, Northumbria, and the Welsh, II. 342; traditional founder of Croyland, ib.; genuine grants of, ib.; vision of future punishment of, ib.; Felix' Life of Guthlac dedicated to, ib.; Guthlac foretells accession of, ib.; persecuted by his predecessor Ceolred, ib.

Aedilberct, king in Kent, i. 25, p. 44; extent of his power, ib. p. 45; ii. 3, p. 85 and note; ii. 5, p. 89 and notes (cf. II. 43); third of the seven great English kings, ib. and notes; receives Augustine and his companions, i. 25, pp. 45, 46 and notes; afraid of magic arts, ib. p. 45 (cf. II. 59); gives them a settlement in Canterbury, ib. p. 46 and note; i. 26, p. 47; married to Bertha, a Frankish princess, ib. and note (cf. II. 94); baptized, ib. and note (cf. II. 142); refuses to force Christianity on his people, ib. and note; letter of Gregory to, i. 32, pp. 67-70 and notes (cf. II. 58); builds the church of SS. Peter and Paul, near Canterbury, i. 33 and notes; helps Augustine to bring about a conference with the British bishops, ii. 2, p. 81 and notes; Sæbert, king of the East Saxons, nephew and subject to, ii. 3, p. 85 and note; Ricula sister of, ib.; builds the churches of St. Paul in London and of St. Andrew in Rochester, ib. and notes; endows them and Canterbury, ib. and notes; his conversion recorded in Augustine's epitaph, ib. p. 86; letter of Boniface IV to, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; his death, v. 24, p. 353; ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; the first English king to win the heavenly kingdom, ib. (cf. II. 390); even before his death his ascendancy was passing to Redwald, ib. and note; buried in St. Martin's porticus in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, ib. p. 90; his dooms reduced to writing, ib. and notes; son of Eormenric, ib. and note; succeeded by his son Eadbald, ib.; built the 'secretarium' of St. Andrew in Rochester, iii. 14, p. 154 and notes; legend that he removed his capital from Canterbury to Reculver, II. 44; heathen fane of, converted into a church, II. 58, 59; deposits gifts of Gregory in monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, II. 57, 62, 63; said to have sent messengers to Gregory, II. 63; spurious bull of Boniface IV addressed to, ib.; his supremacy extends over Britons, II. 73; called king of the East Saxons, II. 79; date of his accession, II. 85, 87; defeated by Ceawlin of Wessex, II. 87.

Aedilberct, son and co-heir of Witredking of Kent, v. 23, p. 348 and note; letter of, to St. Boniface, II. 338.

Aedilberg, daughter of Ethelbert and sister of Eadbald of Kent, ii. 9, p. 97 (cf. II. 321); called Tata, ib.; marriage of, to Edwin, ib. pp. 97, 98; Paulinus accompanies to Northumbria, ib. p. 98 and note; birth of her daughter Eanfled, ib. p. 99; letter of Boniface V to, ii. 11, pp. 104-106 and notes; retires with her children to Kent after the death
of Edwin, ii. 20, pp. 125, 126 and notes; sends her son and grandson to Gaul for safety, ib. p. 126 and notes; II. 116; founds the monastery of Liming, after her return to Kent, ib.

Aedilberg, daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, iii. 8, p. 142 and note; becomes abbess of Faremoutier-en-Brie, ib. and note (cf. II. 144); aunt of Earcongoda, ib. p. 144; begins to build a church, ib.; her body found uncorrupted, and translated to the church of St. Stephen, ib.; confused with Aedilburga of Barking, II. 149, 217; possible Life of, II. 150.

Aedilburga, sister of Earconwald, who founds for her the monastery of Barking, iv. 6, pp. 218, 219 and notes; miraculous experience of, iv. 7, pp. 219, 220 and notes; vision at the time of her death, iv. 9, pp. 221, 222 and notes; miracle at her tomb, ib. pp. 222, 223; appears to a nun named Tortygd, ib. pp. 223, 224 and note; succeeded by Hildilid, iv. 10, p. 224 and note; book of her life cited, ib. iv. 11, p. 225 (cf. iv. 7, p. 219 and note); p. xxiv note; confused with the preceding, II. 149, 217.

Aedilfrid, king of the Northumbrians, i. 34 and note; his successes against the Britons, ib. and note (cf. II. 75); defeats Aedan at Degasstan, ib. and notes; his brother Theodbald slain, ib. and note; II. 10; defeats the Britons in the battle of Chester, ii. 2, p. 84 and notes; orders the massacre of the monks of Bangor, ib. and notes; persecutes Edwin, ii. 12, p. 107; II. 390; endeavours to force Redwald to kill or surrender him, ii. 12, pp. 107, 108; defeated and slain by Redwald in the battle of the Idle, ib. p. 110 and note (cf. II. 77, 93, 103); Eanfrid, son of, succeeds Edwin in Bernicia, iii. 1, p. 127 and notes; children of, in exile during Edwin's reign, and baptized among the Scotti, ib. and notes (cf. II. 93, 99, 120, 124, 161); called Edldfred Flesaur, II. 64; legends of, in the Triads, II. 64, 66; son of Ethelric, II. 93, 120; retains Deira with Bernicia, ib.; Acha wife of, II. 119, 124, 141, 165, 236; Bebba wife of, according to Nennius, II. 141; not the father of Ebba, II. 236.

Aedilheri, king of the East Angles, brother and successor of Anna, iii. 24, p. 178 and note; caused the war between Oswy and Penda, ib. and note; slain in the battle of the Winwæd, ib. (cf. II. 106, 169); father of Aldwulf, II. 106.

Aedilhild, abbatisa, sister of Ethelwine and Aldwine, visits Queen Osthiyth at Bardney, iii. ii, p. 149; still alive in Bede's time, ib.; demonic cured in her monastery, ib. pp. 149, 150.

Aedilhun, son of Edwin and Ethelberh, ii. 14, p. 114; baptized, ib.; dies 'in albis,' and is buried at York, ib. and note.

Aedilred, king of the Mercians, succeeds his brother Wulfhere, v. 24, p. 354 and note (cf. II. 231); a great benefactor of the monastery of Bardney, iii. ii, p. 148 and notes; ravages Kent and Rochester, iv. 12, p. 228 and notes; v. 24, p. 355 (cf. II. 80, 215); Council of Hatfield in the reign of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; battle of the Trent between Egfrid and, iv. 21 and notes (cf. II. 155, 215); Theodore makes peace between Egfrid and, ib. and notes; married to Ostthryth, Egfrid's sister, ib. and note (cf. II. 154); Imma taken captive by a geath of, iv. 22, p. 250 and note; orders Wilfrid to consecrate Ofstor, iv. 23, p. 255; becomes a monk and is succeeded by Cenred, v. 13, p. 311 and note; v. 24, pp. 355, 356 and note; II. 221; Ceolred, son of,
Aedilthryd, daughter of Edwin and Ethelberht, ii. 14, p. 114; baptized, ib.; dies in albis, and is buried at York, ib. and note.

Aedilthryd, daughter of Anna of East Anglia, iv. 19, p. 243 and note; her first husband Tondbert, prince of the South Gyrwas, ib. and note; marries Egfrid of Northumbria, ib. and notes; remains a virgin, ib. and notes; Owine comes with, from East Anglia, iv. 3, pp. 207, 208 and notes; her chief thane and major-domo, ib. p. 208 and note; Wilfrid testifies to Bede of her virginity, iv. 19, p. 243 and note; enters Coldingham as a nun, receiving the veil from Wilfrid, ib. pp. 243, 244 and note (cf. II. 317); abbess of Ely, ib. p. 244 and note (cf. II. 245); her mode of life, ib. and notes (cf. pp. xxvi note, xxx note, xxxvi); dies and is succeeded by her sister Sexburgh, ib. and notes (cf. II. 195); stories connected with her death and translation, ib. pp. 244–246 and notes (cf. II. 242, 319, 324); found uncorrupted, ib. p. 245 and note (cf. II. 151); Bede's hymn in honour of, iv. 20, pp. 247, 248 and notes; her noble birth, ib. p. 248 (cf. II. 90); Imma a thane of, iv. 19, p. 322; letter of Pope John VI to, ib. p. 327 (cf. II. 275); as abbot receives Wilfrid, and pleads his cause with Cenred, ib. p. 329 and note; said to have founded Bardney, II. 155; recovers Lindsey, ib.; spurious grants of, II. 154, 222; said to have expelled Wynfrid, II. 215; letter of Theodore to, II. 221, 326; probably conquers Dorchester, and sets up Æthla as bishop, II. 246; monk and abbot of Bardney, II. 154, 221, 327; Edwin's translation takes place in reign of, II. 116, 391; monastery of St. Peter's, Gloucester, founded under, p. cxiv.

Aedilualch, king of the South Saxons, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; baptized in Mercia, ib. and note; Wulffhere godfather, and grants Wight and the province of the Meanwari to, ib. and notes; promotes the conversion of his people by Wilfrid, ib.; grants Wilfrid land and its appurtenances at Selsey, ib. p. 232 and notes; slain by Caedwalla, iv. 15 and note; II. 229; does not christianise Wight, II. 228.

Aediluald, king of the East Angles, brother of Anna, iii. 22, p. 174; godfather of Swidhelm of Essex, ib. and notes.

Aediluin, Ædiluin, bishop of Lindsey, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; brother of Ethelhild and Aldwine, iii. 11, p. 149; brother of Ethelhun, iii. 27, p. 192; studies in Ireland, ib.; bishop of Lindsey for a long time, ib.

See also Adal-, Ægel-, Ael-, Agil-, Athel-, Edil-, Ethel-, Oidil-.

Aeduini, king of the Northumbrians, born in 585, II. 93; the fifth of the seven great English kings, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; extent of his power, ib. and notes; ii. 9, p. 97 and notes (cf. II. 390); reduces the Menaniae insulae, ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97 and notes; his power greater than any previous English king's, ib. and note; converted by Paulinus, ib. (cf. II. 390); marries Ethelberht, daughter of Ethelberht, ib. pp. 97, 98 and note; negotiates with Eadbald for the marriage, ib.; receives Paulinus, ib. p. 98; attempted assassination of, by a West Saxon emissary, ib. pp. 98, 99 and notes; saved by his thane Lilla, ib. p. 99 and note; birth of his daughter
Eanfled, *ib.* (cf. II. 391); dedicates her to Christ, *ib.* and note (cf. v. 24. p. 353); defeats the West Saxons, *ib.* p. 100 and note; hesitates as to the adoption of Christianity, *ib.* and note; ii. 11, p. 105; ii. 12, pp. 107, 110; letter of Boniface V to, ii. 10, pp. 100–104 and notes (cf. II. 58); to his queen, Ethelberg, ii. 11, pp. 104–106 and notes; care of Boniface V for conversion of, ii. 12, p. 106; his exile at the court of Redwald, *ib.* p. 107 (cf. II. 93, 390); mysterious experience there, *ib.* pp. 107–110 and notes (cf. II. 93, 390); persecuted by Ethelfrid of Northumbria, *ib.* p. 107; succeeds him, *ib.* p. 110 and note; holds a witenagemót as to the adoption of Christianity, ii. 13, pp. 111, 112 and notes; is himself converted, *ib.* p. 113; baptized at York, v. 24, p. 353; ii. 14, pp. 113, 114 and notes; builds a wooden church at York, *ib.* p. 114 and note (cf. II. 123); grants Paulinus a see at York, *ib.*; begins a church of stone at York, *ib.* and note; ii. 20, p. 125; his son Osfrid by his first wife Cwenburg, ii. 14, p. 114 and note (cf. II. 116); his children Ethelhun, Ethelthryth, and Wusefrya, by his second wife Ethelberg, *ib.*; slain by pagans, *ib.* p. 115; converts Earpwald of East Anglia, ii. 15, p. 115 and notes (cf. II. 93); present at Paulinus' baptisms in the Trent, ii. 16, p. 117; peace in Britain under, *ib.* p. 118 and notes; the 'tufa' carried before, *ib.* and notes; Pope Honorius writes to, ii. 17, pp. 118–120 and notes; ii. 18, p. 120 (cf. II. 125); Cadwalla rebels against, ii. 20, p. 124 and notes; slain in the battle of Hatfield, *ib.* and notes; v. 24, p. 354; p. xviii; II. 99, 391; his head buried in St. Peter's, York, ii. 20, p. 125 and note; his thane Bass escorts his wife and children with his treasures to Canterbury, *ib.* pp. 125, 126 and notes; succeeded in Deira by Osric, in Bernicia by Ethfrid, iii. 1, p. 127 and notes; sons of Ethelfrid in exile during his reign, *ib.* and note; Oswald nephew of, by his sister Acha, iii. 6, p. 139 and note; Oswin of the stock of (wrongly), iii. 14, p. 154 and note; Eanfled daughter of, iii. 15, p. 157 and note; iii. 24, p. 179; buried at Whitby, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 116, 391); Hereric, father of Hild, nephew of, iv. 23, p. 252 and note; Hild converted with, *ib.* and note; called 'rex Christianissimus,' II. 86, 390; takes refuge with Cadvan of Gwynedd, II. 93, 114; brought up with his son Cadwallon, *ib.*; altar built on the site of baptism of, II. 102; in exile at the Mercian court, II. 103; combines with Eadbald to approach the pope on the affairs of the English Church, II. 111; besieges Cadwallon in Priestholm, and compels him to take refuge in Ireland, II. 115; drives him into Arvon, *ib.*; retains Bernicia with Deira, II. 120; none of his male line reign in Northumbria, *ib.;* has possession of Lindsey, II. 155; buried near the altars of SS. Peter and Gregory, II. 391.

See also Ead-, Ed.

Ægelwyn, bishop of Durham, translates the relics of Oswin, II. 164.

Aegyptia seruitus, v. 21, pp. 338, 341.

Aegyptii, v. 21, p. 335; their mode of calculating the Paschal moon, iii. 25, p. 187; equinox fixed by, v. 21, p. 339 and note; the most skilled calculators, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 349); their principles adopted in the churches in Britain, *ib.* p. 341.

Aegyptus, people of Israel in, i. 30, p. 65; their delivery from,
v. 21, pp. 334-336; exodus of Israel from, one of Cadmon's subjects, iv. 24, p. 261; II. 253; nineteen-year cycle first adopted in, v. 21, p. 341 and note; observes the catholic Easter, iii. 25, p. 184; 'mater artium,' II. 349.

Æelbert, abbot of Cornu Vallis, Haa. § 29; II. 368.

Ælffled, Ælffled, daughter of Oswy and Eanfled, iii. 24, p. 178 (cf. II. 90, 391); devoted to God by Oswy, ib. and note; enters the monastery of Hartlepool, ib. p. 179 and note; transferred to Whitby, ib.; becomes abbess of Whitby, ib. and note (cf. II. 116, 391); dies and is buried there, ib. and note; joint abbess with her mother, iv. 26, p. 267 and note (cf. II. 185, 245); a friend of St. Cuthbert, II. 185; letter of, to Adolana, abbess of Palentz, ib.; helps to restore Wilfrid, ib.; II. 326; John of Hexham trained under, II. 274; translation of Edwin takes place under, II. 391.

Ælfric, uncle of Edwin, father of Osric, iii. 1, p. 127 (cf. II. 186).

Ælfric, II. 55; his colloquies cited, II. 6; Hexameron ascribed to, II. 7; homily on St. Alban, taken from Bede, II. 18; homily on St. Gregory, cited, II. 42; homily on St. Fursa, II. 169; on St. Ethelthryth, II. 235; on Imma, II. 243; on Drythelm, II. 295.

Ælfwine, Ælfwine, brother of Egfrid, slain in the battle of the Trent, iv. 21 and note; v. 24, p. 355; II. 318; styled king, iv. 22, p. 249 and note; Imma one of his thanes, ib. and note; called 'rex Christianissimus,' II. 86, 243; probably under-kings of Deira, II. 120, 243.

See also Alf.

Aelli, king of the South Saxons, the first of the seven great English kings, ii. 5, p. 89 and note.

Aelli, king of the Deiri, ii. 1, p. 80 and note; II. 72, 390; father of Edwin, II. 93, 399; said to have been slain by Ethelric, ib.; son of Yffi, II. 119; his death, II. 120; Acha daughter of, II. 161.

Ælphægus, v. Alphege.

Ænheri, of the Hwiccas, brother of Eanfrid, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; a Christian, ib.

Aeddbaldus, ii. 7, p. 95; ii. 9, p. 97; v. Eadbald.

Æosterwyni, v. Eosterwyni.


Æscwine, son of Cenfus, reigns in Wessex, II. 220, 221.

Æsesca, name of a little boy in the monastery of Barking, iv. 8 and notes; dies there, ib.

Aetherius, Etherius, archbishop of Arles (really bishop of Lyons), Gregory commends Augustine to, i. 24 and note; Augustine consecrated by (really by Vergilius), i. 27, p. 48 and note; letter of Gregory to, II. 40.

Æthiops, II. 72.

Aetius, patricius, consul with Simmachus, i. 13 and note; implored to send help to Britain, ib. (cf. II. 27); his struggle against the Huns, ib.; put to death by Valentinianus, i. 21, p. 41 and note; his adherents murder Valentinianus, ib. and note; orders the Alani to attack the Armoricans, II. 34.

Ætela, bishop of Dorchester, iv. 23, p. 254 and note; educated under Hild at Whitby, ib.; wrongly identified by H. & S. with Hædde, II. 245; probably appointed by Ethelred of Mercia, II. 246; not found in episcopal lists, ib.

Afer, Afir, Severus and Abbot Hadrian Africans, i. 5; iv. 1, p. 202; v. Eustatius.

Africa, observes the catholic Easter, iii. 25, p. 184; daily communion the rule in, Ec. § 15; overrun by the Saracens, II. 339.
Agabus, foretells famine in Syria, i. 3.

Agareni, descendants of Ishmael, identical with the Saracens, ii. 339.

Agatha, iv. 20, p. 247 and note.

Agatho, pope, sends John the archchanter to Britain with Benedict Biscop, iv. 18, p. 241 and note; Hab. § 6, p. 369 and note; receives Benedict Biscop and gives him a charter of privileges for his monastery, ib. ib. and notes; Hab. § 15, p. 380; Haa. §§ 16, 20 (cf. II. 360); orders John to inquire into the orthodoxy of the English Church, iv. 18, pp. 241, 242 and note; receives his report after his death, ib. p. 242; Wilfrid pleads his first appeal before, v. 19, p. 326 and note; Council of Rome under, against the Monothelites, ib. pp. 326, 327 and notes (cf. II. 230); his decision on Wilfrid's case in this council cited in Wilfrid's second appeal, ib. pp. 327, 328; gives books to Benedict Biscop, p. xix note; said to have sanctioned the location of the West Saxon see at Winchester, ii. 144; spurious grant of, to Chertsey, ii. 217.

Agatho, a priest in attendance on Agilbert, iii. 25, p. 183; accompanies him to the Synod of Whitby, ib.

Agde, Council of, II. 212.

agenda' = mass, II. 80, 81.

Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons and of Paris, II. 144, 145; a Gaul by birth, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; studies in Ireland, ib. and notes (cf. II. 196); comes to Wessex from Ireland, ib.; offered the West Saxon see by Cenwalh, ib. and note; his 'barbarous' speech, ib. and notes (cf. II. 41); offended at the attempted division of the diocese, retires to Gaul, ib. pp. 140, 141 and notes (cf. II. 245); made bishop of Paris, iii. 28, p. 194; iii. 7, p. 141 and note; dies there, ib. and note; invited by Cenwalh to return, ib.; sends his nephew Lewistherius or Hlothhere in his stead, ib. and notes; bishop of the West Saxons, iii. 25, p. 183; comes to Northumbria, ib.; a friend of Alchfrid and Wilfrid, ib.; ordains Wilfrid and Wilfrid, ib.; v. 19, p. 325; II. 317; has an attendant priest named Agatho, iii. 25, p. 183; attends the Synod of Whitby, ib. (cf. II. 146); asks that Wilfrid may represent the Roman side, ib. p. 184 and note; returns home after the Synod, iii. 26, p. 189 and note; consecrates Wilfrid at Compiègne, iii. 28, p. 194; v. 19, pp. 325, 326 and note; II. 146; Theodore stays with on his way to Britain, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; second bishop of the West Saxons, iv. 12, p. 227; a partisan of Ebroin, II. 203.

Agnes, iv. 20, p. 248 and note; convent of, at Rome, II. 50.

Agricola, son of Severianus, introduces Pelagianism into Britain, i. 17, p. 33 and note.

Agrippa I, dies while celebrating the return of Claudius from Britain, II. 13.

Aidan, v. Aedan.

Aigulfus, bishop of Metz, II. 40.

Aired of Rievaulx, Life of Edward the Confessor by, p. cxx.; Life of St. Ninian by, II. 128, 129.

Aix, Protasius bishop of, II. 37, 39.

Alamanni, a dux of, carries off the relics of the twin martyrs, II. 370.


Alba, Scotland, Scotti settle in, II. 23.

Albanus, martyr, of British birth, i. 7, p. 18; converted by a priest whom he had harboured, ib.; his trial and condemnation, ib. p. 19 and notes; miracles wrought by, ib. pp. 20, 21 and notes; his martyrdom at
Verolamium, on June 22, ib. p. 21 and notes; tomb of visited by Germanus and Lupus, i. 18; intercession of, for their safe return, i. 20, p. 39; earliest mention of, II. 18; monastery of, said to have been founded by Offa, II. 20; Passion of, used by Bede, p. xxiv note; II. 17; called 'protomartyr Anglorum.' II. 17, 18, 20 (cf. II. 153); Ælfrie's homily on, II. 18; church of, at Auxerre, built by St. Germanus, II. 3; lections on, I. 424; date of, I. 434.

Albanus, St., of Mainz, confusion with the British St. Alban, II. 18.

Albanus, St., transference of Oedipus myth to, II. 18.

'Albatus,' in albis,' II. 103, 280, 281.

Alberic of Trois Fontaines, his account of Bede cited, p. lxxviii note.

Albinus, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, letter of Bede to, I. 3; sends gifts and letters to Bede, ib.; instigates Bede to write the H. E., ib.; Pref. p. 7; helps him in it, I. 3; Pref. p. 6 and notes (cf. II. 13, 28, 45); Bede sends him the H. E., and the De Templo, I. 3; asks his prayers, ib.; a pupil of Theodore and Hadrian, Pref. p. 6; v. 20, p. 331 (cf. II. 205); succeeds Hadrian as abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, Canterbury, ib. (cf. II. 2); his knowledge of Greek and Latin, ib. and note; p. xviii note; furnishes Bede with documents, II. 2.

Albinus v. Alcuin.

Albinus, martyr, confused with the British St. Alban, II. 18.

Albion, ancient name of Britain, i. 1, p. 9.

Albion Congregationis, p. xxviii; II. 227, 273.

Alchfeld, daughter of Oswy, marries Peada, prince of the Middle Angles, iii. 21, pp. 169, 170 and note; said to have instigated his murder, iii. 24, p. 180 (cf. II. 175).

Alchfrid, son of Oswy, opposed to his father, iii. 14, p. 154 and note (cf. II. 198); persuades Penda to become a Christian, iii. 21, p. 170; married to Cynburga, daughter of Penda, ib. and note; fights against Penda in the battle of the Winwaed, iii. 24, p. 178 (cf. II. 162); on the Roman side in the Easter question, iii. 25, p. 182 (cf. II. 323); a pupil and friend of Wilfrid, ib. and note; v. 19, p. 325 and notes; II. 317; grants Wilfrid land at Stamford, v. 19, p. 325 and note (cf. II. 317); grants Wilfrid the monastery of Ripon, which he had formerly granted to the Irish party, ib. and notes; iii. 25, pp. 182, 183 and notes (cf. II. 193, 317); Agilbert a friend of, ib. p. 183; requests Agilbert to ordain Wilfrid priest, ib.; v. 19, p. 325; attends the Synod of Whitby, iii. 25, p. 183; sends Wilfrid to Gaul to be consecrated, iii. 28, p. 194 and notes; v. 19, p. 325 and note; forbidden by his father Oswy to go to Rome with Benedict Biscop, Hab. § 2; under-king of Deira, II. 120, 189, 243, 323; friend of Cenwulf of Wessex, II. 143, 187, 322; memorial cross to, at Bewcastle, II. 176, 198; disappears from history after 664, ib.; probably not father of Osric of Northumbria, II. 338.

Alcuin, Dumbarton, a strong city of the Britons, i. 1, p. 13; birth of, separates Picts and Britons, ib.; Scotti settle to North of, ib.; meaning of the name, i. 12, p. 26 and note; Roman wall terminates near, ib.; expedition of Eadbert and Oengus against, II. 346.

Alcuin, his lines on Bede, p. x note; relates an anecdote of Bede, pp. xii, xiii; relates a miracle worked by Bede's relics, p. lxxix
note; urges his example of diligence, p. xvii; founds schools in St. Martin's at Tours, ib. note; importance of, pp. xviii note, xx note; trained at York, pp. xviii note, xxiv; II. 379; librarian of the York library, ib.; founder of Frankish education, p. xxiv; name of, inscribed in the Album Congregationis of Wearmouth, p. xxvii note; Life of, cited, pp. xxxvi, lxxii note; II. 91; praises Bede's style, p. liv; his Lives of Wilfrid, v. Uilbrord; called Saint Alcuin, p. c; extracts from, ib.; uses Bede's De Orthographia, pp. cxlv, cxlvi note; his mistake about Bede's Lives of Cuthbert, p. cxlvii note; asks for a copy of Bede's In Librum Tobiae, p. clii; cites Bede's hymn on the six ages, p. cliii; poem called Cuculus probably by, p. clviii; gives the name of Cuculus to one of his disciples, ib. note; sends a MS. to Arno of Salzburg, p. clix note; II. 240; his account of Roman York, II. 17; asks Leo III for pallium for Eanbal, II. 51; his mention of St. Gregory, II. 67; on the extent of Edwin's dominions, II. 86; superintends the rebuilding of York Cathedral, II. 102; sends a covering for tomb of St. Nynias, II. 129; his poem on the destruction of Lindisfarne, II. 166; his character of Bosa, II. 223; head of the monastery of St. Martin's at Tours, II. 234, 258; has not the gift of tears, II. 268; stops a fire by prayer, II. 269; his account of Wilfrid II, II. 278; relation of, to Charles the Great, II. 287; lines of, on Drythelm. II. 296, 297; asks a correspondent to send him paints, II. 360; his character of Eadbald and Egbert, II. 379; his love of correcting others, II. 380; letters of, to Gisla, p. xix note; to Ethelbald, abbot of Wearmouth, p. xxvii note; to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow, pp. xvii, xxxii note; II. 180, 259, 366; to the monks of York, p. xxxiii note; to Archbishop Ethelhard, II. 33, 36, 89, 266, 380; perhaps modelled on Bede's letter to Egbert, ib.; to various persons, urging the study of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis, II. 70; to Ethelred of Northumbria, II. 126; to the monks of Candida Casa, II. 129, 161; to the English monks of Mayo, II. 210; to Hygibald of Lindisfarne, II. 70, 249; to the monks of Lindisfarne, II. 259; to the monks of Hexham, ib.; to Charles the Great, II. 280.

Aldberht, bishop of part of the East Angles (Dunwich) in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note.

Aldfrid, king of the Northumbrians, his learning, v. 12, p. 309; iv. 26, p. 268 and note; said to be son of Oswy and brother of Egfrid, ib. and note (cf. II. 175); succeeds Egfrid, ib.; v. 19, p. 327; v. 1, p. 282; Ethelwald's life on Farne falls in the reign of, ib. and note; Eata dies at beginning of reign of, v. 2, p. 282 and note; Ceddwalla resigns in the third year of, v. 7, p. 292; hears Drythelm narrate his vision when he visits Melrose, v. 12, pp. 309, 310 and notes; II. 294; Adamnan comes on a mission to, v. 21, p. 344; v. 15, p. 315 and note; receives from him his book on the holy places, ib. pp. 316, 317; gives it to others to read, ib. p. 317; dismisses Adamnan with gifts, ib.; dies and is succeeded by his son Osred, v. 18, p. 320 and note; v. 19, p. 329 and note; v. 24, p. 356 (cf. p. cxlvi); Wilfrid restored under, v. 19, p. 327 and notes; expelled again by, ib. and note; letter of Pope John VI to, ib. and note (cf. II. 275); refuses to receive Wilfrid, ib. p. 329 and note;
II. 320; Benedict Biscop buys land of, Hab. § 9 and note; Biscop arranges, and Coelfrid carries out, exchange of a MS. for land with, Hab. § 15, p. 380 (cf. II. 264); confirms the papal privilege granted to Coelfrid, ib.; grants land to Witmer, at Dalton, ib. and note; Coelfrid made abbot of Wearmouth in the third year of, Ha3. § 17; growth of false monasteries after death of, Ec. § 13 and notes; II. 388; decline of Northumbria after, p. xxxiii; II. 306; character of his reign, ib.; Oswald confused with, II. 159; his succession foretold by Cuthbert, II. 263; an exile in Iona and Ireland, ib. (cf. II. 337); Egfrid wanted to make him a bishop, ib.; called Fland Fina by the Irish, ib.; his mother possibly Irish, ib.; a pupil of Adamnan, ib.; relations of, with Aldhelm, II. 264, 312; marries Cuthburga, II. 264; probably younger than Egfrid, ib.; his opposition to Wilfrid, ib.; charges his heir to make peace with Wilfrid, II. 306; called Aercimus by Aldhelm, II. 309, 311, 312; Bede’s admiration for, II. 316; letter of Theodore to, about Wilfrid, II. 326; probably father of Osric of Northumbria, II. 337, 338.

Aldgils, king of the Frisians, receives Wilfrid honourably, v. 19, p. 326 and note.

Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, priest and abbot of Malmesbury, v. 18, p. 320 and note; Pehthelm a deacon and monk under, ib. (cf. II. 343); made bishop of part of Wessex on the death of Haedde, ib. and note (cf. II. 144); writes a book against the errors of the Britons, ib. pp. 320, 321 and notes (cf. II. 114, 192, 301); his other works, ib. p. 321 and notes (cf. II. 309); dies, and is succeeded by Forthere, ib. and note (cf. II. 101); Bede’s admiration for, p. liv; note on, p. cxxv note; his views on virginity and marriage, II. 54; his judgement of St. Gregory, II. 67; said to have degenerated after becoming a bishop, II. 68; letters of, to Ealfrid, II. 196; to Hadrian, II. 205, 309; a pupil of Hadrian, ib. ib.; his De Virginitate dedicated to Hildilid, II. 219; cited, II. 241, 259 (cf. II. 300); cites St. Gregory, II. 259; relations of Aldfrid to, II. 264, 312; his poem on Caedwalla, II. 278, 279; a friend of Ini, II. 281; and of Bertwald, II. 283; letter of, to Hædde, II. 307; Lives of, by Faricius and W. M., II. 308, 309; his skill as a minstrel and poet, II. 309; Alfred’s opinion of his poetry, ib.; visits Rome, ib.; builds a chapel of St. Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon, ib.; chronology of life of, ib.; dies at Doultng, ib.; buried at Malmesbury, ib.; canonised by Lanfranc, ib.; a pupil of Maelduib, II. 309, 310; order of his works, II. 312; his learning, ib.; his style, ib.; question of biblical text used by, II. 313; letter of, to Wilfrid’s clergy, II. 327; his statement as to the bitterness of British priests against the Saxons, II. 352, 353.

Alfred, priest, author of the Northumbrian gloss in the Lindisfarne Gospels, II. 298.

Ald Saxones, II. 261; v. Saxones Antiqui.

Alduini, abbot of Partney, brother of Ethelhild and Ethelwine, iii. 11, p. 149.

Alduini, bishop of Lichfield, and of the province of the Mercians, v. 23, p. 350 and note; one of the consecrators of Archbishop Tatwin, ib.; alive in 731, ib.; called Worr, II. 341; succeeds Hedda, ib.

Alduulf, king of the East Angles, iv. 23, p. 253; ii. 15, p. 116 and
ALWOLD, king of the Northumbrians, murdered, II. 159.

See also Aelf-.

Allectus, causes Carausius to be killed, and seizes Britain, i. 6; put down by Asclepiodotus, ib.


Allen, Thomas, former owner of MS. O 9, p. cviii.

Almaricus de Leones uilla, p. c.

Alne, fluuius, Twyford near, iv. 28, p. 272.

Alnmouth, identified with Ad Tuifyrdi, II. 268.

Alphabetic poems, II. 241.

Albert, St., found uncorrupted after death, II. 240; parish of, in Canterbury, II. 43.

Alric, son of Heardbert, slain, II. 338.

Alric, son and co-heir of Witred king of Kent, v. 23, p. 348 and note.

altare versus ara, II. 60; portable altars, II. 289.

Alsige, abbot of York, letter of Lupus of Ferrara to, p. clv note.

Alucri, king of the Northumbrians, accession of, C. 765.

Aluuit, bishop of Lindsey, consecrated by Tatwin, C. 733.

Amalric, v. Almaricus.


Ambrones, II. 261; v. Hymbro-nenses.

Ambrosius, Sanctus, cited, Ee. § 5 and note; pp. lxxv. clxii; II. 275; use made by Bede of, p. 1 (cf. p. lxxxii); extracts from, p. c; his Hexameron, II. 7; the first to use the term 'missa,' II. 44; the founder of church music, II. 118; biblical quotation of Bede agrees with, II. 394; v. Chanting.

Ambrosius Aurelianus, of Roman origin, leads the Britons against the Saxons, i. 16 and note.

Amfleat, Ambleteuse, Abbot Peter drowned and buried at, i. 33 and note; James II lands at, in 1689, II. 64.
Ammianus Marcellinus, cited. II. 9, 10, 34.
Amphibalus, St., origin of myth of. II. 17, 26.
Anacleitus, v. Cletus.
Ananias, example of, cited, Ec. § 16, p. 420; § 17, p. 422 and note.
Anastasis, church built on the site of the Resurrection, v. 16, p. 317 and note.
Anastasius, Sanctus, Bede corrects the translation of the Life of, v. 24, p. 359; p. eliv.
Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, the Celts allege authority of, in favour of their Easter rules, iii. 3, p. 131; iii. 25, pp. 186, 187 and notes; cycle of nineteen years ascribed to. ib. p. 187; II. 351; Bede’s letter on the equinox according to, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda; canon ascribed to, a forgery, II. 191.
Ancharttes, pp. xxx, xxxi note; II. 172; manuallabourf.p.xxvnote.
Andhun, a royal ‘dux’ of the South Saxons, expels Caedwalla from Sussex, iv. 15 and note; rules the South Saxons, ib.
Andilegum, v. In And.
Andreas, beatus, apostolus, church of, in Rochester, p. cxxvi; built by Ethelbert, ii. 3, p. 85 and notes; rebuilt by Lanfranc, II. 162; ‘secretarium’ of, built by Ethelbert, iii. 14, p. 154 and note; Paulinus buried in, ib. (cf. II. 80); porticus of St. Paul built in, by Bishop Tobias, v. 23, pp. 348,349; church of, at Hexham, beautified by Acra, v. 20, p. 331; monastery of, at Rome, founded by Gregory, II. 38; tract on the cultus of, in Scotland, p. cvii.
Andreas, monachus, suggested as archbishop of Canterbury by Abbot Hadrian, iv. 1, p. 202; declines on account of illness, ib.
Andred, v. Ondred.
Angles, Licinius bishop of, II. 40.
Anglesey, extent of, II. 40, 41, 94; the granary of North Wales, II. 41; origin of name, II. 94; applied by W. M. to Man, II. 94; v. Meaniae.
Angli, i. 23, p. 42; i. 27, p. 49; i. 30, p. 65; i. 31, p. 66; i. 34; ii. 1, p. 79; one of three German tribes who settle in Britain, i. 15, p. 31 (cf. v. 9, p. 296 and notes); East Angles, Mediterranean Angles, Mercians, and Northumbrians derived from, ib. and note; Britons neglect to evangelise, i. 22 and note; ii. 2, p. 83 and note; v. 22, p. 347 and note; their mode of reckoning by hides, i. 25, p. 45 and note; ii. 9, p. 99; iii. 4, p. 133; iv. 16, p. 237; Haa. § 33; name of inhabitants of Britain, ii. 1, p. 80; II. 390; Edwin the most powerful of, up to his time, ii. 9, p. 99; date of their arrival in Britain, i. 15, p. 30 and note; ii. 14, p. 114; v. 23, p. 351; v. 24, pp. 352, 353; religion of, despised by the Britons in Bede’s time, ii. 20, p. 125 and note (cf. II. 353); children of, taught by teachers of the Scotti, iii. 3, p. 132 (cf. II. 193); Birinus wishes to evangelise the inland districts of, iii. 7, p. 139; many of, go or send their children to Gaul for the sake of monastic discipline, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes; few monasteries in district of, ib. and notes; Adda, Betti, and Cedd belong to, iii. 21, p. 170; Ethelhun and Egbert noble youts of, iii. 27, p. 192 and note; the Scotti among, adopt catholic practices or withdraw, iii. 28, p. 195; Theodore’s times the happiest since arrival of, in Britain, iv. 2, p. 205; dissensions of, with Scotti in monastery of Inisbofin, iv. 4, p. 213; remove to Mayo, ib.; Mayo still inhabited by, in Bede’s
Angli (continued).

Anglo-Roman ecclesia, decrees of a Roman Synod conveyed to, by Mellitus, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; Wilfrid teaches orthodox practices to, iii. 28, p. 195; iv. 2, p. 205 and note; Wighard to ordain catholic bishops for, iii. 29, p. 196; Vitalian seeks an archbishop for, iv. 1, p. 202; chanting learnt by, under Theodore, iv. 2, p. 205; Theodore desires to preserve from heresy of Eutyches, iv. 17, p. 238 and note; progress of, under Theodore, v. 8, p. 295; Adamnan studies the customs of, v. 15, p. 315; Benedict Bishop brings relics from Rome for, Hab. § 6, p. 369. Anglo-Roman gentis ecclesia, consents to the sending of Wighard to Rome, iii. 29, p. 196 and note. Anglo-Roman gens, i. 1, p. 9; i. 7, p. 21; i. 27, pp. 51, 54; i. 32, pp. 67, 68; ii. 2, p. 84; ii. 3, p. 85; iv. 23, p. 253; Bede's Ecclesiastical History of, v. Baeda; conversion of, Pref. p. 6; ii. 1, p. 73; invited into Britain by Vortigern, i. 15, p. 30; Augustine sent by Gregory to convert, i. 23, p. 42 and note; ii. 5, p. 89; v. 24, p. 353; their pagan religion, i. 25, p. 46; i. 30, p. 65 and notes; conversion of, announced to Gregory, i. 27, p. 48 and note; Britons made tributary to, i. 34 and note; kings of the Scotti after Aedan do not venture to attack, ib. and note; Augustine urges the Britons to evangelise, ii. 2, p. 83 and note; seven great kings of, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; Oswald rules over (i.e. the Northumbrians), iii. 3, p. 131; Whitemn belonged to, in Bede's time, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes; Aidan's predecessor fails to convert, iii. 5, p. 137 and notes; Aidan converts, iii. 6, p. 137; v. 22, p. 347; Wilfrid belongs to, iv. 2, p. 205 and note; many of, resort to Ireland.

ordered to report on the orthodoxy of, iv. 18, p. 241. Anglo-Roman ecclesia, decrees of a Roman Synod conveyed to, by Mellitus, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; Wilfrid teaches orthodox practices to, iii. 28, p. 195; iv. 2, p. 205 and note; Wighard to ordain catholic bishops for, iii. 29, p. 196; Vitalian seeks an archbishop for, iv. 1, p. 202; chanting learnt by, under Theodore, iv. 2, p. 205; Theodore desires to preserve from heresy of Eutyches, iv. 17, p. 238 and note; progress of, under Theodore, v. 8, p. 295; Adamnan studies the customs of, v. 15, p. 315; Benedict Bishop brings relics from Rome for, Hab. § 6, p. 369. Anglo-Roman gentis ecclesia, consents to the sending of Wighard to Rome, iii. 29, p. 196 and note. Anglo-Roman gens, i. 1, p. 9; i. 7, p. 21; i. 27, pp. 51, 54; i. 32, pp. 67, 68; ii. 2, p. 84; ii. 3, p. 85; iv. 23, p. 253; Bede's Ecclesiastical History of, v. Baeda; conversion of, Pref. p. 6; ii. 1, p. 73; invited into Britain by Vortigern, i. 15, p. 30; Augustine sent by Gregory to convert, i. 23, p. 42 and note; ii. 5, p. 89; v. 24, p. 353; their pagan religion, i. 25, p. 46; i. 30, p. 65 and notes; conversion of, announced to Gregory, i. 27, p. 48 and note; Britons made tributary to, i. 34 and note; kings of the Scotti after Aedan do not venture to attack, ib. and note; Augustine urges the Britons to evangelise, ii. 2, p. 83 and note; seven great kings of, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; Oswald rules over (i.e. the Northumbrians), iii. 3, p. 131; Whitemn belonged to, in Bede's time, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes; Aidan's predecessor fails to convert, iii. 5, p. 137 and notes; Aidan converts, iii. 6, p. 137; v. 22, p. 347; Wilfrid belongs to, iv. 2, p. 205 and note; many of, resort to Ireland.
for study, iii. 27, p. 192 and notes; about thirty of, retire with Colman from Lindisfarne, iv. 4, p. 213; Colman sent from Hiì to preach to, ib.; many of, slain, enslaved, or put to flight by the Picts, iv. 26, p. 267; many of, go to Rome, v. 7, p. 294 and notes (cf. II. 366); Wilfrid destined to be bishop of, v. 19, p. 324; Wilfrid answers for faith of islands inhabited by, ib. pp. 326, 327 and notes; II. 230; Naiton, king of the Picts, seeks help from, v. 21, p. 332; Irish Paschal errors reformed by, v. 22, p. 347 and note; the Picts and Scotti in Britain at peace with, in 731, v. 23, p. 351 and note; hatred of the Britons to, ib.; II. 352, 353; Benedict Bishop belongs to a noble family of, Hab. § 1; learns the art of glassmaking from Benedict’s foreign workmen, Hab. § 5 and notes; Ceolfrid resolves to exile himself from, Haa. § 27; inertia of, p. xxii note; headship of, said to be at Canterbury, II. 92.

Anglorum gentes. Ethelbert rules over all, south of the Humber, ii. 3, p. 85 (cf. II. 85); Theodore traverses all parts occupied by, iv. 2, p. 204.

Anglorum genus, blind man of, cured by Augustine, ii. 2, p. 82; Ceddwalla threatens to exterminate, from Britain, ii. 20, p. 125; Wighard belongs to, iv. 1, p. 201. Anglorum imperium, Man and Anglesey subject to, ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97 and note; province of the Picts subject to, iv. 12, p. 229 and note.

Anglorum lingua, i. 12, p. 26; ii 2, p. 82; ii. 16, p. 117; iii. 1, p. 128; iii. 2, p. 129; iii. 19, p. 164; iv. 19, p. 245; v. 2, p. 284; one of the five languages of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note; one of four languages, iii. 6, p. 138 and note; Wilfrid speaks in, at the Synod of Whitby, iii. 25, p. 184 and note; Æidan imperfectly acquainted with, iii. 3, p. 132 and note; Albinus’ native tongue, v. 20, p. 331 and note; Bede translates the Creed and Lord’s Prayer into, Ec. § 5 and note. Anglorum natione, Britons refuse to evangelise, ii. 2, p. 83 and note; Ægbert belongs to, iii. 4, p. 134; Trumhere belongs to, iii. 21, p. 171; iii. 24, p. 179; twelve boys of, brought up by Æidan, iii. 26, p. 190 and note; term applied to the Northumbrians, ii. 9, p. 97; to the East Angles, ii. 15, p. 116; Irish always most friendly to, iv. 29, p. 266; the two Hewalds belong to, v. 10, p. 299; Wilfrid saved by belonging to, v. 19, p. 325 and note.

Anglorum populi (i.e. Anglian tribes), i. 15, p. 31; northern and southern, divided by Humber, i. 25, p. 45 and note; subject to Edwin, ii. 5, p. 89; their custom in the time of Cuthbert, iv. 27, p. 269 and note; Britons neglect to evangelise, v. 22, p. 347 and note; Britons remain unorthodox after the conversion of, ib. and note. Anglorum province, many from, resort to Mayo, iv. 4, p. 214; =East Anglia, iii. 19, p. 167; = Northumbria, iii. 26, p. 189.

Anglorum provinciae, ruled by Oswald, evangelised by missionaries of the Scotti, iii. 3, p. 132. Anglorum regnum, II. 92; Oswy subjugates the Picts to, iii. 24, p. 180 and note; decline of, dates from the death of Ægfrid, iv. 26, p. 267.

Anglorum rex, Ethelbert of Kent, i. 32, p. 67; Ethelfrid of Northumbria, ii. 2, p. 84; Edwin of Northumbria, ii. 10, p. 100; ii. 17, p. 119; Redwald of East Anglia, ii. 12, p. 107; Aldfrid of Northumbria, v. 15, p. 315. Anglorum reges, Osric and Fænfrid (Deira and Bernicia), iii. 1, p. 128; iii. 9, p. 145; Oswy and Ægbert of Kent, iii. 29, p.
Angli (continued).

196 and note; Ethelred of Mercia and Aldfrid of Northumbria, v. 19, p. 327; Earnconert of Kent the first of, to enforce destruction of idols and observance of Lent, iii. 8, p. 142 and note. Anglorum sermo, Kentish dooms written in, ii. 5, p. 90 and note; v. Saxones.

Anglia, use of the term, a mark of forgery, II. 111 (cf. II. 149); Offa's Dyke separates Wales from, II. 152; derivation of the name from 'angulus,' II. 29, 72, 192.

Angli Mediterranei, i. 15, p. 31; also called Middiaglish, iii. 21, p. 169 and note; converted under their prince Peada, ib. and notes; v. 24, p. 354; Dioma dies and is buried among, iii. 21, p. 171; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Wilfrid administers the bishopric of, iv. 23, p. 255; II. 319. Anglorum Mediterraneorum episcopus, Dioma, iii. 21, p. 171; Sexwulf, iv. 12, p. 229 and note.

Anglorum Mediterraneorum provinciae, Oowy sends for Cedd from, iii. 22, p. 172; Dioma first bishop in, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Wynfrid bishop of, iv. 3, p. 212; Wulfhere king in, ib.

Angli Orientales, i. 15, p. 31 and note; materials for history of, derived by Bede partly from Albinus and Nothelma, partly from writings and traditions, partly from Abbot Esi, Pref. pp. 6, 7; ascendency won by Redwald for, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; defeated by the Mercians, iii. 18 and note; Ceolfrid visits, Haa. § 4; called 'stout-heris,' II. 86; conversion of, II. 93; confusion of, with East Saxons, II. 217, 315. Anglorum Orientalium episcopus, Felix, iii. 20 and note; Bisi, iv. 5, pp. 215, 217; II. 108; Herfast, II. 108; Herbert Losinga, ib. Anglorum Orientalium gens, Ethelwald king of, iii. 22, p. 174 and note.

Anglorum Orientalium provinciae. Fursa comes to, iii. 19, p. 163 (cf. ib. p. 167); Swidhelm of Essex baptized in, iii. 22, p. 174; Owine comes with Ethelthryth from, iv. 3, p. 208; divided into two bishoprics, iv. 5, p. 217 and note (cf. II. 108); Ely situated in, iv. 19, p. 246; Ethelthryth belongs to, ib.; Hild retires to, iv. 23, p. 253 and note; Aldbert and Hadulac bishops of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; cessation of see of, II. 108. Anglorum Orientalium regnum, Sigbert governs, iii. 18.

Anglorum Orientalium rex, Redwald, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; Earpwald, ii. 15, p. 115 and notes; Anna, iii. 7, p. 140 and notes; iii. 8, p. 142; iii. 24, p. 178; iv. 19, p. 243; Aldwulf, iv. 23, p. 253 (cf. II. 106, 107); Offa (wrongly), II. 217; v. Estrangli.

Angli-Saxones, II. 279.

Anglus, as a term of praise, II. 308.

Angulus, the original country of the Angli, left desert on their migration into Britain, i. 15, p. 31 and note.

'Angulus,' Anglia derived from, II. 29, 72, 192.

Angus, king of Fortrenn, defeats Nechtan, II. 331.

Anna, king of the East Angles, receives Cenwalh on his expulsion from Wessex, iii. 7, p. 140 and notes (cf. II. 169); converts him to Christianity, ib. and notes; his saintly progeny, ib. and notes; iii. 18; his step-daughter Saethryd, his daughters Ethelberg and Sexburgh, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes; II. 144, 217; son of Eni, iii. 18 and note; succeeds Egri, and slain by Penda, ib. and notes; a benefactor of St. Fursa's monastery of Cnobheresburg, iii. 19, p. 164; Ethelwald of East Anglia his brother, iii. 22, p. 174; Ethelhere his brother and successor, iii. 24, p. 178; II. 244; his
daughter Ethelthryth, iv. 19, p. 243 and notes; II. 144; buried at Blythburgh, II. 169; wrongly made husband of Hereswith, II. 244.

'I annale,' meaning of the word, II. 227.

Annales, keeping of, prior to Bede, II. 121.

Annemundus, archbishop of Lyons, wrongly called Dalfinus by Bede, II. 316, 317, 321, 322; v. Dalfinus.

Anchisi, form of the name of Hengist, II. 28.

Anselm V, archbishop of Milan, II. 51.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, miracle at the burial of, II. 220.

Antiochia, Barnabas teaches at, Haa. § 6; John bishop of, II. 233.

Antiphonal Singing, II. 364.

Antiphons, pp. lxxxiv, clxi; II. 43.


Antoninus Pius, emperor, his wall in Britain, II. 16.

Antoninus Uerus, M., joint emperor with Aurelius Commodus, i. 4 and note.


Apocalypse, v. Iohannes eunangelista, Paulus.

Apocrisiarius, nature of office of, II. 69.

Apollinarism, II. 230, 232.


Appley, Thomas, bishop of Carlisle, grants an Indulgence to pilgrims to St. Herbert’s Isle, II. 269.

Apsimartus, v. Tiberius III.

Aquila, example of, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and note.

Aquileia, Maximus captured and slain at, i. 9.

Aquilonares Mercii, v. Mercii Aquilonares.

Aquatania, invaded by the Saracens, II. 339; Prosper of, v. Prosper.

ara, versus altare, II. 60.

Aratus, cited by St. Paul, II. 57.

ArcADIUS, joint emperor, son of Theodosius, i. 10 and note; legislation of, II. 47.

archicantator, II. 233.

Arcuulfus, a bishop of Gaul, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; visits the Holy Land and other places, ib. and notes; driven on the coast of Britain, ib. and notes; Adamnan writes his book on the holy places from the information of, ib. and notes; his see possibly Périgueux, II. 303; his guide, Peter of Burgundy, II. 303, 304; extent of his travels, ib.


Arelas, Arnelas, Arles, Constantine slain at, i. 11; Augustine consecrated at, i. 27, p. 48; Theodore and Hadrian come to, iv. r, p. 203; John archbishop of, ib. and note; seat of Arigius possibly at, II. 37.

Arelatensis archiepiscopus, Aetherius (really Vergilius), i. 24 and note; i. 27, p. 48 and note; Augustine consecrated by, ib. Arelatensis episcopus, entitled to pallium, i. 27, p. 52 cf. II. 50, 51); relation of Augustine to, defined, ib. pp. 52, 53; Vergilius, i. 28.

Arigius, bishop of Gap, II. 40.

Arigius, patricius of Burgundy, II. 37, 39.

Arimathea, Joseph of, II. 91.

Arius, &c., v. Arrius.


Armagh, Book of, II. 25; emendation of, II. 132.

Armagh, Tomene mac Ronain, abbot and bishop of, II. 112; James Ussher, archbishop of, p. cxvii; Scellan, the Leper, of, II. 113.

Armenia, II. 8; length of day in, i. 1, p. 11.

Armonica, Arvon, district of North Wales, Cadwallon driven by Edwin into, II. 115; Maserfelth on the borders of, II. 152; possible confusion of Armorica with, II. 279.

Armorica, application of the name,
II. 8; Cadwalader said to have fled to, II. 279; perhaps confused with Armoncia, ib.

Armoricana gens, Germanus intercedes for, i. 21, p. 41 and notes. Armoricanus tractus, Britons said to have come from, to Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note.

Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, Alcuin sends a MS. to, p. clix note; II. 240; letter of Alcuin to, II. 70.

Arnulf, bishop of Soissons, miracle wrought by relics of, II. 155.

Arnuuini, slain, C. 740 and note; son of Eadwulf, II. 345.

Arras, MSS. at, p. lxxxvi note.

Arriana heresia, the Arian heresy, II. 19; attacks Britain, i. 8 and note; condemned at Nicaea, ib.; refuted by Bede, p. lxii; prevalence of, II. 74.

Arrius, heretic, Council of Nicaea directed against, iv. 17, p. 240.

Arts, religious use of the, II. 360.

Aruald, king of the Isle of Wight, iv. 16, p. 237 and note; two of his family baptized, and put to death by Caedwalla, ib. pp. 237, 238.

Arundel MS., British Museum, p. cxxvi.

Arundel MS., College of Arms, p. lxxxvi note.


Asceticism, pp. xxx–xxxii; II. 237, 298.

Asclipiodotus, praefectus praetorio, puts down Allectus and recovers Britain, i. 6.

Ash Wednesday, antiphon for, II. 299.

Asia, observes the catholic Easter, iii. 25, p. 184; successors of St. John in, ib. p. 186; large parts of, overrun by the Saracens, II. 339.

 Asterius, archbishop of Milan, wrongly called bishop of Genoa, iii. 7, p. 139 and note; consecrates Birinus, ib.

Atcham, v. Attingham.

Athanasius contra mundum, II. 74.

Athelney, pretended derivation of the name, II. 143.

Athelstan, king, gives Bede’s Lives of St. Cuthbert to the church of St. Cuthbert, p. cxlvii.

Athenae, Athens, Theodore educated at, II. 203.

Atterbury, origin of the name, II. 104.

Attila, king of the Huns, i. 13; murders his brother Blaedila, ib.; overruns nearly all Europe, ib. and note; II. 286; ravages Gaul, II. 33; share of the Rugini in the wars of, II. 286.

Attingham, or Atcham, on Severn, church dedicated to Eata at, II. 193; birthplace of Ordericus Vitalis, ib.

Audley, arms of, p. cxxvii note.

Audrey, v. Aedilthryd.

Audubaldus, ii. 10, p. 101; ii. 11, p. 104; v. Eadbald.

Augustinae Ac, id est Robur Augustini, on the borders of the Hwicces and West Saxons, ii. 2, p. 81 and notes; conference of Augustine and British bishops at, ib. and notes (cf. II. 53).

Augustinus, archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 7, p. 94; ii. 18, p. 120; sent with others by Gregory I to Britain to convert the English, i. 23, p. 42 and note; ii. 5, p. 89 and note; v. 24, p. 353 (cf. II. 85, 390); they turn faint-hearted and Augustine returns to Gregory, i. 23, p. 42 and note (cf. II. 140); brings a letter from him to his companions, ib. p. 43 and notes (cf. II. 90); made abbot over them, ib.; recommended by Gregory to Etherius archbishop of Arles (really bishop of Lyons), i. 24 and notes; reaches Britain, v. 24, p. 353; i. 25, p. 44 and note (cf. II. 85); lands in Thanet, ib. p. 45 and note; announces his arrival to Ethelbert by Frankish interpreters, ib. and note; meeting of, with Ethelbert, ib. pp. 45, 46 and notes (cf. p. cxviii); settlement in Canterbury, ib. p. 46 and notes; mode of life, i. 26, pp. 46, 47 and note;
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 415

p. xxxvi; goes to Arles and is consecrated by Etherius (really Vergilius), i. 27, p. 48 and note; returns to Britain, ib.; announces his consecration and success to Gregory, ib.; consults him on various questions, ib., pp. 48-62 and notes (cf. ii. 1, p. 76; II. 63, 134); relation of, to bishops of Gaul and Britain defined, i. 27, pp. 52, 53 and notes; commended by Gregory to bishop of Arles, i. 28 and notes; receives fresh missionaries, a letter, pallium, relics, and other gifts from Gregory, i. 29, p. 63 and notes; v. 24, p. 353 (cf. II. 52, 60); receives through Mellitus Gregory's directions as to the treatment of English heathenism, i. 30, p. 65 and notes; Gregory writes to, on the subject of his miracles, i. 31, pp. 66, 67 and notes (cf. II. 44, 71, 191); Gregory exhorts Ethelbert to be obedient to, i. 32, pp. 68, 69 and note; founds Christ Church, Canterbury, i. 33 and notes; and the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, ib. and note; church of SS. Peter and Paul not consecrated by, ib.; his miracles, ii. 1, p. 78 and note; his conference with the British bishops at Augustine's Oak, ii. 2, pp. 81, 82 and notes; cures a blind man, ib. p. 82; his second conference with the British bishops, ib., pp. 82, 83 and notes (cf. II. 53); alleged prophecy of, as to the destruction of the Britons by the Saxons, ib. p. 83 and note; fulfilled in the battle of Chester after his death, ib. p. 84 and note; consecrates Mellitus and Justus, ii. 3, p. 85 and notes; his death, ib. p. 86 and notes (cf. II. 77); buried first outside, and then in the north porticus of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, ib. and notes (cf. i. 33); his epitaph, ib. and note; consecrates Laurentius as his successor, ii. 4, p. 86 and notes; Laurentius buried near, ii. 7, p. 93; his monastic life in Kent, iv. 27, p. 270; letter of Gregory to (i. 29) cited, Ee. § 9, pp. 412, 413; verses on, p. cxx; called Augustinus Minor, II. 37; praepositus of Gregory's monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, II. 38; relation of Liudhard to, II. 42; said to have founded a church at Ely, II. 43; wholesale baptisms by, II. 44; Goecelin's Life of, II. 44, 46; books brought by, to Britain, II. 56, 57; kindness of Bertha to, II. 63; his success alluded to in Gregory's Moralia, II. 71; his claims rejected by the Britons, II. 76; charges against, refuted, II. 76, 78; date of his death, II. 81; confused with St. Augustine of Hippo, ib.; his day ordered to be observed, ib. (cf. p. cxv); King Edmund murdered on his day, ib.; translation of his relics, ib.; arrives in Britain in the year of Columba's death, II. 132; schools at Canterbury probably due to, II. 168; said to have been consecrated by Gregory, II. 390; lectures on, I. 424-427.

Augustinus, Sanctus, bishop of Hippo, refutes the Pelagians, i. 10 and note; Bede's excerpts from, on St. Paul, v. Baeda; similar works by others, pp. clv, clvi; use made by Bede of, p. 1 (cf. p. lxiii); De lapsu monachi et uiduae, MS. of, p. c; treatises of, p. cxlii; on divisions of books, II. 67; cited, II. 164, 181, 191.

Augustus, emperor, i. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, p. 30; i. 23, p. 42.

Aust, on the Severn, equated with 'Augustine's Oak,' II. 74; v. Traiectus Augusti.


Australes Mercii, v. Mercii Australes.


Austrasia, Theodebert king of, II. 39.


Autissidorensis ciuitas, Auxerre, burnt, II. 33; Germanus bishop of, i. 17, p. 34 and notes; diocese of, p. c note; bishops of, Censorius, II. 32; Heribald, II. 35; church of St. Alban at, II. 33; monks of, sent to Marseilles for marble, II. 239.

Autun, bishops of, Syagrius, II. 39; Leodegar, II. 322.


Avars, the, perhaps included in the Huns, II. 286; their ravages, ib.

B.

Badonicus mons, Britons defeat Saxons at battle of, i. 16 and note; date of, II. 31; Gildas born in the year of, II. 31, 35.


Badudegan, a lay brother of Lindisfarne, miraculously cured of paralysis at Cuthbert’s tomb, iv. 31, pp. 278, 279 and notes.

Baduini, bishop of part of the East Angles (Elmham), iv. 5, p. 217 and note.


BAEDA, writes to Albinus, I. 3; asks his prayers, ib.; visited by Nothelm, ib.; Pref. p. 6 and note; his view of historical composition, Pref. pp. 7, 8 and note; asks the prayers of his readers, ib. p. 8 and note; pp. lxv, lxvi; Wilfrid’s testimony to, on the virginity of Ethelthryth, iv. 19, p. 243 and note; p. xliv note; tells from his own knowledge the story of the impenitent monk, v. 14, pp. 313–315; makes excerpts from Adamnan’s book on the holy places, v. 15, p. 317; v. 17, p. 319; a priest of the monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow, v. 24, p. 357; p. ix; born in the territory of the monastery, ib. ib.; enters it, and is educated under Benedict Bishop and Ceolfrid, v. 24, p. 357; p. x (cf. II. 234); ordained deacon and priest by Bishop John (of Hexham), ib. ib.; his studies and occupations, ib. ib.; list of works of, v. 24, pp. 357–359; his prayer, ib. p. 360; dies, C. 735; stays with Egbert of York, p. xvi; Ec. § 1; writes to him, I. 405–423 and notes; prevented by illness from revisiting, Ec. § 1 and note; p. Ixxi; his birthplace, p. ix note; his well at Monkton, ib.; chiefly to be known from his works, pp. x, xi; chronology of his life, p. xi; Alcuin’s lines on, p. x note; anecdotes of, pp. xii, xiii (cf. II. 374); his devotion, ib.; his grief at Ceolfrid’s departure, p. xv (cf. II. 375); visits Lindisfarne, p. xvi (cf. II. 272); visits Wicred, ib. note; his diligence as a student, p. xvii; school of York due to, pp. xvii note, xxiv; compares the Vulgate and Itala, pp. xix, liv, lv; II. 313, 333, 334, 392–394; his cautionsto copyists, pp. xix note, xxiii note; acts as his own shorthand writer, &c., p. xx; MSS. ascribed to, p. xx note; his love of teaching, p. xxi; v. 24, p. 357; influence as a teacher, p. xxiv; his warning against despising the unlearned, pp. xxi, xxii; his desire to benefit his countrymen, pp. xxii, xxiii; his sense of literary property, p. xxiii; suffers from want of books, p. xxiii note; uses preceding works, pp. xxiii, xxiv; II. 315; his intellectual descendants traced by Ademar, p. xxiv note; his name inscribed in the Album Congregationis of Lindisfarne, p. xxvii note; his warnings against detraction, &c., p. xxxii; his affection for Ceolfrid and Hwaetbert, p. xxxiii; for Acea, ib.; II. 329, 330; troubles of his time, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv; lament of, over ecclesiastical evils, pp. xxxiv,
xxxv; II. 194; insists that the teacher must practise what he teaches, p. xxxvi; acts up to this himself, ib.; his obligations to Isidore, pp. xxxvii note, xxxviii note, xli; his translation of Isidore, pp. xli note, lxxv, clxi; placed next to Isidore by Dante, p. xli note; studied by Dante, ib.; his obligations to Pliny, pp. xxxviii note, lii; II. 5; the first to introduce the date A.D. into Western Europe, p. xxxviii note; his reputation as a chronologer, p. xxxix note; II. 205; his zeal in the Paschal controversy, pp. xxxix–xli; his doctrine of the six ages of the world, pp. xli, xlii; refutes a charge of heresy, pp. xli note, cxli; testimonies and appeals to, pp. xlii note, xlv note, xlvii, liv, lxv note, lxvi note, lxxvii note, lxxviii note; II. 4; historical writing in England grows out of, p. xliii note; careful to indicate his authorities, pp. xlv, xlv note; II. 1, 2, 4; his suppression of incidents in the life of Wilfrid, p. xlv note; II. 315, and v. Wilfrid; his treatment of the anonymous Lives of Cuthbert and of the Abbots, pp. xlv note, xlvii, xlv; of the Life of Fursa, II. 169, 170; of the Life of Ethelbern, II. 218; legends as to the origin of his name of Venerable, pp. xlviii, xlix; dedicates most of his theological works to Aeca, p. xlix; II. 329; his reverence for authority and tradition, p. 1; list of authors referred to by, pp. 1–lii; his attitude towards pagan literature, p. liii; his style, pp. liii, liv; his admiration for Aldhelm, p. liv; II. 312; his knowledge of Greek, p. liv; Greek MS., Laud 35; used by, p. liv; his interest in textual criticism, pp. liv–lvi; his use of the allegorical method, pp. lvi–lxii; his zealous orthodoxy, pp. lxii, lxiii; list of heresies refuted by, pp. lxii, lxiii note; miraculous element in works of, pp. lxi, lxiv (cf. II. 278); believes himself to have been the subject of a miracle, p. lxiv note; his view of miracles, p. lxv note; his piety, pp. lxv–lxix; his humility as a scholar, p. lxvi; his insistence on the Day of Judgement, pp. lxvi, lxvii; on the blessedness of a holy death, p. lxviii; his view of Purgatory, p. lxvi note; II. 243, 387; his good sense, pp. lxix–lxxi; his views on virginity and marriage, p. lxxi note; II. 53, 54, 235; on the contemplative and active life, p. lxxi note; II. 68, 69; description of his death, pp. lxxii–lxxviii, elix–elxiv; date of his death, pp. lxxi–lxxiii; I. 434; his skill in English poetry, pp. lxxiv, elxi; his translations into English, pp. lxxv, elxii; II. 381; his amanuensis, Wilbert, pp. lxxvi, elxiii; his cell, p. lxxvii note; north porticus of Jarrow church dedicated to, p. lxxviii note; his epitaph, p. lxxviii note; fate of his relics, ib.; miracle worked by his relics, p. lxxix note; collect for his day, ib.; becomes a standard authority, ib.; II. 4; his mode of working, Pref. p. 5; II. 1, 2; his tendency to rely on authority, II. 4; includes Iona in Scotia, v. Hii; uses the Caesarean Indiction, II. 39, 212, 376; his national and ecclesiastical prejudices against the Britons, II. 78, 83, 84, 353; Jonas of Bobbio’s Life of Columban ascribed to, II. 83; Chronicle wrongly ascribed to, p. exiv; verses on, p. cxxiv; Life of St. Faras ascribed to, II. 148; does not regard Celtic orders as invalid, II. 178; his views on the intercession and invocation of saints, II. 181; his sympathy with Mercian independence, II. 187; with the Scotic missionaries, II. 194;
Baeda (continued).
refutes the Paschal heresies of Victorinus, II. 201; his obligations to the School of Canterbury, II. 205, 206; his views on the division of dioceses, II. 214, 380, 383; on divorce and remarriage, II. 214, 236; on secular rule and employment, II. 219, 220; on comets, II. 222; on translation of poetry, II. 250; on confirmation, II. 382; receives information from Acca, v. Acca; had probably seen Adamnan, II. 131, 302; his authorities for the life of Wilfrid, II. 315; his attitude towards Wilfrid and his opponents, II. 316, 383; the real author of Ceolfrid's letter to Nechtan, II. 332, 392; perhaps an eye-witness of what he describes in Hist. Abb., II. 363 (cf. p. xlvii); probably present at Hwætberht's election, II. 368; St. Boniface's opinion of, ib.; asks for works of, ib.; his state- manlike view of the false monasteries, II. 385; not opposed to some control of monasteries by secular power, II. 387; probably used the early Life of Gregory, pp. clxv, clxvi, clxvii; II. 389; MSS. of Life of, pp. cv, cvi, cxvi, cxxxviii; Cuthbert's letter on death of, v. Cuthbert.

BAEDA, WORKS OF, classification of, p. xxxvii; chronology of, pp. cxlv-clv.

— Capitula Lectionum, on certain books of the O. T., and on the N. T. except the Gospels, v. 24, p. 358; p. clv; alluded to by Lupus of Ferrara, ib.; asked for by St. Boniface, ib.

— Chronicle, really part of the De Temp. Rat. q. v., p. cxlix; Irish adaptation of, ib. note.


— De Arte Metrica, &c., v. 24, p. 359; date of, p. cxlv; MSS.
Baeda, Works of (continued).

names of, p. xxxix note; II. 167; cited, iii. 17, p. 161; II. 60, 101, 201, 275, 332-334.
— Epigrammata. p. cliv.
— Epistola ad Albinum, I. 3; II. 2; date of, p. cl.
— Epistola ad Egbertum, printed, I. 405-423 and notes; date of, pp. xvi, lxxi, cli; II. 378, 384, 386, 388; MSS. of, pp. exii, exlii; editions of, p. exlii; translations of, p. cxxxii; cited, pp. xvi, xxxv, xxxv; II. 214.
— Epistolae ad Dinersos, v. 24, p. 358; MS. of, p. exiiii.
— Excerpts from Jerome on the Prophets, v. 24, p. 358; p. clv.
— Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, v. 24, pp. 356, 357, 359; dedicated and sent to Ceolwulf, Pref. p. 5 and note; his motive in writing, ib. and note; sent to Albinus, I. 3; authorities used in the composition of, how far acknowledged by Bede himself, pp. xxiv note, xliv, xlv note, and references there given; clvii, clvii, cxxxii; II. 3, 4, 5, 17, 22, 25, 31, 35, 150, 169, 218, 219, 267, 304, 315; two recensions of, issued by Bede himself, pp. xciv-xcvi; dates of the two recensions, pp. xevi, xevii (cf. II. 345); MSS. of, very numerous, p. lxxxvi; three types of MSS. of, pp. xciv ff.; classification of MSS. of, pp. xciv ff.; editions of, pp. lxxx-lxxxvi, cxxxix-cxxxi; AS. vers. of, pp. cxxviii, cxxix; cited by Ælfric and Rudborne, ib. note; attributed to Bede himself, ib. note; MS. of, p. evii; Editio Princeps of, p. cxxxi; cited, notes, passim; other translations of, p. cxxxii; importance of, pp. xlvi-xliv; importance of chronological summary at end of, II. 343; structure of, II. 4, 36; intended for public reading, II. 299; v. Lections; date of, pp. xi, cli; II. 262.
— Hymns, v. 24, p. 359; pp. xlvii note, xlix note, clv; Hymn on Ethelthryth, iv. 20 and notes; found separately, II. 240.
— In Acta, v. 24, p. 358; date of, p. cxlvi; dedicated to Acca, ib. (cf. p. xlix); cited, II. 57, 58, 277, 300, 388.
— In Cautica Canticorum, v. 24, p. 358; p. 1 note; date of, p. cliii; first book of, directed against Julian of Eclanum, ib.; II. 21; last book of, a cento of extracts from Gregory, p. cliii; Lullus asks Cuthbert for, ib. note; poem on, by Walfridus Strabo, ib.
— In Canticum Habacucm, v. 24, p. 358; date of, p. cliii; question of dedication of, ib.; the Ital used for, p. lv note; II. 334.
— In Cathlicas Epistolas, v. 24, p. 358; p. 1 note; MS. of, p. cxxii; date of, p. xlvii; cited, II. 54, 55, 156, 259, 300.
— In Ezram et Nehemiam, v. 24, p. 358; dedicated to Acca,
Baeda, Works of (continued).

p. xlix note; date of, p. cl; character of, ib. note; cited, p. xxii; II. 44, 209, 245, 381-385.

— In Genesim, v. 24, p. 357; dedicated to Aeca, pp. xlix, cxlix; date of, ib.; cited, II. 7, 220.

— In Libros Regum Quaestionum, v. 24, p. 358; dedicated to Nothelm, p. cli; date of, ib.

— In Librum Tobiae, v. 24, p. 358; date of, p. ciii; Aeluin asks for a copy of, ib. note.

— In Lucam, v. 24, p. 358; composition of, hindered by external troubles, p. xxxiv; relation of, to the homilies, pp. xlvii, xlviii; dedicated to Aeca, p. xlix; date of, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv, cxlivii; cited, pp. xiii, xx, xxxiii, xxxiv; II. 3, 46, 68, 70, 156, 219, 259, 276, 290, 296.

— In Marcum, v. 24, p. 358; MS. of, p. cxii; dedicated to Aeca, p. xlix note; date of, p. cxlvii; cited, p. xiii; II. 157, 236, 266, 267, 276.

— In Prouerbia, v. 24, p. 358; MS. of, p. cxli; date of, p. cll; St. Boniface and Hincmar ask for copies of, ib. note; wrongly ascribed to Jerome, ib.; cited, II. 20, 298, 299, 363.

— In Samuelem, v. 24, p. 357; dedicated to Aeca, p. xlix note; date of, pp. xv, xvi, cxlvii; Lullus asks Archbishop Ethelbert for a copy of, ib. note; character of, ib.

— Martyrology, v. 24, p. 359; date of, p. cll; interpolated, ib.; character of, ib.

— Retractatio in Acta, date of, pp. xlix, cli; cited, p. xix note.


— Vita S. Cudbercti, 'uersibus heroicis,' 'heroico metro,' iv. 28, p. 271 and note; v. 24, p. 359; MSS. of, pp. cxxxviii, cxlvii note; date of, p. cxli;

sent by Cuthbert of Wearmouth to St. Boniface, p. cxlvii note; given by Athelstan to the church of St. Cuthbert, ib.; cited, II. 165.

— Vita S. Cudbercti, 'simplici oratione,' 'plano sermone,' iv. 28, p. 271 and note; v. 24, p. 359: Pref. p. 7; based on an earlier Life, ib. and note; p. xlv note; other authorities cited in, ib.; MSS. of, pp. cxxxviii, cxlvii note; II. 272; dedicated to Eadfrid of Lindisfarne, p. cxlvii; date of, pp. xvi, xlvii, cxlviii (cf. II. 297); sent by Cuthbert to St. Boniface, p. cxlvii note; given by Athelstan to the church of St. Cuthbert, ib.

— Vita S. Felician, v. 24, p. 359; p. clv; v. Felix.

— Spurious and doubtful works ascribed to Bede, pp. clv–clxx; II. 275.

Baeda, a priest of Lindisfarne, p. lxxvii, note.

Baeda, a chief of the Lindisfarne, p. lxxviii note; II. 355.

Baeda, a monk, p. lxxviii note.

Baedan mac Carill, king of Ulster, II. 65; father of Maeluma, II. 66.

Baethin, abbot of Bangor in Ireland, II. 113.

Baethin Mór, bishop of Tiboheine, II. 112.

Bælæg, son of Woden, ancestor of the kings of the Bernicii, II. 119.

Baithanus, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.

Balaam, example of, cited, Ec. § 17, p. 422.

Balder, Fosite, son of, II. 290.

Baldhelm, priest of Lindisfarne, recites the praises of St. Cuthbert, II. 344.

Baldhild, queen of the Neustrian Franks, orders the execution of Dalfinus (really Annemundus), bishop of Lyons, v. 19, p. 325 and note; wife of Clovis II,
II. 173, 322; of English race, II. 148; a benefactress of Farémontier-en-Brie, ib.; restores Chelles, II. 149; makes Leodegar bishop of Autun, II. 322; Sigebrand put to death as an adherent of, ib.; retires to Chelles, ib.; confused with Brunhild, ib.; sainte, ib.

Baldwin VII, Count of Flanders, p. cxix.

Baldwulf, last bishop of Whiten, II. 343.


Balliol, Edward, does homage to Edward III, p. cvii.

Ballhusin, Sigfridus de, record of his friendship, p. xxxiii note.


Bancor, Bangor-is-coed, Flint, monastery of, ii. 2, p. 84 and note; its site, ib. and note; monks from, massacred by Ethelfrid at the battle of Chester, ib.; confused by W. M. with Bangor, the bishop’s see, II. 77, 78.

Bancornaburg, English name of Bangor, ii. 2, p. 82 and note; Dinoot abbot of, ib. and note.

Bangor, Co. Down, Ireland, Baeithin abbot of, II. 113; Cronan abbot of, ib.

Barfild, Kent, witenagemôt of, II. 284; Tobias present at, ib.

Baptism, special times for, II. 34, 44. 95. 96. 280; defect of British Church in regard to, II. 75, 76; confirmation a completion of, II. 76. 382; validity of, II. 276, 277.

‘BARBARUS,’ = English, II. 308 (cf. II. 321); opposed to Anglus, ib.


Bar-Iona, meaning of the name, II. 127.

Barking, v. In Berecingum.

Barlow, Thomas, bishop of Lincoln, former owner of MS. O 10, p. cxvi.

Barnabas, apostolus, seeks Saul at Tarsus, Hun. § 6; teaches at Antioch, ib.; example of, cited, Ec. § 4; quarrel of, with St. Paul, cited, II. 321.

Barrow, near Goxhill, Lines., probably identical with Ad Baruae, II. 208

Bartholomew, anchorite of Farne, asceticism of, p. xxvi note; Life of, p. cxxxvii; II. 273.

Barton on Humber, identified by Smith with Ad Baruae, II. 208.


Basilsa, virgin, II. 242.

Basilius, Sanctus, cited, i. 1, p. 10 and note; II. 275; his Hexameron, translated by Eustatius Afer, II. 6, 7.

Basle, Hetto bishop of, II. 294; MS. belonging to University of, II. 295, 299.

Basques, compared to Picts, II. 8.

Bass, a thane of Edwin, conducts Paulinus, Ethelberg, and her children to Kent after Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 125 and note.

Bass, mass-priest, Egbert grants Reculver to, II. 283.

Bassianus, ‘cognomine Antonius’ (Caracalla), son of Severus, succeeds his father, i. 5.

Bath, abstinence from, mark of asceticism, II. 237; use of, a memorial of baptism, II. 238.


Beanus, an Irish prelate, seen by Fursa in his vision, II. 171; translated to Peronne, ib.

Beardaneu, Bardney, Lines., a noble monastery in Lindsey, ii. 11, p. 148 and notes; Ethelred and Osthryth of Mercia great benefactors of, ib. and notes; bones of Oswald translated by Osthryth to, ib. and notes; Osthryth sojourns there, ib. p. 149; Abbess Ethelhild visits, ib.; Ethelred becomes a monk and abbot of, II. 154, 221, 327; buried there, II. 154; said to have founded, II. 155; Partney, a cell of, II. 109; a double monastery, II. 150;
Hygbald probably abbot of, II. 209.

Beauchamp, Frederick, Earl, cited, p. lxvi.


Bebba, Northumbrian queen. Bamborough called from, iii. 6, p. 138 and note (cf. II. 157); iii. 16 and note.

[Bebbanburg], Bamborough, Northumberland, regia ciuitas, Oswald's hands buried at, iii. 6, p. 138 and notes; iii. 12, p. 152 and note; Penda besieges, iii. 16 and notes; miraculously saved by Aidan, ib. and notes (cf. II. 181); royal vell and church of Aidan near, burnt by Penda, iii. 17, pp. 160, 161 and notes; forms of the name, II. 141; church of, dedicated to St. Aidan, II. 166; fortifications of, ib.; Osred besieged in, II. 306.

Becker, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, verses on, p. cxv; murder of, p. cxxiii.

Bega, Irish saint, whence St. Bee's, II. 248; I. 431.

Begu, a nun of Hackness, sees a vision of Hild's death, iv. 23, pp. 257, 258 and note.

Beli, father of Theudor king of the Strathclyde Britons, II. 346.

Bells, use of, II. 248.

Bemetolus, v. Methodius.

Benedictus I, pope, Gregory I apocrisiarius to, II. 69 (cf. II. 73); allows Gregory to start for Britain, but recalls him, II. 390.

Benedictus XIV, consecrates the Colosseum to prevent depredations, II. 240.

Benedictus, abbas, saying of Gregory I about, Hab. § 1 and note; appoints twelve abbots under himself, Hab. § 7, p. 371 and note; rule of, cited, Hab. § 11, p. 375 and note; § 16 and note; Haa. §§ 16, 25; Anglo-Saxon translation of, II. 366.

Benedictus Crispus, archbishop of Milan, writes the epitaph on Caedwalla, II. 281.


Beneventum, Eclanum near, II. 21; Grimwald duke of, II. 279.

Benamin, i. 34.

Bensington, Oxon., battle of, II. 245.

'bene uenire,' = to be welcome, II. 219.

Beornred, king of the Mercians, accession of, C. 757; expelled by Offa, ib.; II. 342; said to have murdered Ethelbald, ib.

Beornred, archbishop of Sens, and abbot of Epternach, Alcuin's Life of Wilfrid written at request of, II. 267.

Beornstan, bishop of Winchester, beautiful legend of, II. 138, 139.

Beowulf, the, II. 249, 290.

Bercy, a dux of Egfrid of Northumbria, iv. 26, p. 266; sent by him with an expedition against Ireland, ib. and notes; II. 301.

Bercy, of the royal race of the Franks, wife of Ethelbert of Kent, i. 25, p. 45 and notes; buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, ii. 5, p. 90 (cf. II. 42); daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, II. 42; called also Ethelberg, ib.; letter of Gregory I to, II. 63; kindness of, to Augustine, ib.; dies before Ethelbert, II. 88.

Bercfri, 'praefectus,' fights with the Picts, v. 24, p. 356; supports Osred against Eadwulf, II. 306.

Bercfgils, 'cognomine Bonifacius,' of Kent, bishop of the East Angles, succeeds Thomas, iii. 20 and note (cf. II. 199); consecrated by Honorius, ib. (cf. II. 106); dies, and is succeeded by Bisi, iv. 5, p. 217 and note; his orthodoxy, II. 206.

Bercfun, a royal dux of the South Saxons, expels Caedwalla from Sussex, iv. 15 and note; rules the South Saxons, ib.; slain by Caedwalla, ib.
Berethun, deacon of Bishop John of Hexham, afterwards abbot of Inderawuda (Beverley), v. 2, p. 283 and note; furnishes Bede with information about Bishop John, ib.; v. 3, p. 285 (cf. v. 5, p. 289); p. xlv note; co-founder of Beverley, II. 274.

Berctred, a 'dux regius' of the Northumbrians, slain by the Picts, v. 24, p. 355.

Berctwald, archbishop of Canterbury, abbot of Reculver, v. 8, p. 295 and notes; succeeds Theodore, ib. and note; consecrated by Godwin metropolitan of Gaul, ib. and note; consecrates Tobias to Rochester, ib. and note; Wilfrid consecrates Suidbert during absence of, v. 11, p. 302 and note; II. 319; receives Wilfrid after his second appeal, v. 19, p. 329 and note; consecrates Aelfwald as bishop of Rochester, v. 23, p. 349 and note; dies and is succeeded by Tatwin, ib. pp. 349, 350 and note; v. 24, p. 356; buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, ii. 3, p. 86; letter of, to Waldhere, II. 220; letter of Waldhere to, II. 283; letter of, to Forthere, ib.; doubtful letters of Sergius I to, ib.; a friend of Aldhelm, ib.; grant of Hlothhere to, ib.; present at Northumbrian council which condemns Wilfrid, II. 319; v. Bertwald.

Berecingum, v. In Ber.

Beringar, king of Italy, makes grants to St. Martin's at Tours, II. 137.


Berques, French Flanders, monastery of St. Winnoc at, II. 158, 161.


BernacuS, St., expels evil spirits, II. 267.

Bernard, St., Life of St. Malachias by, p. cxxi; account of his mother's death, II. 251; letter of Peter the Venerable to, II. 353.

Bern, MSS. of Bede's H. E. at, pp. lxxxvi note, xcix note.

Bernicia, battle of the Winwaed located in, by Fl. Wig., II. 183.

Berniciii, origin of the name, II. 105; pedigree of kings of, II. 119. Berniciorum gentis, Oswald's cross at Hafenfelth, the first erected in, iii. 2, p. 130 and note (cf. II. 105, 140); Lindisfarne the mother church of, II. 125. Berniciorum provinciea, boundaries of, II. 120; evangelised by Paulinus, ii. 14, p. 115 and note; one of the divisions of the Northumbrians, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; iii. 14, p. 155 (cf. II. 105); Whitenhorth belongs to, iii. 4, p. 133; united to Deira by Oswald, iii. 6, p. 138 and note; Oswy rules over, iii. 14, p. 155; dissensions with Deira, ib. and note; relation of, to Deira, II. 119, 141, 199; Oswy grants six estates in, for the foundation of monasteries, iii. 24, p. 178 and note; Eata made bishop of, iv. 12, p. 229; vision of an impotent monk in, v. 14, p. 315 and notes. Berniciorum regnum, Eanfrid succeeds Edwin in, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; Ethelric king of, II. 93.

Bernuini, nephew and clerk of Wilfrid, from whom he receives a fourth part of Wight, iv. 16, p. 237; evangelises the island with help of Hiddila, ib.

Bersted, near Maidstone, Kent, witenagemot of, II. 284; Gebmum present at, ib.


Bertin, St., monastery of, at St. Omer, p. xvii note (cf. I. 430); MS. of Bede's H. E. belonging to, p. lxxxvi note.

Bertwald, abbot of Glastonbury, II. 283; not to be identified with Bertwald, archbishop of Canterbury, ib.

Betendune, II. 275; v. Uetadun.


Betrichsworthe, earlier name of Bury St. Edmund's, q. v., II. 148, 168.
Betti, presbyter, accompanies Peada to evangelise the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 170 and note.


Bewcastle, Cumberland, memorial cross to Alchfrid at, ii. 176, 198.

Bible, translations of, Vulgate and Italà, ii. 365; compared by Bede, pp. xix, liv, lv; ii. 313, 333, 334, 392-394; used by Aldhelm, ii. 313; Septuagint cited by Aldhelm, ib.; Septuagint and Aquila, cited by Bede, p. lv note.

'Bibliotheca,' = binding or case of a book, ii. 329; name given to the Bible, ii. 365.

Bibulus, Lucius, consul with Julius Caesar, i. 2, p. 13 and note.

Birinus, bishop of the West Saxons, ii. 144, 145; sent to Britain by Pope Honorius, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes; consecrated bishop by Asterius, ib. and note; converts the West Saxons and their king Cynegils, ib. and note; Dorchester granted to, as his see, ib. and notes; dies and is buried there, ib. p. 140 and notes; translated to Winchester, ib. and notes (cf. p. ex); first bishop of the West Saxons, iv. 12, p. 227; baptizes Cuthred, ii. 142, 281; called a Roman bishop, ii. 146.

Birra, Parsonstown, Co. Louth, Ireland, Synod of, c. 696, ii. 285.

Biscope, 'cognomine, cognomento Benedictus,' called Baduicing, ii. 321, 355; on his name Bi-cop, ib.; Benedict not his original name, ib.; date of birth of, ii. 357; of noble birth, v. 19, p. 323; Hab. § 1 and note; p. xxxv note (cf. ii. 90); his visits to Gaul, Italy, and the Islands, Haa. § 5 and note; a thane of Oswy, Hab. § 1 and note; resigns his secular position, ib. and note; goes to Kent, v. 19, p. 323 and notes; ordered by Eareconbert to conduct Wilfrid to Rome, ib.; leaves Wilfrid at Lyons and goes on to Rome, ib. p. 324 and note; ii. 316, 356; his first and second visits to Rome, Hab. § 2 and notes; becomes a monk at Lérins, ib. and notes (cf. Haa. § 5); p. xviii; his third visit to Rome, Hab. § 3 and notes; had intended to remain abroad all his life, ii. 357; ordered by Pope Vitalian to accompany Theodore to Britain, p. xviii; Hab. § 3 and notes; arrives in Kent, ib. and note; p. xviii; receives the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, ib.; Hab. § 3 and notes; ii. 204 (cf. ii. 206); his fourth visit to Rome, Hab. § 4 and notes; returns to Britain, ib.; visits Cenwalh of Wessex, ib. and note (cf. ii. 143); returns to Northumbria, ib. and note; obtains Ceolfried from Wilfrid, Haa. §§ 5, 6 and notes; receives a grant of land at Wearmouth from Egfrid, ib. and notes; Haa. § 7; founds St. Peter’s monastery at Wearmouth, iv. 18, p. 241; Hab. §§ 1, 4 and notes; Haa. §§ 5, 7; procures masons and glass-makers from Gaul, Hab. § 5 and notes; Haa. § 7 and notes (cf. ii. 101); persuades Ceolfred to return to Wearmouth, Haa. § 8 and note; fifth visit to Rome with Ceolfred, iv. 18, p. 241 and note; Hab. § 6 and note, § 7 and notes, § 16; Haa. §§ 9, 10; ii. 361; brings back from Rome books, relics, pictures, a papal privilege, and John the arch-chancellor, Haa. § 6, pp. 368-370 and notes; § 15, p. 380; Haa. §§ 9, 10, 20; ii. 119, 233, 358, 359; iv. 18, p. 241 and notes; decrees of the Roman council copied in his monastery, ib. p. 242 and note; receives a grant of land at Jarrow, Hab. § 7, p. 370; Haa. § 11; founds the monastery of Jarrow, ib. ib. and notes (cf. Haa. § 15, p. 379 and note); builds the church at
Jarrow, Haa. § 12 and note; makes Ceolfrid abbot of Jarrow, and Eosterwine of Wearmouth, Hab. § 7 and note; Haa. §§ 10, 11, 12 and notes; p. xii; 11, 82; Eosterwine cousin of, Hab. § 8, p. 371 and note; Haa. § 10 and note; visits Rome the sixth time, and brings back treasures, Hab. § 9 and notes; Haa. §§ 12, 13, 15 and notes; buys land of Aldfrid to the south of the Wear, Hab. § 9 and note; on his return finds Eosterwine dead, and Sigfrid elected in his place, Hab. § 10 and note; Haa. § 15; he falls ill, Hab. § 11, p. 374 and notes; Haa. § 15; his exhortations to the brethren, Hab. § 11, pp. 374-376 and notes (cf. II. 262); rules of his monastery compiled from seventeen different monastic rules, ib. pp. 374, 375 and note (cf. § 4 and note); his devotions during his last illness, Hab. § 12 and note; his last interview with Sigfrid, pp. xiv, xxxiii; Haa. § 13; causes Ceolfrid to be elected abbot of both monasteries, ib.; Haa. § 16; p. xiv; his death, Hab. § 14, pp. 377, 378 and note; Haa. § 17 and note; pp. xiv, lxviii; buried in the church of St. Peter, Hab. § 14, pp. 378, 379 and note; Haa. § 18; his co-abbots, Hab. § 14, p. 379 and note; Haa. § 18 and note; governed Wearmouth for sixteen years, Hab. §§ 1, 14 and note; Haa. § 17 and note; succeeded by Ceolfrid, v. 21, p. 332; Bede educated under, p. x; II. 205; v. 24, p. 357; Bede's Life of, ib. p. 359; v. Baeda, Hist. Abb.; Bede's homily on, v. Baeda; his library, pp. xviii, xix; Hab. § 15, p. 379; Haa. § 20; buys a MS. of the Cosmographers at Rome, Hab. § 15, p. 380; arranges to exchange it for land with Aldfrid, ib.; chronology of life of, II. 364, 374; relics of Eosterwine and Sigfrid placed near, Hab. § 20 and notes; his body said to have been translated to Thorney, II. 365; part of his churches still remaining, p. lxxxix note; importance of, in the history of learning, p. xviii; fame of his monastery, II. 335.

Bishops, bishops of tribes not of cities, II. 176; function of, in councils, II. 325; evii lives of, p. xxxiv; II. 380; neglect of, p. xxxiv; II. 381, 382; share of, in grants of land, II. 386; v. Confirmation, Consecration.

Bisi, bishop of the East Angles, attends the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 215; consecrated by Theodore as successor to Boniface or Berctgils, ib. p. 217 and note (cf. II. 206); two bishops consecrated in his stead during his life, ib. and note (cf. II. 108).


Blackwater, the, v. Penta.

Blaecca, prefect of Lincoln, first of the province of Lindsey to be converted, ii. 16, p. 117 and note.

Blaedla, king of the Huns, i. 13; murdered by the treachery of his brother Attila, ib. and note.

Bleiddian, Welsh name of St. Lupus, II. 33.

Bliththyrd (Plectrudis), wife of Pippin, who, at her request, grants In Litore (Kaiserswerth) to Swidbert, v. 11, p. 302 and note.

Blood-letting, precepts on, II. 275.

Blythburgh, Suffolk, Anna of East Anglia buried at, II. 169.

Bobbio, Columban founder of, II. 83; dies at, ib.; Jonas of, v. Jonas.

Bodley MSS., pp. evii, exii, cviii.

Bodley e Musaeo, MS., p. cxxvii.

Boisil, 'sacerdos,' prior of Melrose, v. 9, p. 297; iv. 27, p. 269 and note; Cuthbert a pupil of, ib. and note; Cuthbert succeeds,
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum.

ib.; his missionary journeys, ib.; prophesies that Cuthbert will be a bishop, iv. 28, p. 272 and note; appears twice in a vision to a former disciple, v. 9, pp. 296–298 and notes; practises what he teaches, p. xxxvi; his death, pp. lxviii, lxxv; II. 195, 266; was he a bishop?, II. 55, 268; St. Boswell’s called from, II. 266; Tweedmouth church dedicated to, ib.

Boldon, Utred de, prior of Finchale, former owner of MS. Bu₂, p. cviii.

Bonifacius IV, pope, consulted by Mellitus about the English Church, ii. 4, p. 83 and note; holds a synod of Italian bishops, ib. and note; writes to Laurentius and Ethelbert, ib. and note; obtains a grant of the Pantheon from Phocas, ib. and note; converts it into a church, ib. and note; spurious bull of, to Ethelbert, II. 63; spurious letter of, to Ethelbert, II. 84.

Bonifatius V, pontiff of the Roman see, succeeds Deusdedit, ii. 7, p. 94 and note (cf. II. 97); writes to Mellitus and Justus, ib. and notes; gives Justus authority to consecrate bishops, ii. 8, p. 95; sends him a letter and pallium, ib. pp. 95–97 and notes (cf. II. 52); letter of, to Edwin, ii. 10, pp. 100–104 and notes (cf. II. 58); to Ethelbert, Edwin’s wife, ii. 11, pp. 104–106 and notes; his care for the conversion of Northumbria, ii. 12, p. 106; succeeded by Honorius, ii. 17, p. 118 and note; spurious letter of, to Justus, II. 91; died Oct. 625, II. 97.

Bonifatius, iii. 20; iv. 5, p. 217; v. Berctgils.

Bonifatius, ‘archidiaconus et consiliarius papae,’ Wilfrid makes friends with, on his first visit to Rome, v. 19, p. 324 and note; identifies Wilfrid at his second appeal, ib. p. 328; presents Wilfrid to Eugenius I, II. 322.

Bonifacius, ‘qui et Uinfridus,’ II. 174; bishop of the Franks, martyred, C. 754 and note; succeeded by Redger, ib. and note; succeeded by Lullus, p. xx (cf. II. 347); letters of Daniel to, II. 30, 57, 308; sends to Nothelm for a copy of Gregory’s Responsa, II. 45, 47; sends documents to Egbert of York, II. 45; addresses questions to Gregory II. and Gregory III, II. 45, 48; letter of, cited, II. 48; letters of, to Daniel, II. 58, 308; forbidden by Pope Zacharias to name his successor, II. 82; Cuthbert of Wearmouth sends MSS. to, p. exlvii note; asks Egbert of York for Bede’s In Proueria, p. elii note; letter of Eangyth to, II. 150; of Sigebald to, II. 217; letter of, to abbess of St. Mildred’s (Eadbreg), II. 219; Hildilid a friend of, ib.; letters of Pope Zacharias to, II. 82, 266, 277; letter of, to Pope Zacharias, ib.; letter of, to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, II. 282, 386; to an English abbess (Bugga), II. 282, 339; hears of the death of Radbod on return from Rome, II. 289; letter of Bugga to, ib.; assists Wilfrid, but refuses to be consecrated by him, ib.; letter of, to Stephen III about Wilfrid, II. 292, 293; letter of, on the vision of a monk of Wenlock, II. 294; letter of, to Ethelbald, II. 306, 339, 342, 379, 385, 386; commendatory letter for, by Daniel of Winchester, II. 308; letter of Ethelbert II of Kent to, II. 338; letters of, to Egbert of York, and Herefrid, II. 342, 346, 379; Life of, by Willibald, II. 346; letters of, to Hwættbert, pp. xiv, xxiv; II. 368; to Eadbreg, p. xx note.

Bononia ciuitas, Boulogne, body
of Abbot Peter translated to, i. 33 and note; Roman pharus near, II. 23; v. Gessoria-cum.

Boructuari, one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 266 and note; expelled by the Old Saxons, v. ii, p. 302; Swidbert goes as missionary bishop to, ib. and notes; identified with the Bruceri, II. 286.

Bosa, bishop of York, a monk, made bishop of the Deiri on Wilfrid's first expulsion, v. 24, p. 355; iv. 12, p. 229 and note (cf. ii. 324); his see at York, ib.; consecrated at York by Theodore, ib.; iv. 23, p. 253; educated under Hild at Whitby, ib.; dies, and is succeeded by John of Hexham, v. 3, p. 285 and note; II. 274, 327; Aec trained under, v. 20, p. 331 and note; expelled from York, II. 326, 330; restored, II. 327.

Bosanham, Bosham, Sussex, small monastery of Irish monks at, iv. 13, p. 231 and notes.

Bosel, made bishop of the Hwiccas in place of Tatfrid, iv. 23, p. 255 and note (cf. II. 266); resigns through ill-health, ib.; succeeded by Offtor, ib.

Bothelm, a monk of Hexham, miraculously cured by moss from the cross of Oswald at Hefenfelth, iii. 2, pp. 130, 131 and notes.

Botuulf, abbot and founder of Icanhoe, II. 358; Ceolfrid trained under, Haa. § 4 and note (cf. p. xxv); Life of, cited, II. 358; by Folcard, II. 372; his relics translated by Ethelwold, ib.

Bouitium, Cowbridge, Glamorgan-shire, a ruined Roman town, II. 77.


Bourges, MS. at, II. 295.

Bowness, on Solway, Roman wall ends at, II. 15.

Bradford-on-Avon, chapel of St. Lawrence at, II. 309.

Brandr, Mr., former owner of MS. O. i, p. cxvi.


Brendan, father of Aed, prince of Tethba, II. 133.

Brendan, St., legend of mother of, II. 247.

Brettones, ii. 2, p. 84; come from Armorica, and occupy the South of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note; separated from Picts by Firth of Clyde, ib. p. 13; Alcuin, a city of, ib.; Pelagius a Breto, i. 10 and note; part of Britain inhabited by them stripped of its military resources, i. 12, p. 25; send embassies to Rome to ask aid against the Picts and Scots, ib. pp. 26, 27 and notes; Romans refuse further help to, ib. p. 27; help them to fortify Britain, ib. and note; implore help unsuccessfully of Aetius, i. 13 and notes; ii. 27; attacked by famine, i. 14, p. 29; resist their enemies, ib.; harassed by the Picts, ib.; invite the Angli, v. 24, p. 352; cowardice of, i. 15, p. 31 and note; Horsa slain in battle by, ib.; misery of, ib. p. 32; make head against the Saxons under Ambrosius Aurelianus, i. 16 and note; defeat them at Mons Badonicus, ib. and note; Picts and Saxons allied against, i. 15, p. 32 and note; i. 20, p. 38 and note; defeated by, under Germanus and Lupus, ib. p. 39; neglect to convert the Saxons, i. 22, p. 42 and note; ii. 75; harassed by Ethelfrid of Northumbria, i. 34 and note; conferences of Augustine with bishops of, ii. 2, pp. 81–83 and notes; bishops of, unable to cure blind man, ib. p. 82; ecclesiastical errors of, ib. p. 83 and notes; ii. 4, p. 87
with Penda against Osywy, II. 181, 182; extension of Wilfrid's authority over, II. 208; accused by W. M. of destroying Aldhelm's letter to Gerontius, II. 312. Brettonum dux, Cædwalla, iii. 1, p. 125 and note; meaning of title, II. 122. Brettonum gens, Edwin rules over, ii. 20, p. 124; two bishops of, assist at the consecration of Cædada, iii. 28, p. 195 and note; call the Angles and Saxons Garmani, v. 9, p. 296 and note; Wilfrid answers for faith of islands inhabited by, v. 19, p. 327 (cf. II. 230). Brettonum lingua, one of the five languages of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note; one of four languages, iii. 6, p. 139 and note. Brettonum natio, Nynias belongs to, iii. 4, p. 133; miraculous experience of a member of, iii. 10 and notes; subject to Oswald, iii. 6, p. 138 (cf. II. 86). Brettonum provincia, ii. 2, p. 81 and note; ii. 9, p. 99. Brettonum rex, Cædwalla, ii. 20, p. 124 and notes; iii. 1, p. 127 and notes; iii. 9, p. 145; Cerdic, iv. 23, p. 255 and note; Cadwaladrus, p. cxxi; v. Strathclyde.

Brettonicus rex, Cædwalla, iii. 1, p. 128.

Bretwaldadom, nature of, II. 85, 110, 186.

Bridius, son of Meilchon, king of the Picts in the time of Columba, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes; grants Iona to Columba, II. 131, 132.

Bridlington, Yorks., MS. O 20 possibly belonged to monastery of St. Mary at, p. cxxi.

Brigantes, name of Bernicii derived from, II. 105.

Brigensis abbatissa, Saethryd, iii. 8, p. 142; Aedilbergh, ib. and note; v. In Brige.

Bright, St., vision of, II. 287.

Brithhelm, II. 294; v. Drythelm.

Britannus, v. 7, p. 293.

British Church, peculiarities and defects of, II. 75, 76; neglects
to convert the Saxons, II. 76, 101; v. Celtic Churches.

Brittania, overcame Caesar's cavalry, i. 2, p. 14; dispersed by Caesar, ib.; Caesar returns from, to Gaul, ib.; converted under Lucius, i. 4 and note; keep the faith till the time of Diocletian, ib.; originate Pelagianism, i. 10 and notes; assisted by the Romans to fortify Britain, i. 12, p. 27 and notes; letter of, to Aetius, i. 13 and notes; grant settlement to the Saxons, i. 15, p. 31 and notes; apply to the bishops of Gaul for help against the Pelagians, i. 17, pp. 33, 34 and note; merchants of, come to Gaul, II. 72; relations of, to Chester, II. 77. Brittanorum insula, Arculfus driven on to, II. 304.

Britannia, i. 14, p. 30; position and measurements of, i. 1, p. 9 and notes; products of, ib. p. 10 and notes; hot springs in, ib. and note; former cities of, ib. and note; length of days in, ib. pp. 10, 11 and note; five languages in, ib. p. 11 and notes; South of, occupied by the Britons, ib. pp. 11, 12 and note; the largest island, ib. p. 11; North of, occupied by the Picts, ib. p. 12 and note; settlement of Scotti in, ib. and notes; inferior to Ireland in salubrity, ib. and note; unknown to the Romans till the time of Julius Caesar, i. 2, p. 13 and note; twice invaded by him, ib. pp. 13, 14; shortest passage to, from the Morini, ib. p. 13; reduced by Claudius, i. 3 and notes; Vespasian sent to, ib. and notes; distance of Wight from, ib.; nearly lost by Nero, ib.; Lucius king of, v. 24, p. 352; fortified by Severus, ib.; recovered by Asclepiodotus from Allectus, i. 6; glory of, in the persecution of Diocletian, ib.; gave birth to Alban, i. 7, p. 18 and note; churches of, at peace, i. 8; invaded by the Arian heresy, ib. and note; Constantius dies in, ib. and note; Constantine emperor in, ib. and note; Maximus tyrant in, i. 9 and note; v. 24, p. 352; Roman occupation of, i. 26, p. 47; II. 4. 17; Roman remains in, i. 11 and notes; cessation of Roman rule in, ib.; v. 24, p. 352; stripped of its military resources, i. 12, p. 25 (cf. II. 23); attacked by Picts and Scots, ib.; arrival of Angles and Saxons in, i. 15, p. 30 and note; v. 24, p. 352; civil wars and demoralisation of, i. 22 and notes; inhabitants of, neglect to evangelise the Angles and Saxons, ib. and note; Augustine sent to, i. 23, p. 42 and notes; i. 24; v. 24, p. 353; arrives in, ib.; i. 25, p. 44 and note; returns after consecration, i. 27, p. 48; bishops in, how to be appointed, i. 29, p. 63; all bishops of, to be subject to Augustine, ib. p. 64 and note; pallium sent by Gregory to, v. 24, p. 353; English slaves from, sold in Rome, ii. 1, pp. 79, 80 and notes; Gregory wishes to send missionaries to, ib. p. 80; ancient inhabitants of, cared for by Laurentius, ii. 4, p. 87; Ireland next to, ib.; Britons in, ib.; Roman missionaries enter, ib.; Mellitus returns to, ib. p. 88; all inhabitants of, English and British, subject to Edwin, ii. 5, p. 89; the Meuanaiae insulae between Ireland and, ib.; northern parts of, occupied by Picts and Scots, ib. pp. 89, 90; Hengist the first to enter, ib. p. 90; all districts of, occupied by English and Britons, subject to Edwin, ii. 9, p. 99; Edwin wanders through all the provinces of, ii. 12, p. 108; date of the arrival of Angli in, ii. 14, p. 114; v. 23, p. 351; v. 24, pp. 352, 353; v. Saxones; Caedwalla threatens to exterminate the English from, ii. 20, p. 125 and note; wall built across, by the Romans, iii. 2,
Britannia (continued).

p. 129 (cf. II. 122); iii. 22, p. 172; missionaries from the region of the Scotti come to, iii. 3, p. 132 and note; Iona belongs to, ib.; parts of, inhabited by Picts, ib.; Columba comes to, v. 24, p. 353; iii. 4, pp. 133, 134 and notes; monasteries founded by his disciples in, ib. p. 134 and note; all nations and provinces of, subject to Oswald, iii. 6, p. 138; four languages of, ib. and note; Birinus comes to, iii. 7, p. 139; Agilbert departs from, ib. p. 141 and notes; many go from, to the Frankish monasteries of Gaul, iii. 8, p. 142 and note; II. 373; fame of Oswald throughout, iii. 13, p. 152 and notes; ravages of plague in, ib.; Haa. § 13; begins in the South of, iii. 27, p. 192 and note; Egbert vows not to return to, ib. p. 193 and note; Wine the only bishop in, canonically consecrated, iii. 28, p. 195 and note; Wilfrid returns to, ib.; churches of the English in, iii. 29, p. 196; Wighard sent from, Hab. § 3 and note; letter of Vitalian sent to, ib. and notes; Vitalian asks Hadrian to go to, as archbishop, iv. 1, p. 202; Hadrian promises to conduct Theodore to, ib.; Theodore sent to, ib. p. 203; sails from Quentawic to, ib. and note; Ebiron suspects Hadrian of having a mission from the emperor to the kings of, ib. and note; Theodore's times the happiest since the Angli came to, iv. 2, p. 205; Wilfrid sent from, ib.; Hygbald goes from, to Ireland, iv. 3, p. 211 and note; arrival of Theodore in, iv. 5, p. 214 and note; Wilfrid returns to (after first appeal), iv. 13, p. 230; provinces of, ravaged by the plague, iv. 14, p. 233; tides of, meet in the Solent, iv. 16, p. 238; Theodore archbishop of, iv. 17, p. 239; bishops of, in Council of Hatfield, ib.; Benedict Biscop builds monastery in, iv. 18, p. 241 and note; he returns to, bringing the archchanter John, ib. and note; Haa. § 10; papal commission to John to, iv. 18, p. 242; John stays at Tours on his way to, ib.; synod (of Hatfield) held in, ib.; John ordered to inquire into the state of the Church in, ib.; Offfor returns to, iv. 23, p. 255; Hild's example enlightens all the borders of, ib. p. 256; Cædwalla quits, v. 24, p. 355; Angles and Saxons inhabit, v. 9, p. 296; Egbert proposes to sail round, to Germany, ib.; a disciple of Boisil in, has a vision, ib. pp. 296-298 and notes; Swidbert sent to, to be consecrated, v. 11, p. 303 and notes; returns from, ib.; famous miracle in, v. 12, p. 303 and notes; some of the Britons in, adopt the orthodox Easter, v. 15, p. 315 and note; Arculfus driven on to the western shores of, ib. p. 316 and note; Genred of Mercia and Offa of Essex leave, v. 19, p. 322 and notes; Wilfrid returns to, from Lyons, ib. p. 325; answers for the faith of, in the Council of Rome, ib. p. 327 and note (cf. II. 230); returns to, ib. and note; sets out for, after second appeal, ib. p. 328 and note; arrives in, ib. p. 329 and note; numerous ecclesiastical calculators in the churches throughout, v. 21, p. 341 and note; state of, in 731, v. 23, p. 351 and note; rejoices in the faith of Christ, ib.; Benedict Biscop starts from and returns to, on his fourth visit to Rome, Hab. § 4 and note; do. do., sixth visit, Hab. § 9 and notes; brings monastic rules back to, Haa. § 6; brings architects to, Haa. § 7 and note; Ceolfrid cannot obtain complete instruction in, Haa. § 10; an ‘alter orbis,’ II. 5; Irish obtain gold from,
II. 7; reasons for Roman invasion of, II. 8, 11; frequently attacked from the Orkneys, II. 13, 14; Roman fortifications in, II. 15-17; Roman administration of, II. 4, 17; persecution of Diocletian does not extend to, II. 18; influence of Arianism in, exaggerated, II. 20; other heresies in, ib.; impolicy of local emperors in, II. 22, 23; Germanus invites the Germans to invade, II. 23; called the island of the Deiri, II. 23; Roman lighthouses in, ib.; continental Saxons said to have come from, II. 29; popularity of St. Martin in, II. 43; churches of, placed under Augustine by Gregory, II. 52; divided into Upper and Lower, by Severus, ib.; Oswald emperor of, II. 86; Canterbury metropolis of, II. 92; Lindisfarne the most sacred place in, II. 126; Whitern the first stone church in, II. 130; Irish missions to North of, II. 131; the only name given by Bede to the whole island, II. 149; later comes to mean Wales, ib. (cf. II. 172); Adamnan includes Iona in, II. 186; Cunibert, king of the Lombards, thinks of flying to, II. 279. Brittaniae dorsum, ? i.e. the Mouith, II. 331. Brittaniae lingua, ii. i. p. 78. Scotti qui inhabitant Brittaniam, v. Scotti. Brittaniae, Julius Caesar and Claudius the first and second of the Romans to invade, v. 24, p. 352; Lucius king of, i. 4 and note; seized by Carausius, i. 6 and note; Gratianus tyrant in, i. 11; Pelagianism introduced into, i. 17, p. 33; Germanus and Lupus sent to, ib. pp. 34, 35 and notes; Germanus and Severus visit, i. 21, p. 40; Wight the last of the provinces of, to be converted, iv. 16, p. 238; Bede's ecclesiastical history of, v. 24, p. 356; v. Baeda; Vitalian deliberates whom to send as archbishop to, Hab. § 3; manufacture of glass unknown in, before Benedict Bishop, Hab. § 5 and note; Bishop brings John the archchanter to, Hab. § 5. p. 369 and note; papal privilege for Cuthfrid brought to, Hab. § 15, p. 380. Brittaniarum archiepiscopus, Augustinus, ii. 3, p. 85. Brittaniarum episcopi, relations of Augustine to, defined, i. 27, pp. 52, 53 and notes. Brittanicus, Claudius gives his son the title of, i. 3. BRITANY, p. cviii. Briudun, Bredon, Worcestershire, Tatwin a priest of the monastery of, v. 23, p. 350 and note; in Mercia, ib. Broemal, appointed to guard the monks of Bangor at the battle of Chester, ii. 2, p. 84; his flight, ib. and note. BROMNIS, unidentified, Osfrith prefect in, II. 325, 326. Browning, Robert, cited, pp. xxxviii, lxv note; II. 250. BRUCOSUS, ii. 305. BRUCERI, v. Boructuari. BRUDE mac BIL, king of the Picts, attacks the Orkneys, II. 14; defeats Egfrid at Nechtansmere, II. 261; his pedigree, ib. BRUDE mac DERLI, king of the Picts, II. 331; v. Bridius. BRUNANBURGH, battle of, compared with Dегsastan, II. 66; compared with the Winwæd, II. 183; other names of, ib. BRUNHILD, queen of the Franks, II. 39, 41; Baldhild confused with, II. 322. BRUNO, archbishop of Verona, II. 51. BRUSSELS, Irish MS. at, II. 285. BRUTUS, legend of, II. 8, 149. BUGGA, letter of, to St. Boniface, II. 289; letter of St. Boniface to, II. 282, 339 (cf. II. xxxvi); v. Eadburb. BUILDING, modes of, II. 101, 102, 154, 331. BURFORD, battle of, II. 346. BURGH CASTLE, v. Cnobheresburg.
Burghelm, presbyter, assists Wilfrid in the conversion of Sussex, iv. 13, p. 230.


Burgundii, Bishop Felix comes from, ii. 15, p. 116 and note (cf. II. 168); Langres a city of, Haa. § 32; Arigius patricius of, II. 37, 39; Theoderic king of, II. 39; Columbian apostle of, II. 83 (cf. II. 108); invaded by the Saracens as a divine judgement, II. 339; a dux of, carries off the relics of the twin martyrs, II. 370.

Burgundofara, v. Fara.

Burial on day of death, II. 36, 227, 240, 369.

Burney MSS., pp. cvii, cxx, cxxxvii.

Burton, North, or Cherry Burton, II. 276; granted to Beverley, ib.

Burton, South, or Bishop Burton, II. 276.

Bury St. Edmund’s, Henry VI stays at, II. 5; date of foundation of, II. 148; founded by Sigbert the Good, of East Anglia, II. 168; MS. formerly belonging to, II. 366.


C.

Cadoc, St., said to have studied in Ireland, II. 196.

Cadroe, St., Life of, cited, II. 127.

Cadvan, king of Gwynedd, Edwin takes refuge with, II. 93, 114.

Cadwbaladrus, king of North Wales, confused with Cadwalla of Wessex, p. cxvi; II. 279, 280; son of Cadwallon, II. 152, 279; probably engaged against Oswald at Maserfelth, ib.; dies of the plague, II. 195, 279: said to have fled to Armorica, and died at Rome, ib.

Cadwallon, v. Cadualla.

Caecilia, iv. 20, p. 248 and note; Wilbrord consecrated in the church of, at Rome, v. 11, p. 303 and note.

Caedmon, a monk of Whitby, iv. 24, pp. 258, 260; none among the English could equal his religious poems, ib. p. 259 (cf. II. 254); story of his miraculous gift of song, ib. pp. 259, 260 and notes (cf. p. xliii); his mode of composition, ib. pp. 260, 261 and notes (cf. II. 257); his character, ib. p. 261 and note; story of his death, ib. pp. 261, 262 and notes; p. lxviii; II. 165, 368; AS. version of his hymn, pp. cxiii, cxxiv; II. 251, 252; derivation of the name, II. 249; alleged translation to Glastonbury, II. 251; authorship of the poems ascribed to, II. 252–254; their relation to the Heliand, II. 253, 254.

Caeduala, king of the Britons, identical with Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd, II. 114; son of Cadvan, II. 93, 114, 279; Edwin brought up with, II. 114; rebels against Edwin, ii. 20, p. 124 and notes; defeats and slays him in the battle of Hatfield, ib. and notes; his barbarity, ib. p. 125 and note; threatens to exterminate the English race from Britain, ib. and note; slays Osric and Eanfrid, iii. 1, pp. 127, 128 and notes; ravages Northumbria, ib. p. 128; captures York, ib. and note; slain by Oswald at Denisesburn, ib. and notes; besieged by Edwin in Priestholme, and obliged to flee to Ireland, II. 115; said to have forced Penda to join him, ib.; driven by Edwin into Arvon, ib.; confused with Cadwalla of Wessex, II. 122, 279.

Caedualla, Caeduald, king of the West Saxons, of the royal race of the Gewissi, iv. 15 and note; while in exile slays Ethelwald, and oppresses Sussex, ib. and note (cf. II. 229); expelled by Berthun and Andhun, ib. and note; recovers and oppresses Sussex, ib.; conquers
Wight, exterminating the population, iv. 16, pp. 236, 237; places West Saxons in it, ib. p. 237; grants a fourth part of it to Wilfrid, ib. and note; wounded, ib.; allows two young princes to be baptized before execution, ib. pp. 237, 238 and note; gains the West Saxon throne, ib.; iv. 16, p. 236 and note; iv. 12, p. 228 and notes; resigns, ib.; v. 7, p. 292 and notes; goes to Rome, ib. ib. and notes; v. 24, p. 355 (cf. II. 345); dies at Rome, iv. 12, p. 228; v. 7, p. 292 and notes; v. 8, p. 294; succeeded by Ini, iv. 15; v. 7, p. 294 and note; baptized at Rome under Sergius, by the name of Peter, v. 7, pp. 292, 293 and notes; buried in St. Peter's at Rome, ib. p. 293; his epitaph, ib. and note; Theodore dies a year after, v. 8, p. 294; confused with Cadwalader of North Wales, p. cxvi; II. 279, 280; with Cadwalla or Cadwallon, II. 122, 279; his rise to power, II. 220, 221; said to have granted Selsey to Wilfrid, II. 226; receives assistance from Wilfrid, II. 229, 326; Wilfrid at court of, II. 319; recovers districts belonging to Wessex, II. 246; his encroachments on Kent, II. 265; extent of his power, II. 278; his gifts to St. Vulmar, II. 279; received by Cunibert, king of the Lombards, ib.


Caelian Hill, church of the 'Quattuor Coronati' on, II. 91.

Caelin, Ceaulin, king of the West Saxons, the second of the seven great English kings, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; defeats Ethelbert of Kent, II. 87.

Caelin, brother of Cedd, iii. 23, pp. 175, 176; domestic chaplain to Ethelwald of Deira, ib. p. 175 and note.

Caesar, C. Iulius, consul with Lucius Bibulus, i. 2, p. 13 and note; makes war on the Germans and Gauls, ib. ; comes to the Morini, ib. ; invades Britain twice, ib. pp. 13, 14 and notes (cf. II. 6); battles with the Britons, ib. p. 14; returns to Gaul, ib. and note; first to invade Britain, ib. p. 13 and note; i. 3, ii.; v. 24, p. 352; dedicates an offering of British pearls, II. 6; command in Gaul conferred upon, II. 12.

Caesarea Philippi, sources of Jordan near, II. 4.

Caiohs, Desiderius bishop of, II. 168.


Cairebe Riada, son of Conaire, eponymous of Dal Riada, II. 9.

Callarica ciuitas, Tadcaster, Yorks., Heiu retires to, iv. 23, p. 253; called by the English Caelica-caesir, ib. and note.

Calcledon, Council of, against Nestorius and Eutyches, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; II. 230; collection of canons approved by, II. 212.


Calixtus II, letter of Archbishop Ralph to, II. 12.

Calutinus, letter of Alcuin to, II. 70.

Camboise, Northumberland, perhaps identical with Ad Uillam Sambuce, II. 365.

Cambrai, Gerard bishop of, II. 48.

Cambridge, University of, MSS. given to, by George I, p. lxxxix; MSS. belonging to, pp. lxxxix, elii note; origin of, traced to Sigbert's East Anglian school, II. 168 (cf. I. 429).


Campodonum, ? Slack, near Huddersfield, royal vill at, ii. 14, p. 115 and note; Paulinus builds church at, ib. and note; burnt
by the pagans (Mercians), ib.; II. 102.
Campus Breg, v. Magh Bregh.
Campus Cyril, v. Cyril Campus.
Campus Roborum, v. Dearmach.
Candidus, presbyter, made governor of the patrimony of the Church by Gregory I, i. 24; commended by him to Etherius, ib. and note; letter of Gregory to, II. 37.
Candlemas, ceremonies of, transferred from Lupercalia, II. 60.
Canonical Hours, observance of, pp. xcv, xcvii.
Cant, Walter, of Edinburgh, formerly owned MSS. O5, O12, pp. cxxi, cxxv.
Canterbury, verses on the archbishops of, p. cxx; scribal school of, Italian in character, p. xxx note; Liudhard not archbishop of, II. 42; Kentish capital not transferred from, II. 44; documents preserved at, II. 2, 45; archbishops of, go to Rome for their pallium, II. 51; substituted for London as the metropolitan church of Southern Britain, II. 52; unknown to the Romans, ib.; question of primacy of, II. 52, 53, 57; documents forged in support of claims of, II. 84, 91, 92, 111, 205, 283; Gregory asserted to have fixed the primacy at, II. 92; claims to possess the skull of St. Fursa, II. 174; schools at, II. 168, 205; obligations of Bede to, II. 206; archbishops of, v. Cuthbert, Odo, Dunstan, Ethelhard, Lanfranc, Anselm, Ralph, Becket, Laud; alleged translation of Wilfrid's body to, II. 328; v. Cantia, Cantuarii, Doruernis, Iesus Christus.
Cantia, Kent, Horsa buried in the east of, i. 15, p. 31; Ethelbert king in, i. 25, p. 44 and note; Thanet to the east of, ib. p. 45 and note; separated from the East Saxons by the Thames, ii. 3, p. 85; Rochester in, ib.; Mellitus returns to, ii. 5, p. 91; Redwald converted in, ii. 15, p. 116; Paulinus returns to, with widow and children of Edwin after Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 125 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; golden coin from, iii. 8, p. 143 and note; Eanfled sent for, to marry Oswy, iii. 15, p. 157 and notes; Bishop Felix comes to East Anglia from, iii. 18 and notes; persons coming from, raise the Easter question in Northumbria, iii. 25, p. 181; Eanfled had learned the orthodox observance in, ib.; her chaplain Romanus comes from, ib. pp. 181, 182; Ceadda and Eadhed sent to, iii. 28, pp. 194, 195; chanting only known in, till Theodore's time, iv. 2, p. 205; Aeddi invited by Wilfrid from, ib. and note; Wilfrid ordains priests and deacons in, ib. p. 206 and note; ravaged by Ethelred of Mercia, iv. 12, p. 228 and note; v. 24, p. 355; Imma comes to, iv. 22, p. 251; Offtore comes to, iv. 23, pp. 254, 255; Augustine's life in, iv. 27, p. 270; Witred and Swaeberch joint kings in, v. 8, p. 295 and note; devoid of a bishop after Theodore's death, v. 11, p. 302 and note; Wilfrid goes to, v. 19, p. 323 and notes (cf. ii. 316, 320); Benedict Biscop arrives in, ib. and notes; Maban brough by Aca from, v. 20, p. 331 and note; Wighard educated in, Hab. § 3; Benedict Biscop and Theodore arrive in, ib. and note; Ceolfrid visits, Han. § 3 and note; theory of two kingdoms in, II. 79; notice of conversion of, p. cxxvi; alliance of, with Northumbria, II. 117; kings of Essex said to have reigned in, II. 177; Wilfrid lands in (705), II. 327. Cantiae archiepiscopi, to be buried at St. Peter's monastery, iv. 1. p. 204.
Cantiae ecclesiae (i.e. Christ Church), cf. II. 148; some of
Edwin's treasures still preserved in, in Bede's time, ii. 20, p. 126 and notes; commemorations in, II. 138. Cantiae reges, to be buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, i. 33 and note; Mul not to be reckoned among, II. 265.

Cantica Canticorum, Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; Bede's chapters of readings on, ib.; v. Baeda.

Cantuarii, not subject to Edwin, ii. 5, p. 89; Roman mode of chanting in use among, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; schools of, imitated in East Anglia, iii. 18 and note; Rochester a castle of, iv. 5, p. 215 (cf. II. 80); the South Saxons next to, iv. 13, p. 230. Cantuariarum ecclesia, Albinus trained in, Pref. p. 6 and notes; acts of Gregory's disciples in, ib. Cant. ecclesiae (i.e. Canterbury and Rochester), Tatwin and Aldwulf bishops of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350. Cant. episcopus, Honorius, iii. 25, p. 182. Cant. gens, Ithamar belongs to, iii. 14, p. 154 and note.

Cant. provincia, Bertgils belongs to, iii. 20. Cant. regnum. Eadbald rules, ii. 9, p. 97; foreign kings ruin, iv. 26, p. 268 and note. Cant. rex, Ethelbert, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; v. 24, p. 353; II. 390; Eadbald, iii. 8, p. 142; v. 24, p. 354; Egbert, iii. 29, p. 196; iv. 5, p. 217; v. 24, p. 354; Hab. § 3; Earconbert, iv. 1, p. 201; iv. 19, p. 244; v. 24, p. 354; Hlothhere, iv. 26, p. 268; v. 24, p. 355; Witred, v. 23, p. 348 and note; v. 24, p. 356. Cant. reges, called Osincas, ii. 5, p. 90 and note; Edwin allied with, ii. 9, p. 97; v. Centenses.


Caritate, S. Maria de, monastery of, in diocese of Auxerre, p. c note; Gerard, prior of, ib.; MS. H, probably belonged to, ib.

Carlegion, British name of Cui-tas Legionum, or Chester, ii. 2, p. 84 and note (cf. II. 77).

Carlisle, Cuthbert and Eormen-burg at, at time of Egfrid's death, II. 261; Thomas Appleby, bishop of, II. 269; v. Lugu-balia.

Carnarvon, origin of the name, II. 152.

Caroline Minuscule, developed at St. Martin's, Tours, p. xx note.

Caroloman, succeeds his father Charles Martel as king of the Franks, C. 741 and note; resigns and becomes a monk at Rome, II. 345, 346.

Carolus (Charles Martel), king of the Franks, dies, C. 741 and note; II. 289; father of Pippin and grandfather of Charles the Great, ib.; at war with Radbod, ib.; contest of Plectrudis with, II. 291; regnats Utrecht to Wilbrord, II. 292; defeats the Saracens at Tours, II. 339.

Carphophorus, one of the 'quatuor Coronati,' II. 91.

Carthage, Council of, II. 212.

Casino, Monte, v. Monte Casino.

Cassiodorus, his use of previous writers, p. I note; on the Psalms, MS. of, ascribed to Bede, p. xx note; cited, p. clii note.

Cassobellanus, leads the Britons against Caesar, i. 2, p. 14; his capital captured, ib.

Castle Howard, MS. at, II. 265.

Castor, Northants, Cynesburg and Cyneswith nuns at, and buried at, II. 175.

Castorius, a saint, II. 91.

'castus,' 'castitas' = 'orthodox,' 'orthodoxy,' II. 199, 311, 331.

Catalogus Felicianus, II. 14.
Cataracta, Cataracto, Catterick, Yorkshire, on the Swale, ii. 14, p. 115 and note; village near, called after James the deacon. ii. 20, p. 126 and note; Wilsaresdun ten miles from, iii. 14, p. 155 and notes. Catgabail Catguommed, king of Gwynedd, escapes from the battle of the Winwæd, II. 183. Catscaul, Welsh name of the battle of Denisesburn. II. 121. Catterick, v. Cataracta.

Ceadda, bishop of the Mercians, converts the Mercians, Pref. p. 7 and note; reconverts the East Saxons, ib. and note; founds Lastingham, ib. and note; brother of Cedd, iii. 23, p. 176; iii. 28, p. 195; succeeds Cedd at Lastingham, ib. ib.; third bishop of the Mercians under Wulfhere, ii. 24, p. 180 and note; sent by Oswy with Eadhed to Kent to be consecrated, iii. 28, pp. 194, 195 (cf. v. 19, p. 326 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; II. 189, 316); goes to Wessex and is consecrated by Wine and two British bishops, ib. p. 195 and notes (cf. II. 146); a disciple of Aidan, ib. and note; his character, ib.; p. xxxvi; deposed by Theodore, iv. 2, p. 205 and notes; reconsecrated by Theodore, ib. and notes; in retirement at Lastingham, v. 19, p. 326; iv. 3, p. 206 (cf. II. 207); Theodore asks Oswy to send him to Mercia as bishop, ib. and note; Theodore insists on his riding on his episcopal tours, ib. (cf. II. 136); becomes bishop of the Mercians and Lindisfarne, ib. p. 207 and note; Wulfhere grants him land for a monastery at Ad Baruæ, ib. and note; fixes his see at Lichfield, ib. and note; story of his death, ib. pp. 207-210 and notes (cf. p. lxviii; II. 195); his character, ib. pp. 210, 211 (cf. p. lxvii); had studied in Ireland, ib. p. 211 (cf. II. 190, 196); buried near St. Mary’s Church, Lichfield, iv. 3, p. 212; translated to St. Peter’s Church, ib.; miracles wrought at his tomb, ib.; succeeded by Wynfrid, ib.; confused with Cedd, II. 162, 176. Cearl, king of the Mercians, father of Cwenburg, Edwin’s first wife, ii. 14, p. 114 and note. Ceaulin, v. Caelin. Cecilia, v. Caecilia.

Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons, as presbyter accompanies Peada to evangelise the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 170 and note (cf. Pref. p. 7 and note); recalled by Oswy, and sent to reconvert the East Saxons, iii. 22, p. 172 (cf. Pref. p. 7 and note); goes to Lindisfarne to consult Finan, ib.; consecrated bishop of the East Saxons by him, ib. and note; builds churches, &c., ib. p. 173 and note; founds monasteries at Ythancaestir and Tilbury, ib. and notes; excommunicates a royal gesith for an unlawful marriage, ib. and note (cf. II. 48); foretells the death of Sigbert for having intercourse with the excommunicate, ib. pp. 173, 174; baptizes Swidhelm at Rendlesham, ib. p. 174 and note; frequently visits his own province Northumbria, iii. 23, p. 174; receives from Ethelwald of Deira a site for the foundation of a monastery at Lastingham, ib. pp. 174, 175 (cf. Pref. p. 7 and note; II. 133); ascetic ritual observed by; at the foundation, ib. pp. 175, 176 (cf. II. 178); summoned by Ethelwald during the foundation, ib. p. 176; leaves his brother Cynibill to complete it, ib.; trained at Lindisfarne, ib. and note; dies of the plague at Lastingham, ib. and note (cf. II. 195); burial and translation of, ib.; his brothers, Cynibill, ib.; Caelin, ib. pp. 175, 176; Ceadda, ib. p. 176 (cf. iii. 28,
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 437

p. 195; leaves Lastingham to Ceadda, ib.; some of his monks from Essex come to Lastingham to be near his tomb, ib. and notes; all die of the plague except one preserved by his intercession, ib. pp. 176, 177 and notes; consecrated by the Scotti, iii. 25, p. 183; acts as interpreter at the Synod of Whitby, ib. and note; gives up the practices of the Scotti, iii. 26, p. 189 (cf. II. 193); retires to his see, ib.; his soul seen in a vision coming to fetch the soul of Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 211; asceticism of, p. xxx note; rides, II. 136; confused with Ceadda, II. 162, 176; never called bishop of London by Bede, II. 178.

Ceila, Keilah, relieved by David, II. 367.

Celaxensis, misspelling of Eclanensis, II. 22; v. Eclanum.

Celestinus, pontiff of the Roman Church, sends Palladius as bishop to the Christian Scotti, i. 13 and notes; v. 24, p. 352; said to have sent Germanus to Britain, II. 32.

Cellach, iii. 24, p. 179; v. Ceolach.

Celtic Churches, dates of conformity of, on the Easter question, p. xxxix note; II. 125, 300, 301; consecration by a single bishop common in, II. 49; but not universal, II. 178; those in Britain placed under Augustine by Gregory, II. 52; how far subject to Rome, II. 53; relations of Laurentius with, II. 82, 83; v. British Church, Irish Church.

Ceneda, Fortunatus born at, II. 18.

Cenfus, reigns in Wessex, II. 200, 201.

Censorius, bishop of Auxerre, Constantius' Life of Germanus addressed to, II. 32.

Centenses, the people of Kent, II. 264; v. Cantuarii.

Centwine, king in Wessex, II. 221; entry into monastery, death, and burial, ib.; succeeded by Ceddwalla, II. 278; married to a sister of Eormenburg, II. 326; expels Wilfrid from Wessex, ib.; Wilfrid helps Ceddwalla against, ib.

Cenulf, king of Mercia, letter of, to Leo III about the primacy, II. 53, 57.

See also Coen-, Coen-.

Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, presbyter, Haa. § 1; his noble birth, Haa. § 2 and note (cf. p. xxxv note); becomes a monk at Gilling, ib. and note (cf. II. 164); invited to Ripon by Wilfrid, Haa. § 3 and note (cf. II. 323); ordained priest by him, ib. and note (cf. II. 317); goes to Kent, ib. and note; p. xviii note; trained under Botulf in East Anglia, Haa. § 4 and note (cf. p. xxv); returns to Ripon, ib. and note; joins Benedict Biscop, and assists him in the foundation of Wearmouth, Haa. §§ 5-7 and notes (cf. Haa. § 22; II. 369); retires to Ripon in disgust, but returns, Haa. § 8 and note; p. xxix note; accompanies Benedict to Rome, iv. 18, p. 241 and note; Haa. § 7, p. 370 and note; § 16; Haa. § 9 and note; § 10; p. xiv; II. 359, 361, 369; co-founder of Jarrow, Haa. § 15, p. 379 and note; Haa. §§ 11, 12 (cf. II. 193, 361); made abbot of Jarrow, Haa. § 7, p. 370; § 13; § 14, p. 379; Haa. § 12; p. xi (cf. II. 335); consents to the election of Sigfrid as abbot of Wearmouth, Haa. § 10 and note; Haa. § 13 and note; his conduct during the plague, Haa. § 14 and note; p. xii; II. 195; made abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, v. 21, p. 332; Haa. § 13 and note; § 15, p. 379 and note; II. 364; Haa. §§ 16-19; p. xiv; his government, Haa. § 15, pp. 379, 380 and notes; Haa. §§ 19, 20; pp. xiv, xxix; II.
335, 364; governs for twenty-seven years, Haa. § 19 and note; increases Benedict's library, pp. xviii, xix; Hab. § 15, p. 379 and notes; Haa. § 20; brings a MS. of the Itala from Rome, Hab. § 15, p. 379 and note; takes a MS. of the Vulgate (Codex Amiatinus) with him when he resigns, ib. and note; Haa. §§ 20, 37; p. xix; exchanges a MS. with Aldfrid for land, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and notes; exchanges this land with Osred for other land, ib. and note; sends monks to Rome for a new papal privilege, ib. and note; Haa. § 20; p. xvii; Witmer becomes a monk under, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note; Naiton (Nechtan), king of the Picts, sends envoys to, v. 21, pp. 332, 333; his letter to Naiton on the Easter and tonsure questions, ib. pp. 333-345 and notes (cf. II. 353); argues with Adamnan on these questions, ib. pp. 344, 345 (cf. II. 391, 392, 353); sends architects to Naiton, ib. p. 333; his letter to Naiton really by Bede, II. 332, 392; resolves to resign and go to Rome, pp. xiv, xv; II. 282; Hab. § 16 and notes; Haa. §§ 21, 22; his departure, pp. xiv, exlviii; II. 330; Hab. § 17 and notes; Haa. §§ 23-28 and notes; confirms the election of Hwæthert, p. xiv; Hab. § 18 and notes; Haa. §§ 29, 30; commendatory letter of Hwæthert for, Hab. §§ 18, 19, pp. 383, 384 and note; Haa. § 30 and note; sojourns in the monastery of Cornu Vallis, Haa. § 29; II. 368; embarks at the mouth of the Humber, Haa. § 31; reaches Gaul, Haa. § 32; is received by Chilperic II, ib. and note; his death at Langres, burial, and character, Hab. §§ 21-23 and notes; Haa. §§ 32-36 and notes; p. xv; his devotion to the Psalter, Hab. § 22 and note; Haa. § 33 (cf. II. 137); proceedings of his comrades after his death, Hab. § 21 and notes; Haa. §§ 37, 38 (cf. II. 180); anecdote of his father, Haa. § 34 and note; Gregory II acknowledges his gift, Haa. § 39 and notes; miracles after his death, Haa. § 40; Bede educated under, p. x; v. 24, p. 357; Bede ordained deacon and priest by command of, ib. ib.; Bede's life of, ib. p. 359; v. Baeda, Hist. Abb.; anonymous Life of, printed, I. 388-404 and notes; Bede's account of, and grief at his departure, pp. xv, xvi; II. 366, 367; letter of Pope Sergius to, pp. xvi, xvii; affection of Bede for, p. xxxiii; alleged translation of, to Glastonbury, II. 167, 369; related to Benedict Biscop, II. 364; his body translated to Wearmouth, II. 369; chronology of life of, II. 370.

Ceolach, 'de natione Scottorum,' bishop of the Middle Angles and Mercians, succeeds Diuma, iii. 21, p. 171; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; resigns the bishopric and retires to Iona (Scottina), ib. ib. and note; succeeded by Trumhere, ib. ib. and note.

Ceolred, king of the Mercians, son of Ethelred, succeeds Cenred, v. 19, p. 322 and note; dies, v. 24, p. 356; his vicious character, II. 306, 314; his death, ib.; vision of his future punishment, II. 294, 314; his wars with Ini, ib.; a friend of Wilfrid, ib.; II. 328; persecutes Ethelbald, II. 342; succeeded by him, ib.; attacks on the Church date from, II. 314, 386.

Ceoluulf, king of the Northumbrians, Bede dedicates and sends the H. E. to, Pref. p. 5 and note (cf. II. 340); his zeal for knowledge, ib.; his zeal for knowledge, ib.; brother of Cenred, v. 23, p. 349 (cf. II. 336); succeeds Osric, ib. and note; troubles of his reign, ib. and note (cf. pp. xxxiv, xl);
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 439

king in 731, ib. p. 350; imprisoned, tonsured, and restored, C. 731; p. xxxiv; II. 340; voluntarily tonsured, C. 737; p. xxxiv; II. 340; succeeded by Eadbert, C. 737; Bede urges Egbert to co-operate with, Ec. § 9, p. 412 and note; son of Cuthwine, II. 336, 340; called Eochaid by the Irish, ib.; relaxes the asceticism of Lindisfarne, ib.; buried there, ib.; his body translated to Norham, ib.; his head at Durham, ib.; makes Egbert bishop of York, II. 379; his relationship to Egbert and Eadbert, II. 384.

Cerberus, Ec. § 17, p. 422 and note.

Cerdic, rex Brettonum, Hereric, an exile, poisoned at the court of, iv. 23, p. 255 and note.

Ceretic, v. Cerdic.

Cerotaesei, id est Ceroti insula, Chertsey, in Surrey near the Thames, iv. 6, pp. 218, 219; Earconwald founded a monastery at, ib. and notes; Sigebald abbot of, (?) II. 217; forged charters of, ib.; destroyed by Danes and restored by Edgar, ib.

Ceru Insula, v. Heruteu.

Cerui Insula, Capraja, II. 184.

Cestra, II. 77; v. Legionum Cuiitas.

Cetula, a British king, slain at the battle of Chester, II. 77.

Chains, miraculously loosed, II. 243.

Chaldaei, destroy Jerusalem, i. 15, p. 32.

Châlons-sur-Saône, Lupus bishop of, II. 39.

Chanting, systems of, Ambrosian, Gregorian, and Irish, II. 118, 119, 234.

Charibert, king of Paris, father of Bertha, II. 42, 117.


Charles the Great, extends the use of Gregorian chanting in Europe, II. 118; letter of Alcuin to, II. 280; relation of Alcuin to, II. 287; vision of his future punishment, II. 295; the philosopher-king, II. 332.

Charles the Bald, letter of Hericus to, II. 170, 332; Judith daughter of, II. 249.

Charles III, emperor, his vision, II. 295.

Charles the Simple, grants of, to St. Martin at Tours, II. 138.

Charles V, king of France, permanent use of title 'rex Christianissimus,' dates from, II. 86.


Charmi, father of Achan, Ec. § 17, p. 422.

Charters, forgery of, II. 217.

Charybdis, v. 21, p. 338.

Chaucer, cited, p. lxvii.

Chebron, Hebron, once the metropolis of David, v. 17, p. 319; description of, ib. and note.


Chertsey, v. Cerotaesei.

Chester, v. Legionum Cuiitas.

Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham, identified by Moberly with Incuneningum, II. 295; wooden church at, II. 101; see of St. Cuthbert at, p. exlvii; body of St. Cuthbert at, II. 157; v. Cunungaceaster.


Chichester, St. Mary's Hospital at, II. 367.

Childebert I, king of Paris, abolishes idolatry, II. 148.

Childebert II, king of Austrasia, II. 42.

Chilperic I, king of the Neustrian Franks, II. 106, 117.


Chiltern, v. Ciltine.

Chorintus, Corinth, example of St. Paul at, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and note.

Chrism, mode of making, II. 151; relation of, to baptism and confirmation, II. 382, 383; consecration of, ib.

Chrismale, unloosing of the, II. 280.
Church, influence of, on national unity, II. 200, 205, 211.
Churches, newly consecrated, hung in white, II. 280, 281.
Church-Scots, law of, II. 382.
Ciltine, Chiltern, Caedwalla takes refuge in, II. 228.
Cinax, father of Selim king of North Wales, II. 77.
Circhend, battle of, II. 65.
Circuli, v. Paschal Cycles.
Citeaux, Stephen Harding abbot of, II. 194.
Citra-Umbrenses, II. 29.
Ciuitas Legionum, v. Legionum ciuitas.
Claudian, cited, II. 10, 13, 34.
Claudius, emperor, eager for victory, i. 3; reduces Britain, ib. and notes; v. 24, p. 352; adds the Orkneys to the Roman Empire, ib. and notes; ib.; returns to Rome, i. 3; gives his son the title of Brittanicus, ib.; sends Vespasian to Britain, ib. and note; succeeded by Nero, ib.; the second of the Romans to invade Britain, v. 24, p. 352; Agrippa I dies while celebrating return of, II. 13.
Claudius, a saint, II. 91.
Clemens, consecrated by St. Peter as his successor, ii. 4, p. 87 and note.
Clemens, name given to Wilbrord at his consecration, v. 11, p. 303; II. 287.
Cletus, or Anacletus, said to have been consecrated as a suffragan bishop by St. Peter, II. 82.
Clofeshoch, unidentified, synod of the English Church to be held annually at, iv. 5, p. 216 and note; Council of, 716 A.D., II. 214, 223; Acca present at, II. 330; Council of, 747 A.D., II. 214, 378; forbids heathen customs, II. 60; orders the observance of St. Gregory’s day, II. 67; of Augustine’s day, II. 81; regulates the use of the psalms, II. 138, 139; on nuns, II. 259; on the ignorance of clergy, II.
Clovis I, king of the Franks, p. exix; date of baptism and death of, p. e; Clothilde wife of, II. 149.
Clovis II, king of the Franks, Bathildis or Baldhild wife of, II. 148, 149, 173, 322; v. Hloduius.
Cluain Conaire, Leinster, Nynias said to have founded church of, II. 128.
Cluith, the Clyde, i. 12, p. 26; Roman wall connecting the Forth and, II. 15.
Cnobheresburg, id est urbs Cnobheri, Burgh Castle, Norfolk, Fursa builds a monastery at, iii. 19, p. 164 and note; date of, II. 149.
Coccb, Welsh name of the battle of Maserfelth, II. 152.
Codex Amiatinus, MS. of the Vulgate given by Ceolfrid to the Pope, p. xix; II. 376.
Codex Salmanticensis, Life of Fursa in, II. 169.
Coenred, Coinred, king of the Mercians, succeeds Etheldred, v. 19, p. 322 and note; ib. p. 329; v. 24, p. 356; v. 13, p. 311 and note; vision of an impenitent thane whom he had tried to convert, ib. pp. 311–313 and notes (cf. II. 314); resigns in the fourth year of Osred, and goes to Rome, v. 24, p. 356; v. 19, p. 321 and notes (cf. II. 329); becomes a monk and dies there, ib. pp. 321, 322 and note; succeeded by Ceolred, ib. p. 322.
and note; receives Wilfrid after his second appeal, v. 19, p. 329.

Coenred, succeeds Osred in the kingdom of the Northumbrians, v. 22, p. 346 and note; succeeded by Osric, v. 23, p. 348 and note; Cœlwulf brother of, ib. p. 349 (cf. II. 336); Cuthwine father of, II. 336; said to have been concerned in the slaying of Osred, ib.

Coffins, of wood and stone, II. 239, 240.


Coifi, "primus pontificum," "pontifex sacrorum," argues for the adoption of Christianity in the Northumbrian witenagemót, ii. 13. pp. 111, 112 and notes; converted by Paulinus, ib. p. 112; destroys the heathen fane at Goodmanham, ib. p. 113 and notes.

Coinred, v. Coenred.

Coinualch, Coinualch, king of the West Saxons, succeeds his father Cynegils, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; rejects Christianity, ib. and note (cf. II. 18); divorces Penda's sister and is expelled by him, ib. and notes; takes refuge with Anna, king of the East Angles, ib. (cf. II. 169); converted by him, ib. and note; restored, ib. and note; offers the see of Wessex to Agilbert, ib.; wearies of his "barbarous tongue," ib. (cf. II. 41); attempts to divide the diocese, ib. and notes; brings in Wine, and places him at Winchester, ib. and notes; expels him, ib. p. 141 and notes; asks Agilbert to return, ib.; receives Hlothhere as bishop, ib. and note; on his death various under-kings divide the kingdom, iv. 12, p. 227 and note; Benedict Biscop goes to, Hab. § 4 and note (cf. II. 143, 220); his death, ib. and note; builds the "old church" at Winchester, II. 143; marries Sexburgh, ib.; a friend of Alchfrid, ib.; II. 189, 322; wars of, II. 147.

Coldingham, v. Coludi urbis; Reginald of, v. Reginald.

"collatio" = creed, II. 231.

"collector," meaning of, p. lxxii note.

Coldingham, Yorks., memorial cross to Oswin at, II. 164; identified by some with In Gettingum, ib.

Colman, Colmanus, bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeds Finan, iii. 25. p. 182 and note; comes from Scotia, ib. (cf. II. 186); attends the Synod of Whitby, ib. p. 183; spokesman of the Celtic side, ib. pp. 184-188 and notes; retires to Scotia, iv. 1, p. 201; v. 24, p. 354; iii. 26, p. 189 and notes (cf. II. 186); succeeded by Tuda, ib. and note; length of his episcopate, ib. (cf. II. 189); Tuda comes to Britain during his pontificate, ib. p. 190; asks for Eata to be made abbot of Lindisfarne, ib. and note; affection of Oswy for, ib.; takes part of the bones of Aidan with him, ib. (cf. II. 167, 210); character of, and of his predecessors, ib. pp. 190, 191 and notes; English students in Ireland in time of, iii. 27, p. 192 and notes; takes with him all the Scoti and about thirty English monks from Lindisfarne, iv. 4, p. 213; retires to Iona, whence he had been originally sent, ib. (cf. II. 127); thence to Inisbofin, where he founds a monastery for his monks, ib. and note; founds another monastery at Mayo, ib. and notes; wrongly called archbishop of York by Eddius, II. 117; never received the pallium, II. 126, 189; said to have been sent by St. Columba(!), II. 210.

Colman mac Ui Telduib, abbot
of Clonard, and a bishop, II. 112; v. Columbanus.

Colonia ciusitas, Cologne, near the Rhine, v. 10, p. 301; the two Hewalds buried at, ib. and note; church of St. Pantaleon at, II. 18; MS. belonging to cathedral of, II. 240; church of St. Cunibert at, II. 290; Hanno II archbishop of, ib.; Frederick archbishop of, ib.

Colosseum, consecrated by Benedict XIV, II. 230.

Coludi urbs, Coldingham, Co. Berwick, monastery of, Ebba abbess of, iv. 19, p. 243 and note; Ethelthryth enters, ib. and note; burnt, as a judgement on its corruptions, iv. 25, pp. 262–265 and notes (cf. II. 91); Adamnan a monk in, ib. p. 263 and notes (cf. p. xxx); Aedgils a monk in, ib. p. 266 and notes; date of, doubtful, II. 149; a double monastery, II. 150; Cuthbert visits Ebba at, II. 236; Ebba's relics translated from, II. 236.

Colvile, Samuel, former owner of MS. 0, p. cxxii.

Columba, presbyter and abbot of Iona, comes to Britain from Ireland to preach to the Northern Picts, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes (cf. v. 9, p. 297 and notes; v. 24, p. 353); his success, iii. 4, p. 133 and note; Iona granted to, for a monastery, ib. and notes; buried there, ib. and note; his successors still hold it, ib. and note; founds a monastery at Durrow, ib. p. 134 and note; monasteries in Ireland and Britain founded by disciples of, ib. and note; a presbyter not a bishop, ib. and note; writings concerning him said to be extant, ib.; II. 131; his Paschal practice cited, iii. 25, pp. 187, 188 and notes; Egbert ordered to reform the monasteries of, v. 9, p. 297 and note; called Columcelli, ib. and note; founder of Iona, ib.; Lives of,

by Cuimine and Adamnan, p. xlvi; II. 113, 121, 122, 130, 131, 152, 170, 191, 301; other Lives of, II. 130, 131; inaugurates Aedan mac Gabrain, II. 64, 65, 135; expels snakes from Iona, II. 10; Dallan mac Forgail's elegy on, II. 65, 131; mediates at the convention of Druim Cett, II. 65; scourged by an angel, II. 89; appears to Oswald before the battle of Denisesburn, II. 122; play on name of, II. 127; hymn by, II. 131; arguments drawn from mission of, under Edward I, II. 132; fate of his relics, ib.; date of his death, ib.; synchronous with Augustine's arrival, ib.; monasteries derived from, called his family, II. 134, 135, 286, 303; called bishop of Dunkeld, II. 135; alleged hasty temper, ib.; acquiesces in the prolongation of his life, II. 139; alleged cause of his exile, II. 170; said to have sent Colman to Northumberland (!), II. 210; foretells the troubles caused by the Paschal question, II. 191, 303.

Columbanus, abbas, in Gaul, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; apostle of Burgundy, founder of Luxeuil and Bobbio, II. 83; his life by Jonas of Bobbio ascribed to Bede, ib.; Bishop Felix possibly connected with, II. 108; his treatise De Cantu lost, II. 119; play on name of, II. 127; said to have dedicated St. Fara, II. 148.

Columbanus, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.

Columcelli, v. Columba.

Comets, nature of, II. 222, 223, 338.

Comitatus, II. 19, 161; devotion of, to the lord, II. 95, 160; granted of land by king to, II. 356.

'Commendatitiae Epistolae,' II. 213.

Commodus, Aurelius, joint em-
peror with M. Antoninus Verus, i. 4 and note.
COMMUNICATION, difficulty of, in Britain, ii. 165.
COMMUNION, neglect of the Holy, p. xxxv; in both kinds, ii. 247; daily, ii. 387.
COMMUNISM, in the early Church, ii. 245, 267.
COMMÉDIENNE, v. In Compendio.
COMPLINE, v. Canonical Hours.
COMPUTARIUM DEFUNCTORUM, ii. 227.
CONAIR, father of Caibré Riada, II. 9.
CONALL MAC COMGAILL, king of the Dalriadic Scots, said to have given Iona to Columba, II. 131, 132.
CONAN, v. Cinan.
CONFIRMATION, a completion of baptism, II. 76, 382; possibly neglected by the British Church, ib.; use of white robes at, II. 280; history of, II. 382; confirmation-tours oppressive, ib.; sponsors at, II. 383; relationships created by, ib.
CONN, v. Lech Cuinn.
CONNOR, Co. Antrim, Dima Dubh bishop of, ii. 112.
COMPEINDIO, v. In Con.
CONSECRATION, by a single bishop, II. 48, 75, 178, 324.
CONSAGNATIO, II. 382.
CONSTANS, son of Constantinus, a monk, made Caesar by his father, i. 11; slain by Gerontius at Vienne, ib. and note.
CONSTANS II, v. Constantinus IV.
CONSTANTINIANA ecclesia, called Martyrium, the church built by Constantine on the site of the Invention of the Cross, v. 16, p. 317 and note; name of church built by Constantine at Rome, ii. 305.
CONSTANTINOPLE, attacked by famine, plague, and earthquake, i. 13 and note; Gregory sent as apocrisiarius to, ii. 1, p. 75 and note; begins his commentary on Job at, ib. and note; Eutychius, bishop of, ib. and note; church of, troubled by heresy of Eutyches, iv. 17, p. 238 and note; Councils of, against Macedonius, Eudoxius, Theodoret, &c., ib. p. 240 and notes; ii. 230; visited by Arculfus, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; patriarch of, assumes the style of universal bishop, ii. 38; John patriarch of, ii. 68; synod of (448), condemns Eutyches, ii. 220; Martin I sent to, ii. 321.
CONSTANTINUS, son of Constantius and Helena (Constantine the Great), emperor in Gaul and Britain, i. 8 and note; makes the Roman commonwealth Christian, i. 32, p. 68; builds a church on the site of the Invention of the Cross by his mother Helena, v. 16, p. 317 and note; letter on the Easter question, p. xl note; alleged Donation of, ii. 44; builds a church at Rome called Constantiniana, II. 305.
CONSTANTINUS III, son of Heraclius, joint emperor, ii. 18, p. 122 and note.
CONSTANTINUS IV, emperor, also known as Constans II, council at Rome in reign of, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; dies at Syracuse, ii. 204; possible that Theodore had accompanied, ib.; suspected of an alliance with the English kings against the Franks, ib.
CONSTANTINUS, his low origin, i. 11; made tyrant in Britain, ib.; crosses to Gaul, ib. and note; slain at Arles, ib.; Constans son of, ib.
CONSTANTINUS, pope at the time when Cenred and Offa come to Rome, v. 19, pp. 321, 322 and note.
CONSTANTIUS (Chlorus), emperor, governs Gaul and Spain under Diocletian, i. 8 and note; dies in Britain, ib. and note.
CONSTANTIUS, comes, slays Constantinus at Arles, i. 11.
CONSTANTIUS, presbyter of Lyons, induces Sidonius Apollinaris to
publish his correspondence, II. 32; his Life of Germanus, II. 31, 32; used by Bede, p. xxiv note. 'consummatio' = confirmation, II. 382.

'conuersatio' = monastic life, II. 248. 'conversio' = entrance into the monastic life, II. 248.

Conversions, wholesale, effect of, II. 44, 58, 105.

Cunulf (Cynewulf), bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeds Ethelwald, C. 740.

Corausius, v. Carausius.

Corinth, v. Chorintus.

Curnu Uallis, unidentified, Cel- frid sojourns in monastery of, Haa. § 29; II. 368.

Cornwall, churches in, dedicated to St. Germanus, II. 33; Britons of, called West or South Welsh, II. 73, 74; possibly present at conference with Augustine, II. 73; some of, adopt Roman Easter, II. 301.

Coronati, quattuor, Martyrium of, in Canterbury, ii. 7, p. 94 and note; church of, at Rome, II. 91.

Croiticus, so-called letter of Patrick to, II. 76.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. of Bede’s Lives of St. Cuthbert belongs to, p. cxlvii.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. O, belongs to, p. cvii; MS. Life of Oswin belongs to, II. 162; AS. vers. of Benedictine rule belongs to, II. 366.

Cotton MSS., pp. lxxxvi, xci–xciv, cxxxvi; II. 162, 217.

Councils, functions of bishops in, II. 325.

Countries, names of, construed as if names of towns, II. 234.

Counualh, Hab. § 4; v. Coinualch.

Cown Stakes, Halliford, Caesar fords the Thames at, II. 13.


Creoda, his place in the Mercian pedigree, II. 103.

Crimea, Martin I dies in the, II. 321.

Crispus, v. Benedictus.

Croes Oswalti, Welsh name of Oswestry, II. 153.

Croix Oswald, Oswald, II. 153.

Cromanus, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.

Cromanus, Irish presbyter, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.

Cronan Bec, bishop of Nendrum, II. 112; v. Cromanus.

Cronan, St., of Movilla, II. 113; v. Cromanus, presbyter.

Cronan, abbot of Bangor, Ireland, II. 113; v. Cromanus, presbyter.

Cross, use of the sign of, II. 251, 387.

Cross-vigil, II. 269, 270.

Crosthwaite, Cumberland, indulgence granted to vicar of, for St. Herbert’s Isle, II. 269.

Crouch River, Essex, II. 178.

Croyland, Ethelbald traditional founder of, II. 342; cf. II. xxxvi.

Crucifixion, day of, the, II. 350.

Cuculus, name of poem by Alcuin, p. elvii; name given by him to one of his disciples, ib. note.

Cudberct, bishop of Lindisfarne, Bede’s Lives of, v. Baeda; consecrated bishop, iv. 26, p. 266; iv. 27, p. 268; II. 267, 268; tries to dissuade Egfrid from attacking the Picts, iv. 26, p. 266 and note; lives as an anchorite on Farne, iv. 27, p. 268 and note; iv. 28, pp. 271, 272 and notes; pp. xxx–xxxii; II. 69; becomes a monk at Melrose, iv. 27, p. 269 and note; a pupil of Boisil, whom he succeeds as prior, ib. and notes (cf. II. 195); his missionary zeal, ib. pp. 269, 270 and notes (cf. p. xxxv); sometimes rides, ib. (cf. II. 136); transferred as prior to Lindisfarne, ib. p. 270 and notes; p. xxix note; II. 195; elected bishop at the Synod of Twyford, iv.
28, p. 272 and note; his reluctance to accept the office, ib. (cf. II. 68); consecrated at York by Theodore, ib. p. 273 and note; elected to Hexham, but transferred to Lindisfarne, ib. and notes (cf. II. 193); his life as bishop, ib.; his gift of tears, ib. and note; after two years returns to Farne, iv. 29, p. 274 and note; foretells his death, ib.; friendship and annual meeting with Herbert, ib. and note; their last meeting at Carlisle, ib. pp. 274, 275 and note; their death on the same day, ib. p. 275 and note; Cuthbert consents to be buried in Lindisfarne, ib. and notes; dies on Farne, and is succeeded by Eadbert, ib. and notes; p. xlv; his body translated and found uncorrupted, iv. 30, pp. 276, 277 and note (cf. II. 240, 369); Eadbert buried in grave of, ib. p. 277 and note; miracles wrought at his tomb and by his clothes, iv. 31, pp. 278, 279 and notes; miracle wrought by his hair, iv. 32, pp. 279, 280 and notes; succeeded as anchorite of Farne by Ethelwald, v. 1, p. 281 and notes; his gentleness in discipline, pp. xxvi, xxix; II. 267; his asceticism, pp. xxvi, xxx-xxxii; his mind unhinged thereby, p. xxx; goes to Ripon with Eata, II. 192, 193; praepositus hospitum at Ripon, p. xxviii note (cf. II. 323); leaves Ripon, II. 189, 193, 323, 372; returns to Melrose, II. 193; his opinion of the anchoritic and coenobitic lives, pp. xxix, xxxi note; his foreboding of the plague, pp. xxxi, xxxii; practises what he teaches, p. xxxvi; anonymous Life of, used by Bede, p. xlv note; alluded to, ib.; Pref. p. 7 and note; ‘Irish’ Life of, pp. cxxxvii, cxxxviii; II. 135, 265; Life of, by Reginald of Coldingham, p. cxxxviii; Life of, in Northern English, II. 265; fate of his relics, II. 102, 167; name of Holy Island due to, II. 126; wanderings of body of, II. 157; led to monastic life by vision of Aidan, II. 165, 266, 269; Elfled and Ebba friends of, II. 185, 236; visitation of the plague during episcopate of, II. 195; receives a sarcophagus from Abbot Cudda as a present, II. 239, 270; uses tents on his preaching tours, II. 240; prophesies the death of Egfrid, II. 261; has a vision of his death, ib.; foretells the succession of Aldfrid, II. 263; alleged Irish origin of, II. 265; story of childhood of, ib.; narrated by him to Trumwine, II. 268; admitted as a monk by Eata, II. 267; opposition to, at Lindisfarne, ib.; character of, ib.; spurious grant of Egfrid to, II. 268; his death signalled to Lindisfarne, II. 270; troubles after death of, ib.; description of his burial, ib.; translation of, in 1104, II. 271; miracles of, II. 275; cleric of Wilbrod cured at tomb of, II. 288; portable altar of, preserved at Durham, II. 289; Ethelwald a servant of, II. 297; Lindisfarne gospels written in honour of, ib.; visions of, ib.; on the Wilfridian view was a usurper, II. 316; conforms to the Roman Easter, and charges his monks in its favour, II. 323 (cf. II. 267); Baldhelm recites the praises of, II. 344; lections on, I. 432.

Cudberct, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated in succession to Nothelm, C. 740; date of his accession, II. 3; the first archbishop not buried in St. Augustine’s, II. 80; letter of St. Boniface to, II. 282, 386.

Cudda, a thane of Oswy, II. 320; conveys Wilfrid to Lindisfarne, ib.; becomes abbot of Lindisfarne, ib.
Cudda, abbot, gives a sarcophagus to St. Cuthbert, II. 270.

Cudret, king of the West Saxons, rises against Ethelbald and Oengus, C. 750 and note.

Cuduald, abbot of Oundle, v. 19, p. 330; probably identical with: Cuthbald, abbot of Peterborough, II. 216.

See also Cuth-.

Cuichelm, king of the West Saxons, cf. II. 89; sends an emissary to assassinate Edwin, ii. 9, pp. 98, 99 and note; baptized and dies 636, II. 95; gives his name to Cuichelmeslwæ, ib.; Edwin wrongly said to have slain, ib.; father of Cuthred and son of Cyneegils, II. 142.

Cuichelm, bishop of Rochester, consecrated by Theodore in Rochester, iv. 12, p. 228 and note; resigns on account of poverty, ib.; succeeded by Gebmund, ib.


Cumian, letter of, on Paschal question, Patrick mentioned in, II. 26; addressed to Seghine of Iona, II. 113.

Cunenburg, abbess, receives presents from Lullus, p. lxxvi note.


Cunibert, king of the Lombards, receives Cædwalla, II. 279; married to Hermelinda, an Englishwoman, ib.; son of Pecarit, ib.

Cunibert, St., church and tomb of, at Cologne, II. 290.

Cunningham, commonly identified with Incuneningum, II. 295.

Cunungaceaster, Saxon name of Chester-le-Street, q. v., II. 295.

Cuthbald, abbot of Peterborough, II. 216; v. Cuduald.

Cuthbert, bishop of Hereford after Walthstod, II. 341; his verses on his predecessors, ib.

Cuthbert, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, sends Bede's Lives of Cuthbert to St. Boniface, p. cxlvii note; sends MSS. to Lullus of Mainz, pp. xx, xxi, cl note; letters of, to Lullus of Mainz, II. 248, 249, 359; asked by Lullus for copy of Bede's In Cantica, p. ciii note; his letter to Cuthwin on the death of Bede, pp. lxxii–lxxvii, clx–clxiv; MSS. of, pp. cvii, cxx–cxxxii, cxxiv–cxxxvii; Bede's De Arte Metrica perhaps dedicated to, p. cxlv; perhaps knew the early Life of Gregory, II. 389.

Cuthred, son of Cuichelm, baptized by Birinus, II. 142, 281.


Cuthwine, father of Cenred of Northumbria, II. 336; and of Ceolwulf, II. 340.

See also Cud-.

Cw-, v. Cu-, Qu-.

Cuichelmeslwæ, Scutchamfly Barrow, Berks., origin of name of, II. 95.


Cylil Campus, Kyle, Ayrshire, Eadbert of Northumbria annexes, C. 750 and note.

Cynehard, bishop of Winchester, letter of, to Lullus, II. 308.

Cyneswith, sister of Cynegils, II. 175; becomes a nun at Castor, ib.; death, burial, and translation, ib.; mentioned on the Bewcastle Cross, II. 176; daughter of Penda, II. 182.

Cynewulf, v. Conulf, Cyniuulf.

Cyniberct, bishop of Lindsey, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; alive in 731, ib.; v. 23, p. 350 and note; furnishes Bede with materials for the history of Lindsey, Pref. p. 7 (cf. II. 223); dies, C. 732.

Cyniberct, presbyter and abbot of Hreutford, iv. 16, p. 237 and note; obtains leave from Cædwalla to baptize two young princes of Wight before their execution, ib. pp. 237, 238 and note.

Cynibill, brother of Cedd, iii. 23, p. 176; completes the founda-
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 447

Cyniburga, daughter of Penda, wife of Alchfrid, iii. 21, p. 170 and note (cf. II. 142); becomes a nun at Castor, ii. 175; death, burial, and translation, ib.; mentioned on the Bewcastle Cross, II. 176.

Cyniburga, daughter of Cynegil, and wife of Oswald, II. 142.

Cynefrid, abbot of Gilling, Haa. § 2; brother of Ceolfred, ib.; retires to Ireland, ib. (cf. Haa. § 21); dies of the plague, Haa. § 3 (cf. II. 196).

Cynifred, a physician, attends Ethelthryth in her last illness, iv. 19, pp. 245, 246 and notes; testifies to the miraculous incorruption of her body at its translation, ib.

Cynigils, king of the West Saxons, cf. II. 89, 94, 95; converted by Birinus, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes; cf. II. 95; Oswald his godfather and son-in-law, ib. and notes; grants Dorchester to Birinus as his see, ib. and notes; dies, succeeded by his son Cenwulf, ib. p. 140 and note.

Cynimund, a presbyter of Bede's monastery, Bede hears from, the story of Utta's miraculous experience, iii. 15, p. 158 and note.

Cynimund, monk and priest of Lindisfarne, II. 166 (probably identical with the preceding).

Cyniuulf, king of the West Saxons, dies, C. 757 and note.

Cyneus, queen of the Mercians, iii. 24, p. 178; Egfrid a hostage in the hands of, ib. and notes.

Cyprian, extracts from, p. c; the first to use 'symbolum' in the sense of creed, II. 231.

Cyrillus, bishop of Alexandria, opposed by Theodoret and Ibas, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; composes a Paschal cycle of nineteen years, v. 21, p. 341.

Cyprus, Theodoret bishop of, II. 232.

D.

Dacore amnis, Cumberland, monastery of same name on, iv. 32, p. 279 and note; Swidbert abbot of, ib.; youth in, miraculously cured, ib. pp. 279, 280.

Daebereuctus (Dagobert I), king of the Franks, Wulfere and Yffi sent for safety to be brought up by, ii. 20, p. 126 and note.

Daganus, a bishop of the Scotti, refuses to eat in the same inn with the Roman missionaries, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; II. 352.

Dagobert II, king of Austrasia, Wilfrid a friend of, II. 325; Wilfrid stays with (679), II. 318, 325; wishes to make Wilfrid bishop of Strasbourg, ib.; had been an exile in Ireland, ib.; slain, II. 318; Wilfrid nearly put to death as an adherent of, ib.

Daemlac, Duleek, Co. Meath, Ireland, origin of name, II. 102. ‘dál’ = division, i. 1, p. 12 and note.

Daldene, Co. Durham, belongs to Wearmouth, II. 366.

Dalfinus (really Annemundus, Dalfinus being his brother and count of the city of Lyons, v. II. 321), archbishop of Gaul, Wilfrid sojourns with, at Lyons, iii. 25, p. 182; v. 19, p. 324 and note; bishop of Lyons, ib.; offers Wilfrid a large part of Gaul, ib. (cf. II. 316); sends him to Rome, ib.; receives him on his return, and wishes to make him his heir, ib. (cf. II. 316); executed by order of Baldhild, ib. p. 325 and note; II. 317.

Dallan mac Forgaill, his elegy on Columba, II. 65.

Dalreudini, name of the Scotti who settled in Britain under Reuda, i. 1, p. 12 and note.

Dal Riada, districts of, in Ireland and Britain, II. 9.

Dalston, near Carlisle, equated by some with Degastan, II. 66.

Dalton, Dalcan, Co. Durham, Ald-
frid grants land at, to Witmer, who grants it to Wearmouth, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note.

Damascus, visited by Aurelius, v. 15, p. 316 and note.

Damian, bishop of Rochester, a South Saxon, consecrated by Deusdedit in succession to Ithamar, iii. 20 and note; II. 324; dies, iv. 2, p. 206 and note (cf. II. 195, 199); succeeded, after a long interval, by Putta, ib. and note; his orthodoxy, II. 206.

Damnis, v. Devenish. 'damnnum' = fine, II. 47.

Danai, one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 196 and note.

Dami, name derived from Dan (!), II. 29; date of the coming of, II. 28; English tribute to, II. 67; ravages of, cause the suspension of the East Anglian see, II. 108; the desertion of Lindisfarne, II. 157; destroy Whitby, II. 184; and Chertsey, II. 217; destruction of literature by, II. 308, 330, 331; Wilfrord attempts to convert, II. 290; Ongendus king of, ib.; ravage Jarrow, II. 361; v. Scandinavia.

Danihel, prophet, Bede's extracts from St. Jerome on, v. 24, p. 358; example of, cited, p. liii.

Danihel, bishop of the West Saxons, furnishes Bede with materials for the history of the West and South Saxons, and of Wight, Pref. p. 7; II. 307; the first to exercise episcopal functions in Wight, iv. 16, p. 238; II. 307; made bishop of part of Wessex on the death of Heddle, v. 18, p. 320 and note (cf. II. 144); alive in 731, ib.; his see at Winchester, ib. p. 321; one of the consecrators of Archbishop Tatwin, v. 23, p. 350; one of the bishops of the West Saxons in 731, ib.; Wight belongs to diocese of, ib.; administers the province of the South Saxons, ib.; letters of, to St. Boniface, cited, II. 30, 57, 308; letter of St. Boniface to, cited, II. 58, 308; his learning, II. 307, 308; commendatory letter of, for St. Boniface, ib.; his blindness, ib.; journey to Rome, ib.; resignation and death, ib.; possible want of vigour, ib.; said to have been buried at Malmesbury, II. 308.

Danmoric, Saxons ravage from Rhine to, II. 28.

Dante, places Bede next to Isidore in Paradise, p. xli note; studies Bede, ib.; theory of the fourfold sense of Scripture, p. lxi; on the need of discretion, p. lxxix note; on translation of poetry, II. 250; noted, p. xlii note; II. 67, 137, 171, 294, 296, 297, 299.

Dating, modes of, II. 153, 341.

Dauid, Ec. § 11, p. 414; on what condition shewbread given to, i. 27, p. 59; Bethlehem the city of, v. 16, p. 317; Hebron once the metropolis of, v. 17, p. 319; psalter of, Haa. § 33; key of, p. xvi; II. 367; relieves Keilah, ib.

Dawston, in Liddesdale, probably to be equated with Degtastan, II. 66.

'de,' partitive use of, II. 166.

Dearmach, hoc est Campus Rorborum, Durrow, King's County, Columba founds a monastery at, iii. 4, p. 134 and notes; granted to him by Aedan, son of Brendan, II. 133.

Deda, priest and abbot of the monastery of Partney, ii. 16, p. 117; gives Bede information about Paulinus' work in Lindsey, ib. and note (cf. II. 3).

Defensor or Liuguè, author of the Liber Scintillarum ascribed to Bede, p. clix.

Degstastan, id est Dega Lapis, ? Dawston in Liddesdale, Ethelfrid defeats Aedan at, i. 34 and notes; v. 24, p. 353; importance of battle of, II. 10, 66 (cf. II. 77).

Dei genetrix, church of, founded by Eadbald in monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Canter-
bury, ii. 6, p. 93 and note; Hadrian buried in, v. 20, p. 331; church of, at Lastingham, iii. 23, p. 176; church of, at Bark- ing, iv. 10, p. 224; church of, in St. Peter’s monastery at Wearmouth, Hab. § 9; pictures for, ib.; mass said in, at Ceol- frid’s departure, Hab. § 17, p. 382; Haa. § 25; v. Maria.

Deiri, Dei, slaves from, sold in Rome, ii. 1, p. 80 and note (cf. II. 390); Ælle king of, ib. and note; Britain called the island of, II. 23, 72; origin of name, II. 105; pedigree of kings of, II. 119; under-kings of, II. 120.

Deirorum provinciae, boundaries of, II. 120; baptisms in, by Paulinus, ii. 14, p. 115 and notes; no oratories or bap- tisteries in, under Edwin, ib. and notes; one of the divisions of the Northumbrians, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; iii. 14, p. 155; II. 105; united to Bernicia by Oswald, iii. 6, p. 138; ruled by Oswin, iii. 14, p. 155 and note; dissensions with Bernicia, ib. and note; relations of, to Ber- nicia, II. 119, 147, 198, 199; Oswy grants six estates in, to found monasteries, iii. 24, p. 178 and note; Bosa made bishop of, iv. 12, p. 229. Deirorum regnum, Osric succeeds Edwin in, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; Ethel- wold rules over, iii. 23, p. 174 and note.

Denisesburna, id est riuus Denesi, the Rowley Water, Northumberland, or a tributary of it, Oswald defeats and slays Caedwalla at, iii. 1, p. 128 and notes; II. 122, 123.

Deodatus, bishop of Toul, accompanies Wilfrid to Rome (679), 11. 325.

‘depositio’ = burial and death day, II. 227, 240.

Deraudu, v. In Der.

Derewam, Norfolk, a daughter of Anna of East Anglia a recluse at, II. 144.

Deri, iii. 6, p. 138; iii. 14, p. 154; iii. 23, p. 174; iii. 24, p. 176; iv. 12, p. 229; v. Deiri.

Derile, father of Nechtan king of the Picts, II. 331.

Dermot mac Murrough, or Dermot of the Strangers, invites Henry II into Ireland, II. 11.

Derorum Silua, v. In Deraudua.

Deruuentio, Deruuentio annus, the Yorkshire Derwent, royal vill of Edwin on, ii. 9, p. 99; Goodmanham near; ii. 13, p. 113.

Deruuentio fluuius, the Cumberland Derwent, rises out of a lake, iv. 29, p. 274 and note.

Derwentwater, St. Herbert’s Isle in, II. 269.

Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, II. 39, 40.

Desiderius, bishop of Cahors, alleged correspondence of, with Sigbert III of Austrasia, II. 168.

Despenser, Henry, bishop of Nor- wich, probably owned MS. Ar., p. cxxvii; arms of, ib. note.

Despenser, Arms of, p. cxxvii note.

Desperation, spiritual, II. 298–300. ‘destina,’ meaning of the word, II. 167.

Deusdedit, pontiff of the Roman see, succeeded by Boniface V, ii. 7, p. 94 and note.

Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, a West Saxon, elected in succession to Honorius, iii. 20 and note (cf. II. 324); consecrated by Ithamar, ib. (cf. II. 49); consecrates Damian as Itha- mar’s successor, ib. and notes; dead before the arrival of Ceadda in Kent, iii. 28, p. 195 (cf. II. 189); Wighard one of his clergy, iii. 29, p. 196; his death, iv. 1, p. 201 and notes; iv. 2, p. 205; II. 195; the first native archbishop, II. 174; original name Frithonas, ib.; his orthodoxy, II. 206.

‘deuterosis’ = scribal tradition, II. 387.
Devenish or Daminis, in Lough Erne, Ireland, Sillan bishop of, II. 113.

Devil's Water, Northumberland, not identical with Denisesburna, II. 123.

Deybyr, Welsh name for Deira, I. 428.

Dicul, 'de natione Scottorum,' has a small monastery at Bosham, iv. 13. p. 231; fails to convert the South Saxons, ib. and note (cf. II. 310).

Dicul, presbyter, Fursa entrusts his monastery to, iii. 19, p. 168 and notes.

Dicul, Irish monk, writes the De mensura orbis terrae, II. 226.

Digby, Sir Kenelm, former owner of MSS. O6, O11, A, pp. cxxiv, cxxiii, cx1; of a MS. of Bede's De Arte Metrica, p. cxxlv.

Dimna, or Dimna, Irish bishop, II. 112.

Dimna Dubh, bishop of Connor, II. 112; v. Dinmans.

'Dimissoriae litterae,' II. 213.

Dinnuma, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 12, p. 123 and note.

Dinoot, abbot of Bangor, ii. 2, p. 82 and note.

'Dioecesis,' use and meaning of the term, II. 204, 212 (cf. II. 133, 135); English dioeceses conterminous with kingdoms, II. 176, 210; subdivision of, II. 214, 380.

Diocletianus, emperor, the Britons keep the faith till the time of, i. 4 and note; elected emperor by the army, i. 6 and note; makes Maximianus Heracleius his colleague, ib. and note; persecutes the Christians in the East, ib.; Constantius governs Gaul and Spain under, i. 8 and note; persecution of, does not extend to Britain, II. 18.

Dionysius Exiguus, his Paschal cycles extended to Bede's time, v. 21, p. 341 (cf. II. 350); book of Canons translated by, II. 212.

Discretion, the mother of virtues, p. lxix; iii. 5, p. 137 and note.

Dissington, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, equated with Degaustan by Bates, II. 66.

Diana, natione Scottus, bishop of the Mercians, as presbyter accompanies Peada to evangelise the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; made bishop of the Middle Angles and Mercians, ib. p. 171 and note; ii. 24, p. 179 and note; consecrated by Finan, iii. 21, p. 171; dies in the district called Infeppum, ib.; succeeded by Ceollach, ib.

Divorce and Remarriage, II. 214, 236.

'Dominica in albis depositis' = Low Sunday, II. 280.

Donnac, Dunwich, Suffolk, granted to Felix as the see of the East Angles, ii. 15, p. 117 and note; Felix buried at, II. 174; Ecce bishop of, II. 214; Aldbert bishop of, II. 341.

Dox, tributary of the Tyne, Jar row at the mouth of, II. 361.

Donafeld, Saxon translation of Campodonum, q. v., II. 105.

Donatus, v. Dinoot.

Doncaster, identified by some with Tunnacaestir, II. 243.

Donia, 'quae Danmarc nuncupatur,' II. 28.

'Dooms,' native word for laws, II. 87.

Dorcio, Dorchester, Oxon., II. 144, 145; granted to Birinus as his see by Cynehils and Oswald, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes; Birinus buried there, and thence translated to Winchester, ib. p. 140 and notes.

Dorcicaestrae, Dorchester, Oxon., Aetla bishop of, iv. 23, p. 254 and note (cf. II. 142); when did it become Mercian ?, II. 245, 246.

Dorostadium, or Dorostat, Wijk-bij-Duurstedt, on the Rhine, Swidbert's see at, II. 291.

Dorubreuis ciuitas, Rochester,
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 451

Iustus bishop in, ii. 3, p. 85 and note; called Hrofescastræ by the English, ib. and note; twenty-four miles to the west of Canterbury, ib.; church of St. Andrew in, ib.; v. Hrofescastræ, &c.

Doruuentio annis, ii. 13, p. 113; v. Dorouentio.

Doruernensis ciuitas, Doruernis, Doruernis ciuitas. Canterbury, Ethelbert gives Augustine and his companions a settlement in, i. 25, p. 46 and note; i. 26, p. 47; metropolis of Kent, ib. and note; Rochester twenty-four miles from, ii. 3, p. 83; fire in, miraculously quelled by Mellitus, ii. 7, p. 94 and notes; Theodore archbishop of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; Tatwin consecrated in, v. 23, p. 350 and note. Doruernensis antiquites, relation of, to York defined, ii. 18, pp. 120, 121 and notes.

Doruernensis archiepiscopus, Augustine the first, ii. 3, p. 86; Theodore, iii. 7, p. 141.

Doruernensis cathedral archiepiscopus, Deusdedit, iii. 20 and notes. Doruernensis archiepiscopus, Deusdedit, the sixth, iv. 1, p. 201. Doruernenses episcopi, to be buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, i. 33 and note; v. 8, p. 294 (cf. ii. 3, p. 86 and note); endowed by Ethelbert, ii. 3, p. 85.

Douce, Francis, former owner of MS. O, p. cxvi.

Douling, Somerset, Aldhelm dies at, II. 101, 309.

Down Amney, near Cricklade, Wilts, Augustine's Oak located in, by Moberly, II. 74.

Driffield, East Riding, Yorkshire, Aldfrid dies at, II. 305; his monument at, II. 306.

Drogo, a monk of St. Winnoc's, Bergues, his Life of St. Oswald, II. 142, 161.


Drust, Nechtan imprisoned by, II. 331.

Drycthelm, a householder of Incuneningum, v. 12, p. 304 and note; his vision of the other world, ib. pp. 304-309 and notes (cf. II. 171); enters the monastery of Melrose, ib. pp. 304, 310; narrates his visions to Haemgils, and to King Aldfrid, ib. pp. 309, 310 and note (cf. II. 294); his rigorous asceticism, ib. p. 310 and note (cf. p. xxx); date of his vision, II. 294, 297; Ælfric's homily on, II. 295; Alcuin's lines on, II. 296, 297.

Dubgal, Duggal, v. Thugdalus.

Duleek, v. Daimlag.

Dumbarton, v. Alcuin's.

Dungal, v. Thugdalus.

Dunkeld, Co. Perth, becomes head of the Columbite monasteries in Scotland, II. 132, 135; claims to possess St. Columba's relics, II. 132; Columba called bishop of, II. 135.

Dun Nechtain, Dunnichen, near Forfar, Egfridslain near, II. 261.

Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, example of, cited, p. xxvi note; John XII grants pallium to, II. 52; goes to Rome for his pallium, II. 51; his buildings at Glastonbury, II. 80; letter of Abbo of Fleury to, p. cxxii; story of, and St. Edith, II. 140; Glastonbury myth with reference to, II. 167; his gift of tears, II. 268; letter of, to Abbo of Fleury, II. 271; his homage to Odo, II. 377.

Durham, MSS. belonging to, p. xx
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum.

note; MS. C belonged to, pp. xciii, cv; MS. D belongs to, pp. civ-cvi, cxxv; MS. Bu, belonged to, p. cviii; MS. Harl. 4688 belonged to, p. cxli; Durham group of MSS. of H. E., pp. civ-cix; catalogue of relics belonging to, p. cxi note; Alfred, sacrificer of, concentrates relics at, II. 158, 266; relics at, Cuthbert's and Oswald's, II. 157, 158; Ebba's, II. 236; Boisil's, II. 266; Eadbert's, II. 271, 272; Ethelwald's, ib.; Ceolwulf's head at, II. 340; bishops of, Ægelwin, II. 164; Waelder, II. 102; William of St. Carilef, p. cxxxvii; Joseph Butler, p. lxxiv note; Edward Maltby, II. 298; William of St. Carilef, prior of, p. xxix note; Wearmouth and Jarrow become cells of, p. xxxii note; temporary wattled church at, II. 102; new cathedral at, II. 271; portable altar of St. Cuthbert preserved at, II. 289; Ethelwald's stone cross at, II. 297.

Durham, Reginald of, v. Reginald. 
Durrow, v. Dearnach. 
Dustiphel, William, of Brittany, scribe of MS. Bu, p. cviii. 
Duunchad, abbot of Iona at the time of the adoption of the orthodox Easter, v. 22, p. 347 and note. 
Dunbaer, Dunbar, Co. Haddington, Tydlin prefect of, II. 325, 386. 

E. 

Eabbae, queen of the South Saxons, iv. 13, p. 230; belongs to the province of the Hwecas where she had been baptized, ib. and note; daughter of Eanfrid, ib. 

Eadbald, Aedobaldus, Adulwaldus, Audubaldus, king of Kent, succeeds his father Ethelbert, ii. 5, p. 90; refused to become Christian, ib. and note (cf. II. 16); marries his father's widow, ib. and note (cf. II. 48); attacked by madness, ib. pp. 90, 91; converted by Laurentius, ii. 6, p. 93 (cf. ii. 10, p. 101; ii. 11, p. 104); recalls Mellitus and Justus, ib.; his power inferior to his father's, ib. and note; builds a church of the Virgin in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, ib. and note; Mellitus dies in reign of, ii. 7, p. 95; writes to Boniface V, ii. 8, p. 96 and note; negotiates with Edwin about the marriage of his sister Ethelberg, ii. 9, pp. 97, 98 and notes (cf. II. 321); receives her and Paulinus after the death of Edwin, ii. 20, pp. 125, 126 and notes; Edwin's son and grandson sent to Gaul for fear of, ib. p. 126 and note; invites Paulinus to accept the see of Rochester, ib.; dies, v. 24, p. 354; iii. 8, p. 142 and note; succeeded by his son Eorcenberht, ib. and note; names of his wives, II. 88; his donations to the Church, II. 89, 90; joins Edwin in approaching the pope on the affairs of the English Church, II. 111; grants Liming to Ethelberg for a monastery, II. 116, 117. 

Eadberht, bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeds Cuthbert, iv. 29, p. 275 and notes; his charity, ib. pp. 275, 276; p. lxix note; covers the church of St. Peter with lead instead of thatch, iii. 25, p. 181 and note (cf. II. 102); agrees to the translation of Cuthbert, iv. 30, p. 276 and notes; the incorruption of Cuthbert's body reported to, ib. and note; his retirement during Lent, ib. and note; foretells his own death, ib. p. 277; dies and is buried in Cuthbert's grave, ib.; practises what he preaches, p. xxxvi; miracle worked by, II. 271; fate of his relics, ib. 

Eadberht, a Mercian dux, heads the Mercians against Oswy, iii. 24, p. 180 and note. 

Eadberht, abbot of Selsey, first bishop of the South Saxons, v.
18, p. 321 and note (cf. ii. 228);

Eadberct, son and co-heir of Witred king of Kent, v. 23, p. 348 and note.

Eadberct, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds Ceolwulf, C. 737; makes war on the Picts, C. 740 (cf. ii. 342, 346); annexes the Campus Cyil, C. 750 and note; eclipse in reign of, C. 753; tonsured and succeeded by his son Oswulf, C. 758 and note (cf. ii. 345); expedition against Dumbarton. II. 346; brother of Egbert and Egred and son of Eata, II. 378; character of his rule, p. xxxiii note; II. 379; coins of, ib.; relationship of, to Ceolwulf, II. 384.

Eadberct, slain, C. 740 and note. EADBERT PAEN, usurps the kingdom of Kent, II. 89.

Eadburh, abbess of Thanet, letters of St. Boniface to, p. xx note; II. 219; Lullus sends presents to, p. lxxvi note; v. Bugga.

Eadfrid, son of Edwin by his first wife Cwenburg, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; baptized, ib.; flies to Penda after the battle of Hatfield, and is treacherously slain, ii. 20, pp. 124, 125 and notes; wrongly made father of Hereric, II. 244.

EADFRIED, bishop of Lindisfarne, writes the Lindisfarne Gospels, p. cv; II. 297, 298; Bede's prose Life of St. Cuthbert dedicated to, p. cxlviii; dies 721, ib.

Eadgar, bishop of Lindsey, iv. 12, p. 229 and note.

Eadgyd, name of a nun in the monastery of Barking, iv. 8; dies there, ib.

Eadhæd, bishop of Lindsey, as presbyter accompanies Ceadda to Kent and Wessex, iii. 28, p. 195 and note; consecrated bishop on Wilfrid's first expulsion, v. 24, p. 355; first separate bishop of the Lindisfarne, iv. 12, p. 229 and note (cf. ii. 324); consecrated at York by Theodore, ib.; retires from Lindsey on its recovery by Ethelred, ib. and note; made bishop of Ripon, ib. and note (cf. iii. 28, p. 195 and note); expelled, II. 326.

EADMER, his Life of Wilfrid, II. 278; cited, II. 261; his opinion of Bede, p. xliii note; Life of Abbot Peter by, II. 64; letter of Nicolas, prior of Worcester, to, II. 140, 224; refutes the Glastonbury myth about Dunstan, II. 167.

EADULF, his vision of the other world, II. 295.

EADWINE, or Aedan, bishop of Mayo, II. 210.

EADWULF, usurps the Northumbrian throne on Alfrid's death, II. 306, 345; Arnwine son of, ib.

Eafa, a Mercian dux, heads the Mercians against Oswy, iii. 24, p. 180 and note.

EAHFRED, letter of Aldhelm to, on his sojourn in Ireland, II. 196.

EADELMESBURG, Malmesbury, II. 311; v. Maildufi Urbs.

EAN, phonetic writing of Aedan, II. 66.

EAEBALD I, archbishop of York, superintends the rebuilding of York Cathedral, II. 102.

EAEBALD II, archbishop of York, Alcuin asks for pallium for, II. 51; urges study of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis on, II. 70.

EAENFLED, ÆANFLED, daughter of Edwin and Ethelberg (cf. ii. 321, 391), her birth, ii. 9, p. 99; delivered by Edwin to Paulinus to be dedicated to Christ, ib.; first of the Northumbrians to be baptized, ib. and note; v. 24, p. 353; takes refuge in Kent after Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 126 and notes; sent from Kent to marry Oswin, iii. 15, p. 157 and notes; buried at Whitby, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; founds the monastery of Gilling in expiation of the murder of Oswin, ib. pp. 179,
180 and note (cf. II. 164, 372); a relative of Oswin, ib. and note; observes the catholic Easter which she had learned in Kent, iii. 25, p. 181; her Easter sometimes differs by a week from her husband's, ib. p. 182 (cf. p. xl); has a Kentish chaplain, Romanus, ib. pp. 181, 182; Vitalian sends a gold cross to, iii. 29, p. 198 and note; joint abbess of Whitby, iv. 26, p. 267 and note (cf. II. 245, 391); sends Wilfrid to Kent, v. 19, p. 323 and note; said to have been translated to Glastonbury, II. 185; mother of Elfled, II. 391.

Eanfrid, eldest son of Ethelfrid (cf. II. 66, 99). succeeds Edwin in Bernicia, iii. 1, p. 127 and notes; baptized among the Scotti when in exile, ib.; relapses into paganism, ib. (cf. II. 18); goes to Ædwalla to seek peace, ib. p. 128; put to death by him, ib. and notes; not reckoned in the list of kings, ib. and note (cf. iii. 9, p. 145); perhaps the father of Talorg mac Anfrith, II. 120.

Eanfrid, of the Hwiccas, father of Eaba queen of the South Saxons, brother of Ænhere, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; a Christian, ib.; probably father of Osric, II. 247.

Eangith, abbess, letter of, to St. Boniface, II. 150.

Eanred, dies, C. 750.

Eanwulf, grandfather of Offa, founder of Breddon monastery, II. 341.

Eappa, presbyter, assists Wilfrid in the conversion of Sussex, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; abbot of Selsey, iv. 14, p. 233 and note (cf. II. 226); hears the vision of a sick boy in the monastery, ib. pp. 234, 235 and notes.

Earconberct, Earconberct, king of Kent, succeeds his father Eadbald, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes; first of English kings to order the destruction of idols and enforce the observance of Lent, ib. and notes (cf. II. 58, 59, 344); his wife Sexburgh, ib. (cf. iv. 19, p. 244 and note); his daughter Earcongota, ib. pp. 142–144 and notes; dies, succeeded by his son Egbert, iv. 1, p. 201; v. 24, p. 354 (cf. II. 195); Elfled sends Wilfrid to, v. 19, p. 323 and note; he sends him to Rome with Benedict Biscop, ib. and notes; St. Ermingild daughter of, II. 344.

Earconota, Earconotta, daughter of Earconbert of Kent and his wife Sexburgh, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes (cf. II. 144); enters the monastery of Faremoutier-en-Brie, ib. and note; story of her death and burial, ib. pp. 143, 144 and notes.

Earconuald, made bishop in London of the East Saxons, iv. 6, p. 218 and notes (cf. II. 178); his holy life, ib.; miracles wrought by his litter, ib.; founds a monastery for himself at Chertsey, and for his sister at Barking, ib. pp. 218, 219 and notes; succeeded by Waldhere, iv. 11, p. 226 and note; chronology of life of, II. 177; witnesses the reconciliation of Theodore and Wilfrid, II. 217; spurious charters of, ib.

Earpuald, Eorpuald, Erpuald, king of the East Angles, son of Redwald, ii. 15, p. 115 and notes; converted by Edwin, ib. and notes; murdered by Ricbert, ib. p. 116 and notes; succeeded, after three years, by his brother Sigbert, ib. and note; iii. 18; successor of Redwald, ib. (cf. II. 106).

Eata, bishop of Lindisfarne, iii. 26, p. 190 and note; one of the twelve English pupils of Aidan, ib. and note; abbot of Melrose, ib. and note; iv. 27, p. 269; v. 9, p. 297 (cf. II. 192); made abbot of Lindisfarne on Colman’s departure, iii. 26, p. 190.
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 455

and notes; iv. 27, p. 270 and note (cf. II. 134); made bishop of the Bernicians with his see at Hexham or Lindisfarne, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; iv. 27, p. 269; cf. v. 24, p. 335; II. 193, 224); a monk, iv. 12, p. 229; his see fixed at Lindisfarne, ib. and note (cf. II. 193, 224); transfers Cuthbert as prior to Lindisfarne, iv. 27, p. 270 and notes; transferred to Hexham, iv. 28, p. 273 (cf. II. 193, 224); dies, and is succeeded by John, v. 2, p. 282 and note; invited to Ripon by Alcfrid, II. 192, 193; leaves Ripon, II. 189, 193, 323, 372; conforms to the Roman Easter, II. 323; church dedicated to, at Atcham or Attingham, II. 193; admits Cuthbert as a monk, II. 267; fate of relics of, II. 274; Life of, p. cxxxviii; II. 193.

Eata, called Eata Glinmair, father of Eadbert, Egbert, and Egred, descendant of Ida, II. 378.

Eber fleet, Kent, landing-place of Hengist and Horsea, and probable landing-place of Augustine, II. 41.

Ecchester, Co. Durham, on the Derwent, founded by Ebba, II. 236.

Eber, son of Miled, colonises the South of Ireland, II. 125.


Eboriacum, name of Faremoutier-en-Brie, II. 148; v. In Brige.

Ebrinus, ‘maior domus regiae,’ allows Theodore and Hadrian to leave Arles, iv. 1, p. 203 and notes; allows Theodore to leave Gaul, ib.; detains Hadrian in Gaul, suspecting him of a mission from the emperor to the kings of Britain, ib. and notes (cf. II. 329); releases him, ib. p. 204; bribed by enemies of Wilfrid, II. 215; tries to get him killed, II. 325; puts Annemundus to death, II. 322.

Eburacca ciuitas, York, relation of bishop of, to bishop of London defined, i. 29, p. 64 and notes; bishops consecrated by bishop of, to be subject to Augustine, ib. (cf. II. 52); Wilfrid styled bishop of, v. 19, pp. 326, 327.

Eboracensia, Eboracensis, Eboracensis antistes, Ee. § 9, p. 413 and note; relation of, to Canterbury defined, ii. 18, pp. 120, 121 and note. Eboracensis ecclesiae, Ee. § 10; Ceadda bishop of, iii. 28, p. 194; Wilfrid II bishop of, iv. 23, p. 254; v. 6, p. 292 and note; Wilfrid II bishop in, in 731, v. 23, p. 350; scholars of, write poems on Nynias, II. 129. Eboracensis episcopus, Paulinus, iii. 14, p. 154; Bosa, v. 20, p. 332.

Eboracum, Eboracum, York, Severus dies at, i. 5 and note; bishop to be sent to, by Augustine, i. 29, p. 63; bishop of, to consecrate other bishops and be metropolitan, ib. pp. 63, 64 and note; Goodmanham to the east of, ii. 13, p. 113 and note; Edwin baptized at, ii. 14, p. 114 and notes; church of St. Peter at, ib. and note; Ethelhun and Ethelthryth buried at, ib.; Edwin’s head brought to and buried at, ii. 20, p. 125 and note; James the deacon left by Paulinus at, ib. p. 126 and note; Bosa’s see fixed at, iv. 12, p. 229; Bosa, Eata, and Eadhed consecrated at, ib. and note; Bosa consecrated at, iv. 23, p. 254; John of Hexham transferred to, v. 3, p. 285 and note; Ceadda consecrated to the bishopric of, v. 19, p. 326; Paulinus bishop of the city of, v. 24, p. 354; Egbert bishop of, C. 732; II. 379; Bede visits Egbert at, p. xvi; II. 379; schools founded by Egbert at, pp. xvii note, xxiv; II. 379; due to Bede, pp. xviii note, xxiv; Alcuin a product of, ib. ib.; II. 379; his affection for monks of, p. xxxiii.
Grant Reculver to Bass the priest, II. 283.

Ecgberct, 'Sanctus,' v. 24, p. 356; natione Anglus, iii. 4, p. 134; an exile in Ireland, ib. (cf. iii. 27, p. 193 and note); iv. 3, p. 211; v. 9, p. 296; II. 170; story of his friendship with Ethelhun, illness, and recovery, iii. 27, pp. 192-194 and notes (cf. p. xxxiii); this story Bede had from one who had it from Ecgbert, ib. p. 192; (cf. p. xlv note); vows never to return to Britain, ib. p. 193 and notes (cf. II. 186); Ceadda a companion of, iv. 3, p. 211; Hygbald visits, in Ireland, ib. and note; narrates to Hygbald a vision of the death of Ceadda, ib.; uncertain whether he spoke of himself, ib. p. 212 and note; tries to dissuade Egfrid from attacking Ireland, iv. 26, p. 267; II. 11; wishes to evangelise Germany, v. 9, p. 296 and notes; prevented by a vision, and bidden to reform the monasteries of Columba instead, ib. pp. 296-298 and notes; one of his comrades, Witbert, goes to Frisia, ib. p. 298 and note; sends Wilbrord to Frisia, v. 10, pp. 298, 299 and notes; goes to Iona, v. 22, p. 346 and note; reforms the Paschal practice of Iona, ib. pp. 346, 347 and note; iii. 4, pp. 133, 134; v. 24, p. 356; p. xli; his death and character, iii. 27, pp. 193, 194; v. 22, pp. 347, 348 and notes (cf. II. 352); v. 23, p. 349; v. 24, p. 356; p. xxxv; asceticism of, p. xxx note; his devotion to the Psalter, II. 137; was a bishop, II. 197, 285, 336, 337; called bishop of the Northumbrians, II. 285; consecrates an altar for Ethelwulf's monastery, ib.; attends a synod at Birra, ib.

Ecgberct, archbishop of York, succeeds Wilfrid II, C. 732; II. 378; receives the pallium, C. 735;
III. 378, 384; the first archbishop since Paulinus, C. 735; II. 53, 117, 378; consecrates Frithbert and Frithwald, C. 735; his royal descent, learning, and death, C. 766; II. 376; Bede stays with, p. xvi; Ee. § 1 and note; letter of Bede to, printed, I. 405–423 and notes; v. Baeda; his visit to Rome alluded to, Ee. § 15, v. infra; founds schools at York, pp. xvii note, xxiv; II. 379; said to have founded the York Library, ib.; his Dialogue, ib.; cited, p. xxix note; II. 56, 60, 67, 213, 214, 386; his Petential, p. elvii; II. 379; cited, II. 47, 54, 60; his Pontifical, II. 379; St. Boniface asks for Bede’s Commentaries from, p. elii note; II. 379; sends documents to, II. 45; letters of St. Boniface to, II. 342, 379; Bede urges the study of Gregory’s Cura Pastoralis on, II. 70; brother of Eadbert and Egred, and son of Eata, II. 378; placed in a monastery as an infant, ib.; ordained deacon at Rome, ib.; made bishop of York by Ceolwulf, II. 379; character of rule of, ib.; coins of, ib.; a disciple of Bede, ib.; p. elvii; his relationship to Ceolwulf, II. 384.

Ecgfrid, king of the Northumbrians, son of Oswy, a hostage in the hands of Cynwine, wife of Penda, iii. 24, p. 178 and notes; succeeds his father Oswy, iv. 5, p. 214 and note; Council of Hertford in reign of, ib.; present at it, v. 24, p. 354; comet appears in reign of, iv. 12, p. 228 and note; dissension with Wilfrid, ib. p. 229; defeats Wulfhere, and gains Lindsey, ib. and note (cf. II. 215); Wilfrid remains in Sussex till after death of, iv. 13, p. 232; II. 318, 319; Council of Hatfield in reign of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; consents to the papal grant of privileges to Wearmouth, iv. 18, p. 241; Hab. § 6, p. 369 and note; Hab. § 15 ad fin.; marries Ethelthryth, daughter of Anna of East Anglia, iv. 19, p. 243 and notes; offers large grants to Wilfrid, ib. and note; Ebba, abbess of Coldingham, aunt of, ib. and note; Wilfrid expelled by, v. 24, p. 355 (cf. v. 19, p. 326 and note); battle of the Trent between Ethelred of Mercia and, iv. 21 and notes (cf. II. 215); Theodore makes peace between Ethelred and, ib. and note; his brother Ælfwine slain, ib. and note; sends an expedition against Ireland under Bert, iv. 26, p. 266 and notes (cf. II. 301); Cuthbert tries to dissuade, from attacking the Picts, ib. and notes; defeated and slain by the Picts, ib. p. 267 and notes; v. 24, p. 355; pp. xxxiii, xxxiv; II. 235, 301; refused to listen to Egbert, who urged him not to attack Ireland, iv. 26, p. 267 (cf. II. 11); decline of the ‘Regnum Anglorum’, dates from death of, ib. (cf. p. xxxiii); succeeded by his half-brother Aldfrid, ib. p. 268 and notes; p. xxxiii; v. 1, p. 282 and note; v. 19, p. 327; causes Cuthbert to be consecrated bishop, iv. 27, p. 268; II. 268; present at the Synod of Twyford, iv. 28, p. 272 and note; goes to Farne to persuade Cuthbert to accept the bishopric, ib.; present at the consecration of Cuthbert at York, ib. p. 273; assists and endows the foundation of Wearmouth, Hab. § 1 and note, § 4; Haa. § 7; Wearmouth founded in his fourth year, Hab. §§ 1, 4 and note; Haa. § 7; king of the Transhumbrane region, Hab. § 4 and note; grants land for, and orders the building of St. Paul’s monastery at Jarrow, Hab. § 7, p. 370 and note; Haa. § 11; marks out the place of the altar.
of Jarrow church, Haia. § 12; II. 361; Eosterwine a thane of, Hab. § 8, p. 372; Biscop finds him dead on returning from his sixth visit to Rome, Hab. § 9; Jarrow and its monastery called after, p. xi note; II. 361; called 'rex Christianissimus,' II. 86, 243; under-king of Deira, II. 120; governs Deira through his brother Ælfwine as under-king, II. 120, 243; reconquers Lindsey, II. 155; Oswy's favourite son, II. 182; extension of his power, II. 208; date of his accession, II. 211, 231, 235, 242, 358, 361, 374; Wynfrid said to have been a partisan of, II. 215; his successes due to Wilfrid, II. 223; marries Eormenburg before the death of Ethelthryth, II. 236; his failures due to his quarrel with Wilfrid, II. 260; buried in Iona, II. 261; wished to make Aldfrid a bishop, II. 263; spurious grant of, to Cuthbert, II. 268; Bede's admiration for, II. 316, 355; Wilfrid imprisoned by, II. 318; Jarrow church dedicated in fifteenth year of, II. 361.

Ægric, king of the East Angles, Sigbert resigns the kingdom to, iii. 18 and notes; slain in battle against the Mercians, ib. and notes.

See also Æg.

‘ECHOICI UERSUS,’ II. 241.

ECLANUM, Julianus bishop of, II. 21, 22.

ECLIPSE, solar, II. 194.

Eda, shortened form of Edwine, II. 88.

EDDIUS, v. Aeddi.

Edessa, Ibas bishop of, II. 332.

Edgar, king, II. 140; story of St. Oswald of York and, II. 165; restores Chertsey, II. 217.

Edilhard, king of the West Saxons, dies, C. 739.

Edilhun, a noble English youth, brother of Ethelwine, iii. 27, p. 192; dies of the plague at Rathmelsigi, ib. pp. 192, 193 and notes; his friendship with Egbert, ib. (cf. p. xxxiii note).

Edilwald, bishop of Lindisfarne, previously abbot of Melrose, v. 12, p. 310 and note (cf. II. 295); alive in 731, v. 23, pp. 350, 351; dies, C. 740; succeeded by Conwulf (Cynnewulf), ib.; a servant of St. Cuthbert, II. 297; prior of Melrose, ib.; chronology of life of, ib.; erects a cross at Lindisfarne, ib.; presents a cover for the Lindisfarne Gospels, ib.

Edilwald, elected king of the Northumbrians, C. 759; plague in his reign, ib.

Ediluini, prefect of Oswy, iii. 14, p. 155 and note; murders Oswin, ib. and note.

Ediluini, iii. 27, p. 192; iv. 12, p. 229; v. Aediluini.

See also Adal-, Aedil-, Ægel-, Ael-, Agil-, Athel-, Eiel-, Ethel-, Oidil-.

Edith, sister of Athelstan and wife of Otto I, described as a descendant of Oswald, II. 160.

Edith, St., daughter of Edgar, story of, II. 140.

Edmund, St., king of East Anglia, passion of, by Abbo of Fleury, p. cxvii; found incorrupt after death, II. 240, 271; the philosopher-king, II. 332.

Edmund, king, murder of, on Augustine’s day, II. 81; said to have translated the relics of Hild, II. 247, 248.

Edmund Ironside, notice of, p. cxviii.

Edric, king of Kent, son of Egbert, iv. 26, p. 268; leads the South Saxons against his uncle Hlothhere, ib. and note; succeeds him, reigns for a year and a half, and dies, ib. and notes (cf. II. 228); reigns in conjunction with Hlothhere, II. 264; laws of, ib.

Eduini, iv. 23, p. 252; v. Aeduini.

Edward the Confessor, Life of, by Ailred of Rievaulx, p. cxvii; said to have given the body of St.
Oswald to St. Winnoc's, II. 158.
Edward the Elder, children of, II. 332.
Edward I. arguments on Scotch claims of, II. 132.
Edward III. homage of Edward Balliol to, p. cvii.
Edward VI. Prayer-books of, II. 250.
Edwine, name shortened to Eda, II. 86.
Efesus, Council of, against Nestorius, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; robber synod of, acquits Eutyches, II. 233.
Eobert, king, p. cii; unites the English, II. 115.
Egerbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, Ethelwulf De Abbatibus dedicated to, p. cxi.
Eginhard, Philo cited in letters of, II. 27.
Egmond, North Holland, Adalbert settles at, II. 288.
Egred, bishop of Lindisfarne, translates Ceolwulf's body to Norham, II. 340.
Egred, brother of Eadbert and Egbert, dies at Rome, II. 378.
Egwin, succeeds Offor as bishop of the Hwicecas, II. 246; not mentioned by Bede, ib.; said to have accompanied Offa and Cenred to Rome, II. 315; dies, II. 341.
See also Ecg-.
Eielwine, said to be brother of Cenwall of Wessex, II. 143, 144.
Engl = Angli, II. 285.
Elaflus, son of, miraculously healed by Germanus, i. 21, p. 40.
Elba, II. 184.
Elbodus, episcopus, II. 101.
Eleazar, son of Aaron, p. xv; II. 367.
Elegiac metre, derivation of the name, II. 241.
Eleuther, pontiff of the Roman Church, converts Lucius, king of Britain, i. 4 and notes; v. 24, p. 352; rules for fifteen years, ib. and note; said to have founded church at Glastonbury, II. 14.
Elford, near Tamworth, possible site of battle of the Trent, II. 242.
Elge, regio, Ely, Ethelthryth builds monastery in, iv. 19, p. 244 and notes (cf. II. 235); Sexburgh, abbess of, ib. and note; surrounded by marsh and water, ib. (cf. II. 174, 269); name derived from the eels of the marshes, ib. p. 246 and notes; situated in East Anglia, ib.; dimensions of, ib. and notes; bishops of, John Moore, p. 1xxxix; William Gray, p. cxi; Augustine said to have founded a church in, II. 43; Ethelthryth, Sexburgh, Ermengild, abbesses of, II. 144; daughter of Anna of East Anglia a nun in, ib.; a double monastery, II. 150, 239; relics of Oswald at, II. 158; Wilfrid goes to, II. 324.
Elizabeth, queen, Thomas Stapleton tries to influence, against the Reformation, p. cxxxiii.
Ellmy = Alemanni, II. 285, 286.
Elmete, silua, near Leeds, monastery of Thrydwulf in, ii. 14, p. 115 and note.
Elmham, Norfolk, seat of East Anglian bishopric, II. 218; Badwine bishop of, II. 214; Hadulac bishop of, II. 341.
Emma, daughter of king of the Franks, marries Eadbald of Kent, II. 88, 148.
Emme, bishop of Sens, Hadrian stays with, on his way to Britain, iv. 1, p. 203 and note.
Engaddi, balsam - vines of, II. 151.
English language, neglect of foreign missionaries to learn, II. 190, 357.
I. Eni, father of Anna king of the East Angles, iii. 18 and note.  
II. Enererilla, or Inbher Daeile, county Wicklow, ii. 83.  
Eoba, v. Eowa.  
Eochaid, Irish name of Ceolwulf, q. v., ii. 340.  
Eocharach, a chief of the Alani, ii. 34.  
Eogan, brother of Aedan mac Gabrain, ii. 65.  
Eolla, bishop of the South Saxons in succession to Eadburt, v. 18, p. 321 and note; on his death the bishopric ceases, ib. and note.  
Eona, one of Wilfrid’s chanters, ii. 206, 359.  
Eormenburg, second wife of Egfrid of Northumbria, ii. 236; Wilfrid’s expulsion due to, ib. ; ii. 324 (cf. II. 385); at Carlisle at time of Egfrid’s death, ii. 261; becomes a nun and abbess, ib. ; sister of, married to Centwine of Wessex, ii. 326.  
Eorpuald, ii. 15, p. 116 bis; v. Earpuald.  
Eosterwygni, Eosterwini, Æosterwygni, made co-abbot of Wearmouth by Benedict Biscop, Hab. § 7, p. 370 ; § 8, p. 371 and note ; § 9 (cf. § 14, p. 379 and note); Haa. § 12 and note, § 18; p. xi; cousin of Benedict, Haa. §§ 10, 12; Hab. § 8, p. 371 and note; formerly a thane of Egfrid, ib. (cf. p. xxxv note ; II. 90); his character, ib. pp. 371, 372 and notes ; pp. xxv, xxix; his death, Hab. § 8, pp. 372, 373 and note; dies of the plague, Hab. § 10 and note; Haa. § 13; p. xi; II. 195; succeeded by Sigfrid, Hab. § 10 and note; Haa. § 13 and note, § 15; p. xiii; his relics translated, Hab. § 20 and note; Haa. § 18; chronology of life of, II. 362, 364.  
Eostre, Saxon goddess, ii. 59.  
Eowa, or Eoba, rex Merciorum, brother of Penda, said to have fallen in the battle of Maserfelth, ii. 152.  
Ephesus, v. Efesus.  
Epigrammatum Liber, Bede’s, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.  
Epistulae Catholicae, Bede’s commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.  
Epistularum Liber, Bede’s, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.  
Ephiphany, significance of season of, ii. 237, 238, 387.  
Epternach, MS. M possibly written at, p. lxxxix; monastery of, claims to possess the head of Oswald. ii. 157; Bornred abbot of, ii. 287; Theofrid abbot of, ii. 288; founded by Wilbrord, who dies and is buried there, ii. 293; grants to, ib.  
Equinox, question of the, as affecting the Paschal controversy, ii. 348, 351, 352; fixed by the Easterns, v. 21, p. 339 and note.  
Erc, sons of, colonise Dal Riada in Britain, ii. 9.  
Erconberct, iv. 1, p. 201; v. 19, p. 323; v. Earconberct.  
Ercunaldus, patricius, Neustrian Mayor of the Palace, receives Fursa, iii. 19, p. 168 and notes; builds a church at Peronne, ib. and notes; succeeded by Ebroid, ii. 203.  
Erem, son of Miled, colonises the North of Ireland, ii. 125.  
Ermannic, king of the Goths, ii. 87; v. Irminric.  
Ermenred, brother of Earconbert of Kent, legend of, and his martyred sons, ii. 148.  
Ermegild, St., daughter of Earconbert and Sexburgh, and wife of Wulfhere of Mercia, ii. 144, 344.  
Ernan, St., abbot of Tory Island, ii. 113; v. Ernianus.  
Ernianus, Irish presbyter, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.  
Erpuald, iii. 18; v. Earpuald.  
Esi, abbot, furnishes Bede with materials for the history of the East Angles, Pref. p. 7 and note.  
‘Esox’ and its cognates, ii. 6.
Estrangli, Aldwulf king of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; Redwald king of, II. 390; Estangle, II. 86; v. Angli Orientales.

Estrefeld (on), Council of, II. 56.


Etivelbald, son of Ethelwulf, marries his father's widow, Judith, II. 249.

Etivelbald, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, letter of Alcuin to, p. xxvii note.


Ethelbert, archbishop of York, rebuilds York Cathedral, II. 102; founds the York library, II. 379; asked by Lullus for copy of Bede's Lives of St. Cuthbert, p. cxviii note.

Ethelfled, lady of the Mercians, translates the body of Oswald to her monastery at Gloucester, II. 158.

Ethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, letters of Alcuin to, II. 33, 36, 89, 266, 380.

Ethelred II, notice of, p. cxviii; charter of, cited, II. 20.

Ethelred, king of the Northumbrians, letter of Alcuin to, II. 126.

Ethelred, alderman of the Mercians, co-founder of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, II. 158.

Ethelric, king of the Bernicians, father of Ethebfrid, II. 93; annexes Deira, ib.; said to have slain Ælle, ib. (cf. II. 120).

Ethelwold, his doctrine of the six ages of the world, p. xlii note; his style, II. 312; his admiration for Aldhelm, ib.

Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, said to have translated body of Benedict Biscop to Thorney, II. 365; translates the body of St. Botulf, II. 372.

Ethelwulf, his poem De Abbatibus, pp. cxii, cxviii; II. 285; his monastery possibly Crayke, II. 285; describes a vision of the other world, II. 294; his character of Osred, II. 396.

Ethelwulf, spurious charter of, cited, II. 142; marries Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, II. 249; the philosopher-king of Plato, II. 332.

See also Adal-, Aedil-, Ægel-, Ael-, Agil-, Athel-, Edil-, Eiel-, Oidil-.

Etherius, v. Aetherius.  
‘etiam’ = yes, II. 192, 274, 386.

Ettmologies, mediaeval, II. 10, 29, 41, 162.

Eua, example of, cited, i. 27, p. 61; iv. 20, p. 248 (cf. Ec. § 17, p. 422).

Eucharistus, name of a mythical pope in Nennius, II. 14.

Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, his works probably used by Bede in the De Locis Sanctis, II. 304.

Eudosius, heretic, Council of Constantinople directed against, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.

Eufemia, iv. 20, p. 247 and note.

Eugenius I, pope, irregularly consecrated during life of Martin I, II. 321; Wilfrid presented to, II. 322.

Eulalia, iv. 20, p. 247 and note.

Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, II. 44.

Eumer, a West Saxon emissary, tries to murder Edwin, ii. 9, pp. 98, 99 and notes; slays Fordhere, ib. p. 99; slain himself, ib.

Europa, principal divisions of, i. 1, p. 9; overrun by Attila, i. 13; parts of, overrun by the Saracens, II. 339.

Eusebius Pamphylus, arranges a nineteen-year Easter cycle, v. 21, p. 341; used made by Bede of, p. 1; Rufinus' translation of, p. li note; MSS. of, pp. lxxvi note, cvi, cviii; editions of, p. cxxx.

Eusebius 'Scotigena,' an Irish inclusus at St. Gallen, p. xxxi note.


Eustatus Afer, his translation of St. Basil's Hexameron used by Bede, II. 6.

Eutropius, cited, i. 8 (cf. p. xxiv note).

Eutyches, heresy of, at Con-
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum.

Faëlchu, abbot of Iona, II. 337.

Farne, insula, Aidan accustomed to seek retirement in, iii. 16 and note; Cuthbert lives as an anchorite on, iv. 27, p. 268 and note; iv. 28, pp. 271, 272 and notes; iv. 30, p. 277 (cf. II. 69); Cuthbert returns to, iv. 29, p. 274 and note; dies on, ib. p. 275 and note; wishes to be buried in, ib. and note; Ethelwald succeeds Cuthbert as anchorite in, v. 1, p. 281 and notes; visited by Lindisfarne monks, ib.; miracle wrought by Ethelwald in, ib. p. 282; Ethelwald dies in, ib. and note; Felgeld anchorite of, p. xvi note; II. 273; Bartholomew anchorite of, p. xxvi note (cf. pp. xxxi note, cxxxvii; II. 273); succession of anchorites in, II. 166; grants to monks of, II. 273.

Faro, bishop of Meaux, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; Life of, by Hildegard, II. 203.

'Farus,' meaning of, II. 23.

Fast, v. Ieiumium.

'Fastigium,' used as a title, II. 92.

Felgeld, succeeds Ethelwald as anchorite of Farne, II. 273; Bede converses with, p. xvi note.

Felicianus, v. Primus.

Felix, bishop of the East Angles, a bishop from Burgundy, ii. 15, p. 116 and notes (cf. II. 106); sent by Archbishop Honorius to evangelise the East Angles, ib.; his success, ib. (cf. II. 93); significance of his name, ib. and note (cf. p. lvii note; II. 354); receives his see at Dunwich, ib. p. 117 and note; dies there after seventeen years, ib.; aids Sigbert to establish a school, iii. 18 and notes; dies, iii. 20 and notes; succeeded by his deacon Thomas, ib. and notes; his respect for Aidan, iii. 25, p. 182; mistakes of later

constantine, iv. 17, p. 238 and note; Theodore desires to exclude from the English Churches, ib.; Council of Chalcedon against, ib. p. 240 and note.

Eutycius, bishop of Constantinople, his heresy on the resurrection-body, ii. 1, p. 75; refuted by Gregory I, ib. p. 76 and note.

'Exalbari,' II. 280.

Excommunicatio, use of, II. 179, 213, 214.

Exning, Suffolk, St. Ethelthryth born at, II. 235.


Exorcism, Exorcists, ii. 156, 157.

'Eutychian,' II. 226, 277.

Ezechiel, commentary of Gregory I on, ii. 1, p. 76.

Ezra, Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; chapters of readings on, ib.; practised what he preached, p. xxxvi note; v. Baeda.
writers about, II. 107; possibly connected with St. Columban, II. 108; said to have baptized Cenwalh of Wessex, II. 143; translations of, II. 174.

Felix III (II), bishop of Rome, ancestor of Gregory I, ii. 1, p. 73 and note.

Felix, bishop of Messana, letters to and from Gregory I, II. 47.

Felix, dedicated his Life of Guthlac to Ethelbald, II. 342; cf. II. xxxvi.

Felix, confessor, Bede turns Paulinus' metrical Life of, into prose, v. 24, p. 359; p. clv; v. Bueda.

Feligeld, v. Felgeld.

Females, traces of succession through, in East Anglia, II. 107, 168.

Fepunginga, v. In Fep.

Fergus, father of Oengus king of the Picts, II. 346.

Ferrara, Lupus abbot of, p. clv.

Ferrarensis, v. Ricobaldus.

'Fer-thigis,' p. xxviii note.

Festivals, kept from evening to evening, II. 191.

Fforlonge, George, of Wexford, former owner of MS. R2, p. CI.

Flacc, of Sletty, his hymn to St. Patrick, II. 137.

'fidelis' = believing, orthodox, II. 202; v. 'perfidus.'

Fina, name of Aldfrid's Irish mother, II. 263.

Finan, bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeds Aidan, iii. 25, p. 181 and note; iii. 17, p. 160; sent from Iona, ib. (cf. II. 127); consecrated by the Scotti, iii. 25, p. 182 and note; baptizes Peada and Sigbert at place called Ad Murum, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; iii. 22, p. 172 and note; consecrates Diuma as bishop of the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 171; and Cedd as bishop of the East Saxons, iii. 22, pp. 172, 173 and note; builds a wooden church at Lindisfarne, iii. 25, p. 181 and notes (cf. II. 102); disputes with Ronan on the Easter question, ib. and notes; dies, and is succeeded by Colman, ib. p. 182 and note; length of his episcopate, iii. 26, p. 189; English students in Ireland in time of, iii. 27, p. 192 and note; never received the pallium, II. 126, 189; called son of Kimid, ib.

Finchale, near Durham, possibly identical with Pagnallaech, II. 196; Utred de Boldon, prior of, p. eviii.

Findchan, hand of, lots off, II. 140, 141.

Fines (Phinehas), Haa. § 39 and note.

‘Finit,’ versus ‘explicit,’ not a specially Celtic use, p. cxxiii.

FinnaC Cumall, father of Oisin, II. 163.

Fintan, St., called ‘psalm-mouth,’ II. 137; visited by an angel, II. 258.

Fines, frequency of, II. 91, 102, 154, 258.

Fiskerton, Notts., equated by some with Tiwulflingacæstir, II. 109.

Flacius Illyricus, the first to publish the Latin preface to the Heliand, II. 256.

'flagrantia,' for 'fragrantia,' &c., II. 151.

Flanders, pedigree of counts of, p. exix.

Fland Fina, Irish name of Aldfrid, II. 263.

Fleury, MS. of Bede's H. E. formerly belonging to monastery of, p. xcix note; v. Abbo.


Florus Lugdunensis, his excerpts from St. Augustine on St. Paul wrongly ascribed to Bede, p. clv.

Focas (Phocas), emperor, i. 34 and note; ii. 1, p. 79; ii. 4, p. 88 (cf. II. 36); grants the Pantheon to Boniface IV, ib. and note.

Folcard, his dictum concerning Bede, p. xxii note; Life of St. John of Beverley by, p. cxx; II. 275, 277; Life of St. Botulf by, II. 372.
Folk-Tales, transferred to hagiology, p. lxiv; II. 60.

Foot-washing, solemn, on Maundy Thursday, p. xxvi; II. 238.

Fordheri, Northumbrian thane, slain by Eumer, ii. 9, p. 99.


Forth, Roman wall connecting Clyde and, II. 15; called 'the Sea of Ginde,' II. 24; northern boundary of Bernicia, II. 120; boundary of Picts and Angles, II. 224, 262: Egfrid slain to the north of, II. 261.

Fortheri, bishop of Sherborne, succeeds Aldhelm, v. 18, p. 321 and notes; alive in 731, ib. and note; one of the bishops of the West Saxons in 731, v. 23, p. 350; letter of Archbishop Bertwald to, II. 283, 313; goes to Rome and returns, ib.; signs charter of Ethelhard, ib.

Fortrenn, Angus king of, II. 331.

Fortunatus, presbyter, cited, II. 43; his Laus urginum cited, i. 7, p. 18 and note; II. 241, 242.

'Fósacig,' II. 238.

Fosite, son of Balder, sanctuary of, destroyed by Wilbrord, II. 290.

Fosse, Foillan and Uhtan found a monastery at, II. 172; Uhtan abbot of, ib.

Fosterage, importance of, in early times, II. 117.

Four Masters, the, deliberate omissions of, II. 302, 303.

Franci, ravage the coasts of the empire, i. 6; Carausius sent to repress, ib.; overrun by the Alamani, &c., i. 11; Faremoûtier-en-Brie situated in district of, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes; monasteries of, resorted to by English, ib. and notes; bishops of, neglect to convert the English, II. 41, 42; date of baptism of, p. c; list of kings of, p. cxix; schools of, II. 168. Francorum dux, Pippin, v. 10, pp. 299 and note, 301. Francorum episcopus, Bonifatius, C. 754 and note. Francorum gens, interpreters from, accompany Augustine to Britain, i. 25, p. 45 and note. Francorum gens regia, Bertha, wife of Ethelbert, belongs to, ib. and note. Francorum lingua, connexion of, with English, II. 41. Francorum regnum, Theodore sojourns in, iv. 1, p. 203. Francorum rex, Hloduius, iii. 19, p. 168 and note; Carolus, C. 741 and note; Emma daughter of, II. 88.

'fratruelis,' II. 261.

Fredegar, continuator of Gregory of Tours, p. cxxxi; MS. of, p. lxxxvii.

Frederick, archbishop of Cologne, II. 290.

Fresca fluvius, unidentified, Ceolfrid obtains land for Jarrow near, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note.

Fresia, Withbert evangelises, v. 9, p. 298 and note; Pippin expels Radbod from, and annexes part of, v. 10, p. 299 and notes; sends Wilfrid to preach there, ib.; v. ii, pp. 301, 302; Swidbert sent from, to Britain, ib. p. 302 and notes; Wilfrid preaches there on his way to Rome (678), v. 19, p. 326 and notes (cf. II. 226, 318); again in 703, II. 327.

Fresones, one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 296 and note; forced by Widukind to apostatise, II. 293. Fresonum gens, Wilfrid archbishop of, iii. 13, p. 152; v. II, p. 302.

Fresus, Imma sold to a Frisian, iv. 22, p. 251. Fresi, converted by Wilfrid, II. 292.

Fridegoda, Life of Wilfrid, II. 190, 278.

Frigydd, prioress of Hackness, iv. 23, p. 257 and note.

Frisia, &c., v. Fresia.

Frithewald, subregulus, co-founder of Chertsey, II. 217.

Frithonas, t. Deusdedit.
Frithubert, v. Fruidbert.
Frothau, bishop of Toul, letters of, cited, II. 138.

Fruidbert, Frithubert, bishop of Hexham, consecrated by Egbert, C. 735; dies, C. 766; II. 330.

Fruiduuald, bishop of Whitenor, consecrated by Egbert, C. 735 and note.

Fulco, precentor of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, p. xxviii note.

Fullalove, v. Plenus Amoris.

Fullanus (Foillan), brother of Fursa, who resigns his monastery to him, iii. 19, p. 167 and note; of royal descent, II. 171; a bishop, II. 171, 172; comes with Fursa to Britain, ib.; goes to Gaul, ib. (cf. II. 173); founds the monasteries of Fosse and Roeulx, ib.; martyrdom and burial, ib.

Furseus, comes from Ireland to East Anglia, iii. 19, pp. 163, 167 and notes; received by Sigbert, who grants him a site for a monastery at Cnobheresburg, ib. pp. 163, 164 and notes; his noble descent, ib. p. 164 and note (cf. II. 90); his visions, ib. pp. 164–167 and notes; book of his life cited, ib. pp. 165, 168 (cf. p. xxiv note; II. 169); an aged monk of Bede’s monastery had seen a man who had seen, ib. p. 167 and notes; had preached many years in Scotia (Ireland), ib. and notes; resigns his monastery to his brother Foillan and joins his brother Ulan as an eremite, ib. pp. 167, 168 and notes; retires to Gaul, ib. p. 168 and notes; received by Clovis II and Ereinwald, ib. and notes; builds a monastery at Lagny, ib. and note; buried at Péronne, ib. and note; his body twice translated and twice found uncorrupted, ib.; Lives of, II. 169; Ælfric’s homily on, ib.; said to have been a bishop, II. 171; dies at Mazeroëles, II. 173; chronology of his life, ib.; fate of relics of, II. 173, 174.

‘fylactoria’ = amulets, II. 266.
‘fyrd,’ opposed to ‘here,’ II. 30.

G.

a between vowels tends to disappear, II. 145, 373.

Gæran, father of Aedan king of the Scots in Britain, II. 13, 64; defeated by the Picts, ib.

Gaelic, spread of, in Scotland, II. 10.

Gai campus, Welsh name of the battle of the Winwaed, II. 183.

Gale, Thomas, his notes on Bede, p. lxx note.

Gall, St., Life of, cited, II. 170.

Galli, Caesar fights against, i. 2, p. 13; separated from the Germans by the Rhine, ib.; Columbanus among, ii. 4, p. 88 and note.

Gallia, fronts Britain, i. 1, p. 9; Caesar returns to, after his invasions of Britain, i. 2, p. 14 and note; governed by Constantius, i. 8; Maximus crosses to, i. 9; v. 24, p. 352; Gratian slain there, ib. ib.; Constantius sent to, i. 11; Abbot Peter sent to, i. 33 and notes; Mellitus and Justus retire to, ii. 5, p. 92; recalled from, ii. 6, p. 93; Sigbert of East Anglia converted while an exile in, ii. 15, p. 116 and notes (cf. iii. 18); Wustfrea and Yffi sent for safety to, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; Wine consecrated in, iii. 7, p. 140; Agilbert retires to, ib. p. 141 and note; Cenwalh sends envoys to, ib.; Fursa retires to, iii. 19, p. 168 and notes; Ronan learns the Catholic Easter in, iii. 25, p. 181; Wilfrid sees the Catholic Easter practised in, ib. p. 184; Hild intends to go to, iv. 23, p. 253 and note; Wilfrid returns to, from Rome, v. 19, p. 324 (cf. II. 317); Wilfrid sent to, for consecration, ib. p. 325; Meaux a city of, ib. p. 328; Benedict Biscop sends
Gallia Belgica, to the south of Britain, i. 1, p. 9.

Galliae, i. 27, p. 53; Constantine emperor of, i. 8; overrun by the Alani, &c., i. 11; Constantinus crosses to, ib. and note; monasteries of, frequented by the English, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes (cf. II. 373); schools of, copied by Sigbert of East Anglia, iii. 18 and note; persons coming from, raise the Easter question in Northumbria, iii. 25, p. 181; Hadrian had twice visited, iv. 1, p. 202; Godwin metropolitan of, v. 8, p. 295 and note; Dalfinus offers a part of, to Wilfrid, v. 19, p. 324 and note; Wilfrid returns to, after his second appeal, ib. p. 328; ravaged by the Saracens, v. 23, p. 349 and note; Benedict Biscop visits and procure monasteries from, Hab. § 5 and note. Galliarum archiepiscopus, Dalfinus of Lyons (really Annemundus, v. II. 321), iii. 25, p. 182. Gall. ecclesia, ritual of, different from Roman, i. 27, p. 49 and note. Gall. episcopi, cannot easily be present at consecration of bishops in Britain, ib. p. 52 and notes; relations of, to Augustine defined, ib. pp. 52, 53. Gall. episcopus, Arculfus, v. 15, p. 316 and note. Gall. rex (Clo-
mother Leonilla, *ib. ib.*; their relics carried to Germany, *II. 370.*


*Germanicus* driven, the Yenlade or Inlade, Kent. Receiv’d at the mouth of, v. 8, p. 295 and note.

*Genoa,* Asterius resides at, *II. 142.*

*Genusius* episcopus, Asterius wrongly called, iii. 7, p. 139 and note.

*Geoffrey of Durham,* his Life of St. Godric, p. cxxviii.


*George,* St., of Cappadocia, notice of, p. c.

*George I.* gives MSS. to Cambridge University, p. lxxxix.

*Geraint,* Welsh form of Gerontius, *II. 23.*

*Gerard,* bishop of Cambrai, *II. 48.*

*Germania,* Caesar fights against, i. 2, p. 13; separated from the Gauls by the Rhine, *ib.*; invited by Gerontius to invade Gaul and Britain, *II. 23*; v. Garmani.

*Germania,* fronts Britain, i. 1, p. 9; Saxons, Angles, and Jutes come from, i. 15, p. 31 (cf. v. 9, p. 296 and note); fame of Oswald in, iii. 13, p. 152 and note; various tribes of, v. 9, p. 296 and note; derivation of name, *II. 29. 41*; Saxons retire to, *II. 30*; Franci and Angli come from, *II. 41.*

*Germania prima,* Severus preaches to the peoples of, i. 21, p. 40 and note.

*Germaniae,* Augustine consecrated by bishops of, *II. 45.*

*Germanus,* bishop of Auxerre, sent with Lupus by a Gallican synod to help the Britons against the Pelagians, i. 17, p. 34 and notes; calms a storm, *ib.* and note; their coming announced by evil spirits, *ib.* pp. 34, 35 (cf. i. 21, p. 40); they refute the heretics, *ib.* pp. 35, 36; heals a blind girl, i. 18; visits the tomb of St. Alban, *ib.*; places relics there, and brings away earth from it, *ib.* and note; injury to his foot, i. 19; miraculously healed, *ib.*; quells a fire, *ib.*; other miracles of, *ib.*; with Lupus leads the Britons against the Piets and Saxons, i. 20 and notes (cf. *II. 71*); their return, *ib.* p. 39; visits Britain again with Severus, i. 21, p. 40 and note; heals the son of Elafius, *ib.*; refutes the heretics, *ib.* p. 41; goes to Ravenna to intercede for the Armoricans, *ib.* and note; dies there, *ib.* and note; buried at Auxerre, *ib.* and note; Life of, by Constantius, used by Bede, p. xxiv note; *II. 31, 32*; churches dedicated to, p. cxxi; *II. 33*; builds a church to St. Alban at Auxerre, *ib.*; translation of his remains, *II. 35*; office for his day, p. cxxv; confused with St. Germinus, *II. 144.*

*Germinus,* St., mythical son of Anna of East Anglia, *II. 144.*

*Gerontius,* comes, slays Constans at Vienne, i. 11 and note.

*Gerontius,* king of the Cornish Britons, letter of Aldhelm to, on the Paschal question, *II. 192, 301, 311*; Britons accused of destroying this letter, *II. 312.*

*Gertrude,* St., grants land at Fosse to Foillan and Ultan, *II. 172*; death of, foretold by Ultan, *ib.*

*Gessoriacum,* Boulogne, a city of the Morini, port of embarkation for Britain, i. 1, p. 9 and note.

*Geta,* son of Severus, proclaimed a public enemy, and dies, i. 5 and note.

‘Getimerian,’ to build, *II. 101.*

*Getlingum,* v. In Get.

*Geuissi,* *Geuissae,* derivation of
the name, II. 89; continues to be used in Celtic sources, ib.; sons of Sebert defeated by, ii. 5, p. 92 and note; ancient name of West Saxons, iii. 7, p. 139; iv. 15 (cf. II. 89); Cadwalla of the royal race of, iv. 15 and note; Wight opposite the boundary between South Saxons and, iv. 16, p. 238; Jutes in the territory of, ib. Geissorum episcopatus, held by Hlothhere, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes. Geissorum episcopus, South Saxons subject to, iv. 15; Agilbert, v. 19, p. 325. Geissorum gens, utterly pagan before Birinus' coming, iii. 7, p. 139. Geissorum regnum, Cadwalla gains, iv. 16, pp. 236, 237 and note. Geissorum rex, Cadwalla, iv. 15 and note; v. Saxones Occidentales.

Gewis, an eponymous hero of the Gewissas, II. 89.

Gidding, Little, v. Little Gidding.

Gidley, Rev. L., his translation of Bede's H. E., p. cxxxii; II. 199.

Giezi (Gehazi), example of, cited, Ee. § 17, p. 422.

Gildus (Gildas), cited, i. 22 (cf. p. xxiv note); II. 23, 24, 27; knows nothing of the story of King Lucius, II. 14; Philo cited by, II. 27; date of birth of, II. 31, 35; date of writing the De Excidio, ib. ib.; cited by Wulfstan, II. 35, 36; W. M.'s opinion of, II. 35; cited by Alcuin, II. 36; canons ascribed to, II. 136.


'Gingra' = deputy, II. 248.

Girardus, prior of S. Maria de Caritate, p. c note.

Gisla, abbess of Chelles, and sister of Charles the Great, p. xix note; II. 149; letters of Alcuin to, ib.

Gislerbert, scribe of the monastery of St. Hubert, p. xx note.

Gindi urbs, perhaps Inchkeith, on the Firth of Forth, i. 12, p. 25 and note; II. 182; sea of, II. 24.

Glamorganshire, churches in, dedicated to St. Lupus, II. 33.

Glannauc insula, Priestholme, or Puffin Island, off Anglesey, Cadwallon besieged by Edwin in, II. 115.

Glass-making, introduction of art of, into Britain, II. 359.

Glastonbury, church of, said to have been founded by Pope Eleuther, II. 14; Dunstan's buildings at, II. 80; wooden and stone churches at, II. 101; Irish connexions of, p. cxvi note; MS. W possibly belonged to, p. cxi; MS. O, probably belonged to, p. cxiii; substituted for Lastingham in some MSS., pp. cxiii, cxxvii; alleged translation of relics to, II. 167, 185, 247, 251, 262, 369; bad pre-eminence of, in monastic lying, II. 167; Irish pilgrims at, II. 170; Centwine said to be buried at, II. 221; and Hædde, II. 307; Bertwald abbot of, II. 283; Bertwald the archbishop wrongly claimed for, ib.

Glendale, the valley of the Beaumont Water, II. 104.

Gleni, fluuius, the Beaumont Water, Northumberland, Paulinus baptizes Bernicians in, ii. 14, p. 115 and notes.

Glinmaur, v. Fata.

Gloucester, Vale of, celebrated for its vines, II. 5, 6; monastery of St. Peter at, formerly owned MS. R, p. cxiv; Laud dean of, p. cxxi; relics of St. Oswald at, II. 158; monastery and church of St. Oswald at, II. 158, 159; church at, dedicated to Owine, II. 209; Hild's relics said to have been translated to, II. 248.

Gobban, presbyter, Fursa en-
trusting his monastery to, iii. 19, 
p. 168 and notes.

Gocelin, monk of Canterbury, 
Life of Augustine by. II. 44 
(cf. II. 81); Lives of other arch- 
bishops by, ib.: II. 90; W. M.'s 
judgement on, ib.

Godmundingaham. Goodman-
ham, to the east of York beyond 
the Derwent, ii. 13. p. 113; 
heathen fane there destroyed 
by Coifi, ib. and note.

Godric, St., Life of, by Geoffrey of 
Durham, p. cxxxviii.

Godwine, archbishop of Lyons, 
metropolitan of Gaul, v. 8, 
p. 295 and note; consecrates 
Bertwald, ib.

Gold in Britain, II. 7.

Gold coinage, iii. 8, p. 143 and 
note.

Golden Chair, v. Sella aurea.

Golgotha ecclesia, church 
built on the site of the Crucifi-
xion, v. 16, p. 317.

Goodmanham, v. Godmundingha-

Gordianus, father of Gregory I, 
ii. i, p. 73; II. 389.

GORZ, near Metz, abbey of, II. 
290.

Gosford MS., identified with MS. 
A3, pp. lxxxii, cvii.

Gothi, Alaric king of, i. 11; 
capture of Rome by, ib. and 
note; v. 24, p. 352; kings 
of, Sisebut, II. 86; Erman-
ric, II. 87; Leuvichild, II. 106.

Gottschalk, king of the Wends, 
interprets Christianity to his 
people, II. 126.

Gough Missal, MS. 47, p. cxix 
ote.

Graeci, &c., v. Greci.

Grantaestir, Grantchester, 
near Cambridge, stone sarcophagus 
found at, iv. 19, p. 245 
and note.

Gratianus, sole emperor, i. 9; 
joint emperor with Valens and 
Valentinianus, ib.; appoints 
Theodosius emperor of the 
East, ib.; attempts to reach 
Italy from Gaul, but is treach-
erously slain by Maximus, ib.; 

Gratianus, tyrant in Britain, 
slain, i. 11.

Gray, William, bishop of Ely, 
former owner of MS. O19. p. excii.

Greca lingua, Hadrian and Theo-
dore skilled in, iv. 1, p. 202; 
Hab. § 3; their disciples know, 
as well as English, iv. 2, p. 205; 
p. xviii; Tobias learned in, v. 
8, p. 296; v. 23, p. 348; Albinus 
learned in, v. 20, p. 331.

Greci, iv. 13, p. 232; heresies of, 
iv. 1, p. 203 and note; allow 
marriage within the third de-
gree, II. 48.

Grecia, observes the catholic 
Easter, iii. 25, p. 184; daily 
communion the rule in, Ec. 
§ 15.

Grecum, the Greek language, Life 
of St. Anastasius badly trans-
lated from, v. 24. p. 359; 
Jerome's translation from, Haa. 
§ 37.

Greenstead, Essex, wooden church 
at, II. 101.

Gregorius I, pope, ii. 4, p. 88; 
disciples of, in the church of the 
Cantuarii, Pref. p. 6 (bis); Putta 
had learned chanting from disci-
plies of, iv. 2, p. 206; letters of, 
brought by Nothelm from Rome, 
Pref. p. 6 and note; sends Au-
 gustine and others to Britain 
to convert the English, v. 24, 
p. 353; i. 23. p. 42 and notes 
(cf. II. 390); encourages them 
to proceed, ib. p. 43 and notes; 
i. 25, p. 44; recommends Au-
 gustine and Candidus to Eth-
 rius, i. 24 and notes; receives 
news of Augustine's consecra-
tion, and conversion of English, 
i. 27. p. 48 and notes; answers 
various questions of Augustine, 
ib. pp. 48-62 and notes (cf. ii. 1, 
p. 76; iv. 27, p. 270; II. 45. 75, 
134. 137); commends Augustine 
to Vergilius of Arles, i. 28 and 
notes; sends Augustine fresh 
missionaries, letter, pallium, 
relics, and other gifts, i. 29,
Gregorius I (continued).
pp. 63, 64 and notes; v. 24, p. 353 (cf. II. 52, 60); writes to Mellitus, i. 30, pp. 64-66 and notes (cf. II. 84); writes to Augustine on the subject of his miracles, i. 31, pp. 66, 67 and notes (cf. II. 191); writes to Ethelbert of Kent, i. 32, pp. 67-70 and notes (cf. II. 58); death of, v. 24, p. 353; ii. i, p. 73 (cf. II. 36); conversion of English by, ib. pp. 73, 78-81 and notes; the apostle of the English, ib. p. 73 and note; a Roman by birth, son of Gordianus, ib. and note (cf. II. 389); descendant of Felix, bishop of Rome, ib. and note; his monastic life, ib. p. 74; his Dialogues cited, ib. and note; Hab. § i and note, § 7 and note; his pastoral and pontifical life, ii. i, pp. 74, 75 and notes; sent as apostocrisiarius to Constantinople, ib. p. 75 and note; organises his household on the monastic pattern, ib. and note (cf. II. 46); begins his commentary on Job there, ib. and notes; refutes the heresy of Eutychius, ib. pp. 75, 76 and note; date of his return to Rome, II. 72; his literary works, ii. i, pp. 75-77 and notes; his frequent illnesses, ib. p. 77 and note (cf. II. 45); his charity, ib. pp. 77, 78 and note; his commentary on Job cited, ib. p. 78 and note; pp. lii note, lv note; his liturgical reforms, ib. and note (cf. II. 47); buried in St. Peter's, ib. p. 79 (cf. II. 391); his epitaph, ib. and note; tradition as to the origin of the mission which he sent to the English, ib. pp. 79-81 and notes; II. 37, 389, 390; p. xliii; an altar dedicated to, at SS. Peter and Paul's, Canterbury, ii. 3, p. 86; study of works of, urged on Edwin by Pope Honorius, ii. 17, p. 119; Archbishop Honorius urged by the same to imitate, and extend the work of, ii. 18, p. 121; porticus dedicated to, in church of St. Peter at York, ii. 20, p. 125; relics of, sent by Vitalian to Oswy, iii. 29, p. 198; cited, v. 13, p. 313; Archbishop Honorius one of the disciples of, v. 19, p. 323; Maban taught by the successors of the disciples of, v. 20, p. 331; his sayings about St. Benedict cited, Hab. § 1 and note, § 7; Wighard educated by the disciples of, Hab. § 3; his Regula Pastoralis recommended by Bede to Egbert, Eb. § 3 and note; letter of, to Augustine (i. 29), cited, Eb. § 9, pp. 412, 413; practises what he preaches, p. xxxvi; use made by Bede of, p. lii; his contempt for grammar, p. liii; uses both the Itala and Vulgate, p. lv; chronology of his reign, II. 36, 67; his earlier scheme for converting the English, II. 37, 290; assumes the style of 'seruus servorum Dei,' II. 38; founds the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, ib.; uses the Constantinopolitan Indiction, II. 39; commendatory letters of, II. 37, 39, 40; prefers clerics as governors of Church property, II. 40; letter of, to Eulogius of Alexandria, II. 44; letters of, sent by St. Boniface to Egbert of York, II. 45; his idea of a unity of the Latin-speaking races, II. 47; doubtful letter of, to Felix of Messana, ib.; Anglo-Saxon homily on, cited, II. 51; sends books to Britain, II. 56, 57; his Cura Pastoralis brought to Britain by Augustine, II. 56, 70; translated by Alfred, ib. ib.; gifts of, deposited in St. Augustine's, Canterbury, II. 57; letters of, to clergy of Milan, and to Venantius, II. 62; to Bertha, II. 63; to John, patriarch of Constantinople, II. 68; his mother named Silvia, II. 68, 389; Irish pedigree invented for, II. 68; called Gregory of the Moralia,
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 471

II. 69; of the Dialogue, II. 70; importance of his Cura Pastoralis, ib.; Alfred's praise of, ib.; popularity of his Dialogue, ib.; his activity as a scribe, II. 70; alludes to Augustine's success in his Moralia, II. 71; wrongly asserted to have fixed the primacy at Canterbury, II. 92; church at Kirksen, Newton dedicated to, II. 105; church of, in London, p. cxxv; his reform of church music, II. 118; founds schools of chanters at Rome, ib.; the first to date the days of the month in the modern way, II. 153; his plan of two provinces ignored by Theodore, II. 205; asked to confirm St. Kentigern as bishop, II. 207; cited by Bede and Aldhelm, II. 259; grants privileges to the see of Tours, II. 323, 324; his homily on the Ascension cited, II. 334; letter of, to Serenus of Marseilles, II. 360; on baptism and confirmation, II. 382; his severity against any breach of monastic communism, II. 387; earliest Life of, by a monk of Whitby, II. 389-391; used by John and Paul, the deacons, and by Bede, II. 389; possibly known to Cuthbert of Wearmouth, ib.; sets out himself for Britain, but is recalled, II. 390; said to have consecrated Augustine, ib.; invoked as a saint, II. 391; altar dedicated to, at Whitby, ib.; decree of, against molestation of monasteries by bishops, p. cvi; lection on, I, 426; v. Chanting.

Gregorius II, pope, allows Nothelm to search the Roman archives, Pref, p. 6 and note; Ini comes to Rome in his reign, v. 7, p. 294 and note; letter of Hwaetbert commending Celffrid to, Hab. §§ 18, 19, pp. 383, 384; Haa. § 30, pp. 399, 400 and note; letter of, to Hwaetbert, Haa. § 39 and notes; death of, II. 2; formerly librarian of Church of Rome, II. 3; answers questions of St. Boniface, II. 45, 48; decree of, pp. xc, xcix, clxv; letter of, to Leo the Iconoclast, II. 281.

Gregorius III, pope, accession of, II. 3; answers questions of St. Boniface, II. 45.

Gregory VII, pope, refuses pallium to Lanfranc, &c., in absence, II. 51.

Gregory of Tours, MS. of, p. lxxxvii.

Grimwald, duke of Beneventum, dies, II. 279.


Guenedota, Gwynedd, q. v.

Guthlac, St., foretells Ethelbald's accession, II. 342; Life of, by Felix, ib. (cf. II. xxxvi).

Guthrum, 'chrism-loosing' of, at Wedmore, II. 280.


Gwynedd, Cadvan king of, II. 93; Catgabail king of, II. 183.

Gyruii, Medeshamstead in the region of, iv. 6, p. 218. Gyruiorum provincia, Thomas, bishop of the East Angles, belongs to, iii. 20 and note.

Gyruii Australes, Tondbert, prince of, iv. 19, p. 243 and note.

Gyrum, v. In Gyr.

H.


Hacanos, Hackness, near Whitby, monastery of, founded by Hild, iv. 23, p. 257 and note; vision seen there at time of Hild's death, ib. pp. 257, 258 and notes.

Hadrianus, an African, abbot of Nirdanum, iv. 1, p. 202 and notes; twice offered the archbishopric of Canterbury by Vita-
lian, ib.; suggests a monk named Andrew, ib.; persuades the pope to appoint Theodore, ib. and notes; promises to accompany him, ib. (cf. Hab. § 3); had twice visited Gaul, ib.; sets out for Britain, ib. p. 203 (cf. v. 20, p. 331); detained by the archbishop of Arles, ib.; stays with the bishops of Sens and Meaux, ib. and notes; detained by Ebroin, ib. and notes (cf. II. 329, 357); released, ib. p. 204; receives the monastery of St. Peter’s at Canterbury from Theodore, ib. and note; Hab. § 3 and note; co-operates with Theodore, v. 20, p. 331; iv. 2, p. 204; learning and disciples of, ib. pp. 204, 205; p. xviii; II. 168, 372; Albinus a disciple of, Pref. p. 6 and note; v. 20, p. 331; dies in the fifth year of Osred, ib. pp. 330, 331 and note; buried in the church of the Virgin in his monastery, ib. p. 331; Tobias a disciple of, v. 23, p. 348; receives a grant from Pope Adeodatus, II. 204; Aldhelm a pupil of, II. 205, 309; letter of Aldhelm to, ib. ib.; influence of, at the Council of Hatfield, II. 233.

Hadrianus, emperor, wall of, in Britain, II. 15-17.

Hadulac, bishop of part of the East Angles (Elmham) in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note.

Haedd, Haeddi, bishop of the West Saxons, II. 144, 145; consecrated at London by Theodore in succession to Hlothhere, iv. 12, p. 227 and note (cf. II. 143); during his time Cædwalla gains and resigns the West Saxon throne, ib. p. 228; body of Birinus translated from Dorchester to Winchester under, iii. 7, p. 140 and notes; dies, v. 18, p. 320 and notes; miracles at the tomb of, ib.; succeeded by Daniel and Aldhelm, ib. and notes (cf. II. 144); said to have transferred the see to Winchester, II. 144, 145, 245; wrongly identified by H. & S. with Ætla, II. 245; letters of, known to Malmesbury, II. 307; letter of Aldhelm to, ib.; verses of Theodore to, ib.

Hægstaldescumb, Somerset, II. 123.

Haemgils, presbyter, hears Drythelm narrate his visions, and through him the story reached Bede, v. 12, p. 309; leads an anchoritic life in Ireland, ib. (cf. II. 196); still alive in 731, ib.; asceticism of, p. xxx note.

Haethfelth, Hatfield Chase near Doncaster, Edwin defeated and slain in the battle of, ii. 20, p. 124 and note (cf. II. 99); buried at, II. 391.

Haethfelth, Hatfield, Hertfordshire, Council of, under Theodore, iv. 17, pp. 238-240 and notes; v. 24, p. 355 (cf. II. 203); John the archchanter present at, ib.; iv. 18, p. 240 and note; Wilfrid wrongly said to have attended, II. 318.

Hagustaldensis ecclesia, Hexham, monks of, celebrate the eve of Oswald’s obit at Hefenfelth, iii. 2, p. 129 and note; Bothelm a monk of, ib. p. 130 and note; Éata given choice of see at, iv. 27, p. 269; iv. 12, p. 229 and note; Tunbert appointed bishop to, ib. and note; Haa. § 2; John bishop of, iv. 23, p. 254; Cuthbert elected to, in succession to Tunbert, iv. 28, p. 273; Éata transferred to, ib.; John succeeds him in, v. 2, pp. 282, 283 and notes; cemetery of St. Michael near, ib. p. 283 and notes; Wilfrid restored to, v. 3, p. 285 and note; p. exliv; II. 274, 320, 327; Acca succeeds Wilfrid in bishopric of, v. 20, p. 331 and note; Acca bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 351; boundaries of diocese of, p. x note; II. 224; Wearmouth and Jarrow in, ib.; p. exlii note; Plegwin a monk
of, p. cxlvi; masses and psalms recited in, II. 138; letter of Alcuin to monks of, II. 259; canons of, dispersed, II. 262; Wilfrid administers the see of, for a year, II. 274; church of, built by Wilfrid, II. 318; adorned by him, II. 360; site of, given by Ethelhryth, II. 318; monastery of, recovered by Wilfrid (686), II. 326; buildings of Aca at, II. 330; see of, located in the monastery, II. 384.

Hainault, Rainer II count of, II. 48.

Halani, cross the Rhine and ravage Gaul, i. 11; Eocharich chief of, II. 34; settled at Orleans, ib.

Halaricus, king of the Goths, attacks Rome, i. 11 and notes.

Halléland, v. Lindisfarneins insula.

Hallbjörn, the shepherd-bard of Thingvöllr, II. 255.

Hallelujah Victory, i. 20, p. 39 and notes; not alluded to in Gregory's Moralia, II. 71.

Hallicford, Caesar fords the Thames at, II. 13.

Hallington or Halydon, Northumberland, scene of part of the battle between Oswald and Cædwalla, II. 123.

Hamble, the, v. Homelea.

Hanno II, archbishop of Cologne, translates the two Hewalds, II. 290.

Hardasir, Maris bishop of, II. 232.

Harding, Stephen, abbot of Citeaux, II. 194.

Harley MSS., pp. xcviii, cvi, cxxvi, cxxxiii, cxxxvii, cxl, cxlii.

Harold Harapoot, called king of the Gewissas, II. 89; said to have given Oswald's body to St. Winnoc's, II. 158.

Harp, the national instrument of the English, II. 248, 249.


Hatfield, v. Haethfelth.

Healaugh, near Tadcaster, connexion of, with Heiu, II. 244.

Heathenism, magic, &c., II. 266; mode of treating, by Christian teachers, II. 57, 58; enters into composition with popular Christianity, II. 58, 60, 105, 106; measures against, II. 148; of English tribes, II. 42, 43, 148.

Hebrei, Irish accused of imitating the Passover of, ii. 19, p. 123 and note; Epistle to, cited, Haa. § 1.


Hedda, bishop of Lichfield before Aldwin, II. 341.

Hedfeled, II. 391; v. Haethfelth.

Hefenfelth, St. Oswald's, Northumberland, cross erected by Oswald at, before the battle of Denisesburn, iii. 2, pp. 128-131 and notes; miracles wrought there, ib. and notes; eve of obit of Oswald celebrated at, ib. p. 129 and notes; church erected at, ib. p. 130 and note.

Heiu, the first woman in Northumbria to take the veil, iv. 23, p. 253 and note; receives it from Aidan, ib.; founds Hartlepool monastery, ib.; retires to Kælcaeaestir, ib. and note; succeeded by Hild at Hartlepool, ib.; name preserved in Healaugh, II. 244; her gravestone discovered, II. 245.

Helbertus, monk of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, p. xxviii note.

Helena, mother of Constantine, i. 8; Invention of the Cross by, v. 16, p. 317 and note.

Helena, iv. 20, p. 247.

Helgi, an instance of religious syncretism, II. 106.

Helian, Old-Saxon poem, relation of, to Caedmon, II. 253, 254; preface to, II. 255-257.

Helias, Haa. § 39 and note; Syrian sun-god, Helius, christianised into, II. 60.

Heligoland, sanctuary of Fosite in, II. 290.
HELINANDUS, his account of Bede cited, p. lxxviii.
HELISEUS, Haa. § 39 and note.
HELL, mediaeval conceptions of, II. 296.
HELL-SHOON, II. 270.
HELMWALDUS, epistle of Bede to, De Bissexto, p. xxxvii note; v. Baeda.
HENIGST, son of Victgils, one of the leaders of the invading Saxons, i. 15, p. 31; II. 28; father of Oisc or Oeric, with whom he first enters Britain, invited by Vortigern, ii. 5, p. 90 and note; called Anschis by the Ravenna geographer, II. 28.
HENGWRT MS., p. cv.
HENRICUS, 'Scholasticus Bremen-sis,' II. 194.
HENRY I, Faricius physician to, II. 308.
HENRY II, p. ci note; invited to invade Ireland, II. ii.
HENRY III, 'the young king,' son of Henry II, p. ci note.
HENRY III, pp. ci, cii; called Henry IV, p. ci note; form of peace between Louis of France and, p. cvx.
HENRY VI, stays at Bury St. Edmund's, II. 5.
HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, proverbs preserved by, II. 99, 122, 152, 183, 184; draws on his own imagination, II. 99.
HENRY OF NEWARK, dean and archbishop of York, p. cxxi.
HERACLIO, emperor, ii. 18, p. 122 and note.
HERACLIO (Heracleonas'), son of Heracleius, Caesar, ii. 18, p. 122 and note.
HERBERT LOSINGA, bishop of Norwich, removes the East Anglian see to Norwich, II. 108; story of his penitence, II. 147.
HERBERTUS, monk of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, p. xxviii note.
HERCULIUS, v. Maximianus.
'HERE,' opposed to 'fyrd,' II. 30.

HEREBERCT, anchorite of Derwentwater, friend of Cuthbert, iv. 29, p. 274 and notes; annual meeting of, with Cuthbert, ib. and note; their last interview, ib. and notes; his long illness, ib. p. 275 and note; dies on the same day as Cuthbert, ib.
HEREFORD, question of origin of see of, II. 222; bishops of, Putta, II. 222; Torthere, Walhstod, Cuthbert, II. 341.
HEREFRID, 'uir Dei,' dies, C. 747 and note; letter of St. Boniface to, II. 342.
HEREFRID, abbot of Lindisfarne, Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert submitted to, II. 1; account of Cuthbert's death derived from, II. 270.
HEREREC, nephew of Edwin, father of Hild, iv. 23, p. 252 and note; in exile at the court of Cerdic, king of the Britons, ib. p. 255 and note; poisoned there, ib.
HERESUARD, sister of Hild and mother of Aldwulf of East Anglia, iv. 23, p. 253 and note (cf. II. 106, 107); enters the monastery of Chelles, ib.; wife of Ethelhere, not of Anna, II. 244.
HERESY, figured under a plough, II. 287; kinds of, refuted by Bede, pp. lxxii, lxxiii note.
HERFAS, removes the East Anglian see to Thetford, II. 108.
HERIBALD, Herebold, one of the household of Bishop John, afterwards abbot of Tynemouth, v. 6, p. 289 and note; miraculously cured by him, ib. pp. 289-291 and notes (cf. II. 240); re-baptized, ib. p. 291 and notes.
HERIBALD, bishop of Auxerre, translates the remains of St. Germanus, II. 35.
HERICUS, letter of, to Charles the Bald, II. 170, 332.
HERMANN, count of Verdun, II. 48.
and notes; its climate and products, ib. pp. 12, 13 and notes; no reptiles in, ib. and note; Scotti from, under Reuda, settle in Britain, ib. and notes; the proper country of the Scotti, ib. p. 13 and note; ii. 4, p. 87; scrapings of MSS. from, antidote for poison, i. 1, p. 13 and note; next to Britain, ii. 4, p. 87; the Me- nuances insulae between Britain and, ii. 5, p. 89; southern part of, converted to the Roman Easter, iii. 3, p. 131 and note; distinguished from the northern half, II. 124, 125; Columba comes from, iii. 4, p. 133; monasteries in, founded by Columba and his disciples, ib. p. 134 and note; Agilbert comes from, to Wessex, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; fame of Oswald in, iii. 13, p. 152 and note; ravages of plague in, ib.; iii. 27, p. 192 and note; Haa. § 3; Fusa comes from, iii. 19, p. 163 and note; Hygald visits, iv. 3, p. 211 (cf. II. 196); Inis- bofin on the west coast of, iv. 4, p. 213 and note; Mayo in, ib. and note; Adamnan's confessor retires to, iv. 25, pp. 263, 264; Egfrid sends an expedition against, iv. 26, p. 266 and note; Witbert returns to, v. 9, p. 298; Adamnan goes to, v. 15, pp. 315, 316 and notes; celebrates the orthodox Easter there, ib. p. 316 and note; Egbert comes from, to Iona, v. 22, p. 346; students of other nations in, numerous English, iii. 27, p. 192 and note (cf. Haa. § 3); Egbert, Ethelhun, and Ethelwine, ib. and note; Agilbert, a Gaul, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; II. 196; Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 211; II. 196; voluntary exiles in, Egbert, iii. 4, p. 133; iv. 3, p. 211; v. 9, p. 296; II. 196; Wilbrord, iii. 13, p. 152 and note; II. 196; Witbert, v. 9, p. 298; II. 196; the two Hewalds, v. 10, p. 299; II. 196; Haemgils, v. 12, p. 309; II. 196; Cynufrid, Haa.

HIBERNIA, Ireland, the Piets attempt to settle in north of, i. 1, p. 11 and notes; the largest island next to Britain, ib.; its position and size, ib. pp. 11-13 and notes; its climate and products, ib. pp. 12, 13 and notes; no reptiles in, ib. and note; Scotti from, under Reuda, settle in Britain, ib. and notes; the proper country of the Scotti, ib. p. 13 and note; ii. 4, p. 87; scrapings of MSS. from, antidote for poison, i. 1, p. 13 and note; next to Britain, ii. 4, p. 87; the Me- nuances insulae between Britain and, ii. 5, p. 89; southern part of, converted to the Roman Easter, iii. 3, p. 131 and note; distinguished from the northern half, II. 124, 125; Columba comes from, iii. 4, p. 133; monasteries in, founded by Columba and his disciples, ib. p. 134 and note; Agilbert comes from, to Wessex, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; fame of Oswald in, iii. 13, p. 152 and note; ravages of plague in, ib.; iii. 27, p. 192 and note; Haa. § 3; Fusa comes from, iii. 19, p. 163 and note; Hygald visits, iv. 3, p. 211 (cf. II. 196); Inis- bofin on the west coast of, iv. 4, p. 213 and note; Mayo in, ib. and note; Adamnan's confessor retires to, iv. 25, pp. 263, 264; Egfrid sends an expedition against, iv. 26, p. 266 and note; Witbert returns to, v. 9, p. 298; Adamnan goes to, v. 15, pp. 315, 316 and notes; celebrates the orthodox Easter there, ib. p. 316 and note; Egbert comes from, to Iona, v. 22, p. 346; students of other nations in, numerous English, iii. 27, p. 192 and note (cf. Haa. § 3); Egbert, Ethelhun, and Ethelwine, ib. and note; Agilbert, a Gaul, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; II. 196; Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 211; II. 196; voluntary exiles in, Egbert, iii. 4, p. 133; iv. 3, p. 211; v. 9, p. 296; II. 196; Wilbrord, iii. 13, p. 152 and note; II. 196; Witbert, v. 9, p. 298; II. 196; the two Hewalds, v. 10, p. 299; II. 196; Haemgils, v. 12, p. 309; II. 196; Cynufrid, Haa.
§ 3; II. 196; snakes expelled from, by St. Patrick, II. 10; descriptions of, by Solinus and Tacitus, ib.; chronic discord of, II. 11; not conquered by Rome, ib.; Henry II invited to invade, ib.; misreading of, for 'hiberna,' II. 12, 13; Scotti from, come to Gaul, II. 72; trade of, with Chester, II. 77; called by the Irish the 'West of the world,' II. 112; Cadwallon forced to fly to, II. 115; attempts made to christianise North Britain from, II. 131; Fursa and his brothers come from, II. 171, 172; Aldfrith an exile in, II. 263; dissensions caused by Paschal question in, II. 302; v. Scotland.

Hiddila, presbyter, assists Wilfrid in the conversion of Wight, iv. 16, p. 237.

Hide, nature of the, II. 40, 41 (cf. II. 244).

Hienses, the monks of Iona, the Irish who are not subject to, adopt the orthodox Easter, v. 15, p. 316 and note; themselves adopt the orthodox Easter under Abbot Dunchad, v. 24, p. 356; v. 22, p. 347 and note; had sent Aidan to preach to the English, ib. and note.

Hieremias, II. 164; Bede's excerpts from St. Jerome on, v. 24, p. 358.

Hierominus, Bede's excerpts from, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda; his translation of the Bible, Haa. § 37; pp. lv, lvi; II. 366; use made by Bede of, p. 1; cited, II. 19, 54, 147, 191, 237; author of Liber ad Demetriadem, &c., II. 22; extracts from, pp. c, cviii; his translation of Methodius, pp. cviii, cxix; Bede's In Prouerbia wrongly ascribed to, p. clii; scourged in a vision for his love of the classics, II. 89; death of, II. 24; v. Psalter.

Hierosolyma, Jerusalem, II. 44; destroyed by the Chaldaeans, i. 15, p. 32; Arculfus visits, v. 15, p. 316 and note; description of the holy places in, v. 16, pp. 317, 318 and notes; light of the church of the Ascension visible from, v. 17, p. 319; Jews forbidden to enter, II. 19; Judaism of the Church at, II. 190; communism in the Church at, II. 245; church of, regarded as a monastery, II. 388.

Hii, Iona, Aidan sent from, iii. 5 and note; iii. 3, p. 132 and notes (cf. II. 113, 127); belongs to Britain, ib. (cf. II. 126); granted by the Piets to Irish monks, ib. and note; its monastery rules over many monasteries among the Piets and northern Scotti, ib. (cf. iii. 27, p. 171; II. 134, 135, 204, 331); granted to Columba, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes (cf. v. 24, p. 353); its dimensions, ib. (cf. II. 41); peculiar constitution of, ib. p. 134 and note; Paschal errors of, ib.; reformed by Egbert, ib. pp. 134, 135 (cf. p. xlvi); not identical with Jewish practice, ib. p. 135; II. 114; Seghine abbot of, iii. 5, p. 135; II. 113; Finan sent from, iii. 17, p. 160 (cf. II. 127, 139); an island and monastery of the Scotti, ib.; Ceollach retires to, iii. 21, p. 171; Colman retires to, after the Synod of Whitby, iv. 4, p. 213; Colman had been sent from, ib. (cf. II. 127); Columba founder of, v. 9, p. 297; reverence for, among the Piets and Scots, ib.; Adamnan abbot of, v. 15, p. 315 and notes; fails to convert the monks of, ib.; monks of, converted to the right Easter and tonsure by Egbert, v. 22, pp. 346, 347 and notes; Egbert remains thirteen years in, ib. p. 347 and note; dies there, ib. and note; monks of, convert Northumbria, p. xviii; learning of, ib.; scribal school of, p. xx note; snakes expelled from, by St. Columba, II. 10; question of inclusion of, in term Scotia,
II. 12, 82, 83, 126, 186, 192, 197; Cuimene Ailbe abbot of, II. 130; Failbe abbot of, II. 121; a stepping-stone between Ireland and Britain, II. 126; transformation of the name into Iona, II. 127; question of earlier Christianity in, II. 132; decline of, especially after Scandinavian invasions, II. 135; restored by St. Margaret, ib.; head of the Irish Church in Britain, II. 178; Lindisfarne in the province of, II. 188; Egfrid buried in, II. 261; Aldfrid an exile in, II. 260, 262, 337; Adamnan said to have been expelled from, II. 302; family of (i.e. the Columbite clergy), expelled from the Pictish kingdom, II. 331; men of Saxon race at, II. 337; Faelchu abbot of, ib.; Paschal cycles of, II. 350, 351 (cf. iii. 4, p. 134).

Hilarius, pope, synod of, forbids bishops to nominate their successors, II. 82.

Hilarius, archpriest and vice-gerent of the Roman see, joins in writing to the Irish clergy, ii. 19, p. 123.

Hilary, St., p. lxiii.

Hild, daughter of Hereric nephew of Edwin, iv. 23, p. 252 and notes; her noble birth, ib. (cf. II. 90); converted with Edwin by Paulinus, ib.; goes to East Anglia intending to follow her sister Hereswith to Chelles, ib. and notes; recalled by Aidan, ib.; receives a small monastery to the north of the Wear, ib.; abbess of Hartlepool, ib. and note; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; often visited by Aidan and other religious men, iv. 23, p. 253; builds the monastery of Whitby and becomes abbess of it, ib. pp. 252, 254; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; iii. 25, p. 183 and note; attends the Synod of Whitby on the Celtic side, ib. and note; consulted by kings and princes, iv. 23, p. 254 and note; numerous bishops educated under, ib. pp. 254, 255 and notes; her father Hereric poisoned, ib. p. 255 and note; her mother's dream at the time of her birth, ib. pp. 255, 256 and note; her long illness and death, ib. pp. 252, 256 and note; v. 24, p. 355; p. lxviii; visions connected with her death, iv. 23, pp. 257, 258 and notes; ii. 138; Cædmon belonged to her monastery, iv. 24, p. 258 and notes; alleged translation of, to Glastonbury, II. 167, 247, 248; to Gloucester, ib.; her opposition to Wilfrid, II. 189, 190.

Hildegar, bishop of Meaux, writes the Life of Faro, II. 203.

Hildegard, St., her education in the Psalter, II. 138.

Hildild, abbess of Barking, succeeds Æthelberht, iv. 10, p. 224 and note; Aldhelm's De Virginitate dedicated to, II. 219, 311.

Hilderic, v. Liderik.

Hilperic (Chilperic II), king of the Neustrian Franks, receives Ceolfrid, and gives him commendatory letters, Haa. § 32 and note.

Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims, letter of Lupus of Ferriara to, p. clvi note; rebuked for too frequent use of his pallium, II. 52; asks for a copy of Bede's In Proverbia, p. cliii note.

Hiniedus, II. 249.

Hippo, Council of, II. 212; v. Augustinus.

Hippolytus, doctrine of the six ages of the world, p. xli note; myth of, p. lxiv note; his Hexameron, II. 7; two bodies of, shown at Rome, II. 158.


Hispania, fronts Britain, i. 1, p. 9 and note; and Ireland, ib. p. 11 and note; governed by Constantius, i. 8; Scots said to have come from, II. 8, 9; conquered by the Saracens as a divine judgement, II. 338, 339.
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum.

Hispanus, Theodosius a Spaniard, i. 9.

Historia Ecclesiastica, Bede's, I. 5-360; v. Baeda.

Hloduius (Clovis II. g. v.), king of the Franks, receives Fursa, iii. 19, p. 168 and note.

Hlotharius, king of the Cantuarii, iv. 17; v. Hlothiere.

Hlothhere, Hlotheri, Hlotharius, king of Kent, succeeds his brother Egbert, iv. 5. p. 217 and note; iv. 26, p. 268; Council of Hatfield held in reign of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; Imma obtains his ransom-money from, iv. 22, p. 251; wounded in battle against the South Saxons led by his nephew Edric, iv. 26, p. 268 and note; dies, and is succeeded by Edric, ib. and note; v. 24, p. 355; Edric reigns in conjunction with, II. 264; laws of, ib.

Hlothhere, v. Leutherius.

Holder, Alfred, editions of H. E., p. lxxxii.


Holy Spirit, double procession of, II. 233.

Holy Water, use of, II. 276.

Holywood, or Ard mic Nasca, Belfast Lough, Ireland, Laisren mac Nasca abbot of, II. 113.

Homelea flumen, the Hamble, Hants., flows through the lands of the Jutes, iv. 16, p. 238 and note.

Honorius, joint emperor, i. 10; emperor, i. 11 and note; orders Constantinus to be slain, ib.; succeeded by Theodosius the younger, i. 13 and note; legislation of, II. 47.

Honorius I., pope, succeeds Boniface V in the apostolic see, ii. 17, p. 118 and note; sends a pallium to Paulinus, ib. pp. 118, 119 (cf. II. 50); and a letter to Edwin, ib. pp. 118-120 and notes; sends a letter and a pallium to Honorius, ii. 18, pp. 120-122 and notes; sends a letter to the Irish on the Easter question, ii. 19, p. 122 and notes (cf. II. 114, 125); succeeded by Severinus, ib. and note; Romanus of Rochester sent as an envoy to, by Justus, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; sends Birinus to Britain, iii. 7, p. 139; orders Asterius to consecrate him, ib. and note; his decree on the use of the pallium, II. 52; rebuilds the church of the Quattuor Coronati, II. 91; letters in ii. 10, 11 assigned to, by Bright, II. 97; dies Oct. 638, II. 110, 112; infected with Monothelitism, ib.

Honorius II., pope, conflict of, with Anselm V archbishop of Milan, II. 51.

Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, succeeds Justus, ii. 18, p. 120 and note; sends Felix to evangelise the East Anglians, ii. 15, p. 116 and note (cf. II. 110); consecrated by Paulinus at Lincoln, ii. 16, p. 117; ii. 18, p. 120 and notes (cf. II. 49, 52); pallium sent to, by Pope Honorius, ii. 17, p. 119; ii. 18, p. 120 (cf. II. 50); letter of Pope Honorius to, ib. pp. 120-122 and notes; II. 131; receives Paulinus and Ethelberg after Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 125; invites Paulinus to accept the see of Rochester, ib. p. 126 (cf. II. 110); consecrates Ithamar as bishop of Rochester, iii. 14, p. 154 and note (cf. II. 110); consecrates Thomas as bishop of the East Angles, iii. 20 and note (cf. II. 106); dies, ib. and note (cf. II. 316); succeeded after an interval by Deusdedit, ib. and note; his respect for Aidan, iii. 25, p. 182; a disciple of Pope Gregory, v. 19, p. 323 (cf. II. 110); archbishop at the time of Wilfrid's arrival in Kent, ib. (cf. II. 111, 316); spurious letter of Honorius to, II. 111.

Horace, cited by Bede, pp. li note, liii.

Horsa, son of Victgils, one of the leaders of the invading
Saxons, i. 15, p. 31; slain by the Britons, ib.; his monument existing in Bede’s time in the east of Kent, ib.; II. 28.

Host, joint responsibility of, II. 243.

Howard, Henry, former owner of MS. Ar., p. cxixvi.

Howard, William, former owner of MS. Ar., p. cxixvi.

Hrenus, Rhenus, the Rhine, boundary between Gauls and Germans, i. 2, p. 13; crossed by the Alani, &c., i. 11; bodies of the two Hewalds thrown into, v. 10, p. 300 and note; Cologne upon, ib. p. 301; In Litore (Kaiserswerth) an island in, v. ii, p. 302 and note; Saxons ravage from, to Denmark, II. 28; Wilbrod lands at the mouth of, II. 288.

Hrethgar, v. Redger.

Hreutford, id est uadium harundinis, Redbridge, Hants, Cynibert abbot of, iv. 16, p. 237 and note.

Hrof, eponymous of Rochester, ii. 3, p. 85.

Hrofæsæcstræ, Hrofescætir, Rochester, English name of Dorubreuis, q.v., ii. 3, p. 85 and note; Putta bishop of, iv. 5, p. 215; a castle of the Cantuarii, ib.; v. Dorubreuis.


Hrofi cuiitas, Rochester, Justus returns to, ii. 6, p. 93; ‘secretarium’ of St. Andrew in, iii. 14, p. 154 and note; Putta consecrated in, iv. 2, p. 206; ravaged by Ethelred of Mercia, iv. 12, p. 228 and note; Cwichelm consecrated in, ib. and note.

Hrypensis ecclesia, Ripon, Eadherd praesul of, iii. 28, p. 195 and note; iv. 12, p. 229 and note.

Rypensis monasterium, Tunbert and Ceolfrid invited to, Haa. § 3 and note (cf. II. 193); Ceolfrid ordained priest at, ib.; Ceolfrid returns to, Haa. § 4 and note; Ceolfrid retires to, Haa. § 8 and note; Eata called founder of, II. 193; Wilfrid complains of attempt to convert, into a bishop’s see, II. 224, 327, 385; v. In Hrypum.

Hrypum, v. In Hrypum.

See also Rh-.

Huaetberct, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Bede’s Life of, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda, Hist. Abb.; brought up in the monastery of Wearmouth, p. xiv; Hab. § 18; visits Rome under Pope Sergius, p. xvii; Hab. § 18; II. 365; elected abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and confirmed by Ceolfrid, pp. xiv, cxlvi; Hab. § 18 and notes; Haa. §§ 29, 30; II. 367; letter of, commending Ceolfrid to Gregory II, Hab. §§ 18, 19 and note; Haa. § 30 and note; confirmed as abbot by Acca, pp. xv, xvi; Hab. § 20 and note; II. 330, 367; letter of Gregory II to, Haa. § 39 and notes; survives Bede, pp. xiv, cxlvi; II. 365; Bede’s In Apocalypse and De Temp. Rat. dedicated to, pp. xiv note, xxxix, cxlvi; called Eusebius on account of his piety, pp. xiv, xv, cxlvi; II. 367; letter of St. Boniface to, pp. xiv, xxiv; II. 368; affection of Bede for, p. xxxiii; confused with Witmer, II. 366; date of his priesthood, II. 368; his youth, II. 369; the Hist. Abb. Anon. ascribed to, by Pits, II.
HUBERT, precentor of Rochester, p. cxxxvi.

Hugo de S. Victore, ? De virginitate Sancte Marie, p. cxx; treatises of, p. cxlii.

Huicci, Augustine's Oak on the borders of, ii. 2, p. 81 and notes.

Huicciorum provincia, Eaba, queen of the South Saxons, comes from, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; baptized there, ib.; people of, Christian, ib.; Offfor goes to, iv. 23, p. 255 and note; Osric king of, ib. and note (cf. II. 225); Tatfrid elected bishop of, ib. and note; Bosel bishop of, ib. and note; resigns through ill-health, and is succeeded by Offfor, ib. and note; Wilfrid bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; Egwin bishop of, after Offfor, II. 246, 315, 341; Osric king of, II. 247.

Hulle, George, former owner of MS. 258, p. cviii.

Humber, i. 15, p. 31 and note; Ceolfrid embarks at mouth of, Haa. § 31; Wilgils an anchorite at the mouth of, II. 288.

Humbra, Hymbra, the Humber, boundary between the northern and southern Angli, i. 25, p. 45; ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97; II. 29, 30; Ethelbert's power extends to, i. 25, p. 45; ii. 3, p. 85; all to the south of, subject to Ethelbald of Mercia in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; Lindsey to the south of, ii. 16, p. 117 and note; the southern boundary of Deira, II. 120.

Hymbrenses, i.e. Northumbrians, II. 390; v. Hymbromenses, Nordanhymbri, Umbrensis.

Hexebert, corruptly for Hwætbert, II. 371.

Huni, Hunni, Blaedla and Attila kings of, i. 13 and note; one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 296 and note; name of Humber derived from (!), II. 30; story of a king of, II. 150; the Avars perhaps included by Bede in, II. 286.


Huniwald, a gesith of Oswin, iii. 14, p. 155; betrays him to Oswy, ib. and note.

Hurst, W., his translation of Bede's H. E., p. cxxii.


Hyde Abbey, Winchester, p. cx; II. 143.

Hygbald, abbot in Lindsey (probably of Bardney), visits Egbert in Ireland, iv. 3, p. 211 and note; hears from him the vision seen in Ireland at the time of Ceadda's death, ib. (cf. II. 196).

Hygbald, bishop of Lindisfarne, letter of Aleuin to, II. 70, 249.

Hymbra flumen, the Humber, v. 23, p. 350; v. Humber, Humbra.

Hymbromenses, i.e. the Northumbrians, Egfrid king of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note (cf. II. 29, 30, 261); v. Humbrenses, Nordanhymbri.

Hymnorum Liber, Bede's, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.

Hygostasis, theological meaning of the term, II. 232.

I, J.

Iacob, tribes of, iii. 29, p. 197.

Iacobus, Iustus, speech of, to St. Paul, cited, iii. 25, p. 185; asceticism of, II. 237.

Iacobus, Iacob, deacon of Paulinus, iii. 25, p. 181; ii. 16, p. 117 and note; survived to Bede's time, ib. p. 118; left by Paulinus at York on his retirement to Kent, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; his missionary success, ib.; his skill as a chanter and teacher of ecclesiastical chanting, ib. and note (cf. iv. 2, p. 205); dies at a great age, ib.; a village near Catterick still preserved his name in Bede's time, ib. and note; observes
the catholic Easter, iii. 25, p. 181 (cf. II. 118); attends the Synod of Whity, ib. p. 183.


James II, lands at Ambleside in 1689, II. 64.

Jarrow, v. In Gyrum.

Iaruman, second bishop of the Mercians under Wulfhere, iii. 24, p. 180 and note; successor of Trunh mere, ii. 30; sent by Wulfhere to reconvert the East Saxons, ib. and note; his success and return, ib. and note; story of this told to Bede by a priest who accompanied him, ib. (cf. p. xlv); dies, and is succeeded by Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 206 and note.

Ibas, bishop of Edessa, Council of Constantinople against, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.

Icanhoe, Ceolfrid trained under Botulf at, p. xxv; founded by Botulf, II. 358, 372.

Iconoclastic controversy, II. 230, 360.

Ida, accession of, v. 24, p. 353 and note; the progenitor of the Northumbrian royal race, ib. (cf. II. 119, 120); founder of Bamborough, II. 141; husband of Bebb aaccording to some, ib.; Eata a descendant of, II. 378.

Idlæ amnis, the Idle, a tributary of the Trent, Ethelfrid defeated by Redwald on the banks of; ii. 12, p. 110 and note.

Ieiunium triduum, a Celtic and Jewish institution, II. 78, 227, 258; fasting on Wednesday and Friday, II. 136; Lenten fasts established by Earecon bert, iii. 8, p. 142 and note; commutation of fasting, II. 276.


Ierne, Ireland, II. 10.


Jervaux, MS. Ox, belonged to monastery of St. Mary at, p. cxxi.


Jesse, root of, iii. 29, p. 197.

Iesus Christus, i. 27, p. 51; i. 32, p. 68; ii. 10, p. 103; ii. 19, p. 124; iii. 17, p. 162; iii. 29, p. 198; iv. 5, p. 214; iv. 14, p. 235; iv. 17, pp. 239, 240; v. 14, p. 314; v. 19, p. 330; v. 21, p. 349; v. 24, p. 359; Ec. § 4; church at Canterbury dedicated to (Christ Church), i. 33 and note; II. 44; Cuthbert the first archbishop to be buried in, II. 80.

Iesus Naue, Joshua, succeeds Moses, II. 367; Haa. § 39 and note; v. Josua.

Imma, a thane of Aelfwine, iv. 22, p. 249 and note; taken captive after the battle of the Trent, ib. p. 250; his miraculous experience, ib. pp. 250, 251 and notes; sold at London to a Frisian, ib. p. 251 and note; released and goes to Kent, ib.; effects his ransom, ib.; returns to Northumbria, ib.

Immin, a Mercian dux, heads the Mercians against Oswy, iii. 24, p. 180 and note.

‘imperium’ versus ‘regnum,’ II. 43, 86.

‘impietas,’ ‘impius’ = pitilessness, pitiless, II. 103, 171, 226, 260.

In Andilegum. Andeley - sur- Seine, one of the chief Frankish monasteries frequented by the English, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes.

In Berecingum, Barking, Essex, iv. 6, p. 219 and note; Earecon wald founds a monastery for his sister Ethelberg at, ib. and note; plaque at, iv. 7, p. 219 and note; II. 195; miracles at, iv. 7-10 and notes; Hildilid abbess of, iv. 10, p. 224 and note; II. 311; a double monastery, II. 150; date of, II. 218.

Inbher Daeile, or Ennereilly, county Wicklow, II. 83.

In Brige, Faremoûtier - en- Brie, founded by Fara, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes; one of the chief Frankish monasteries resorted to by the English, ib. and note; Saethrydand Ethelbergabbesses
of, ib. and note (cf. II. 144); a double monastery, II. 150.

In Cale, Cale, Chelles, near Paris, one of the chief Frankish monasteries frequented by the English, iii. 8, p. 142 and note; Hereswith, Hild’s sister, enters, iv. 23, p. 253; Hild intends to enter, ib. and note; Gisla abbess of, p. xix note; II. 149; Wilcom of, II. 219; Balthild retires to, II. 322.

Inchkeith, c. Giudi urbs.

Inclusus, life of an, p. xxxi note; II. 69.

In Conpendio, Compiègne, II. 104; Wilfrid consecrated at, iii. 28, p. 194 and note; II. 317.

Incorruption after death, a sign of chastity, II. 151, 152 (cf. II. 240).

In Cuneningum, ? Cunningham, or Chester-le-Street, II. 104; a district of the Northumbrians, v. 12, p. 304 and note; Drythelm belongs to, ib.

In Deraunda, id est in Silva Dero- rum, Beverley, Yorks., II. 104; Berthun abbot of monastery of, v. 2, p. 283 and note; Bishop John retires to, dies, and is buried at, v. 6, p. 292; II. 273; Bishop John and Berthun co-founders of, III. 274.

Indictious, II. 38, 39, 212, 231, 376.

In Fepingum, unidentified, region called, II. 104; Dioma died in, iii. 27, p. 171 and note. Infinitive, with a verb of motion to express a purpose, II. 124.

'ing,' Saxon termination implying derivation, II. 10, 88, 104.

In Getlingum, place called, Gilling, Yorkshire, II. 104; monastery founded at, in expiation of the murder of Oswin, iii. 14, p. 155 and note; iii. 24, pp. 179, 180; Trumher abbot of, ib. ; Ceolfrid enters, Haa. § 2 and note (cf. II. 193); Cynefrid abbot of, ib. ; Tunbert abbot of, ib. and note (cf. II. 193); Roman Easter observed at, II. 372.

Ingoberga, wife of Charibert and mother of Bertha, II. 42.

Inguald, bishop of London and of the province of the East Saxons, v. 23, p. 350 and note (cf. II. 178); one of the con- cerators of Archbishop Tatwin, ib.; alive in 731, ib.; dies, C. 745.

In Gyruum, Jarrow, Co. Durham, II. 104; on the Tyne, v. 21, p. 332 and note; called Portus Ecgfridi, p. xi note; II. 361; monastery of St. Paul at, v. 21, p. 332 (cf. Hab. § 7 and note; § 9; § 15, p. 379 and note; § 18 and note; Haa. § 11 and note; § 12 and note; §§ 14, 18; § 23 and note; §§ 25, 29; pp. ix, xi, xiv, xvi–xviii, xx, xxvii note, xxxii note, xlvi, xlviii, lxxii; II. 193); Bede a priest of, v. 24. p. 357; v. Baeda; called ‘Egg- ferces Mynster,’ p. xi note; in the diocese of Hexham, pp. x note, xlvii note; no large scriptorium at, p. xx; decline of, p. xxxii; becomes a cell of Durham, ib. note; part of Bishop’s church still remaining at, p. lxxix note; date of foundation of, II. 361. 370; dedication inscription of church of, II. 361; v. Paulus.

In Hrypum, Ripon, II. 104; Alchfrid grants to Wilfrid the monas- tery of, which he had formerly granted to the adherents of the Scotti, v. 19, p. 325 and note; iii. 25, p. 183 and notes; II. 193, 317; Ethelwald a monk of, v. 1, p. 281; Wilfrid buried in church of St. Peter at, v. 19, pp. 322, 330 and note; Cuthbert ‘praepositus hospitum’ at, p. xxviii note (cf. II. 323); Wilfrid exhorted to retire to, II. 56; Gregorian music at, II. 119; body of St. Cuthbert at, II. 157; Cuthbert and Eata retire from, II. 189, 193, 323; Wilfrid in retirement at, II. 207, 317, 324; Wilfrid educated at, II. 288, 293; Wilfrid builds the church at, II. 318,
323; Wilfrid restored to, II. 319, 320, 326, 328; expulsion of Eadred from, II. 326; ceases to be a bishop’s see till 1836, ib.; II. 328 (cf. II. 384); Wilfrid complains of treatment of, II. 224, 327, 385; Ceolfrid returns to, from Icanhoe, II. 372; Ceolfrid retires to, from Wearmouth, II. 373; v. Hrypensis.

Ini, king of the West Saxons, succeeds Ceddwalla, v. 7, p. 294 and note; iv. 15; keeps Sussex in subjection, ib.; resigns and goes to Rome, v. 7, p. 294 and note; the first to introduce written law into Wessex, II. 87; calls Eardwulf ‘my bishop,’ II. 217; spurious charter of, II. 229; said to have founded the school of the Anglo-Saxons at Rome, II. 281; a friend of Aldhelm, ib.; his wars with Ceolred of Mercia, II. 314; his law on Church-songs, II. 382. 

Inisbouinidce, Inisboinid, on the coast of Mayo, Colman builds a monastery at, for the monks brought from Lindisfarne, iv. 4, p. 213 and notes; leaves the Irish monks there, ib.

Inis Celtra, Lough Derg, Stellanus abbot of, II. 113.


In Litore, Kaiserswerth, II. 104; an island in the Rhine, v. 11, p. 302 and note; granted by Pippin to Swidbert, ib.; Swidbert builds a monastery, and dies there, ib.

Innocent III, pope, p. cxiv; sends a MS. by Gregory I to the bishop of Livonia, II. 70, 71. ‘innostes,‘ transitive, II. 61.


Insula Cerui, v. Cerui Insula.


Insulae, v. Lirinensis insula.

Intercession of Saints, Bede’s views on, II. 181.

In Undalum, Oundle, Northants., II. 104; Wilfrid dies in the province called, v. 19, pp. 322, 330 and note; II. 320.

Invocation of Saints, Bede’s views on, II. 181.

Joash, example of, cited, II. 187.

Iob, his example cited, i. 19; ii. r, pp. 77, 78: v. 21, p. 342; Hab. § 12; Gregory I’s commentary on, begun at Constantinople, finished at Rome, ii. 1, p. 75 and notes; cited, ib. p. 78 and notes; Bede’s chapters of readings on, v. 24, p. 358.

Joceline, Life of St. Kentigern, II. 287.

Iohannes Baptista, accounted a martyr, i. 27, p. 51 and note; II. 164; practised what he preached, p. xxxvi note; homily for day of, p. exix; austerity of, II. 259.

Iohannes, evangelista, the Celts defend their Easter practice by the example of, iii. 25, pp. 184-186 and notes; II. 190, 348, 349; his successors in Asia abandon his Easter practice, ib. p. 186; lame man cured by, v. 2, p. 284; Bede’s commentary on the Apocalypse of, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda; pictures from the Apocalypse of, placed in St. Peter’s church at Wearmouth, Hab. § 6, p. 369 and note; Epistle of, cited, Ec. § 17, pp. 422, 423; Bede translates Gospel of, pp. lxxv, cixii; fragment of hymn to, p. exiii; type of the contemplative life, II. 69; church of St. John Lateran, Wilfrid’s first appeal heard in, II. 71; authority of, claimed for Celtic tonsure, II. 354.

Iohannes, martyr, relics of, sent by Vitalian to Oswy, iii. 29, p. 198.

Iohannes IV, pope, succeeds Severinus in the Roman see, ii. 19, pp. 122, 123 and note; while pope elect writes to the Irish on the Paschal question and Pelagianism, ib. pp. 122-124 and notes; II. 125; opposes the Monothelites, II. 112.
Iohannes VI, pope, Wilfrid's second appeal heard before, v. 19, pp. 327, 328; II. 320; letters of, in favour of Wilfrid, v. 19, p. 327; II. 275.

Iohannes VIII, pope, his regulations about the pallium, II. 50.

Iohannes XII, pope, grants pallium to Dunstan, II. 52.

Iohannes, patriarch of Constantinople, letter of Gregory I to, II. 68.

Iohannes, archchanter of St. Peter's, and abbot of St. Martin's at Rome, Hab. § 6, p. 369 and notes; Ha. § 10; iv. 18, pp. 240, 241 and notes; present at, and signs the decrees of the Council of Hatfield, ib. and note; v. 24, p. 355; comes to Britain with Benedict Bishop, iv. 18, p. 241 and note; Ha. § 6, p. 369 and note; teaches the Roman mode of chanting in Benedict's monastery and elsewhere, ib.; iv. 18, p. 241 and note; II. 119; commissioned to inquire into the orthodoxy of the English Church, iv. 18, pp. 241, 242; lends the decrees of the Council of Rome to Benedict's monastery to be copied, ib. p. 242 and note; receives a copy of the decrees of the Council of Hatfield for the pope, ib.; dies and is buried at Tours on his way back, ib. and note; writings of, preserved at Wearmouth, Hab. § 6, p. 369.

Iohannes, consiliarius and vicegerent of the Roman see, joins in writing to the Irish clergy, ii. 19, p. 123.

Iohannes, one of Augustine's companions, afterwards abbot of St. Augustine's, II. 37.

Iohannes, primicerius and vicegerent of the Roman see, joins in writing to the Irish clergy, ii. 19, p. 123.

Iohannes, archbishop of Arles, Vitalian gives Theodore and Hadrian commendatory letters to, iv. 1, p. 203 and notes; he detains them, ib.

Iohannes, bishop of Antioch, letter of Theodoret to, II. 233.

Iohannes, bishop of Hexham, iv. 23, p. 254; educated under Hild at Whitby, ib. (cf. II. 274); succeeds Eata at Hexham, v. 2, pp. 282, 283 and notes; II. 326; miracles wrought by, v. 2-6 and notes; p. lxv note; cites a medical precept of Archbishop Theodore, v. 3, p. 285 and note (cf. II. 274); transferred to York on death of Bosa, ib. and note (cf. II. 274, 327); succeeded by Wilfrid at Hexham, ib.; forbids an ignorant priest to administer baptism, v. 6, p. 291 and note; causes Herebald to be rebaptized, ib. and note; retires to Beverley, dies, and is buried there, ib. p. 292 (cf. II. 273); succeeded by Wilfrid II, ib. and note; ordains Bede deacon and priest, p. x; v. 24, p. 357; II. 274, 275; wrongly called archbishop, i. 432; II. 117, 274; Life of, by Folcard, p. exx; II. 275, 277; chronology of life of, II. 273; his festival observed at Beverley, ib.; co-founder of Beverley, II. 274; on the Wilfridian view was a usurper, II. 316; lections on, I. 432.

Iohannes diaconus, his Life of Gregory, II. 389; uses the early Life of Gregory, ib.

Iona, v. Hii; origin of the name, II. 127; equated with the Hebrew word for dove, ib.

Jonas of Bobbio, his Life of St. Columban ascribed to Bede, II. 83; his Life of St. Fara, II. 148.

Jordan, Bede on sources of, cited, II. 4.


Joseph, example of, cited, v. 21, p. 342.

Joseph of Arimathea, II. 90, 91.

Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary, Bede maintains perpetual virginity of, II. 54.

Israelitica gens, i. 34. Israelitica plebs, v. 21, p. 336; Haa. § 6; Ee. § 9, p. 412. Israeliticus populus, in Egypt, i. 30, p. 65 and notes. Israelitico regnum, Hab. § 13 and note.


Italia, length of day in, i. 1, p. 11; Gratian attempts to cross to, i. 9; Valentinianus expelled from, ib.; miracles of saints of, collected by Gregory I in his Dialogues, ii. 1, p. 76 and note; bishops of, ib. p. 77 and note; synod of, under Boniface IV, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; Ronan learns the catholic Easter in, iii. 25, p. 181; Wilfrid sees the catholic Easter practised in, ib. p. 184; visits of Benedict Biscop to, Haa. § 5 and note; v. Biscop; daily communion the rule in, Ee. § 15; Berengar king of, II. 137; exile in, II. 197.

Italicum mare, Romanus of Rochester drowned in, ii. 20, p. 126 and note.

Ithamar, 'de gente Cantuariorum,' bishop of Rochester, consecrated by Honorius, iii. 14, p. 154 and note (cf. II. 49, 110); consecrates Deusdedit, iii. 20; dies, ib. and note; succeeded by Damian, ib. and note; the first native bishop, II. 162, 174; his orthodoxy, II. 206.

Iuda, reges, Ee. § 11, p. 414.

Iudaei, Paschal customs of Iona not identical with those of, iii. 4, p. 135; II. 114; concessions of the Apostles to the prejudices of, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and notes; forbidden to enter Jerusalem, II. 19; Jutes said to be derived from (!), II. 29; make no representation of the Deity, II. 59.

Judaism of the early Church, II. 190.

Iudas Scariothes, example of, cited, Ee. § 17, p. 422.
Iudeu, in Nennius, probably not identical with Bede’s Giud, ii. 24. 182.
Judgement, the Last, preparation for, pp. lxvi, lxvii; ii. 161; fascination of, for mediaeval art, ii. 361.
Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, wife of Ethelwulf and Ethelbald, ii. 249; perhaps the patroness of Otfrid of Weissenburg, ib.; Anglo-Saxon poem of Judith possibly dedicated to, ib.
Judith, wife of Tostig, said to have carried off relics of Oswald, II. 158; present at the translation of Oswin, II. 164.
Julian, St., monastery of, at Le Mans, MS. M probably belonged to, p. lxxxix.
Julian era, p. c.
Julianus, bishop of Eclanum in Campania, a semi-Pelagian, expelled from his see, i. 10 and note.
Julius, a citizen of Caerleon-on-Usk, martyred in the persecution of Diocletian, i. 7, pp. 21, 22 and note; II. 18.
Justina, virgin, II. 242.
Justinianus, emperor, iii. 4, p. 133; Code of, II. 47.
Justinianus minor, emperor, Council of Constantinople under, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.
Justinianus II, emperor, emperor at time of Cædwalla’s death, v. 7, p. 294.
Justinus Martyr, spurious poem on, p. clviii.
Justinus minor, emperor, iii. 4, p. 133 and note.
Justus, archbishop of Canterbury, sent by Gregory to aid Augustine, i. 29, p. 63 (cf. II. 83); consecrated bishop of Rochester, ii. 3, p. 85 and notes; consults with Laurentius and Mellitus on the pagan reaction, ii. 5, p. 91; retires to Gaul, ib. p. 92; ii. 6, p. 92; returns to Rochester, ib. p. 93; governs that see, ii. 7, p. 94; rules the English Church with Mellitus, ib.; receives a letter from Boniface V, ib. and note; succeeds Mellitus as archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 8, p. 95; receives from Boniface V authority to consecrate bishops, ib.; also a letter and pallium, ib. pp. 95–97 and notes (cf. II. 52, 92); consecrates Faulinus, v. 24, p. 353; ii. 9, p. 98 and notes; dies. ii. 10, p. 120 and note; succeeded by Honorius, ib. and note; ii. 16, p. 117; sends Romanus as an envoy to Pope Honorius, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; probably not a monk, II. 79; mentioned in the Stowe Missal, II. 81, 82; spurious letter of Boniface V to, II. 91.
Lutae, Tuti, one of three German tribes who settle in Britain, i. 15, p. 31 and note; of whom come the Cantuarii and Victuarii, ib.; a tribe of them still survived in Wessex in Bede’s time, ib. and note (cf. iv. 16, pp. 237, 238 and note); derivation of the name, II. 29.

K.
Kælacæstir, Tadcaster, English name of Calcaria ciuitas, iv. 23, p. 253 and note.
Kaiserswerth, v. In Litore.
Kalendarswerth, v. In Litore.
Kalendariarum defunctorum, meaning of term, II. 227.
Keri, St., said to have studied in Ireland, II. 196.
Keilah, v. Ceila.
Kells, Co. Meath, becomes head of the Columbite monasteries in Ireland, II. 135.
Kenelm, St., life of, p. cxv.
Kenneth mac Alpín, Pictish law of succession lasted till, II. 9.
Kentigern, St., II. 68; monastic organisation of, pp. xxiv, xxv note; consecrated by a single bishop, II. 49, 207; example of, cited, II. 136; retirement during
Lent, II. 271; asceticism of, II. 298; Life of, by Joceline, II. 287.
Kilros, ordo monasticus of, cited, p. xxx note.
Kings, progresses of the Anglo-Saxon, II. 109.
KINSHIP, importance of tie of, in early times, II. 117.
Kirknewton, Northumberland, equated by Bates with Maelmin, II. 105.
Kirkoswald, name of places in Cumberland and Ayrshire, II. 159.
Kyle, v. Cyril Campus.

L.
Labienus, tribune of Caesar, killed by the Britons, i. 2, p. 14.
Laestingaeu, Laest-, Laestingae, Laestingei, Lastingham, Yorkshire, monastery of, founded by Cedd, iii. 23, pp. 174-176 and notes (cf. Pref. p. 7 and note); the monks of, furnish Bede with materials for the history of the Mercians and East Saxons, Pref. p. 7; organised on the model of Lindisfarne, iii. 23, p. 176 and note (cf. II. 178); stone church at, ib. and note (cf. II. 101); Ceadda abbot of, iii. 28, p. 195 (cf. II. 207); Ceadda in retirement at, v. 19, p. 326; iv. 3. p. 206: Owine enters the monastery of, ib. p. 208; Thumbert a monk of, p. xviii.
Lagny, v. Latineacum.
Laisren, abbot of Leighlin, induces the Southern Irish to adopt the Roman Easter, II. 113; dies, ib.; v. Laistranus.
Laisren mac Nasca, abbot of Ardmic Nasca, or Holywood, II. 113; v. Laistranus.
Laistranus, Irish presbyter, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.
Landulphius Senior, his account of Gregory I's liturgical reforms, II. 47.
Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, II. 43; Gregory VII refuses pallium to, II. 51; obit of, observed at Canterbury, II. 138; rebuilds Rochester cathedral and translates Paulinus' relics, II. 162; canonises Aldhelm, II. 309; translates alleged relics of Wilfrid, II. 328.
Langres, v. Lingonae, Lingonensis ciuitas.
Lapidem, ad, v. Ad Lapidem.
Lappenberg, his charge against Bede refuted, p. xlv note.
Laestingaen, v. Læstingaeu.
Lateran Council, story of an Irish bishop at (1179), II. 194; first, (649), II. 233.
Latina lingua, Hadrian and Theodore skilled in, iv. 1, p. 202; Hab. § 3; their pupils know, as well as English, iv. 2, p. 205; p. xviii; Tobias learned in, v. 8. p. 296; v. 23, p. 348; Albinus learned in, v. 20, p. 331 and note; laymen and some monks and clergy ignorant of. Ec. § 5 and note (cf. II. 366; Gregory's idea of a unity of, II. 47.
Latini, iv. 13, p. 232; language of, one of the five languages of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note.
Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, former owner of MSS. O, 9, O209 pp. cxvii, cxxi (cf. p. lxxxvi note); President of St. John's College, Oxford, and Dean of Gloucester, p. cxxi.
Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, a presbyter, sent with Augustine by Gregory, II. 81, 390; sent by Augustine to Gregory to announce the conversion of the English, i. 27, p. 48 and note; brings back Gregory's Responsa, &c., II. 45, 56, 63; consecrates the church of SS. Peter and Paul, i. 33 and note;
consecrated by Augustine as his successor, ii. 4, p. 86 and notes; extends the Church of the English, ib. p. 87 and note; practises what he preaches, ib. (cf. p. xxxvi); attempts to bring the Celtic Churches to conformity, ib. and note; writes letters to the Irish and British clergy, ib. pp. 87, 88 and notes (cf. ii. 10); receives a letter from Pope Boniface IV, ib. p. 88 and note; Mellitus and Justus deliberate with, on the pagan reaction, ii. 5, p. 91; prepares to leave Britain, ii. 6, p. 92; mysterious experience of, in church of SS. Peter and Paul, ib. and note; converts Eadbald, ib. p. 93; death of, ii. 7, p. 93; buried near Augustine, ib.; succeeded by Mellitus, ib.; said to have translated body of Liudhard, II. 42; not a monk, II. 45; mentioned in the Stowe Missal, II. 81, 82; wrongly represented as on good terms with the Celtic Churches, II. 83.

Laurentius, martyr, relics of, sent by Vitalian to Osywy, iii. 29, p. 198; oratory of, at Wearmouth, Hab. § 17, p. 382 and note; Ha. § 25; chapel of, at Bradford-on-Avon, II. 309.

Lead. use of, in building, II. 188.

Leader, the, a tributary of the Tweed, vision of Cuthbert on the banks of, II. 266.

Leander, bishop of Seville, Gregory's Moralia written at request of, II. 69; at Constantinople on the affairs of the Visigoths, ib.

Lectio, textual influence of, pp. xlvi note, cxii, cxvi, cxviii; I. 424-433; use of the H. E. for, II. 299.

Lector, meaning of the term, p. lxxii note.


Legacaestir, English name of Legionum Ciuitas, q. v., or Chester, ii. 2, p. 84 and note.

Legatina Synods (787), cited, II. 363.

LEGER, St., v. Leodegar.

Legionum ciuitas, Chester, called Legacaestir by the English, Carleigion by the Britons, ii. 2, p. 84 and note; battle of, ib. and notes; cause of battle of, II. 93; effects of, II. 75, 77; date of, II. 77; desolation of the city by this battle, ib.; description of district of, ib.; trade with Ireland. ib.; origin of the name, ib.

Legionum urbs, Caerleon-on-Usk, citizens of, martyred under Diocletian, i. 7, pp. 21, 22 and note.

Leicester, see of, transferred to Dorchester, II. 245.

Leighlin, county Carlow, Ireland, Laisren abbot of, II. 113.

Leithric, battle of, II. 65.

Lent, threefold, II. 197, 198; v. Teinium.

Leo I, pope, ordinance about baptism, II. 96.

Leo III, pope, letter of Alcuin to, II. 51; letter of Cenulf of Mercia to, about the primacy, II. 53, 57.

Leo the Iconoclast, Eastern Emperor, letter of Gregory II to, II. 281.

Leodegar (St. Leger), made bishop of Autun by Baldhild, II. 322.

Leonilla, grandmother of the Gemini Martyres, Hab. § 23; Ha. § 36.

Leptis, Africa, birthplace of Severus, i. 5.

Lérins, v. Lirinensis insula.

Leth Cutnx, Conn's Half, i.e. the North of Ireland, colonised by Erem son of Miled, II. 125.

Leth Moigha, Mogh's Half, i.e. the South of Ireland, colonised by Eber son of Miled, II. 125.

Leucopibia, probably identical with Whitem, II. 130.

'Leuita' = deacon, p. cxiv.


Leutharius, or Llothhere, bishop of the West Saxons, II. 144;
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum.

nephew of Agilbert, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes; sent by him to Cenwulf, ib. and notes; made bishop by synodical sanction, ib. and note; consecrated at Winchester by Theodore, ib. and note (cf. II. 206); attends the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 215; fourth bishop of the West Saxons, iv. 12, p. 227; dies, and is succeeded by Hædde, ib.; Aldhelm made abbot of Malmesbury under, II. 309.

Leuvichild, king of the Goths, II. 106.

Lewes, Amalric of, p. e; MS. II. probably belonged to priory of, ib.

Lex, Lex sacra, the Mosaic Law, cited, i. 27, pp. 50, 51, 56, 57; testamentum ueteris legis, cited, i. 27, p. 59; v. Moses.

Lex Vatinia, date of, II. 12.

Libri Pontificalis, use made by Bede of, pp. li note, clxxiii, clxxxv; II. 14, 82, 84.

Libri Vitae, p. xxvii; II. 227.

Libraries, monastic, pp. xviii, cxix; influence of, p. xix note.

Lichfield, v. Lyeceifeld, &c.

Licinius, bishop of Angers, II. 40.

Liderik, count of Flanders, p. cxix.

Ligaturae = amulets, II. 266.

Ligugé, v. Defensor.

Lilla, a Northumbrian thane, saves Edwin at the cost of his own life, ii. 9, p. 99 and note (cf. II. xxxvi, 163).

Lillybæum, Pachasinus bishop of, II. 96.

Limninge, Liming, Kent, monastery of, founded by Ethelberht, II. 117.

Lincoln, v. Lindocolina ciuitas, Lindocolinum.


Lineus fluviiolus, gives its name to Lindisfarne, II. 126.

Lindisfari, the inhabitants of Lindsey, II. 108; Ceadda bishop of, iv. 3, p. 207; Cynibert bishop of, C. 732; Baeda and Biscop chiefs of, pp. lxxviii, lxxix note; II. 355; not to be identified with the 'Suthum- bri,' II. 30. Lindisfarorum prouincia, Diuma bishop in, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Wynfrid bishop of, iv. 3, p. 212; Wulfhere king in, ib.; Sexwulf bishop of, iv. 12, p. 229; separate bishops of, Eadhed, Ethelwine, Edgar, Cynibert, ib. and note; Cynibert bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; Egfrid gains possession of, iv. 12, p. 229 and notes.

Lindisfarne, Bede visits, p. xvi; II. 272; community of, inscribe Bede's name in their Album Congregationis, p. xxvii note; scribal school of, Irish in character, p. xx note; MS. C possibly belonged to, pp. xxi, ev; monks of, visit Cuthbert on Farne, pp. xxxi, xxxii; plague at, p. xxxii; II. 195; derivation of name of, II. 126; the most sacred place in Britain, ib.; Welsh and Irish names for, ib.; constitution of, II. 134. 384, 385; date of, II. 148; deserted for fear of the Danes, II. 125, 157; Cynimund monk and priest of, II. 166; Alcuin's poem on the destruction of, ib.; in the province of Iona, II. 188; Roman Easter introduced at, II. 267; troubles at, after Cuthbert's death, II. 270; cleric of Wilbrord cured at, II. 288; Ethelwold's stone cross at, II. 297; Cudda becomes abbot of, II. 320; Ceolwulf becomes a monk at, II. 340; relaxes the asceticism of, ib.; buried at, ib.; abbots of, Herefrid, II. 270; Wigbert, p. exlv note; bishops of, Colman, II. 117; Tuda, II. 125; Eadfrid, pp. ev, cxlviii; Hygbald, II. 70, 249; Egbert, p. exi; Egred, II. 340.

Lindisfarne Gospels, pp. xx note, ev; II. 297, 298.
Lindisfarnenses, the monks of Lindisfarne, Cedd learns discipline from, iii. 23, p. 175 and note; organises Lastingham on the model of, ib. p. 176. Lindisfarnensium ecclesia, Cuthbert made bishop of, iv. 27, p. 268; Wilfrid administers bishopric of, iv. 29, p. 275; ii. 319, 326. Lind. insula, Aidan's body brought to, iii. 17, p. 160 and note; church built in, ib.; Scotti leave, with Colman, iv. 4, p. 213; Cuthbert transferred as prior to, iv. 27, p. 270 and note (cf. p. xxix note); Eata abbot of, ib. and note; constitution of, ib. (cf. II. 134, 384, 385); Cuthbert consents to be buried in, iv. 29, p. 275 and notes. Lind. monasterium, physicians in, p. xxv note.

Lindisfarnensis (—aronensis, iii. 22, p. 172; v. 23, p. 351) ecclesia, Life of Cuthbert written by monks of, Pref. p. 7 and note; Oswald's head buried in cemetery of, iii. 17, p. 160 and note; Cedd visits, iii. 22, p. 172; Cedd trained in, iii. 23, p. 176; Eata made abbot of, iii. 26, p. 190 and note; afterwards bishop in, ib. and note; given choice of see in, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; iv. 27, p. 269; his see fixed at, ib. and note; Cuthbert bishop of, iv. 28, pp. 272, 273 and notes; Gudfrid monk and abbot of, v. 1, p. 281 and note; Ethelwald bishop of, v. 12, p. 310 and note; still bishop in 731, v. 23, pp. 350, 351; the mother church of the Bernicii, II. 125; abandoned in 875, ib. Lindisfarnensis insula, Oswald grants Aidan a see in, iii. 4, p. 132 and notes; character of, ib. and notes; Finan builds a wooden church in, iii. 25, p. 181 (cf. II. 102); Wilfrid goes to, v. 19, p. 323 and notes; II. 316; brethren from, persuade Cuthbert to accept the offered bishopric, iv. 28, p. 272; Ethelwald buried in, v. i, p. 282; called Holy Island, II. 125, 126.

Lindissi provincia, Lind-sy, materials for history of, derived by Bede partly from letters of Bishop Cynibert, partly from oral information, Pref. p. 7; evangelised by Paulinus, ii. 16, p. 117 and notes; to the south of the Humber, ib.; Oswald rules over, iii. ii. p. 148 and notes; the light over Oswald's bones seen over nearly the whole of, ib.; Bardney monastery in, ib. and note; Ethelwine bishop of, ib. p. 149; iii. 27, p. 192; Ad Baruae in, iv. 3, p. 207 and note; Hygbald an abbot in, ib. p. 211 and note; Ethelred of Mercia recovers, and Bishop Eadhelret retires from, iv. 12, p. 229 and note (cf. II. 199, 215, 324, 326); oscillates between Mercia and Northumbria, II. 108, 155, 199, 223; called an 'island,' p. cxxii; Offa of, II. 217; Teoful belongs to, II. 391.

Lindosolina ciuitas, Lincoln, Blaeca, prefect of, converted by Paulinus, ii. 16, p. 117 and notes; stone church built by Paulinus at, ib. (cf. II. 101); this church works miracles though in ruins, ib. and note; Honorius consecrated by Paulinus at, ib.; derivation of name, II. 108; Alexander bishop of, p. evii; Thomas Barlow bishop of, p. cxvi; deanery of, given by papal provision, p. cxxi.

Lindocolinum, Lincoln, Paulinus consecrates Honorius in, ii. 18, p. 120 and note.

LINEN, abstinence from, a mark of asceticism, II. 237.

LINGAN, corruption of Ninian, II. 129.

Lingonae, Langres, a city of the Burgundians, arrival, death, and burial of Ceolfrid at, p. xv; Hab. § 21 and note, § 23; Haa. §§ 33, 35-37; II. 366; church and monastery of the Gemini.
Martyres at. Hab. §§ 21, 23 and note; Haa. § 36.

Lingonensis citait, some of Ceolfrid’s companions remain at, Haa. § 38 (cf. p. xy; II. 180).

Linn Garan, Welsh name of Nechtansmere, II. 261.

Linus, said to have been consecrated as suffragan bishop by St. Peter, II. 83.

Lioba, St., life of, II. 150.

Lirinensis insula, Léris, Benedict Biscop enters the monastery of, Haa. § 2 and notes (cf. Haa. § 5 and note; p. xviii); Germanus and Lupus disciples of, II. 33; Stephen abbot of, II. 37, 39.

‘Litterae dimissoriae,’ II. 213.

‘Litterae solutoriae,’ II. 243.

Litore, in, v. In Lit.

Littleborough, Notts., equated by Moberly with Tiwulfinga-calstir, II. 109; by others with Tunnacastir, II. 243.

Little Gidding, Hunts., revived monastic life at, II. 137.

Liudbrand, king of the Lombards, Chilperic II recommends Ceolfrid to, Haa. § 32 and note.

Liudger, bishop of Münster, had seen St. Boniface, II. 292.

Liudhard, bishop, sent with Bertha to Kent, i. 25, p. 45 and note (cf. II. 94); later legends of, II. 42.

Lionia, i.e. Riga, bishop of, II. 70.

Liutbert, archbishop of Mainz, letter of Otfrid to, II. 249.

Livy, MS. of, belonged to Swidbert, II. 291.

Llandaff, Urban bishop of, II. 212; diocese of, II. 213.

‘locellus,’ ‘loculus,’ a coffin, II. 239.

Loegaire, Irish king, opposed to St. Patrick, II. 354; origin of Celtic tonsure ascribed to, ib.

Loidis regio, Leeds, royal vill built in, to replace Campodonum, ii. 14, p. 115 and note.

Loidis regio, ?Leeds, or the Lothians, battle of the Win-

ward fought in, iii. 24, p. 179 and notes (cf. II. 183).

Longobardi, the Lombards.

Longobardorum rex, Liudbrand, Haa. § 32 and note; Perctarit, II. 150, 279; Cunibert, ib.

Lot, example of, cited, II. 54.

Lothians, the, v. Lothidis.

Louis VI, king of France, p. cxxix.

Lucas, evangelista, cited, Ec. § 4; Bede’s commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.

Lucius, king of Britain, converted by Eleuther, i. 4 and notes; v. 24, p. 352; said to have endowed Winchester, II. 14, 20.

Lucius Uerius, v. Commodus.

Ludovicus Pius, emperor, said to have ordered the composition of the Helian, II. 255.

Lugdonum, Lugdunum, Lyons. Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop arrive at, v. 19, pp. 323, 324 and note; Biscop leaves Wilfrid at, II. 321; Wilfrid sojourns with Dalfinus the bishop at, ib.; iii. 25, p. 182; Patiens bishop of, II. 32; Godwin archbishop of, II. 284; v. Dalfinus, Anne

mundus.

Lugdunensis, v. Florus.

Lugubalia, Carlisle, q.v., Cuthbert meets Herbert for the last time at, iv. 29, p. 274 and note.

Lullus, archbishop of Mainz, receives MSS. from Abbot Cuthbert, pp. xx, xxi, cl note; sends gifts to Abbesses Cuneburg and Eadbub, p. lxxvi note; asks for a copy of Bede’s In Samuelem, p. exlviii; and of his In Cantica, p. clii note; and of his Epigrammata, p. cliv note; letters of Abbot Cuthbert to, II. 248, 249, 339; letter of Wigbert to, II. 285; of Cynehard to, II. 308; succeeds Boniface, II. 346; possibly identical with Redger, ib.

Lumby, Dr. J. R., edition of Bede’s De Die Indiciei, p. cliv; v. Mayor.

Lundonia, Lundonia citaitas,
London, relation of bishop of
to bishop of York defined, i. 29,
p. 64 and note (cf. II. 52); on
the Thames, ii. 3, p. 85;
metropolis of the East Saxons,
ib. and note; a great emporium,
ib.; church of St. Paul built
in, by Ethelbert, ib.; bishopric
of, bought by Wine from Wulf-
here, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes;
Earconwald bishop in, iv. 6, p.
218 and note; Waldhere bishop
of, iv. 11, p. 225 and note;
Hædde consecrated by Theo-
dore at, iv. 12, p. 227; Imma
sold at, iv. 22, p. 251; Watling
Street starts from, II. 20; synod
of, condemns marriage within
the third degree, II. 48; Canter-
bury substituted for, as metrop-
olitan church, II. 52; church of
St. Gregory in, p. cxxv; Indicia of, cited, II. 138. Lun-
doniae episcopus, Mellitus, ii.
4, p. 88; ii. 7, pp. 93, 94; Ing-
wald, C. 745.
Lundonia urbs, Waldhere bishop
of, iv. 11, p. 226.
Lundonienses, refuse to receive
Mellitus, ii. 6, p. 93 and note.
Lundoniensis antistes, Aldwulf,
v. 23, p. 350. Lund. ciuitas,
bishop of, how to be appointed,
i. 29, p. 63. Lund. ecclesia,
Nothelm a priest of, Pref. p. 6
and note. Lund. episcopus,
i. 29, p. 64. Lundonienses
episcopi, Wine not reckoned
among, II. 147.
Lupercalia, ceremonies of, trans-
ferred to Candlemas, II. 60.
Lupus, bishop of Troyes, sent
with Germanus to help the
Britons against the Pelagians,
i. 17, p. 34 and notes; wakes
Germanus to calm a storm, ib.
and note; visits the tomb of
St. Alban, i. 18; Severus a
pupil of, i. 21, p. 40 and note;
letters of Sidonius Apollinaris
to, II. 32; churches dedicated
to, II. 33; v. Germanus.
Lupus, bishop of Châlons-sur-
Saône, II. 39.

Lupus, abbot of Ferrara, letter of,
to Altsig abbot of York, p. clv
note; to Hinemar, p. clvi note.
Luxeul, Columban founder of,
II. 83.
Lybicae partes, i. i, p. ii.
Lyceiffeldensis antistes, Ald-
dwine, v. 23, p. 350 and note.
Lyceiffelth, Lichfield, Ceadda's
see at, iv. 3, p. 207 and note;
Owina a monk at, p. xxv; Offa
attempts to convert into an
archbishopric, II. 57.
Lyons, v. Lugdonum.
Lyuonieus episcopus, II. 70; v.
Liuonia.

M.

Maban, a chanter brought by
Acea from Kent to Hexham, v.
20, p. 331 and note (cf. II. 119);
stays there twelve years, ib.
Mabon, Welsh saints called, II. 60.
Macedonia, length of day in, i. 1,
p. ii.
Macedonius, heretic, Council of
Constantinople directed against,
iv. 17, p. 240 and note.
Macedonie, Mazeroëles in Ponthieu,
Fursa dies at, II. 173.
Maelduine, an Irish monk, founder
of Malmesbury, II. 225, 310;
Aldhelm a pupil of, II. 309, 310;
various forms of the name of,
ib.; v. Maildui urbs.
Maelduine, Irish name confused
with Maelduiub, II. 310.
Maeldum, Meaux, a city of Gaul,
ilness and vision of Wilfrid at,
v. 19, pp. 328, 329 and notes;
II. 320; v. Meldi.
Maeglevn, British king, said to
have been present at Degrastan,
II. 66.
Maelmian, ? Millfield, Mindrum,
or Kirknewton, royal vill built
at, ii. 14, p. 115 and note.
Maelmura, poem of, cited, II. 8.
Maelluma mac Baedain, present at
battle of Degrastan, II. 66.
Maes-Garmon, near Mold, Flint-
shire, traditional scene of the
Hallelujah victory, II. 34.
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 493

Magdalen College, Oxford, owns
MS. O.17, p. cxxiv.

Magdeburg, Norbert archbishop of, II. 290.

Magéo, Muigéo, Mayo, Colman builds a monastery at, for the English monks whom he had brought from Lindisfarne, iv. 4, p. 213 and note; still resorted to by the English in Bede's time, ib. p. 214 and notes; letter of Alcuin to English monks of, II. 210; Aedan or Edwin bishop of, ib.

Magh Bile, v. Movilla.

Magh Breh, wasted by the Northumbrians, II. 260; extent of, ib.


Magnificat, Bede on the, p. xiii note.

Magnnum Monasterium, Whiterne called, I. 129.

Magyars, inroads of, the break up the Slavs, II. 128.

Maildufi urbs, Malmesbury, Aldhelm abbot of, v. 18, p. 320 and notes; a monk of, II. 309; MS. O.11 possibly belonged to, p. cxxv note; date of, ii. 149; Mealdub founder of, ii. 225; Daniel said to have died and been buried at, ii. 308; Farcius a monk of, ib.; Aldhelm buried at, II. 309; various forms of the name, II. 310, 311.

Mailronense monasterium, date of, ii. 149; Cuthbert transferred from, to Lindisfarne, iv. 27, p. 270 and note.

Mailros, Melrose, on the Tweed, v. 12, p. 304; iv. 27, p. 269; Eata abbot of, ib.; iii. 26, p. 190 and note; v. 9, p. 297 (cf. ii. 193); Boisil prior of, ib.; iv. 27, p. 269 and notes; Cuthbert enters, ib. and note; pp. xiii note, cxxv; II. 148, 267; succeeds Boisil as prior, iv. 27, p. 269; II. 195; Drythelm enters, v. 12, pp. 304, 310 and notes (cf. p. xxx); Ethelwald abbot of, ib. and note; prior of, II. 297; R[adulphus] abbot of, II. 38;

Cuthbert and Eata return to, II. 193; Chronicle of, its testimony to Bede, p. xliii note.

Mailrosense monasterium, Boisil prior of, v. 9, p. 297.

Mainz, Lullus archbishop of, v. Lullus; Liutbert archbishop of, II. 249.

Makerfield, Lanes., claims to be Bede's Maserfelth, II. 159.

Malachias, St., Life of, by St. Bernard, p. cxxi.

Malcolm Cenmorm, king of the Scots, II. 135.

Malgo, v. Maelgwn.


Maltby, Edward, bishop of Durham, gives a cover for the Lindisfarne Gospels, II. 298.


Man, isle of, its extent, II. 40, 41, 94; attacked by Aedan mac Gabrain, II. 65; called Anglesey by W. M., II. 94; dedications to St. Ninian in, II. 129; v. Meuaniae insulae.

Mans, Le, MS. M probably came from, p. lxxxix.


Mansionarius, duties of, p. xxvii note.

Mansiones filiorum Israel, Bede's letter on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.

Manuscritps, loan of, p. xix; theft of, ib. note; MS. Laud Greek, 35, used by Bede, p. liv; corruption of, pp. lv, lvi; II. 213; various hands in, p. lxxxiii note; one MS. corrected by another, pp. xix. lxxxiii, lxxxiv note; conflations of, pp. xev, xevi, cxxxii.

‘manus dare,’ meaning of the phrase, II. 200, 205.

Maponos, Celtic Apollo, II. 60.

Marcellinus, Life of Swidbert by, spurious, II. 288, 291.

Marcellinus Comes, Chronicle of, used by Bede, II. 26.

Marcianus, joint emperor with Valentinianus, i. 15, p. 30 and note; i. 21, p. 41 and note; v. 24, p. 352.
Marcus evangelista, interpreter of St. Peter, v. 21, p. 337; establishes the apostolic Easter tradition at Alexandria, "ib." and note; Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.


Mare orientale, the North Sea, Ad Murum twelve miles from, iii. 22, p. 172.

Margaret, St., wife of Malcolm Cennmor, puts down evil customs, II. 88; restores Iona, II. 135.

Maria, beata uirgo, iv. 20, p. 247 and note; church of, at Lichfield, iv. 3, p. 212; Ceadda buried near, "ib."; church of, at Bethlehem, v. 16, p. 317; Wilfrid recovers by the intercession of, v. 19, p. 329; picture of, placed in St. Peter's church at Wearmouth, Hab. § 6, p. 369; treatise on the virginity of, p. cxx; monasteries dedicated to, at Bridlington and Jervaux, p. cxxi; v. Dei Genetrix.

Maria, sister of Lazarus, type of the contemplative life, II. 69.

Marianus Scottus, on the date of Bede's De Temporum Ratione, p. cl; treats the Irish as quartodecimans, II. 114.

Maris, bishop of Hardascir, letter of Ibas to, II. 232.

Maro (Virgil), iv. 20, p. 247; Bede's knowledge of, pp. lii note, liii; cited, II. 362.

Marseilles, v. Massilia.

Martha, sister of Lazarus, type of the active life, II. 69.

Martinus, Sanctus, John the archchanter taken to Tours because of his love to, iv. 18, p. 242 and note; date of death of, p. c; II. 43; said to have degenerated after he became a bishop, II. 68; church near Canterbury, of the Roman period, dedicated to, i. 26, p. 47 and note; not the seat of a bishopric, II. 43; probable scene of Ethelbert's baptism, II. 44; porticus of, in church of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, ii. 5, p. 90; II. 42; Nynias' church at Whiten dedicated to, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes; sends masons to Nynias, II. 136; monastery of, at Rome, John the archchanter abbot of, iv. 18, pp. 241, 242; Hab. § 6, p. 369; Haa. § 10; death of, II. 43; popularity of, in Britain, "ib."; Adelmar restored to life by intercession of, II. 295; prayers at the tomb of, II. 269; monastery of, at Tournai, pp. xx, xxi; chapel of, at Utrecht, II. 293; v. Turoni.

Martinus, papa, Synod of Rome under, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; iv. 18, p. 242 and note; sent to Constantinople, II. 321; dies in Crimea, "ib."; Eugenius I consecrated during lifetime of, "ib.".

Martinus Polonus, Chronicle of, p. exiv.

Martyrium, meaning of the word, II. 91; v. Constantiniana ecclesia.

Martyrologium, Bede's, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.

Maserfelth, Oswestry, Oswald slain by Penda at, iii. 9, p. 145 and notes; miracles wrought at, "ib." pp. 145, 146 and notes (cf. II. 129).


Massilia, Marseilles, Theodore and Hadrian come to, iv. 1, p. 203; St. Victor comes from, II. 18; seat of Arigius possibly at, II. 37; Serenus bishop of, II. 39, 360; monks of Auxerre sent to, for marbles, II. 239.

Matilda, daughter of Otho II, her piety, II. 238.

Matilda, the great countess of Tuscany, II. 240.

Matins, v. Canonical Hours.

Matthew, St., called 'doctor gentium' by Bede, II. 220.

Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, refused the pallium, II. 50.

Maundy Thursday, foot-washing on, p. xxvi; II. 238; origin of the name, "ib."; consecration of chrism on, II. 383.
Mauricius Tiberius, emperor, i. 23. pp. 42, 43 and notes; i. 24, 28, 29, p. 64; i. 30, p. 66; i. 32, p. 70; ii. 1, p. 79.

Maximianus, 'cognomento Herculeus,' made joint emperor by Diocletian, i. 6 and note; orders Carausius to be killed, ib.; persecutes the Christians in the West, ib.

MAXIMUS, St. MS. Phillips 1873 formerly belonged to abbey of, at Trèves, p. cxxxii.

Maximus, becomes tyrant in Britain, i. 9 and note; v. 24, p. 352 (cf. II. 23, 30); crosses to Gaul and slays Gratianus, ib. ib.; expels Valentinianus from Italy, i. 9; captured and slain at Aquileia, ib.

Mayor, v. Magéó.


MAZARINE, BIBLIOTHÈQUE, MS. in, II. 295.

MAZEROÈLES, v. Maceriae.

Meunari, Meunarorum provincie, in Wessex, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; granted by Wulfhere to Ethelwalh of Sussex, ib. and notes (cf. II. 147).

Meaux, v. Maeldum, Meldi.

MEDCAUT, Welsh name of Lindisfarne, II. 126.

Medeshamstedi, Peterborough, q.v., in region of the Gyrwas, iv. 6, p. 218 and note; Sexwulf founder and abbot of monastery of, ib. and notes.

MEDGOET, Irish name of Lindisfarne, II. 126.

'meditari' = to study, II. 136, 218.


MEDWAY, the, II. 80.

MEICEN, Welsh name of the battle of Hatfield, II. 116.

Meilchon, father of Bridius king of the Picts, iii. 4, p. 133.

Melantius, bishop of Rouen, II. 40.

Meldanus, Irish prelate, seen by Fursa in his vision, II. 171; translated to Péronne, ib.

Meldi, Meaux, Faro bishop of, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; Hildegard bishop of, II. 203; v. Maeldum.


Mellitus, archbishop of Canterbury, sent by Gregory to aid Augustine, i. 29, p. 63; II. 39, 45, 78, 83 (cf. II. 390); letter of Gregory to Mellitus, abbass, i. 30, pp. 64-66 and notes; consecrated bishop of the East Saxons, ii. 3, p. 85 and notes; converts them, ib.; goes to Rome to consult Pope Boniface IV about the English Church, ii. 4, p. 88 and notes; called bishop of London, ib. (cf. II. 178); takes part in a Roman synod, the decrees of which he brings back to Britain, ib. and note; brings letters from Boniface to Laurentius and Ethelbert, ib., and note; expelled from Essex, iii. 22, p. 171; ii. 5, p. 91; goes to Kent to consult with Laurentius and Justus, ib.; retires to Gaul, ib. p. 92; ii. 6, p. 92; returns, ib. p. 93; the people of London refuse to receive, ib. and note; consecrates a church of the Virgin in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, ib. and note; succeeds Laurentius as archbishop, ii. 7, pp. 93, 94; rules well, ib. p. 94 and note; receives a letter from Boniface V, ib. and notes; II. 92; miraculously quells a fire in Canterbury, ib. and notes; suffers from gout, ib. and note; of noble birth, ib. and note; his death, ib. p. 95 and note; buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, ib.; probably did not receive the pallium, II. 79; mentioned in the Stowe Missal, II. 81, 82; wrongly said to have gone to Rome in 615, II. 84; chronology of life of, II. 88.

Melrose, v. Mailros.


'Memoria' = tomb, II. 305.

Menna, bishop of Toulon, II. 39.
Mercia, genealogy of kings of, p. cxv; church-building in, II. 123; obscurity of bishops of, II. 185; question of division of diocese of, II. 216, 222, 245, 246; alleged dependence of Wight upon, II. 228; written law first introduced into, by Offa, II. 87; v. Lindissi.

Mercii, converted by Cedd and Ceadda. Pref. p. 7 and note; materials for history of, derived by Bede from monks of Lastingham, ib.; of Anglian origin, i. 15, p. 31; Penda of the royal race of, ii. 20, p. 124 and note; army of, ravages Northumbria and besieges Bamborough, iii. 16 and notes; converted after the death of Penda. v. 24, p. 354; Wilfrid an exile in the regions of, v. ii. p. 302; identical with the Suthumbri. II. 30; Ethelfæd lady of, and Ethelred alderman of, II. 158; bishops of, have no fixed see, II. 178. Merciorum antistes, Sexwulf, iv. 12, p. 228. Merc. dux. Penda, iii. 18. Merc. episcopus. Diuua. iii. 21, p. 171; Wynfrid, iv. 6, p. 218 and notes; Sexwulf, iv. 12, p. 229 and note. Merc. gens, battle of the Idle fought on the borders of, ii. 12, p. 110 and note; idolaters under Penda, ii. 20, p. 125; arrayed against Oswy, iii. 14, p. 154; attack the East Angles, iii. 18 and note; converted at the death of Penda, iii. 24, p. 179; Oswy rules for three years, ib. p. 180; Immin. Eafa, and Eadbert. dukes of, rebel against Oswy, ib. and notes; bishopric of, held by Trumhere, Jaruman, Ceadda, and Wynfrid, ib. and note; by Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 207; Ethelred ruler of, for thirty-one years, v. 24, pp. 355, 356 and note. Merc. primates, mur-

Mercii Aquilonares, extent of, iii. 24, p. 180; separated from the Southern Mercians by the Trent, ib.

Mercii Australes, extent of, iii. 24, p. 180; kingdom of, granted by Oswy to Penda, ib. and note.

Mercinenses, Ethelred king of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; v. Mercii.

Meredyth, James, perhaps owned MS. Bu., p. cxv.


Merlin, on the kings of England, p. cvii; prophecies of, II. 279.

Merouingi, origin of the name, II. 88.

Merton College, Oxford, owns
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 497

Ms. O.3, P. cxxv; Ms. M of Bede's Ep. to Egbert. p. cxxi.
Messana, Felix bishop of, II. 47.
Methodus, Jerome's translation of, pp. cxxviii. cxxix.
Metz. Aigulfus bishop of, II. 40.
Meuanae insulae. Anglesey and Man, q. r., islands of the Britons between Britain and Ireland, ii. 5, p. 89; reduced by Edwin, ib.; ii. 9, p. 97 and note (cf. II. 114); description and dimensions of, ib. and notes; II. 40, 41.
Michaeld, archangelus, cemetery of, near Hexham, v. 2, p. 283; appears to Wilfrid, v. 19, p. 329; cf. II. 315.
Middiianghi, iii. 21, p. 169 and note; v. 24, p. 354; retain their separate existence under Mercia, II. 176; r. Angli Mediterranei.
Milan, letter of Gregory I to clergy of, II. 62; archbishops of Anselm V. II. 51; Asterius, II. 142; Benedictus Crispus, II. 281.
Mildred, St., monastery of, in Thanet, II. 219; Life of, II. 41.
Miled, sons of, colonise Ireland. II. 125.
'militia caelestis,' of the monastic life, II. 180, 181, 356, 362.
Milles, Jeremiah, dean of Exeter, former owner of MS. A., p. cxxiii.
Millfield, near Wooler. Northumberland, equated by Camden with Maelmin. II. 105.
Mindrum, Northumberland, equated by Moberly with Maelmin. II. 105.
'ministerium' = 'comitatus,' II. 164.
Miracles. Bede's view of, p. lxv note; mediaeval, pp. lxiv. lxv; II. 209; tendency to heighten miraculous element, p. xlvi; II. 277, 278.
Mirchna. meaning of term, II. 387.
Missa, first use of the term, II. 44; masses for the dead, pp. xxvii, xxviii. lxxii, lxxvi, clx, clxii; iv. 22; v. 14 ad fin.; II. 387.
'mittere' = 'mettere,' to put, II. 124, 166.
Moesta. Upper, Constantine the Great born in, II. 21.
Moogh. v. Leth Mogha.
Moinex. Irish name of Nynia, II. 128.
Mold, Flintshire, traditional scene of Hallelujah victory near, II. 34.
Mommsen, Theodor, his testimony to Bede. pp. xliv. xlv note.
chosen for birth, p. xxxv; II. 186; size of Celtic, II. 77; decree against molestation of, by bishops, p. cvi; bishops in Irish Church attached to, II. 126, 133, 134, 213; organisation of Irish Church based on, II. 133–135 (cf. II. 178, 180, 285, 385); double monasteries for men and women, II. 150; professors in, II. 161, 197; exemption of, from episcopal jurisdiction, II. 213; episcopal visitation of, II. 385, 386; monastic lying. system of, II. 167; rigour of communist rule in, II. 245, 387, 388; bells in, II. 248; plan of Irish, II. 259; extravagance of dress in, ib.; disorders in, II. 258, 259; dispersal of inmates of, II. 262; clan system in Irish, ib.; hereditary tendencies in English, II. 262, 263, 275, 363, 386; use of Psalter in, II. 270; violation of, by Ceolred and Osred, II. 306; indiscriminate adoption of monastic life, II. 343; election of abbot in, II. 363; resignation of abbot in, II. 366; ignorance of Latin in, II. 366, 380; forms for benediction of abbot of, II. 369; connexion of northern sees with, II. 384; scheme of Bede for connecting episcopal jurisdiction with, II. 384, 385; early Jerusalem church regarded as a monastery, II. 387, 388; compulsory entrance into, II. 221, 306, 331, 340, 347; plague in, v. Plague.

Monk, General, joins in restoring Charles II. p. cxii.

Monks, forbidden to practise medicine, p. xx note; early unpopularity of, in Northumbria, II. 194; ordered to wear wool, II. 238; treatment of renegade, II. 386.

Monkton, near Jarrow, Co. Durham, traditional birth-place of Bede, p. ix note.


Monophysitism, origin and history of, II. 230.

Monothelitism, Honorius I infected with, II. 110; John IV opposes, II. 112; Theodore wrongly suspected of, II. 203; holds the Council of Hatfield against, II. 230; history, importance, and condemnation of, II. 230, 234.


Mons Oliuarum, v. Oliuarum Mons.

Mons Uilfari, v. Uilfarisdun.


Monte Cassino, Niridanæs near, II. 202; MSS. belonging to the monastery of, pp. ci, clv.

Mont St. Michel, Robert abbot of, p. clv note.

Monumenta Historica Britannica, edition of Bede’s H. E. in, pp. lxxxi, lxxxii.

Moon, influence of the, II. 275.

Moore, John, bishop of Ely, former owner of MS. M, p. lxxxix.

Mopsuestia, Theodore bishop of, II. 232.

Moryni, Moriani, i. 1, p. 9 and note; Caesar comes to, i. 2, p. 13 and note; shortest passage to Britain from, ib.

Mosaica lex, St. John’s observance of, cited, iii. 25, pp. 185, 186 and notes.

Moses, Moyses, v. 21, p. 334; Hab. § 9 and note; Haa §§ 6, 39 and note; Ee. § 7, p. 411 (cf. ib. § 9, p. 412); succeeded by Joshua, p. xv; II. 367; example of, cited, p. liii; II. 61; ‘Moses’ Lent,’ II. 198; Mosi Lex, v. 21, p. 334; Mosi Pentateuchus, Bede’s chapters of readings on, v. 24, p. 358.

Movilla, or Magh Bile, Co. Down, Ireland, II. 113.

Mounth, the, separates the Northern and the Southern Picts, II. 127; called Brittaniae dorsum, II. 331.


Muirchu McAcu-Machtheni, notes
of, in Book of Armagh, II. 25.
Mul, brother of Caedwalla, joins in the conquest of Wight, II. 228; set up by Caedwalla as king in Kent, II. 265.
Murum, ad, v. Ad Murum.
Myth, classical, transferred to hagiology; p. lxiv; II. 18, 60.

N.
Naiton (Nechtan), king of the Picts, son of Derile, succeeds his brother Brude, II. 331; sends envoys to Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth, v. 21, pp. 332, 333 and notes; asks for archbishops, ib. p. 333 and notes (cf. II. 101); letter of Ceolfrid to, on the Easter and tonsure questions, ib. pp. 333-345 and notes; his joy at the receipt of it, ib. pp. 345, 346 and note; orders the adoption of the Roman Easter and tonsure in his kingdom, ib. p. 346; expels the Columbite clergy for not conforming, II. 331; dethroned, restored, defeated, and dies, ib.
Namur, MS. of H. E. belonging to, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxviii.
Narbonne, the Saracens establish themselves at, II. 339.
Natalius, a heretic bishop, legend of, II. 89.
National unity, influence of the Church on, II. 200, 205, 211; slow growth of feeling of, II. 155, 225, 227.
Natura Rerum, Bede on, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.
Natures, Humphrey, monk of Peterborough, and rector of Paston, perhaps owned MS. 02, p. cxix.
Natures, Humphrey, monk of Peterborough, formerly owned MS. Gough Missal, 47, p. cxix.

Nechtansmere, Dumberich Moss, Forfarshire, Ecgfrid slain at, p. xxxiii; II. 261, 301.
Neemias, Bede's commentary on v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda; chapters of readings on, ib.; example of, cited, p. xxxv; II. 381, 382.
Nendrum, Co. Down, Cronan Bec bishop of, II. 112.
Nennius, MSS. of, pp. cxviii, cxxi; cited, II. 7, 8, 13, 16, 24, 25, 64, 141, 152, 182-184; his theory of the origin of the Scotti, II. 8; his version of the coming of the Saxons, II. 27; of the baptism of Edwin, II. 100, 101; De la Borderie on, II. 27, 28; name Nennius equated with Nynias, II. 128. 'nepos'=nephew, II. 141, 244.
Nero, emperor, succeeds Claudius, i. 3; nearly loses Britain, ib.; Vespasian reigns after, ib.; his persecution of the Christians, i. 6.
Nestorius, heretic, Councils of Ephesus and Chaledon against, iv. 17, p. 240 and notes (cf. II. 230).
Nethinim, equated by Bede with subdeacons, p. cxlv note.
Newark, equated by some with Tiowulfingacaestir, II. 109.
Newark, Henry of, v. Henry.
Newcastle-on-Tyne, Edward Balliol does homage to Edward III at, p. cvii.
New College, Oxford, owns MS. O1s, p. cxiv.
Nicaea, Council of, against Arius, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.
Niccolà Pisano, and the renaissance, II. 240.
Nicenum Concilium, Nicena Synodus, condemns Arianism, i. 8 and note; its decision on the Paschal question, ii. 19, p. 122; iii. 25, p. 186 (cf. p. xi note; II. 190, 201, 349, 350 note).
Nicolas I, pope, rebukes Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, II. 52; letter of, to Ado, archbishop of Vienne, II. 212.
Nicolas, prior of Worcester, letter of, to Eadmer, II. 140, 224.
Nicostatus, a saint. II. 91.
Nidd, fluvius, the Nidd, Yorkshire. synod on, under Osred about Wilfrid, v. 19, p. 329; II. 306, 320.
Niduari Picts, or Picts of Gallo-
way, II. 128.
Nihtría, v. Uiectred.
Nineuitalae, example of, cited, iv. 25, p. 262.
Nissa, Upper Moesia, Constantine the Great born at, II. 21.
Noah, pedigree of descendants of, p. cxxiii.
Nobility of birth and nobility of mind, II. 90, 91; meaning of nobility of birth in Bede, II. 356; growth of nobility by service, ib.
Noker, origin of the name, II. 103.
Nolla, Paulinus of, v. Paulinus.
Noon, origin of the name, II. 139.
Norbert, archbishop of Magde-
bürg. II. 290.
Nordanymbri, royal race of, descended from Ida, v. 24, p. 353; materials for history of, partly derived by Bede from Albinus and Nothelm, partly from oral testimony, partly from personal knowledge, Pref. pp. 6, 7; of Anglian origin, i. 15, p. 31; name applied to tribes north of the Humber, ib. and note; ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97; districts of, ravaged by Penda, iii. 16 and notes; Tuda succeeds Colman in pontificate of, iii. 26, p. 189; Wilfrid holds the bishopric of, iv. 3, p. 206; II. 323; Incuneningum a district of, v. 12, p. 304 and note; Ethelbald devastates a part of, C. 740; II. 342. Nordanymbriorum dux regius, Bertred, v. 24, p. 355. Nord.ecclesia, ruin of, after the battle of Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 125. Nord. ecclesiae, custom of, during the episcopate of the Scotti, iii. 26, p. 191 and note; Aeddi teaches chanting to, iv. 2, p. 205. Nord. gens, Edwin king of, ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97; divided into Deiri and Bernicii, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; converted by Paulinus, ii. 9, p. 97 and note; Paulinus bishop of, v. 24, p. 353; zeal of, for baptism, ii. 14, pp. 114, 115 and note; Eanfled the first of, to be baptized, ii. 9, p. 99; conversion of, made known to Pope Honorius, ii. 17, p. 118; devastation of, after the battle of Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 125; Wilfrid bishop of, iv. 5, p. 215; bishops placed over, in Wilfrid's place, iv. 12, p. 229 and notes; Oswald at the head of, iv. 14, p. 234; Aldfrid rules, v. 1, p. 282; many in, adopt the monastic life, v. 23, p. 351 and note; Ceadda and Wilfrid consecrated bishops of, v. 24, p. 354. Nord. provinciae, frequently visited by Sigbert of Essex, iii. 22, p. 171; and by Cedd, iii. 23, p. 174; Cedd dies and is buried in, ib. p. 176; ravages of the plague in, iii. 27, p. 192; II. 195; Oswy king of, iii. 29, p. 196; Heiu the first in, to take the veil. iv. 23, p. 253; Wilfrid bishop of the whole of, v. 19, p. 326; II. 323; four bishops of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and notes (cf. II. 129; Ceolwulf king of, in 731, ib.
Nord. provinciae (i.e. Berni-
cia and Deira), ravaged by Cedd-
Nord. rex, Edwin, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; Oswald, ib. and note; iii. 7, p. 139; iii. 9, p. 144; Oswy, iii. 21, p. 169; iv. 1, p. 201; iv. 5, p. 214 and note; v. 24, p. 354; Egfrid, iv. 26, p. 266; v. 24, p. 355; Aldfrid, v. 18, p. 320; v. 19, p. 329; v. 24, p. 356; Osric, v. 23, pp. 348, 349 and notes; Osred, v. 24, p. 356; Alfwold, II. 150; v. Ambrones, Humbrenses, Hym-
bronenses, Northumbri. Transhumbranu.s, Ultra-Umbrenses, Umbrensis.

Norfolk, one of the divisions of East Anglia, II. 108, 168.

Norham, Northumberland, body of Ceolwulf translated to, II. 340.


Northumbria, importance of, and of its monasteries, p. xi notes; threatened by Picts, p. xxxiv; II. 206, 385; converted by monks from Iona, p. xviii; asceticism of Church of, p. xxx; Irish influence on Church of, ib.; p. clvii; decline of, in Bede's time, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv; II. 343; pedigree of kings of, p. evi; temples in, destroyed, II. 58; written law not adopted in, II. 87; alliance of, with Kent, II. 117; church-building in, II. 123; relations of, to Picts and Dalriadic Scots, II. 346; v. Lindissi.

Norwich, East Anglian see removed to, II. 108; bishops of, Henry Despenser, p. cxxvii; Herbert Losinga, II. 147.

'Notarius' = shorthand writer, p. xx note.


Nothelmus, a priest of the Church of London, Pref. p. 6; brings presents and letters from Albinus to Bede, I. 3; Pref. p. 6; visits Rome, ib. and note; brings documents for Bede from the Roman archives, ib. and note (cf. II. 45); consecrated archbishop (of Canterbury), C. 735; dies, C. 739; succeeded by Cuthbert, C. 740; Bede's De Templo and In Libros Regum dedicated to, p. xlii note; II. 2; faulty MS. belonging to, p. lv note; chronology of his life, II. 3; furnishes Bede with information, II. 13, 14, 28; St. Boniface sends to, for a copy of Gregory's Responsa, II. 45, 47.

Nova Foresta, death of William II in, II. 29.

Novum Testamentum, Bede's chapters of readings on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.

Novices, v. Monasteries.


Numbers, tendency to corruption of, in MSS. p. lvi; symbolism of, pp. lx, lxii note; II. 334, 356.

Nuns, as copyists, p. xx note.

Nursling, Hants, Winbert abbot of, II. 371.

Nynias, a Briton, instructed at Rome, iii. 4, p. 133 and note; evangelises the Southern Picts, ib. and notes (cf. II. 76); his see at Whitern, ib. and notes; builds a church of stone, where he is buried, ib. and notes; date of, II. 128; Ailred's Life of, II. 128, 129; probably a Strathclyde Briton, II. 128; Irish traditions about, ib.; Irish name of, ib.; dedications to, ib.; corruptions of name of, II. 129; verses on, by scholars of York, ib.

O.

Oblata, II. 270.

'Obsequium,' = escort, train, II. 19, 337; used of the solemn footwashing, II. 238.

Occidentales Saxones, v. Saxones Occidentales.

Octa, son of Oeric, ii. 5, p. 90.

Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, translates what he believed to be the body of Wilfrid to Canterbury, II. 328; Dunstan's homage to, II. 377.

Odo, abbot of the monastery of St. Martin's, Tournai, a great scribe, pp. xx, xxi.

Odoacer, overthrows the Western Empire, II. 35.

Oedipus, myth of, transferred to hagiology, II. 18.

Oengus, king of the Picts, Cuthred of Wessex rises against, C. 750 and note; his tyranny and death, C. 761; son of Fergus,
II. 346; joins Eadburt against Dumbarton, ib.

Oeric, cognomento Oisc, son of Hengist, ii. 5, p. 90.

Offa, an unknown chief of Lindsey, II. 217.

Offa, son of Sighere king of the East Saxons, v. 19, p. 322 and note; resigns his position and goes to Rome, ib. and notes; becomes a monk and dies there, ib. and note; succeeded by Selred, II. 314; said to have wished to marry a daughter of Penda, ib.; wrongly made king of the East Angles, II. 217.

Offa, son of Ethelfrid, II. 99.

Offa, king of the Mercians, expels Beornred, and seizes the kingdom, C. 757; II. 342; traditional founder of St. Alban's, II. 20; attempts to make Lichfield an archbishopric, II. 57; the first to introduce written law into Mercia, II. 87; his dyke, II. 152; adorns Oswald's tomb, II. 155; Eanwulf grandfather of, II. 341.

Oftfor, bishop of the Hwiccas, studies under Hild at Hartlepool and Whitby, iv. 23, p. 254; goes to Kent and studies under Theodore, ib. pp. 254, 255; thence to Rome, ib. p. 255; returns to Britain and goes to the Hwiccas, ib. and note; made bishop of the Hwiccas, ib. and note; consecrated by Wilfrid, ib.; II. 319; spurious grant of Ethelred to, II. 154; date of death of, II. 246; succeeded by Egwin, ib.


Oidiluald (Ethelwald), son of Oswald, opposed to Oswy, iii. 14, p. 154 (cf. II. 179); king of the Deiri, iii. 23, p. 174 and notes (cf. II. 120); gives Cedd land for the foundation of a monastery at Lastingham, ib. pp. 174, 175 and notes; has Cedd's brother Caelin as his chaplain, ib. p. 175 and note; summons Cedd to him, ib. p. 176; acts as guide to the Mercians against Oswy, iii. 24, p. 178 and note; remains neutral in the battle of the Winwæd, ib.; II. 179; possibly set up by Penda, ib.; succeeded by Alcfrid, II. 189.

Oidiluald (Ethelwald), presbyter, a monk of Ripon, v. 1, p. 281; succeeds Cuthbert as anchorite of Farne, ib. and note; miracle wrought by, ib. pp. 281, 282; dies in Farne, and is buried in Lindisfarne, ib. p. 282 and note; fate of his relics, II. 272; succeeded by Felgeld, II. 273.

Or., calms the sea, II. 165.

Oisc, cognomento of Oeric, ii. 5, p. 90; kings of the Cantuarii called Oiscingas from, ib. and note.

Oiscingas, patronymic of the Kentish kings, ii. 5, p. 90 and note.

Oisín, Oissen, Irish forms of the name Oswine, II. 163.

Oisín, or Ossian, son of Finn mac Cumail, II. 163.

Olirarum Mons, description of, v. 17, pp. 318, 319.

'Olosericus,' II. 362.

Omeliae, Bede's two books of, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.

Ondred, Andred, Caedwalla takes refuge in, II. 228.

Ongendus, king of the Danes, Wilbrord attempts to convert, II. 290; identified with Ongentheow in the Beowulf, ib.

Ongentheow, v. Ongendus.

Önguls-Ey, Icelandic name of Anglesey, II. 94.

Opobalsamum, iii. 8, p. 144 and note.

Oppidum Uiltorum, v. Uiltaburg.

Orcales insulae, at the back of Britain, i. 1, p. 9; added to the Roman empire by Claudius, i. 3 and notes; v. 24, p. 352; Saxons defeated at, by Stilicho, II. 19, 13; basis of attacks on Britain, II. 13, 14; Piets said to have occupied, II. 13; attacked by Aedan mac Gabrain,
and by Brude, II. 13, 14; seat of a Scandinavian power, II. 14; called 'Organae,' ib.; said to have been subject to Edwin, II. 86; king of, said to have been present in battle of Hatfield, II. 116.

Ordericus Vitalis, born at Attingham or Atcham-on-Severn, II. 193.

Organae, v. Orcades.

Oriel College, Oxford, MS. belonging to, p. elvi note.

Orientales, equinox fixed by, v. 21, p. 339 and note.

Orientales Angli, v. Angli Orientales.

Orientales Saxones, v. Saxones Orientales.

Origen, heretical, pp. li, lii note; influence of, on patristic exegesis, p. lvi note; his Hexameron, II. 7.

Orleans, bishops of, Prosper, II. 32; Theodulf, II. 282; importance of school of, p. xx note; a body of Alani settled at, II. 34; Theoderic king of, II. 39.

Orosius, extracts from, p. cxviii; used without acknowledgement by Bede, p. xxiv note (cf. II. 12); Bede corrects an error of, II. 13.

Orthographia, Bede on, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.

Osric, son of Edwin by his first wife Cwenburg, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; baptized, ib.; father of Yfi, ib. and note; slain in the battle of Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 124 and note.

Osfrith, 'praefectus in Bromnis,' Wilfrid in custody of, II. 325.

Osguid, v. Oslac.

Oshere, king of the Hwiccas, II. 247.

Oslac, or Osguid (Oswith), son of Ethelfrid, II. 99.

Oslaf, son of Ethelfrid, II. 99.

Osred, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds his father Aldfrid, v. 18, p. 320 and note; Hædde dies in the reign of, ib. and note; Cenred of Mercia resigns in the fourth year of, v. 19, p. 321 and notes; synod on the Nidd about Wilfrid under, ib. p. 329; Abbot Hadrian dies in fifth year of, v. 20, p. 330 and note; slain and succeeded by Cenred, v. 22, p. 346 and note; v. 24, p. 356; II. 337; exchanges land with Ceolfrid, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note; his viciousness and tyranny, II. 306, 314; attack on the Church date from, II. 314, 386.

Osric, son of Aelfric, succeeds his cousin Edwin in Deira, iii. 1, p. 127 and notes; converted by Paulinus, ib. (cf. II. 103); relapses into paganism, ib. (cf. II. 18); slain by Caedwalla, ib. p. 128 and notes; not reckoned in list of kings, ib. and notes (cf. iii. 9, p. 145); father of Oswin, iii. 14. p. 154 and notes.

Osric, king of the Hwiccas, iv. 23, p. 255 and note; founder of St. Peter's monastery, Gloucester, p. cxiv; doubtful charter of, II. 215, 246, 247; probably son of Eanfrid, ib.; wrongly identified with Osric of Northumbria, ib.; II. 338.

Osric, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds Cenred, v. 23, p. 348 and note; Witred of Kent dies in his seventh year, ib.; names Ceolwulf as his successor, ib. p. 349 and note; dies, ib. and note; v. 24, p. 356; wrongly identified with Osric of the Hwiccas, II. 247, 338; said to have been concerned in the slaying of Osred, II. 336; question as to his father, II. 337, 338.

Ossian, v. Oisin.

Osthryd, queen of the Mercians, daughter of Oswy, wife of Ethelred of Mercia, iii. 11, p. 148 and note; translates the bones of her uncle Oswald to Bardney, ib. and notes; a great benefactor of that monastery, ib.; sojourns there, ib. p. 149; receives there a visit from Abbess Ethelhild,
ib.; sister of Egfrid and Elfwine, iv. 21 and notes; II. 326; causes the expulsion of Wilfrid from Mercia, ib.; murdered by the Mercian nobles, v. 24, p. 355; II. 154.

Osuaid, king of the Northumbrians, son of Ethelfrid, II. 99, 124; Rex Christianissimus, ii. 5, p. 89 and note (cf. iii. 9, p. 144); extent of his power, ib. and notes; sixth of the seven great English kings, ib. and notes; Oswy brother of, ib.; completes the church of St. Peter at York, ii. 14, p. 114; ii. 20, p. 153; Eadfrid murdered by Penda in his reign, ib. and note; Edwin’s son and grandson sent to Gaul for fear of, ib. p. 126 and note; II. 116; reigns of Osric and Eanfrid reckoned as part of his reign, iii. 1, p. 128 and notes (cf. iii. 9 ad init.); slays Ceawlin at Denisesburn, ib. and notes; cross erected by, at Hefenfelth before the battle, iii. 2, pp. 128–131 and notes; the monks of Hexham celebrate the eve of his obit there, ib. p. 129 and notes (cf. II. 138); sends for a bishop to the elders of the Scotti, iii. 5, pp. 136, 137 and notes; iii. 3, p. 131 and note; himself converted while in exile, ib. and note; grants Lindisfarne as a see, ib. p. 132 and notes; acts as interpreter to Aidan, ib. and notes (cf. p. xlv); provinces of the Angli ruled by, ib. (cf. II. 86); well acquainted with the language of the Scotti, ib. and note; II. 165; instructed by Aidan, iii. 6, p. 137; all nations and provinces of Britain subject to, ib. p. 138 and note; anecdote of his charity, ib. and notes; his hands preserved as relics at Bamborough, ib. and notes; unites the provinces of Bernicia and Deira, ib. and note (cf. II. 120); nephew of Edwin by his sister Acha, ib. p. 139 and note; godfather and son-in-law of Cynegil, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes; joins in granting Dorchester to Birinus, ib. and note; length of his reign, iii. 9, p. 144 and notes; slain by Penda at Maserfelth, ib. p. 145 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; his age, iii. 9, p. 145 and note; miracles wrought on the spot, ib. pp. 145, 146 and notes; and by dust taken from it, iii. 10 and note; his bones translated to Bardney by Ostryth, queen of the Mercians, iii. 11, p. 148 and notes; the monks at first refuse to receive them, ib. and note; a divine light shines above them, ib. pp. 148, 149 and note; they are enshrined, ib. p. 148 and note; miracles wrought through the water in which they had been washed, ib. pp. 148–150 and notes; had ruled over Lindsey, ib. p. 148 and note; a boy cured of fever at his tomb, iii. 12, pp. 150, 151 and notes; his devotion, ib. p. 151 (cf. p. xxvi note); his dying prayer, ib. and note; his head and hands impaled by Penda, ib.; rescued by Oswy, ib. p. 152 and note; his head buried at Lindisfarne, his hands at Bamborough, ib. and note; his fame in Britain, Germany, and Ireland, iii. 13, p. 152, and note (cf. II. 228); relics of, in Frisia, ib.; miracle wrought in Ireland by wood from the stake on which his head was set, ib. pp. 152–154; succeeded by his brother Oswy, iii. 14, p. 154 and notes; father of Ethelwold, ib.; iii. 23, p. 174 and note; iii. 24, p. 178; plague at Selsey stayed by intercession of, iv. 14, pp. 234, 235 and notes; his obit entered in the ‘annale’ of Selsey, ib. p. 235 and note; his exile in Iona, II. 99; MS. O3 probably belonged to a monastery dedicated to, p. cxviii note; lections on, p. cxix; l. 428–431; Life of, by Reginald of Durham,
p. exxxvii, II. 161; by Drogo, II. 142, 161; by Capgrave, ib.; Saga of, ib.; his election as king, II. 121; date of his de facto accession, ib.; relates to Seghine of Iona his vision of St. Columba before the battle of Denisesburn, II. 121, 122; battle against, in 638, II. 152; the first English martyr and worker of miracles, II. 153; fate of his relics, II. 141, 157, 158; cultus of, on the Continent and in Ireland, II. 158–160; churches dedicated to, in Britain, II. 159; confused with Aldfrid, ib.; Edith, wife of Otho I, wrongly described as descendant of, II. 160; plague in reign of, II. 195.

Osuini, king of the Deiri, of the stock of Edwin, son of Osric, iii. 14, p. 154 and notes; succeeds Oswald in Deira, ib. (cf. II. 120); unable to cope with Oswy, ib. p. 155; dismisses his army and takes refuge with Hunwald, ib.; betrayed and foully murdered at Gilling by Oswy’s orders, ib. and notes (cf. v. 24, p. 354; II. 116); Gilling monastery founded for the good of his soul, ib. and note (cf. iii. 24, p. 180); his beauty of person and character, ib. pp. 155, 156 and note; nobles from all parts enter his comitatus, ib. p. 156 and note; anecdote of his humility, ib. pp. 156, 157 and notes (cf. II. 136, 367); Aidan foretells his death, ib. p. 157 and note; ignorant of Irish, ib. and note; Trumhere a relative of, iii. 24, p. 180 and note; miracle wrought by relics of, II. 155; Life of, &c., II. 162; in exile in Wessex, ib.; confused with Oswy, ib.; date of accession of, II. 163; Irish forms of name of, ib.; cross erected to, at Collingham, II. 164; buried at Tynemouth, ib.; translation of, ib.; question of his martyrdom, ib.

Osuini, slain, C. 761.

Osuiu, Osuio, king of the Northumbrians, son of Ethelfrith, II. 99, 161; his exile, II. 99; question of his mother, II. 161, 236; brother of Oswald, ii. 5, p. 89 (cf. iii. 14, p. 154 and note); the seventh of the seven great English kings, ib. and notes (cf. II. 201, 208, 211); reduces to a great extent the Picts and Scots in Britain, ib. pp. 89, 90 and notes (cf. iii. 24, p. 180 and note; iv. 3, p. 206 and note); father of Oshryth wife of Ethelred of Mercia, iii. 11, p. 148 and note; rescues Oswald’s head and hands, iii. 12, p. 152 and note; succeeds Oswald, iii. 14, p. 154 and notes; has to contend against various enemies, ib. (cf. II.179); causes Oswin to be murdered at Gilling, ib. p. 155 and notes (cf. II. 116, 179); Gilling monastery founded for the good of soul of, ib. and notes (cf. iii. 24, p. 180); marries Eanfled, daughter of Edwin, iii. 15, p. 157 and note; his daughter Alchfled marries Peada, iii. 21, pp. 169, 170 and note; Alchfrid son of, ib. p. 170; iii. 24, p. 178; annexes Mercia on the death of Penda, iii. 21, pp. 170, 171; exerts himself for the reconversion of the East Saxons, iii. 22, p. 171 and notes; their king Sigbert frequently visits, ib. and note; Sigbert converted by arguments of, ib. pp. 171, 172 and notes; at his request sends Cedd to reconvert the East Saxons, ib. p. 172; attempts to buy off Penda, iii. 24, p. 177 and notes; his vow, ib.; defeats and slays Penda on the Winwede, ib. p. 178 and notes; his son Egfrid a hostage in Mercia, ib. and note; fulfilment of his vow, ib. and notes (cf. p. xxxiv note); his daughter Elfled dedicated, ib. pp. 178, 179 and note; buried at Whitby, ib. p. 179 and note (cf. II. 116, 211); gives land at Gilling to found a monastery, ib. pp. 179, 180 and notes; rules
over the Mercians and southern provinces for three years, \textit{ib.} p. 180 and notes; places Peada over the South Mercians, \textit{ib.} and notes; the Mercians rebel against, \textit{ib.} and notes; discord in the household of, on the Easter question, p. xl; iii. 25, p. 182 (cf. II. 350); had been educated by the Scotti, \textit{ib.}; iii. 29, p. 196; familiar with their language, iii. 25, p. 182 and note (cf. II. 165); opens the Synod of Whitby, \textit{ib.} p. 183 and note; accepts the Roman Church as catholic, iii. 29, p. 196; his regard for Colman, iii. 26, p. 190; at his request makes Eata abbot of Lindisfarne, \textit{ib.} and note; sends Ceadda to Kent to be consecrated, iii. 28, pp. 194, 195 and note; \textit{v.} 19, p. 326 and note; II. 316; confers with Egbert of Kent on the state of the English Church, iii. 29, p. 196 and note; they agree to send Wighard to Rome to be consecrated archbishop, \textit{ib.} and note; iv. 1, p. 201; letter of Vitalian addressed to, as king of the Saxons, iii. 29, pp. 196–199 and notes; asked by Theodore to send Ceadda to Mercia as bishop, iv. 3, p. 206 and note; his illness and death, v. 24, p. 254; iv. 5, p. 214 and note; had wished to go to Rome and had asked Wilfrid to accompany him, \textit{ib.} (cf. II. 317); succeeded by Egfrid, \textit{ib.} and note; Aldfrid said to be son of, iv. 26, p. 268 and note; consents to Wilfrid’s consecration, v. 19, p. 325; Benedict Biscop a thane of, Hab. § 1; forbids his son Alchfrid to go to Rome, Hab. § 2; annexes Deira, II. 120; governs it through Alchfrid and then Egfrid as under-kings, \textit{ib.}; recovers Lindsey, II. 155; question of date of death of, II. 162, 211; confused with Osuin, \textit{ib.}; mis- takes as to regnal years of, II. 162, 164, 185; wars of, against the Britons, II. 181; limitation of power of, at beginning of his reign, II. 181, 182, 186, 187.

Oswul, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds his father Eadbert, C. 758; treacherously murdered by his thanes, C. 759.

Oswald, archbishop of York, his devotion, p. xxvi note; story of King Edgar and, II. 165.

Oswestry, probably identical with Maserfelth, \textit{q.v.}, origin of the name, II. 152, 153.

Oswinthorpe, near Leeds, royal residence at, II. 105.

Oswy, v. Osric.

Oswudo, son of Ethelfrid, II. 99.

Otfried, monk of Weissenburg, translates the Gospels into German verse, II. 249; his letter to Liutbert of Mainz, \textit{ib.}

Otto I, emperor, marries Edith, sister of Athelstan, II. 160.

Otto II, emperor, Matilda daughter of, II. 238.


Ouin, monachus, with Ceadda at time of his death, iv. 3, pp. 207–209; his character, \textit{ib.} pp. 207, 208 and notes (cf. p. xxv); had been thane and master of the household to Ethelthryth, \textit{ib.} p. 208 and note; enters the monastery of Lastingham, \textit{ib.}; his miraculous experience, \textit{ib.} pp. 208, 209 and notes; church at Gloucester dedicated to, II. 209.

Oundle, v. In Undalum.

Ovid, cited by Bede, pp. lli note, liii.

\textbf{P.}

\textbf{Pachasinus}, bishop of Lilybaeum, II. 96.

Padda, presbyter, assists Wilfrid in the conversion of Sussex, iv. 13, p. 230.

Pægnalaech, ? Finchale near Durham, Tuda buried in monastery.
of, iii. 27, p. 192 and note; date of, doubtful, II. 149.

**Palatiolum, Palentz, near Trèves,** Adolana abbess of, II. 185.

**Palgrave, Sir Francis,** former owner of MS. A5, p. cvii.

**Palladius,** sent by Celestinus as bishop to the believing Scotti, i. 13 and note; v. 24, p. 352; later developments of his story, II. 25, 26; said to have induced Celestinus to send Germanus to Britain, II. 32.

**Palladius, bishop of Saintes,** II. 39.

**Pallium, history of,** II. 49-52, 92, 341.

**Pamphylus, martyr, the friend of Eusebius,** v. 21, p. 341.

**Paneratus, or Pancras, St., relics of,** sent by Vitalian to Oswy, iii. 29, p. 198; church of, near Canterbury, converted from a heathen temple, II. 58, 59.

‘pandecte,’ meaning of term, II. 365.

**Pan, the,** v. Penta.

**Pantheon, St., church of,** at Cologne, II. 18.

**Pantheus,** granted by Phocas to Boniface IV, ii. 4, p. 88; converted into a church, ib. and note.


**Paradisus,** Ec. § 17, p. 422.

**Paralysis,** II. 272.

**Parisiaca ciuitas,** Paris, Agilbert bishop of, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes; iii. 28, p. 194; v. 19, p. 325 and note; bishops of, Simplicius, II. 40; Importunus, II. 146; Sigebrand, II. 322; Charibert king of, II. 42.

**Parisii, Agilbert bishop of, iv. 1,** p. 203 and note.

‘parochia,’ use of term, II. 212.

**Parochial system,** growth of, II. 290. 291. 380.

**Parsonstown, v. Birra.**

**Particiles, confusion of active and passive in Low Latin,** II. 329, 330.

**Partney, v. Peartaneu.**

**Pascal I, pope,** rebuilds the church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, II. 292.

**Pascal controversy,** pp. xxxix-xli, lxiii; II. 74, 83, 112-114, 124, 125, 130, 188-193, 201, 267, 300-303, 331-335, 348-353.

**Pascal cycles,** p. xl; II. 130, 334, 350, 351; influence of, on annalistic writing, ib.

**Paschal Epistles,** II. 334.

**Paston, Northants, Humphrey Natures rector of,** p. cxix.

**Paterius, the notary,** his catena of passages from St. Gregory, p. xxiii note.

**Paternus,** an Irish ‘inclusus,’ burnt in his cell, p. xxxi note.

**Patiens, bishop of Lyons,** Constantius’ Life of Germanus addressed to, II. 32.

**Patrick, St.,** expels snakes from Ireland, II. 10; criticism of the legend of, II. 25, 26 (cf. II. 346); letter of, to Coroticus, of doubtful authenticity, II. 76; devotion of, to the Psalter, II. 137; vision of, II. 287; Patrick’s Purgatory, II. 295; opposition of Loegaire to, II. 354.

‘patruelis,’ II. 362, 371.

**Paulina, virgin,** II. 242.

**Paulinus, archbishop of York,** sent by Gregory to aid Augustine, i. 29, p. 63; v. 24, p. 353 (cf. II. 93); converts Edwin and the Northumbrians, ii. 9, p. 97 and notes; consecrated by Justus, v. 24, p. 353; ii. 9, p. 98 and note (cf. II. 96); accompanies Ethelberht to Northumbria, ib. and note; his ill success at first, ib.; receives from Edwin his daughter Eanflod to be dedicated to Christ, ib. p. 99 (cf. II. 372); instructs Edwin, ib. p. 100; reminds him of his mysterious experience and vow at the court of Redwald, ii. 12, pp. 107, 110, 111 (cf. II. 93); consents to the holding of a witenagemót as to the adoption
of Christianity, ii. 13, p. 111 and notes; converts Coifi, ib. p. 112; and Edwin, ib. p. 113 and notes; granted a see in York, ii. 14, p. 114; induces Edwin to found a church of stone at York, ib. and notes; baptizes innumerable Bernicians in the Glen at Ad Grifrin, ib. pp. 114, 115 and notes; and Deirans in the Swale, ib. p. 115 and notes; builds a church at Campodonum, ib. and notes; evangelises Lindsey, ii. 16, p. 117 and notes; converts Blaecca, prefect of Lincoln, ib. and notes; builds a stone church in Lincoln, ib. and notes; consecrates Honorius there, ib.; ii. 18, p. 120 and notes (cf. II. 49, 52); baptizes in the Trent, ii. 16, p. 117; his personal appearance, ib.; his deacon James, ib. and note; success of, made known to Pope Honorius, ii. 17, p. 118; pallium sent to, by Pope Honorius, ib. pp. 118, 119; ii. 20, p. 126 and note (cf. II. 51); left by him in the church at Rochester, ib.; retires to Kent after battle of Hatfield with Edwin’s widow, &c., ib. pp. 125, 126 and note; v. 24, p. 354; accepts the see of Rochester in succession to Romanus, ii. 20, p. 126 (cf. p. cxxvi; II. 110); leaves his deacon James at York, ib. and note; converts Osric, iii. 1, p. 127; dies, iii. 14, p. 154 and note; buried in St. Andrew’s ‘secretarium,’ Rochester, ib. and note; first bishop of the Northumbrians, iv. 23, p. 352; converts Hild with Edwin, ib. and note; Egbert the first archbishop after, C. 735; probably sent on a mission to East Anglia, II. 93; probable relations with Edwin there, II. 93, 390; baptized Edwin, II. 101; his relics translated by Lanfranc, II. 162; legend of his death, II. 162, 390, 391; lections on, I. 427.

Paulinus, bishop of Nola, Bede turns into prose his metrical


Paulus, beatus apostolus, ‘doctor gentium,’ II. 220; ‘caelestis exercitus praecipuus miles,’ i. 27, p. 61; cited, ib. pp. 48, 57, 58; Haa. § 1; pastoral epistles of, recommended by Bede to Egbert, Ee. § 3; MS. of epistles of, ascribed to Bede, p. xx note; example of, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and notes (cf. II. 58; Ee. § 4; p. liii); Barnabas fetches, from Tarsus, Haa. § 6; lived, suffered, and was buried in Rome, iii. 25, p. 184; his tonsure worn by Theodore, iv. 1, p. 203 (cf. II. 353); his views on virginity and marriage, II. 54; his speech at Athens, II. 57; quarrel of, with Barnabas, cited, II. 321; authority of, claimed for the Oriental tonsure, II. 353; Bede’s excerpts from St. Augustine on, v. 24, p. 358; pp. clv, clvi; similar works by other authors, ib. note; v. Baeda; Apocryphal Paulus, II. 294; cited, II. 171, 296, 298; church of, in Rome, Gregory I institutes masses in, ii. 1, p. 78; altar dedicated to, in York Cathedral, II. 102; church of, in London, built by Ethelbert, ii. 3, p. 85; Earecwald and Sebbi buried in, II. 220; porticus of, built by Bishop Tobias in St. Andrew’s church at Rochester, v. 23, pp. 348, 349; monastery and church of, at Jarrow, founded by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid, Hab. § 7, p. 370 and note; § 15, p. 379 and note; Haa. § 11 and note; § 12 and note; § 17 and note; II. 370; anecdote of the plague in, Haa. § 14 and note (cf. p. xii); Ceolfrid abbot of, Hab. § 7, p. 370 and note; §§ 9, 13; Haa. §§ 11, 12, 18; pictures placed in the church of, Hab. § 15, p. 379; Ceolfrid obtains land for, ib. p. 380 and notes; Ceolfrid bids farewell to monks of, Haa. § 23 and note; § 24; exhorts the monks of St.
Peter to unity with, Haa. § 25; monks of, informed of the intention to elect an abbot in place of Ceolfrid, Haa. § 18; senior monks of, take part in the election of Hwaetbert, ib. and note; Haa. § 29; v. In Gyrum, Petrus et Petrus.

Paulus, martyr, relics of, sent by Vitalian to Osowy, iii. 29, p. 198.

Paulus Diaconus, his judgement on Theodore’s penitential, p. clvii note; his Life of Gregory, II. 73, 389; uses the early Life of Gregory, ib.

Peada, son of Penda, placed by his father as princeps over the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 169 and notes (cf. II. 185); asks Osowy’s daughter Alchfrid in marriage, ib. pp. 169, 170 and note (cf. II. 94); persuaded to become a Christian by Alchfrid, ib. p. 170; baptized by Finan at place called Ad Murum, ib. and note; takes missionaries with him to evangelise his people, ib. and notes; Osowy grants the kingdom of the South Mercians to, iii. 24, p. 180 and note (cf. II. 344); murdered at the alleged instigation of his wife, ib.; Middle Angles converted under, v. 24, p. 354.

Peanfahel, Pictish name of the beginning of the Roman wall, i. 12, p. 26 and note; v. Pennetun.

Pearls in Britain, i. 1, p. 10 and note.

Peartaneu, Partney, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire, Deda abbot of monastey of, ii. 16, p. 117 and note; Aldwine abbot of, iii. 11, p. 149; a cell of Bardney, II. 109.

Pecthelm, bishop of Whitenor, tells Bede the story of the impenitent Mercian thane, v. 13, p. 313 (cf. p. 14v note); of the miracles wrought at Haedde’s tomb, v. 18, p. 320 (cf. p. 14v note); was a monk and deacon under Aldhelm, ib.; bishop of Whiterin in 731, v. 23, p. 351 and note (cf. II. 224); letter of St. Boniface to, II. 343; first Anglian bishop of Whiterin, ib.; meaning of name of, ib.; his see probably located in the monastery of Whiterin, II. 384.

Pentwine, bishop of Whiterin, meaning of name of, II. 343.

Pelagianus episcopus (Severianus), i. 17, p. 33 and note.

Pelagiana heresies, II. 19, 21, 22, 334; introduced into Britain by Agricola, i. 17, p. 33 and notes; recrudescence of, i. 21, p. 39 and notes; revival of, in Ireland, ii. 19, pp. 122–124 and note; John, pope-elect, writes to the Irish against, ib.; refuted by Bede, pp. lxii, lxiii note, and reff. there given.

Pelagius, Bretto, founder of the Pelagian heresy, i. 10 and notes; i. 17, p. 35; play on his name, II. 22.

Pelagius II, pope, Gregory apostasius to, II. 69 (cf. II. 73).

Pelagius, bishop of Tours, II. 39.

Pelasga lingua, i.e. Greek, v. 8, p. 295 and note.


Penda, king of the Mercians, aids Cædwalla against Edwin, ii. 20, p. 124 and notes; iii. 9, p. 145 and note; II. 103; his varied fortune, ii. 20, p. 124 and notes; length of his reign, ib. and note; Eadfrid, son of Edwin, treacherously slain by, ib. pp. 124, 125 and note; an idolater with all his people, ib. p. 125 (cf. II. 18); expels Cenwalh of Wessex for divorcing his sister, iii. 7, p. 140 and notes; defeats and slays Oswald at Maserfelth, iii. 9, p. 145 and notes; impales Oswald’s head and arms, iii. 12, p. 151; ravages Northumbria and besieges Bamborough, iii. 16 and notes; burns a royal vill and church near Bamborough, iii. 17, p. 160; attacks and defeats the East Angles,
slinging their king, Anna, iii. 18 and notes (cf. II. 172); places his son Peada over the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 169; his daughter Cyneburg married to Alchfrid, vb. p. 170; does not forbid the preaching of Christianity, vb. and note; despises inconsistent Christians, vb.; his death. vb.; irritations of, into Northumbria, iii. 24, p. 177 and note; Oswy tries to buy off hostility of, vb. and notes; defeated and slain by Oswy on the Winwæd, vb. p. 178 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; Oswy rules Mercia three years after death of, iii. 24, p. 180 and notes; Wulfhere, son of, made king, vb. and notes; place of, in the Mercian pedigree, II. 103; nearly succeeds in uniting the English race, II. 115; gains possession of Lindsey, II. 155; dominates East Anglia, II. 169; interregnum in see of Canterbury possibly due to, II. 174; Britons allied with, against Oswy, II. 181, 182; Celts in his army at the Winwæd, II. 184; Offa of Essex said to have wished to marry daughter of, II. 314, 315.

Pentential literature, character of mediaeval, pp. cvii, cviii.

Penteltun, English name of the beginning of the Roman wall, i. 12, p. 26.

Penta amnis, the Pant river, or Blackwater, Essex, iii. 22, p. 173 and note.

Perchthirt, king of the Lombards, takes refuge with the Huns, II. 150; thinks of flying to Britain, II. 279; father of Cunibert, vb.; Wilfrid stays with (679), II. 318; Wilfrid’s enemies endeavour to bribe, II. 325.

‘Perfectio’ = confirmation, II. 382.

‘Perfidia,’ ‘perfidus,’ applied to unbelief and heresy, II. 18, 19, 147, 182, 339.

Perrona, Péronne, Erceinwald builds a church at, iii. 19, p. 168 and note; Fursa buried there. ib. and note; Fursa translates bodies of Beonus and Meldanus to, II. 171; Ultan abbot of, II. 172.

Persians, make no representation of the Deity, II. 59.

‘Persona,’ theological meaning of the term, II. 232.

Peterborough, MS. O_2 perhaps belonged to monastery of, p. cxix; two monks of, called Humphrey Natures, vb.; relics of Oswald at, II. 158; Cyneburg and Cyneswith translated to, II. 175; alleged endowment of, by Wulfhere and Oswy, ib. (cf. II. 177); Cuthbald abbot of, II. 216; additions to the Sax. Chron. made at, II. 175, 177, 215, 216; r. Medeshamstedi.

Peter’s Pence, II. 281.

Peto, construction of, II. 140, 331.

Petronilla, St., office for day of, p. cvx.

Petrus, baptismal name of Cædwalla, q. v., v. 7, pp. 292, 293.

Petrus, an abbot of the province of Tripolitana, catena on St. Paul from St. Augustine ascribed to, p. clv note.

Petrus, Venerabilis, letter of, to St. Bernard, II. 353.

Petrus, monachus, sent by Augustine to Gregory to announce the conversion of the English, i. 27, p. 48 and note; brings back Gregory’s Responsa, &c., II. 45, 56, 63; first abbot of monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, i. 33 and notes; sent as legate to Gaul, vb.; drowned and buried at Amfleat, vb. and note (cf. II. 117); translated to Boulogne, vb. and note.

Petrus, diaconus, dialogues of Gregory I with, ii. 1, p. 76 and note; cited, ib. p. 74 and note.

Petrus de Burgundia, an anchorite in Palestine, acts as guide to Arculfus, II. 303, 304.

Petrus, beatus, ‘apostolorum princeps,’ ii. 10, p. 104; ii. 11,
altar

v.

Tohn consecrates this promise p. Chrisfs

V.

Benedict his Ceolfrid Haa.

Edwin's monks translation mode see example 25 liis Trum-

preaches the Hab. Caed- meaning p. pallia jireached Epistles

26 of, York, of archchanter note their tributaries 294, XX

in, walla offerings of, Laurentius, Bariona, his note 98

his note by Roman authority II. apostolic

§§ cured preter 4, 186; 342-344; Oswald,

§§ ii. 37, 241; Haa.

Church of, at Bamborough, iii. 6, p. 138; Oswald's hands preserved in. ib. and note.

Church of, at Lichfield, iv. 3, p. 212; Ceadda's bones translated to, ib.

Church of, at Lindisfarne, iii. 17, p. 160; built by Finan, consecrated by Theodore, improved by Eadbert, iii. 25, p. 181 and notes; Ethelwald buried in, v. 1, p. 282. Church of, at Ripon, Wilfrid buried in, v. 19, pp. 322, 330 and note (cf. II. 327). Church of, at Whitby, Elfled, Oswy, Eanfled, Edwin, and others buried in, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; II. 391; Trumwine buried in, iv. 26, p. 267 and note; altar of, at Whitby, II. 391. Porticus of, at Beverley, Bishop John buried in, v. 6, p. 292. Monastery of, at Gloucester, p. cxiv. Monastery and church of, at Wearmouth, built by Benedict Biscop, iv. 18, p. 241 and notes; v. 21, p. 332 and note; v. 24, p. 357; Hab. § 1 and notes, § 4 and notes; Haa. § 9; pictures placed in the church of, Hab. § 6, p. 369; Eosterwine made abbot of, Hab. § 7, p. 370; § 9; Benedict Biscop buried in church of, Hab. § 14, pp. 378, 379 and note (cf. Hab. § 20 and note); Witmer enters, and brings land to, Hab. § 15, p. 360 and note; mass celebrated, and meeting held in, at Ceolfrid's departure, Hab. § 17, p. 382; Haa. § 25 and note; monks of, take part in Hwætbert's election, Hab. § 18; Hwætbert abbot of, Hab. § 19, p. 383; Haa. § 30; translation of Eosterwine and Sigfrid to. Hab. § 20 and notes; Ceolfrid bids farewell to monks of, Haa. § 23; exhorts them to unity with those of St. Paul, Haa. § 25; v. Uiuraemuda, Petrus et Paulus. Petrus et Paulus, two lights of the world, iii. 29, p. 197; relies
of, sent by Vitalian to Oswy, ib. p. 198; nail from the chains of, sent by Vitalian to Eanfled, ib. and note; apparition of, in monastery of Selsey, iv. 14, pp. 234, 235 and note; representation of, in art, II. 227. Monastery and church of, near Canterbury (= St. Augustine's), i. 33 and note; archbishops of Canterbury and kings of Kent to be buried in, ib. and note (cf. ii. 3, p. 86 and notes; ii. 5, p. 90; ii. 7, pp. 93, 95; iv. 1, p. 204; v. 8, p. 294); Benedict Bishop abbot of, Hab. § 3 (cf. II. 204); monastery granted by Theodore to Hadrian, ib.; iv. 1, p. 204 and note; gifts of Gregory deposited in, II. 57, 62, 63; grants of Eadbald to; II. 90; mysterious experience of Laurentius in church of, ii. 6, p. 92 and notes; church of the Virgin built in monastery of, by Eadbald, ib. p. 93 and note. Church of, in Winchester, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; Birinus' body translated to, ib. and note; built by Cenwulf, II. 143. Joint monastery of, at Wearmouth and Jarrow, v. In Gyrum, Paulus, Petrus, Uiriarmuda.

Pharisei, Ec. § 17, p. 421.
Pharos, island of, II. 23.
Pharus, v. farus.
Philistini, II. 367.
Phillips MSS., pp. lxxxi, cxxxi, cxliii, II. 118.
Philo, cited by Gildas and Eginhard, II. 27.
Phinehas, v. Finees.
Phocas, v. Focas.
Phylactaria, v. fylactaria.
Picti, a non-Aryan race, II. 8; said to have come from Scythia, i. 1, p. 11 and note (cf. II. 23); refused a settlement in Ireland by the Scotti, ib.; receive wives from them, ib. p. 12; settle in North Britain, ib.; their law of royal succession, lasted till Bede's time, ib. and notes; the Scotti settle in their district, ib. and notes (cf. II. 13); separated from the Britons by Firth of Clyde, ib. p. 13; in what sense a transmarine people, i. 12, p. 25 and note; attack the part of Britain held by the Britons, ib. pp. 25-28 and notes; settle permanently in Britain, and harass the Britons, i. 14, p. 29; II. 23, 24; allied with the Saxons against the Britons, i. 15, p. 32 and note; i. 20, p. 38 and note; defeated by Britons under Germanus, ib. p. 39; sons of Ethelfrid in exile among, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; Iona granted by, to Irish monks, iii. 3, ad fin. (cf. iii. 4, p. 133 and note); Bridius rules over, ib. and notes; Columba comes to evangelise, v. 24, p. 353; share the Paschal errors of the Scotti, iii. 25, p. 184 and note; Wilfrid bishop of those under Osywy's rule, iv. 3, p. 206 and note; recover their lands held by the English, iv. 26, p. 267 and note; Firth of Forth separates their lands from the English, ib. and note (cf. II. 224); reverence of, for Iona, v. 9, p. 297 and note; inhabit Northern Britain, v. 21, p. 332; Bertred slain by, v. 24, p. 355; Bertfrid fights with, ib. p. 356; Eadbert of Northumbria makes war on, C. 740; early ravages of, in Britain, II. 9, 10; coupled with the Scots, II. 12; said to have occupied the Orkneys, II. 13; Gabran defeated by, II. 64; not present at conference with Augustine, II. 75; question of their subjection to Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy, II. 86; broken up by the invasions of the Brythons, II. 128; Piets of Galloway or Niduari Piets, II. 128, 224; extension of Wilfrid's authority over, II. 208; name of, supplancted by Scots, ii. 224; rebel early in Egfrid's reign, II. 260; change in patron saint of, II.
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum.

xxxviii, lli; II. 5; rescript of Trajan to, II. 46.
Pluminum, Piombino, II. 184.
'Plwyf,' v. plebs.
Plympton, Devon, Augustinian Canons of, formerly owned MS. A. 2, p. cxixii.
Pottiers, Fortunatus bishop of, II. 18.
Polonus, Martinus, v. Martinus.
Polycarp, St., example of, cited, II. 136.
Pontillus, St., origin of the legend of, II. 26.
'Popularis' = lay, II. 380.
'Porticus,' meaning of term, II. 80, 330, 369.
'post consulatum,' origin and meaning of the phrase, II. 38.
'Praefectus' = reeve, II. 108, 163, 386.
Prayers for the impenitent dead, forbidden, II. 300.
Prestefeld, granted to the church of Rochester, II. 80.
Primaqcy, question of, II. 52, 53, 57, 91, 92, 111.
'Primicerius,' meaning of the term, II. 113, 233.
Primogeniture, growth of, II. 363.
Primus and Felicianus, SS., Christ Church, Canterbury, consecrated on festival of, II. 63.
Prior, Praepositus, or Propositus, office of, pp. xxviii, xxix; II. 38, 180, 266, 267, 370-372; first occurrence of the title prior in English documents, p. xxix note.
Prioress, II. 248.
Priscilla, example of, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and note.
Prohibited degrees, &c., pp. xc, xci; II. 47, 48, 383.
Propheetae, duodecim, Bede's excerpts from St. Jerome on, v. 24, p. 358.
Prosper of Aquitaine, cited, i. 10 and note; his chronicle, II. 22; used by Bede, II. 25, 32; Contra Collatorem, cited, II. 25.
Prosper, bishop of Orleans, letter of Sidonius Apollinaris to, II. 32.
Prosper Tiro, probably to be distinguished from Prosper of Aquitaine, II. 22; his date for the coming of the Saxons, II. 28.
Protasius, bishop of Aix, II. 37, 39.
Province, Provence, overrun by Saracens as a divine judgement, II. 339.
Provisions, papal, II. 205.
Psalter, use of, II. 137, 139, 370; at the canonical hours, pp. xxv, xxvi note; II. 218, 270, 370; in monasteries, v. Monasteries; in the Irish Church, II. 137; as a penitential discipline, ib.; with a special intention, II. 138; as intercessions for the dead, II. 138, 218, 300; Roman and Gallican Psalters, II. 54, 74, 171, 320, 321; Jerome's translation of, from Hebrew, not adopted, II. 321 (cf. II. 394).
Puch, a gesith, Bishop John of York consecrates a church in his vill, v. 4, pp. 286, 287 and notes; miraculously cures his wife, ib. p. 287 and notes.
Purgatory, Bede's view of, p. lxvi note; II. 243, 297, 387.
Puteoli, II. 26.
Putta, bishop of Rochester, consecrated by Theodore, iv. 2, p. 206 and note (cf. II. 206); had learnt chanting of the disciples of Gregory I, ib.; attends the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 215; on the destruction of Rochester by Ethelred, retires to Sexwulf, bishop of the Mercians, iv. 12, p. 228 (cf. II. 215); receives a church and small parcel of land from him, ib. and note; teaches chanting, ib. (cf. II. 118); succeeded by
Cwichelm, ib. and note; ordained priest by Wilfrid, II. 207; probably not bishop of Hereford, II. 222.

Putta, bishop of Hereford, dies, II. 222; probably not identical with the preceding, ib.

Q.

Quarto-decimans, origin of, II. 349; the Celts wrongly charged with being, II. 114, 191, 349.

Quattuor Coronati, v. Coronati.

Quentaniet, Etaples, Theodore ill at, iv. i, p. 203; sails from, for Britain, ib. and note.

Quinquagesima paschalis, the period between Easter and Pentecost, iii. 5, p. 136 and note (cf. p. lxxv and note, p. clxii). 'quisque,' for 'quisquis,' in later Latin, II. 62, 212, 219; 'quisque' for 'quisquam,' II. 98.

Quodvultdeus, prelates called, II. 174.

Quoengburg, daughter of Ceart king of Mercia, first wife of Edwin, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; her sons Osfrid and Eadfrid, ib. and note; her pedigree, ii. 103.


For other names beginning with Qu-, see under Cw.-

R.

Raculf, Reculver, at the mouth of the Inlade, v. 8, p. 295 and note; Bertwald abbot of the monastery, ib. and note; legend of Ethelbert having transferred his capital to, II. 44; grant of, by Egbert, to Bass the priest, II. 283.

Radbod, St., bishop of Utrecht, homily, &c., on Swidbert by, II. 291.

Radbod, v. Rathbed.

R[ADULPHUS], abbot of Melrose, uses the style 'Seruus seruorum Dei,' II. 38.

Racold, prefect of Egbert of Kent, iv. i, p. 203; sent by him to escort Theodore to Britain, ib. and note.

Rægenheri, son of Redwald, slain in the battle of the Idle, ii. 12, p. 110.

Rainer II, count of Hainault, II. 48.

Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, letter to Calixtus II, cited, II. 12.

Ramesses, children of Israel depart from, v. 21, p. 335.

Ramsey, Hunts., Felix' relics translated to abbey of, II. 174.

Rathbed, king of the Frisians, Witbert preaches to, v. 9, p. 298; expelled by Pippin, v. 10, p. 299 and note; address of, to Wilbrord, p. xxxvi note; Wilbrord despairs of converting, II. 288; refuses baptism at the last moment, II. 289; at war with Charles Martel, ib.; dies, ib.

Rathmelsigi, unidentified, Ireland, Ethelhun dies of the plague in monastery of, iii. 27, pp. 192, 193 and note.

Ratisbon, Council of, in 742, II. 58, 60.

Rauenna, Germanus goes to, i. 21, p. 41 and notes; dies there, ib. and notes; Synod of, in 877, II. 50.

Rawlinson, Thomas, formerly owned MSS. II, p. cvi; O, pp. cxv, cxvi.

Rawlinson MSS., pp. cxliii, cxlix note; II. 137, 285.

Rebaptism, question of, II. 276, 277.

'Reciproci versus,' II. 241.

Reculver, v. Raculf.


Redger, consecrated archbishop by Pope Stephen, in succession to St. Boniface, C. 754 and note; possibly identical with Lullus, II. 347.
Reduald, king of the East Angles, the fourth of the seven great English kings, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; begins to win the ascendency even in Ethelbert's lifetime, ib. and note; Edwin takes refuge with, ii. 12, p. 107 (cf. II. 93, 390); promises Ethelfrid to kill or surrender Edwin, ib. (cf. II. 390); his intended treachery revealed to Edwin, ib. p. 108 and note; dissuaded from committing it, ib. pp. 109, 110; defeats and slays Ethelfrid in the battle of the Idle, ib. p. 110 and note (cf. II. 93); his son Raegenhere slain, ib.; Earpwald son of, ii. 15, p. 115 and note; had been converted in Kent, ib. p. 116 (cf. II. 93); relapses into partial heathenism by persuasion of his wife, ib. and notes (cf. II. 93); erects Christian and pagan altars in the same fane, ib. and note; son of Tytili, ib.; succeeded by Earpwald, iii. 18 (cf. II. 106); Sigbert takes refuge from, in Gaul, ib. (cf. II. 107); Eni brother of, II. 169.


Reginald of Coldingham or Durham, his Life of St. Cuthbert, p. xxxviii; his Life of St. Oswald, v. Oswald.

regnare, with dative, II. 126.

'regnum' versus 'imperium,' II. 43, 86.


Reichenau, Wetinus a monk of, II. 295.

Relics, wearing of, II. 33; essential to consecration of churches, II. 60; traffic in, II. 158; early Christian feeling against the translation of, II. 274.

Remigius, St., date of death of, p.c.

Renchidus, episcopus, II. 101.

Rendlesham, id est mansio Randili, Rendlesham, Suffolk, in East Anglia, iii. 22, p. 174 and note; Swidhelm of Essex baptized at, ib.

Reptacestir, Richborough, English name of Rutubi portus, i. 1, p. 9 and note.

Repton, Co. Derby, a double monastery, II. 150; Ethelbald of Mercia buried at, II. 342. 'Responsalis' = apocrisiarius, I. 426; II. 69.

Ruda, leads a colony of Scotti to settle north of the Firth of Clyde, i. 1, pp. 12, 13 and notes.

Rex Christianissimus, use of title, II. 86.

Rhabanus Maurus, his commentary on St. Matthew used in the Heliand, II. 254.

Rheda, Saxon goddess, II. 59.

Rheims, Hincmar archbishop of, p. clii; II. 52.

Rhenus, v. 10, pp. 300, 301; v. Hrenus.

Rhine, the, v. Hrenus.

Rhyme in Latin verse, II. 241.

For other words beginning with Rh-, see under Hr-.

Ricbert, a pagan, murders Earpwald of East Anglia, ii. 15, p. 116.

Ricbod, archbishop of Trèves, asked by Alcuin for a copy of Bede's In Librum Tobiae, p. clii note.


Ricobaldus Ferrarensis, his doctrine of the seven ages of the world, p. xlii note.

Ricula, sister of Ethelbert of Kent, and mother of Sæbert of Essex, ii. 3, p. 85 and note.

Riddle literature of the Middle Ages, II. 341.

Rievaulx, Ailred of; v. Ailred.

Riga, v. Luetunia.

Rimid, father of Finan of Lindisfarne, II. 189.

Ringan, corruption of Ninian, II. 129.


Riuus Denesi, v. Denisesburna.

Robaldo, administrator of Alba, II. 51.
Robert de Monte, or de Torigny, abbot of Mont St. Michel, discusses the authorship of two series of excerpts from St. Augustine on St. Paul, pp. clv note; makes an abbreviation of his own, p. clvi note.

Robur Augustini, v. Augustinae Ac.


Roeulx, near Mons, monastery of Foillan at, II. 172.

Rofa, Rofi, II. 80; v. Hrofi ciuitas.

Rogations, observance of, p. lxxvi note.

Roger of Wendover, confuses Bede’s chronicle with the H. E., p. cli note.

Rogers, L., former owner of MS. O₃, p. cxiv.

Roma, Nothelm visits, Pref. p. 6 and note; Claudius returns to, i. 3 and note; Eleuther præses of, v. 24, p. 352; captured by the Goths, ib.; i. 11 and notes; Britons send embassy to, i. 12, p. 26 and note; second embassy sent to, ib. p. 27; Augustine announces to Ethelbert that he is come from, i. 25, p. 45; Laurentius and Petrus sent to, by Augustine, i. 27, p. 48 and note; Gregory I finishes his commentary on Job at, ii. 1, p. 75 and note; Mellitus goes to, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; Nynias instructed at, iii. 4, p. 133 and note; SS. Peter and Paul lived, suffered, and were buried at, iii. 25, p. 184; St. Peter preaches at, ib. p. 185; v. 21, p. 337; Wighard sent to, and dies at, Hab. § 3; iii. 29, p. 196 and notes; iv. 1, pp. 201, 202 (cf. II. 357); Theodore at, ib. p. 202 and note; Oswy had intended to go to, iv. 5, p. 214; Cædwalla goes to, and dies at, iv. 12, p. 228; v. 7, pp. 292–294 and notes; v. 8, p. 294; v. 24, p. 355; St. Peter appoints two bishops under himself at, Hab. § 7, p. 371 and note; council at, under Pope Martin, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; iv. 18, p. 242 and note; church of St. Peter at, ib.; Hab. § 6; monastery of St. Martin at, ib. ib.; copy of decrees of Council of Hatfield sent to, iv. 18, p. 242 and note; John the archbishop dies on his way back to, ib.; Offfor goes to, iv. 23, p. 255; journey to, thought of great value, ib.; many of the English go to, v. 7, p. 204 and note; II. 366 (contrast II. 321); Ini goes to, v. 7, p. 294; Wilbrod goes to, v. 11, p. 301 and note; Wilbrod sent by Pippin to, ib. p. 302 and note; Cenred and Offa of Essex go to, v. 24, p. 356; v. 19, pp. 321, 322 and notes; Wilfrid resolves to visit, ib. pp. 323, 324; his arrival and studies at, ib. p. 324 and notes; iii. 25, p. 182 (cf. II. 316, 317); sees the catholic Easter practised at, ib. p. 184; Wilfrid goes to (first appeal), iv. 13, p. 230; v. 19, p. 326 and notes (cf. II. 318); council at, against the Monothelites, ib. pp. 326, 327 and notes (cf. II. 230, 318); Wilfrid goes to (second appeal), ib. pp. 327, 328 and notes; II. 320; with Acca, iii. 13, p. 152; II. 327; nineteen-year cycle first adopted at, v. 21, p. 341; first and second visits of Benedict Biscop to, Hab. § 2 and notes; Alchfrid wishes to go to, Hab. § 2; Egbert of Kent wishes Wighard to be consecrated at, Hab. § 3; third visit of Benedict Biscop to, ib. and notes; fourth do. do., Hab. § 4 and notes; his acquisitions at, ib. and notes; fifth visit to, with Ceolfrid, and acquisitions at, Hab. §§ 6, 7, pp. 368–370 and notes; § 16; Haa. § 9 and note; § 10; iv. 18, p. 241 and note; John the archbishop returns with them from, ib.; Hab. § 6, p. 369 and note; sixth visit of Benedict Biscop to, and acqui-
sitions at, Hab. § 9 and notes; Haa. § 12; library brought by Benedict Biscop from, Hab. § 11, p. 375 (cf. Haa. §§ 15, 20); and by Ceolfrid, Haa. § 20; Ceolfrid brings MS. of Itala from, Hab. § 15, p. 379 and note; takes a MS. of the Vulgate when he sets out for, ib.; Haa. § 20 (cf. Haa. § 37 and note; MS. of the cosmographers bought by Benedict Biscop at, Hab. § 15, p. 380; monks sent by Ceolfrid to, ib. and note; Haa. § 20; p. xvii; II. 14; Ceolfrid resolves to return to, Hab. § 17, p. 381 and notes; Haa. §§ 21, 22; p. xv; dies before he reaches, ib. ib. ib.; Hwaetberht visits, Hab. § 18; II. 365; some of Ceolfrid's companions abandon their journey to, Hab. § 21 and notes; p. xv; Ceolfrid prepares to send messengers to, Haa. § 22; some of his companions continue their journey to, ib. §§ 37, 38; p. xv; II. 370; idea of a visit of Bede to, negatived, pp. xvi, xvii; sieges of, by the Goths, II. 22; Gregory's monastery of St. Andrew at, II. 38; popes try to force archbishops to come to, for their pallium, II. 51; Council of, in 721, p. xc; do. in 679, said to have sent John the archchanter to Britain, II. 233; bad moral results of pilgrimages to, II. 282; Constantine builds church at, called Constantiniana, II. 395; Daniel, bishop of Winchester, goes to, II. 305; Aldhelm goes to, II. 309; Forthere goes to, II. 313; Egwin of the Hwiccas goes to, II. 315; Egbert of York ordained deacon at, II. 378 (cf. II. 387); Egred his brother dies at, ib.; Anglo-Saxon youths come to, II. 389.

Romæ urbs, Gregory I pope of, i. 27, p. 48.

Romani, Britain unknown to, till Julius Caesar, i. 2, p. 13 and note; Julius Caesar and Claudius the first and second of, to invade Britain, v. 24, p. 352; cross the Thames, i. 2, p. 14; harassed by the Britons, ib.; the Britons make treaties with, ib.; Wight subjugated by, i. 3; cease to rule in Britain, v. 24. p. 352; i. 11; limits and marks of their occupation and dominion, ib. and notes (cf. i. 26, p. 47); refuse further help to the Britons, i. 12, p. 27; return home, ib. and note; usage of, cited, i. 27, p. 57; written laws of, imitated by Ethelbert, ii. 5, p. 90 and notes; banner called Tufa by, used by Edwin, ii. 16, p. 118 and note; wall built by, across Britain, iii. 2, p. 129; iii. 22, p. 172; Nainton desires to build a stone church after the manner of, v. 21, p. 333 and note (cf. II. 101); Benedict Biscop do. do., Hab. § 5 (cf. II. 101); Picts separated far from the speech and nation of, v. 21, p. 333; their ecclesiastical mode of chanting used in Kent, ii. 20, p. 126 and note (cf. iv. 2, p. 206); winter quarters of, II. 23; allow marriage within the fifth degree, II. 48; in dread of the Saracens, II. 282, 339.

Romanus, Gregory I a Roman. ii. 1, p. 73 and note; II. 389.


Romana ecclesia, ii. 1, p. 73; archives of, searched by Not- helm, Pref. p. 6 and note; custom of, cited, i. 27, p. 49; ritual of, ib. and note; Eleuther pontiff of, i. 4 and note; Celestinus do., i. 13 and note; John archchanter of, Haa. § 10; accepted by Oswy as
Euc-liaristic defends East Haa. Melantius ii. Romanus sent V. Romana takes ii. drowned called observes Mauger vicegerents Romanus, Romaniis, Catholic and devotion of Osowy to. iv. 5, p. 214; chanting after the manner of, adopted at Wearmouth, Hab. § 6, p. 368; Romana gens, Ambrosius Aurelius descended from, i. 16 and note. Romanum imperium, i. 3 and note; iii. 4, p. 133. Romana institutio, devotion of Osowy to. iv. 5, p. 214; chanting after the manner of, adopted at Wearmouth, Hab. § 6, p. 369; Haad. § 9. Romanus papa, Honorius, ii. 20, p. 126. Romanus populus, v. s. Romana provincia, i.e. Britain. i. 12, p. 27. Romanum regnum, i. 3, 34. Romana respublica, law of, cited, i. 27, p. 50 and note; made Christian by Constantine, i. 32, p. 68. Romana sedes, Gregory I pontiff of, i. 23, p. 42 and note; ii. 1, p. 73 and note; Boniface V do., ii. 7, p. 94 and note; vicegerents of, during a vacancy, &c., II. 113. Romanus urbs, Gregory I pontiff of, ii. 3, p. 86; ii. 4, p. 88. Roman sites used as quarries, II. 239; Roman walls in Britain, II. 15-17; Roman Psalter, v. Psalter. Emperor, bishop of Rochester, consecrated by Justus in succession to himself, ii. 8, p. 95 (cf. II. 92); sent as an envoy to Pope Honorius by Justus, ii. 20, p. 126 and notes; drowned in the Italian sea, ib. and notes. Romanus, presbyter, from Kent, chaplain to Eanfled, iii. 25, pp. 181, 182; observes the Catholic Easter, ib. p. 182; takes part in the Synod of Whitby, ib. p. 183. Romulea urbs, Caedwalla visits, v. 7, p. 293; v. Roma. Romulus Augustulus, overthrown by Odoacer, II. 35. Roman, natione Scottus, learns the Catholic Easter in Gaul and Italy, iii. 25, p. 181; defends it against Finan, ib. and notes. Rosnat, Irish name of Whitern, II. 129. Rouen, MSS. of Bede's H. E. at, p. Ixxxvi note; Melantius bishop of, II. 40; Mauger archbishop of, II. 50. Rowley Water, v. Dunescburna. Royal MSS. Brit. Mus., pp. ci, exiv, exliv. Royal marriages, spread of Christianity by, II. 94. Royal power, aid given by, to the Church, II. 58, 148, 383, 384. Royal Society of London, formerly owned MS. Ar., p. exxvi. Rufinianus, sent by Gregory to aid Augustine, i. 29, p. 63 and note; becomes abbot of St. Augustine's, II. 56. Rufinus, v. Eusebius. Rügen, Rügenwalde, derived from the Rugini, II. 286. Rugini, one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 296 and note. Ruleystal, v. Steel. Rum or Run, son of Urbgen, said to have baptized Edwin, II. 100, 101. Rutubi portus, Richborough, Kent, port of embarkation for Gaul, i. i, p. 9 and note; called Reptaqstir by the English, ib. Ryphens, v. Hryphens. Ryswick, Peace of, p. lxxxix. Saba, shortened name of Saberct, ii. 5, p. 91 and note. Saberct, king of the East Saxons, nephew of Ethelbert, ii. 3, p. 85 and note; East Saxons converted under, v. 24, p. 353; death of, followed by pagan
reaction, ii. 5, p. 91 and note
(cf. iii. 22, p. 171 and note); called Saba, ib. and note; sons of, expel Mellitus, ib. and note; sons of, slain in battle against the Gewissas, ib. p. 92 and note; confusion of name with Sigbert, II. 79; date of death of, II. 88.

Sabrina, Severn, Walhstod bishop of the peoples to the west of, v. 23, p. 350 and note; priests beyond, refuse to hold intercourse with the Saxons, II. 352, 353.

'sacerdos,' 'sacerdotalis,' 'sacerdotium' = bishop, episcopal, episcopate, Pref. p. 7 and note; II. 32, 33, 40, 55, 56, 126, 146, 230, 285; also means presbyter, &c., II. 227, 372.

Sacrament, reservation of, II. 227, 250.

'sacramentum,' use of the word by Bede, pp. lvi, lvii; II. 106, 108, 123, 355.

'sacrarium,' meaning of the term, II. 155, 369.

Saethryd, step-daughter of Anna king of the East Angles, iii. 8, p. 142; becomes abbess of Faremoûtier-en-Brie, ib. (cf. II. 144).

Seward, son of Eadbald of Kent, II. 88.

St. Abb’s Head, Berwickshire, called from Ebba, II. 236.

St. Alban’s, v. Uerolamium.

St. Bees, Cumberland, II. 248; a cell of St. Mary’s, York, I. 431.

St. Boswells, on the Tweed, called after Boisil of Melrose, II. 266.


St. Galen, Irish ‘inclusus’ at, p. xxxi; MSS. at, p. lxxii; II. 389.

St. Georgenberg, near Schwatz, Tyrol, MS. A1 belonged to monastery of, p. ci.

St. Herbert’s Isle, Derwentwater, II. 269.

St. Hubert, monastery of, in the Ardennes, p. xx note; list of officers in, p. xxviii note; MS. belonging to, p. lxxxvii.

St. Jamesstreet, name of a village called after Paulinus’ deacon, II. 118.

St. John, Francis, formerly owned MS. A, p. cvii.


St. John’s Lee, near Hexham, anciently Herneshaw, II. 274.

St. Omer, MS. belonging to, II. 249; monastery of St. Bertin at, p. xvii note.

St. Oswald’s, v. Hefenfelth.

Saintes, Palladius bishop of, II. 39, 40.

Saints’ Lives, historical character of, II. 288.

Salamanca, Irish College at, II. 169.

Salisbury, Robert Wyville bishop of, p. cxiv.

Salomon, Ee. § 11, p. 414; son of (Rehoboam), Haa. § 25; Bede’s commentary on the Proverbs of, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.

Saluator, church of, at Utrecht, founded by Wilbrord, II. 29.

Salzburg, Arno archbishop of, p. clxx; II. 70, 240.

Samaritani, hybrid religion of, ii. 15, p. 116 and note.

Sambuce, v. Ad Uillam Sambuce.


Samuel, example of, cited, Ee. § 7, p. 411; type of ‘pueri oblati,’ p. ix note; Bede’s commentary on, v. 24, p. 357 and note; v. Baeda.

Sandoe, Northumberland, perhaps identical with Ad Uillam Sambuce, II. 365.

Sandwich, Wilfrid lands at, II. 207.

Santclair, Sir W., of Rosslyn, former owner of MS. O, p. cxii.

Saphira, example of, cited, Ee. § 16, p. 420; § 17, p. 422 and note.

Saranus, Irish cleric, letter of
Sarcophagus, II. 239, 240.

Sarracenii, devastate Gaul, v. 23, p. 349 and note; defeated, ib. and note; their heathenism, II. 18, 339; conquer Spain, II. 338; threaten Rome, II. 282, 339; descended from Ishmael, ib.; overrun Africa and parts of Asia and Europe, ib.; their inroads a divine judgement on the peoples of Spain, Provence, and Burgundy, ib.

Satanas, v. 9, p. 296; v. 14, p. 314 and note.

Saul, king of Israel, i. 34; v. 24, p. 357; Ec. § 17, p. 422.

Saulus, qui et Paulus, q. v., Haa. § 6.

Saxones, name used as identical with Angli, i. 15, p. 30; i. 22; v. 9, p. 296; ravage the coasts of the empire, i. 6; Carausius sent to repress, ib.; invited into Britain by Vortigern, i. 14; i. 15, p. 30 and note; conquer the enemies of the Britons, ib. p. 31; send for reinforcements, ib.; settlement granted to, by the Britons, ib.; one of three German tribes who settle in Britain, ib.; divided into East, South, and West Saxons, ib. and note; ally themselves with the Picts against the Britons, ib. p. 32 and note; i. 20, p. 38 and note; defeated by Britons under Germanus, ib. p. 39; Britons neglect to evangelise, i. 22 and note; called Garmanii by the Britons, v. 9, p. 296 and note; early ravages of, in Britain, II. 9, 10; date of coming of, discussed, II. 27, 28; ravages of, in Gaul and on the Continent, II. 28; their conquest of the Britons not easy, II. 29; retire to their settlement in Thanet, II. 30; advance of; during sixth century, II. 35; effect of conversion of, II. 76; subject to Edwin, II. 86; Saxo candidus, II. 72; war of, against Oswald, II. 152; extension of Wilfrid’s authority over, II. 208; community of feeling between insular and continental, II. 254, 285; hostility of British priests to, II. 352, 353. Saxonom dux, v. Saxones Antiqui.

Saxonum lingua, i. e. West Saxons, iii. 7, p. 140; i. e. East Saxons, iii. 22, p. 173. Saxonom natio, i. e. South Saxons, boy of, in the monastery of Selsey, iv. 14, p. 233. Saxonom prouincia, i. e. Sussex, ib. Saxonom rex, Oswy, iii. 29, p. 196; Caedwalla, v. 7, p. 293.

Saxones Antiqui, the Saxons of the Continent, i. 15, p. 31; one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 196 and note; the two Hewalds endeavour to evangelise, v. 10, pp. 299, 300 and notes; constitution of, ib. and note; expel the Boructuari, v. 11, p. 302; said to have come from Britain, II. 29; community of feeling with the insular Saxons, II. 254, 285; the poet of the Heliand belongs to, II. 255 (cf. Ald Saxones, II. 261). Saxonom dux, Widukind, II. 293.

Saxones Australes, materials for history of, derived by Bede from Bishop Daniel, Pref. p. 7; II. 307; Damian, bishop of Rochester, belongs to, iii. 20 and note; II. 324; Wight opposite to boundary between the West Saxons and, iv. 16, p. 238; Hlothhere of Kent wounded in battle against, led by his nephew Edric, iv. 26, p. 268; bishopric of, ceases on Eolla’s death, v. 18, p. 321 and note; restored, II. 313; attempt to massacre Wilfrid and his company, II. 59, 207, 324 (cf. II. 225). Saxonom Australium prouincia, Pref. p. 7; situated between Kent and Wessex, iv. 13, p. 230; heathen
until evangelised by Wilfrid, ib. and notes; v. 19, p. 327 and note; II. 44, 318, 319; oppressed by Caedwalla and Ini, iv. 15; after Wilfrid's retirement subject to the West Saxon see, ib. and note; subject to Winchester, v. 18, p. 321; made into a separate diocese, ib. and note; receives episcopal ministrations from the bishop of the West Saxons, v. 23, p. 350. Sax. Austr. rex, Ælle, ii. 5, p. 89 and note.

Saxones Meridiani, i. 15, p. 31; v. Saxones Australes.

Saxones Occidentales, anciently called Geoffissae, q.v., iii. 7, p. 139; iv. 15 (cf. II. 88, 89); materials for history of, derived by Bede from Albinus, Nothelm, and Bishop Daniel, Pref. pp. 6, 7 and note; II. 307; Augustine's Oak on the borders of, ii. 2, p. 81 and notes; defeated by Edwin, i. 9, p. 100 and note; the South Saxons next to, iv. 13, p. 230; Britons subject to, adopt the orthodox Easter, v. 18, p. 321 and note; advance of, separates North and West Welsh, II. 74; written law first introduced among, by Ini, II. 87; history of see of, II. 144, 145; Essex under the hegemony of, II. 217; anarchy of, on death of Cenwalh, II. 221 (cf. II. 231). Saxonom Occidentalium antistes, Birinus, Agilbert, Wine. Hlothhere, iv. 12, p. 227; Hædde, v. 18, p. 320; the South Saxons receive episcopal ministrations from, v. 23, p. 350. Sax. Occid. episcopus, South Saxons subject to, iv. 15; Agilbert, iii. 25, p. 183; Daniel, Pref. p. 7; iv. 16, p. 235; II. 307; Leutherius, iv. 5, p. 215. Sax. Occid. gens, converted by Birinus, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes; Deudsedit belongs to, iii. 20; II. 324; the Meanwari situated in, iv. 13, p. 230 and note. Sax. Occid. lingua, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; v. Saxones. Sax. Occid. provincia, devoid of a bishop, iii. 7, p. 141 and note; Wine bishop in, iii. 28, p. 195; Ceadda and Eadred come to, ib.; divided into two dioceses on the death of Hædde, v. 18, p. 320 and note; Daniel and Forthere bishops of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350. Sax. Occid. rex, Cælin or Cæulin, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; Cambridge, ii. 9, pp. 98, 99 and note; Cenwalh, Hab. § 4; Caedwalla, v. 7, p. 292 and notes; v. 24, p. 355; Ethelhard, C. 739; Cuthred, C. 750 and note; Cynewulf, C. 757 and note.

Saxones Occidui. i. 15, p. 31; v. Saxones Occidentales.

Saxones Orientalae, i. 15, p. 31 and note; materials for history of, derived by Bede from Albinus, Nothelm, and the monks of Lastingham, Pref. pp. 6, 7 and notes; converted by Mellitus, v. 24, p. 353; relapse into heathenism on the death of Saebert, ii. 5, pp. 91, 92 and notes; iii. 22, p. 171 and notes (cf. II. 18, 52, 195); reconverted by Cedd and Ceadda, Pref. p. 7 and note (cf. iii. 22, pp. 171–173 and notes); interest of Oswy in their reconversion, ib. pp. 171, 172; separated from Kent by the Thames, ii. 3, p. 85; London metropolis of, ib. and note; Sigehere and Sebbi rule, iv. 6, p. 218; Earconwald made bishop of, ib. and note; kings of, said to have ruled in Kent, II. 177; titles borne by bishops of, II. 178; recover power on death of Wulfhere, II. 216; under the hegemony of Wessex, II. 217; confused with East Angles, II. 217, 315. Saxonom Orientalium gens, Cedd sent to preach to, iii. 22, p. 172; made bishop of, ib.; iii. 23, p. 174. Sax. Or. provincia, Mellitus consecrated to preach to, ii. 3, p. 85 and note; converted by him, ib.;
Cedd's monks from, go to Lastingham, iii. 23, p. 176 and note; Sighere and Sebbi joint kings of, iii. 30; partially relapses into paganism in consequence of the plague, ib. and note (cf. II. 99); reconverted by Jaruman, ib. and note; Barking in, iv. 6, p. 219 and note; Ingwald, bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note.

Sax. Or. regnum, Sebbi governs, iv. 11, p. 225. Sax. Or. rex. Seebert, ii. 5, p. 91 and note; Sighert, iii. 22, p. 171 and note; Sighere, v. 19, p. 322; Offa, v. 19, capitulum; II. 314; Ethelbert called, II. 79.

Saxonii, Ilwætbert belongs to, Hab. § 19, p. 383 and note; Haa. § 39, p. 399; term applied by Celts to any part of Teutonic Britain, II. 172; Wilfrid calls himself bishop of, II. 368; applied to Wessex, ib.

Saxonica lingua, Tobias learned in, v. 8, p. 296 and note. Saxonicum uocabulum, iv. 17, p. 239.

Scandinavia, called Scythia, II. 8; Scandinavian invasions bring the North and South of Ireland together, II. 125; separate Scoti of Ireland and Britain, II. 135; desolate Iona, ib.; v. Dani.

Scellan, the Leper, of Armagh, II. 113; v. Scellansus.

Scellanus, Irish presbyter, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.

Schematibus, de, siue de Tropis, Bede's, v. 24, p. 359; v. Bede. 'Scholasticus,' meaning of term, II. 161.

Schools, monastic, pp. xvii, xviii; episcopal, p. xx note; subjects of study in, pp. xvii note, xviii; discipline in, p. xvii note.


Scotland, spread of Gaelic in, II. 10; tract on the cultus of St. Andrew in, p. evii; rights of the see of York in, II. 140, 234.

Scotti, refuse the Picts a settlement in North Ireland and advise them to settle in North Britain, i. 1, pp. 11, 12 and notes; give them wives, ib. and notes; settle under Reuda north of the Clyde, ib. pp. 12, 13 and notes (cf. II. 23); their proper country Ireland, ib. p. 13 and notes; ii. 4, p. 87; in what sense a transmarine people, i. 12, p. 25 and note; attack the part of Britain held by the Britons, ib. pp. 25-28 and notes; Palladius sent by Pope Celestius as bishop to, i. 13 and note; v. 24, p. 352; Paschal errors of, iii. 25, p. 181; II. 190; identical with ones of the Britons, ii. 4, pp. 87, 88; opinions held of, by the Roman missionaries, ib. and note; letter of John, pope elect, and others to doctors and abbots of, ii. 19, p. 123; sons of Ethelfrid exiled and instructed among, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; Oswald sends to the elders of, for a bishop, iii. 3, p. 131 and notes; many missionaries from the region of, come to Britain, ib. p. 132 and note; English children taught by teachers from, ib. (cf. II. 193); Iona granted to monks from, ib. pp. 132, 133; Iona an island and monastery of, iii. 17, p. 160; II. 140; Fursa of a noble race of, iii. 19, p. 164 and note; Trumhere consecrated by, iii. 21, p. 171; iii. 24, p. 179; Finan consecrated by, iii. 25, p. 181 and note; wooden buildings characteristic of, ib. (cf. II. 101, 102); Oswy educated by, iii. 29, p. 196; iii. 25, p. 182; traditions of, rejected by Alchfrid, ib.; adherents of, expelled by him from Ripon, v. 19, p. 325 and note; iii. 25, p. 183 and note; Hild an adherent of,
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum.

ib. and note; Cedd consecrated by, ib. and note; abandons their traditions, iii. 26, p. 189; length of episcopate of, in Northumbria, ib. (cf. II. 136); quit Lindisfarne, ib. p. 190; v. 24, p. 354; liberality of, to English students, iii. 27, p. 192 and notes; those among the English adopt catholic practices or withdraw, iii. 28, p. 195 and notes; monks of, leave Lindisfarne with Colman, iv. 4, p. 213; their quarrels with his English monks at Isisbofin, ib.; Isisbofin given up to, ib.; reverence of, for Iona, v. 9, p. 297; Wilfrid perceives the errors of, v. 19, p. 323; refutes the sect of, ib. p. 325; said to have come from Scythia by way of Spain, II. 8, 9; early ravages of, in Britain, II. 9, 10, 34; their advance southward checked at Degasastan, II. 10; consecration by a single bishop common among, II. 49; two, offer to sell wisdom in Gaul, II. 72; not present at conference with Augustine, II. 75; zeal of, as missionaries, II. 76; question of their subjection to Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy, II. 86; consult the Roman see on the Easter question, II. 114; not quarto-decimans, ib.; fondness of, for remote sites, II. 126; their love of pilgrimage, II. 170; friendliness of, to the English, II. 206 (contrast II. 210); extension of Wilfrid's authority over, II. 208; name of, supplants that of Picts, II. 224; Aldfrid an exile in the islands and regions of, II. 263.

Scotti in Britannia, qui Britanniam inhabitant, II. 12, 82, 83; Aedan king of, i. 34 and notes; later kings of, do not venture to attack the English, ib. and note; recover their liberty after the death of Egfrid, iv. 26, p. 267 and note; at peace with the English in 731, v. 23, p. 351 and note; coupled with the Picts, II. 12; relations of, to Northumbria, II. 346. Scotti qui Hiberniam incolunt, in Hibernia, II. 10; Laurentius cares for, ii. 4, p. 87 and note; a large number of, adopt the orthodox Easter, v. 15, p. 315 and notes; Iona a stepping-stone between, and those of Britain, II. 126; Scandinavian invasions cut off, from those of Britain, II. 135. Scotturn gens, Pope Honorius writes to, on the Paschal question, ii. 19, p. 122 and notes; Wilfrid answers for faith of islands inhabited by, v. 19, p. 327; II. 230. Scotturn gentes, those in South Ireland observe the canonical Easter, iii. 3, p. 131 and note. Scotturn genus, Diuum and Ceollach belong to, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Adamnan of Coldingham belongs to, iv. 25, p. 263 and note. Scotturn lingua, iii. 4, p. 134; iii. 27, p. 192; iv. 4, p. 213; one of the five languages of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note; one of four languages of Britain, iii. 6, p. 138 and note; Oswald well acquainted with, iii. 3, p. 132 and note; Oswy do. do., iii. 25, p. 182 and note (cf. II. 126).

Scecttorum natio, Ceollach belongs to, iii. 21, p. 171; services of Egbert to, iii. 27, p. 194; Dicul belongs to, iv. 13, p. 231 and note. Scotturn provincia, Oswald seeks a bishop from, iii. 5, pp. 136, 137 and notes. Scotturn septentrionalis provincia, i.e. the North of Ireland, follows the Celtic Easter, iii. 3, p. 131 and notes; distinction of, from the southern province, II. 124, 125. Scotti Austrini, Tuda educated and consecrated among, iii. 26, p. 189 and note; II. 125; adopt the Roman Easter, II. 113, 125, 300.

Scotti Septentrionales, many
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 525

monasteries of, subject to Iona, iii. 3, p. 132 and notes; adopt the Roman Easter, II. 211, 300, 302, 303; their Paschal cycles, II. 351.

Scottia, Columba comes from, v. 24, p. 353; Fursa preaches in, iii. 19, p. 167 and note; Tuda comes from, iii. 26, p. 190; Ceollach retires to, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Colman sent from, iii. 25, p. 182; clerks from, accompany Colman to the Synod of Whitby, ib. p. 183; Colman returns to, after the synod, iii. 26, p. 189 and note; Colman belongs to, iv. 4, p. 213; Egbert tries to dissuade Egfrid from attacking, iv 26, p. 267; Adamnan returns to, v. 21, p. 345; Angli alleged to belong to! , p. xxxix note; application of the term, II. ii. 12; question of inclusion of Iona in, v. Hii; Scotia Maior and Scotia Minor, II. ii.


Scottus, Diumana Scottus, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; Ronan, iii. 25, p. 181 and note.

Scotswad, name of the Forth, q. v., II. 120.

Scribes, mechanical work of, p. ciuii.; v. Monasteries.

Scrocmall, Scromall, miswriting of Brocmall, II. 78.

Seylla, v. 21, p. 338.

Scythiae, midnight sun in land of, II. 7; equated with Scotti, II. 8.

Scythia, application of the name, II. 8; Picts said to have come from, i. 1, p. 11 and note; II. 23; Scots said to have come from, II. 8, 9.

Scythlecester, perhaps Chesters near Chollerton, Northumberland, Alfwold of Northumbria murdered at, II. 159; church of SS. Cuthbert and Oswald at, ib.

Sebei, joint king of the East Saxons after Swidhelm, iv. 6, p. 218; iii. 30 (cf. II. 176, 177); remains faithful to Christianity, ib.; his piety, iv. 11, p. 225 and note; resigns his kingdom and becomes a monk, ib. pp. 225, 226; story of his death, ib. p. 226; miracle at his burial, ib. pp. 226, 227 and notes; succeeded by Sighard and Swefred his sons, ib. p. 227; II. 314.

Seckington or Secceswald, Warwickshire, Ethelwald of Mercia murdered at, II. 342.

Secnab, p. xxix note.

‘secretarium,’ meaning of term, II. 71.

‘secus,’ use of, II. 199.

Sedechias, the last king of Judah, Ee. § ii, p. 414.

Sedulius, imitated by Aldhelm, v. 18, p. 321 and note.

Segeni, presbyter and abbot of Iona at the time of Aidan’s mission, iii. 5, p. 135 (cf. II. 113); furnishes Adamnan with materials for his Life of Columba, II. 113; Cummian’s Paschal letter addressed to, ib. ; Oswald tells the story of his vision of St. Columba to, II. 121, 122.

Segenius, Irish presbyter, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note (probably identical with the preceding).

Seghine mac Ua Cinn, II. 113; v. Segenius.

Seham, near Ely, Felix translated to, II. 174.

Seleseeu, insula uitiuli marini, Selsey, Sussex, Ethelwalh grants land to Wilfrid at, for a monastery, iv. 13, p. 232 and notes (cf. II. 167); miracles at, iv. 14, pp. 232–236 and notes; ravages of the plague at, ib. pp. 233–235 (cf. II. 195); monks of, relate the story to Aeca, who tells it to Bede, ib. p. 233; p. xliiv note; Eadbert abbot of, v. 18, p. 321 and note.

Selby, Yorkshire, abbey of, dedicated to St. Germanus, and possessing relics of him, II.
33; formerly owned MS. O, p. cxxi.

Selejngenstadt, on the Main, importance of school of, p. xx note.

Selin, son of Cinan king of North Wales, slain in battle of Chester, II. 77.

Sella aures, ceremony of, in the Gallican Church, II. 323, 324.

Selred, king of the East Saxons after Offa, II. 314; slain, ib.


Senones, Sens, Emme bishop of, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; archbishops of, Beornred, II. 287; Wulfraamn, II. 289.


Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, II. 39, 360.

Sergius, pope, at the time of Cædwalla's arrival at Rome, v. 7, pp. 292-294 and note; causes him to be baptized by the name of Peter, ib. and note; pope at the time of Wilfrord's two visits to Rome, v. 11, pp. 301, 302 and notes; consecrates him as archbishop of the Frisians in St. Cecilia's church, ib. p. 303 and notes; gives him the name of Clement, ib. (cf. II. 287, 292, 293); grants privileges to Ceolfred for his monastery, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note; Haa. § 20; p. xvii; Hwætbert at Rome in time of, Hab. § 18; II. 365; letter of, to Ceolfred, pp. xvi, xvii; spurious letters of, to Bertwald, II. 283.

'Serpentini versus,' II. 241.

'Seruus seruorum Dei,' history of the title, II. 38.

Seuerianus, a Pelagian bishop, i. 17, p. 33 and note.

Seuerianus, one of the 'quattuor Coronati,' II. 91.

Seuerinus, pope, succeeds Honorius in the Roman see, ii. 19, p. 122 and note; dies, and is succeeded by John, ib. pp. 122, 123 and note; letters of the Irish clergy to, ib. p. 123.


Seuerus, a Tripolitan African from Leptis, i. 5; becomes emperor, ib. and note; reduces part of Britain, ib.; his fortification, ib. and note; i. 11; i. 12, p. 27; v. 24, p. 352; dies at York, leaving two sons, i. 5; division of Britain into Upper and Lower by, II. 52.

Seuerus, one of the 'quattuor Coronati,' II. 91.

Seuerus, bishop of the Trewern, accompanies Germanus on his second visit to Britain, i. 21, p. 40 and note; preaches to the peoples of Germainia prima, ib. and note.

Seville, Leander bishop of, II. 69.


Sextald, father of Swidhelm king of the East Saxons, iii. 22, p. 174 and note.

Sextburg, daughter of Anna king of the East Angles, wife of Earconbert of Kent, mother of Earecongota, iii. 8, p. 142 and note; iv. 19, p. 244 and note (cf. II. 144); succeeds her sister Ethelthryth as abbess of Ely, ib. and note; orders the translation of Ethelthryth's body, ib. pp. 244-246 and notes; mother of Hlothhere of Kent, iv. 22, p. 251 and note; of Ermengild, II. 144; her asceticism, II. 237; Lives of, II. 239; veiled by Theodore at Sheppey, ib.

Sextburg, wife of Canon of the, ii. 143; said to have reigned after him, II. 220, 221.

Sexred, son of Eadbald of Kent, II. 82.

Sexulf, founder and abbot of Medeshamstead (Peterborough), iv. 6, p. 218 and note; made bishop of the Mercians in succession to Wynfrid, ib. and note; receives Putta on his retirement from Rochester, iv. 12, p. 228 (cf.
II. 215); grants him a church and parcel of land, ib.; loses bishopric of Lindsey, ib. p. 229 and note (cf. II. 215); retains that of the Mercians and Middle Angles, ib.; succeeded as abbot by Cuthbald, II. 216; division of diocese of, ib.

SheeFF, Kent, Sexbury receives the veil from Theodoret, II. 239.

Sherborne, Dorset, Aldhelm’s see at, II. 144; Forthere bishop of, II. 283; extent of diocese of, II. 307; a mere village, ib.

Sherwood Forest, Haethfelth said to be in, II. 115.

Siegfrid, diaconus, elected abbot of Wearmouth in succession to Eosterwine, Habb. § 10 and note (cf. § 14, p. 379 and note); Haa. § 13 and notes, §§ 15, 18; p. xiii; his sickness, Habb. §§ 9, 10, p. 374; Haa. § 15; last interview with Benedect Bishop, Habb. § 13; pp. xiv, xiii; his death, Habb. § 14, p. 377 and note; Haa. § 17 and note; pp. xiii, lxvii; his relics translated on the anniversary of his death, Habb. § 20 and note; Haa. § 18; chronology of life of, II. 364, 374.

Sicily, Julianus of Eclanum dies in, II. 22.

Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, his description of the ravages of the Saxons, II. 28; induced by Constantius to publish his correspondence, II. 32; letters to Lupus, ib.; to Sulpicius, ib.; to Prosper, bishop of Orleans, ib.

SIFRED, v. Suæbhard.

Sigberht, king of the East Angles, succeeds his brother Earpwald after three years, ii. 15, p. 116 and notes; iii. 18 and note (cf. II. 106); his learning, ii. 15, p. 116; converted while an exile in Gaul, ib. and notes (cf. iii. 18 and notes); evangelises his people with the help of Felix, ib. and notes; establishes a school on the Frankish and Kentish model, iii. 18 and notes; resigns and retires to a monastery, ib. and notes; forced to lead his people against the Mercians, ib.; slain in battle, ib.; receives St. Fursa, iii. 19, p. 163; grants him a site for a monastery, ib. p. 164 and note.

Sigberht, ‘cognomento Paruus,’ king of the East Saxons, iii. 22, p. 171 and note; succeeded by Sigbert, ib. and note; confusion of the name with Sæbert, II. 79.

Sigberht, king of the East Saxons, succeeds Sigbert ‘Paruus,’ iii. 22, p. 171 and note; a friend of Oswy, whom he frequently visits, ib.; converted to Christianity by his arguments, ib. p. 172; baptized by Finan at place called Ad Murum, ib. and note; asks Oswy for missionaries, ib.; murdered by two of his relatives, gesiths, ib. p. 173 and note (cf. II. 48); this was a punishment foretold by Cedd, ib. p. 174; succeeded by Swidhelm, ib.

Sigbert III, king of Austrasia, alleged correspondence with Desiderius of Cahors, II. 168.

Sigebald, abbot of Chertsey, letter of, to St. Boniface, II. 217.

Sigebertus Gemblacensis, ceases to notice English affairs after Bede’s death, p. xliii note; his judgement of Theodore’s penitential, p. clvii note.

Sigebind, bishop of Paris, put to death as an adherent of Baldhild, II. 322.


Sigfrid or Sigga, bishop of Selsey, consecrated by Tatwin, C. 733; II. 313.


Sighard, son of Sebbi joint king of the East Saxons, iv. 11, p. 227 (cf. II. 176, 314); present at Sebbi’s death, ib.

Sigheri, joint king of the East Saxons after Swidhelm, iv. 6, p. 218; iii. 30 (cf. II. 176, 177);
subject to Wulfhere of Mercia, ib.; relapses into paganism, ib. and note; reconverted by Jaruman, ib. and note; Offa son of, v. 19, p. 322 and note.

Sillan, bishop of Devenish in Lough Erne, II. 113; v. Scellanus.


Silver in Britain, i. 1, p. 10 and note.

Silvester, pope, baptism of Constantine by, II. 44.

Silvia, mother of St. Gregory, II. 68, 389.

Siluiculum, Same, Pas-de-Calais, II. 279.

Simeon of Durham, uses MS. C of Bede's H. E., p. xciv; his History of the Church of Durham, p. cxxxvii.

Simon (Magus), his contest with St. Peter, v. 21, pp. 343, 344; his tonsure the origin of the Celtic tonsure, ib. and note; II. 354.

Simony, v. 21, p. 344; iii. 7, p. 141 and note; II. 19.

Simplicius, a saint, II. 91.

Simplicius, bishop of Paris, II. 40.

Sina Mons, i. 27, p. 59.

'sincellus,' meaning of, II. 38.

Sion, iii. 19, p. 164 and note; the Mount of Olives the same height as, v. 17, p. 318.

Siricius, pope, ordinance of, about baptism, II. 95, 96.


'sine' = et, II. 83.

Slack, near Huddersfield, equated with Campodenum, II. 105.

Slavery, share of Church in abolishing, II. 227.

Slave-trade, II. 139, 243.

Slavs, the, broken up by Magyar inroads, II. 128.

Smith, John and George, their edition of Bede, pp.lxxx-lxxxiii, cxxxix, exlil.

Soissons, Clothaire king of, II. 39; Arnulf bishop of, II. 155.

Sol, the, v. Soluente.

Solusus, used by Bede, p. lvi note; cited, II. 6, 10.


Solvente, the Solent, name of the sea which divides Wight from the mainland, iv. 16, p. 238 and note; meeting of tides in, ib.

Solway, Roman wall connecting Tyne and, II. 15, 17.

Southwell, Notts., equated by some with Tiowulfingacæstir, II. 109.

Southwic, Hants, copy of AS. vers. of H. E. in priory of Austin Canons at, p. cxxix note.


Sponsors at confirmation, II. 383.

Stabelgate, in Canterbury, II. 43.

Stamboul, origin of the name, II. 104.

Standia, origin of the name, II. 104.


Stapleton, Thomas, tries to influence Elizabeth against the Reformation by his translation of Bede's H. E., p. cxxxii.

Steel, the, between Rowley Water and Devil's Water, II. 123.

Stellantus, abbot of Inis Celtra, II. 113; v. Scellanus.

Stephanus, beatus, protomartyr, his vision cited, v. 14, p. 314 and note; church of, at Faremoutier-en-Brie, Eareconota buried in, iii. 8, p. 143; Ethelberg translated to, ib. p. 144; discovery of relics of, II. 24; called 'primicerius martyrum.' II. 113.

Stephanus III, papa, consecrates Redger as archbishop, C. 754 and note; letter of St. Boniface to, about Wilfrord, II. 292, 293.

Stephanus, abbot of Lérins, II. 37, 39.


Stepmother, marriage with, II. 48, 88.

Stevens, John, his translation of Bede's H. E., p. cxxxii.
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum. 529


Stilicho, Flavius, defeats the Saxons, Picts, and Scots, II. 10.

Stingo, origin of the name, II. 104.

Stoneham, on the Itchen, v. Ad Lapidem.

Storkes, Henry, perhaps owned MS. O2, p. cxix.

Stout-heris, name applied to the East Angles, II. 86.

Stowe MS., p. cxx.

Stowe MSS., mentioned of English saints in, II. 81, 82.

Stragius, stragious, II. 229.

Straham, Mare de, near Ely, II. 269.

'Stramen,' = saddle, horse-cloth, II. 154.

Strasburg, bishopric, offered to Wilfrid, II. 325.

Stratclyde, Britons of, II. 301; Dumbarton a fort of, II. 24; possibly present at conference with Augustine, II. 75; cut off from North Welsh by battle of Chester, II. 75, 77; Nynias probably belongs to, II. 128; expedition of Oengus and Eadbert against, II. 346; relations of, to Northumbria, ib.

Streameshalch, Whitby, monastery of, built by Hild, iv. 23, p. 254 and note; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Elffled nun and abbess of, ib. and note; Elffled, Oswy, Eanffled, Edwin, and others buried in church of St. Peter at, ib. and note; iv. 26, p. 267; II. 391; Hild abbess of, iv. 23, p. 252 and notes; iii. 25, p. 183 and note; synod on the Paschal question held at, ib. and notes; p. xxxix; II. 146; importance of synod of, p. xl; omitted by Sax. Chron., II. 188; Trumwine retires to, after the death of Egfrid, iv. 26, p. 267 and notes (cf. II. 224); dies and is buried at, ib. and notes; Elffled and Eanflod joint abbesses of, ib. and note (cf. II. 391); Hild dies at, v. 24, p. 355; a double monastery, II. 150, 184, 246; destroyed by the Danes, ib.; etymology of the name, II. 189; MS. said to have belonged to, II. 201; John of Hexham trained at, II. 274; leaden bulla of Archdeacon Boniface preserved at, II. 321; earliest Life of Gregory written by a monk of, II. 389; Edwin's body translated to, II. 391; altars of SS. Peter and Gregory at, ib.

'Studium' = medical treatment, II. 275.

Suæbhard, joint king in Kent with Witred, v. 8, p. 295 and note; identified by some with Swefred of Essex, II. 177, 284; called Sifred by R. W., II. 177; spurious charter of, II. 222.

Sualua, the Swale, Yorkshire, Paulinus baptizes Deirans in, ii. 14, p. 115; flows past Caterick, ib. and note.

'Subsintreudo,' a term of blame, II. 146, 316, 363.

'Subsistentia,' theological meaning of the term, II. 232.

'Substantia,' theological meaning of the term, II. 232.

Sudegeona regio, Surrey, Chertsey in, iv. 6, p. 218 and note.

Suefred, son of Sebbi, joint king of the East Saxons, iv. 11, p. 227 (cf. II. 176, 177, 220, 314); identified by some with Swæbheard of Kent, II. 177, 284.

Sueui, cross the Rhine and ravage Gaul, i. 11.

Suffolk, one of the divisions of East Anglia, II. 168.

Suidbert, missionary in Frisia, v. 11, p. 302 and note; sent to Britain, ib.; consecrated bishop by Wilfrid, ib. and note (cf. II. 319); goes to the Boructuari, ib.; on their dispersion obtains
a grant of In Litore (Kaiserswerth) from Pippin, ib. and note; builds a monastery, and dies there, ib. and note; his successors, ib. and note; spurious Life of, by Marcellinus, II. 283, 291; his see at Dorostat, II. 291; MS. of Livy belonging to, ib.; his relics still preserved, ib.; homily and verses on, ib.

Suidberct, abbot of monastery of Dacre, iv. 32, p. 279.

Suidhelm, king of the East Saxons, son of Sexbald, succeeds Sigbert, iii. 22, p. 174 and note; baptized by Cedd at Rendlesham, ib. and note; Ethelwald of East Anglia his godfather, ib. and note; succeeded by Sigheri and Sebbi, iii. 30.

Sundarangli = Mercii, q. v. (cf. Suthanglia), II. 391.

Sunderland, Co. Durham, possible birthplace of Bede, p. ix note.


'suspectus,' used actively, II. 30.

Suthanglia, II. 30.

Sudanymbre, Suthumbri, meaning of term, II. 30.

Suthymeria, II. 30.

Swale, the, v. Sualua.

Syagrius, bishop of Autun, II. 39.

'symbolum' = creed, II. 231.

Symphorianus, a saint, II. 91.

'synaxis,' use of the term, II. 238, 239.

Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, cited, II. 58.

Synodica actio, II. 211; synodica epistola, synodicus libellus, II. 70, 234.

'synodus' = synodica epistola, II. 234.

Syracuse, Constans II dies at, II. 204.

Syria, famine in, foretold by Agabus, i. 3; religious syncretism in, II. 60.

Syrmium, Pannonia, Theodosius assumes the purple at, i. 9.

T.

Tabernaculo, de, Bede’s work, v. 24, p. 357; v. Baeda.

Tacitus, cited, II. 5-7, 10, 11, 13.

Tadcaster, identified with Kælccaestir, II. 244.

Talbot, Robert, Rector of Burlington, Norfolk, II. 115.

Talorg mac Anfrith, king of the Picts, probably son of Eanfrid of Bernicia, II. 120, 187, 261.

Tamensis, the Thames, staked by the Britons, i. 2, p. 14 and note; crossed by the Romans, ib.; separates Kent and the East Saxons, ii. 3, p. 85; Tilbury situated on, iii. 22, p. 173; Chertsey near, iv. 6, p. 218; stated by Orosius to be fordable only at one point, II. 13.

Tanaise Abbaid, p. xxix note.

Tanatos, Thanet, island to the east of Kent, containing 600 hides, i. 25, p. 45 and note; Augustine lands there, ib.; Eadburg abbess of, p. xx; II. 219; Solinus’ description of, II. 10; Saxons retire to, II. 30.

Tanner, Thomas, bishop of St. Asaph, former owner of MS. O.12, p. cxxv.

Tarentum, diocese of, II. 212.


Tata, name of Ethelberg daughter of Ethelbert, ii. 9, p. 97.

Tatfrid, bishop of the Hwiceas, educated at Whitby under Hild, iv. 23, p. 255; elected bishop of the Hwiceas, ib. and note; dies before consecration, ib.

Tatuini, archbishop of Canterbury, a priest of the monastery of Bredon in Mercia, v. 23, p. 350 and note (cf. II. 324); succeeds Bertwald as archbishop of Canterbury, ib.; consecrated at Canterbury by four bishops, ib.; alive in 731, ib.; v. 24, p. 356; ninth archbishop of Canterbury, ib.; receives the pallium, C. 733 (cf. II. 341); consecrates Alwic and Sigfrid,
Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrus, Council of Constanti

Tears, the gift of, II. 268.

Tech-Bakithin, v. Tibohine.

Tecla, iv. 20, p. 247 and note.

Tees, the, v. Teosa.

Teffia, v. Tethba.

Teraporibus, Thilo, St., II. 213.

Tempest, Sir Thomas, former owner of MS. Harl. 4688, p. cxi.

Templi, de aedificatione, Bede’s work, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.

tempore, ex’ = at leisure, Pref. p. 5 and note.

Temporibus, de, Bede’s, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.

Temporibus, liber maior de, i.e. Bede’s De Temporum Ratione, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.

Tennyson, In Memoriam, cited, II. 180.

Tents, use of, II. 240.

Teoful, of Lindsey, points out the place of Edwin’s burial, II. 391.

Tesa flumen, the Tees, boundary of Deira according to some, II. 120; all between Tyne and, desert, ib.

Testamentum Uetus, cited, i. 27, p. 54; v. Lex.

Testry, near St. Quentin, importance of battle of, II. 288.

Tethba, Tethia, Ireland, Aed, son of Brendan prince of, II. 133.

Teutones. Skene derives Iutae from (!), II. 29.

th between vowels tends to disappear, II. 145.

Thames, v. Tamensis.

Thane, king’s, II. 243; queen’s, ib.

Thanet, v. Tanatos.


Theekstone, near Ripon, equated with Degsastan by Pearson, II. 66.

Theobald, brother of Ethelfrid of Northumbria, slain at Degsastan, i. 34 and note.

Theodebert, king of Austrasia, II. 39, 41.

Theodoric, king of the Burgundians, II. 39, 41.

Theodoric III, king of the Neustrian Franks, bribed by the enemies of Wilfrid, II. 215.

Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, Council of Constantinople against, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.

Theodorus, monachus, archbishop of Canterbury, Albinus a pupil of, Pref. p. 6 and note; v. 20, p. 331; consecrates Leutherius as bishop of the West Saxons, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes; consecrates the church of St. Peter at Lindisfarne, iii. 25, p. 181 and note; a native of Tarsus, iv. 1, p. 202; recommended by Hadrian as archbishop of Canterbury, ib. and note; ordained subdeacon, ib. and note; wears the Eastern or Pauline tonsure, ib. and note (cf. II. 353, 354); consecrated, ib. and notes; v. 24, p. 354; sets out with Hadrian, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; v. 20, p. 331; Hab. § 3; Benedict Bishop accompanies, ib. and note; p. xviii; detained at Arles, iv. 1, p. 203; goes to Agilbert, bishop of Paris, ib. and note; Egfrid sends Rædfrid to escort, ib. and note; ill at Quentawic, ib. and note; reaches Britain, ib. (cf. iv. 5, p. 214 and note; II. 200); rejoined by Hadrian, ib. p. 204 and note; gives him the monastery of St. Peter by papal command, ib. and notes (cf. II. 357); reaches Canterbury, Hab. § 3 and note; II. 202; iv. 2, p. 204 and note; traverses the whole of the English part of the island, ib.; the first archbishop to whom the whole English Church submits, ib. and note (cf. II. 53); learning and disciples of, ib. pp. 204, 205 and notes (cf. p. xviii;
II. 168, 372); happy times of, ib. p. 205 (cf. p. xxii note); consecrates bishops, ib. and note; deposes Ceadda, ib. and note (cf. II. 199); reconsecrates him, ib. and notes; Wilfrid reaches Britain before, ib. pp. 205, 206 and note; Theodore consecrates Putta to Rochester, ib. p. 206 and note; Wulfhere asks for a bishop from, iv. 3, p. 206; asks Oswy to send Cedd as bishop to Mercia, ib. and note; insists on Ceadda riding instead of walking on his episcopal tours, ib. (cf. II. 136); consecrates Wynfrid as Ceadda's successor, ib. p. 212; summons the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 214 and note; presides at it, ib. p. 215; v. 24, p. 354; canons proposed by him, iv. 5, pp. 215-217 and notes; consecrates Bisi as bishop of the East Angles, ib. p. 217 and note; deposes Wynfrid, iv. 6, p. 218 and notes; consecrates Sexwulf in his place, ib. and notes; makes Ealconwald bishop in London, ib. and notes; consecrates Hædde in London as bishop of the West Saxons, iv. 12, p. 227 and note; consecrates Cwichelm in Rochester, ib. p. 228 and note; appoints Gebmund in his place, ib. and note; consecrates Eadhed, Bosa, and Eata at York, ib. p. 229 and notes (cf. II. 316, 323); makes Tunbert bishop of Hexham, and Trumwine of the Picts, ib. and notes; places Eadhed at Ripon, ib.; summons and presides at the Council of Hatfield against the heresy of Eutyches, v. 24, p. 355; iv. 17, pp. 238-240 and notes; styles himself 'archiepiscopus Britanniae et ciuitatis Doruernis,' ib. p. 239 and note; subscribes the decision of the council, ib. p. 240; makes peace between Egfrid and Ethelred, iv. 21 and notes; Oftfor studies under, iv. 23, p. 255; Wilfrid consecrates Oftfor after the death of, ib. and note; presides at the Synod of Twyford, iv. 28, p. 272; consecrates Cuthbert at York, ib. p. 273; medical precept of, cited, v. 3, p. 285 and note; dies, v. 8, p. 294 and notes; v. 24, p. 355; buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, Canterbury, ii. 3, p. 86; v. 8, p. 294 and note; his epitaph, ib. p. 295 and note; progress of the English Churches under, ib.; succeeded by Bertwald, ib. and note; Wilfrid consecrates Swidbert after death of, v. 11, p. 302 and note; Tobias a disciple of, v. 23, p. 348; doubtful letter of Vitalian to, II. 38, 205; his Penitential, p. elvi; cited, II. 47, 48, 53, 59, 151, 156, 214, 230, 236, 277, 353, 363, 366, 382; divides the East Anglian see, II. 108; pretended decree of, II. 143, 145; discourages double monasteries, II. 151; treats Celtic orders as invalid, II. 178; sends envoys to Rome to accuse Wilfrid, II. 190; had been educated at Athens, II. 203; possibly followed Constans II to the West, II. 204; ignores Gregory's scheme of two provinces, II. 205; legends about, ib.; reconciliation of, with Wilfrid, II. 217, 326; letters of, to Ethelred of Mercia and Aldfrid, II. 221, 326; expected at Rome in 680, II. 230; gives the veil to Sexburgh at Sheppey, II. 239; John of Hexham a pupil of, II. 274; verses of, to Haedde, II. 307; restores Wilfrid (669), II. 317; exaggerated charges against, II. 323, 324.

Theodosius, a Spaniard, made by Gratian emperor of the East and Thrace, i. 9; restores Valentinianus, ib.; together they capture and slay Maximus, ib. and note; Arcadius son of, i. 10; Honorius son of, i. 11
and note; Paschal cycle composed by Theophilus of Alexandria for, v. 21, p. 341 and note.
Theodosius Junior, succeeds Honorius as emperor, i. 13.
Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, on pilgrimages, II. 282.
Theofrid, abbot of Epternach, Life of Wilfrid by, II. 288, 293.
Theophanes, empress, translates the body of St. Albinus, II. 18.
Theophilus, archdeacon of Rome, sends presents to St. Boniface, p. lxxvi note.
Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, composes a Paschal cycle of a hundred years, v. 21, p. 341 and note.
Thetford, East Anglian see removed to, II. 108.
Theudor, king of the Strathclyde Britons, dies, C. 750 and note; son of Beli, II. 346.
Thietmar, his chronicle cited, II. 67.
Thingvöller, Iceland, II. 255.
Thomas, apostolus, apocryphal Acts of, II. 294.
Thomas, of the Gyrwas, bishop of the East Angles, deacon of Bishop Felix, iii. 20; succeeds him as bishop of the East Angles, ib. and notes (cf. II. 106); consecrated by Honorius, ib.; succeeded by Bertgil, ib. and note; the second native bishop, II. 174; his orthodoxy, II. 206.
Thomas I, archbishop of York, restores York Cathedral, II. 102.
Thomas II, archbishop of York, attempts to translate Eata’s relics, II. 274.
Thomas of Elmham, his opinion of Bede, p. xliii note; on St. Alban, II. 18; on Benedict Biscop, II. 204; on ‘pomptic’ writing, II. 312.
Thomas of Ely, Life of St. Ethelthryth by, II. 235.
Thor, worship of, blended with Christianity, II. 106.

Thorlak, bishop of Skalholt, Iceland (†1103), II. 251.
Thorney, Cambridgeshire, Benedict Biscop’s body said to have been translated to, II. 365.
Thracia, Theodosius made emperor of, i. 9.
Thryduulf, priest and abbot of a monastery in the forest of Elmet, ii. 14, p. 115.
Thursday, a festal day on account of the Ascension, II. 258.
Thwaf, English name of ‘Tufa,’ p. v.
Thyle, midnight sun in, II. 7; Picts defeated in, II. 10.
Tiberius III, Apsimarus, emperor, p. cxli.
Tiberius Constantinus, emperor, assists Gregory I in his refutation of Eutychius, ii. 1, p. 76.
Tipohine, county Roscommon, Bæithin Mor bishop of, II. 112.
Tilburg, Tilbury, on the Thames, iii. 22, p. 173 and note; monastery founded by Cedd at, ib.; date of, II. 149.
Till, the, Northumberland, the Beaumont Water a tributary of, II. 105.
Tilmon, monachus, formerly a thane, v. 10, p. 301 and note; one of the companions of the two Hewalds, ib.; has a vision of one of them, ib.
Timotheus, circumcision of, by St. Paul, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and note (cf. II. 58); epistles of Paul to, i. 27, p. 48; Ec. § 3.
Tinus, Tina amnis, the Tyne, separates Hexham from the cemetery of St. Michael, v. 2, p. 283; Herebald abbot of monastery at mouth of, v. 6, p. 289 and note; Jarrow on, v. 21, p. 332 and note; Roman wall connects Solway with, II. 15, 17; boundary of Deira according to some, II. 120; all between Tees and, desert, ib.
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum.

Tiouulfingae æstir, ? Littleborough, on the Trent, ii. 16, p. 117 and note.

Tirechan, collections of, in Book of Armagh, II. 25.

Titillus, a notary, writes the canons of the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 217.


Tnugdali Visio, II. 295.

Tobias, Bede’s commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.

Tobias, consecrated by Bertwald as bishop of Rochester in succession to Gebmund, v. 8, p. 295 and note; his learning, p. xviii note; v. 8, p. 296; v. 23, p. 348; pupil of Theodore and Hadrian, ib. (cf. II. 205); dies, and is buried in a porticus of St. Paul which he had made for his tomb, ib. pp. 348, 349; succeeded by Aldwulf, ib. p. 349 and note; present at witenagemót of Baepchild, II. 284.

Toledo, Council of, II. 234.

Tomene mac Ronain, abbot and bishop of Armagh, II. 112; v. Tomianus.

Tomianus, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.

Tondberct, prince of the South Gyrwas, first husband of Ethelthryth, iv. 19, p. 243 and note.

Tondheri, a faithful thane of Oswin, iii. 14, p. 155 and notes; remains with him at the time of his murder, ib. and notes; son of Tylius, II. 163.

Tonsure, question of, II. 83, 203, 337; 353; 354.

Toctgyd, a nun at Barking, sees a vision of Ethelberg’s death, iv. 9, pp. 221, 222 and notes; Ethelberg appears to, before her own death, ib. pp. 223, 224 and notes.

Thorhthem, an abbot in Gaul, Benedict Biscop obtains architects from, Haa. § 7 and note; II. 359.

Thorhthem, prior, p. xxix note.

Tyler, Robert de, v. Robert.

Torksey, Lines., not to be equated with Tiouulfingae æstir, II. 109.

Torthere, bishop of Hereford before Walthstod, II. 341.

Tory Island, St. Ernan abbot of, II. 113.

Tostig, earl of Northumberland, II. 158; neglects to be present at the translation of Oswin, II. 164.

Toul, bishops of, Frothar, II. 138; Deodatus, II. 325.

Toulon, Menna bishop of, II. 39.

Toulouse, defeat of the Saracens at, II. 339.

Tournai, monastery of St. Martin’s at, p. xix note; MSS. of, ib.; Odo abbot of, ib.; p. xx note; scriptorium of, ib.

Tours, the Saracens defeated at. by Charles Martel, II. 339; v. Turoni.

Tours, Gregory of, v. Gregory.

Towcester, Northants., identified by some with Tunnacæstir, II. 243.

Trajan, his rescript to Pliny about the Christians, II. 46.

Traiectum, Gallic name of Uльтa- burg (q.v.) or Utrecht, v. 11, p. 303 and note; Wilbrord’s first visit to, II. 288; St. Radbod bishop of, II. 291; church of St. Saviour at, II. 292, 293; chapel of St. Martin at, ib.

Traiectus Augusti, probably Aust on the Severn, II. 74.


Translation of poetry, Bede and Dante on, II. 250.

Treaenta, iii. 24, p. 80; iv. 21; v. Treenta.

Treason to a Lord, inexpressible, II. 163.

Trecæ, Troyes, saved from Attila by the prayers of St. Lupus, II. 33.

Trecasena ciiitas, Troyes, Lupus bishop of, i. 17, p. 34 and note;
MS. of Bede’s excerpts from St. Augustine at, p. clv; MS. at, II. 295.

Trecaseni, Troyes, Lupus bishop of, i. 21, p. 40.

Treena, Treanta, flunitius, the Trent, Paulinus baptizes the people of Lindsey in, ii. 16, p. 117 and notes; boundary between the Northern and Southern Mercians, iii. 24, p. 180; battle of, between Egfrid and Ethelred, iv. 21 and notes (cf. II. 155); the Idle a tributary of, II. 98; Trisantona, ancient name of, II. 109.

Treuiri, Trèves, Severus bishop of, i. 21, p. 40 and note; Ricbod archbishop of, p. clii note; abbey of St. Maximin of, p. xxxxi.

Triads, the Welsh, cited, II. 64, 66.

Triduanum ieiunium, v. Icinium.

Triman, Trinian, Trinyon, corruptions of Ninian, II. 129.

Trinama, a Mercian monk, II. 391.

Trinouantes, submit to Caesar, i. 2, p. 14.

Tripolitanus, Severus a Tripolitan, i. 5. Tripolitana provincia, p. clixii note.

Trisantona, ancient name of the Trent, II. 109.

Troia, iv. 20, p. 247.

Troys Fontaines, v. Alberic.

Tropis, de, sive de Schematibus, Bede’s, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.

Troyes, v. Treaca, &c.

Trumberct, pupil of Ceadda (Chad) and teacher of Bede, iv. 3, p. 210 and note; p. xviii.

Trumberhi, ‘ natione Anglorum,’ bishop of the Middle Angles and Mercians, succeeds Ceollach, iii. 21, p. 171 and note; iii. 24, p. 179 and notes; consecrated by the Scotti, ib. ib.; abbot of Gilling, iii. 24, pp. 179, 180; a relative of Oswin, ib. p. 180 and note (cf. p. xxxv note); first bishop of the Mercians under Wulfhere, ib. and note; succeed by Jaruman, iii. 30 and note.

Trumuini, made bishop of the province of the Picts subject to the English, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; retires from Abercorn to Whitby after the death of Egfrid, iv. 26, p. 267 and notes (cf. II. 24, 224, 385); dies and is buried in the church of St. Peter there, ib. and note; goes to Farne to persuade Cuthbert to accept the offered bishopric, iv. 28, p. 272 and note; his see wrongly placed at Whitem, II. 224; hears from Cuthbert a story of his childhood, II. 268; called also Tuma, ib. (cf. II. xxxvi); his see located in the monastery of Abercorn, II. 384.

Truyons, corruption of Ninian, II. 129.

Tuda, pontiff of the Northumbrians, educated and consecrated among the Southern Irish, iii. 26, p. 189 and notes (cf. II. 125, 196); comes from Ireland during Colman’s episcopate, and succeeds him, ib. pp. 189, 190; practises what he preaches, ib.; p. xxxvi; was probably meant to be bishop of Bernicia, II. 323; dies of the plague, iii. 27, p. 192 and notes (cf. II. 192, 323); buried at Pænallaech, ib. and note.

Tufa, Roman name of banner used by Edwin, ii. 16, p. 118 and notes.

Tuidi flumen, the Tweed, Melrose on banks of, iv. 27, p. 269; v. 12, p. 304 (cf. p. xxx); Bernicia north of, said to have been lost in 665, II. 262.

Tuifyrdi, v. Ad Tuifyrdi.

Tuma, shortened name of Trumwine, II. 268 (cf. II. xxxvi).

Tunberct, bishop of Hexham, abbot of Gilling, Haa. § 2 and note (cf. II. 164, 223); invited by Wilfrid to Ripon, Haa. § 3 (cf. II. 193); made bishop of Hexham, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; Haa. § 2 (cf. II. 164, 193);
Index Nominum, Locorum, Rerum.

deposed, and succeeded by Cuthbert, iv. 28, p. 273 and note (cf. II. 193).

Tunna, presbyter and abbot of Tunnacaestir, iv. 22, p. 250; his celebration of mass unlooses the bonds of his brother Imma, ib. pp. 250, 251 and note.

Tunnacaestir, unidentified, monastery at, iv. 22, p. 250 and note; named after the abbot Tunna, ib.

Turonia, Tours, q.v., John the archchanter stays at, on his way to Britain, iv. 18, p. 242; dies and is buried there on his return, ib. and note; Alcuin founds schools in the monastery of St. Martin's at, p. xvii note; Caroline minuscule developed at, p. xx note; grants of Berengar and Charles the Simple to, II. 138; Alcuin head of, II. 234, 258; story of, II. 258, 259; fire in, stayed by Alcuin's prayers, II. 269; Pelagius bishop of, II. 39.

Turonica sedes, privileges granted by Gregory I to, II. 323, 324.

Tweed, v. Tuidi.

Tweedmouth, church at, dedicated to Boisil, II. 266.

Twelve, frequency of the number, II. 193, 288.

Twine, Bryan, former owner of MS. O, p. cvii.

Twysden, Roger, former owner of MS. Bu., p. cxx.

Tydlin, prefect of Dunbar, Wilfrid in custody of, II. 325.

Tydsius, father of Tondhere, II. 163.

Tyne, the, v. Tinus.

Tynemouth, Oswin buried at, II. 164.


Tytili, father of Redwald of East Anglia, son of Wuffa, ii. 15, p. 116 and note.

Tytus, i.e. Titus, Epistle of St. Paul to, Ec. § 3.

Tzetzes, his account of Hesiod, II. 254, 255.

U, V.


Uaelingaestir, English name of Verolamium, St. Alban’s, i. 7, p. 21 and note.

Ualchstod, bishop of the peoples to the west of the Severn in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; succeeds Torthere and is succeeded by Cuthbert, II. 341; verses of Cuthbert on, ib.

Ualdheri, bishop of London, succeeds Earconwald, iv. 11, pp. 225, 226 and notes (cf. II. 178); admits Sebba of Essex as a monk, ib. p. 226; present at his death, ib. pp. 226, 227; grant of Swefred to, II. 177, 220; letter of, to Archbishop Bertwald, II. 283.

Ualens, emperor, i. 9 and note.

Ualentinianus II, joint emperor, i. 9; expelled from Italy by Maximus, ib.; restored by Theodosius, ib.; together they capture and slay Maximus, ib.

Ualentinianus III, joint emperor with Marcianus, i. 15, p. 30 and note; v. 24, p. 352; receives Germanus, i. 21, p. 41; murdered by the adherents of Aetius, ib. and note; Western Empire ends with, ib. and note.

Uandali, cross the Rhine and ravage Gaul, i. 11.

Uantssumu, the Wantsum, a branch of the Stour, separates Thanet from Kent, i. 25, p. 45.

Uecta, Isle of Wight, materials for history of, derived by Bede from Bishop Daniel, Pref. p. 7; II. 307; reduced by Vespasian, i. 3; distance from Britain, ib.; inhabitants of, of Jutish origin, i. 15, p. 31 and notes; a tribe of Jutes opposed to, in Bede's time, ib. and note; granted by Wulfhere to Ethelwald of Sussex, iv. 13, p. 230 and note (cf. II. 147); not Christianised by him, II. 228; conquered and depopulated by Cadwalla, iv. 16, p. 237 and note; fourth part of, granted
by Caedwala to Wilfrid, and by him to Bernwine, ib. and note; Arwald king of, ib. and note; two princes of, baptized and executed, ib. pp. 237, 238; dimensions and position of, ib. (cf. i. 3); the last province of Britain to be converted, ib. p. 238 (cf. II. 319); Daniel the first to exercise episcopal functions in, ib. (cf. v. 23, p. 350; II. 307).

Uecta, son of Uoden, i. 15, p. 32. 'uel' = et, II. 83, 243.

Vexantius, a patron of Syracuse, letter of Gregory I to, II. 62.

Uenta, Uenta ciuitas, Winchester, q. v., called by the Saxons Uintanceastir, iii. 7, p. 140; becomes a see, ib. and notes; body of Birinus translated to, ib. and notes; Leutherius consecrated in, ib. p. 141; Daniel bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350; II. 144, 307.


Uerba dierum, Books of Chronicles, Bede's chapters of readings on, v. 24, p. 358.

Verdun, Hermann count of, II. 48.

Uergilius, v. Maro.

Uergilius, archbishop of Arles (wrongly called successor of Aetherius), Gregory recommends Augustine to, i. 28 and note; letters of Gregory to, II. 39, 49; consecrates Augustine, II. 45.

Uerlamacæstir, English name of Verolamium, St. Alban's, i. 7, p. 21.

Uerolamium, St. Alban's, called Uerlamacæstir, or Uaelingacæstir, by the English, i. 7, p. 21 and note; St. Alban martyred at, ib.

Verona, Bruno, archbishop of, II. 51.

Uespasianus, sent by Claudius to Britain, i. 3 and notes; succeeds Nero as emperor, ib.


Uictberet, a companion of Egbert, v. 9, p. 298 and notes (cf. II. 288); an anchorite in Ireland, ib. (cf. II. 196); attempts to evangelise Frisia, ib. ; fails, and returns to Ireland, ib. ; v. 10, p. 299; a companion of Wilfrid, II. 288.

Uictgils, son of Uitta, father of Hengist and Horsa, i. 15, pp. 31, 32.

Victor, bishop of Capua, refutes Victorius' Paschal heresies, II. 201.

Victor, martyr of Marseilles, II. 18.

Victor, St., church of, at Xanten, II. 290.

Victorianus, one of the 'quattuor Coronati,' II. 91.

Victorius, of Aquitaine, his Paschal heresies refuted by Victor of Capua and Bede, II. 201, 351 note.

Uictred, king of Kent, son of Egbert, v. 23, p. 348 and notes; iv. 26, p. 268; succeeds his brother Edric after a period of anarchy, ib. and notes (cf. II. 121); reigns jointly with Swæbhard, v. 8, p. 295 and note; dies, leaving three sons as co-heirs, v. 23, p. 348 and notes; v. 24, p. 356; laws of, against idolatry, II. 60; time of his doubtful predecessors included in reign of, II. 121; ecclesiastical laws of, II. 284.

Uictuarii, the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, of Jutish origin, i. 15, p. 31 and note.

Uienna, Vienne in Gaul, Constans slain at, i. 11; Benedict Bishop comes to, Hab. § 4; Desiderius bishop of, II. 39, 40; Ado archbishop of, II. 212.

Vienna, MS. of Livy at, II. 291.
Uighard, presbyter, an Englishman, iv. 1, p. 201; a pupil of Gregory’s disciples in Kent, Hab. § 3; one of the clergy of Deusdedit, iii. 29, p. 196; sent by Oswy and Egbert of Kent to Rome with a view to consecration, ib. and notes; Hab. § 3; II. 357; dies at Rome before consecration, ib. ib. ib.; iv. 1, pp. 201, 202; his successor, iii. 29, p. 199.

Vigilius, pope, introduces the system of dating by imperial regnal years into papal documents, II. 38.

Uilbert, amanuensis to Bede, pp. lxxvii and note, clxiii.

Ulford, archbishop of the Frisians, iii. 13, p. 152; Wilfrid and Acca stay with, ib. and notes (cf. II. 327); Acca reports a miracle told by him of the time of his voluntary exile in Ireland, ib and note; II. 196 (cf. II. 288); sent by Egbert from Ireland, v. 10, p. 299 and note; goes to Pippin, ib. and notes; sent by him to Frisia, ib.; his success there, ib.; II. 292; address of Radbod to, p. xxxvi note; goes to Rome to obtain papal sanction for his mission, and relics, v. ii, pp. 301, 302 and note; destroys idols, ib. p. 301 and note; II. 292; sent a second time to Rome by Pippin, ib. p. 302 and note; consecrated archbishop of the Frisians by Pope Sergius in the church of St. Cecilia, ib. pp. 302, 303 and notes; receives the name of Clement, ib. p. 303 and notes (cf. II. 288, 292, 293); receives Utrecht as his see, ib. and notes; alive in 731, ib. ; Wilfrid prepares the way for, v. 19, p. 326; II. 293; his treatment of heathenism, II. 58; his collection of relics, II. 60, 159; miracle at burial of, II. 220; Alcuin’s Lives of, pp. lxiv, clxvi; II. 285, 287, 288, 293; founded on an earlier Life by an Irishman, II. 287, 288; Life of, by Theofrid, abbot of Epternach, ib.; II. 293; son of Wilgils, II. 288; educated at Ripon, ib. (cf. II. 293); a cleric of, healed at Cuthbert’s tomb, ib.; his companions, ib.; baptizes Pippin the Short, II. 289; assisted by Boniface, and wishes to consecrate him, ib.; tries to evangelise the Danes, II. 290; trains Danish boys as missionaries, ib. (cf. II. 37); builds the church of St. Saviour and chapel of St. Martin at Utrecht, II. 293; Alcuin’s description of, ib.; his monasteries, ib.; dies and is buried at Epternach, ib.; date of his death, ib.; fate of his relics, ib.

Ulfaræsdun, id est mons Ulfari, probably Gariston, ten miles from Catterick, iii. 14, p. 155 and note; Oswin dismisses his army at, ib.

Ulffrid, bishop of York, his birth, II. 316; his cruel stepmother, II. 320; enters Lindisfarne, II. 316; v. 19, p. 323 and notes; learns the Psalter, ib. and note (cf. II. 137); resolves to go to Rome, ib. and note; sent by Eanfled to Kent, ib. and note (cf. II. 316); studies under Honorius, ib. (cf. II. 110, 111, 372); Earconbert sends him to Rome with Benedict Bishop, ib. and notes; iii. 25, p. 182; II. 316, 356; stays with Dalfinus (really Annemundus), bishop of Lyons, v. 19, p. 324 and notes; iii. 25, p. 182; II. 316, 356; refuses his offers, and reaches Rome, v. 19, p. 324 (cf. II. 316, 317); becomes friends with Archbishop Boniface, ib. and note; studies at Rome, ib.; returns to Dalfinus, ib. (cf. II. 317); is nearly put to death with him. ib. pp. 324, 325 and notes; returns to Britain, II. 317; Alchfrid a friend and pupil of, v. 19, p. 325 and note; iii. 25, p. 182 and note; Alchfrid grants Ripon to, ib. and
chanting to the Northumbrian churches, ib. and note (cf. II. 359); his services to church music, II. 119, 206; asked by Oswy to accompany him to Rome, iv. 5, p. 214; II. 315-317; Ethelthryth receives the veil from, iv. 19, p. 244; II. 317; sends representatives to the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 215; II. 318; grants Ceolfrid to Benedict Biscop, Haa. § 5 and note; church of York restored by, II. 102, 188, 359; churches of Ripon and Hexham built by, II. 318; church of Hexham adorned by, II. 360; extension of his authority over Celts and Saxons, II. 208; Egfrid’s successes due to, II. 223; quarrels with Egfrid, iv. 12, p. 229; Eormenburg’s arguments against, II. 385; expelled from his see (first expulsion), iv. 12, p. 229; iv. 13, p. 230 and note; v. 19, p. 326 and notes; v. 24, p. 355; II. 317; remains abroad, iii. 28, p. 194 and note; v. 19, p. 326 and note; II. 317; returns to Britain, iii. 28, p. 194; drives on to the coast of Sussex, II. 59, 207, 324; lands at Sandwich, II. 207; reaches Britain before Theodore, iv. 2, pp. 205, 206; ordains priests and deacons in Kent, ib. p. 206 and note; II. 207, 317; ordains Putta priest, II. 207; retires to Ripon, ib.; II. 317; ordains Ceolfrid priest, Haa. § 3 and note; II. 317, 370; sent for by Wulfhere to act as bishop in Mercia, II. 207; Wulfhere an adherent of, II. 185; instated in his see by Theodore, II. 317; his share in the transfer of Chad to Mercia, II. 207; holds the bishopric of York, of all the Northumbrians, and of the Picts subject to Oswy, iv. 3, p. 206 and notes; v. 19, p. 326; II. 323, 383; wrongly called archbishop of York, II. 117, 226; calls himself ‘episcopus Saxonieae,’ II. 368; teaches orthodox practices to the Churches of the English, iii. 28, p. 195; the first English bishop to do so, iv. 2, p. 205 and note; invites Aeddi from Kent to teach note; v. 19, p. 325 and note (cf. II. 193, 317); with land at Stamford, ib. and note; II. 317; invites Tunbert and Ceolfrid to Ripon, Haa. § 3 and note (cf. II. 193, 323); Agilbert a friend of, iii. 25, p. 183; ordained priest by him at Ripon, ib.; v. 19, p. 325; acts as spokesman on the Roman side at Whithby, iii. 25, pp. 184-188 and notes (cf. v. 19, p. 325); regards Celtic orders as invalid, II. 178; sent by Alchfrid to Gaul, iii. 28, p. 194 and note; v. 19, p. 325 and note; II. 317; was probably meant to be bishop of Deira only, II. 323; consecrated at Compiegne, iii. 28, p. 194 and note (cf. v. 19, pp. 325, 326 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; II. 317); remains abroad, iii. 28, p. 194 and note; v. 19, p. 326 and note; II. 317; returns to Britain, iii. 28, p. 194; driven on to the coast of Sussex, II. 59, 207, 324; lands at Sandwich, II. 207; reaches Britain before Theodore, iv. 2, pp. 205, 206; ordains priests and deacons in Kent, ib. p. 206 and note; II. 207, 317; ordains Putta priest, II. 207; retires to Ripon, ib.; II. 317; ordains Ceolfrid priest, Haa. § 3 and note; II. 317, 370; sent for by Wulfhere to act as bishop in Mercia, II. 207; Wulfhere an adherent of, II. 185; instated in his see by Theodore, II. 317; his share in the transfer of Chad to Mercia, II. 207; holds the bishopric of York, of all the Northumbrians, and of the Picts subject to Oswy, iv. 3, p. 206 and notes; v. 19, p. 326; II. 323, 383; wrongly called archbishop of York, II. 117, 226; calls himself ‘episcopus Saxonieae,’ II. 368; teaches orthodox practices to the Churches of the English, iii. 28, p. 195; the first English bishop to do so, iv. 2, p. 205 and note; invites Aeddi from Kent to teach
Ulfrid (continued).

murdered, II. 318; arrives in Britain, iv. 13, p. 230; v. 19, p. 327; II. 318; wrongly said to have attended the Council of Hatfield, ib.; is thrown into prison, ib.; II. 318, 325; is released, partly through influence of Ebba, and goes to Mercia and Wessex, II. 236, 318, 326; expelled therefrom, II. 242, 326; persecution of, by Egfrid, II. 264; evangelises the South Saxons, v. 19, p. 327 and notes; iv. 13, p. 230; baptizes their chief men, ib. (cf. II. 44, 318, 319, 324); relieves the famine by teaching them to fish, iv. 13, pp. 230, 231 and notes (cf. II. 315); receives land from Ethelwalh at Selsey, ib. p. 232 and note; builds a monastery which his successors still held in 731, ib. and note (cf. v. 18, p. 321; II. 319); frees the slaves upon it, ib. and note; remains in Sussex till the death of Egfrid, ib. (cf. v. 19, p. 327); has a vision of the damnation of Egfrid, II. 261; first bishop of the South Saxons, iv. 15; assists Cædwalla, II. 229, 326; goes to Cædwalla in Wessex, II. 319; receives a fourth part of Wight from Cædwalla, iv. 16, p. 237 and notes (cf. II. 319, 326); regrants it to his nephew Bernwine, with Hiddila, for the conversion of the island, ib. (cf. v. 19, p. 337 and note); reconciliation of Theodore with, II. 217; restored after Egfrid’s death, iv. 15; v. 19, p. 327 and notes; II. 319; restoration due to influence of Theodore, Elfred, &c., II. 326; extent of diocese to which he was restored, ib.; administers Hexham for a year, ib.; II. 274; administers Lindisfarne for a year after Cuthbert, iv. 29, p. 275; II. 315, 319, 326; expelled again by Aldfrid, v. 19, p. 327; complains of the attempt to convert Ripon into a see, II. 224, 327, 384; an exile in the regions of the Mercians, v. ii, p. 302; consecrates Swidbert, ib.; II. 315, 319; acts as bishop of the Middle Angles, iv. 23, p. 255 (cf. II. 216, 319; consecrates Oftfor, ib.; II. 319; is present at the translation of St. Ethelthryth, iv. 19, p. 245 (cf. II. 319); testifies to Bede of her virginity, ib. p. 243 and note; II. 315; condemnation of, and appeal to Rome in Northumbrian council, II. 56, 319, 320; retires to Mercia, II. 319; sets out for Rome (second appeal), v. 19, p. 327; passes through Frisia, and stays with Wilbrod, iii. 13, p. 152 and note; II. 315, 327; his cause decided in his favour by Pope John VI, v. 19, pp. 327, 328 and notes; II. 320; letters of the pope in favour of, II. 275; illness and vision at Meaux, v. 19, pp. 328, 329 and notes (cf. II. 320); returns to Britain, ib. p. 329 (cf. II. 320); received by Archbishop Bertwald, Ethelred and Cenred of Mercia, ib. and notes; Aldfrid urges his successor to make peace with, II. 306; this was due to the influence of Elfred, II. 185; restored to Hexham after the death of Aldfrid, v. 19, p. 329 and notes; v. 3, p. 285 and note; II. 274, 320, 327, 328; result of his appeals to Rome, ib.; Ceolred of Mercia a friend of, II. 314, 328; Bede’s letter to Plegwin to be read to, p. cxlv; dies at Oundle, and is buried in St. Peter’s church at Ripon, v. 19, pp. 322, 330 and notes (cf. II. 240); day of his death, II. 328; his epitaph, v. 19, p. 330 and note; question of translation of relics of, II. 328; his gifts to Ripon, v. 19, p. 330 and notes; his gospel-book in the Hamilton Collection, II. 329; succeeded (according to his own desire, II. 330) by his priest Acca as
bishop of Hexham, v. 20, p. 331; lettor had left Bosa to follow, ib. p. 332; letter of Aldhelm to clergy of. II. 327; practises what he preaches, p. xxxvi; a great collector of relics, II. 330; his munificence, II. 383; and ostentation, II. 198; Bede's suppression of incidents in the life of, p. xlv note; II. 315, 325, 327; Bede's view of. II. 316, 383; additional matter relating to, in some MSS. of the H. E., p. cv.; Life of, by Eddius, II. 206; Bede's use of it. v. Baeda; Lives of, II. 316; tendency to heighten miraculous element in Lives of, II. 277, 278.


Uhtatuburg, id est oppidum Ulterior, Utrecht, called in the Gallic language Traiectum, q. v., v. ii, p. 303 and note; granted by Pippin to Wilfrord as his see, ib. and note; regranted by Charles Martel, II. 294.

Vine, culture of, in Britain, II. 5, 6.


VINEH, Icelandic name of Brunanburgh, II. 183.

Uini, bishop of the West Saxons, and afterwards of London, consecrated in Gaul, iii. 7, p. 140 and notes; brought in by Cenwalh, and placed at Winchester, ib. and notes (cf. II. 199, 316); expelled by him, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes; buys the see of London of Wulfhere, ib. and notes (cf. II. 206, 383; bishop of London till his death, ib. and notes; while bishop of the West Saxons consecrates Ceadda with the assistance of two British bishops, iii. 28, p. 195 and notes (cf. II. 207); the only bishop in Britain at that time canonically consecrated, ib. and note; third bishop of the West Saxons, iv. 12, p. 227; said to have retired to Winchester before his death, II. 147.

Uintancestir, Winchester, Saxon name for Uenta, q. v., iii. 7, p. 140.

Umuaed, fluvius, ? the Went, a tributary of the Don, Yorks., Oswy defeats and slays Penda near, iii. 24, p. 178 and notes (cf. II. 168, 169, 185, 187).

Visions of the other world, II. 294, 295.

'UTA ACTUA' versus 'uita contemplativa,' II. 68, 69.

Uitalianus, pope at the time of Benedict Biscop's and of Wig-hard's arrival, Hab. § 3; iv. 1, p. 201; deliberates whom to send as archbishop to Britain, Hab. § 3 and note; letter of, to Oswy on the death of Wighard and appointment of Theodore, iii. 29, pp. 196-199 and notes; asks Abbot Hadrian twice to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury, iv. 1, p. 202; agrees to appoint Theodore, ib.; Hab. § 3: consecrates him, iv. 1, p. 203; requires him to provide for Hadrian in his diocese, ib. p. 204 and note; gives them letters of recommendation, ib. p. 203 and note (cf. v. 20, p. 331); requires Hadrian and Benedict Biscop to accompany Theodore, Hab. § 3; gives books to Benedict Biscop, p. xix note; doubtful letter of, to Theodore, II. 38, 205.

Uitmaer, a monk of Wearmouth, enters the monastery of Wearmouth, and endows it with land which he had received from Aldfrid at Dalton. Hab. § 15, p. 380 and notes; death and burial,
Hab. § 20 and note; confused with Hwætbert, II. 366.
Utta, son of Uecta, i. 15, p. 32.
'Uttea' = 'fitte,' canto, II. 256, 257.
Uieraemuda, Wearmouth, monastery of St. Peter at, v. 24, p. 357; pp. ix, xi, xii, xiv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xx, xxvii note, xxxii note, xlv, xlii, lxxii; II. 358; in diocese of Hexham, p. x note; decline of, p. xxxii; II. 102; becomes a cell of Durham, p. xxxii note; part of Bishop's church at, still remaining, p. lxxix note; John the archchanter teaches Gregorian music at, II. 119, 233; Cynimund a monk of, iii. 15, p. 158 and note; called the greater monastery, Hab. § 9 and note; Alcuin's letters to monks of, v. Alcuin; the author of the Hist. Anon. Abb. a monk of, II. 371; v. Petrus.
Uiuri flumen, the Wear, monastery founded at mouth of, by Benedict Biscop, iv. 18, p. 241 and notes; v. 21, p. 332 and note; Hab. § 1 and note, § 4; Haa. §§ 5, 7; II. 370; Biscop buys land to the south of, Hab. § 9; v. Petrus.
Ultan, an Irish scribe in Northumbria, p. xx note.
Ultanus, brother of Fursa, who joins him in his eremitic life, iii. 19, p. 168 and notes; of royal descent, II. 171; accompanies Fursa to Britain, II. 172; goes to Gaul and founds the monastery of Fosse, ib. (cf. II. 173); abbot of Fosse and Péronne, ib.; foretells St. Gertrude's death, ib.
Ultra-Umbrensia, II. 29; v. Nordanymbria.
'Umaloit,' II. 238.
Umbrensia, Northumbrian, II. 29, 230; v. Humbrensia, Nordanymbria.
Unbaptized, fate of the, II. 181.
Undalum, v. In Und.
'Unus,' tends to become an indefinite article, II. 154.
Unust, v. Oengus.

Uoden, ancestor of Saxon royal families, i. 15, p. 32 and note (cf. II. 119).
Vortigern, v. Uurtigern.
Urban I, pope, founds the church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, II. 292.
Urban, bishop of Llandaff, II. 212.
Urgen, II. 100.
Urbs Cnobheri, v. Cnobheresburg.
Ussher, James, archbishop of Armagh, former owner of MS. O. 3, p. exvii.
Utrecht, MS. of Bede's H. E. belonging to University of, p. lxxxvi note; v. Traiectum, Uilta-burg.
Utred de Boldon, v. Boldon.
Utta, presbyter, sent to bring Eanfled from Kent to Northumbria, iii. 15, p. 157 and note; miraculous experience of, ib. p. 158 and notes; narrates the story to Cynimund, ib. and note; brother of Adda, iii. 21, p. 170; abbot of Gateshead, ib. and note.
Uuffa, father of Tytli, ii. 15, p. 116 and note; kings of the East Angles called Wuffingas from, ib.
Uuffingas, patronymic of the East Anglian kings, ii. 15, p. 116; II. 88.
Uulfhere, king of the Mercians, iii. 30; Wine buys the bishopric of London from, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes; son of Penda, iii. 24, p. 180; raised to the throne on the revolt of Mercia from Oswy, ib. and notes; bishops of the Mercians in his time, ib. and notes; kings of the East Saxons subject to, iii. 30; sends Jaruman to reconvert the East Saxons, ib. and note; iii. 21, p. 171 and note; on Jaruman's death asks Theodore for a bishop, iv. 3, p. 206 and note; grants Ceadda land for a monastery at Ad Baruæ, ib. p. 207 and note; defeated by Egfrid, iv 12, p. 229 and notes; loses Lindsey, ib. and note; godfather to Ethelwald of Sussex,
iv. 13, p. 230 and note; grants him Wight and the district of the Meanwari, ib. and notes; ii. 147, 246; dies and is succeeded by his brother Ethelred, v. 24, p. 354 and note; married to St. Ermingild, ii. 144, 344; recovers Lindsey, ii. 155; alleged endowment of Peterborough by, ii. 175; mentioned on the Newcastle Cross, ib.; chronology of reign of, ii. 185, 186; a supporter of Wilfrid, ii. 187; sends for him to act as bishop in Mercia, ii. 207; East Saxons recover power on death of, ii. 216; spurious grant of, to Chertsey, ii. 217; his war with Wessex, ii. 225; first Christian king of all Mercia, ii. 344; puts down idolatry, ib.

Vulmar, St., abbot of Siluacum (Samer), gifts of Cædwalla to, ii. 279.

Uurtigern (Vortigern), invites Saxons into Britain, i. 14; i. 15, p. 30; ii. 5, p. 99; called ‘dux Anglorum,’ ii. 18; Gerontius the historical counterpart of, ii. 23; Nennius’ account of, ii. 27; prophecies of Merlin to, ii. 279.

Uusufrea, son of Edwin and Ethelberg, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; baptized, ib.; sent into Gaul, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; dies there, and is buried, ib.

Uynfrid, fourth bishop of the Mercians under Wulhhere, iii. 24, p. 180 and note; consecrated by Theodore to succeed Ceadda as bishop of the Mercians, Middle Angles, and Lindisfar, iv. 3, p. 212 (cf. ii. 206); one of the clergy of Ceadda, ib.; deacon under Ceadda, ib.; attends the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 215; deposed by Theodore, iv. 6, p. 218 and notes (cf. ii. 268); retires to Ad Baruae, where he dies, ib. and note; goes to the Continent, and is mistaken for Wilfrid, ii. 215, 216 (cf. ii. 324).

W.

Wægdeæ, son of Woden, ancestor of the kings of the Deiri, ii. 119.

Wagele (on), Whalley, Cheshire, ii. 196, 197.

Walafridus Strabo, poem of, on Bede’s In Cantica, p. ciii note; on the vision of Wetinius, ii. 295.

Wallbottle, Northumberland, identified by Smith with Ad Murum, ii. 176.

Walcher, bishop of Durham, sends monks to restore Wearmouth, ii. 102.

Walcheren, Wilfrid destroys an idol at, ii. 290.

Wales, churches in, dedicated to St. Germanus, ii. 33; Anglesey the granary of North, ii. 41; meaning of terms North, South, and West Wales, ii. 73, 74; sees in, c. 600, ii. 75; boundaries of North Wales, ii. 74, 75.

Wallia, Offa’s Dyke divides England from, ii. 152.

Walking, as opposed to riding, a mark of asceticism, ii. 136, 164 (cf. ii. xxxvi).

Wallsend, on Tyne, Roman wall ends at, ii. 15.


Walton, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, identified by Camden with Ad Murum, ii. 176.

Wantsum, the, v. Uantsumu.

Ware, Sir James, his edition of Bede’s Hist. Abb., p. cxxxviii; of Bede’s Ep. to Egbert, p. cxlii.

Watling Street, ii. 20.

Watton, v. Uetadun.

Wear, the, v. Uiiiri.

Wearmouth, v. Uueraemuda.

Weber, Philip Carteret, former owner of MS. O 4, p. cxvi.


Wedw, v. Peada.

Wedmore, ‘chrism-loosing’ of Guthrum at, ii. 280.

Weissenburg, Otfried of, v. Otfried.
WENDS, Gottschalk king of, II. 126.

WENDUNE, Weondune, name given by S. D. to battle of Brunanburgh, II. 183.

WENLOCK, Shropshire, a double monastery, II. 150; distance of, from Oswestry, II. 153; vision of a monk of, II. 294.

WENT, the, a tributary of the Don, identified by Raine with the Winwæd, II. 183.

WEREBURG, St., daughter of Wulfhere of Mercia and St. Ermingild, II. 144.

WERGELD, II. 242.

WESTWYK, Johannes de, former owner of MS. P, p. evii.

WETINUS, a monk of Reichenau, his vision of the other world, II. 294, 295; written by Hetto bishop of Basle, and versified by Walafridus Strabo, ib.

WEXFORD, p. ci.

Whalley, v. Wagele.


Whitchurch, places in England called, II. 129.


Whitstable, Kent, pearls still found at, II. 6.

WIBURG, St., found incorrupt after death, II. 240.

WICBERT, Wricebert, corruptly for Hwaetbert, II. 371.

WICRED, Bede’s letter to, De Aequinoctio, v. Baeda; Bede’s visit to, p. xvi note.

WIDUKIND, dux Saxonom, forces the Frisians to apostatis, II. 293.

WIETHBURGA, her pilgrimage to Rome, II. 282.

WIGBERT, abbot of Lindisfarne, Bede’s De Arte Metrica possibly dedicated to, p. cxlv.

WIGBERT, priest, letter of, to Lullus of Mainz, II. 285.

WIGHT, Isle of, v. Ueeta.

WIJK-DUURSTEDEN, v. Dorostadium.

WILBARSTON, Northants, not to be identified with Wilfarsædun, II. 163.

WILBERT, or Wilberche, name of Bede’s amanuensis, pp. lxxvii, cxlii.

WILCOCK, Peter, his translation of Bede’s Hist. Abb., p. cxxxii.

WILCOMA, abbess of Chelles, II. 219.

WILGILS, father of Wilbrord, II. 288; becomes an anchorite, ib.

WILLIAM II, death of, in New Forest, II. 29.

WILLIAM THE LION, charter of, II. 261.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, his opinion on the alleged visit of Bede to Rome, p. xvii note; remarks on the decline of Bede’s Church after his death, p. xxxii note; claims to continue the work of Bede, p. xliii note; his testimony to Bede, pp. xlv note, lxv note; his indignation at Bede’s epitaph, p. lxxxviii note; notes the variations in MSS. of Bede, p. xciv note; MS. of his Gesta Regum, pp. cxiii, cxiv; uses Bede’s De Orthographia, pp. cxlv, cxlvi note; different editions of his Gesta Regum, II. 1; his opinion of Gildas, II. 35; confuses the two Bangors, II. 77, 78; his extravagant praise of Gocelin, II. 81; his series of forged documents, II. 84, 91, 92, 111, 205, 283; remarks on the fondness of the Irish for remote sites, II. 125, 126; his stilted language, II. 126; his childish vanity, II. 147, 148; wrongly identifies Bertwald of Canterbury with Bertwald of Glastonbury, II. 283; his Life of Aldhelm, II. 308, 309.

WILLIAM OF MELTON, archbishop of York, p. cxxi.

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, MS. of, p. cxxiv.

WILLIAM OF ST. CARILEF, bishop of Durham, tract on, p. cxxxvii; formerly prior of Durham, p. xxix note.
WILLIAM OF TYRE, his reference to Bede cited, II. 4.
WILIBALD, Life of St. Boniface, II. 346.
Wilton, Bede said to be buried at, p. lxxxviii note; wooden church at, II. 101.
WIMBORNE, Dorset, a double monastery, II. 150; rules of, ib.
WINBERT, abbot of Nursling, confused with Hwætbert, II. 371.
WINCHCOMBE, v. Pægnalaech.
WINCHCOMBE, near Cheltenham, MS. O 4 formerly belonged to monastery of, p. cxv.
WINCHESTER, MS. of Bede's H. E. belonging to, pp. lxxxvi note, civ, cix-exi; Winchester group of MSS. of H. E., pp. civ, cv, cix-exiii; see of, said to have been endowed by Lucius, II. 14, 20; church of, rebuilt, II. 20; bishops of, Beornstan, II. 138; Cynelnhard, II. 368; Ethelwold, II. 365; Wine said to have retired to, II. 147; extent of diocese after division, II. 307; v. Uenta, Uentanus.
WISIGOTHI, Leander bishop of Seville at Constantinople on affairs of, II. 69; derivation of the name, II. 89.
WITTENAGEMOT, traces of action of, in Bede, II. 87, 94; co-operation of, in grants of land, II. 362, 386.
WOMEN, influence of, in English Church, II. 245; position of, in German tribes, ib.; exclusion of, from Columbite churches, II. 258.
WOOL, wearing of, a mark of asceticism, II. 237.
Woolward, to go,' meaning of the phrase, II. 237.
Worcester, Nicolas prior of, II. 149, 224; see of the Hweccas at, II. 246; Wulfstan bishop of, II. 139.
WORKSFOR, Notts., monastery of, formerly owned MS. H., p. cvi.
WORLD, belief in approaching end of, II. 62.

WROXETER, Shropshire, Watling Street ends at, II. 20.
WULFRAMN, St., archbishop of Sens, II. 289.
WULFSTAN, archbishop of York, adopts Bede's doctrine of the six ages of the world, p. xliii note; cites Gildas, II. 35, 36; cited, II. 62, 296.
WULFSTAN, St., bishop of Worcester, attacks the slave-trade, II. 139.
WYCLIFFE, his version of N.T. cited, II. 46.
WYRA, sacerdos, companion of Swidbert, II. 291.
WYVILLE, Robert, bishop of Salisbury, MS. O 4 written for, p. cxiv.
WYVILLE, arms of, p. cxiv.

X.

XANTEN, church of St. Victor at, II. 290.

Y.

YATAFINI, II. 275; v. Utetanun.
YENLAVE, v. Genladæcæ.
YFFI, son of Osfrid son of Edwin, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; baptized, ib.; sent into Gaul, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; dies there and is buried, ib.
YFFI, father of Ælle of Deira, II. 119; Oswin the last ruler of the line of, II. 120.
YORK, v. Ebraracum.
YTENIE, II. 29; v. Iutacæ.
YTHANCAESTIR, St. Peter's on the Wall, on the Blackwater, Essex, monastery founded by Cedd at, iii. 22, p. 173 and note; on the Pant, ib.; date of, II. 149; the ancient Othona, II. 178.

Z.

ZACHARIAS, pope, forbids St. Boniface to appoint his own successor, II. 82; writes to him about Theodore, II. 202, 203; about rebaptism, II. 277; orders monks to wear wool, II. 237.
ZOSIMUS, pope, deposes Pelagian bishops, II. 21.

VOL. II.
Ecclesiastical History, &c.


— The same, together with Translation. 9s. 6d. net.

Bigg. The Christian Platonists of Alexandria; being the Bampton Lectures for 1886. By Charles Bigg, D.D. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, and other Works. 10 vols. 8vo, 3l. 3s.


Cardwell's Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England; being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, &c., from 1546 to 1716. 2 vols. 8vo, 18s.

Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Edited, after Spelman and Wilkins, by A. W. Haddan, B.D., and W. Stubbs, D.D. Vols. I and III. Medium 8vo, each 1l. 1s.

Vol. II, Part I. Medium 8vo, 1os. 6d.
Vol. II, Part II. Church of Ireland; Memorials of St. Patrick. Stiff covers, 3s. 6d.

Formularies of Faith set forth by the King's authority during the Reign of Henry VIII. 8vo, 7s.

Fuller's Church History of Britain. Edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A. 6 vols. 8vo, 1l. 19s.
Ecclesiastical History, &c.

Gibson's Synodus Anglicana. Edited by E. Cardwell, D.D. 8vo, 6s.


Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae. Corrected and continued from 1715 to 1853 by T. Duffus Hardy. 3 vols. 8vo, 17s. 1s.


Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII. 8vo, 5s.


Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum. The Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws, as attempted in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. Edited by E. Cardwell, D.D. 8vo, 6s. 6d.


Stillingfleets's Origines Britannicae, with Lloyd's Historical Account of Church Government. Edited by T. P. Pantin, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo, 10s.

Stubbs. Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum. An attempt to exhibit the course of Episcopal Succession in England. By W. Stubbs, D.D. Small 4to, 8s. 6d.

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
LONDON: HENRY FROWDE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.
SELECTION LIST OF STANDARD WORKS.

DICTIONARIES ........................................ page 1
LAW ....................................................... 2
HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, ETC. ......................... 4
PHILOSOPHY, LOGIC, ETC. .......................... 6
PHYSICAL SCIENCE, ETC. ........................... 7

1. DICTIONARIES.

A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY
ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES,

Founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society.
Imperial 4to.

EDITED BY DR. MURRAY.

PRESENT STATE OF THE WORK.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vol.</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Editors</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>A, B</td>
<td>Dr. Murray</td>
<td>Half-morocco</td>
<td>£ 2 12 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Dr. Murray</td>
<td>Half-morocco</td>
<td>£ 2 12 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>D, E</td>
<td>Dr. Murray and Mr. Bradley</td>
<td>Half-morocco</td>
<td>£ 2 12 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>F, G</td>
<td>Mr. Bradley</td>
<td>Half-morocco</td>
<td>£ 2 12 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>H–K</td>
<td>Dr. Murray</td>
<td>Half-morocco</td>
<td>£ 2 12 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>L–N</td>
<td>Mr. Bradley</td>
<td>Lap–Leisurely</td>
<td>£ 0 5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leisureness–Lief</td>
<td>£ 0 2 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>O, P</td>
<td>Dr. Murray</td>
<td>O–Onomastic</td>
<td>£ 0 5 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remainder of the work is in active preparation; the distribution of the letters into the volumes will be approximately as follows:

Vol. VIII Q–S By Mr. Craigie.
Vols. IX, X S–Z

Orders can be given through any bookseller for the delivery of the remainder of the work either in complete VOLUMES or in Sections or in Parts.

HALF-VOLUMES. The price of half-volumes, bound, with straight-grained Persian leather back, cloth sides, gilt top, is £1 7s. 6d. each, or £1 13 15s. for the ten now ready, namely, A, B, C–Comm., Comm.–Czech, D, E, F, G, H, I–K.

SECTIONS. A single Section of 64 pages at 2s. 6d. or a double Section of 128 pages at 5s. is issued quarterly.

PARTS. A Part (which is generally the equivalent of five single Sections and is priced at 12s. 6d.) is issued whenever ready.

Nearly all the Parts and Sections in which Volumes I–V were first issued are still obtainable in the original covers.

FORTHCOMING ISSUE, OCTOBER 1, 1902. The letter Q, beginning Vol. VIII, by Mr. Craigie, price 2s. 6d.


Vol. I, containing Fasciculi I-V, sm. fol., 5l. 5s.
Vol. II, completing the work, containing Fasciculi VI-X, 8l. 8s.

A Compendious Syriac Dictionary, founded upon the above. Edited by Mrs. Margoliouth. Parts I-III. Small 4to, 8s. 6d. net each.

The Work will be completed in Four Parts.


A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Etymologically and Philologically arranged, with special reference to cognate Indo-European Languages. By Sir M. Monier-Williams, M.A., K.C.I.E.; with the collaboration of Prof. E. Leumann, Ph.D.; Prof. C. Cappeller, Ph.D.; and other scholars. New Edition, greatly Enlarged and Improved. Cloth, bevelled edges, 3l. 13s. 6d.; half-morocco, 4l. 4s.


The Student’s Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon. By H. Sweet, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D. Small 4to. 8s. 6d. net.

An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, based on the MS. collections of the late Joseph Bosworth, D.D. Edited and enlarged by Prof. T. N. Toller, M.A. Parts I-III. A–SĀR. 4to, stiff covers, 15s. each. Part IV, § 1, SĀR–SWĪDRIAN. Stiff covers, 8s. 6d. Part IV, § 2, SWĪP–SNEL–YTMEST, 18s. 6d.

An Icelandic-English Dictionary, based on the MS. collections of the late Richard Cleasby. Enlarged and completed by G. Vigfússson, M.A. 4to. 3l. 7s.

2. LAW.


Anson. Law and Custom of the Constitution. 2 vols. 8vo.


Grueber. Lex Aquilia. By Erwin Grueber, Dr. Jur., M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Hall. International Law. By W. E. Hall, M.A. Fourth Edition. 8vo. 22s. 6d.

— A Treatise on the Foreign Powers and Jurisdiction of the British Crown. By W. E. Hall, M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.


— Studies in International Law. By T. E. Holland, D.C.L. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

— Gentilis, Alberici, De Iure Belli Libri Tres. Edidit T. E. Holland, I.C.D. Small 4to, half-morocco. 21s.


Holland and Shadwell. Select Titles from the Digest of Justinian. By T. E. Holland, D.C.L., and C. L. Shadwell, D.C.L. 8vo. 14s. Also sold in Parts, in paper covers—Part I. Introductory Titles. 2s. 6d. Part II. Family Law. 1s. Part III. Property Law. 2s. 6d. Part IV. Law of Obligations (No. 1), 3s. 6d. (No. 2), 4s. 6d.


— Legislative Forms and Methods. 8vo, half-roan. 16s.


— Contract of Sale in the Civil Law. 8vo. 10s. 6d.


Stokes. The Anglo-Indian Codes. By Whitley Stokes, LL.D. Vol. I. Substantive Law. Svo. 30s. Vol. II. Adjective Law. 8vo. 35s. First and Second Supplements to the above, 1887-1891. 8vo. 6s. 6d. Separately, No. 1, 2s. 6d.; No. 2, 4s. 6d.
### 3. HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, ETC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adamnani Vita S. Columbae</td>
<td>Ed. J. T. Fowler, D.C.L.</td>
<td>Crown 8vo, half-bound, 8s. 6d. net (with translation, 9s. 6d. net).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica, etc.</td>
<td>Edited by C. Plummer, M.A.</td>
<td>Crown Svo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnard. Companion to English History (Middle Ages).</td>
<td>With 97 Illustrations, by F. P. Barnard, M.A.</td>
<td>Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.</td>
<td>Edited by G. Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L.</td>
<td>In six volumes, medium 8vo. With Portraits and Facsimiles. Half-bound. 3l. 3s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casaubon (Isaac), 1559–1614</td>
<td>By Mark Pattison.</td>
<td>Svo. 16s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Alfred Jewel: An Historical Essay. With Illustrations and Map.</td>
<td>Small 4to, buckram.</td>
<td>12s. 6d. net.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vol. I. Text, Appendices, and Glossary. 10s. 6d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vol. II. Introduction, Notes, and Index. 12s. 6d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeman. The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times.</td>
<td>Vols. I and II. 8vo, cloth.</td>
<td>2l. 28.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vol. III. The Athenian and Carthaginian Invasions. 24s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vol. IV. From the Tyranny of Dionysios to the Death of Agathokles. Edited by Arthur J. Evans, M.A. 21s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings. Hastings and the Rohilla War. By Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I.</td>
<td>Svo, cloth. 10s. 6d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill. Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars.</td>
<td>Collected and arranged by G. F. Hill, M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Le Strange. *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate.* By G. Le Strange. 8vo. 16s. net.


   *Johnsonian Miscellanies.* 2 vols. Medium Svo, half-roan. 28s.


   Introduction. With Eight Maps. 1887. 4s. 6d.
   Vol. II. The West Indian Colonies. With Twelve Maps. 1890. 7s. 6d.
   Vol. IV. South and East Africa. Historical and Geographical. With Ten Maps. 1898. 9s. 6d.

Also Vol. IV in two Parts—
   Part I. Historical, 6s. 6d.
   Part II. Geographical, 3s. 6d.


Ramsay (W. M.). *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.* By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D.
   Vol. I. Part I. The Lycos Valley and South-Western Phrygia. Royal Svo. 18s. net.
   Vol. I. Part II. West and West-Central Phrygia. 21s. net.


--- *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx*. By the same. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s.

Smith’s Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Edwin Cannan. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.


--- *The Life and Letters*, with an account of his Philosophy. By A. Campbell Fraser. 8vo. 16s.


--- *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History and kindred subjects*. Crown 8vo. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. 8s. 6d.

--- *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*. Small 4to. Second Edition. 10s. 6d.

Swift (F. D.). *The Life and Times of James the First of Aragon*. By F. D. Swift, B.A. 8vo. 12s. 6d.


--- *Logic; or, the Morphology of Knowledge*. By B. Bosanquet, M.A. 8vo. 21s.


--- *The Cambridge Platonists*: being Selections from the writings of Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith, and Nathanael Culverwel, with Introduction by E. T. Campagnac, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d. net.

4. PHILOSOPHY, LOGIC, ETC.


--- *The Life and Letters*, with an account of his Philosophy. By A. Campbell Fraser. 8vo. 16s.
5. PHYSICAL SCIENCE, ETC.

Vol. I. The Sun, Planets, and Comets. 21s.
Vol. II. Instruments and Practical Astronomy. 21s.
Vol. III. The Starry Heavens. 14s.
De Bary. **Comparative Anatomy** of the Vegetative Organs of the Phanerogams and Ferns. By Dr. A. de Bary. Translated by F. O. Bower, M.A., and D. H. Scott, M.A. Royal 8vo. 22s. 6d.

— **Comparative Morphology and Biology of Fungi, Mycetozoa, and Bacteria.** By Dr. A. de Bary. Translated by H. E. F. Garnsey, M.A. Revised by Isaac Bayley Balfour, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Royal 8vo, half-morocco. 22s. 6d.

— **Lectures on Bacteria.** By Dr. A. de Bary. Second Improved Edition. Translated and revised by the same. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Fischer. **The Structure and Functions of Bacteria.** By Alfred Fischer. Translated into English by A. Coppen Jones. Royal 8vo, with Twenty-nine Woodcuts. 8s. 6d.

Goebel. **Outlines of Classification and Special Morphology of Plants.** By Dr. K. Goebel. Translated by H. E. F. Garnsey, M.A. Revised by Isaac Bayley Balfour, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Royal 8vo, half-morocco. 21s.


Miall and Hammond. **The Structure and Life-History of the Harlequin Fly (Chironomus).** By L. C. Miall, F.R.S., and A. R. Hammond, F.L.S. 8vo. With 130 Illustrations. 7s. 6d.


Solms-Laubach. **Fossil Botany.** Being an Introduction to Palaeobotany from the Standpoint of the Botanist. By H. Graf zu Solms-Laubach. Translated and revised by the same. Royal 8vo, half-morocco, 18s.

**OXFORD HISTORY OF MUSIC.**

Edited by W. H. Hadow, M.A.


The Seventeenth Century. By Sir C. Hubert H. Parry, M.A., D.Mus. 15s. net.

The Age of Bach and Handel. By J. A. Fuller-Maitland, M.A. 15s. net.

IN PREPARATION.

The Polyphonic Period. Part II. By H. E. Wooldridge, M.A.

The Viennese School. By W. H. Hadow, M.A.

The Romantic Period. By E. Dannreuther, M.A.

---

**OXFORD**

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

HENRY FROWDE
Venerabilis Baedae Historiam ecclesiasticam gentis