

XIII.—SOME ANGLO-SAXON RECORDS OF THE SEE OF DURHAM.

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The *Liber Vitæ* of Durham, recently reproduced in collotype facsimile by the Surtees Society, contains on folio 43, three entries of Anglo-Saxon documents. One is a notitia or memorandum of a grant to the see, by earl Thured, of estates in the North Riding of Yorkshire; the second is a similar memorandum of the donation of Escombe by earl Norman and of Norton by Ulfcytel son of Osulf; and the third is a manumission. All three probably belong to the beginning of the eleventh, if not to the end of the tenth century. The manumission is the only pre-conquest document of its kind from the north of England hitherto published. Numerous other manumissions of equally early date are in print,¹ but they come, almost without exception, from the south-western counties, and fall into three groups, derivable respectively from Bath, Exeter and Bodmin. I make no apology, therefore, for reprinting the Durham manumission in Thorpe's translation.

Geatflæd has given freedom, for love of God, and for her soul's need, to Ecceard Smith, and Ælstan and his wife, and all their offspring, born and unborn, and to Arkil and Cole and Ecerð Aldhun's daughter, and all the men whose persons she took for their food in the evil days. Whoso shall alter this and bereave her soul thereof, may God Almighty bereave him of this life and of the kingdom of heaven; and be he accursed, dead and quick, ever to eternity. And she has also freed the men whom she solicited from Cwæspatrccke, that is: Ælfwald and Colbrand, Ælsie and Gamal his son, Eðred, Tredewude and Uhtred his stepson, Aculf, and Thurkyl, and Ælsige. Who shall bereave them of this, may God Almighty and St. Cuthbert be wroth to them.

¹ They are published, with translations, in Thorpe's *Diplomatarium*, pp. 621-644.

Humphrey Wanley put on record² the fact that in his day (1705) other manumissions were to be found in the famous gospel-book which king Athelstan gave to the church of St. Cuthbert in 934, and which became MS. Otho B ix in sir Robert Cotton's library. On the page preceding the gospel of St. Matthew there were written, in Anglo-Saxon, the names of the men whom Mældorð freed for the health of his soul. Three other manumissions were entered on the last page of all, namely the manumission of seven men by Ælfred Lareow; that of Dunecan, P. his wife, their children with all their offspring, Eardulf and Mældord; and that of his brother Earnan's daughter by Etheldred. The gospel-book was almost totally destroyed in the fire which consumed a part of the Cottonian library in 1731. Fortunately sir Robert Cotton's librarian, Dr. Richard James, had, about 1630, copied the first, second and fourth of the manumissions into one of his note-books, and his transcript remains, hitherto unnoticed, in the Bodleian Library.³ It is now printed, for the first time, with a translation.

Þis synd þæra monna noman þe is gefreod for Mældorðes sawle.
 1 Ferman. 2 Wulfstan. 3 Ukede. 4 Ealdcearle. 5 Buð. 6 Walh.
 7 Wulfæd. 8 Grugele. 9 Ælfæd. 10 Ælfæd. Se ðe þis awende
 hem be Judas dæl.

[*Translation.*—These are the names of those men that are freed for Mældorð's soul He who alters this, to him be Judas' portion.]

Her cyð þ Ælfred lareow hæfeð gefreolsad vii men. An is Ædred webbe. 7 oðer his sunu Eðered. 7 þridde his dohtor Ealdwif. 7 feorðe his broðor dohtor Colawis. 7 fift Akulf his groefa. 7 seste Akolfes sunu Uhtred. 7 seofunde Eþeredes sunu his agenes meges Ælsrig hatte. Þas seofun men Ælfred hæfeð gefreolsad Godes þonces 7 scē Cuðberhtes for hine 7 for his wif Kolawis. on alles scē Cuðbertes heoredes gewitnyse. 7 hwa þe þis ymbwende bereafige hine God twoegra þinga her lyfes 7 heofona rices.

[*Translation.*—Here is made known that master Ælfred hath freed seven men. One is Ædred weaver, and second his son Eðered, and third his daughter Ealdwif, and fourth his brother's daughter Colawis, and fifth Akulf his reeve, and sixth Akolf's son Uhtred, and seventh the son of his own kinsman Eþered, called Ælsrig. These seven men Ælfred hath freed, by the grace of God and of St. Cuthbert, for himself and for his wife Kolawis, all the congregation of St. Cuthbert being

² In Hicckes' *Thesaurus*, ii, p. 238.

³ MS. James 18, pp. 42-43.

witness. And whosoever alter this, may God bereave him of two things, here of life and of the kingdom of heaven.]

Her cyð es þæt Eðered hæfeð gefreolsad his broðer dohtor Earnones. 7 þ sy áá geton wið eghwylcne monne þe þe hæfes nebb 7 ege. 7 on all sce Cuðberhtes heoredes gewitnysse.

[*Translation.*—Here is made known that Eðered hath freed his brother Earnon's daughter. And may it be maintained (?) against every man who has nose and eye; all the congregation of St. Cuthbert being witness.]^{3a}

Fortunately Master Ælfred, whose manumission of seven persons forms the second of our documents, can be identified with a well-known historical character. The title *lareow*, here conferred upon him, means teacher or instructor, and is the form that was in general use in Old English. The Northumbrian variant, found in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth gospel glosses, was *larwa*. Now Ailred abbot of Rievaulx has recorded the fact that his great-grandfather, Alfred son of Westou, the famous Durham relic-hunter of the early eleventh century, was

^{3a} I append a note on the less common and more distinctively northern personal names occurring in the foregoing documents.

Mældorth is probably a variant of Mæthelthryth, the name being that of a woman.

Ferman is the same as Farman, for which see E. Björkman's *Nordische Personennamen in England* (Halle, 1910), p. 39. Farmannus occurs as a monk at Durham about 1100; *Liber Vitæ*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 45, 141.

Ukede appears in the form of Ucede as a moneyer at York in the reigns of Cnut and Harold I.; Grueber, *Catalogue of English Coins, Anglo-Saxon Series*, vol. ii, pp. 269, 310.

Ealdcearle is identical with (E)aldceorl, for which form see the *Liber Vitæ*, in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, lines 206, 303.

Buth is the same as Bueth. For Bueth, father of Gille, lord of Gilsland about 1100, whose name survives in Bewcastle, see Prescott's *Register of Wetherhal*, p. 195, note.

Walh is usually found in compounds, but a clerk named Ualch occurs in the *Liber Vitæ* (early 9th cent.), ed. Sweet, line 170.

Grugele is not otherwise met with. The name is a diminutive, perhaps from Grig or Gryg, a name borne by two Scottish kings.

Ædred is a variant of Eadred.

Ethered is equivalent to Æthelred.

Ealdwif occurs in the form of Aldwif in three twelfth-century entries in the *Liber Vitæ*, ed. Stevenson, p. 47, col. 3, p. 48, col. 2, p. 52, col. 2.

Cowlawis occurs as Colewis, in two entries of the early twelfth century, in the *Liber Vitæ*, ed. Stevenson, p. 5, col. 3, p. 70, col. 1.

Akulf is Acwulf, and, as Aculf, occurs as the name of a tenant in Sedgfield early in the tenth century; *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, i, p. 208.

Ælsrig hardly seems a possible form; we may suspect an error of transcription and read Ælfsige.

Earnon is the same as Earnan, the name of a Durham clerk living in 1069; *Symeon of Durham*, i, p. 102.

styled Alfred *larwa* on account of his learning.⁴ Alfred son of Westou was a priest of the church of Durham, and consequently a member of the congregation of St. Cuthbert. He lived in the time of bishop Edmund (1023-36), and survived to that of bishop Egelwin,⁵ that is till after 1057.

The language of the manumission would agree with a date as early as 1000, but it is more natural to conclude that it belongs to a period thirty or forty years later than to suppose the existence of two Alfreds, nearly contemporary and each surnamed *larwa*. It follows that Master Ælfred of the manumission is Alfred son of Westou, the relic hunter.

Although abbot Aelred says that his great grandfather was called *larwa* because of his learning (" ob doctrinae et sapientiae gratiam "), it would be a mistake to treat the title as a kind of honorary M.A. conferred upon a recognized authority on Northumbrian hagiology. *Larwa* has a plain and definite meaning. Ælfred was a school-master. This is not a mere inference, for Symeon of Durham states that Ælfred was " very active in bringing up boys to God's ministry, in instructing them day by day in singing and reading, and in teaching them the church services."⁶ His school, therefore, was the novices' school at Durham for which there is no other evidence earlier than the sixteenth century;⁷ and the instruction which he gave was in grammar and song. Judging from the surname " Lawreu " borne by his son Eilaf,⁸ it seems that his son succeeded to him in the Durham school as well as in the possession of the church of Hexham which Ælfred held by grant from bishop Edmund. The manumission gives

⁴ De Sanctis Ecclesiae Hangustaldensis, in Raine's *Hexham Priory* (Surtees Society), vol. i, p. 190.

⁵ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, i, p. 37.

⁶ " Sed et in pueris in Dei servitium educandis multum erat studiosus, quos quotidie cantu et lectione instituere et ecclesiasticis officiis curabat informare ": *loc. cit.* This is the earliest reference to education in Durham. Symeon's informant was a Durham monk named Gamelo. His name suggests connexion with the two priests named Gamel who served the church of Hexham under Ælfred; Raine, *Hexham Priory*, vol. i, appendix, p. viii.

⁷ See *Victoria County History of Durham*, i, p. 367.

⁸ Raine, *Hexham Priory*, i, appendix, p. viii.

the name (unrecorded elsewhere) of his wife, Colawis. She is known from other sources to have been sister of Collan, provost of Hexham.⁹

Manumissions were performed in the presence of witnesses. The first of our documents is unattested, but the other two are witnessed by the convent or congregation of St. Cuthbert, which here appears for the first time in Anglo-Saxon terminology. Constitutionally the "hired," or body of unreformed canons, of St. Cuthbert, stood in exactly the same position as the "hired" of other cathedral churches. And the early Bodmin entries furnish parallels of manumissions attested by a "hired."¹⁰

There was both a civil and a religious form of manumission. The Durham manumissions belong to the latter category. Just as the Bodmin manumissions were performed "super altare sancti Petroci,"¹¹ so we may suppose that at Durham the ceremony was completed at the high altar. The act was recorded in a book, usually a copy of the gospels, kept on the altar.¹² At Durham the manumissions were entered, as we have seen, in king Athelstan's gospel-book, and also in the *Liber Vitae* which likewise lay on the high altar.¹³

Wanley has printed¹⁴ the old English entry of king Athelstan's donation of his gospel-book, with the consequent anathema, which preceded the gospel of St. John. It was followed, he states, by a list, also in Old English, of the gifts which Athelstan made to the church of St. Cuth-

⁹ *op. cit.*, introduction, p. li. Raine's account is the fullest in print of Ælfred and his family.

¹⁰ Thorpe's *Diplomatarium*, pp. 626, 627.

¹¹ See especially Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 627: "he ordered her to be led hither to the monastery, and here be freed on the relics of Petroc, in witness of the convent."

¹² At Bodmin the manumissions were entered in a gospel-book now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 9381); at Bath also in a gospel-book now at Corpus Christi, Cambridge (MS. 140); at Exeter alike in bishop Leofric's gospel-book (Cambridge University Library, MS. II. 2. 11) and in that bishop's mass-book (Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 579). A memorandum of an enfranchisement by king Edwy at Exeter concludes with the statement, "king Edwy has commanded Brihtric to insert it here in Christ's book"; Thorpe's *Diplomatarium*, p. 623.

¹³ Later manumissions are copied into the prior and convent's Register I, part i, foll. 70-72.

¹⁴ Hickeys' *Thesaurus*, ii, p. 238.

bert. This has survived, in a Latin rendering, as paragraph 26 of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*.¹⁵ The gifts included a life of St. Cuthbert written in verse and prose. There is every reason for identifying this book with a manuscript containing Bede's metrical and prose lives of St. Cuthbert which still survives as MS. 183 in the library of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge. That manuscript contains, at fol. 96 verso, an Old English charter of bishop Walcher (1072-1080). The charter has been printed in the provost of Eton's catalogue of the college manuscripts. Its importance, as the earliest recorded act of a bishop of Durham, justifies setting it out again here. It runs as follows :—

Walchear b. 7 eal scē Cuðberhtes hyred sealdan Ealdgyðe þ land æt Ðornhlawa to þyse male þ is þus þ gyf heo hit forlæteð beo hit æt deadum oððe æt cwicum swa swa hyre pearfe sy. þ mala is viii exen 7 xii cyg. 7 iiii menn. 7 eac hé lænde hyre þ land æt Windegatum ealle ða hwile þe hyre pearf byð.

[*Translation*.—Walcher the bishop and all the congregation of St. Cuthbert have granted to Ealdgyth the land at Thornhlawa for this payment, that is as follows, that if she leave it needfully, be it in death or in life, the payment is eight oxen and twelve cows and four men. And also he has loaned her the land at Windegat all the while that she have need of it.]

Mr. Onions points out to me that this document, unlike the preceding ones, contains no Northumbrian forms, and we must therefore suppose that bishop Walcher brought up with him from the south of England a clerk who entered this record in his own dialect. In it the "hired" again makes its appearance, this time in conjunction with the bishop. Bishop and "hired" combine to lease or loan land to a lady named Ealdgyth, the land in question being the adjacent townships of Thornley and Wingate in the parish of Kelloe, midway between Durham and Hartlepool. The use of two different verbs suggests at first sight two distinct transactions. Yet there can be no question of an out-and-out grant of the Thornley land or valid reason for admitting distinction between the estate conveyed in the first sentence and that conveyed in the

¹⁵ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, i, p. 211.

second. F. W. Maitland hits the case when he says:¹⁶ "the gift shades off into the loan, the loan into the gift. The loan is a gift for a time. It is by words of donation ('I give,' 'I grant') that Oswald's *beneficia* are *praestita* to his knights and thegns." So we may conclude that bishop Walcher's grant was a loan, and that the land was loan-land.

The invaluable *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* contains allusions to three loans of St. Cuthbert's patrimony made in the tenth century, and it is instructive to find that in each instance, as in the present, the bishop and the congregation of St. Cuthbert are found acting together. The first is a loan made to Elfred son of Birihtulfinc between 899 and 915. "Has omnes villas," says the record, "praestitit episcopus Elfredo, ut sibi et congregationi fidelis esset, et de his plenum servitium redderet."¹⁷ A similar phrase¹⁸ is used of a loan, made apparently in 915, to Edred son of Rixinc. And finally we have a list¹⁹ of "terrae quas Aldhun episcopus (990-1019) et tota congregatio sancti Cuthberti praestitit his tribus, Ethred eorle, et Northman eorle, et Uhtred eorle." Walcher followed precedent. Nor was the procedure peculiar to Durham. Bishop Oswald, in the tenth century, made his loans of churchland with the consent and sanction of the "familia" in Worcester.²⁰ "Familia," "congregatio," "hired" are but different names for an ecclesiastical corporation, the body of canons serving a cathedral church.

The conditions of bishop Cutheard's and bishop Aldhun's loans have not been recorded; we cannot even say that in their case there was any written instrument. And the terms of bishop Walcher's loan are tantalizing

¹⁶ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 317. The whole section on book-land and loan-land (pp. 293-318) may be read with profit.

¹⁷ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, i, p. 208.

¹⁸ "Terram sibi a Cuthhardo episcopo et congregatione praestitam"; *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁹ *op. cit.*, p. 213.

²⁰ "Cum consultu atque permissione venerabilis Weogernensium familiae"; Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. DCXLVI. "Cum consensu et unanimi licentia venerandae familiae in Wiogornaceastre"; *ibid.*, no. DCXLIX.

in their brevity. There is no mention of services, though we may reasonably suppose that Ealdgith, like Elfred a hundred and fifty years earlier was required to render "plenum servitium." She held her land of the bishop and the "hired" and, but for her sex, might have been styled the bishop's "man." The term of the loan is not directly stated; only, as provision is made for its surrender by Ealdgith in her life-time, and the "mal" becomes payable in any event on her death, it would seem that it was for a single life. The sole expressed condition is that, on the lady's death or on her earlier surrender of the lands, certain stock, namely, eight oxen, twelve cows and four men shall go to the bishop. This is the stock of one plough-land or carrucate of eight oxgangs, worked by four villeins each of whom possess virgate holdings. Was the stock loaned with the land? Probably not, for, if it had formed part of the loan, it would have been resumed with the land, and express stipulation for its surrender would have been unnecessary. Walcher's clerk practised an economy of language. The "mal" which he particularizes can have formed no part of the loan, and it would follow that the land was loaned unstocked. Perhaps Thornley was still a thorn-grown hillside when Ealdgith received it, and the condition of the bishop's grant was that she should bring it into cultivation.

It would certainly appear that, even after the time of Walcher, large tracts of the county of Durham were virgin soil. The evidence of archaeology and of place-names alike points to the area of effective occupation in the Anglo-Saxon period having been extremely restricted. Reginald of Coldingham describes the district between Tyne and Tees in the days of king Ida as a solitary wilderness and no-man's-land, the sole haunt of wild beasts of the forest.²¹ Reginald knew very little about the sixth century, but he knew a great deal about the twelfth.

The land-loan is a stage in the process of feudalisation. It is a feofment, and the loan-lands of the eleventh century

²¹ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, i, p. 339.

became the fees of the twelfth. Walcher's grant of Thornley and Wingate helps us to trace the feudal development. In 1144 both townships were in the hands of Hugh son of Pinceon, steward (*dapifer*) of bishop William de St. Barbara. The continuator of Symeon of Durham tells the story of how Hugh deserted his lord and took up the cause of William Comyn, the rival claimant to the bishopric. Shortly after Whitsuntide Hugh surrendered to Comyn his castle of Thornley upon agreement that his daughter should be given in marriage to one of Comyn's nephews.²² Unfortunately for him, St. Barbara's cause triumphed, and that bishop, accompanied by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Carlisle, entered the city of Durham on St. Luke's day (Oct. 18th).²³ There Comyn made an absolute submission, and Hugh was compelled to hand over Wingate and the manor of Little Smeaton in Allertonshire to Hugh Burel, to hold in inheritance as one knight's fee.²⁴

It would be interesting if a connexion could be established between Hugh son of Pinceon and the lady Ealdgyth. One may get some way towards it. The bulk of Hugh's lands lay in Lincolnshire. Here in 1166 he held seven knights' fees of the bishop of Durham.²⁵ His father, Pinceon *dapifer* had held them in 1115-18,²⁶ whence it appears that the office of steward or seneschal which Hugh held under William de St. Barbara had been held

²² *op. cit.*, p. 157. Her name was Agnes, and her husband was Walter Bec, a Lincolnshire knight: see a deed of Aug. 17, 1162, in the Kirkstead Chartulary (Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xviii, p. 149, old pagination). Bec succeeded to his father-in-law's fees in Lincolnshire at some date after 1166. A charter of his great-grandson, John Bec of Eresby, made about 1297 and now in the British Museum (Harl. Ch., 45. H. 14), sets out the descent for six generations: *Associated Architectural Society's Reports*, xxiv, p. 37.

²³ *Symeon*, i, p. 160.

²⁴ The bishop's confirmation of Hugh son of Pinceon's grant is still preserved in Durham Treasury, and is printed in Surtees, *Durham*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 97. The clause "hec donacio facta fuit in presencia domini archiepiscopi Eboracensis et episcopi Carleolensis apud Dunelmum" allows of the charter being dated with exactness.

²⁵ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 416.

²⁶ *Lindsey Survey*, ed. Lincoln Record Society, vol. xix, pp. 248, 253, 254, 255, 257.

by Hugh's father in the episcopate of Ranulph Flambard.²⁷ The name of Pinceon *dapifer* is recorded in the *Liber Vitae*.²⁸ It may be more than a coincidence that the fourth name before his is Aldgitha. There is at least a possibility that he was son and heir of that lady Ealdgyth whose lands were afterwards in the possession of his son Hugh.

²⁷ The stewardship came to be a hereditary serjeanty attached to the manor of Eresby, the *caput* of Hugh son of Pinceon's Lincolnshire fee. In 1317 that manor was returned as held of the bishopric of Durham by the service of a knight's fee; of being bailiff to the bishop for all his lands in Lincolnshire; and of being steward to attend upon the bishop's dishes on the day of his consecration, and on Christmas-day and Whitsunday yearly. *Cal. Inquisitions*, vol. vi, p. 48.

²⁸ Fol. 47 verso, "Andreas, i[*d est*] Pinceon dapifer." Stevenson, in his edition of the text (p. 69, col. 2), misreads "pincerna." It would seem that Pinceon assumed the monastic habit and the religious name of Andrew.