Lost voices from Anglo-Saxon Lichfield

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ABSTRACT

Several dry-point glosses were added to the Lichfield Gospels during the tenth or eleventh century, apparently recording the names of members of the pre-Conquest community at Lichfield. We consider the relationship of these glosses to the list of Anglo-Saxon names on p. 141 of the Gospels, and discuss parallels from elsewhere in the Insular world.

The eighth-century gospel book Lichfield, Cathedral Library, Lich. 1 – more commonly referred to as the Lichfield Gospels or the Gospels of St Chad – is one of the outstanding examples of Insular manuscript art. Its origins are, however, unclear. Its earliest known provenance is Llandeilo Fawr in Carmarthenshire, south-west Wales (where it received various additions during the ninth century), but the lack of comparable manuscripts from Wales has prevented recognition of the Lichfield Gospels as an identifiably Welsh book. By the tenth century, it had reached Lichfield (Staffordshire), where it has remained.[1] Situated at the heart of Mercia, Lichfield was an important Anglo-Saxon city (its cathedral had been founded by St Chad in 669). It is, however,

[1] The entry *Wynsi[ge] pr[e]sul* on p. 6 of the Lichfield Gospels provides the earliest evidence for its presence in Mercia; a man of this name was bishop of Lichfield from 963 × 964 to 975. On the manuscript, see E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* [hereafter *CLA*], 12 vols. and supp. (Oxford, 1934–71) II, second edition (Oxford, 1972), no. 159; W. M. Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 3–5; D. Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Aberystwyth, 2000), p. 5 and plate I; D. Jenkins and M. E. Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* [hereafter *CMCS*] 5 (Summer 1983), 37–66, and 7 (Summer 1984), 91–120; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957; rev. imprint, 1990), p. 158 (no. 123); D. N. Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review: the Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages, Volume One* (Osaka, 1999), p. 123; R. Gameson, 'The Insular Gospel Book at Hereford Cathedral', *Scriptorium* 56 (2002), 48–79 (pp. 59–60, 67). A recently published discussion of the Lichfield Gospels has placed their origins firmly in Anglo-Saxon England: see M. P. Brown, 'The Lichfield Angel and the Manuscript Context: Lichfield as a Centre of Insular Art', *Jnl of the British Archaeol. Assoc.* 160 (2007), 8–19, and compare Janet Backhouse's assessment in *The Making of England*, ed. J. Backhouse and L. Webster (Toronto, 1991), no. 90 (p. 127). However, we would take issue with several of Professor Brown's statements. In particular, we would note that the presence of runes in the Lichfield Gospels (specifically, four runic forms out of a total of 126 display letters) need not preclude Welsh origin. There is evidence from the earliest Welsh inscriptions (V. E.

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one from which regrettably little has survived – although an unexpected spotlight was shone on the shrine of St Chad *c.* 800 with the recent discovery of a magnificent sculpture of an angel, during archaeological investigations beneath the cathedral nave.[2]

One comparatively neglected feature of the Lichfield Gospels has been the existence of dry-point glosses – scratched with a stylus rather than written in ink – on several of its pages. Humfrey Wanley, and later Wendy Stein, observed several on pp. 217 and 226.[3] Now that Gifford Charles-Edwards has identified additional stylus markings on p. 221 (the incipit page to Luke, one of the most heavily decorated in the book), a transcription and discussion of these glosses as a group seems appropriate.

The rich decorative detail and precise penmanship of Insular gospel books focus the eyesight to operate at a certain specialized level. Dry-point glossing, an equally precise type of writing, may exist unnoticed on the same page, and is only revealed by close study. In order to see dry-point glosses clearly, the eye must focus in a quite different way, at an acute angle to the writing surface, and if possible in a raking light. Only by fixing the eye upon marks made by the flensing knife, or on follicles if the hair-side is being examined, will dry-point letters reveal themselves clearly. They are notoriously difficult to photograph, and those observed in the Lichfield Gospels are here presented as line drawings.

Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), Group 1) that Welsh letterers were making use of exotic alphabets. Moreover, there is a runic alphabet in the early ninth-century Welsh manuscript known as *Liber Commonei*: see *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury: Codex Biblioth. Bodleianae Oxon. Auct. F.4.32*, facs. ed. R. W. Hunt (Amsterdam, 1961), f. 20r. We note in addition that the influence of runes on Insular display capitals, which has sometimes been affirmed (e.g. M. P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London, 2003), pp. 229, 236), is uncertain; the origins of the angularized letter forms in question lie in the epigraphic traditions of western Britain. Cf. C. Tedeschi, 'Some Observations on the Palaeography of Early Christian Inscriptions in Britain', in *Roman, Runes and Ogham: Medieval Inscriptions in the Insular World and on the Continent*, ed. J. Higgitt, K. Forsyth and D. N. Parsons (Donington, 2002), pp. 16–25 and G. Charles-Edwards, *The Origin and Development of Insular Geometric Letters* (Oxford, forthcoming). A good example of early geometric letter-forms from Wales is the *Catacus* inscription from Llanfihangel Cwm Du, Breconshire: *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, I, ed. M. Redknap and J. M. Lewis (Cardiff, 2007), no. B21 (pp. 194–6).

[2] See Brown, 'The Lichfield Angel'.

[3] H. Wanley, *Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium . . . Catalogus Historico-Criticus* (G. Hickes and H. Wanley, *Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Libri Duo* (Oxford, 1703–5), II), p. 290, no. IX (bis); W. A. Stein, 'The Lichfield Gospels' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1980), p. 6 (she referred incorrectly to p. 227 rather than 226). Cf. *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. S. Keynes (Copenhagen, 1996), p. 55.

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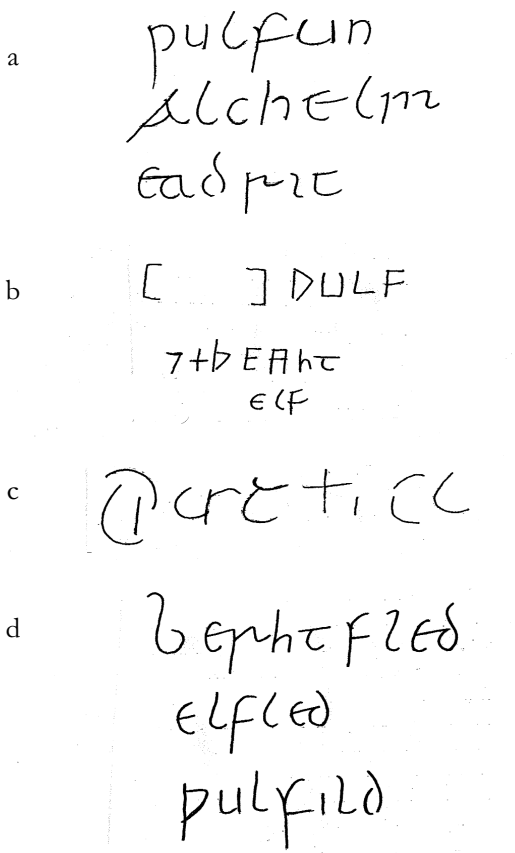


Fig. 4a–d Lichfield dry-points

There is a small but growing collection of dry-point writings to provide comparanda,[4] and we might include with them the sgraffito constructional notes made by metalworkers on metal.[5] A series of scratched glosses extensive enough to provide a complete alphabet and varieties of stroke combinations exists in Dublin, Trinity College, Ussher 1 (noted and listed by William

[4] Recent discussions of Anglo-Saxon dry-points include P. G. Rusche, 'Dry-Point Glosses to Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginitatis* in Beinecke 401', *ASE* 23 (1994), 195–213, and A. Falileyev and P. Russell, 'The Dry-Point Glosses in Oxoniensis Posterior', *Yr Hen Iaith: Studies in Early Welsh*, ed. P. Russell (Aberystwyth, 2003), pp. 95–101.

[5] M. P. Brown, 'Paten and Purpose: the Derrynaflan Paten Inscriptions', *The Age of Migrating Ideas*, ed. R. M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 162–7.

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O'Sullivan in the front end-papers of the rebind).[6] Such letters were made with firm pressure on the upright stylus. Devoid of the linking strokes of cursive hands, this minimalist alphabet reduced letter-forms to the simplest straight down-strokes and tightly curved bows; it was written with a body height as small as one-sixteenth of an inch.

In the order that they appear in the manuscript, the Lichfield dry-points (Fig. 4a–d) read:

p. 217 [*at the lower left of the page, to the left of* + Teudur + Ourdol +]
Wulfun
Alchelm
Eadric

p. 221 [*in the centre of the left-hand margin*]
[ ]DVLF
7 + Berht/elf
[*in the bottom margin, just by* Teudubr]
[Pas]t [+icc][7]

p. 226 [*in the bottom margin*]
Berhtfled
Elfled
Wulfild

The content of these scratched glosses – Anglo-Saxon personal names[8] – encourages the assumption that they were written in Anglo-Saxon England. Their script harmonizes with this: a form of Insular minuscule on pp. 217 and 226, and mixed majuscules on p. 221. Insular minuscule of one kind or another is found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from the seventh century until after the Norman conquest (it was the most common script-form until the middle of the tenth century), while mixed majuscules were also regularly used by English scribes. The date of these glosses is potentially very important: were they written in the tenth century or later (when the Lichfield Gospels are already known to have been at Lichfield), or might they pre-date the manuscript's sojourn at Llandeilo Fawr (thus providing evidence for its ultimate origin in Anglo-Saxon England)?

[6] P. Ó Néill, 'The Earliest Dry-point Glosses in Codex Usserianus Primus', *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. T. Barnard, D. Ó Cróinín and K. Simms (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 1–28; G. Charles-Edwards, 'The Springmount Bog Tablets: their Implications for Insular Epigraphy and Palaeography', *Studia Celtica* 36 (2002), 27–45 (pp. 32–3). [7] This reading is extremely tentative.

[8] *Wulfun*, *Alchelm*, *Eadric*, *[ ]ulf*, and *Berhtelf* are male names; *Berhtfled*, *Elfled*, and *Wulfild* are female.

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There is also the question of why these names were entered into the Lichfield Gospels. Significantly, they are not the only personal names which the manuscript contains. While in Wales, it received numerous names (many accompanied by crosses), which are most likely to record persons to be commemorated at the altar at Llandeilo.[9] The gospel book appears to have continued to function as a *liber vitae* (if that is what it was) when it was taken to Mercia. Apart from the mention of a priest called *Wynsige* on p. 1,[10] there is an extensive list of Anglo-Saxon names on p. 141 (surrounding the lower half of the Welsh 'Surexit' memorandum): this list is headed with *alpha et omega* and looks like a formal record of souls to be remembered.[11]

We should not expect memorials to be inscribed with a stylus, however, since this renders them effectively invisible. Should we characterize the dry-point glosses in the Lichfield Gospels as 'tourist' graffiti, almost comparable with 'I was here' on a modern-day wall?[12] Another curious point is that six out of the nine scratched names also appear in the long list of names added to p. 141: *Wulfun*, *Alchelm*, *Eadric*, *Berhtfled*, *Elfled* and *Wulfild*. It is particularly striking that *Eadric* and *Alchelm* appear side by side on the penultimate line of p. 141, just as they are to be found scratched close together on p. 217, and that *Berhtfled* and *Ælffled* appear side by side (partly in Greek letters) a few lines above on p. 141, just as they are to be found together on p. 226. Could the copyist(s) of the list of names on p. 141 also have written some, or all, of the dry-point glosses?[13] To answer this question we turn to the dry-points' palaeography.

It is important to emphasize at the beginning the non-standard nature of the glosses' script. As indicated above, the process of scratching letters onto parchment with a hard point results in rather different letter-forms from those produced by pen and ink. For example, there are no Insular wedges at the tops of ascenders.[14] In addition, because it is impossible when using a hard point to

[9] Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh Marginalia', p. 55.

[10] See n. 1 above.

[11] For reproductions, see *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1893), plate facing p. xliii; Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh Marginalia', plate A.

[12] Other examples of names scratched into manuscripts with a stylus are similarly difficult to assess. *EADB* and *+E+* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 30 (*S.C.* 3418) may commemorate Eadburh, eighth-century abbess of Minster-in-Thanet, while *Liofric sacerdos Garulf leuita* in London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv appears to record the names of two members of the ninth-century community at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury: see Lowe, *CLA*, II, nos. 183, 257.

[13] The list of Anglo-Saxon names on p. 141 deserves much more attention than it has so far received. At first sight the entire block of text looks like the work of a single hand, but the number of scribes involved in this work is not certain: there may have been two or even three.

[14] Cf. *A Palaeographer's View: The Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. J. Bately, M. P. Brown and J. Roberts (London, 1993), pp. 189, 206–7.

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flow smoothly from one letter to the next, there is a high degree of separation, not only between individual letters, but also between parts of letters (especially noticeable on p. 217). The open **e** seen in, for example, *Alchelm* and *Elfled* is typical of this type of script.[15]

The number of hands involved in the execution of the Lichfield dry-points is not certain. While we may be dealing with three, four, or five – a different hand on each page, and perhaps two or even three on p. 221 – it is possible that the glosses on pp. 217 and 226 at least were by the same person. These two groups of three glosses each were scratched in the same type of minuscule script, and show similar variation of letter-forms, even within individual names (see **l** in *Wulfild* on p. 226 and **u** in *Wulfun* on p. 217). On the other hand, the higher visibility of gaps between pen-strokes on p. 217, and the use of rolled entry-strokes on p. 226 alone (see *Berhtfled*), mean that it is safer to assume that two different people were after all involved here, and that the resemblances between their contributions are simply owing to their having used the same (very common) script-type. (An interesting letter-form on p. 217 is the **A** of *Alchelm*, reminiscent of a display-capital **A** found in several high-grade Insular manuscripts.)[16]

The bottom inscription on p. 221, while also in a form of Insular minuscule, displays characteristics not seen on pp. 217 and 226, notably the **a+s** ligature (if that is what this is) and the convex top to **t**. It is also very difficult to decipher: its first letter (**G**? **P**? **Æ**?) appears anomalous, and [+ *icc*] does not make obvious sense. The two additional names which are visible on p. 221 contain letter-forms of a higher grade than those on the other pages. *-DVLF* and the *-ER-* of *Berhtelf* are in Capitals of monumental, geometric type, although for *-htelf* we see a shift down into minuscule again. It is possible that *[ ]DVLF* was written first, and that another hand was responsible for *7 + Berhtelf*, connecting the two names with an *et-nota*.

It is impossible to be certain as to the date of these glosses, partly because the normal morphology of the letter-forms has been distorted by the use of a hard point. The form of (rounded, single-compartment) **a** ligatured with **e** at the beginning of *Eadric* (p. 217) might suggest that we are not dealing with the tenth century, since during that period Anglo-Saxon minuscule script tended to feature square **a** (and this would have been easy to execute in ligature with the

[15] Cf. Ó Néill, 'Earliest Dry-point Glosses', p. 4; Charles-Edwards, 'Springmount Bog Tablets', p. 33.

[16] Notably the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells: see J. Higgitt, 'The Display Script of the Book of Kells and the Tradition of Insular Decorated Capitals', *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6–9 September 1992*, ed. F. O'Mahony (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 209–33 (p. 225). For an additional example, see C. Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting* (London, 1977), plate 13.

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preceding **e**).[17] However, the presence or absence of square **a** is not an invariable indicator of date. Single-compartment **a** is a regular feature of Insular minuscule from the earliest period, and it is not unknown in the tenth century. We may note that an **e+a** ligature very similar to that in *Eadric* appears in several examples of English Square minuscule, from the 960s in particular.[18] It is also seen in later material, such as the second hand of the *Beowulf*-manuscript.[19] Unfortunately, therefore, palaeography alone cannot assign a firm date to the dry-point glosses in the Lichfield Gospels. We can say, however, that their script would be consistent with a date in the tenth or eleventh century. We cannot rule out the possibility that they pre-date the episcopate of Wynsige (963/4–975), with whom the earliest identified Anglo-Saxon additions to the Gospels have been associated,[20] but they are unlikely to pre-date it by much. This last is inferred not from palaeography but from their position on the page, which in two cases was evidently influenced by pre-existing Welsh additions to the Gospels.[21] In other words, the Anglo-Saxon dry-points were made after the Lichfield Gospels had left Llandeilo Fawr, and do not provide evidence for any earlier provenance in England.

We now return to the question of whether the Anglo-Saxon names on p. 141 of the Lichfield Gospels and the scratched glosses share a common hand. The answer appears to be in the negative. Although they were written in a mixture of minuscules and majuscules comparable to that in some of the dry-points, the Anglo-Saxon names on p. 141 include several different letter-forms (in addition to Greek majuscules). The most notable are minuscule **a** in the form ultimately derived from Uncial; **f** with cross-bar above the line of writing; and **r** usually without a descending stroke on the right. These forms are characteristic not of Insular minuscule but of Caroline minuscule, which was being written in English scriptoria from the 960s onwards.[22] This specimen is likely

[17] D. N. Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Background and Earliest Phases', *ASE* 16 (1987), 147–79 (p. 153).

[18] See, for example, S 697 (A.D. 961) and S 1215 (A.D. 968). These manuscripts have been assigned respectively to 'Phase V' and 'Phase VI' of Anglo-Saxon Square minuscule: see D. N. Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Mid-Century Phases', *ASE* 23 (1994), 133–64 (pp. 155 n. 122, 156 n. 123).

[19] London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xv, ff. 129[132]–198[201] (*saec.* xi $^{in.}$). Cf. D. N. Dumville, 'Beowulf Come Lately: Some Notes on the Palaeography of the Nowell Codex', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 225 (1988), 49–63.

[20] See n. 1 above.

[21] The three names on p. 217 were placed in a small section of blank parchment to the left of + *Teudur* + *Ourdol* + and above 'Chad 7' (Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh Marginalia, Part I', p. 55). On p. 221, the unreadable gloss [Pas]t[+icc] was tucked in above *Teudubr*.

[22] On the career of Caroline minuscule in England, see D. N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism AD 950–1030* (Woodbridge, 1993); R. Gameson, 'The Colophon of the Eadwig Gospels', *ASE* 31 (2001), 201–22.

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to date from relatively early in the career of Anglo-Caroline, and presumably no later than the second decade of the eleventh century (by which time English Caroline script had become the almost exclusive preserve of Latin material, and was in any case developing a range of new letter-forms). Its author may have been a priest: the prayer *Domine benedic* . . . which is written to the right of the names includes the phrase *meis indignis precibus*, suggesting an ecclesiastic's private intercession.

We have seen that the Anglo-Saxon names inscribed with a stylus in the Lichfield Gospels contain such standard Insular minuscule letter-forms that they are effectively undatable to any but the broadest bounds. It is suggestive, however, that they include several names which were also written in ink on p. 141.[23] Two other names, while they appear only in the dry-points, do contain identical elements to some of the inked names: *Wulfild* (p. 226) may be compared with *Wulfun* and *Wulfric* on p. 141, and *Berhtelf* on p. 221 with *Berhtfled* on p. 141. We know that Anglo-Saxon children tended to be given names which included elements from their parents' names.[24] The similarities between the names in the dry-points and those in the collection on p. 141 may be merely coincidental, but it is not impossible that they relate to the same community.

The simplest explanation for the personal names scratched into the Lichfield Gospels is that they represent informal commemorations of nine individuals from tenth- or eleventh-century Lichfield, presumably members of the religious community there. From its early history in Wales, the manuscript had served as a repository of both documents and names to be remembered, and it is not surprising that it was used for the same purposes in Anglo-Saxon England. However, the dry-point glosses which were added to the pages of the Gospels are puzzling in several respects. They are effectively invisible, unlike the inked names on p. 141, and their execution would not have been simple. By the time that they were added, not only must the volume have been a revered one, but the surface of the vellum would have hardened with age. How could anyone have approached so close to such a precious object that they could, slowly and painstakingly, have inscribed letters in it? It might have happened while the volume lay open upon an altar, but as good daylight is necessary to execute such work, this seems unlikely. The names have been written by hands accustomed to writing: we might speculate that the authors of the scratched glosses were in some way involved in the keeping of a library, or the

[23] On the other hand, none of the names is uncommon; *Berhtfled* indeed occurs twice on p. 141 (towards the end of the bottom line, as well as next to *Ælffled* a little higher up).

[24] W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. xiii–xiv. For a recent discussion, see J. M. H. Smith, *Europe After Rome. A New Cultural History 500–1000* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 90–2.

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workings of a scriptorium. It appears that they wished to mark a personal link with the manuscript.[25]

Lemuel Hopkin-James discussed the significance of entering a name in a precious gospel book in his textual study of the Lichfield Gospels.[26] He noted the 'names by themselves with nothing but a cross before them' which feature among the Welsh additions to the Lichfield Gospels, and made the parallel with those 'whose names are in the book of life' (Philippians IV.3). Entries in the (twelfth-century) Book of Llandaff indicate that names could be written in the 'book of life' (*liber vitae*) upon payment of a fee.[27] Such entry of names, then, was a highly significant act. The difference between the names inserted via a commercial exchange and the dry-point entries with which we are concerned is that the former are visible and the latter invisible. This may support the suggestion that the scratched glosses record the names of monks and nuns who had a close connection with the keeping and display of the Lichfield Gospels, and of whom three or four had sufficient scribal knowledge to effect discreet dry-point entries. The glossators of p. 221 were attracted to a display opening as a prime site in the volume – perhaps aware that on such pages a discreet dry-point is even less likely to be noticed.

In conclusion, the Lichfield scratched glosses are not able to provide us with an Anglo-Saxon provenance for the manuscript any earlier than that previously known; but they do allow us a momentary glimpse into the Lichfield community a few years, or decades, before the Norman conquest would change its composition forever.[28]

[25] Richard Emms has drawn our attention to a possible parallel in the Gospels of St Augustine (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 286: cf. Lowe, *CLA*, II, no. 126). This manuscript (originally written in Italy during the sixth century) contains several English additions, including a list of relics in a late twelfth-century hand; beneath this list is what appears to be a series of six names, possibly the names of six monks who had responsibility for the relic collection.

[26] *The Celtic Gospels, their Story and their Text* (London, 1934), p. xvi.

[27] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 17110E. For example: 'Ilias, for his soul, and the inscription of his name in the book of life, gave a mansion in the middle of Abergavenny and four modii of land with it', or 'Erbig son of Elffin, for inscribing his name in the book of life, granted in alms to God and the Apostle Peter and SS. Dyfrig, Teilo and Euddogwy' (cf. *Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. Gwenogvryn Evans, pp. 186, 197).

[28] We are very grateful to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral for allowing us access to the Lichfield Gospels, to Professor Simon Keynes for his helpful suggestions and to Dr Rosalind Love for her invaluable assistance in elucidating the Latin material.

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APPENDIX

THE LIST OF ANGLO-SAXON NAMES ON P. 141 OF THELICHFIELD GOSPELS

A *et* Ω
Aþulf. Ælfheh. æ Wulfmer. Wulfgeat. [.]iii Wulfric.

[1] D*omi*ne b*enedic*, sic*ut* uis *et* scis, sic fac,[2] o*mnes* q[*ui*] me '[W]'[3] docuerunt, et 'o*mnes* qui' meis i*n*dignis p*re*cibus se co*m*mendauerunt,[4] q*ui* co*n*fesi f*uerint*,[5] et o*m*nes q*ui* batismu*m* accep*e*runt.[6]

+ Wulfun. Wulferð.[7] Wufþryþ. Wulfðryð. Wihtmund.
Berhtfled. [Pat*er* ei*us* Hehwyn].[8] Ælffled. Leofe.[9] Wynsige. Wulfric. Æðelfled.

[1] This passage now reads as a single prayer. It was probably written in stages, however. The first part to be committed to parchment was probably *Omnes qui me W. docuerunt et omnes qui meis indignis precibus se commendauerunt* (following the first line of names). The scribe (who from the above was probably a priest) then added the introductory *Domine benedic sicut uis et scis sic fac* crammed in at the end of the line above. The remaining portion of the prayer, *qui confesi fuerint et omnes qui batismum acceperunt*, must have been written after the lines of names beginning + *Wulfun* and *Berhtfled*, since it has also been crammed into the blank space at their end.

[2] *Fiat fiat* is written (in the same hand) in the right-hand margin beside this prayer.

[3] I take this to represent the scribe's initial. It is tempting, but unprovable, to guess that **W** stands for one of the names on p. 141 which begins with a **W**: perhaps *Wulfmer*, which was one of the first names to be written and is in majuscules, or *Wulfun*, the only name to be preceded by a cross.

[4] This section of the text is partly written in Greek letters, as are several of the Anglo-Saxon names below. The eta in *SH* (i.e. *se*) appears to be constructed like a runic letter (**D**), which may have been influenced by its use on two of the Lichfield incipit pages.

[5] Perhaps influenced by I John I.9, often used in confessional prayers in the form *si confessi fuerimus peccata nostra* . . . Alternatively, the **f** may be an error for **s** (i.e. *sunt*).

[6] Wanley transcribed this passage as *omnes qui beatis sunt mu acæ* (reading *sunt* instead of *-p[er]unt*, and assuming that *mu acæ / -mu[m] acce*, written above, was intended to follow). He explained *sunt mu acæ* as *sanctimoniales*.

[7] There appears to be an erasure in the middle of this name.

[8] *Pater eius Hehwyn* is written above *Berhtfled*, and seems most likely to refer to him.

[9] *Berhtfled*, *Ælffled* and *Leofe* (i.e. *Leofi*?) are partly in Greek letters. In *Berhtfled* an original **F** has been changed to **Φ**; in *Ælffled* we find **Φ** and **F** side by side. There are two marks over *Leofe* which look like **i**s, perhaps indicating that the name should be written *Liofi* (although there is something similar over the next name, *Wynsige*).

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Elfehere. Wulfwyn. Wulfild. Hehfled. B[*enedic*]. d[*omine*]. Æ. Æ. S. Wulfmær. W. L. B.[10]
(*PART OF THE* SUREXIT *MEMORANDUM*)[11]

Æ. Æ. [Æ]. Æ. Burhelm. Æ. Wulsi. I. L. S. Wærulf. Æ. B. Æðelwyn. E. W. T. W. Æ. L. [Pufa][12]

Eadric. Alchelm. Ælfric. Wilaf. [b*enedi*cam]. Ælfðryþ[13]
Burhild. Wulfric. Wulfhelm. Wulffled.[14] Ea *et* erþ.[15] E. Behtfled. Wulgar. Ælfric.

[10] The list of letters here and in the line below is puzzling. The easiest explanation may be that they represent more names, which the scribe did not write out in full (all but one of the letters in question are commonly found at the beginning of Anglo-Saxon names; the exception is **I**, but even this is occasionally attested). Alternatively, they may represent a code, although if so this has yet to be decoded (for a discussion of two codes which were known in Anglo-Saxon England, see Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, translated by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 177–8). A third possibility might be that the letters are the initials of words in a prayer, but this possibility may be dismissed: it is unlikely that the words of any prayer could begin with the letters in question.

[11] The two groups of Anglo-Saxon names are separated by part of the Welsh *Surexit* memorandum, that is, *Teliau tist Gurgint tist . . . quicumque frangerit maladictus erit*. Cf. Jenkins and Owen, 'Welsh Marginalia Part II', p. 91.

[12] This reading is very tentative.

[13] This line is indented in order to avoid the Old Welsh names *B[ussi]* and *Ourcein[t]* which had been added to this part of the page.

[14] Over *Wulffled* (and under *Alchelm*, which is immediately above it on the page) is written *alia*.

[15] This part is not clear; *Ettierþ* or even *Exierþ* are both possibilities, but *Ea7erþ* (as it was transcribed by Wanley) is the best reading.

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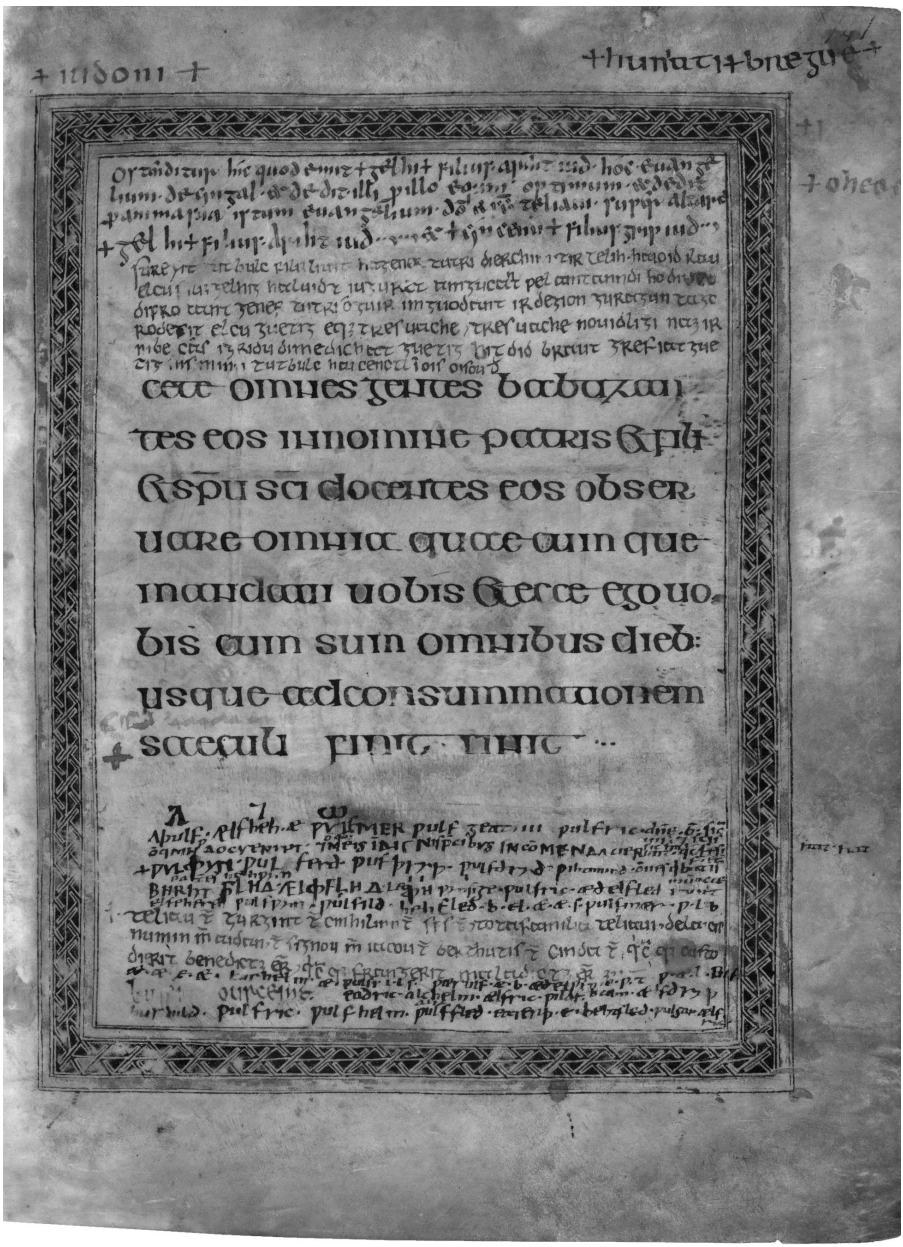


Plate I
Lichfield, Cathedral Library, Lich. 1, p. 141

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