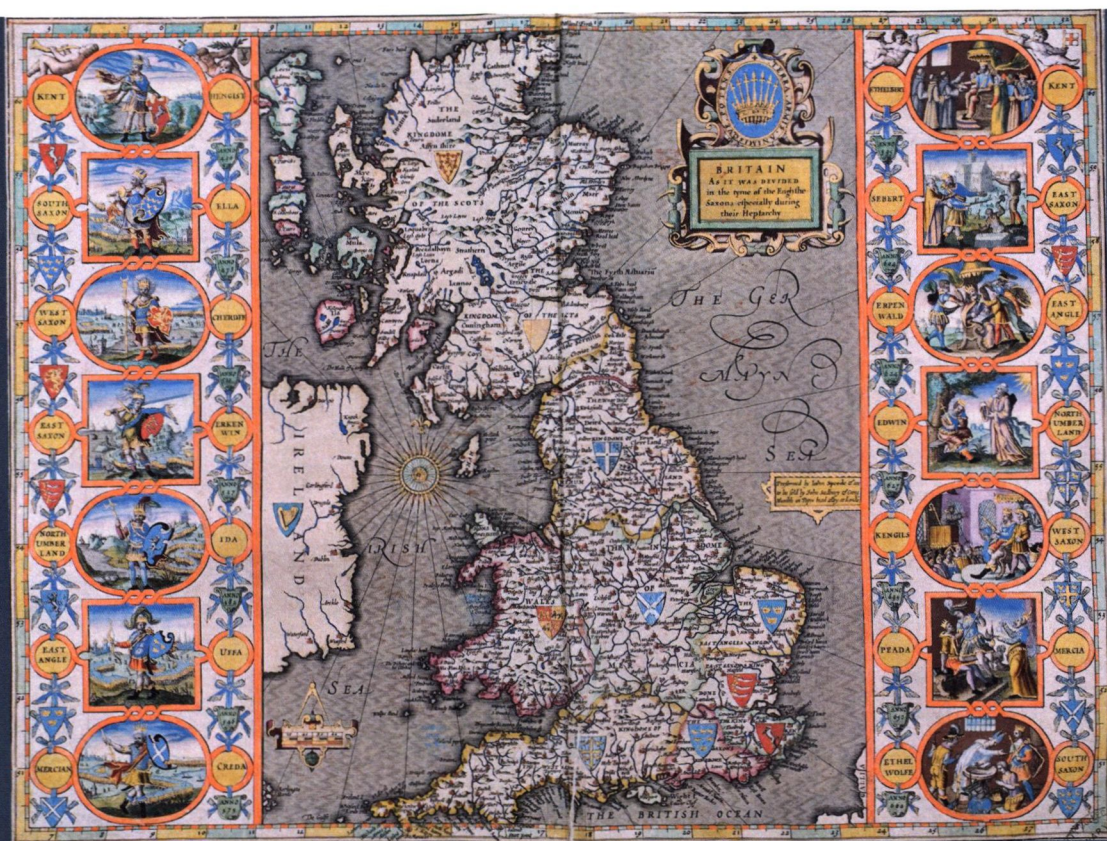


# Writing, Kingship and Power in Anglo-Saxon England

Edited by Rory Naismith  
and David A. Woodman





The workings of royal and ecclesiastical authority in Anglo-Saxon England can only be understood on the basis of direct engagement with original texts and material artefacts. This book, written by leading experts, brings together new research that represents the best of current scholarship on the nexus between authority and written sources from Anglo-Saxon England. Ranging from the seventh to the eleventh century, the chapters in this volume offer fresh approaches to a wide range of linguistic, historical, legal, diplomatic and palaeographical evidence. Central themes include the formation of power in early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the age of Bede (d. 735) and Offa of Mercia (757–96), authority and its articulation in the century from Edgar (959–75) to 1066 and the significance of books and texts in expressing power across the period. *Writing, Kingship and Power* represents a critical resource for students and scholars alike with an interest in early medieval history from political, institutional and cultural perspectives.

**Rory Naismith** is a lecturer in medieval history at King's College London. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and author of *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: the Southern English Kingdoms 757–865* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) and *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Volume 8: Britain and Ireland c. 400–1066* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

**David A. Woodman** is Fellow of Robinson College, Cambridge, where he is Director of Studies in History and Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and author of *Charters of Northern Houses* (2012) and co-editor of *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past* (2015).

Cover illustration: Map of 'Britain as it was divided in the time of the Englishe Saxons especially during their Heptarchy', produced by John Speed (1551/2–1629) and Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612). This coloured copy was presented by Speed to the wife of King James VI/I (1567–1625), Anne of Denmark (1574–1619). Cambridge, Trinity College Library, VI.5.34 (reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge).

**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS  
[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

ISBN 978-1-107-16097-2



*Naismith and* **Writing, Kingship and Power**  
*Woodman* **in Anglo-Saxon England**

CAMBRIDGE

# WRITING, KINGSHIP AND POWER IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

EDITED BY

RORY NAISMITH

*King's College London*

DAVID A. WOODMAN

*Robinson College, Cambridge*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of  
education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107160972](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107160972)

DOI: 10.1017/9781316676066

© Cambridge University Press 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written  
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-1-107-16097-2 Hardback

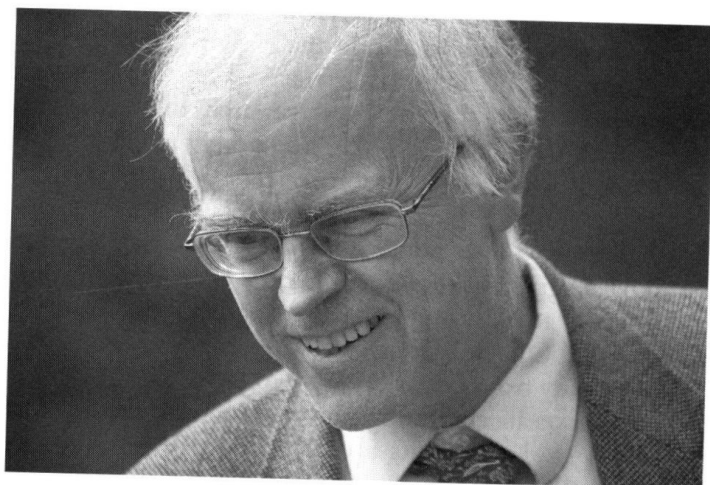
Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of  
URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication  
and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain,  
accurate or appropriate.

## WRITING, KINGSHIP AND POWER IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

The workings of royal and ecclesiastical authority in Anglo-Saxon England can only be understood on the basis of direct engagement with original texts and material artefacts. This book, written by leading experts, brings together new research that represents the best of current scholarship on the nexus between authority and written sources from Anglo-Saxon England. Ranging from the seventh to the eleventh century, the chapters in this volume offer fresh approaches to a wide range of linguistic, historical, legal, diplomatic and palaeographical evidence. Central themes include the formation of power in early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the age of Bede (d. 735) and Offa of Mercia (757–96), authority and its articulation in the century from Edgar (959–75) to 1066 and the significance of books and texts in expressing power across the period. *Writing, Kingship and Power* represents a critical resource for students and scholars alike with an interest in early medieval history from political, institutional and cultural perspectives.

RORY NAISMITH is a lecturer in medieval history at King's College London. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and author of *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: The Southern English Kingdoms 757–865* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) and *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Volume 8: Britain and Ireland c. 400–1066* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

DAVID A. WOODMAN is Fellow of Robinson College, Cambridge, where he is Director of Studies in History and Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and author of *Charters of Northern Houses* (2012) and co-editor of *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past* (2015).



Professor Simon Keynes



## *Contributors*

JULIA CRICK Professor of Palaeography and Manuscript Studies at King's College London

CATHERINE CUBITT Professor of Medieval History at the University of East Anglia

DAVID N. DUMVILLE Sixth-Century Professor in History, Palaeography and Celtic at the University of Aberdeen

SARAH FOOT Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Christ Church, Oxford

HELEN FOXHALL FORBES Senior Lecturer in Early Medieval History at Durham University

RORY NAISMITH Lecturer in Early Medieval British History at King's College London

JINTY NELSON Emeritus Professor of Medieval History at King's College London

OLIVER PADEL Formerly Reader in Cornish and Celtic in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge, and former President of the English Place-Name Society

DAVID PRATT Fellow and Director of Studies in History at Downing College, Cambridge

LEVI ROACH Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Exeter

PAULINE STAFFORD Professor Emerita of Early Medieval History at the University of Liverpool and Visiting Professor in the Institute of Medieval Studies, University of Leeds



FRANCESCA TINTI Ikerbasque Research Professor at the University of the  
Basque Country UPV/EHU

DAVID A. WOODMAN Fellow and Director of Studies in History and  
Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic at Robinson College, Cambridge

## *Abbreviations*

Anglo-Saxon charters are cited using the conventions laid down in S. Keynes, 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas', in *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. G. R. Owen-Crocker and B. W. Schneider (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 17–182, at 180–2. References to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* use the conventional lettering for individual manuscript witnesses, where appropriate. References to Domesday Book are by folio number, with column specifications where appropriate. Relevant abbreviations are as follows:

<i>Abing</i>	<i>Charters of Abingdon Abbey</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters vii–viii (Oxford, 2000–1)
<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>AntJ</i>	<i>The Antiquaries' Journal</i>
<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i>
AS Charters	Anglo-Saxon Charters
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
ASNC	Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic
<i>ASWrits</i>	F. E. Harmer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Writs</i> (Manchester, 1952)
<i>BAFacs</i>	<i>Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> , ed. S. Keynes, AS Charters, Supplementary Series 1 (Oxford, 1991)
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCS	W. de G. Birch, <i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1885–93)
BL	British Library
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>
<i>Burt</i>	<i>Charters of Burton Abbey</i> , ed. P. H. Sawyer, AS Charters ii (Oxford, 1979)
<i>CantCC</i>	<i>Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury</i> , ed. N. P. Brooks and S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 17–18, 2 parts (Oxford, 2013)

<i>CantStA</i>	<i>Charters of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and Minster-in-Thamet</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters iv (Oxford, 1995)
CC	Codex Carolinus
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout)
cf.	compare
CMCS	<i>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</i> (1981–93)/ <i>Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies</i> (1993–)
<i>CrawCh</i>	<i>The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents Now in the Bodleian Library</i> , ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1895)
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
DB	Domesday Book: <i>Domesday Book</i> , ed. J. Morris et al., 35 vols. (Chichester, 1973–86); and <i>Domesday Book: A Complete Translation</i> , trans. A. Williams and G. H. Martin (London, 2002)
GDB	Great Domesday Book: <i>Great Domesday Book: Library Edition</i> , ed. R. W. H. Erskine, 6 vols. (London, 1986–92)
LDB	Little Domesday Book: <i>Little Domesday Book: Library Edition</i> , ed. A. Williams and G. H. Martin, 6 vols. (London, 2000)
<i>EconHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
<i>EHD</i>	<i>English Historical Documents c. 500–1042</i> , ed. D. Whitelock, English Historical Documents I, 2nd edn (London, 1979)
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>Glast</i>	<i>Charters of Glastonbury Abbey</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 15 (Oxford, 2012)
Gn-L, <i>ASMss</i>	H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, <i>Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100</i> (Toronto, 2014)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
<i>HE</i>	Bede, <i>Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i>

<i>HE Comm.</i>	J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, <i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary</i> (Oxford, 1988)
<i>Iud. Dei</i>	<i>Iudicia Dei</i>
<i>HSJ</i>	<i>Haskins Society Journal</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
KCD	J. M. Kemble, <i>Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici</i> , 6 vols. (London, 1839–48)
<i>MÆ</i>	<i>Medium Ævum</i>
<i>Malm</i>	<i>Charters of Malmesbury Abbey</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters xi (Oxford, 2005)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
D	Diplomata
K	<i>Die Urkunden Konrads III und seines Sohnes Heinrich</i> , ed. F. Hausmann, MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 9 (Vienna, 1969)
SSRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
<i>NChron</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NCirc</i>	<i>Numismatic Circular</i>
<i>NH</i>	<i>Northern History</i>
<i>North</i>	<i>Charters of Northern Houses</i> , ed. D. A. Woodman, AS Charters 16 (Oxford, 2012)
<i>N&amp;Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
n. s.	New Series
ODNB	H. C. G. Matthews and B. Harrison (eds.), <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000</i> , 61 vols. (Oxford, 2004)
<i>OEN</i>	<i>Old English Newsletter</i>
<i>OSFacs</i>	W. B. Sanders, <i>Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts</i> , 3 vols. (Southampton, 1878–84)
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>Pet</i>	<i>Charters of Peterborough Abbey</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 14 (Oxford, 2009)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series (latina) prima</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
RS	Rolls Series
S	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> , Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks viii (London, 1968) (and see also <a href="http://www.esawyer.org.uk">www.esawyer.org.uk</a> )



<i>StAlb</i>	<i>Charters of St Albans</i> , ed. J. Crick, AS Charters xii (Oxford, 2007)
<i>Shaft</i>	<i>Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters v (Oxford, 1996)
<i>Sherb</i>	<i>Charters of Sherborne</i> , ed. M. A. O'Donovan, AS Charters iii (Oxford, 1988)
<i>TLS</i>	<i>The Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>tempore regis Edwardi</i> ('in the time of King Edward'; used with reference to Domesday Book)
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>VCA</i>	<i>Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo</i>
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>
<i>VM</i>	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Vita sancti Martini</i>
<i>VW</i>	Stephen of Ripon, <i>Vita Wilfridi</i>
<i>WBEASE</i>	M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes and D. Scragg (eds.), <i>The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England</i> , 2nd edn (Chichester, 2014)
<i>Wells</i>	<i>Charters of Bath and Wells</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 13 (Oxford, 2007)
<i>WinchNM</i>	<i>Charters of the New Minster, Winchester</i> , ed. S. Miller, AS Charters ix <i>Winchester</i> (Oxford, 2001)

## *Publications by Simon Keynes*

The list presented here, prepared in consultation between Simon and the editors, covers publications to summer 2016. It does not include work in progress. Abbreviations for names of journals and series are as used in the list of abbreviations earlier in this book (see preceding section). It should also be noted that Simon has served as a member of the editorial board of *ASE* since 1979 and as an executive editor since 1982, contributed to the annual bibliographies between vols. 6 (1977) and 13 (1984), and was co-ordinating editor of the bibliographies in vols. 11 (1983) to 40 (2011) (with Paul Remley from vol. 31 (2002)).

### **Monographs**

1980

*The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016: A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd Series 13 (Cambridge, 1980)

1983

[with M. Lapidge] *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and Other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983)

1991

*Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, AS Charters, Supplementary Series 1 (Oxford, 1991)

1996

*The 'Liber Vitae' of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, EEMF 26 (Copenhagen, 1996)

**Edited Books**

1999

[with M. Lapidge, J. Blair and D. Scragg] *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1999), reprinted with corrections in paperback (Oxford, 2000); 2nd edn as *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Chichester, 2014)

2004

*Quentin Keynes 1921–2003: Explorer, Film-Maker, Lecturer, and Book-Collector* (Cambridge, 2004)

2006

[with A. P. Smyth] *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart* (Dublin, 2006)

2007

*Ethiopian Encounters: Sir William Cornwallis Harris and the British Mission to the Kingdom of Shewa (1841–3)* (Cambridge, 2007)

**Other Books**

1981

[with J. Fellows] *Domesday Book 18: Cambridgeshire* (Chichester, 1981)

1987

*Anglo-Saxon History: A Select Bibliography*, OEN Subsidia 13 (Binghamton, NY, 1987); 2nd edn, OEN Subsidia 13 (Binghamton, NY, 1993); 3rd edn, OEN Subsidia 13 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1998)

1992

*Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, OEN Subsidia 18 (Binghamton, NY, 1991 for 1992)

2000

*Anglo-Saxon England: A Bibliographical Handbook for Students of Anglo-Saxon History*, ASNC Guides, Texts and Studies 1 (Cambridge, 2000), 2nd edn (2001), 3rd edn (2002); 4th edn (2003); 5th edn (2004), 6th edn (2005), 7th edn (2006)

2002

*An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c. 670–1066*, I: *Tables*, ASNC Guides, Texts and Studies 5 (Cambridge, 2002); published online in 2012

## Articles and Contributions to Edited Volumes

1978

‘The Declining Reputation of King Æthelred the Unready’, in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. D. Hill, BAR British Series 59 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 227–53; reprinted (with revised and updated footnotes) in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. D. A. E. Pelteret, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 6 (New York, 2000), pp. 157–90  
 ‘An Interpretation of the *Pacx*, *Pax* and *Paxs* Pennies’, *ASE* 7 (1978), 165–73

1984

‘Introduction’, in *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066*, ed. J. Backhouse, D. Turner and L. Webster (London, 1984), pp. 11–16

1985

‘Anglo-Saxon Architecture and the Historian’, *ASE* 14 (1985), 293–302  
 ‘Anglo-Saxon Kingship’, *History Today* 35 (January 1985), 38–43  
 ‘The Crowland Psalter and the Sons of King Edmund Ironside’, *Bodleian Library Record* 11 (1985), 359–70  
 ‘Introduction’ and ‘Anglo-Saxon Coinage and the Historian’, in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. T. R. Volk (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 6–14  
 ‘King Athelstan’s Books’, in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143–201

1986

‘The Additions in Old English’, in *The York Gospels*, ed. N. Barker (London, 1986), pp. 81–99



- 'Episcopal Succession in Anglo-Saxon England' and 'Anglo-Saxon Church Councils', in *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 2, 3rd edn (London, 1986), pp. 209–24 and 583–9
- 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready', *TRHS*, 5th series, 36 (1986), 195–217

## 1988

- 'Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS* 10 (1988), 185–222

## 1989

- 'The Lost Cartulary of Abbotsbury', *ASE* 18 (1989), 207–43

## 1990

- 'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 226–57

## 1991

- 'The Æthelings in Normandy', *ANS* 13 (1991), 172–204
- 'Crime and Punishment in the Reign of Æthelred the Unready', in *People and Places in Northern Europe 500–1600*, ed. I. Wood and N. Lund (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 67–81
- 'The Developing State', 'The Mercian Supremacy' and 'The Age of Alfred', in *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900*, ed. L. Webster and J. Backhouse (London, 1991), pp. 38–9, 193–4 and 254–6
- 'The Historical Context of the Battle of Maldon', in *The Battle of Maldon A.D. 991*, ed. D. G. Scragg (Oxford, 1991), pp. 81–113

## 1992

- 'The Comet in the Eadwine Psalter', in *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop and R. Pfaff (London and University Park, PA, 1992), pp. 157–64
- 'The Fonthill Letter', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Helmut Gneuss*, ed. M. Korhammer (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 53–97
- 'Rædwald the Bretwalda', in *Voyage to the Other World: The Legacy of Sutton Hoo*, ed. C. B. Kendall and P. S. Wells, Medieval Studies at Minnesota 4 (Minneapolis, 1992), pp. 103–23