

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

1976

- ¹ 'Bedmakers in the 17th century', *The Trinity Review* (Easter 1976), 23.
Extracts from Conclusion Books concerning women employed in college rooms.
- ² 'The Muniment Room', *ibid.*, 30–35.
A popular survey of the archives of Trinity College, Cambridge. Of the documents commented upon, the most interesting from the diplomatic point of view is Hatfield Broad Oak 1, a deed of 1135, with a rare example of the broken knife as token of seisin still attached.
- ³ 'God's oldest acre', *Definite Article*, edited by Oliver Letwin & Charles Moore, No. 1 (October 1976), 10–14.
Magazine piece on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visitors to Iona.
The undergraduate editors of the magazine have gone on to become well known in politics and the press.

1977

- ⁴ *Raasay. A Study in island history* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1977). 90pp. ISBN 0 7293 0029 3.
A short history of the island from the sixth-century St Moluag to the purchase of the estate by Bairds of Coatbridge in 1912. Sold out in 1982.

1978

- ⁵ *Raasay. A Study in island history—Documents & sources, people & places* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1978). 250pp. ISBN 0 7293 0060 9.
Prints many of the documents used as sources in the previous volume, and adds detailed discussion based on Enumeration Books and estate rentals. Sold out in 1988.

1979

- ⁶ (Review) D. Ó hAodha (ed.), *Bethu Brigte, Éigse* 17 (1977–9), 565–70.
Discusses the relationship between *Bethu Brigte* and the Latin Lives.

⁷ ‘Hiberno-Latin *laicus*, Irish *láech*, and the devil’s men’, *Ériu* 30 (1979), 75–92.

Collects evidence from Latin texts for the use of *laicus* as equivalent to Ir. *díbergach* ‘pagan brigand’, explaining the semantic history and showing how substitution of other Latin words for this provides a guide to the linguistic age of different recensions of *uitae*. In effect, a demonstration that semantic criteria can help to date some Hiberno-Latin texts.

The paper was influential in drawing attention to the survival of pagan practices in *díberg* ‘ritual brigandage’ as late as the eighth century, on which a substantial literature has since grown up, and to how the church regarded *díbergaig* as men of evil, *satellites diaboli* in Latin.

1981

⁸ (Review) L. Bieler (ed.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, *Éigse* 18 (1980–81), 329–32.

Concentrates on the *Additamenta* in the Book of Armagh which contain charters and charter-derived formulae, and in particular on the foundation story of Trim, in which the fictitious genealogy may be based on witness-lists.

1982

⁹ *Raasay. A Study in island history* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1982). 96pp. 2nd edition. ISBN 0 7293 0130 3.

The last thirty pages or so of the first edition (1977) were rewritten to admit more conclusive arguments concerning the period of clearances in Raasay, and to bring the narrative up to date. Sold out in 1989.

¹⁰ ‘St Patrick and the See of Armagh’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 4 (1982), 33–59.

Argues that Armagh (Árd Macha) was an important pre-Christian centre which absorbed the cult of St Patrick, originally centred at Down, and demonstrates the invalidity of arguments about Patrick’s supposed choice of a see close to the former royal centre of Emain Macha. The basis of Armagh’s future primacy dates from the seventh century, not the fifth.

¹¹ ‘Palaeographical considerations in the study of the Patrician documents in the Book of Armagh’, *Scriptorium* 36 (1982), 3–28.

By identifying and interpreting the changes of scribal hand in the manuscript, I am able to show how the important dossier containing two Lives of St Patrick as well as other fundamental source-texts developed, which parts were still current at the end of the eighth century, and which parts had become obsolete in the seventh century. The argument then helps to assess the status of *Liber Angeli*, a document claiming to be a contract between St Patrick and an angel but in fact a statement of metropolitan claims by the church of Armagh.

¹² ‘*Vitae S. Brigitae*: the oldest texts’, *Peritia* 1 (1982) [1983], 81–106.

Argues on the basis of verbal proximity that Cogitosus based his Life of St Brigit in part on *Vita I*, and in part on the Latin original underlying *Bethu Brigitte*. This then requires a date for *Vita I* earlier than c. 680.

¹³ ‘The Patrician texts’ [review], *Peritia* 1 (1982) [1983], 363–9.

Concentrates on deficiencies in the treatment of the division into books of Muirchú’s *Vita S. Patricii*.

1983

¹⁴ (Review) Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, *Argyll*, vol. IV, *Iona*, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 5 (1983), 94.

¹⁵ (Review) D. Whitelock and others (ed.), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe*, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 6 (1983), 102–106.

¹⁶ ‘Were the Irish annals known to a twelfth-century Northumbrian writer?’, *Peritia* 2 (1983) [1985], 137–9.

Argues that the author of *Libellus de ortu S. Cuthberti* had no first-hand knowledge of the Irish annals, but referred to them merely on the basis of hearsay from Bishop Eugenius of Ardmore. Also dates the text to 1185–6, when Eugenius was in England acting as a suffragan, and suggests that it was composed by Reginald of Durham.

1984

¹⁷ (Review) *Analecta Bollandiana* 100 (1982), *Journal of Theological Studies* 35 (1984), 253–4.

¹⁸ ‘Geoffrey le Baker’s *aves Ganymedis*, Lundy Island, and Alexander Neckam’, *Notes & Queries* 229 (1984), 31–6.

Provides the documentary evidence from Chancery Inquisitions Miscellaneous which makes it possible to interpret this expression in Geoffrey’s account of Lundy Island, introduced to his chronicle in the context of Edward II’s flight from Chepstow (1324). Previous explanations were guesses based on Classical allusions used by Alexander Nequam.

¹⁹ ‘Peter of Cornwall’s *De Reparatione Lapsus*: a “lost” work traced’, *Scriptorium* 38 (1984), 79–81.

Identifies the only known copy of this work, now in the Somerset Record Office, and argues (on the basis of the correcting hand here and in Peter’s *Liber Reuelationum*, Lambeth Palace MS 51) that the volume was written under the author’s personal supervision.

²⁰ ‘Armagh and Rome in the seventh century’, in *Irland und Europa: Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter*, edited by P. Ni Chatháin & M. Richter (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1984), 58–72.

Collects fragmentary evidence from annals, canons, and Patrician propaganda that in the period following correspondence with the papacy (638–40) Armagh sought metropolitan status and appellate jurisdiction as the see of the apostolic St Patrick: a brief interlude in Irish church history that has left puzzling echoes. Also proposes a date for *Liber Angeli* c. 640 × 670.

- ²¹ 'Gildas as a Father of the Church', in *Gildas: New Approaches*, edited by M. Lapidge & D. N. Dumville, *Studies in Celtic History* 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1984), 193–205.

Analyses the excerpts attributed to Gildas in a patristic florilegium, CCCC 279, demonstrating (a) that they derive from his lost letter to Uuinniau; (b) that, in his lifetime and after, Gildas had canonical authority; and (c) that this correspondence illuminates the close ties between the different Celtic churches in the sixth century and the strong influence of the early British/Welsh church on that of Ireland. An appendix demonstrates the relationship between CCCC 279 and the *Hibernensis* canon-collection.

- ²² (Review) A. Macquarrie, *Iona through the Ages*, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 8 (1984), 110.

- ²³ 'Some problems concerning the organization of the church in early medieval Ireland', *Peritia* 3 (1984) [1986], 230–70.

Detailed critique of arguments concerned with the supposed early episcopal/territorial organization of the church in Ireland and how it supposedly gave way to a monastic organization. This view, which held sway since 1864, though best known from the work of Kathleen Hughes in the 1960s and '70s, is shown to be incompatible with much of the evidence. An alternative interpretation of the evidence is advanced, based on the distinction between jurisdiction *quoad sacra* and that over *temporalia*. One text, largely disregarded in the past, the eighth-century *Riagail Phátraic*, is shown to be of great importance in considering the pastoral work of the church, perhaps the most important part of the church's work, which the monastic model had largely disregarded.

- ²⁴ (Review) S. D. Keynes & M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, *Peritia* 3 (1984) [1986], 570–72.

1985

- ²⁵ (Review) P. K. Ford (ed.), *Celtic Folklore and Christianity*, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 9 (1985), 102–4.

- ²⁶ (Review) L. Freeman (ed.), *Celtic Monasticism* (Monastic Studies 14), *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 9 (1985), 104–5.

- ²⁷ (Review) M. Richter, *Irland im Mittelalter: Kultur und Geschichte*, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 9 (1985), 105.

- ²⁸ (Review) V. A. Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians*, *Review of English Studies* 36 (1985), 390–93.

- ²⁹ 'An *Exortacio ad contemplacionem* from Farne Island', *Medium Ævum* 54 (1985), 159–77.

Verses by a contemplative of Farne Island priory, a cell of Durham; probably from the fourteenth century.

- ³⁰ (with Michael Lapidge) *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1985). xxii + 362pp. ISBN 0 901 714 43 7.

Intended as a research tool, and as a foundation for the Celtic-Latin dictionary. Now the standard means of referring to Celtic-Latin texts in, for example, the Hiberno-Latin Newsletter and the CD-ROM Archive of Celtic-Latin Literature.

REVIEWS: *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 12 (1986) 122–4 (P. A. Breatnach); *Peritia* 5 (1986) 422–7 (M. W. Herren); *Études celtiques* 24 (1987) 347–8 (L. Fleuriot); *Scriptorium* 41 (1987) 175–7 (H. Silvestre); *Envoi* 1 (1988) 227–31 (C. D. Wright); *Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 14 (1989) 585–6 (G. Hendrix); *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 44 (1991) 297–8 (K. H. Schmidt); *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 29 (1994) 83–6 (K. Bitterling).

³¹ ‘Two contemporary poems on St Anselm’, *Revue Bénédictine* 95 (1985), 266–79.

The Latin elegiacs printed here have been attributed to William of Chester and Thierry of Canterbury, but neither attribution is defensible.

³² ‘Latin and Irish words for “book-satchel”’, *Peritia* 4 (1985) [1987], 152–6.

Hiberno-Latin *scetha* < LL *scheda* (and its phonetic spelling *cetha*) has been much confused with LL *techa*, and the confusion has led to unnecessary emendation. The two are distinct lexemes; *scetha* was in common use, but Ir. *tiag* was borrowed from *techa*.

³³ ‘Medieval Latin *exsartarius*, Old French *essartier*’, *Archivum Latinitatis Mediæ Aevi* 44 / 45 (1985) [1987], 225–7.

Corrects a chain of errors by Delisle and Berger in a charter of Eleanor of Aquitaine.

1986

³⁴ (with R. E. Latham, D. R. Howlett, A. H. Powell) *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fascicule III D–E (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1986). lxx + 553–882 (330pp).

³⁵ ‘Bibliography’, in *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fascicule III D–E (1986), xii–lxi.

A thorough overhaul of the list of sources from Fascicule I; I added some 700 additional texts, as well as establishing preferred editions.

³⁶ (Review) T. O’Neill, *The Irish Hand*, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 11 (1986), 116–18.

³⁷ ‘Dispute settlement in medieval Ireland: a preliminary inquiry’, in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, edited by W. E. Davies & P. Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 169–89.

The discussion considers three main areas: a Middle Irish charter of c. 1100 recording the settlement of a dispute; a seventh-century Latin account of how St Patrick resolved a family dispute over inheritance, with an ecclesiastical dimension; and an attempt to collect evidence for court procedure from the early Old Irish law-tracts and the Latin canons in the *Hibernensis*. The discussion is given a context in assessing where the turning-points fall in the development of Irish legal practice, or whether the evidence may (as often) be treated timelessly.

³⁸ (Editor of) ‘Appendix’ (of 28 documents in Latin, Greek, Old English, Middle Irish, and Scots), in *The Settlement of Disputes* (as above), 241–68.

³⁹ (Contributor to) *Medioevo Latino. Bollettino bibliografico della cultura europea dal secolo VI al XIII*, edited by C. Leonardi and others (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull’ alto medioevo), 7 (1984) [1986] to 15 (1994) [1994].

Providing abstracts from a range of British and Irish journals.

⁴⁰ ‘Peter of Cornwall and Launceston’, *Cornish Studies* 13 (1985) [1986], 5–53.

Peter of Cornwall, *Liber Reuelationum* I 6 (edited here, with a translation based on a draft by P. L. Hull) provides much information about the transference of the town of Launceston from *Lanstaveton* to *Dunheved*, and the change in the constitution of the canons of St Stephen, but is reticent on other points, such as the role of Reginald de Dunstanvill in Cornwall during the Anarchy. I attempt to correlate Peter’s information with data from the Launceston Cartulary and from the deeds of Peter’s uncle, Bernard, a king’s scribe under Henry I, throwing light on the

significant events in the twelfth-century history of Launceston, where Peter's family continued prominent until the sixteenth century. In particular Southern's inferences concerning Bernard's role in recovering family property lost at the time of Conquest are found deficient. I also provide a 'life and works' study of Peter himself, and discuss how his career and his family background provide a twelfth-century microcosm.

- ⁴¹ (Editor of) *Studies on the Life and Legend of St Patrick* by Ludwig Bieler (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986). xii + 342pp. ISBN 0 86098 192 5.

A selection of nineteen papers by Bieler, concentrating on his studies of the Latin texts of the Patrician dossier; I included also the editions that appeared as articles, so that this volume complements Bieler's editions in *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*.

REVIEWS: *Deutsches Archiv* 43 (1987) 630 (G. Silagi); *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 82 (1987) 180 (S. F. Hockey); *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 67 (1989) 796–7 (A. Dierkens).

1987

- ⁴² (Review) E. A. Thompson, *Who was St Patrick?*, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 (1987), 114–15.

- ⁴³ (Editor of) *Ireland and the Culture of Early Medieval Europe* by Ludwig Bieler (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987). xii + 322pp. ISBN 0 86078 211 5.

A selection of twenty-two studies by Bieler on Hiberno-Latin texts, including the writings of Columbanus, hymns, the Life of St Columba, the *Navigatio S. Brendani*, later hagiography, and liturgical manuscripts.

REVIEWS: *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 26 (1988), 460; *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 67 (1989), 796–7 (A. Dierkens); *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 84 (1989), 246 (D. Bradley); *Deutsches Archiv* 46 (1990), (G. Silagi); *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41 (1990), 81–3 (D. N. Dumville); *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990), 266–71 (C. E. Stancliffe).

1988

- ⁴⁴ 'Keltische Kirchen', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* XVIII (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1988), 85–92.

- ⁴⁵ (with R. B. Easting) 'Peter of Cornwall. The Visions of Ailsa and his sons', *Mediaevistik* 1 (1988) [1990], 206–262.

Largely a reprint of 40, with the addition of discussion by Easting of the literary sources and analogues of the vision of heaven and hell experienced by Peter's grandfather Ailsa of Tre-carrel.

1989

- ⁴⁶ (Review) E. R. Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989), 107–109.

- ⁴⁷ ‘*Quatuor sanctissimi episcopi: Irish saints before St Patrick*’, in *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in honour of Professor James Carney*, edited by D. Ó Corráin, L. Breatnach, K. R. McCone (Maynooth, 1989), 376–99.

Various saints’ Lives name four bishops active in Ireland before St Patrick; their evidence was accepted and given currency by Ussher (1639), though incompatible with statements by Prosper of Aquitaine, and rejected by almost everyone since, sometimes for illogical reasons. Oddly the notion of pre-Patrician bishops was not rejected with the evidence. I show that all the Lives in question were revised by a single compiler in the early thirteenth century, and that the story of the four bishops is his attempt to correlate facts found in his sources. I identify the sources on which he erected his interpretation of pre-Patrician Christianity and discuss their actual significance. One of these is an eighth-century Life of St Ailbe, written in response to Patrician claims by Armagh; another is an eleventh-century Irish text from Corco Loigde. The compiler was attempting to synthesize evidence but the historians who criticized his results failed to appreciate the nature of his work.

- ⁴⁸ (Review) H. Fros (ed.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina. Novum Supplementum*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1989), 264–7.
- ⁴⁹ (with D. R. Howlett, A. H. Powell, P. R. Staniforth) *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fascicule IV F–G–H (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1989). pp. x + 883–1194 (312pp.).

- ⁵⁰ ‘The origin and elaboration of the *Catalogus praecipuorum Sanctorum Hiberniae* attributed to Fr Henry FitzSimon, SJ’, *Bodleian Library Record* 13, no. 3 (October, 1989), 202–30.

This work is attested by two texts (A and B) known from early 17th-century editions as the work of Henry FitzSimon (1566–1643); a further version was identified in a Bollandist manuscript and published by Paul Grosjean in 1940. By bringing to light new manuscript evidence from Archbishop Ussher’s papers, I prove that Recension A of the *Catalogus* was FitzSimon’s work, removing a charge of plagiarism started by David Rothe in 1621; the lost list by Richard Fleming used by FitzSimon contributed only one third of the entries. Bibliographical confusion over the number of early editions of Recension B is cleared up. I argue also that Grosjean’s Recension C was not FitzSimon’s work but that of the Bollandist Heribert Rosweyde († 1629) in whose hand the manuscript begins; it uses Irish material not accessible to FitzSimon between his exile in 1604 and his return to Ireland in 1630. The new evidence from Ussher’s papers shows what use FitzSimon made of this material after that date, and illustrates his debt to Stephen White.

Some of the points made here need to be modified in the light of P. S. Ó Riain, ‘The *Catalogus praecipuorum sanctorum Hiberniae*, sixty years on’, in *Seanchas. Studies in honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 396–430. Ó Riain identified two further manuscript versions, now in Maynooth, T (shorter than A but otherwise close to it) and S (resembling C and closer to TA than to B). Ó Riain would date FitzSimon’s work on SC to the period before he left Ireland in 1604.

- ⁵¹ (Review) K. Hughes, *Church and Society in Ireland AD 400–1200*, ed. D. N. Dumville, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989), 595–6.

- ⁵² ‘ME *falding*, MIr. *fallaing*: Irish mantles in medieval England’, *Anglia* 107 (1989), 416–29.

Philological study has failed to find satisfactory etymologies for these words. I argue that the historical context should always be taken into account when dealing with possible loan-words, and demonstrate from recorded examples (chiefly in grants of murage and customs accounts, and in most cases with a Latin termination) that the significant context for these words is commercial. I argue from actual uses that ME *falding* was borrowed in the thirteenth century from MIr. *fallaing*, a word with no Celtic etymology and which, I conjecture, was itself borrowed from Hiberno-Norse traders. The object designated by the terms was a key commodity imported into England from Ireland, a trade handled in the tenth and eleventh centuries by Hiberno-Norse towns. That the term was originally Germanic is indicated by examples from Adam of

Bremen. In Ireland it supplanted OIr. *bratt* and became the standard word for Irish cloaks, a reflection of the influence of the Hiberno-Norse community.

1990

- ⁵³ ‘Saint Mauchteus, *discipulus Patricii*’, in *Britain, 400–600: Language and History*, edited by A. Bammesberger & A. Wollmann, *Anglistische Forschungen* 205 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1990), 85–93.

Identifies the source of the two references to Mauchteus, *discipulus Patricii*, as a letter by him still extant at Iona in the seventh century. One reference comes in Adomnán’s Life of St Columba. The other, his obit in the annals, which has been a problem in the chronology of St Patrick, should be treated as an Iona entry. The annal entry quotes from a letter of Mauchteus (now lost), whose authenticity is supported by comparison with formulae in other sixth-century protocols. This provides another piece of evidence for British influence in the very early Irish church, and supplies for the first time a personal link between the mission of St Patrick and the sixth-century monasteries.

- ⁵⁴ (Review) M. Walsh & D. Ó Cróinín (ed.), *Cummian’s De Controversia Paschali*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990), 271–4.

- ⁵⁵ (Review) M. Herbert & P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Betha Adamnáin. Life of St Adamnán*, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 19 (1990), 75–6.

- ⁵⁶ (Review) M. Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*, *Albion* 22 (1990), 561–2.

- ⁵⁷ ‘Maghnus Ó Domhnaill’s source for Adomnán’s *Vita S. Columbae* and other *uitae*’, *Essays in Honour of Brian Ó Cuív*, *Celtica* 21 (1990), 604–7.

Adomnán’s Life of St Columba was one of two principal sources used by O’Donnell in 1532. He knew it only in the shorter recension, and I offer textual evidence showing that his text was very close to that in the collection of *uitae* now Dublin, Marsh’s Library MS Z3. 1. 5 (s. xiv/xv; thought to have been at Kilkenny in the late 16th century). He also occasionally translates into Irish short passages from other saints’ Lives, and where these can be tested they also agree with the revised texts contained in that collection. A copy of this collection must have been available to O’Donnell in Donegal.

- ⁵⁸ ‘Goscelin’s St Augustine and St Mildreth: hagiography and liturgy in context’, *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990), 502–516.

Argues for the integrity of Goscelin’s Canterbury Lives as preserved in BL MS Cotton Vespasian B. xx, and relates the whole work to the completion of the new abbey and the translation of the nine saints in 1091. Recent study has dated *Vita et translatio S. Mildrethae* to 1087 × 1091, but these termini are challenged as based on a mistaken context for the work. The Lives were written with a liturgical purpose related to the renewal of the cults. I argue in particular that the liturgical context for Mildreth is strongly attested in BL MS Harley 3908.

- ⁵⁹ (Review) M. Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990), 723–4.

- ⁶⁰ (Review) J.-M. Picard & Y. de Pontfarcy (tr.), *The Vision of Tnúgdal*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990), 816–17.

- ⁶¹ ‘Publishing Ireland’s Latin literature’, *School of Celtic Studies Fiftieth Anniversary Report 1940–1990*, [edited by M. Ó Murchú] (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1990), 128–34.

An appraisal of what has been achieved by the series *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* with some comments on what remains to be done.

⁶² 'Some medieval *miracula* from Llandegley (Lambeth Palace Library MS 94 fols. 153v–155r)', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 37 (1990), 166–76.

The *miracula* appended to a copy of the Late Latin *Passio S. Theclae* are shown to have been added in the twelfth century by a religious in the Welsh borders. The *miracula* draw at least in part on written sources relating to *other* saints: in particular three stories were appropriated from the Life of St Kenelm (Bodl. MS Douce 368) and one from Goscelin's Life of St Milburga (BL MS Add. 34633); other borrowings may remain to be identified.

1991

⁶³ 'Words and music by Goscelin of Canterbury', *Early Music* 19, no. 1 (February, 1991), 94–7.

William of Malmesbury noted Goscelin's reputation as a composer. I set up a literary argument for attributing to Goscelin the *historia* for St Mildreth and its music in BL MS Harley 3908. Goscelin in the *Libellus contra usurpatores* quotes a responsory from the *historia*, which in turn reflects his account of a miracle in *Translatio S. Mildrethae*, a work known to predate the *Libellus*. This suggests that the *historia* belongs to his period as precentor at St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, which leads to a strong presumption that he also composed the chant.

⁶⁴ *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives. An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). xii + 427pp. ISBN 0 19 821582 7.

A detailed analysis demonstrating that the compilers of the three major collections of Hiberno-Latin *uitae* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries each applied distinct editorial practices. I propose dates for their compilation, and set up a textual and linguistic argument for the survival of nine or ten Lives in a manuscript written no later than the ninth century, from which they were copied without change by one fourteenth-century compiler. Other thirteenth-century compilers also had access to the same early book and revised its materials in accordance with their own identifiable interests. One of these compilations was the work of a serious antiquary, the other was intended to provide Lives to meet a liturgical need created by episcopal constitutions. These conclusions provide the foundation for using the three collections and, particularly, for examining these newly-identified early Lives as a major addition to the corpus of pre-Viking Irish hagiography.

'It is far and away the most significant treatment of the subject for a very long time' (A. B. Scott in *A New History of Ireland* i (Oxford, 2005), 993.

REVIEWS: *American Historical Review* 97 (1992), 1198–9 (P. Sheingorn); *Analecta Bollandiana* 110 (1992), 427–8 (J. van der Straeten); *English Historical Review* 107 (1992), 676–8 (A. P. Smyth); *Ephemerides liturgicae* 106 (1992), 287–8 (A. Ward); *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 87 (1992), 263 (A. Ward); *Scriptorium* 46 (1992), 46* (E. Manning); *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 25 (1993), 99–102 (G. Orlandi); *Deutsches Archiv* 49 (1993), 280–81 (K. Walsh); *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993), 111–14 (E. Poppe); *Journal of Theological Studies* 44 (1993), 378–83 (C. E. Stancliffe); *Speculum* 68 (1993), 260–62 (J. Carey); *Irish Historical Studies* 29 (1995), 389–90 (M. Richter).

⁶⁵ 'Eadmer's Letter to the monks of Glastonbury concerning St Dunstan's disputed remains', in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey. Essays in honour of the ninetieth birthday of C. A. Raleigh Radford*, edited by L. J. Abrams & J. P. Carley (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1991), 205–215.

A translation of Eadmer's letter, with an introductory note comparing its argument against Glastonbury's claim to have stolen St Dunstan's remains with those advanced in a late twelfth-century interpolation in William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate ecclesie Glastoniensis*. Eadmer here condemns the notion of *furtum sacrum*, whereas in his *Vita S. Wilfridi* he condones Canterbury's theft from Ripon.

⁶⁶ (Review) A. Hopkin, *The Living Legend of St Patrick*, *Folklore* 102 (1991), 120–21.

⁶⁷ ‘The date of St Mildreth’s translation from Minster-in-Thanel to Canterbury’, *Medieval Studies* 53 (1991), 349–54.

I demonstrate the correctness of Goscelin’s date for the translation of St Mildreth, 18 May 1030, refuting F. Barlow’s argument (*EHR* 74 (1958) 650–51) for redating the event to 1035.

⁶⁸ (Review) A. P. Orbán (ed.), *Polythecon* [CCCM XCIII], *Medium Ævum* 60 (1991), 294–5.

⁶⁹ ‘London, British Library, MS Royal 15 C. xi and Osbern of Gloucester’s text of Plautus’, *Scriptorium* 45 (1991), 93–8.

In *Scriptorium* 40 (1986), 87, R. M. Thomson suggested that one should investigate whether BL MS Royal 15 C. xi might have been Osbern’s source for his many Plautine quotations; he also raised the difficulty of there being no critical text of Osbern. I suggest, first, that a critical text is unnecessary for this purpose because some ghost-words in Osbern’s Plautus are integrated into and explained in his *Panormia*; these words are fixed points in his Plautine text. Taking two lexically rich Plautine passages as examples, I go on to show that MS Royal 15 C. xi does not agree with Osbern’s readings. I further consider the question of how thoroughly Osbern excerpted his Plautine sources, showing that, in spite of appearances to the contrary, his use was far from systematic.

⁷⁰ ‘The Life of St Columba in Latin verse by Roderick MacLean (1549)’, *Innes Review* 42 (1991), 111–32.

Roderick Hectorson MacLean of Kingairloch was bishop of the Isles in Iona between about 1545 and 1553. His *Ionis*, in two books, was printed at Rome in 1549 by Antonio Blado, printer to the Holy See; the only known copy is now in Aberdeen University Library, and the work remains unknown to modern Roman bibliography. I discuss the prefatory verses in Greek and give an analysis of the poems, section by section, identifying their sixteen different Latin metres, mostly derived from Horace, and commenting on how MacLean paraphrased the first two books of Adomnán’s *Vita S. Columbae*.

1992

⁷¹ (Editor, with W. J. Blair) *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992). x + 298pp. ISBN 0 7185 1372 X.

Ten essays from a conference held at Rewley House, Oxford, 4–6 November 1989, with interpretative introduction by John Blair and me (pp. 1–10).

REVIEWS: *American Historical Review* 98 (1993), 150–51 (G. W. Olsen); *Deutsches Archiv* 49 (1993), 713 (J. S. Barrow); *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993), 76–7 (E. Cambridge); *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 437 (D. W. Rollason); (debate) *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995), 87–104 (E. Cambridge & D. W. Rollason).

⁷² ‘Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland’, in *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (as above), 81–109.

Using narrative sources in Latin and Irish, archaeological evidence, and inferences from place-names, I argue that the Irish church in the seventh century had achieved a high level of pastoral provision, overlooked by most works on the Irish church, which have been restricted by the monastic model. Passages from *Crichad an Chaoilli* and *Indarba Mochuda*, late Middle Irish texts, allow us to infer the close relationship between pastoral churches and local communities (larger than later medieval parishes) and to conjecture how these churches fitted into an organized

structure of communal churches with many episcopal centres but no metropolitans. Archaeological evidence suggests continuity between the earlier and later middle ages at many sites, but an overemphasis on changes in the twelfth century has masked this. I offer a new model for the organization of the Irish church, suggesting a rapid early development of pastoral structures and a long period of contraction, beginning before the twelfth century.

- ⁷³ 'Editorial procedures', in *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, edited by D. N. Bell, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 3* (London: British Library, 1992), ix–xiii.

A statement by the General Editor of the Corpus on the criteria for inclusion, the methods of editing, and the approaches to annotation and indexing. This summarizes for users of the series the information given (in much greater detail) in my unpublished Editorial Guidelines for contributing editors.

- ⁷⁴ (Review) R. B. C. Huygens, *La Tradition manuscrite de Guibert de Nogent*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 43 (1992), 726–7.

- ⁷⁵ (Review) P. P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600–800*, *English Historical Review* 107 (1992), 954–6.

- ⁷⁶ (Review) B. K. Vollmann (ed.), *Carmina Burana*, *Medium Ævum* 61 (1992), 352–3.

- ⁷⁷ 'An Irish textual critic and the *Carmen paschale* of Sedulius. Colmán's letter to Feradach', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992), 44–54.

A letter from one Irishman to another, surviving in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5649–5667 fols. 166–187 (s. ix), fols. 186r–187v, discusses the differences between two manuscript witnesses to the text of the *Carmen paschale*. Colmán, who may have written in the late seventh, eighth, or early ninth century, uses sense, metre, and comparison with the prose *Opus paschale* as criteria for choosing between readings. The letter is most unusual in setting out these points about textual method at this date. I give the text of the letter, and I attempt to identify the textual types known to Colmán for the *Carmen* and for Isidore's *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, more briefly alluded to.

- ⁷⁸ 'Medieval library catalogues' [in the section *Chronique*], *Scriptorium* 46 (1992), 289–90. Report on colloquium at the Warburg Institute, 28 September 1991.

1993

- ⁷⁹ (with the assistance of L. O. Ayres & D. N. Bell) *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. List of Identifications* (London: British Medieval Library Catalogues Committee, 1993). ii + 113pp. ISBN 0 7123 0317 0.

The List of standardized titles and notes is designed to provide ready-made identifications for many of the works found in medieval catalogues. It also includes a reference to occurrences of a work in catalogues, so that it will serve as a rudimentary index to the corpus of catalogues as we progress. The List was first circulated to members of the Committee in July 1992. The first public release is dated January 1993.

- ⁸⁰ (Contributor to) *The Dictionary of National Biography. Missing Persons*, edited by C. S. Nicholls (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) [article on Peter of Cornwall].

- ⁸¹ (Review) H. C. Mytum, *The Origins of Early Christian Ireland*, *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993), 88–90.

- ⁸² (Review) N. L. Ramsay, M. J. Sparks, & T. W. T. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *St Dunstan: his Life, Times and Cult*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 44 (1993), 385–8.
- ⁸³ (Review) J.-M. Picard (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France AD 600–850*, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 25 (1993), 97–9.
- ⁸⁴ ‘Catalogues médiévaux britanniques’, *Gazette du livre médiéval* n° 23 (automne 1993), 54–6.

1994

- ⁸⁵ (Contributor to) *The Encyclopaedia of Language & Linguistics*, edited by R. E. Asher & J. M. Y. Simpson, 10 vols (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1994) [article on Du Cange].
- ⁸⁶ ‘The Prefaces of *Quadripartitus*’, in *Law and Government in Mediaeval England and Normandy. Essays in honour of Sir James Holt*, edited by G. S. Garnett & J. G. H. Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 148–72.
- An annotated translation of the (extremely difficult) *Dedicatio* and *Argumentum* from the early ‘Dm’ recension of the early twelfth-century legal collection *Quadripartitus*, together with the preface to the second book. I advance reasons for suggesting that the work was probably begun before 1100 but not ‘published’ in any sense until after 1108.
- ⁸⁷ (Review) L. M. Bitel, *Isle of the Saints: Monastic Settlement and Christian Community in Early Ireland*, *English Historical Review* 109 (1994), 679–80.
- ⁸⁸ (Review) R. G. Babcock, *Reconstructing a medieval library: Fragments from Lambach*, *Speculum* 69 (1994), 1103–5.
- ⁸⁹ (Review) A. O. Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the 11th and 12th Centuries*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 45 (1994), 766–8.

1995

- ⁹⁰ *Adomnán of Iona. Life of St Columba*, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1995). pp. xx + 406. ISBN 0 14 044462 9.
- Translation (pp. 103–234), with introduction (pp. 1–99) and notes (pp. 235–379); bibliography and index. This is the first commentary on the text since Reeves (1857). In it I have tried to see the *Life* in relation to the long history of Iona and to illuminate its words from archaeological evidence as well as from contemporary Irish and Scottish sources. Every effort is made to understand the saint’s work and legacy in its Hebridean context between Ireland and Scotland.
- REVIEWS: *Annales de Bretagne* 102/4 (1995), 130–31 (B. Merdrignac); *Sunday Telegraph*, 31 Dec. 1995 (G. Wheatcroft; his chosen book of the year); *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (1996) 126 (D. W. Rollason); *Peritia* 10 (1996) 410–12 (D. I. Ó Cróinín).
- ⁹¹ *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. List of Identifications*, 2nd edition (London: British Medieval Library Catalogues Committee, 1995). vi + 199pp. ISBN 0 85672 585 4.
- A much expanded edition of the list of titles and notes that sets the standard for the British corpus of medieval library catalogues, originally published in January 1993. The second edition, based on a larger range of documents, was also published electronically by the British Academy in May 1995 for on-line access.

⁹² (Review) T. J. Brown, *A Palaeographer's View*, edited by J. M. Bately & M. P. Brown, *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 16/1 (1995), 104–105.

⁹³ (Editor, with R. G. Eales) *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest* (London: Hambledon Press, 1995). xxiv + 182pp. ISBN 1 85285 068 X.

Nine essays arising from a conference organized by Richard Eales and me at Canterbury in August 1991.

REVIEWS: *Southern History* 18 (1996), 155–6 (F. Barlow); *Deutsches Archiv* 53 (1997) 378–9 (F. Rexroth); *English Historical Review* 112 (1997), 960–61 (H. E. J. Cowdrey); *Medioevo Latino* 19 (1998), 128 (L. Pinelli).

⁹⁴ ‘The setting of St Augustine’s translation, 1091’, in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest* (as above), 1–13.

Goscelin’s *Translatio S. Augustini* describes in detail the translation of the relics of St Augustine, St Mildreth, St Adrian, and five archbishops of Canterbury over a period of eight days in September 1091. This was the first such translation in England for some sixty years. Even during the rebuilding of Canterbury cathedral in the 1070s the moving of the remains of St Dunstan and St Elphege had not been treated as an event worthy of commemoration but simply as an adjunct to the work of building. I argue that the staging of the translation in 1091 and the accompanying publicity set a style which many churches followed over the next ten to fifteen years. This renewal of cults was not a necessary concomitant of the great Norman rebuilding, as Canterbury proves, but was a deliberate act, starting from the promotion of St Augustine as the apostle of the English and the primate of Britain.

⁹⁵ ‘Modern dictionaries of medieval Latin’, in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe. Actes du 1er congrès européen d’études médiévales (Spoleto, 27–29 mai 1993)*, edited by J. Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995), 289–304.

A critical survey of the international project to provide dictionaries of Medieval Latin in different European countries. The failure to harmonize editorial methods has presented problems. Variations in the extent of materials, especially in their chronological range, limits the usefulness of the existing dictionaries. A special problem is the lack of any real dictionaries for the period of greatest interaction between Latin and the Latin-derived vernacular languages, which may be attributed to the daunting scale of the task in France, Italy, and Spain.

⁹⁶ ‘Reconstructing medieval libraries’, in *Bilan et perspectives* (as above), 399–408.

A discussion of how to make sense of the diversity of evidence for reconstructing medieval libraries. The survival of identifiable books in England depends very largely on the circumstances affecting a particular institution in the sixteenth century. The chance survival of catalogues provides a very different perspective, but in each case it is necessary to avoid simply extrapolating from the evidence for good libraries. One needs to identify the best evidence for libraries of different sorts and to develop techniques for inference from fragmentary evidence. The aim must be to assess the relative strengths of different libraries, recognizing that typical libraries are as important in cultural history as the few great libraries.

⁹⁷ (Review) D. Conso & others (ed.), *Mélanges François Kerlouégan, Studia Celtica. The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 29 (1995), 313–14.

- ⁹⁸ (with contributions by J. P. Carley, R. M. Thomson, A. G. Watson) *English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4 (London: British Library, 1996). xxx + 931pp. ISBN 0 7123 0336 7.

Annotated editions of 124 catalogues and book-lists from Benedictine houses in England, of which two thirds were edited by me. As principal editor I also revised the whole volume, wrote the general introduction, and compiled the index. The most important of the catalogues concerned are from Bury (RS), Evesham (RS), Glastonbury (JPC), Norwich (RS), Ramsey (RS), Reading (RS), Rochester (AGW), St Albans (RMT), and the newly-identified index catalogue from St Mary's abbey, York (RS).

REVIEWS: *The Book Collector* (1996) (N. Barker); *Gazette du livre médiéval* 29 (1996) 45; *Deutsches Archiv* 53 (1997), 245 (A. M.-R.); *The Library* 6th ser. 19 (1997), 258–60 (R. W. Pfaff); *Times Literary Supplement* 11 July 1997 (R. D. McKitterick); *Revue Mabillon* new ser. 9 (1998), 317–19 (F. Dolbeau); *Medioevo Latino* 21 (2000), 607 (L. Pinelli).

- ⁹⁹ (Contributor to) *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, edited by R. Welch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) [articles on Book of Armagh, St Malachy, monasteries, St Patrick, Patrick of Dublin].

- ¹⁰⁰ (Contributor to) *Lexicon Grammaticorum*, edited by H. Stammerjohann (Halle: Niemeyer Verlag, 1996), ??; 2nd edn, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009), ?? [article on Osbern of Gloucester].

- ¹⁰¹ ‘Vocabulary, word-formation, and lexicography’, in *Medieval Latin Studies. An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, edited by F. A. C. Mantello & A. G. Rigg (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1996), 93–105.

An introduction to the changing vocabulary of Latin over a thousand-year period. Deals with the methods of compiling dictionaries, including a survey of the methods of the medieval lexicographers, Papias, Osbern of Gloucester, Hugutio of Pisa, and John of Genoa. Also provides a guide to getting the best out of the available historical dictionaries.

- ¹⁰² ‘Charters, deeds, and diplomatics’, in *Medieval Latin Studies* (as above), 230–40.

Concerned primarily with the language of charters, but designed also to illustrate how forms are recognized and compared. The first focus situates a royal charter of Charlemagne in its diplomatic context and then contrasts this with the earliest imperial charters of the same ruler. In this way the changes in the rhetoric and in the chancery methods are illustrated, and it is also possible to show the transition from Late Latin to Medieval Latin, which we may associate with Alcuin's reform of the Palace School. The second focus takes an exemplary French royal charter of the eleventh century to present the analysis of the formal construction of such documents; the charter chosen combines almost all the features found severally in the Latin charter tradition.

- ¹⁰³ ‘Latin in everyday life’, in *Medieval Latin Studies* (as above), 315–41.

The use of Latin for domestic and similarly ‘everyday’ subjects ceased to be normal in the fifth or sixth century. It was not fully revived until the thirteenth century, by which time the practice was in some sense artificial. I illustrate the training of clerks, using examples from school books, and then show how their use of Latin develops from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. The texts chosen also indicate how we can use texts from different registers to learn more about everyday life, especially about the physical setting and accoutrements of living. Saints' Lives are compared with the records of coroners' inquests, two sources which illustrate accidental deaths in different ways, and things mentioned in these are then illuminated by reference to account rolls and other archives.

- ¹⁰⁴ ‘Accession, classification or location. Pressmarks in medieval libraries’, *Scriptorium* 50 (1996), 279–87.

The earliest marking in books takes the form of simple inventory marks for the librarian's use. In the thirteenth and especially the fourteenth century we can see experiments in the types

of marks and in their functions. Some libraries marked by donor, others by subject, some by author, others by location, but most systems were not perspicuous and still depended on the librarian's knowledge. The system first seen in use by Br John Whitfield, librarian at Dover priory in 1389, based on arranging books according to a conventional scheme of subjects and marking them by press and shelf, proved the most serviceable, dominating library practice from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

1997

¹⁰⁵ (with D. R. Howlett, P. R. Staniforth, J. Blundell, S. J. O'Connor) *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fascicule V I–J–K–L (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1997). pp. x + 1195–1667 (473pp.).

¹⁰⁶ (Contributor to) *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edition, edited by E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) [articles on Adomnán, Armagh, Armagh (Book of), Asaph, Brigit, Celtic Churches, coarb, Columba, Culdees, Dublin, Finnian, Gildas, Ireland (Christianity in) [part], Latin, Ninian, Palladius, Patrick, St Asaph].

¹⁰⁷ *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, *Journal of Medieval Latin*, Publications 1 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1997). pp. xxxviii + 912.

This handlist builds on the experience of preparing a revised list of sources for the *Medieval Latin Dictionary* (1986) and the *List of Identifications for the medieval library catalogues* (1993, ²1995, ³1999). Its aims are first to identify the known or attested works of British Latin writers, second to direct the reader to editions or manuscripts, and third to provide orientation for someone using the 16th-cent. bibliographers Leland and Bale.

The handlist comprises a listing of some 2283 writers' names with references to bibliographical sources from the 14th century to the 20th. The lists of extant and attested works—some 5200 titles—are derived from printed editions from the 15th century onwards, catalogues of modern manuscript collections from the 18th century onwards, medieval library lists, and references by medieval authors; a selection of secondary literature is cited for discussion of questions of attribution and textual status. Many authors and a greater number of texts are here identified for the first time.

REVIEWS: *Bibliographie annuelle du moyen âge tardif* 7 (1997), 37–8; *Old-English News-Letter* 30/2 (1997), 64–5 (P. G. Remley); *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 81 (1997), 637 (E. H. Weber). *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 156 (1998) 265–6 (P. Bourgain); *Deutsches Archiv* 54 (1998) 191–2 (M. Stratmann); *The Medieval Review TMR* 98.01.07 (D. I. Ó Cróinín); *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49 (1998), 719–20 (D. E. Greenway); *Journal of Medieval Latin* 8 (1998), 241–3 (R. Hanna); *Medioevo Latino* 19 (1998), 875 (L. Pinelli); *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999), 187 (R. Godding); *College and Research Libraries* 60 (1999), 484–5 (R. H. S.); *English Historical Review* 114 (1999), 665–7 (A. Gransden); *Informationsmittel für Bibliotheken* 9 (1999) (C. Heitzmann); *Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1999), 473–4 (C. E. Stancliffe); *Medium Ævum* 68 (1999), 111–12 (N. F. Palmer); *Speculum* 74 (1999), 1121–2 (J. M. Ziolkowski); *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 42 (2000), 69 (S. K. Langenbahn); *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 43 (2000), 115–16 (A. K. Bate).

Aevum ;
Anglia ;
Carmelus ;
Humanistica Lovaniensia ;
Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch ;
Review of English Studies ;
Revue Belge ;
Revue des études latines ;

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique ;
Revue Mabillon ;
The Library .

Later edition: Reprinted with additions and corrections (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001).

The addenda (pp. 913–44) include about forty additional writers, not all of them with surviving works. There are some other additional texts, and five author-entries are thoroughly revised. The largest category of addition is the updating to mention recent editions of works already in *Latin Writers*. A more recent update is available from my website (www.history.ox.ac.uk/sharpe/index.htm).

1998

¹⁰⁸ (Contributor to) *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, edited by S. J. Connolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) [articles on Aedán mac Gabráin, Bangor, Bede, Book of Armagh, Brigit, Columb Cille, Diarmait mac Cerbaill, Druim Cett (Convention of), Durrow, hagiography, Iona, Paschal controversy, Whitby (Synod of)].

¹⁰⁹ (Review) J. P. Carley & C. G. C. Tite (ed.), *Books and Collectors 1200–1700. Essays presented to Andrew Watson*, *The Medieval Review* [online], TMR 98.08.03.

¹¹⁰ ‘Reconstructing the medieval library of Bury St Edmunds: the lost catalogue of Henry of Kirkstead’, *Bury St Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology, and Economy*, edited by A. Gransden, British Archaeological Association, Conference Transactions 1994 (1998), 204–218.

There is clear evidence that Bury had a very large library, not necessarily of exceptional quality or interest. The only remarkable work associated with the library is from the mid 14th century, when Prior Henry of Kirkstead linked classification and cataloguing with the bibliographical tradition going back to Jerome, Gennadius, and Cassiodorus. Evidence is offered for his compiling a lost register of the library; surviving books are listed according to his classification.

¹¹¹ (Review) C. Bourke (ed.), *Studies on the Cult of St Columba*, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49 (1998), 710–11.

¹¹² (Contributor to) *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by M. Lapidge (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998) [articles on Adomnán, Aidan of Lindisfarne, Columba, Iona].

¹¹³ ‘Symeon as pamphleteer’, in *Symeon of Durham*, edited by D. W. Rollason (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1998), 214–29.

Edits an incomplete propagandist pamphlet, identified as an attempt by Durham to argue against the erection of the separate see of Carlisle. The pamphlet may be broadly dated to 1092 × 1133. It argues on the basis of Bede and another source (not quoted in the extant text but probably *Historia de S. Cuthberto*), and may be attributed to Simeon of Durham. I also comment on the publication aspect of ecclesiastical pamphleteering in early-twelfth-century England.

¹¹⁴ ‘Symeon, Hildebert, and the errors of Origen’, in *Symeon of Durham* (as above), 282–300.

Simeon’s long-overlooked letter to Hildebert of Lavardin, probably written in 1119, survives only in Bodl. MS Laud Misc. 123 (s. xii, Gloucester), though a second copy is recorded at Glastonbury in 1247. It provides a window on Simeon’s study of theology in the library at Durham, where almost all of the books from which he quoted are still to be found, presented by Bishop William

at the end of the 11th cent. The letter makes no significant intellectual contribution, but it throws additional light on Simeon himself and on the publication of small treatises at this date.

¹¹⁵ (Review) T. O. Clancy & G. Márkus, *Iona. The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery, Early Medieval Europe*, 7 (1998), 360–61.

¹¹⁶ (Contributor to) *Il grande libro dei santi. Dizionario enciclopedica*, diretto da C. Leonardi, A. Riccardi, & G. Zarri; a cura di E. Guerriero & D. Tuniz, 3 vols (Cinisello Balsamo: Edizioni San Paolo, 1998). ISBN 88 215 3456 0 [articles on Adamnano di Iona, Albano, Alberto di Cashel, Benedetto Biscop, Brigida di Kildara, Ceadda, Ceolfredo, Dunstano, Erkonvaldo di Londra, Fiacrio, Finniano, Gilda il savio].

1999

¹¹⁷ *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. List of Identifications*, 3rd edition (London: British Medieval Library Catalogues Committee, 1999). xx + 397pp. Electronic publication: <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/sharpe/index.htm>

Continuing the enlargement of the List (1993, ²1995). Further expansions were incorporated from time to time in the website so that it was kept up to date with the progress of the Corpus. As of January 2003, it amounted to 690 pages.

2000

¹¹⁸ ‘The thriving of Dalriada’, in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297. Essays in honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the occasion of her ninetieth birthday*, edited by [R.] S. Taylor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 47–61.

Argues that readings of Dalriadan political structures in terms of three or four *tuatha* are based on a false association between the kindreds referred to in *Senchus Fer nAlban* and the Old Irish law tract *Críth Gablach*. Adomnán’s testimony argues for only one large kingdom rather than three sub-kingdoms ruled by lineages competing for overkingship, and that view is fully compatible with *Senchus Fer nAlban*, whose military and naval census indicates the strength of the Dalriadan monarchy. The narrow range within which succession passed also points to the strength of the kingship, and may suggest that the social structure in Dalriada does not involve the extended kinship arrangements found in Ireland. The Dalriadan royal line is the most stable royal descent in any Gaelic sources and provides the basis for the greater political stability found here than anywhere in Ireland. Social adaptation to the ‘colonial’ condition of Scottish Dalriada may explain how the minor northern Irish dynasty of Dál Riata was able to unite Alba under its rule.

2001

¹¹⁹ ‘The late antique Passion of St Alban’, *Alban and St Albans. Roman and medieval architecture, art, and archaeology*, British Archaeological Association, Conference Transactions 24 (1999), edited by M. Henig & P. G. Lindley (2001), pp. 30–37.

The editor of the three texts of the *passio*, Wilhelm Meyer, in 1904, misconstrued the textual relationship of the witnesses and failed to recognize that the shortest text, E, is the parent

of the others. His efforts to date the work were therefore applied to the wrong form of the text, T, a Merovingian reworking. That reworking, however, from Auxerre provides evidence that contextualizes the original as deriving from the *tituli* displayed by St Germanus above the reliquary of St Alban that he built at Auxerre. In its present form, therefore, E would seem likely to date from the period between 429 and *c.* 460, when it was apparently known to Constantius of Lyon, author of the Life of St Germanus.

¹²⁰ 'Were there British bishops at the Council of Serdica, AD 343?', *Peritia* 15 (2001), 188–94.

The repeated claim by Athanasius of Alexandria to be supported by several hundred bishops at Serdica is misleading. The number of bishops present was much smaller, but Athanasius counted the members of provincial synods which accepted the council's decisions. This can be shown specifically for bishops of Gaul from the subscriptions to a synod at Cologne in 345. Even so, Athanasius names no British bishops, and his claim that they expressly supported him is almost certainly empty.

2002

¹²¹ (Review) M. Lapidge, G. C. Garfagnini and C. Leonardi (ed.), *CALMA. Compendium auctorum latinorum medii aevi 500–1500*, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), 555–6.

¹²² 'The naming of Bishop Ithamar', *English Historical Review*, 117 (2002), 889–94.

Ithamar was the first Anglo-Saxon to be consecrated bishop. He is named after one of the sons of Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar, from whom descended the priestly families of the Old Testament period. It must have been a name chosen upon consecration, but such a name lies outside the practice attested for the Gregorian mission in England or in its Roman background, or that for Irish bishops in England and the Englishmen consecrated by them. Only among the British churches of Wales and Cornwall is there any custom of using Old Testament names such as David, Asaph, Samson, &c. The naming of Bishop Ithamar hints that there was more significant British influence on the early English church, even in Kent, than Bede was aware of or willing to admit.

¹²³ (Editor, with A. T. Thacker) *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002). pp. xii + 581.

Essays originating in a conference held at Rewley House, Oxford, with much additional material.

REVIEWS: *Medieval Archaeology* 47 (2003), 357–8 (B. A. E. Yorke); *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 150 (2001) [2004], 165–6 (J. K. Knight); *Analecta Bollandiana* 122 (2004), 186–92 (F. De Vriendt); *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 48 (2004), 108–109 (C. Brett); *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2004), 331–2 (F. Tinti); *English Historical Review* 119 (2004), 434–6 (D. W. Rollason); *The Medieval Review* TMR 04.01.13 (R. W. Pfaff); *Speculum* 80 (2005) 338–40 (C. Pilsworth).

¹²⁴ 'Martyrs and local saints in late antique Britain', in *Local Saints and Local Churches* (as above), pp. 75–154.

Constantius in the fifth century, Gildas in the first half of the sixth century, and Augustine at the end of it all provide evidence that Romano-British martyrs were subjects of cult at an early date. St Alban is the best attested of these but by no means the only one. St Augulus of London is referred to in the Hieronymian Martyrology and St Sixtus's body was still venerated somewhere in southern Britain around 601. The existence of such grave-cults provides a background to the emergence of new cults of native saints in sixth- and seventh-century Britain. The use of the word *merthyr* as a place-name element links the old and the new. Most of the evidence for the

‘Age of the Saints’ in the Celtic churches comes from a later date. I here attempt to redefine this Age in a contemporary perspective, with the influence of Roman Gaul and Roman Britain seen as more widespread and lasting than Roman archaeologists or Celtic historians have been prepared to accept.

2003

¹²⁵ *Titulus. Identifying medieval Latin texts: an evidence-based approach* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003). pp. 301.

Modern perceptions of texts are often not related to the way in which medieval readers understood them—conventional titles, for example, are often those supplied by early modern editors rather than by the manuscript tradition. This essay on the fundamental principles of medieval bibliography argues that the *tituli* and colophons accompanying a text in manuscript should be treated as evidence for the text’s bibliographical data and therefore recorded in descriptive catalogues of manuscripts and in bibliographical repertories of texts. The value of medieval library catalogues in showing medieval bibliographical perceptions is illustrated. Bibliographical co-ordinates of author, title, and incipit are discussed in some detail, and the historical accumulation of bibliographical tradition is examined. Reference books intended to assist manuscript cataloguers and students of medieval Latin texts are subjected to criticism; an annotated handlist of such books is included. Many texts in the middle ages were ascribed to various writers, and the habits of titling were far from constant, but the evidence of the manuscripts provides a better basis for understanding the changing perception of texts than has been recognized in the reference literature. Two extended examples demonstrate how one may make sense of *tituli*. On the one hand, Iohannes de Toletto, *De conseruanda sanitate*, is consistently ascribed in the manuscripts but much misattributed by modern scholars, who have turned the 13th-cent English cardinal-physician into several different writers, mostly assumed to be from Spain. On the other hand, Malachias’s treatise *De ueneno*, whose authorship and title were the subject of much medieval alteration, presents a case-study in how and why the *tituli* came to vary so much while showing the certainty of Malachias’s authorship and authorial title.

REVIEWS: *Germanistik* 44 (2003), 231–2 (B.-C. Granz-Jost); *Apocrypha* 15 (2004), 307–9 (R. Beyers); *Deutsches Archiv* 60 (2004), 702–3 (C. Cardelle de Hartmann); *Internationalen Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* (<http://iaslonline.de>) 02.08.2004 (T. Schassan); *Scriptorium* 58 (2004), 242*–243* (L. Reynhout); *The Medieval Review* TMR 04.02.12 (F. T. Coulson); *Archivum Latinitatis Mediæ Aevi* 63 (2005), 355–8 (P. Bourgain); *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56 (2005) 346–7 (J. M. Luxford); *Latomus* 64 (2005), 824–5 (L. Reynhout); *Medioevo Latino* 26 (2005), art. 13205 (R. G.); *Speculum* 80 (2005), 972–3 (W. P. Stoneman).

TRANSLATION, ITALIAN: *Titulus. I manoscritti come fonte per l’identificazione dei testi mediolatini*, Scritture e libri del medioevo 3 (Rome: Viella, 2005). pp. viii, 252.

REVIEWS: *Bollettino Associazione italiana biblioteche* 2006, 425–6 (M. Villani); *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 15 (2006), 321–6 (P. Radiciotti); *Bibliotheca* 6 (2007), 232–5 (D. Baldi); *Litterae caelestes* 2 (2007), 249–52 (L. Di Egidio); *Parergon* 24 (2007), 226–7 (T. Burrows); *Scriptorium* 61 (2007), 122* (B. Van den Abeele).

¹²⁶ (with N. E. Karn) ‘Working with Anglo-Norman royal acta in MS-Access’, *Le Médiéviste et l’ordinateur* 42 *La diplomatique* (Paris: IRHT, 2003), 61–5 [also online www.irht.cnrs.fr/medieviste.htm].

A description of the database of Anglo-Norman royal acta, which contains some 2900 documents amounting to 570,000 words.

- ¹²⁷ ‘The use of writ-charters in the eleventh century’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003), 247–91.

After defining the characteristics of what I refer to as writ-charters, I examine those from the archive of Bury St Edmunds from the time of Harthacnut to the early years of Henry I’s reign. Separate writs were retained for each of four prerogative rights held by the abbey, and these were renewed each time a new abbot succeeded and each time a new king succeeded. It would appear therefore that they were not regarded as permanent evidences of rights. Rights were held by the abbot in person of the king in person. Renewal presumably involved payments by the abbey to the king even before the Conquest, suggesting that something analogous to reliefs existed in Anglo-Saxon England. This stable pattern breaks down early in Henry I’s reign, when different privileges and exemptions are merged in unitary confirmations.

2004

- ¹²⁸ ‘1088—William II and the rebels’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2004), 139–57.

Four diplomas, here dated to July–August 1088, provide new evidence for showing how quickly some of those who had rebelled against William II were restored to his favour. This can be fitted into a clarified chronology for the events of the year, compatible with the chronicle evidence and the *Libellus de iniusta uexatione Willelmi episcopi*. The impossible chronology of the latter text can be resolved by a single emendation.

- ¹²⁹ ‘Le bibliothécaire médiéval et son héritage’, *Gazette du livre médiéval*, no. 44 (printemps 2004), 1–12.

Shortened version of a talk delivered at the Sorbonne, 19 September 2003. Full text is currently available from www.history.ox.ac.uk/sharpe/index.htm.

The work of the medieval librarian has been vital to our being able to study medieval books in their historical setting. Without his marks of provenance or his catalogues, we should know very much less about long-dispersed medieval libraries.

- ¹³⁰ ‘Richard Barre’s *Compendium Veteris et Noui Testamenti*’, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 14 (2004), 128–46.

Richard Barre, archdeacon of Ely and a royal justice in the late twelfth century, was known to the bibliographical tradition from Henry of Kirkstead to Thomas Tanner, though the only surviving complete copy of his biblical *Compendium* was not. The work is analysed here. From the prologue addressed to William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, the composition and very possibly the extant copy can be dated to 1190–91. Evidence from the fifteenth-century library catalogue of Leicester abbey suggests that after 1202 Richard retired from public life to become an Austin canon at Leicester, taking his books with him, including copies of his works.

2005

- ¹³¹ ‘An eventful weekend at Oxford in May 1716’, *Wadham College Gazette*, January 2005, pp. 62–4.

Gossip and a little politics for the college magazine. A letter from Pro-Vice-Chancellor Charlett to Chief Justice Macclesfield reveals that the Wadham communion plate was stolen and recovered in May 1716. Two soldiers from the garrison then quartered in the Jacobite city were sent to the castle for the felony, and Tory Dr Charlett, reprimanded by the Whig government over

disturbances in May 1715, took his chance to tell government that its people were lawless. During the same weekend Charlett was embroiled in a scandal at his own college over a fellow who missed Sunday evensong, remaining in his rooms with a prostitute. This fellow was notorious for sharing his whores with a Wadham undergraduate, the teenage Lord Brooke.

- ¹³² ‘Books stolen from Ely cathedral priory and found in Paris, c. 1330’, *The Library*, 7th ser. 6 (2005), 76–9.

Prints a letter written by the convent to King Edward III, requesting him to write to the official of the bishop of Paris, in whose custody were several books stolen from Ely cathedral priory and recovered in Paris.

- ¹³³ ‘King Ceadwalla’s Roman epitaph’, *Latin Learning and English Lore. Papers for Michael Lapidge*, edited by Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), I, 171–93.

Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons from 686 to 688, gave up the crown and went to Rome, where he received baptism from the pope and died ten days later. The source for this is an inscription placed over his tomb in St Peter’s Basilica, whose text has come down to us by at least three routes. It is quoted in full by Bede; the verse epitaph is quoted by Paul the Deacon; it is found also in manuscript-collections of inscriptions, some of which were known in late-seventh-century England, and which most likely represent more than one line of transmission. Paul the Deacon has been assumed to know the epitaph from Bede, but this cannot be demonstrated—there is, indeed, no evidence that Paul the Deacon knew Bede’s *History* at all—whereas it can be shown that he had access to such collections. The inscribed stone was said to have been rediscovered in the sixteenth century, but textual evidence suggests that Giovanni de Dei who makes this claim around 1571 is more likely to have quoted the epitaph from Bede. His attribution of it to the late-seventh-century Archbishop Benedict of Milan is shown to be a mistaken inference from the *Liber pontificalis*.

- ¹³⁴ ‘Address and delivery in Anglo-Norman writs and writ charters’, in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, edited by M.-T. Flanagan & J. A. Green (London: Palgrave, 2005), 32–52.

Writs and writ-charters were addressed and delivered as appropriate for their expected use. The constants and variables in the writ-charter addressed to a shire court have often been misapprehended or ignored by historians, leading to significant errors in interpretation. The paper briefly clarifies these issues as part of a coherent system of deliverable royal documents inherited from Anglo-Saxon practice. This is then contrasted with the general address, occasional and unformulaic before 1100 but used as a formula from c. 1106. The evolution of the formula is analysed. The two forms existed in parallel for about sixty years before the shire address ceased to be used and the general address completely replaced it. Reasons are considered to explain the devising of the general address early in Henry I’s reign and the demise of the shire address c. 1170, though it is not yet possible to see why the two forms co-existed for so long.

REVIEWS: *Archives* 31 (2006–7), 168–9 (P. Morgan).

Philip Morgan writes, ‘Richard Sharpe’s essay is the index-piece in the collection . . .’.

- ¹³⁵ ‘The varieties of Bede’s prose’, *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose*, ed. J. N. Adams & M. Lapidge, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 129 (2005), 339–55.

The prose of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* has been admired for centuries, and it has been a habit to treat this as representative of Bede’s Latin. It is not. Some of his biblical commentaries are simple and proceed verse by verse; others are selective but adopt an extended, cumulative rhetoric that can be very difficult to follow. Different works exhibit strikingly different styles that can be concisely illustrated by a table of average sentence-lengths. It is argued that Bede had no personal style but, as he wrote works in different genres, he adopted the style of appropriate models, Virgil in his verse, Donatus in his grammatical prose, Ambrose in his continuous commentaries, and Jerome’s later commentaries in his own complex commentaries. It will take a great deal

of work to refine and clarify these insights, but D. Shanzer who heard the paper when it was first delivered in Oxford arranged a joint session in the US. Alongside my paper, she raised the possibility that the model for Bede's historical prose was Rufinus's *Historia ecclesiastica*.

- ¹³⁶ 'Thomas Tanner (1674–1735), the 1697 Catalogue, and *Bibliotheca Britannica*', *The Library*, 7th ser. 6 (2005), 381–421.

A detailed study of how Tanner honed his bibliographical skills, at what stage he had access to particular manuscript resources, and the extent to which he made use of them. New manuscript evidence for Tanner at work is presented. An attempt is made to arrive at an accurate appreciation of Tanner's achievement instead of the legend of someone at work for forty years on a never-ending task. Tanner worked efficiently for about six years, making effective use of what was available to him. The evidence shows that he worked only occasionally at his *Bibliotheca* after 1701, and it remained unfinished at the time of his death. The manuscript draft provides a much clearer picture of how he worked than can be got from the text printed in 1748. Two fifteenth-century writers, Gilbert Kymer and 'Galfridus Grammaticus', are used to illustrate Tanner's empirical method and how to make the most from his information.

- ¹³⁷ 'Monastic reading at Thorney abbey, 1323–1347', *Traditio* 60 (2005), 243–78.

Based on the only known precentor's records of the Lenten distribution of books, which shed complementary light on a procedure required by the Benedictine Rule and regulated in many monastic customs. They show that practice in this case fell considerably short of the expectations of the Rule and of the assumptions made by modern monastic scholars from the prescriptive sources.

The evidence comprises four lists from Thorney abbey, dated 1324, 1327, 1329, and 1330, barely legible on two pieces of much re-used parchment. They list the monks present in order of seniority as seated on the abbot's and prior's sides of the chapter house, but monks are identified only by first name and (where necessary) number. It is therefore a puzzle in combinatorics to work out how to merge the two sides—allowing for deaths and absences—so that the four lists can be read in parallel. Once achieved, this allows one to see which books each monk took in each of the four years. It shows that as many as a third of the monks were absent in any given year and that it was permitted to many to retain a book for more than one year. Consideration of the titles allows one to see that some monks took more demanding works year after year while others, even some senior monks, had very basic texts. The lists also point towards a very limited circulating stock of books with no evidence for any further library provision at this date, admittedly a low point in English Benedictine scholarship. One book mentioned in these lists can be identified as surviving, Bodl. MS Bodley 680 (s. xiii).

In 1347 some of the same monks are named in visitation reports concerning a scandalous book, which monks had been secretly reading, another unique sidelight on monastic book-culture.

- ¹³⁸ 'The English bibliographical tradition from Henry de Kirkestede to Thomas Tanner', *Britannia Latina*, edited by C. S. F. Burnett & C. N. J. Mann, Warburg Studies (London: Warburg Institute, 2005), 86–128.

The bibliographical work of four English bibliographers is introduced as a basis for understanding their contribution to what we can now learn about the Latin writings of medieval authors in England. The four are Henry de Kirkestede in the fourteenth century, John Leland and John Bale in the last days of the English monasteries and just after, and Thomas Tanner in the 1690s. They saw much that is now lost, but one needs to understand their methods and interests to make the best use of that testimony. Their work is distinctive of an English tradition, sometimes used by Continental scholars but often isolated. It has left English scholarship in particular much better served with access to knowledge of the range of Latin writing produced here than is the case in other parts of Europe. While Leland and Bale were aware of the earliest developments in bibliography on the Continent, this had little influence in England. Tanner had little interest in the developing ideas of *historia litteraria* in seventeenth-century Germany and France, but he cultivated an empirical method better suited to understanding the medieval evidence than almost anything found on the Continent before the twentieth century. What each of the four

achieved in contemporary terms was different, but they ensured a transmission of information that has made them of continuing value to scholarship.

2006

- ¹³⁹ *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092–1136* (Surtees Society Presidential Lecture, delivered at the AGM of C&WAAS, Carlisle, 2005), Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Tract Series 21 (2006). 80pp.

Uses the charters of William II and Henry I to investigate the extent of royal administration in Cumberland in comparison with Northumberland. Immediately after William II's conquest of Carlisle in 1092, it is impossible to be sure what structures were put in place, though there is a possibility that Ivo Taillebois (d. 1094) was for a short time in charge. By 1101 Ranulf Meschin had charge of both Carlisle and Appleby with wide but undefined powers under the king. He surrenders his role in 1121–2, and from then until (it is argued) 1133 Cumberland and Westmorland were run by minor local officials answerable to the Exchequer (as can be seen in the pipe roll of 1129–30). It is further argued that the creation of a bishopric for this area in 1133 went along with establishing for the first time normal shire institutions in Cumberland, including a sheriff, who remained in office under Scottish rule after 1136.

REVIEWS: *The Cumberland News*, 10 March 2006, p. 11 (S. Matthews); *English Historical Review* 122 (2007), 1373–5 (J. M. Todd); *Northern History* 44 (2007), 169–70 (D. B. Crouch); *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature* 92 (2008), 15 (C. P. Lewis); *Scottish Historical Review* 87 (2008), 148–9 (J. A. Green).

- ¹⁴⁰ (unsigned obituary) 'Pierre Chaplais', *The Times*, 13 December 2006.

- ¹⁴¹ 'The Medieval Librarian', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland 1 To 1640*, edited by M. T. J. Webber & E. S. Leedham-Green (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 218–41.

The focus is on the monastic librarian in medieval England, who he was, what he did, what he knew about the books in his custody. The expectations of monastic custumals are limited, and those librarians who showed a particular interest in their books are unusual. The direct evidence of their activity is very varied. Catalogues on the one hand, markings in books on the other—*ex libris*, notes of contents, shelf-marks—all point to sporadic interest shown by particular individuals. Questions of policy, such as collection development, must have required collective resolution, but the librarian may have had to make many smaller decisions about selection of books to acquire, texts to have copied, but he did so without dedicated funding. The evidence provides many insights into medieval library-history, but its fitful nature makes the inference of general trends in library-history very difficult.

2007

- ¹⁴² 'Learning to read', *Oxford Historian* 4 (June 2007), 10–13.

A brief account of the teaching of palaeography and diplomatic in Oxford since the last years of the nineteenth century.

- ¹⁴³ ‘Which text is Rhygyfarch’s Life of St David?’, in *St David. Cult, Church, and Nation*, edited by J. W. Evans & J. M. Wooding, Studies in Celtic History (Woodbridge, 2007), 90–105.

Examines the arguments used by J. W. James in his 1967 edition of Rhygyfarch’s *Vita S. David* for rejecting the text preserved in BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. xiv in favour of the shorter text in BL MS Cotton Nero E. 1 and Bodl. MS Digby 112. James’s arguments are all deficient, and a stronger case is made for regarding the Vespasian text as the work of Rhygyfarch in the late eleventh century; this form of the text continued to be read in Wales and served as the basis for the Middle Welsh version. The Nero–Digby text was a rewriting, smoother and shorter, made for Bishop Bernard of St Davids (1115–1148), most likely in the early 1120s; the evidence for its rapid distribution in England and Normandy suggests that it was actively published under his authority.

REVIEWS: H-Albion (July 2008) (K. Hurlock).

- ¹⁴⁴ (with J. R. Davies) ‘*Vita beati David qui et Dewi episcopi et confessoris*’, in *St David, Cult, Church, and Nation* (as above), 107–155.

Latin text by RS, based primarily on BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. xiv but incorporating those corrections that can be made by reference to the secondary witness of the shorter Nero–Digby text, accompanied by an English translation by JRD, together with a brief foreword and notes.

- ¹⁴⁵ ‘The contribution of manuscript catalogues to identifying medieval Latin texts’, in *Die Katalogisierung mittelalterlicher Handschriften in internationaler Perspektive*, edited by C. Fabian & B. Wagner (Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), 51–60.

The identification of Latin texts from the middle ages is fraught with uncertainty. Problems of perception can arise even in relatively familiar territory: for example, six treatises mentioned in Augustine’s *Retractationes* have no individual entry in CPL, because the latter is too closely based on the 16th- and 17th-cent. printed tradition, in which they were treated as letters. Finding-aids such as Stegmüller’s *Repertorium biblicum* or Thorndike & Kibre’s *Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* rely on bibliographical tradition or on haphazard ‘identifications’ culled at random from different sources and not critically reviewed. The primary evidence for identification must be in the manuscripts, but this is obscured if the evidence of individual copies is not recorded while uncritical identifications from secondary literature are given higher prominence in catalogues. Two examples are set out of the contrast between current scholarship and what one finds by reviewing the evidence of *tituli* and colophons from the manuscripts. The near unanimity of manuscript *tituli* in copies of Iohannes de Toletis, *De sanitate conseruanda*, did not prevent 20th-cent. scholarship from creating divergent views of the text. By contrast the influence of the one printed edition (1518) of Malachias, *De ueneno*, has overlain the massive diversity in titling and ascription of the work as it spread across Europe. The evidence of *tituli* is revealing in both cases and permits well-founded identifications, but a review of such evidence is only made practically possible where cataloguers have recorded *tituli* and colophons. Perversely, cataloguing rules have put their trust in identifications derived from uncritical reference literature. Cataloguers need to be conscious of their role in harvesting the primary evidence of the manuscripts. This will become accessible through improved searchability and integration of electronic catalogues. Even a few recorded *tituli* findable through this route will help to correct undue reliance on old finding-aids and begin the process toward better identifications.

- ¹⁴⁶ (with A. D. Deyermond) ‘Latin’, in *A Century of Medieval Studies*, edited by A. D. Deyermond (London: British Academy, 2007), 353–62.

The first few pages sketched by me; continued by Deyermond and published without my imprimatur.

- ¹⁴⁷ 'Library catalogues and indexes', in *The History of the Book in Britain 2 The Manuscript Book c. 1100–1400*, edited by N. J. Morgan & R. M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 197–218.

Examines the evolution of the techniques of cataloguing from the tenth century to the fourteenth: this includes approaches to cataloguing texts and also books containing many texts, the development of means to increase precision in defining a text or identifying a particular physical book, and the organization of catalogues to meet different needs of librarian and reader. Briefly considers the many-sided usefulness of medieval library records to extend our knowledge of the circulation of texts beyond extant copies, to build images of entire libraries of different kinds at different dates, and to see the medieval perception of texts in a contemporary light. Such records help to counteract tendencies in separate disciplines to focus on texts in isolation from their place in the circulation of books in the middle ages or on books as the objects of palaeographical or codicological study.

- ¹⁴⁸ 'King Harold's daughter', *Haskins Society Journal* 19 (2008), 1–27.

The paper makes a join between the lead burial plaque of William d'Aincourt at Lincoln cathedral, the clause concerning his parents' gifts to St Mary's abbey in York from the confirmation charters of the abbey, and two letters of Anselm to Gunnhild, daughter of King Harold. It argues that William D'Aincourt's mother Matilda was most likely the daughter of Count Alan Rufus, since she alienates to St Mary's York, Alan's foundation, lands and tithes that belonged to him or his men in 1086. His only known 'partner' was the daughter of King Harold, Gunnhild—a relationship comprehensively misunderstood by Anselm and hence by R. W. Southern and half-a-dozen more recent writers. Count Alan's *antecessor* in his first English estates was Eddeua the fair, properly identified as King Harold's wife Eadgifu Swanneshals, Gunnhild's mother. Through Gunnhild the d'Aincourt family claimed royal descent, but we find it stated only in the obscurity of a burial plaque.

- ¹⁴⁹ 'The present and future of incunable cataloguing II' (review article), *The Library* 7th ser. 9 (2008), 210–24.

An extended review of the catalogue of incunabula in the Bodleian Library, published in 2005.

- ¹⁵⁰ 'In quest of Pictish manuscripts', *Innes Review* 59 (2008), 145–67.

In 1698 Humfrey Wanley examined a manuscript at Gresham College that had been described as a history of Pictland in the Pictish language. The book, now BL MS Arundel 333, contains titles to this effect added in the late sixteenth century, but, as Wanley realised, its texts are Irish medical translations from Latin, made at the beginning of the sixteenth century. A longer note about Pictish provinces, added by the same hand, and the identity of the writer are investigated; the hand is that of the owner of the book, Lord William Howard, rather than the historian William Camden as was thought in the past. Wanley's correction appears in the work of William Nicolson in 1702 and in correspondence between him and Edward Lhuyd in the same year. In 1702 Lhuyd discovered the *englymion* in the Cambridge copy of Juvenius, exchanging views with Wanley on this and other manuscripts containing early Brittonic words. Between 1702 and 1707 Lhuyd developed a theory that the Juvenius manuscript was written in the land of the Picts and that its Welsh verses, among the oldest monuments of *Hen Brythoneg*, were in the Pictish language. He saw himself as uncovering both linguistic and manuscript evidence for British writing across the full range of British territory from south to north, Brittany to Caledonia. Lhuyd's idea that Pictish was similar to British was followed by Thomas Innes, but modern Pictish scholarship, returning to this idea, has not recognized that it goes back so early.

- ¹⁵¹ (Chronique) ‘Early manuscripts of Anselm. A discussion with five manuscripts’ [Bodleian Library, Oxford, Monday, 27 April 2009], *Gazette du livre médiéval* 55 (automne 2009), 49–52.

Report of papers delivered at a seminar for which the Bodleian Library, Lambeth Palace Library, and the library of Trinity College Cambridge allowed the manuscripts under discussion to be presented and examined by participants.

- ¹⁵² (with Tessa Webber) ‘Four early booklets of Anselm’s works from Salisbury cathedral’, *Scriptorium* 63 (2009), 58–72.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 1. 37, includes four booklets from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. One of these, it is argued, was written *c.* 1093 by Webber’s Salisbury Scribe ii and colleagues. It provides evidence for the early circulation of the sketch *Cur Deus magis*, for the survival of six letters in the archive of the recipient, Bishop Osmund of Salisbury, and for the early circulation of selected letters written by Anselm as prior of Bec.

- ¹⁵³ ‘Anselm as author: publishing in the late eleventh century’, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 19 (2009), 1–87.

From Anselm’s prefaces and letters, the manuscript booklets that bear witness to the primary circulation of his works, and text-historical evidence, this paper surveys how Anselm wrote and published a series of short treatises over a thirty-year period. It serves as a test-case for authorial publication in the period.

- ¹⁵⁴ ‘*Claf Abercuawg* and the voice of Llywarch Hen’ (53rd annual O’Donnell Lecture, University of Wales, 18–30 April 2007), *Studia Celtica* 43 (2009), 95–121.

An argument is put forward that a prominent initial in the Red Book of Hergest (and its lost exemplar) may be a mistake. When it is ignored, the poems hitherto always read separately as *Claf Abercuawg*, ‘Goreiste ar vryn’, and *Can yr henwr*, ‘Kynn bum keinvaglawc’, may be read continuously with improved intelligibility both of emotional development and of form. The voice of the sick man of Abercuawg is the same as that of the old man, Llywarch Hen. The textual transmission of these poems is very limited by comparison with the secondary evidence for their circulation in the twelfth century, and there is other evidence among the early *englynion* here of confusion in the division and sequence of poems.

- ¹⁵⁵ ‘Henry Ellis, Richard Gough’s protégé’, *Bodleian Library Record* 22 (2009), 191–211 (in a special issue to commemorate Gough’s bequest of 1809).

The young Henry Ellis (1777–1869), future principal librarian of the British Museum, began his scholarly career as a schoolboy under the direction of the editor and printer John Nichols and the guidance of the antiquary Richard Gough. He retained the majority of letters received from Gough, particularly those concerning the writing of his first book, *The History of Shoreditch* (1798), while letters Ellis wrote to Gough and Nichols have survived through the Nichols archive. Almost eighty letters between 1795 and 1800 provide a revealing quarry of information about how Ellis was guided by Gough. The last exchange between them, on Ellis’s promotion to keeper at the British Museum in 1806, put on record Ellis’s own awareness of how far his contact with Gough and Nichols had enabled him to achieve what he did.

2010

- ¹⁵⁶ ‘Collecting Anselm’, in *Treasures of Lambeth Palace Library* (London: Scala, 2010), 38–9.

- ¹⁵⁷ (contributor to) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by R. E. Bjork (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), ii. 857 [article on Iona, monasteries of].

¹⁵⁸ ‘Selling books at the Sheldonian Theatre 1677–1720’, *The Library* 7th ser. 11 (2010), 275–320.

A series of broadside sales-catalogues was produced by the University Press under the leadership of Arthur Charlett between 1694 and 1720. These follow on from earlier sales-catalogues produced between 1677 and 1682, with a single example known from 1686. Specimens survived in relatively small numbers by a narrow range of routes. This paper offers the first attempt at a descriptive listing of surviving examples, supplemented with further information from contemporary correspondence and diaries. Some of the correspondence is of particular value as a witness to direct sales from the Theatre. Printing in Oxford in this period has been looked on as a success, judged by the quality of the books produced, but commercially it is apparent that the Press found it difficult to sell books throughout this period. This helps to explain why, even before 1720, the Press had ceased to print learned works as a venture, with the result that for more than forty years down to 1758 hardly any works were published at the Theatre.

¹⁵⁹ ‘The last days of Herbert the Chamberlain. Weaverthorpe church and hall’, *Historical Research* 83 (2010), 588–601.

C. W. Hollister identified H. the chamberlain, punished with mutilation for his part in a plot against the life of King Henry I around 1118, with Herbert the Chamberlain, long connected with the king’s treasury at Winchester. Herbert’s death in 1129 had long ago been inferred from the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, but Hollister had already developed an argument against too easy acceptance that a relief in a pipe roll provided evidence for a person’s very recent death. He argued that Herbert must have died soon after his mutilation, supporting this with a date from a forged act in King Henry’s name from Nostell priory. A coherent view of the documents from Nostell relating to Weaverthorpe church shows Hollister to be mistaken in redating Herbert’s death, and the evidence of a contemporary incomplete sun-dial inscription at Weaverthorpe provides grounds for a conjecture that he lived out his days in obscurity there until his death in 1129. Pipe roll evidence ought not to be disregarded without strong reason.

¹⁶⁰ ‘The date of *Quadripartitus* again’, *English Law before Magna Carta. Felix Liebermann and Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. S. Jurasinski, L. Oliver, and A. S. Rabin (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 81–93.

Argues that BL MS Cotton Titus A. xxvii (known as T) provides the best witness to *Quadripartitus* both as to its text and its reflection of its lost exemplar. The stunted second part is a ragbag of miscellaneous documents, some connected with Archbishop Gerard of York (d. 1108), some datable to May × July 1108. If these were added in the archetype in or soon after 1108, then the second part in the archetype comprised only the coronation charter of Henry I (1100) and a preface to introduce it. Internal evidence indicates that this was probably not finished before the last weeks of 1106. A relatively close dating is possible therefore for the text as found in T, which is likely to be the most useful witness for a future editor to use.

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¹⁶¹ ‘Peoples and languages in eleventh- and twelfth-century Britain: reading the charter evidence’, in *The Reality behind Charter Diplomacy in Anglo-Norman*, ed. D. E. Broun (Glasgow, 2011), 1–119. [Also at <http://www.poms.ac.uk/ebook>].

From the use of ‘francis et anglis’ in the address clauses of William I of England and ‘scottis et anglis’ in those of Edgar of Scotland, this paper develops an argument that a linguistic understanding of this formula better fits the circumstances of its use than the conventional ethnic interpretation. From the conquest for at least two generations the courts needed interpreters. The formula expanded to accommodate as many as five languages where the circumstances demanded it and it spread from royal usage into a wide variety of honorial and other acts. In

Scotland its usage was extended, probably beyond any linguistic reason, to include Galwegians in order to make an inclusive statement about the realm itself. Its disappearance reflects the dominance of French language in public life from the late twelfth century and the increasing lack of linguistic meaning in the contrast of *franci* and *angli*, both applied to speakers of French.

COMPLETED WORK IN PRESS

¹⁶² ‘Addressing different language-groups: the evidence of charters from the eleventh and twelfth centuries’, *Multilingualism in Britain*, ed. A. D. Putter (Turnhout: Brepols). 35pp. A much-reduced presentation of ‘Languages and peoples’, refocused for an audience more concerned with language than with charters.

¹⁶³ ‘Books from Ireland, fifth to ninth centuries’ (Fiftieth annual O’Donnell Lectures, 20–21 May 2004), *Peritia* 21 (2010), 1–55.

Two lectures. The first is concerned with surviving books produced in Ireland and surviving elsewhere, the second treats texts composed there but transmitted through copies made elsewhere, which alone survive. I also investigate text-historical evidence that allows one to trace copies of late antique texts from Ireland into seventh-century Northumbria, further evidence of the export of books from Ireland. The external survival of books made in Ireland, of texts composed in Ireland but not preserved there, and of texts read in Ireland and exported provide a counterweight to the argument from the paucity of early medieval books made and preserved in Ireland that Irish book-culture was not as advanced as Bede’s or Aldhelm’s references would suggest. Similar arguments can be derived from vernacular texts. The only early manuscripts containing substantial quantities of Old Irish have survived on the Continent, but a large body of Old Irish texts has survived in Ireland though few of the extant copies are anywhere near as old as the texts. Early Irish book-culture is therefore attested both through early manuscripts not in Ireland and through early texts not surviving in early Irish copies. The only early medieval manuscripts preserved in Ireland, such as the gospel books of Durrow and Kells, have survived because of their special status as relics.

¹⁶⁴ *Roderick O’Flaherty’s Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd, and Samuel Molyneux 1696–1709* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2012). about 520pp.

The body of the book prints and annotates fifty-six letters, most of them written by Roderick O’Flaherty from his home in Co. Galway; a few letters to him from Samuel Molyneux are included. Using this body of evidence to complement O’Flaherty’s learned writings, the Introduction provides a new biography of O’Flaherty, a survey of his works in Latin and English, and an investigation on the one hand of his involvement with the critical reading of Edward Lhwyd’s Irish–English dictionary and on the other of his attempts to publish his own *Ogygia Vindicated*. Appendices set out the evidence for O’Flaherty’s wide reading, including a detailed examination of his use of older Irish texts in manuscripts such as the Book of Lecan and the Book of Uí Mhaine.

¹⁶⁵ (Review) Th. Klüppel, *Adamnan. Das Leben des heiligen Columba*, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*.

¹⁶⁶ (Review) I. Warntjes, *The Munich Computus: Text and Translation. Irish Computistics between Isidore and the Venerable Bede and its Reception in Carolingian Times*, *Medium Ævum*.

¹⁶⁷ (Review) T. Wallnig & T. Stockinger, *Die gelehrte Korrespondenz der Brüder Pez*, Band I. 1709–1716, *Medium Ævum*.

WORK IN PROGRESS

¹⁶⁸ *The Writs and Charters of William II, The Writs and Charters of Henry I, and Essays in Anglo-Norman Government and Diplomatic.*

The edition will cover all the known or attested acts of the two reigns, including acts in the names of Queen Matilda, Prince William, Bishop Roger as regent. There are some 250 acts of William II so far included, and more than 1700 known acts of Henry I. Details of editorial methods and a sample can be obtained from www.history.ox.ac.uk/sharpe/index.htm. The edition will comprise one volume devoted to William II, an estimated five volumes for Henry I, and a further volume with the chronological framework and prosopographical index for both reigns. A volume of essays is planned as an ancillary.