

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUME LXIX

1979

IMRAY LAURIE NORIE AND WILSON

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NOTES ON A *LIFE* OF THREE THORNEY SAINTS THANCRED, TORHTRED AND TOVA¹

Cecily Clark

For all the mixed blood of which he boasted,² William of Malmesbury sometimes betrayed an unambiguously Norman sensibility, as, for instance, when he flinched from naming the Anglo-Saxon saints 'resting' at Thorney Abbey because their names 'grated somewhat barbarously' on the ear:

Corpora vero Sanctorum, qui olim in illa heremo diversati fuissent, necnon et aliorum per Angliam, tot advexit, ut omnes pene anguli ecclesiae pleni sunt. Quorum nomina scribere ultro refugio, quia barbarum quiddam stridunt. Non quod eos Sanctos vel discredam vel diffitear; cujus enim auctoritatis ego sum, qui in disceptationem vocem quod sancta consecravit antiquitas? Sed quia, ut dixi, vocabula eorum inconditum sonant, horridum olent, fatuis duntaxat hominibus, quales multos nostra parit aetas, nolo Sanctos exponere ludibrio. Præsertim cum eorum vitas nec habitatores legant; frivolumque videatur, si eorum prædices merita, quorum nulla invenias miracula.³

Those 'barbarous' names notwithstanding, the monks of Thorney remained proud of the saints sleeping in their church, proud enough not only to translate them ceremonially to the new building consecrated in 1108⁴ and to enter their names – 'Reliquie ... Sancti Botulfi abbatis, Sancti Adulfi episcopi, Sancti Apelwoldi episcopi, Tancredi, Sancti Thortredi, ... Sancti Herefridi episcopi, Sancti Wihtredi, ... Sancte Touæ uirginis' – in a twelfth-century hand into their *Liber vitae*⁵ but also to pass on to their dependent priory founded at Deeping in the middle of the twelfth century the duty of commemorating several of those most 'barbarously' named.⁶

By a paradox, that pride may have been stimulated by a foreign incomer. For, some two generations before William of Malmesbury wrote his *Gesta pontificum*, the Flemish monk Fulcard, a celebrated hagiographer, who had been intruded on the abbey as its unconsecrated head,⁷ had found these same saints an inspiration in their then disregarded holiness, as he himself related in the *Prologue* to a work he was presenting to Bishop Walcelin of Winchester:

Videns autem sanctos in eadem basilica pausantes nulla scriptorum memoria commendatos, indignatus antiquitate, quæ de eis addiscere potui, tuis auribus primum offerre volui; ne rusticius sermo, nullo suffultus defensore, derisioni expositus emulorum, cachinnum potius optineret quam auditum. Reperta sunt tamen quædam in veteris libris vitiose descripta; quædam ab ipso precipuo presule in privilegiis eiusdem cenobii sunt breviter annotata; cætera ex relatione veterum ut ab antiquioribus sunt eis exhibita. Omnia tamen, ex devotione cordis, tibi, eximie pater, tuoque examini discutienda exhibeo, ut si quis æmulus caninas erexerit cristas labori nostro, humilitatis nostre opusculum tuæ auctoritatis paterna contegat defensio.⁸

Unfortunately, the exact scope of the work to which Fulcard is here referring has been uncertain. The *Prologue* itself is preserved in three manuscripts: British Library Harley MS 3097 (ff. 61v-62r), an early-twelfth-century book from Peterborough;⁹ St. John's College, Cambridge MS H 6 (ff. 171r-172v), also of the twelfth century and associated with Ramsey;¹⁰ and BL Cotton MS Tiberius D III (ff. 223v/b-224r/a).¹¹ In all these manuscripts what the *Prologue* immediately precedes is a *Life of Saint Botulf*,¹² the saint to whom Thorney Abbey offered its secondary dedication and whose relics are, as we have seen, listed in the *Liber vitae*. This *Life of Saint Botulf* also occurs, but without the *Prologue* asserting Fulcard's authorship, in at least two other manuscripts: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 161¹³ and Gray's Inn MS 3.¹⁴ Of the manuscripts which do contain the *Prologue*, Tiberius follows the *Life of Botulf* with a completely unrelated *Passion of Dioscurus*, St. John's follows it with a *Translatio* of Botulf and of other saints venerated at Thorney, and Harley, which also contains this *Translatio*, inserts between this and the *Life of Botulf* a *Life* 'of Saints Thancred and Torhtred and of their sister, Christ's virgin Saint Tova'.¹⁵

As we saw, relics of Thancred, Torhtred and Tova were listed in the *Liber vitae* alongside those of the better-known Botulf. The two brothers are entered, under 30 September, in the early-fourteenth-century calendar of Deeping Priory.¹⁶ And all three are named in the Thorney section of the Anglo-Saxon *Resting-Places of English Saints*, probably compiled between 1013 and 1035.¹⁷ Their claim to be remembered, at least by the monks of Thorney, is explained in one of the sources Fulcard himself mentions, as 'the privileges of Æthelwold', that is, the abbey's foundation charter;¹⁸ this describes them as the last of the anchorites from whom the islet of Thorney had taken its original name of *Ancarig* 'the anchorites' island'.¹⁹

Nam in ipso prefato loco anachoretice vite aptissimo, duo quondam precipue sanctitatis germani antistites, Tancredus videlicet et Torhtredus, celestis vite beatitudinem, alter martirio, alter confessionis gloria obtinentes cum gloriosa ægregii triumphii palma migraverunt ad Christum. Tova vero eorum soror, non solum carnalis propinquitatis federe compaginata, set etiam imitatione virtutum et caritatis repagulo connexa, in ultima huius insule parte anachoreticam vitam ducens, agonem sancte conversacionis decentissime complens, ac putidam huius fragilitatis mortem deserens, membrum tripudians perrexit ad capud quod est Christus humani generis redemptor, qui cum coeterno patre et spiritu sancto utriusque sexus milites infiniti tripudii gloria beatificando coronat.²⁰

So, given the place these three seem to have occupied in the traditions of Thorney Abbey and also Fulcard's own claim to have drawn upon the foundation charter, the question must arise whether the sequence in the Harleian manuscript – *Prologue, Life of Saint Botulf*, then *Life of Saints Thancred, Torhtred and Tova*, and finally the *Translation of the Saints who Rest at Thorney Abbey* – represents the hagiographer's original scheme.

A priori, the Harleian manuscript, although certainly not a wholly authoritative witness, may nonetheless be a fair one, being associated with near-by Peterborough and datable early in the twelfth century (Fulcard's work must have antedated his

dismissal from Thorney in the mid 1080s) – the only other copy of the *Translatio* surviving is in the other Fenland manuscript, the Ramsey book now at St. John's. Admittedly, Harley's presentation of the items is unhelpful, owing to a shift in the style of rubrication:²¹ red and green headings introduce both the *Prologue* and the *Life of Botulf*, headings in red only and in somewhat smaller script introduce the *Life* of the three anchorites and the *Translatio*, and the same all-red style is again used to introduce the immediately following *Life of Saint Guthlac*, the work of the eighth-century hagiographer Felix.²² The *Prologue* itself, however, implies that Fulcard had been working to rescue from oblivion not simply Botulf and his less famous 'brother' Athulf but a number of saints associated with Thorney and, in particular, some dealt with in the 'privileges', the foundation charter.

Moreover, if it be granted that the *Translatio* might be by Fulcard, then its internal evidence will reinforce that of the *Prologue* for Fulcard's authorship of the *Life of Thancred, Torhtred and Tova*; for, after dealing with the translations of Botulf and Athulf and of Herefrith, it ends by describing the oratory which Æthelwold had had built for himself on the site where Tova had had her separate hermitage:

Construxit etiam non longe ab eodem monasterio, in eo scilicet loco ubi beata virgo Christi Tova inclusa fuerat, lapideam æcclesiolam in modum pyramidis, delicatissimis cameratam cancellulis, et dupplici area tribus dedicatam altaribus permodicis, undique usque ad ipsos eius muros vallatam arboribus diversi generis, sedem scilicet heremiticam sibi si permisisset gratia supremi rectoris, qui magis tantam lucernam retinebat in candelabro pontificali ad illuminationem totius orbis anglici. Huc quotiens Thornensem insulam ingredi posset divertebat; hic orationes et sanctas agebat excubias; huc, post allocutionem fratrum & institutionem rerum necessarium loco, mox intenta caritate se Dei amicus recipiebat.²³

With its emphasis on Æthelwold's great love for Thorney, this conclusion, preserved not only in the Harleian manuscript but also in the St. John's one which omits the *Life* of the three anchorites, seems integral to the *Translatio* and, moreover, echoes Fulcard's reference in the *Prologue* to Æthelwold's reported intention of retiring to Thorney.²⁴ Yet, without the preceding *Life* explaining who Tova had been, it is not wholly clear. With the *Life* of the three anchorites, however, the items grouped in the Harleian manuscript offer a neatly interlaced structure: the *Prologue* mentioning several saints and the translations of some of them, as well as Æthelwold's proposed retirement, then the *Life of St. Botulf*, then the *Life* of the three anchorites including Tova, and last the *Translatio* of Botulf and of other saints, concluding with this reference back to Tova and to Æthelwold's proposed retirement (admittedly, the structure might have been better still had a *Life* of Herefrith likewise balanced the reference to him in the *Translatio*, but for such a piece there seems no evidence anywhere). Thus, the wisest view seems to be that, of surviving orders, the one in the Harleian manuscript comes nearest to Fulcard's original intention. For the copyists of the other extant manuscripts to have omitted the *Life* of the three Thorney anchorites would be entirely comprehensible; for the merest glance at the monastic calendars published shows that, whereas Botulf was widely honoured,²⁵ Thancred, Torhtred and Tova seem to have gone uncelebrated outside Thorney and its dependencies.

This *Life of Thancred, Torhtred and Tova* can, therefore, be attributed provisionally to the well-known hagiographer Fulcard; not that it makes any very brilliant addition to the canon of his works. He had little information beyond what we have seen the foundation charter to offer; he himself admits that ‘no history commends to us their way of life, nor does any page of ancestral narrative record it’.²⁶ His own wording sometimes echoes that of the charter, especially in his account of Tova:

Quæ, sicut beatus ... Atheluuoldus in suis testatur scriptis, *non solum* erat tantorum sanctorum soror *carnali propinquitate, sed etiam virtutum sedula imitatione. ... Membrum Christi facta, caput meruit Christum habere ...*²⁷

The dating ‘tempore Beati Eadmundi regis et martiris’, although possibly derived from an additional source, documentary or oral, might equally have been a guess based on the charter’s references to ‘martyrdom’ and to the laying-waste of the site ‘by pagans’.²⁸ The story of Æthelwold’s tiny pyramidal oratory built on the site of Tova’s anchorhold does seem most probably derived from local oral traditions. With these scanty materials the hagiographer wove a brief sermon on contempt of the world and resistance to the Enemy’s wiles: a modest piece, compared, for instance, with Abbo’s *Life of King Edmund*, for it offers no invented speeches or dramatic reconstructions. Whatever may have been the ‘sins’ that exiled Fulcard to Thorney or those for which he was later dispossessed, here (if his authorship is accepted) he shows a touching honesty in refraining from introducing even trivial or conventional episodes for which his exiguous sources gave no warrant. Yet this restraint in no way hinders him from elegantly demonstrating how to make bricks without straw and composing a pious meditation most apt for reading to the monks who had succeeded the hermits.

How much historical truth underlay the thin reference to the three hermits whose holy lives were said to have hallowed the place where the abbey was to be built? A cynic might suggest that Thancred and Torhtred with their sister Tova represented Thorney’s attempt to match or outdo Crowland’s Guthlac with his sister Pega. Plainly, later references in Thorney materials, like the fourteenth-century calendar from Deeping Priory, carry no weight at all. Nor does much attach to the reference in *The Resting-Places of English Saints* – ‘Donne restað on Þornige sancte Botulf and sancte Aðulf and sancte Huna and sancte Pancred and sancte Torhtred and sancte Hereferð and ... sancte Toua’²⁹ – in so far as this dates from the eleventh century, some two generations after the founding of the abbey and the presumable drafting of its charter; and in so far, also, as the compiler(s) of *Resting-Places* presumably relied on claims put forward by the abbeys concerned. And, although an Exeter psalter does indeed list *Sancta Tova* among virgin saints,³⁰ in a manner suggesting a fame spreading beyond the Fenland, this reference too is deprived of much force by its eleventh-century date.

On the other hand, the possible transmission of this legend might be compared with that of the supposedly contemporary King Edmund of East Anglia. Abbo of Fleury, writing when he was at Ramsey between 985 and 987, tells how the story of Edmund had reached him through St. Dunstan, who in his youth had heard it related to King Æthelstan by an infirm old man who claimed to have been Edmund’s sword-bearer on

the very day of his martyrdom.³¹ Supposing that the three Thorney hermits had indeed been victims of the same 'piratical plague'³² in which Edmund was slain, then, even though their lives and deaths would have been so much more private than the king's, some oral tradition could well have lived on locally between their 'martyrdom' in about 870 and the founding of the abbey a century later (the site was not then abandoned but, 'wretchedly owned by lay-people', had to be purchased from a certain Æthelfled³³); for, as Professor Whitelock has pointed out, such a chain of memory needs no more than two links.³⁴

In conclusion, perhaps some hint of authenticity lies in those names so embarrassing to William of Malmesbury. Neither *Pancred* nor *Torhtred* is common; indeed, notoriously incomplete though Searle's *Onomasticon* is,³⁵ its failure to record any bearers of either, apart from the two Thorney saints, must say something for their rarity. Nor is it only these specific compounds that are rare, for the initial elements *Panc-* and *Torht-* seem unknown outside the earliest records, being uncommon even there. The sister's name, latinized as *Tova* (presumably representing an Old-English **Tofe*), is rather better attested, occurring twice for *consorores* of Hyde Abbey and in a few other records, mainly of the late eleventh century;³⁶ but instances so late might, like the mention of *sancta Tova* in the Exeter psalter, testify to the saint's fame rather than to any independent currency of the name. In the event, vexed origins make this the point crucial for the credibility of the legend. If it is taken, as an apparently analogous form from Domesday Book has been taken,³⁷ to represent Old-Norse *Tófa*, a feminine corresponding to the masculine *Tófi*, Anglo-Scandinavian *Tovi*, common in twelfth-century records from the former Danelaw,³⁸ such a derivation would tell conclusively against any pre-Viking tradition. An alternative etymology might, however, be proposed, taking this as a native Old-English shortening of a two-element name. Among the West-Germanic peoples name-elements were customarily permuted within families: thus, for instance, *Tova's* brothers' names share the final element *-red*, *-ræd*; for their sister's full, formal name, a first element figuring in one of their names might have been compounded with one of the feminine second elements, perhaps forming **Torhtflæd* or **Torhtgifu*, for either of which **Tofe* (latinized as *Tova*) would seem a possible childish reduction. Failing records, no certainty is possible; but, with feminine names notoriously under-recorded and with an analogous *Torhtgyð* listed by Searle, there is no call to deny the possibility of **Torhtflæd* or **Torhtgifu*, which, like all the known compounds of *Torht-*, would presumably have been early forms. All in all, then, the three names seem, for what they are worth, compatible with an authentic tradition dating from pre-Viking times; the two men's names at least would hardly have been invented in the late tenth century or after unless the forger had had an antiquarian's knowledge of early personal names.

NOTES

1. For help in compiling this article I am deeply grateful to two of my friends: to Professor Dorothy Whitelock, who criticized the final draft and suggested several additional references; and to Mrs Dorothy Owen, who gave invaluable advice and encouragement throughout the work.

2. W. Stubbs (ed), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, 2 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1887-9), ii, 283.
3. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (ed), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis pontificum Anglorum libri quinque*, Rolls Series (London, 1870), pp. 327-8 (Indeed, he [Æthelwold] brought there so many bodies of Saints, both of those who had of old retired to that hermitage and also of others from throughout England, that almost every corner of the church is full of them. Their names I forbear to set down in detail, for they grate somewhat barbarously on the ear. Not that I lack belief or faith in those Saints; for what authority have I to call into question what holy antiquity has hallowed? But because, as I have said, their names have an unpolished ring and a primitive air, at least to such frivolous people as our times are producing in plenty, I do not wish to lay the Saints open to ridicule. All the less, as not even the inmates of the abbey read their Lives, and it might seem light-minded if one should extol the merits of those of whom one can find no miracles recorded).
4. According to the note entered in the upper margin of an Easter table bearing unpublished Thorney annals (British Library Cotton MS Nero C VII, f. 81v; see N. R. Ker, 'Membra Disiecta', *British Museum Quarterly*, 12 (1937-38), 130-5, esp. 131-2, and *idem*, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964), p. 189.
5. BL Additional MS 40000, f. 11v; printed in F. Wormald (ed), *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 77 and 81 (London, 1939-1946), i, 129-30.
6. The mid-fourteenth-century calendar from Deeping is believed to represent fairly adequately the lost calendar of Thorney Abbey itself, see Wormald, *Kalendars after 1100*, i, 129-44, esp. 129. Among the saints commemorated are: Herefrith (28 February and 21 August); 'Wihburg' (17 March); Botulf (17 June and 1 December); Ætheldred (23 June); and Thancred and Torhtred (30 September) [spellings slightly normalized].
7. For his career, see F. Barlow (ed), *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster* (London, 1962), pp. xliv, li-lix; also M. Chibnall (ed), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1969 - in progress), vi, 150. Note especially the unfavourable account in the Red Book of Thorney (Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 3020 and 3021 [continuously foliated], f. 416r).
8. T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials, &c.*, 3 vols. in 4, Rolls Series (London, 1862-71), i/pt. 1, 373-4, n. (When, however, I saw that the saints who rest in that temple had not been commemorated in the writings of any historians, then, vexed with our predecessors, I resolved to offer whatever I was able to learn of them first of all to your own ears [Bishop Walcelin's]; lest my somewhat uncultivated discourse might, unless protected by a patron, be exposed to the mockery of envious men and so excite mirth rather than attention. A few matters have, after all, been found inadequately treated in old books; some were briefly recorded by the distinguished prelate himself [Æthelwold] in the privileges of the abbey itself; the rest are taken from the testimony of old men according to the way they had been passed down to them by their own seniors. All these things I am, out of the devotion of my heart, presenting to you, my honoured Father, to be tested by your criticism, so that, if any envious man should with hackles raised threaten my work, the fatherly protection of your authority may shield the modest fruit of my humble talents).
9. See B. Colgrave (ed), *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 30-1; also Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 151.
10. See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), item 209, pp. 240-2; also Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 153. I am grateful to the Librarian of St. John's College for most kindly allowing me to consult not only this manuscript but also related materials.
11. Cf. Hardy, *loc. cit.*; no known provenance; a partial victim of the Cottonian fire.
12. See Socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols. and supplement (Brussels, 1898-1911), item 1428; the *Life* was printed in *Acta Sanctorum Iunii III* (Antwerp, 1701), pp. 402-3. For Botulf's career and the standing of this *Life*, see D. Whitelock, 'The pre-Viking Age Church in East Anglia', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 1-22, esp. 10-11.
13. See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912), i, 358-63, esp. 361. I am grateful to the Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Dr R. I. Page, for allowing me to examine this manuscript.
14. See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1969 - in progress), i, 52. I am grateful to the Librarian of Gray's Inn for allowing me to examine this manuscript.
15. Not in *Acta Sanctorum Septembris VIII* (Antwerp, 1762); printed as Appendix F in W. de Gray Birch (ed), *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*,

- Hampshire Record Society (London and Winchester, 1892), pp. 284-6, with the *Translatio* on pp. 286-90 (the latter also in *Acta Sanctorum Iunii* III, pp. 405 *et seq.*).
16. Wormald, *Kalendars after 1100*, i, 141, also 132; cf. n. 6 above.
 17. F. Liebermann (ed), *Die Heiligen Englands, Angelsächsisch und Lateinisch* (Hanover, 1889), p. 15, item 27; for closer analysis and dating of this compilation, see D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), 61-93. Professor Whitelock points out that in the Latin version known in mid-twelfth-century Peterborough the Thorney list, although including the three hermits, in some respects represents a distinct tradition (see W. T. Mellows (ed), *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus* (Oxford, 1949), p. 63 and cf. p. xxxiv).
 18. Printed in C. R. Hart (ed), *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), 165-72 (for the unreliability of this text, see the review by D. Whitelock in *English Historical Review*, 84 (1969), 112-5). See also P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London, 1968), item 792, pp. 252-3.
 19. See P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, English Place-Name Society 19 (Cambridge, 1943), p. 280.
 20. Hart, *Charters* pp. 166-7, corrected by collation with the two versions in the Red Book, ff. 12r and 14r (For in that aforesaid place, so well designed for the anachoretic life, there dwelt of old two brothers, Thancred and Torhtred, both priests and of remarkable holiness, who, having earned the blessedness of heavenly life, the one by martyrdom and the other by the glory of confessing his faith, ascended to Christ, bearing the splendid palm of that signal victory. Moreover, joined to them not only by the bond of blood-relationship but also by imitation of their virtues and by the link of holy love, their sister Tova, having most richly accomplished her struggle towards a holy way of life and disregarding the vile death of this frail flesh, like a dancing limb journeyed up to Christ her head, the Redeemer of mankind, who with his coeternal Father and with the Holy Ghost honours his warriors of both sexes by blessing them with the splendour of an unending dance).
 21. Cf. Colgrave, *Guthlac*, p. 30.
 22. For the date, see Colgrave, *Guthlac*, pp. 18-19.
 23. Harley MS 3097, f. 67v, and St. John's MS H 6, ff. 182r-182v; Birch, *Liber Vitae*, p. 290 (Not far from the same abbey he [Æthelwold] also had built, in the very place where Christ's blessed virgin Tova had had her anchorhold, a tiny stone chapel in the shape of a pyramid, encompassed about with the slenderest railings, dedicated to three miniature altars within a double court and on every side sheltered up to its very walls by trees of many kinds, intended indeed as a retreat for himself, had such retirement but been permitted by the grace of the supreme ruler, who preferred, however, to retain such a great light in the episcopal lamp, for the illumination of the whole English realm. To this place, whenever he was able to visit the island of Thorney, he withdrew; here he performed his prayers and his holy vigils; hither, after addressing the brethren and organizing whatever was needed for the house, God's friend at once retired with eager love).
 24. Hardy, *Catalogue*, i/1, 373-4, n. (...in qua, ut aiunt, et satis credi potest, cursum præsentis vitæ finire delegerit in conversatione therica).
 25. See Wormald, *Kalendars after 1100*, i, 7 (Abbotsbury), 24 (Abingdon), 56 (St. Augustine's), 73 (Christ Church, Canterbury), 89 (Chertsey), 105 (Chester), 122 (Crowland), and ii, 13 (Ely), 32 (Evesham), 68 (Westminster).
 26. Harley MS 3097, f. 65r (*Horum siquidem sanctorum genus sive continuam vite conversationem nobis nulla commendat historia, nulla veterum relationis referat pagina*).
 27. Harley MS 3097, ff. 65r-65v (...who, just as the blessed Æthelwold himself bears witness in his writings, was sister to such great saints not only by blood-relationship but also by eager imitation of their virtues. ... Having become a limb of Christ, she was worthy to have Christ for her head).
 28. Hart, *Charters*, pp. 166, 167 (...alter martirio ... a paganis vastatus...)
 29. See n. 17 above.
 30. E. S. Dewick (ed), *The Leofric Collectar*, Henry Bradshaw Society 45 (London, 1913), p. 422 (Harley MS 863, f. 111r). See also W. Levison, *Das Werden der Ursula-Legende* (Cologne, 1928), pp. 55-6, n. 1.
 31. M. Winterbottom (ed), *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto, 1972), p. 67.
 32. Harley MS 3097, f. 65v (...pestis pyratice que legitur Angliam depopulasse tempore Beati Eadmundi regis et martiris).
 33. Hart, *Charters*, p. 167.
 34. 'Fact and Fiction in the Legend of St. Edmund', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 31 (1966-69), 217-33, esp. 218-9, 233.
 35. W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897); see O. von Feilitzen, 'Planning a

New Old English Onomasticon', in H. Voigt (ed), *The Study of the Personal Names of the British Isles* (Erlangen, 1976), pp. 16-42.

36. See Searle, *Onomasticon, s.n.*, and Birch, *Liber Vitae*, pp. 30, 53; also references given in n. 37 below.
37. See O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, *Nomina Germanica* 3 (Uppsala, 1937), p. 384; also E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England*, *Studien zur englischen Philologie* 37 (Halle, 1910), pp. 140-41, esp. n. 2, suggesting that *Sancta Toua* 'probably does not belong here'; and M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919), p. 137.
38. A shortening of names with the first element *Thor-* and with second elements beginning with *-v-*: see von Feilitzen, *Domesday Book*, pp. 384-5, and G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1968), pp. 285-6.

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