1976

1   'Bedmakers in the 17th century', *The Trinity Review* (Easter 1976), 23.

Extracts from Conclusion Books (recording decisions by the governing body) on the subject of women employed in college rooms at Trinity College, Cambridge.

2   'The Muniment Room', *The Trinity Review* (Easter 1976), 30–35.

A non-technical 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 rare example of the broken knife as token of seisin, dating from the early twelfth-century, with a thirteenth-century label 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 (presaging an article that appeared in 2012). The undergraduate editors of the student 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.

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.

The influence of this book and its companion volume (1978) is discussed in a review of books published between 2001 and 2008 by D. U. Stiùbhart, 'Reminiscences of Raasay', *Béascna* 5 (2009), 138–57.

REVIEW: *Scottish Historical Review* 59 (1980), 197–8 (D. Stevenson).

1978

5   *Raasay. A Study in island history—Documents & sources, people & places* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1978). 250pp.

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.

REVIEW: *Scottish Historical Review* 59 (1980), 197–8 (D. Stevenson).

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 saints' Lives from early medieval Ireland for the use of *laicus* as equivalent to OIr. *díbergach* 'pagan brigand', explaining the semantic history and showing how substitution of other Latin words provides a guide to the linguistic age of different recensions of *uitae*. So, where *laicus* is used in seventh- and eighth-century texts, *latro* or some other word was substituted in later recensions to avoid incomprehension. In effect, a demonstration that semantic criteria can help to date some Hiberno-Latin texts. The paper was also very 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.

Reprinted in *Ériu*, Special ICM Edition (2017), a showcase for the quality and variety of the journal.

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.

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 Brigte*. 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. Studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes*, *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 Früh-mittelalter*, edited by P. Ní 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.

REVIEWS: *Bijdragen. Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 46 (1985), 440–41 (M. Parmentier); *Kwartalnik historyczny* 92 (1985), 938–44 (J. Strzelczyk); *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 96 (1985), 36–7 (J. Hennig); *Deutsches Archiv* 42 (1986), 295–6 (R. Schieffer); *Études celtiques* 23 (1986), 350–53 (P.-Y. Lambert); *Historische Zeitschrift* 243 (1986), 170–71 (F. Staab); *Historisches Jahrbuch* 106 (1986), 443–5 (K. Herbers); *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1986), 400–401 (I. Eberl); *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 38 (1986), 277–9 (K. Kluxen); *Irish Historical Studies* 27 (1990–91), 68–77 (M. J. Enright).

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 excerpta attributed to Gildas in a rich 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 different relationships between two florilegia in CCCC 279 and the Hibernensis canon-collection. The florilegium that served as a source for the Hibernensis must date from the second half of the seventh century and bears an important witness to patristic reading in Britain and Ireland. This volume of essays proved very influential.

REVIEWS: *Analecta Bollandiana* 103 (1985), 405–7 (M. van Esbroek); *Francia* 13 (1985), 728–30 (L. Fleuriot); *Revue Bénédictine* 95 (1985), 163 (P. P. Verbraken); *American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 641–2 (W. A. Chaney); *Britannia* 17 (1986), 462–3 (R. P. C. Hanson); *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 12 (1986), 115–20 (T. M. Charles-Edwards); *Études Celtiques* 23 (1986), 332–6 (F. Kerlouégan); *Gnomon* 58 (1986), 760–61 (H. J. Diesner); *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986), 163–5 (A. J. R.

Harvey); *Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1986), 603–610 (C. E. Stancliffe); *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 30 (1986), 101–5 (E. James); *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 81 (1986), 330 (S. F. Hockey); *Welsh History Review* 13 (1986–7), 100–102 (N. P. Brooks) ['a little gem']; *Deutsches Archiv* 43 (1987), 619–20 (T. Reuter); *Peritia* 4 (1985) [1987], 380–83 (F. Kerlouégan); *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 65 (1987), 441–2 (J. T. Nelson); *English Historical Review* 103 (1988), 163–5 (A. P. Smyth).

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. As a model it fails to provide for the church's pastoral ministry to the laity. An alternative interpretation of the evidence is advanced, based on the distinction between jurisdiction *quoad sacra* and that over temporalities. One text, largely ignored until this paper appeared, 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 failed to consider.

C. Etchingham devotes a chapter to the impact of this article on the long-dominant consensus and reactions to it in his book, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth: Laigin, 1999), 12–46.

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.

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); *Speculum* 64 (1987), 461–2 (G. H. Brown); *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 Medii 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. X. 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.

   REVIEWS: *Revue Historique* 278 (1987), 453–4 (R. Fossier); *American Historical Review* 93 (1988), 1029–30 (J. B. Freed); *Francia* 15 (1987) [1988], 917–18 (R. Schieffer); *Michigan Law Review* 86 (1988), 1430–33 (D. A. Westrup); *English Historical Review* 104 (1989), 118–20 (M. Wilks); *Le Moyen Age* 96 (1990), 150–54 (R. C. Van Caenegem); *Parergon* 8 (1990), 134–6 (L. Olson).

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) [1996].

   Providing abstracts from a range of British and Irish journals annually for nine years.

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.

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.

A selection of twenty-two studies by Bieler on Hiberno-Latin texts, including the writings of Columbanus, hymns, the Life of St Columba, the *Nauigatio 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), 177 (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 Ailsi 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 Ailsi of Trecarrel.

1989

46   (review) E. R. Hencken, *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 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.

REVIEWS: *Studia Celtica Japonica* new ser. 2 (1989), 45–50 (M. Ó Murchú); *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* 13/2 (1989), 327–8 (A. J. Hughes); *Éigse* 25 (1991), 187–91 (W. Gillies); *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 23 (1992), 99–107 (R. Black); *Études celtiques* 30 (1994), 297–303 (P.-Y. Lambert); *Peritia* 8 (1994), 267–72 (P.-Y. Lambert).

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. 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 reports the discovery of a copy of A, printed as a broadside in Rome, 9 April 1611, which represents the source of the text included in O'Sullivan Beare's book. This is now bound among Ussher's papers in TCD MS 568, which also contains a version of the catalogue in manuscript (T), shorter than A but otherwise close to it. Ó Riain identifies a further manuscript version, now in Maynooth, MS S 40/9 (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.

   Additionally, a second broadside text has come to light in Antwerp, printed at Douai by the widow of Laurentius Kellamus, 1615, which surely equates to the attested X2 of my note. The emergence of these uncatalogued broadsides has made much clearer the character of the transmission of the text behind its inclusion in books by various authors.

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.

REVIEWS: *Medium Ævum* 60 (1991), 149 (M. Griffith); *Review of English Studies* 43 (1992), 400–401 (P. F. Ganz); *Studia Celtica* 26/27 (1991–2) [1993], 265–70 (P. Russell); *Anglia* 111 (1993), 120–23 (K. McCone).

54   (review) M. J. 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 had 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 Tnugdal*, *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.

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); J*ournal 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); *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 46 (1994), 306–8 (K. H. Schmidt); *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. Ralegh 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-Thanet to Canterbury', *Mediaeval 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.

Many years later, with the coming an the union catalogue of 16th-cent Italian imprints in Italy, a second copy of the edition was found in Perugia. Dr Alan Macquarrie (Glasgow) is now preparing a new edition.

ser   (series editor) *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum ueterum*, the Latin Text established by †R. A. B. Mynors, edited with an Introduction by R. H. Rouse & M. A. Rouse, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 2 (London: British Library, 1991). clxx + 346pp.

I took on the general editorship of the series in 1990, organizing the List of Identifications to help provide systematic and consistent identifications for entries in medieval catalogues, and devoting considerable effort to the planning, critical reading, checking, and sometimes completing of the books. This was the first volume to appear under my editorship. Fifteen books in twenty volumes altogether have appeared under my editorship, the most recent published in 2016.

1992

71   (editor, with W. J. Blair) *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992). x + 298pp.

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); *Innes Review* 44 (1993), 200–202 (G. W. S. Barrow); *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.

ser (series editor) *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, edited by D. N. Bell, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 3 (London, 1991). xxxii + 340pp.

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 (Chronique) 'Medieval library catalogues', *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.

The List of standardized titles and notes was designed to provide ready-made identifications for many of the works found in medieval catalogues. It also indexes occurrences of a work in catalogues, so that it serves 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. This first public release is dated January 1993. Larger versions were issued in 1995 and 1999, since when it has been available on line.

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   (Chronique) 'Catalogues médiévaux britanniques', *Gazette du livre médiéval* nº 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*, a Latin translation of Old English law-codes, 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 1108. In a subsequent paper published in 2010 I refined the dating of the likely publication of *Quadripartitus* to 1106 × 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.

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 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.

A much expanded edition of the list of titles and notes that sets the standard for the British corpus of medieval library catalogues, orginally 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.

Nine essays arising from a conference organized by Richard Eales and me at Canterbury in August 1991 to mark the nine hundredth anniversary of the Translation of St Augustine.

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.

1996

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

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). In the last case the very substantial catalogue carries no overt identification of what library it relates to, but I was able to prove its provenance by cross-matching entries with survivors. It indexes more than half the books in a library of fifty-two desks.

REVIEWS: *The Book Collector* 45 (1996), 450 (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 (Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag, 1996), 682–3; 2nd edn, revised and enlarged (Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag, 2009), 1102–3 [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 framing concise identifications of texts for annotating medieval library catalogues, as collected in the List of Identifications (1993, [2]1995, [3]1999). The aims of the *Handlist* are first to identify the known or attested works of British Latin writers, second to direct the reader to editions or to 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.

Questions of method are treated in the Introduction, which proposes the use of distinct terms, signature, ascription, and attribution, to reflect the varieties of evidence associating a text with its writer.

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).

Later edition: Reprinted with additions and corrections (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001). Additions and Corrections (1997–2001) also available separately.

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*.

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 it can 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) [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

ser   (series editor) *Dover Priory*, edited by William P. Stoneman, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 5 (London: British Library, 1999). xx + 326pp.

ser   (series editor) *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, edited by M. T. J. Webber & A. G. Watson, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (London: British Library, 1998). xxviii + 572pp.

117   *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. List of Identifications*, 3rd edition (London: British Medieval Library Catalogues Committee, 1999). xx + 397pp. Electronic publication.

Continuing the enlargement of the List (1993, ²1995). Further expansions were incorporated from time to time on the website so that it was kept up to date with the progress of the Corpus. As of August 2016, it amounted to 939 pages. Since then it has been accessible only via *MLGB3* (2015).

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 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.

ser   (series editor) *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, edited by James P. Carley, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 7 (London, 2000). xcii + 407pp.

2001

119 'The late antique Passion of St Alban', *Alban and St Albans. Roman and medieval architecture, art, and archaeology*, BAA Conference Transactions 24 (1999), ed. M. Henig & P. G. Lindley (2001), 30–37. The primary Latin text for which I make the case has now been edited by M. Winterbottom in *Invigilata lucernis* 37 (2015), 113–27.

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, when Germanus visited Britain, 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.

ser (series editor) *Peterborough Abbey*, edited by Karsten Friis-Jensen & James M. W. Willoughby, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 8 (London, 2001). xlvii + 254pp.

ser (series editor) *Syon Abbey*, edited by Vincent Gillespie. With *The Libraries of the Carthusians*, edited by A. I. Doyle, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 9 (London, 2001). lxiii + 819pp.

2002

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

The review looks at the first two fascicules of this large enterprise.

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 (who appears alongside David in the Psalms), Samson, &c. The naming of Bishop Ithamar hints that there was much 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: *History: Reviews of New Books* 32 (2003), 3–4 (J. E. Weakland); *Medieval Archaelogy* 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); *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 1 (2005), 160–62 (J. Flatman); *Speculum* 80 (2005) 338–40 (C. Pilsworth).

124   'Martyrs and local saints in late antique Britain', in *Local Saints and Local Churches* (as above), 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* (< Lat. *martyres*) 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.

ser   (series editor) *The University and College Libraries of Cambridge*, edited by P. D. Clarke, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 10 (London, 2002). xcii + 899pp.

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 Toleto, *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 Sozial-geschichte 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 Medii 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.

formerly online www.irht.cnrs.fr /medieviste.htm

A description of the (still working) 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, from which time the Bury archive no longer shows the same pattern.

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 (précis) [the full text of the lecture was on line until 2016].

Shortened version of a talk delivered at the Sorbonne, 19 September 2003. 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.

ser   (series editor) *Henry of Kirkestede's Catalogus de libris autenticis et apocrifis*, edited by R. H. Rouse & M. A. Rouse, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 11 (London, 2004). ccxxxvi + 574pp.

2005

131   'An eventful weekend at Oxford in May 1716', *Wadham College Gazette*, January 2005, 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 in French 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*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. 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 secure 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*, ed. 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.* 1166, though it is not yet possible to see why the two forms co-existed for so long.

'Over the past ten years, there has been something of a revolution, led by Richard Sharpe, in the interpretation of the address clauses of royal and ducal charters in England and Normandy' (A. Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland, 1124–1290* (Oxford, 2016), 195).

REVIEWS: *Archives* 31 (2006–7), 168–9 (P. Morgan) ['Richard Sharpe's essay is the index-piece in the

collection . . .']; *English Historical Review* 121 (2006), 902 (J. G. H. Hudson); *Irish Historical Studies* 35 (2006–7), 416–17 (B. Smith).

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 for is in the US. Alongside my paper, she raised the possibility that the model for Bede's historical prose was Rufinus's *Historia ecclesiastica* ('Bede's style: a neglected historiographical model for the style of the *Historia ecclesiastica*', *Source of Wisdom: Old English and Early Medieval Latin Studies in honor of Thomas D. Hill* (Toronto, 2007), 329–52).

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 custumals. 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 a few 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*, ed. 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). 78pp.

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 *A History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland* 1 *From the beginnings to 1640*, ed. 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.

ser   (series editor) *Scottish Libraries*, edited by J. C. Higgitt, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 12 (London, 2006). lxxvi + 506pp.

2007

142   'Learning to read', *Oxford Historian* 5 (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 of Wales. Cult, Church, and Nation*, ed. J. W. Evans & J. M. Wooding, Studies in Celtic History 24 (Woodbridge, 2007), 90–105.

Examines the arguments used by J. W. James in his 1967 edition of Rhygyfarch's *Vita S. Dauid* for rejecting the text preserved in BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. XIV in favour of the shorter text in BL MS Cotton Nero E. I 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.

144   (with John Reuben Davies) '*Vita beati Dauid qui et Dewi episcopi et confessoris*' (text and translation), in *St David of Wales* (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.

REVIEWS: *H-Albion* (July 2008) (K. Hurlock); *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009), 334–4 (P. Russell) ['That new edition is worth the price of the book on its own']; *Welsh History Review* 24 (No. 3 June 2009), 129–31 (D. Crouch) ['This is a collection of essays which is likely to have a long-term impact on Welsh ecclesiastical history . . principally because of the edited and translated texts which the book contains, notably Richard Sharpe's new edition of the Life of St David'].

145   'The contribution of manuscript catalogues to identifying medieval Latin texts', in *Die Katalogisierung mittelalterlicher Handschriften in internationaler Perspektive*, ed. C. Fabian & B. Wagner (Munich: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 2007), 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 remains obscure if the evidence of individual copies is not recorded. The evidence of *tituli* permits well-founded identifications, as shown in *Titulus* (2003), but a review of such evidence is only made practically possible where cataloguers have recorded *tituli* and colophons. Perversely, cataloguing rules have given higher prominence to 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.
     The case first stated in 1997 for distinct terms, signature, ascription, and attribution, to define the textual evidence of authorship is here offered in a form adaptable beyond English-language usage.

146   (with A. D. Deyermond) 'Latin', in *A Century of Medieval Studies*, ed. A. D. Deyermond (London: British Academy, 2007), 353–62.

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

2008

147 'Library catalogues and indexes', in *The History of the Book in Britain* 2 *The Manuscript Book c. 1100–1400*, ed. 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 works and also books containing many works, the development of means to increase precision in defining a work 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 works 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 written works 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' (Warren Hollister Memorial Lecture, Haskins Society at Georgetown, DC, 3 November 2006), *Haskins Society Journal* 19 (2008), 1–27.

The paper makes a join between wording in the lead burial plaque of William d'Aincourt at Lincoln cathedral, the clause concerning his parents' gifts of land 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. Matilda's mother must have been Gunnhild, who was his only known 'partner'—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, who was Gunnhild's mother. Through Gunnhild Count Alan held her mother's estates and in the next generation the d'Aincourt family claimed royal descent, but we find this sensational statement only in the obscurity of a burial plaque from a child's grave.

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 (1563–1640), rather than the historian William Camden (1551–1623) 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 Lhwyd in the same year. In 1702 Lhwyd discovered the Old Welsh *englynion* in the Cambridge copy of Juvencus, exchanging views with Wanley on this and other manuscripts containing early Brittonic words. Between 1702 and 1707 Lhwyd developed a theory that the Juvencus manuscript was written in the land of the Picts and that its Welsh verses, among the oldest monuments of *Hen Frythoneg*, 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. Lhwyd's idea that Pictish was similar to British was followed by Thomas Innes (1729), but modern Pictish scholarship, returning to this idea, has not recognized that it goes back so early.

ser (series editor) *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, edited by B. C. Barker-Benfield, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 13 (London, 2008). cii + 2356pp (bound as three vols).

2009

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 exhibited and examined by participants.

152   'Anselm as author. Publishing in the late eleventh century' (J. R. O'Donnell Memorial Lecture, PIMS, Toronto, 31 October 2007), *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. Anselm provides a valuable test-case for authorial publication in the period because of the richness of the information. His prefaces and letters are often very revealing on the topic under investigation. His works were short, making primary copies distinctive in codicological terms, and a fair number of primary or near primary copies have survived and can be recognized. The text-critical work shows Anselm's revising habit and reveals that some works survive in copies deriving from draft-stages in composition. Here an author is show as his own publisher from the earliest phase of his writing career in the 1070s to his last work more than thirty years later. Other authors may present a different picture, but few are as fully visible as Anselm.

153   (with Teresa Webber) 'Four early booklets of Anselm's works from Salisbury. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 1. 37', *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.

154   '*Claf Abercuawg* and the voice of Llywarch Hen' (53rd O'Donnell Lectures, 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 henŵr*, '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 wider 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.

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 (1745–1826) and the guidance of the antiquary Richard Gough (1735–1809). 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.

ser   (series editor) *Hospitals, Towns, and the Professions*, edited by Nigel Ramsay & James M. W. Willoughby, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 14 (London, 2009). pp. xlix + 561.

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*, ed. R. E. Bjork, 4 vols (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 sale-catalogues was produced by the University Press under the leadership of Arthur Charlett between 1694 and 1720. These follow on from earlier sale-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 years 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 an act in King Henry's name from Nostell priory. The act is a forgery, the date valueless. Adopting for the first time a coherent view of the group of documents from Nostell that relate to Weaverthorpe church, I show that Hollister was mistaken in redating Herbert's death. The evidence of a contemporary incomplete sun-dial inscription in Herbert's name at Weaverthorpe provides grounds for a conjecture that he lived out his days in blind 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.

2011

161 'Peoples and languages in eleventh- and twelfth-century Britain and Ireland: reading the charter evidence', in *The Reality behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain*, ed. Dauvit Broun (Glasgow, 2011), 1–119.

freely available on line at http://poms.cch.kcl.ac.uk/redist/pdf/SharpeFinal.pdf

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 Norman 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, as in Anglo-Norman Irelaqnd, 'francigenis anglicis flandrensibus walensibus yberniensibus', and it spread from royal usage into a wide variety of honorial and other acta. 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.

162   'Books from Ireland, fifth to ninth centuries' (50th O'Donnell Lectures, Oxford, 20–21 May 2004), *Peritia* 21 (2010) [2011], 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 comments 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. Comparisons are made with Africa, the province of St Augustine, from which very few primary manuscripts but many Latin texts survive, and with Francia, which is far less well represented than Ireland by manuscripts preserved outside its borders.

163   (on-line publication, with Brynley Roberts & Helen Watt) *Edward Lhwyd's correspondence*, transcriptions with notes on source and date, and in many cases images, of some 400 letters by Edward Lhwyd and 1700 letters to him from a great many writers, published as part of Early Modern Letters Online.

freely available since 2010 on line http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/

The letters from Roderick O'Flaherty were worked up with full commentary, published in 2013. This scale of treatment for the whole correspondence will need time and support.

2012

164   (review) I. Warntjes, *The Munich Computus: Text and Translation. Irish Computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and its Reception in Carolingian Times*, *Medium Ævum* 81 (2012), 171–2.

165   (on-line publication) 'Henry I's Coronation Charter', 'Henry I's county and hundred court regulations', 'Henry I's coinage regulations', and 'Stephen's coronation charter' (Latin text, English translation), on Early English Laws website.

earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk

Latin texts with English translation and some commentary. The three acts of Henry I are reduced from the treatment in Charter of Liberties and other Royal Proclamations, part of Writs and Charters of William II and Henry I (2013). Medieval French Versions were delivered fpr publication on line in 2016.

166   (review) Th. Klüppel, *Adamnan. Das Leben des heiligen Columba*, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 107 (2012), 405–6.

167   'Iona in 1771. Gaelic tradition and visitors' experience', *Innes Review* 63 (2012), 161–259.

The account of Iona, 'taken in April 1771', has been known through a reprint of 1883, in which it was claimed to be 'Translated from the Irish'. Its original publication, in English, is traced to a weekly magazine in 1774, from which the text is here edited. Annotation deals mainly with three subjects, the writer's witness to the state of the antiquities in 1771, a comparison between what he learnt in Iona and what other visitors reported, especially those nearest in date, and an examination of his quoting sayings in Gaelic and the Gaelic names of features pointed out and explained to visitors. It is argued that he had a good knowledge of Gaelic, enough for him to communicate with local people, and that he was also well informed in stories concerning St Columba, for which this is the prime attestation. The writer is conjecturally identified as the Revd Donald McNicol of Lismore. This account provides an important witness to catholic tradition about the saint, almost certainly at the end of that tradition in Scotland, and in the context of comparisons reveals how the sites and monuments shown to visitors and the stories told change in response to those visitors' own knowledge and expectations based on their reading of earlier accounts.

Referred to by B. K. Lambkin as 'Richard Sharpe's monumental article' (*Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 3rd ser. 71 (2012) [2016], 189.

168   (with John Reuben Davies and Simon Taylor) 'Comforting sentences from the warming room of Inchcolm abbey', *Innes Review* 63 (2012), 260–66.

Four sentences, painted on the wall of the room with a fire-place above the chapter house in the fifteenth century, are identified as all deriving from one source, Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum*.

169   'Pierre Chaplais 1920–2006', *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy* 11 (2012), 114–50.

An assessment of the work of Pierre Chaplais (my immediate predecessor at Oxford) in the fields of Anglo-Gascon connexions, medieval diplomacy, Anglo-Norman diplomatic, and Anglo-Saxon diplomatic.

2013

170   'Addressing different language-groups: charters from the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Multilingualism in Medieval Britiain (c. 1066–1520). Sources and Analysis*, ed. Judith E. Jefferson & Ad Putter (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 1–40.

A much-reduced presentation of 'Peoples and languages' (2011), refocused for an audience more concerned with language than with charters.

171   *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd, and Samuel Molyneux 1696–1709*. (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2013). xx + 540pp.

Roderick O'Flaherty (1629–1716) was a remarkable person, dispossessed heir to a Gaelic chiefdom, who engaged in writing history from medieval Irish sources and corresponded with men of new scientific learning, among them the Welsh polymath Edward Lhwyd in Oxford and in Dublin William Molyneux, who began the Dublin Philosophical Society, and his son Samuel. 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, especially his *Ogygia* (1685), 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

until all the texts are made available. A multi-volume print edition is envisaged when complete. The files may be downloaded from actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com (updated from time to time).

176   'Muiris Ó Gormáin's book lists and T. F. O'Rahilly', *Celtica* 27 (2013), 114–18.

Shows O'Rahilly's close engagement with the lists of books in Ó Gormáin's possession in 1772 and 1776, then part of RIA MS Stowe I. v. 1 and now NLI MS G 664, acquired by the National Library from O'Rahilly's estate.

177   'Lachlan Campbell's letters to Edward Lhwyd, 1704–7', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 29 (2013), 244–81.

Prints and discusses five letters to Lhwyd from Lachlan Campbell (1675–1707), minister of Campbeltown, who was the Scottish reader of the sheets of his Irish dictionary, contributing numerous Scottish Gaelic entries to his Appendix. The letters reveal Campbell as a native speaker engaging with the difficulties of using older manuscripts and reading Irish from an earlier period at a time when he found no one available with the experience to help him. He is a witness to the beginning of modern Gaelic learning and to the break in the learned tradition over the preceding generation.

ser   series editor) *Libraries of Collegiate Churches*, edited by James M. W. Willoughby, Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues 15 (London, 2013). xcvi + 1130pp (bound as two vols).

2014

178   'Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin's *Pious Miscellany*: editions of the Munster bestseller of the early nineteenth century', *PRIA* 114C (2014), 235–93.

This is pioneer work on the printing of Irish vernacular literature. Presents a typology of the early editions of this much printed work, first published by subscription at Clonmel in 1802. The subscribers names are reprinted and their locations mapped, proving that the subscriptions were organized from Clonmel in Co. Tipperary and not, as claimed by late-nineteenth-century memory, at Ballybricken in Co. Waterford. A new edition was produced at Clonmel in 1812 and reprinted at least once there, before the same text was taken up by two booksellers in Cork in 1817. In 1822 a new version of the text was printed by Charles Dillon in Cork in cooperation with Patrick Denn, with an appendix of Denn's Irish verses. Then around the time of Denn's death a fourth version of the work appeared including some of Denn's English verses. For a time different forms of the work were kept in print by four different booksellers in Cork. All of the twenty or so extant early editions are rare, their survival precarious, and the paper is intended to provide an example of bibliographical study for Irish printing that may show the way for others to gather and interpret data on other examples of popular Irish printing.

179   (with D. X. Carpenter) *Charters of William II and Henry I*, second tranche on line, 31 October 2014, comprising:
(**W2**) Beverley minster (6pp) [RS], Chichester cathedral (8pp) [NK, DXC];
(**H1**) Abbotsbury abbey (6pp) [RS], Adam the Clerk (5pp) [RS], Aelwin fitz Godegos (6pp) [RS], Alfred of Lincoln (3pp) [RS], Bardney abbey (11pp) [RS], Barnwell priory (5pp) [RS], Beverley minster (16pp) [RS], Charroux abbey (6pp) [MSH, RS], Chatham hospital (3pp) [RS], Chichester borough (2pp) [NK, RS], Chichester cathedral (18pp) [NK, DXC], Colne priory (15pp) [DXC], Ernald de Roux (3pp) [HFD, RS], Fawsley minster (4pp) [RS], Forn Sigulfsson and Ivo fitz Forn (12pp) [DXC], Gilbert Chaillot (2pp) [RS], Godstow abbey (6pp) [RS], Hamelin (3pp) [HFD, DXC], Ipswich priory (4pp) [RS], Oxford St Bartholomew's hospital (3pp) [RS], Ralph fitz Ulviet (4pp) [DXC], Southwell minster (6pp) [RS], Wallingford priory (4pp) [NK, RS], William de Glanvill (6pp) [RS], William fitz Ulf (5pp) [HFD, DXC], Wimund (3pp) [HFD, DXC], Wix priory (11pp) [RS]. Altogether 29 files, 50 documents, 206 pages. *Running total*, 816 pages.

https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com/the-charters/

180   'John Eyton *alias* Repyngdon and the *Sermones super euangelia dominicalia* attributed to Philip Repyngdon', *Medium Ævum* 83 (2014), 254–65.

New evidence provides grounds for thinking that these sermons, widely known in early fifteenth-century England and ascribed to 'Repyngdon' are the work of John Eyton *alias* Repyngdon (†1404), OSA, prior of St Bartholomew's priory, Smithfield, London, and not of Philip Repyngdon (†1424), OSA, abbot of Leicester and bishop of Lincoln, to whom they were attributed by John Bale, an attribution unquestioned for nearly five centuries. They have been treated largely in relation to Philip's Lollard sympathies and read through his biography. S. N. Forde long ago showed that the sources deployed in the sermons are also used in John Eyton's *Tractatus de usura* (1388), which he explained through their shared background at Repton. Eyton's work now merits examination on a larger scale. The wide availability of the sermons may have something to do with Eyton's connexions with the book trade around St Paul's cathedral.

2015

181   (with JMWW, DM, PK) *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, *MLGB3*

on line at mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk

Based on the second edition of Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (1964), this digital resource provides both searchability and the means to open up greater detail than the printed book provides on the evidence of provenance. The *List of Identifications* (1999), as currently updated, has been integrated to allow search by author and title as well as by medieval provenance and modern location. Launched in May 2015, the resource will be augmented over time to include books from the medieval colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which Ker assumed were well known to interested users. Other expansions include more images of ex libris inscriptions and similar evidence of provenance, a fuller treatment of the contents of extant books, and an increase in the recording of printed books with pre-1540 provenance. The *List of Identifications* itself, available on line in a simpler format from 2003 to 2016, runs to some 939pp. It is hoped it will make a return.

182   'Doing business with William Rufus. The Haddenham narrative', in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, edited by Barbara Bombi and Bruce O'Brien, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 363–85.

A story in *Textus Roffensis* explains how the monks of Rochester were given the valuable manor of Haddenham (Bucks) by Archbishop Lanfranc and how King William Rufus demanded as the price of his confirmation a large sum of money, which, after negotiation, was commuted into Bishop Gundulf's service as master-builder in rebuilding at his own cost the castle wall at Rochester in stone after the earlier fortification was damaged during the siege of 1088. The writer, probably after 1107 and before 1123, bears witness to the kind of negotiations that often lay behind royal charters and at the same time illustrates the short-term nature of monastic memory.

183   'Seán Ó Cléirigh and his manuscripts', in *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: chronology, contacts, scholarship. A Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 645–70.

Seán Ó Cléirigh (d. 1846) was fifth in descent from Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh (d. 1665), one of the Four Masters, and in 1817 he brought to Dublin several manuscripts in the hand of or merely owned by his ancestor and sold them. During the 1840s different stories circulated about this transaction, put on record by Eugene O'Curry and John O'Donovan, and this article brings together the evidence that shows, for the first time, that Ó Cléirigh sold books to three different buyers, Edward O'Reilly, William Monck Mason, and Patrick Lynch. Central is a letter from O'Donovan to J. H. Todd in which he translated a paper that he thought was written by O'Reilly. All the books in question survive, but one was split into parts at the time of the sales. The increase in prices during the 1830s and 1840s appears to have led Seán Ó Cléirigh to argue that these manuscripts had not been sold but merely lent to Edward O'Reilly.

Since publication in 2015, I have discovered that the paper, here presented in O'Donovan's English rendering from a letter to J. H. Todd, was actually printed in Irish by O'Donovan in the suppressed original version of his Introductory Remarks (1848) to the Annals of the Four Masters. Although O'Donovan never realised that the paper was in Patrick Lynch's hand, he did understand that it exonerated O'Reilly from the charge against him and printed it as 'his sacred duty' to withdraw the charge. None the less it was suppressed in the new version put out in 1851.

184   (review) Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus philologus*, *Sjuttonhundratal* 12 (2015), 269–71.

185   'King William and the Brecc Bennach in 1211: reliquary or holy banner?', *Innes Review* 66 (2015), 163–90.

In his Rhind Lectures of 1879 archaeologist Joseph Anderson argued for identifying the Monymusk Reliquary, now in the National Museum of Scotland, with the *Brecc Bennach*, something whose custody was granted to Arbroath abbey by King William in 1211. In 2001 David H. Caldwell called this into question with good reason. Part of the argument relied on different interpretations of the word *uexillum*, `banner', taken for a portable shrine by William Reeves and for a reliquary used as battle-standard by Anderson. It is argued here that none of this is relevant to the question. The *Brecc Bennach* is called a banner only as a guess at its long-forgotten nature in two fifteenth-century deeds. The word *brecc*, however, is used in the name of an extant reliquary, *Brecc Máedóc*, first mentioned in one of the Irish deeds copied in the Book of Kells, and Anderson was correct to think this provided a clue to the real nature of the *Brecc Bennach*. It was almost certainly a portable reliquary, of unknown provenance but associated with St Columba. The king granted custody to the monks of Arbroath at a time when he was facing a rebellion in Ross, posing intriguing questions about his intentions towards this old Gaelic object of veneration.

186   'Medieval manuscripts found at Bonamargy friary and other hidden manuscripts', *Studia Hibernica* 41 (2015), 49–85.

The well-documented story that four manuscripts were found during building work in the ruins of Bonamargy friary in or before 1822 is tested and found not to fit the assumptions that have been brought to it. The books could not have been old Franciscan books, hidden by the friars, and it is not even apparent that they were deliberately hidden. Other manuscripts now known have stories about their hiding or their discovery, and some are patently false, others become doubtful when probed, such that the idea of deliberate hiding of manuscripts is scarcely credible. The Book of Lismore was found, neglected, it appears, in Lismore castle. The *Domnach Airgid* was apparently hidden as a relic and retrieved soon afterwards at the time of the Williamite war. The Book of Dimma was never hidden, and the manuscripts at Cong may have been lost long before the story told about them. The finding of the Stowe Missal in an old wall is a story not attested before Eugene O'Curry (1841), who had shortly before worked on the Book of Lismore, and its elaboration was unconscious fiction on the part of T. F. O'Rahilly. The Bonamargy books remain unexplained.

187   (review) Pádraig Ó Riain, *Four Tipperary Saints*, *Studia Hibernica* 41 (2015), 204–7.

In a short review I challenge the basis of Ó Riain's argument that the Latin saints' Lives were all the product of twelfth-century interest on the part of canons regular taking over early Irish churches.

ser   (series editor) *The University and College Libraries of Oxford*, edited by Rodney M. Thomson (& others), Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues 16 (2015). lvi + 1745pp (bound in two volumes).

The most recent volume to appear in my series, involving a great deal of editorial work. This brings the series to sixteen books in twenty-one volumes, amounting in total so far to mccxxxiii + 12,037 pp. Four more volumes and the final index to go.

2016

188   'Tommaso Giordani, Gregorio Ballabene's *Messa a dodici cori con organo*, and sacred

music in late-eighteenth-century Dublin', *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* 11 (2015–16), 25–35.

A copy of Ballabene's mass auctioned in Dublin in 1827 had belonged to the Italian musician Tommaso Giordani, who worked in Dublin from about 1782 to his death in 1807. Evidence is presented to show that Giordani was very likely director of music at Francis Street Chapel during the decade or so when it was Archbishop Troy's mensal church. The musical life of the Catholic Church in eighteenth-century Ireland has been assumed to be very limited, but as early as 1749 there was provision for choral music in several Dublin chapels. This mass was very likely brought to Dublin by Troy, reflecting his aspirations for sacred music comparable to what he had known in Rome. Even the description of it in the sale catalogue provides evidence for musical interests in Ireland before Catholic Emancipation.

189 (on-line publication) '*Tenere in capite* and tenant in chief', posted with Charters of William II and Henry I. 10pp.

https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com/2017/05/23/tenere-in-capite/

Reviews examples of the phrases *tenere in capite* and *tenens in capite*, showing that it first appears in Latin in the charters of Henry I around 1120. It also appears early in *Instituta Cnuti*, and a case is made that this version of Old English laws may have been made close to the king's court around the same time, most likely 1121 × 1123.

190 'Manuscript and print in Gaelic Scotland and Ireland 1689–1832', *Cànan & Cultar: Language & Culture*, ed. W. McLeod, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 8 (2016), 33–55.

During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Gaelic Scotland and Ireland shared a Common Gaelic literary culture, print began in a marginal way with officially-sponsored prayer-book (Edinburgh 1567) and catechism (Dublin 1571). Print in Scotland developed slowly to provide for the needs of the protestant church, while Irish printing was for the most part carried out on the Continent on Catholic presses. With the end of Common Gaelic manuscript culture, reckoned from the token year 1689, a new vernacular manuscript culture flourished in Ireland, or rather in parts of Ireland, with not only poetry but also prose copied by professional scribes; even if the manuscript trade is barely visible, more than a thousand handwritten books in Irish survive from the period. Print, meanwhile, is insignificant. In Gaelic Scotland in the same period Gaelic printing continues in Glasgow and Edinburgh, mainly for the church, but the evidence for a continuing manuscript culture is small, though secular poetry was much cultivated. Its written preservation depends in part on entry into print, starting with Mac Mhaighstir Alastair's *Ais-eiridh na Sean Chánoin Albannaich* 'The resurrection of the old Scottish language' (1751), and continuing in two streams, editions brought out by the poets, and anthologies of poetry from different dates, in part on collections made by ministers such as James McLagan in the second half of the eighteenth century and surviving as their personal papers. From then on reliance on print increases, and even the conservation of manuscipts is somewhat precarious in Scotland, though older books were collected in the early nineteenth century. The early nineteenth-century boom in cheap provincial printing benefited both languages, though in Ireland it was short-lived. Irish manuscript culture became antiquarian, and printing in Irish, on a very small scale, followed suit. In the perspective of 1832, when John Reid looked back over Gaelic printing, he saw a story of success, envied from Ireland by evangelicals but not successfully imitated. The first half of the eighteenth century was the most difficult period for books in Gaelic Scotland, but in Ireland the nineteenth century was a prolonged period when modern Irish failed to keep its manuscript culture and failed to adjust to a printed culture. None the less factors affecting the preservation of late manuscripts proved favourable in Ireland, but not in Scotland. The shift to a self-consciously public medium in Scotland, and its international exposure due to the success of Ossian, helped Scottish Gaelic literature to modernize in the late eighteenth century in a way that did not happen to Irish literature until more than a century later. It may be argued that literary developments were actually shaped by the material book-culture
rather than the other way around.

REVIEWS: *Studia Celtica* 51 (2017), 203–5 (P. Ó Muircheartaigh); *Comhar Taighde* 3 (2017), léirmheasanna 3 (E. Mac Cárthaigh); *Northern Scotland* 10 (2019), 93–5 (C. Ó Giollagáin).

191 'Manuscript by subscription? Muiris Ó Gormáin and the Annals of the Four Masters', *Éigse* 39 (2016), 199–208.

Prints and sets in context an invitation to the Irish gentry and professions to subscribe to the making of a copy by Muiris Ó Gormáin of an unspecified 'old Irish manuscript', here tentatively identified with RIA MS 23 P 6–7, the second part of one of the two autograph sets of the Annals of the Four Masters. The invitation represents a cross-over from printing practice to manuscript culture that was surely unrealistic. Discussion also covers evidence from 1762 that may represent an initiative to print by subscription an Irish version of the *Imitatio Christi*.

192   'The earliest Norman sheriffs', *History* 101 (2016), 485–94.

Before the Norman Conquest the Latin word used for sheriff is usually *praepositus*, and after the Conquest it is *uicecomes*. The paper focuses on two Latin diplomas from the beginning of William I's reign in which *minister* is used for sheriff, a word which was otherwise in transition from signifying thegn before the Conquest to reeve or bailiff after. This crossover in the words used in royal charters reflects Norman thought as to the character of the shrieval office, at first seeing it as a service role but quickly reframing it as an officer substituting for the earl. The men described as *minister* in these documents are the earliest recorded Norman sheriffs, and the documents provide an insight into the rapid replacement of English sheriffs by Normans.

193   'Irish poetry in print in Cox's *Irish Magazine*, 1808–1810', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 121 (2016), 64–80, plates.

Donnchadh Ó Floinn, of Shandon St, Cork, contributed poems in Irish to Walter Cox's *Irish Magazine* in its first years of production. The magazine itself was a vehicle for Catholic Nationalism with little interest in the language. Enthusiasts for the Irish language, however, found its politics congenial. Ó Floinn wanted to see Irish in print in the Irish character, and in a small way Cox delivered this with help from Theophilus O'Flanagan and a printer in Dublin. What was printed is of limited interest in itself, but the survival of a poem by Ó Floinn, submitted but not published, allows an unexpected insight. Although this material is now obscure, the Irish Magazine provided the first mass-audience printing of Irish, albeit in very small amount, and its impact is reflected in the way that Fr Michael Kinsella and Edward O'Reilly kept cuttings of the Irish verses printed by Cox.

194   (with D. X. Carpenter) *Charters of William II and Henry I,* third tranche comprising: (**W2**) Eynsham (18pp) [DXC], Gent St Peter's (12pp) [RS], Lacy family (11pp) [DXC], Lincoln cathedral (44pp) [DXC], Romsey abbey (2pp) [RS], Tynemouth (7pp) [DXC], York St Peter's hospital (8pp) [DXC]. Altogether 7 files, 102pp. *Running total*, 116pp. (**H1**) Beaumont-le-Roger college (14pp) [DXC], Eynsham abbey (21pp) [DXC], Folkestone men of (5pp) [RS], Gent St Peter's (16pp) [RS], Gloucester Dudstone hospital (5pp) [DXC], Gospatric brother of Dolfin (9pp) [DXC], Hatfield Peverel priory (8pp) [DXC], Lacy family (11pp) [DXC], Michael of Hanslope (9pp) [DXC], Peter of Saint-Martin (4pp) [RS], Ranulf de Merlay (16pp) [DXC], Romsey abbey (22pp) [RS], Saint-Valery (15pp) [DXC], Thurstan the clerk (5pp) [RS], Tynemouth priory (42pp) [DXC], William Butevilain (6pp) [DXC], Wulward of Wangford and his son (5pp) [RS], York Gild Merchant (3pp) [RS], York St Peter's hospital (16pp) [DXC]. Altogether 19 files, 232 pages. *Running total*, 1048pp.

                                        https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com/the-charters/

195   'Common carriers in medieval England', *Oxoniensia* 81 (2016), 27–61.

In the Pastons' England carriers who plied a regular route provided an important service, carrying part loads of goods, even valuables, as well as letters and money. Such services have not always been recognized, and there has been a diversity of supposition as to when carriers as distinct from carters began to trade. Difficulties in understanding the words used, such as *cursor* somewhat earlier than *vector*, are an obstacle to understanding the textual sources. As well as setting out the context for the inquiry, this paper seeks to use Oxford college accounts to frame a period during which regular carrying services began. Before 1420 colleges used to pay a fellow's expenses to go and bring books bequeathed to the college, but by 1450 carriage was usually provided more cheaply be regular carriers serving the city and university. Lack of detail in the evidence makes it difficult to arrive at secure dates, but there was

a named carrier plying between Oxford and London by 1449. From 1459 the trade was deemed to be carried on for the benefit and under the jurisdiction of the university, and before the end of the fifteenth century the university licensed certain carriers. Carriers are attested earlier in Oxford than anywhere else. The evidence does not admit of economic analysis, but carriers provided an important service to society, not least in enabling correspondence such as that of the Pastons.

196   'Gulide, Guile, Gulinus: an Irish type for a twelfth-century Latin story', *Ériu* 66 (2016), 199–201.

Suggests that Peter of Cornwall's secondary story, ostensibly about St Patrick's Purgatory, represents an Irish tale transmitted through French into Latin, and that the name of the inhospitable host Gulinus may point to a link with Gulide or Guile, found in Middle Irish and later versions of the story *Ceasacht inghine Guile*.

2017

197   'Richard Plunket (fl. 1772–1791), "a neglected genius of the county of Meath"', *Ríocht na Midhe* 28 (2017), 191–203.

Described as 'a neglected genius' by Edward O'Reilly in 1820, Plunket is known first for his printing two Old Irish poems with a modern Irish paraphrase in 1791, an edition of which one copy is now known to exist, though there are also manuscript copies. He was the first to present old and new together. The edition advertises a remarkable range of other translations, among them both the New Testament and the Roman lectionary, and selections from authors as diverse as Paolo Segnari, Erasmus, and Ovid; these works do not survive. Fr Paul O'Brien (1763–1820), of Maynooth, visited the Highlands of Scotland and the Isle of Man with 'Mr Plunket', in search of Fenian poetry, serious research prompted by the controversy over Ossian and comparable with the tour of Matthew Young, of Trinity College, who published his findings in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 1 (1787). Richard Plunket also copied a poem into a volume of transcripts from the Book of Fenagh in 1777, and in 1772 he lent permanently an early seventeenth-century volume of bardic poetry to the Dublin scribe Muiris Ó Gormáin, now RIA MS 23 D 14 (cat. 1). Although no biographical information is known, he was evidently someone versed in the Irish vernacular tradition and yet breaking new ground in his interests, his translations, and his going into print.

Subsequent discovery of a signature, 'Richard Plunket of Dunderrybridge Chapel School', in a small Irish catechism from 1784 (Cló 128), provides a very plausible context.

198   'The duke of Sussex's Irish manuscript (Rylands Irish MS 22)', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 93 (2017), 121–9.

Rylands Irish MS 22 is a copy of Geoffrey Keating's *Trí Biorgaoithe an Bháis* (1631), made by the well-known scribe Risteard Tuibear in 1710, a professionally made vernacular book, making available for circulation a widely-read devotional text. Like several other books made by Tuibear, it belonged to Muiris Ó Gormáin in Dublin in the later 18th century and is found in his book-lists from 1761 and 1772. Inside the front is the book-plate of the duke of Sussex, and the catalogue of his library from 1827 shows that this is the book given by Sir William Betham a year earlier, which comes up in his correspondence. When the duke's library was auctioned, this was sold to a London dealer, reappearing in sales between 1866 and 1869. It was bought by the earl of Crawford and came with all his manuscripts into the Rylands Library, where for its origin and history it stands out from a collection of books largely made for or by Denis Kelly, of Castle Kelly, in the mid-19th century.

199   'Official and unofficial words in eleventh- and twelfth-century England', in *Latin in Medieval Britain*, ed. R. Ashdowne & C. White, Proceedings of the British Academy 206 (2017), 247–71.

The terminology of official documents in England changed with the Norman Conquest, and this chapter focuses on the words used for ealdorman, earl, and count, thegn and baron, sheriff and reeve, and shire during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Unofficial texts sometimes preferred not to use the official

terms but drew instead on a more classical vocabulary, investing words with the specific connotations of the underlying terms for which they were substitutes. Words that carry such specific meanings are identified by using unofficial Latin translations of official documents in Old English, law tracts that translate or reflect Old English terms, and translations or reworkings of narrative sources in both languages. Examples of the unofficial vocabulary are then reviewed, and how far both the Dictionary and modern editions of texts have recognized their use is appraised. Such lexical substitution has not been treated as a semantic category by dictionaries, but the argument here shows how important it is to recognize it if one is to arrive at a true contextual understanding of the words used in primary sources. The examples shed light on categories of office and rank across this period, and the argument will lead to much rethinking of how passages in the sources are understood. The linguistic implications extend beyond the words used as examples to make the argument.

200   'Destruction of Irish manuscripts and the National Board of Education', *Studia Hibernica* 43 (2017), 95–116.

BL MS Add. 40767 is a 19th-cent. copy of Richard Plunket's 'Rugadh Pádraig', thrown out with other manuscripts by its owner's descendants in 1899 and rescued by a visitor from Liverpool, who showed four fragments to Kuno Meyer. Meyer wrote to Douglas Hyde, and Hyde wrote to the newspapers, using the episode to castigate the board of intermediate education, which he blamed for the ignorance of Irish language and literature that lay behind such destruction. He was much engaged in an argument over Irish in schools, but here he brings the preservation of modern vernacular manuscripts into the discussion. He shows himself well aware of the important collections in the Royal Irish Academy, but he is at the same time critical of the Academy, whether in line with external prejudice or in the hope of inducing greater effort. Saving manuscripts was not high on the agenda of the Gaelic League, and, though Hyde was himself a collector, he offered no remedy for the loss of manuscripts other than a revival of the use of Irish.

201   'Humfrey Wanley, Bishop John O'Brien, and the colophons of Mael Brigte's Gospels', *Celtica* 29 (2017), 251–92.

Mael Brigte's Gospels, BL MS Harley 1802, a manuscript written at Armagh in the twelfth century, is datable from reference in its colophons to the killing of Cormac Mac Carthaig, king of Munster and of Ireland. The date was first worked out as 1739 from unpublished annals by Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726), Harley's librarian, in 1713–14, in a remarkable piece of scholarship. Wanley understood the importance of a dated manuscript as a basis for palaeographical judgement of undated books. The manuscript and, almost certainly, Wanley's discussion came to the notice of John O'Brien (1701–1769), bishop of Cloyne, who saw the manuscript in the British Museum in 1767. Using the so-called Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, compiled for him by Fr John Connery, O'Brien was able to refine the dating to 1738, and he added a discussion of this colophon when he prepared his *Focalóir* for the press in 1767–8. The tenor of one colophon's reference to Cormac's killing is interpreted as itself significant: from the perspective of the all-Ireland primatial see where Mael Brigte wrote, the killing of King Cormac ended hope of a faithful all-Ireland monarchy. The colophon can be read as a contemporary judgement.

202   'Banners of the northern saints', in *Saints of North-East England, 600–1500*, ed. M. Coombe, A. Mouron, & C. A. Whitehead, Medieval Church Studies 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 245–303.

Relates the history of the late medieval banners of St Cuthbert and St John of Beverley, the three banners raised at the battle of the Standard, and the claims made by the churches of York, Beverley, and Ripon to military exemption by the service of their saints' banners alone to the historiography on banners as a symbol of the church's engagement in warfare in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The paper makes contributions to the interpretation of Archbishop Thurstan's action at the battle of the Standard and Aelred of Rievaulx's reaction to it, the hagiography of St John of Beverley, and the role of the saints' banners as a bulwark against the Scots from the time of Edward I to the sixteenth century. The frame is the linkage of twelfth- and sixteenth-century sources for the banner of St Cuthbert, which serves to establish that the banners in question were processional banners.

REVIEWS: *Sehepunkte. Rezensionsjournal für die Geschichtswissenschaften* 18 (2018), Nr. 5 [15.05.2018] (R. Bartlett) ['the longest and most original contribution']; *The Medieval Review* TMR 18.10.09 (C. T. Camp); *Northern History* ? (2019), ?? (D. A. Woodman) ['a significant and substantial contribution . . .

impressively wide-ranging, both chronologically and thematically']..*Parergon* 36 (2019), 194–5 (S. Leggett).

2018

203 (with D. X. Carpenter) *Charters of William II and Henry I*, fourth tranche comprising: (**H1**) ancestor of Reginald the forester (2pp) [RS], Bermondsey priory (12 acts, 27pp) [RS, DXC], Bromfield (1 act, 10pp) [RS, DXC], Dunstable (3 acts, 19pp) [DXC], Eustace of Barrington (1 act, 9pp) [DXC], Exeter St Nicholas (6 acts, 23pp) [DXC], Godstow [revd] (1 act, 6pp) [RS, DXC], Hugh of Buckland (1 act, 7pp) [DXC], Launde (2 acts, 17 pp) [DXC], Osney priory (2 acts, 13pp) [RS, DXC], Oxford St George's in the Castle (3 acts, 23pp) [RS, DXC], Plympton (5 acts, 19 pp) [DXC], Reims Saint-Rémi (4 acts, 14pp) [DXC], Richard Basset (2 acts, 19pp) [DXC], William and Roger de Saint-Jean (lost acts, 5pp) [DXC], William fitz Nigel (1 act, 6pp) [DXC].

Mostly DXC archives, put out in 2018.

204 'Further hidden manuscripts', *Studia Hibernica* 44 (2018), 127–32.

This note adds several more stories from the first half of the nineteenth century about finding manuscripts hidden in walls in Ireland, two of them associated with the same abbey, and all of them demonstrably false. One such story, however, first appeared in the sixteenth century; as such completely implausible, it reinforces the sense this is a folkloric motif.

205 'The manuscripts of Mícheál Óg that were sold to Sir William Betham', *Leabhar na Longánach. The Ó Longáin family and their manuscripts*, edited by Pádraig Ó Macháin & Sorcha Nic Lochlainn (Cork: Cló Torna, 2018), 259–332, 347–58.

Sir William Betham bought a high proportion of his Irish manuscripts from Peadar Ó Longáin and his brother Pól, but the extent of the collection and its reliance on the Carrignavar scribes has not been noticed. It is shown here that Betham was not like their other clients, who bought newly made copies of a repertoire of well-known texts. He bought older manuscripts, including some of their exemplars, but he was induced also to take twenty-two volumes of their father Mícheál Óg's papers, arranged into volumes for sale and bound on receipt by Betham. Some of John Windele's correspondence shows that Betham bought what is now RIA MS 23 N 10 from Pól Ó Longáin, who got it from Seán Ó Loimeasna and kept it by deceit. The correspondence, Betham's bindings, and the assignment of roman numerals to volumes in the collection provide some means to date Betham's purchases between *c.* 1839 and 1846. He bought books owned by the brothers or for which they acted as middlemen, but it also appears that anything they had was for sale, including the manuscript held in their father's hands on the day of his death.

206 (with D. X. Carpenter) 'Subversive acts: the forged early charters of the borough of Beverley', *History* 103 (2018), 719–36.

Charters in favour of the burgesses of Beverley (Yorks ER), in the names of King Henry I and Archbishops Thurstan and William, have long been regarded as among the earliest of English borough charters. It is shown that they were forged to secure a confirmation from King Richard in 1193–4, taking advantage of a vacancy in the archbishopric of York.

207 '*Génair Pátraicc*: Old Irish between print and manuscript, 1647–1853', *Ériu* 68 (2018), 1–28.

The ninth-century Old Irish poem *Génair Pátraicc* was printed with a Latin translation by Fr John Colgan at Louvain in 1647 from one of the manuscripts of the Irish *Liber hymnorum*, a collection of the late tenth or early eleventh century. Its early entry into print made it, alongside *Ní car Brigit*, one of the first pieces of Old Irish to be widely available. This produced, first, a secondary transmission in manuscript, as it re-entered the native tradition, followed by numerous reprints, often with translations based on Colgan's

Latin. In the late eighteenth century a Modern Irish translation was made and printed on facing pages by Richard Plunket in 1791, which in turn seems to have entered manuscript transmission. Until J. C. Zeuss revealed the grammar of the Old Irish glosses, this poem was the most widely known example of Old Irish, and it was studied as soon as Zeuss's work became available: it provided Whitley Stokes with an early test for Zeuss's results on a work transmitted down the centuries in Ireland, revealed in his letters to John O'Donovan from 1857. Since Stokes's fifth re-editing of the poem in 1903, it has been largely unstudied.

2019

208   'The first printing of Merriman's *Cúirt an Mheadan Oidhche*', National Library of Ireland https://blog.nli.ie/ blogdate 30 January, 2019. 5pp, illustrations.

Reveals the discovery of corrected proofs of the edition falsely dated 1800, uncatalogued, in the National Library in a Sammelband once owned by Douglas Hyde, president of Ireland. The evidence allows one to date the edition, for the proof-sheets carry dates from September to December 1872. The first evidence of sale is in 1873. The handwriting in the proofs supports a conjecture that the editor resposible was Standish Hayes O'Grady rather than John O'Daly, bookseller, who distributed the books as privately printed.

209   'Franciscan copies of *Lucerna Fidelium. Lóchrann na gCreidmheach* in Ireland', in *Lorg na Leabhar. A Festschrift for Pádraig A. Breatnach*, edited by Caoimhín Breatnach, Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail, & Gordon Ó Riain (Dublin: National University of Ireland Press, 2019), 331–42.

Focused primarily on the nine copies of Francis O'Molloy's *Lucerna Fidelium* (Rome, 1676) that were transferred from the Franciscan House of Studies to UCD in 2017, the discussion shows how they reflect the two phases in the distribution of the book, initially from Rome in the first thirty years after publication, and then in a second phase following the purchase of the unsold stock by Hodges & Smith in 1845. A copy now in Collegio S. Isidoro in Rome provides evidence for contemporary despatch to religious houses in Ireland, while the later distribution supplied many modern Franciscan houses in Ireland. In changed times these institutions have closed or given up their libraries, and the books were centralized at the House of Studies until that too ceased to function. UCD Special Collections has become their place of safety, but Catholic books remain at risk in many small institutions.

210   'Michael Casey (?1752–1830/31), herb doctor, his Irish manuscripts, and John O'Donovan', *Éigse* 40 (2019), 1–42.

Evidence is brought together to show what manuscripts were written, owned, or otherwise used by Michael Casey, known chiefly as an herbalist in Dublin in the 1820s. It is shown that he had a background in reading medieval Irish books before he applied that study to medical texts, healing himself of a persistent malady and thereafter turning to the practice of prescribing remedies from medieval medical texts in Ireland. He was in contact with many of those interested in Irish manuscripts in the early nineteenth century, among them the much younger John O'Donovan, who refers to him in a variety of contexts. It is argued that Casey was very likely the means to O'Donovan's first experience with medieval Irish manuscripts when he was nineteen years old. It is shown that manuscripts owned by Casey were sold by a minor dealer, John Fagan, selling books from a stall on Henry Street, and were divided between various buyers, among them Myles John O'Reilly and Owen Connellan. Those passing through O'Reilly's hands have for the most part distinctive bindings. Casey's famous remedy for gout came from a small vellum book that passed through O'Reilly's hands but it has not been identified. It ought to be recognizable if it has retained M. J. O'Reilly's binding.

COMPLETED WORK IN PROOF

211   'Peter of Blois and Abbot Henry de Longchamp', in *Guthlac of Crowland: celebrating 1300 years*, ed. Jane Roberts & Alan Thacker (Donnington, Lincs: Shaun Tyas, 2019), 448–72.

The eighth-century Life of St Guthlac and the twelfth-century *Translatio cum miraculis* were rewritten in more fashionable Latin by Peter of Blois, in his day a famous stylist who served as Latin secretary to two archbishops of Canterbury. The date and circumstances of this commission, it is argued, ought to reflect what is known of Peter's movements and those of William de Longchamp, chancellor of England, who is the likely intermediary between his brother Henry de Longchamp, abbot of Crowland, and Peter. The commission is best dated to the late summer of 1191, though delivery may have been later, and it was the first step in Henry's intermittent efforts to promote the veneration of saints at Crowland. Peter's fame sustained his memory at Crowland, so that the later medieval forger of the Crowland history attributed the second part of his no doubt unfinished work to him.

212 'The twelfth-century Translation and Miracles of St Guthlac', *Guthlac of Crowland; celebrating 1300 years*, ed. Jane Roberts & Alan Thacker (Donnington, Lincs: Shaun Tyas, 2019), 485–554.

The remains of St Guthlac at Crowland were translated in 1136, but apart from brief entries in chronicles the source describing this event was not written until (it is argued here) 1164, when style mattered more to the author than conveying any clear idea of what was done. The text of the *Translatio cum miraculis*, printed in 1675, has been neglected for centuries. The medieval text is restored and translated with commentary on its author's literary sources. It provides glimpses of a rich cult but no meaningful historical context.

COMPLETED WORK IN PRESS

000 (on-line publication) 'Henry I's coronation charter', 'Stephen's coronation charter', 'Henry II's coronation charter' (Old French versions), Early English Laws website. 12pp.

delivered to the webmaster in May 2016

Transcriptions from the very early thirteenth-century Old French texts preserved with the Latin originals as a single bifolium, now BL MS Harley 458, with short introductions. The likely context of the translations is lay discussion ahead of the drafting of the first Magna Carta.

000 'King Ceadwalla and Bishop Wilfrid', *Cities, Saints and Scholars in Early Medieval Europe. Essays in honour of Alan Thacker*, ed. S. deGregorio & P. J. E. Kershaw (Turnhout: Brepols). 29pp.

delivered to the editors in May 2016

Bede's account of the heathen West Saxon king Ceadwalla relies on information from Bishop Daniel of Wessex for the king's wars in Sussex and his massacre of the *Wihtwara*. Bede knew of the king's late conversion and his baptism by Pope Sergius from the king's epitaph in Rome. His knowledge of Bishop Wilfrid's work in Sussex derived in part from Stephen's earlier Life of St Wilfrid and in part from Bishop Daniel. His attitude to Wilfrid was already mixed, because of what he knew about Wilfrid's conduct in Northumbria, but what he learned from Daniel when preparing his History was perhaps unsettling. Someone who knew the Life of St Wilfrid and came to read Bede's History could easily have drawn adverse conclusions about Wilfrid's dealings with King Ceadwalla, and it is argued here that a long passage about an inconsequential miracle of St Oswald in Sussex was added to the History at the behest of Bishop Acca, Bede's friend and Wilfrid's former chaplain, after the first copies of the work had gone out, in order to divert attention from the worst interpretation of Wilfrid's relationship with the king. The passage survives as inserted into the archetype of the Northumbrian transmission without adjustment to the chapter-headings, but the parent of the southern and Continental transmission had already gone south and shows the original state of the text. This revision has led to confusion in the chapter-numbering of Book IV; its proper understanding casts a new light on Bede's stance towards his own text. The chronology of the actual events can be worked out to harmonize Northumbrian and West Saxon sources, while a charter of Ceadwalla dated 688 presents the unexpected scene of his giving land for the foundation of a minster at Farnham in the presence of three bishops at a pagan temple. His paganism and his blood-letting, fifty years after his people had supposedly converted, would have been problematic for Bede's master-narrative of conversion. Ceadwalla's injury beyond hope of recovery, however, opened the door to his being persuaded to go to Rome, surely by Wilfrid, where his baptism and immediate death transformed the story. This may have saved Wilfrid's reputation in 689, and it helped Bede's narrative

and gave importance to the Roman epitaph. Yet Wilfrid's earlier service to the pagan king appears to have disturbed Bishop Daniel and coloured Bede's already ambivalent assessment of Wilfrid.

000   'Initials and informed government in Anglo-Norman England', *Identifying Governmental Form in Europe 1100–1350*, ed. Alice Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). 29pp.

<div align="right">delivered to the editor in December 2017</div>

The use of initials rather than names for the king and other official participants in English royal charters from the time of William I until well into the reign of Henry II is a graphic feature, which, it is argued, displays several aspects of royal administration, its control of information, its pursuit of efficiency, and the expression of the latter in simplified, and by the 1120s cursive, script. These features were not widely imitated and remain a distinctive aspect of Anglo-Norman royal diplomatic. The practice, it is argued, was drawn from a then-new trend to use initials in writing letters, though the progression towards efficiency was unique to the royal chancery.

<div align="center">WORK STILL IN PROGRESS</div>

<div align="center">EARLY MEDIEVAL</div>

000   '*Vexilla Regis*. From the banner of St Peter to the banners of Rome', Paul Walsh Memorial Lecture 3, delivered at Maynooth University, 29 June 2017

An argument taking the history of processional banners back from the early thirteenth century to the sixth century and earlier, based on the careful interpretation of written sources that do not make any explicit distinction between processional banners and military banners.To appear as a booklet.

<div align="center">MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, CHARTERS</div>

000   (with D. X. Carpenter) *Charters of William II and Henry I*, fourth tranche comprising:
(**W2**) Abingdon (9pp) [RS], Angers, Saint-Nicolas (5pp) [RS], St Albans abbey (9pp) [DXC], Spalding priory (7pp) [RS], York minster (15pp) [RS].
(**H1**) Adam fitz Bruning (3pp) [RS], Adam of Cockfield (8pp) [RS], ancestor of Reginald the forester (2pp) [RS], Angers, Saint-Nicolas (1p) [RS], Anselm the king's parker (2pp) [RS], Beverley borough (14pp) [RS], Breamore priory (12pp) [NK, RS], Christchurch priory (6pp) [RS], Hamelin (3pp) [DXC], Hertford priory (10pp) [DXC], Hugh Hastings (4pp) [HFD, RS], Lincoln cathedral (100pp) [DXC], Osney priory (11pp) [RS], Oxford St Frideswide's priory (20pp) [RS, DXC], Oxford St George's in the Castle (22pp) [RS], Pain Peverel (3pp) [DXC], Roger of Berkeley (4pp) [RS], St Albans abbey (40pp) [DXC], St Davids bishopric (5pp) [NK, revd RS], St Neots priory (17pp) [RS], Spalding priory (16pp) [RS], Worksop priory (4pp) [RS, DXC], York minster (80pp) [RS].

Ongoing work on the charters of William II and Henry I. These archives are ready for posting.

000   'The founding of St Mary's abbey: a material perspective', 'Forged charters of confirmation in the names of William II, Henry I, and Henry II', and 'Early deeds from St Mary's abbey', in *Foundation Documents from St Mary's Abbey, York, 1085–1137*, by Richard Sharpe, Nicholas Karn, Michael Gullick, and Janet Burton, Surtees Society   (   ). about 360pp.

Three forged confirmations from the twelfth century provide extensive data on the land-holding of St Mary's abbey and its rapid expansion during fifty years after its first foundation in 1085. These data are

enriched by the fact that many primary deeds can be traced to allow a more detailed understanding of the donors and dates of gift. The introductory essay pulls the results together to show that the abbey, after a difficult start at Lastingham, goes through three phases of development, first under royal patronage, then as the favoured abbey of the counts of Brittany who held Richmond, and then, after the death of Count Stephen, as an abbey supported by the lesser gentry in the Vale of York. The origin of the abbey, usually discussed as part of the story of monastic renaissance in the north, is in reality a secular story, tied very closely to King William's reorganization of Yorkshire, suppressing the earldom in York and dividing the West Riding into three large castleries, a programme in which Count Alan plays a very significant part.

IRISH MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTING

000   *Irish Manuscript Sales. Markets, Collectors, Libraries*. Upwards of 700pp.

A major piece of work, built on entries for Irish manuscripts in forty auction catalogues from 1766 to 1902, but including also more briefly a sense of those collections sold but not dispersed, to consider how what we have came to be preserved through a period when much was lost. A subsidiary interest is the way it provides light on the manuscripts owned and used by active scholars particularly in the early nineteenth century.

000   (with Mícheál Hoyne) *Clóliosta. Printing in the Irish language 1571–1871. An attempt at a narrative bibliography*, currently 890pp but with introduction and indexes expected to fill out to nearer 1100pp.

beta-version launched in Dublin, 2 November 2018
finished text due for delivery, 15 November 2019

The list aims to provide bibliographical detail, a record of where copies can be found for the (many) rare items, and a commentary on the circumstances of the printing in different contexts of a wide range of material. The earliest efforts are easily divided into campaigns, but from the late eighteenth century the disappearance of evidence can be a problem, and in the nineteenth century the activity must be viewed in terms of multiple divergent traditions. The wide-ranging introduction analyses the complexities of the situation in Ireland with an a comparative eye on other less-used languages in Europe. This is a book that will change perspectives on the Irish language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

000   'Small Irish catechisms in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *Celtica* 32 (2020). 120pp.

Identifies ten distinct Irish-language catechisms in print between 1727 and 1839.

MEDIEVAL LIBRARIES

000   *Libraries and their Books in Medieval England. The Role of Libraries in a Changing Book Economy*. The Lyell Lectures 2019.

Six lectures delivered in the Bodleian Library Lecture Room between 30 April and 16 May 2019. To become a book.

000   (editor, with Dorit Raines and Cristina Dondi) *How the Secularization of Religious Houses Transformed the Libraries of Europe, 16th–19th Centuries*, edited by Dorit Raines, Richard Sharpe, & Cristina Dondi, Bibliologia (Turnhout: Brepols, 201-).

Twenty-nine papers in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish, dealing with the impact of secularization on religious libraries in different countries of Europe from the 1520s until the 1920s. The reasons for secularization varied and the actions taken or not taken to preserve the manuscript or printed heritage are different from country to country. From the beginning of the nineteenth century dispersals had important consequences, though the market, for secular collections in Europe and in America.

000   'Dissolution and dispersion in sixteenth-century England: understanding the remains', in *How the Secularization of Religious Houses Transformed the Libraries of Europe* (as

above), about 35pp.

The dissolution of the monasteries in England and Wales (1536–40) was accompanied by no attention to the fate of books, which seem to have been regarded as having no material value. While one can see some limited interest in the taking of books for the royal library before the dissolution happened, the results were very limited. The contemporary evidence shows only the low level of interest in older books and the running down of libraries. All our understand of how anything survived depends, therefore, on our capacity to interpret the material evidence of the books still in existence that bear evidence of providence. In a sense it was the early and near comprehensive dispersion of monastic libraries that gave English scholars from M. R. James to Neil Ker the incentive towards reconstruction, and it is only through the results of that, represented by Ker's Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, that we can begin to ask how anything survived. Even with those books that reached the Royal Library in Henry VIII's time understanding depends on the material approach adopted in the twentieth century.

ser (series editor) *Libraries of the Secular Cathedrals of England and Wales*, edited by James M. W. Willoughby & N. L. Ramsay. approx. 700pp.

000 (with †Alan Piper) *The Libraries of the Monks of Durham Cathedral Priory*, Corpus of
ser British Medieval Library Catalogues. upwards of 600pp.

Since Alan Piper's death in 2012 the entire work of shaping the book has fallen on me.

000 *Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury*, transcribed by †M. T. Gibson; edited by
ser James M. W. Willoughby & R. Sharpe, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.

Apart from the usual provision or revision of identifications thoughout, I did the editing of the eight catalogues from Canterbury College, Oxford.

000 (wih James M. W. Willoughby) *The Friars' Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library
ser Catalogues 1, 2nd edition. approx. 400pp.

A complete revision of the original first volume, prepared by K. W. Humphreys before I became general editor of the Corpus.